

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: 4302
FolderID:

Folder Title:
Forest Conference-Americans for the Ancient Forests-Organizer's Handbook [binder] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	61	7	2	3

**Americans for the
Ancient Forests**

Organizer's Handbook



Ancient Forests are America's Heritage —

This document was prepared by Chlopak & Associates, April 1992.

Information was compiled from documents furnished by: The Wilderness Society, the Western Ancient Forest Campaign, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, National Wildlife Federation, National Abortion Rights Action League, The Rockey Company, and Bob Beckel & Associates.

Cover cartoon: International Herald Tribune, August 8, 1989.

Printed on 100% recycled paper with 90% post-consumer content.

Dear Forests Activist,

Welcome to the Americans for the Ancient Forests campaign. We're pleased you're joining us in this important fight to save our country's last old growth forests.

As you may know, logging already has destroyed 90% of our nation's ancient forests; if we don't save the last 10%, a valuable part of our nation's heritage will be lost. Once the forests are gone, they are gone forever.

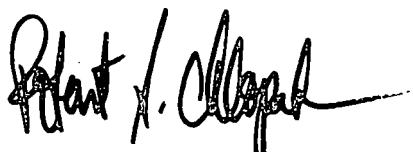
This handbook was designed to give you information about the forests and the key issues involved with protecting them—from federal mismanagement and endangered species protection to health care, legal, and economic issues. It also has organizing tips and suggestions for maximizing media exposure.

We encourage you to share appropriate sections of this handbook with your fellow organizers and interested parties. If you keep it in a three-ring binder, you'll have easy access to all the information, and you'll be able to photocopy pages easily.

Please let us know about your work—how it's progressing, what messages and strategies are most successful, what challenges you face, and of course, if we can help you in any way. Feel free to call, 202-296-2777, or write, Americans for the Ancient Forests, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036.

Once again, thank you for joining us in our fight to stop the chainsaws.

Yours truly,



Robert A. Chlopak
Director

I. Background Information

Americans for the Ancient Forests conducted a national poll and a series of focus groups. The poll, conducted by Greenberg-Lake of Washington, D.C, reached 873 adults, 18 years or older, who are registered to vote in the United States.

Voter Beliefs:

- Voters believe that forests are a valuable part of our national heritage.
- The strongest, most intense argument for saving the old growth forests combines balance, our national heritage, and preserving the remaining small portion of our disappearing, unique ancient forests.
- Voters believe that the environment is critically intertwined with survival, the future, and the world they leave their children.
- Women in particular worry about the future and are aware of their responsibility to protect the environment—including the ancient forests—for future generations.
- Blue-collar voters and traditional households are particularly concerned about exporting logs and jobs to Japan.
- Voters are convinced that government often represents the interests of the highest bidder rather than the public good and fails in its obligation to protect the environment.
- Voters readily believe that the Forest Service, like every other branch of government, could become the captive of special interest politics—e.g., timber companies seeking the highest profits.
- Voters believe a healthy economy depends on a healthy environment.
- When voters are confronted with the simple choice between reducing the harvest of old growth forests and protecting jobs, they overwhelmingly support reducing the harvest (75 to 15 percent).
- Voters like the idea of replanting trees, and are not readily aware of the difference between mature forests and tree farms.
- Voters most committed to preservation tend to be younger voters with more education, and they tend to be women.

II. Survey Information

- In 1980, 102,000 people were directly employed by the logging, lumber, and solid wood products business in western Oregon and Washington. The number of timber jobs in the Northwest, however, began decreasing in the 80s, largely because of the modernization of mills and the export of unprocessed logs.
- Workers in Oregon and Washington lost more than 26,000 timber-related jobs in the 1980s—at a time when the industry was cutting a record amount of timber from our nation's national forests. These jobs were lost before a single acre of federal land was protected as spotted owl habitat.
- Between 1980 and 1988, timber industry employment in the Northwest fell by 14% while output of finished lumber increased by 19%.
- Ten years ago, 4.5 workers were needed to produce every one million board feet of lumber and plywood. Today, it takes just 3 workers to produce the same volume of wood products.
- Timber workers also lose jobs because of log exports. It is estimated that 600 timber jobs are lost for every 100 million board feet exported.
- Last year, we exported 3 billion board feet of raw logs from Pacific Northwest ports. If we processed these logs in the United States instead of exporting them, we could generate up to 18,000 direct timber jobs.
- Over the next 20 years, the timber industry in Washington and Oregon will eliminate approximately 33,600 jobs because of labor productivity improvements the industry needs in order to remain competitive.
- Improved productivity has led to fewer timber jobs, fewer shifts, and lower wages. The average real dollar wage for timber workers in the Pacific Northwest has declined by nearly 2% annually. In other words, a timber worker making \$20,000 in 1982 would be making only \$16,500 in real wages today.
- The timber industry employs only 4% of workers in the Northwest. This number can be expected to decrease because the industry's major producers have shifted their operations and investments from the Pacific Northwest to the more economically suitable Southeast. Between 1978 and 1990, the seven major timber companies slashed lumber and plywood capacity by 33.5% in the Pacific Northwest while boosting capacity in southern states by more than 121%.
- Proposals to reduce timber cutting on federal lands below the current draft recovery plan level (2.2 billion board feet) to approximately 1 billion board feet will reduce direct timber employment by approximately 7,000 jobs. Such proposals, however, also help preserve a fishing industry that produces more

than \$1 billion in personal income per year and has a 60,000 jobs impact. In addition, some limits on exports could offset much of the job loss.

- The decline in timber industry jobs is not reflected in the Northwest's overall economic picture. More than 151,000 new jobs have been created in the region since 1990.

Stripping America's Forests

President Bush could extend his promising environmental record by abandoning an ill-conceived scheme to speed the deforestation of the United States — already far advanced — for the benefit of Japan.

Most Americans are acutely aware of the environmental folly of Brazil in cutting, burning and inundating so much of its vast rain forest land in the name of economic progress. But few realize that the United States, which similarly cleared away most of its forests in the 19th century, is still doing it.

What's more, too much of our remaining timberlands are being cut to build houses for the Japanese, at the cost of American jobs as well as the American environment. In the past decade, logs equivalent to a 600,000-acre forest were shipped overseas; last year alone, exports — mostly to Japan — consumed one in four logs cut on the West Coast and in Alaska.

The pace of this continued American deforestation will increase, in the worst possible places, if Mr. Bush stands by an export proposal in the Federal budget that President Reagan submitted in January. It would permit raw logs from the national forests to be shipped directly to Japan and other countries.

Under budget restrictions in effect for 21 years, foreign buyers may not bid on timber grown in U.S. national forests. The Reagan proposal to drop this ban — which has to be renewed annually — was first estimated to trim the Federal deficit by an estimated \$833 million by 1994; more rigorous Congressional examination has reduced that estimate to about \$222 million.

fect on the trade deficit — would be obtained only at high cost to American timber workers, old-growth forests, recreation, wildlife and efforts to slow global warming. Not only environmentalists but American sawmill interests (already disadvantaged by timber exports) oppose the Reagan proposal, which Mr. Bush unwisely carried over to his revised budget.

Now the Office of Management and Budget is reported to be reconsidering. For the President, the political cost of axing the Reagan proposal could come only from major timber exporters, if from anyone, since the Japanese don't yet vote here.

The environmental gain to the nation would be considerable. Already the national forests are under heavy pressure from big lumber interests. As these companies mow down trees on their own lands and on state tracts to feed the hungry export market, they naturally look with covetous eyes on timber — often of higher quality — remaining in the national forests.

Smaller American milling companies, meanwhile, find themselves unable to match the bids of foreign buyers for U.S. logs. That means mill closings throughout the Northwest, for example, since export logs typically move directly from the forest to foreign ports, never having been touched by American sawmill workers. This adds to high rates of unemployment in some areas that are heavily dependent upon the forest industry.

The log shortage for American mills also produces new pressures from them for greater access to timber in the national forests. They don't want to ship logs overseas; they want to keep their own mills humming. National forest timber, these loggers say, is all that's available to undo the domestic log shortage caused by exports.

Already, Government-owned timber — trees on national forest land supposedly belonging to the American people — is being logged at record rates. Timothy Egan reported yesterday in *The New York Times* that in the Northwest alone, 5.5 billion board feet were cut from 19 national forests in 1988 — 20 percent more than 10 years ago. In 1987, 12.7 billion board feet were stripped from the 156 national forests across the country.

Service planned to double allowable timber sales in six national forests in the Southern Appalachians. An annual average of just under 100 million board feet was cut from 1977 through 1986; under the Forest Service plan, by 1996 over 200 million board feet would be harvested yearly.

That increased cutting is bound to be caused at least in part by vast timber shipments moving abroad. These exports mean that the domestic market must rely more and more on logs cut from Pisgah and Nantahala and all the other national timberlands, particularly the great old forests of the Northwest. Why open these national treasures directly to foreign buyers?

Stay tuned for more on the deforestation of America. □

Editorials

One way to keep U.S. mills rolling

Ban private log exports

Congress has settled the Northwest's timber crisis for one year. It will mean an assured timber supply for our mills and new efforts to protect old-growth timber and to improve management of our forests.

The big question is, what we will do for the following year and in the years after that?

One big answer among the scores being considered has been largely overlooked because it's too controversial for even most environmentalists to suggest. And that's to ban the export of all logs.

We could reduce our annual harvest of trees by a big percentage and still have plenty of timber for our own mills if we refused to sell unprocessed logs overseas.

The United States certainly must ban exports from state and national forests. That step is supported by our congressional delegation, by most timber mill owners and by the public — Oregon voted 11-1 this spring to ban exports from state forests.

We also must consider an even stiffer action: ban or gradually reduce log exports from private lands.

This is a country that correctly puts great stock in the right of people to manage private property as they see fit. But public policy limits private property rights in land-use zoning and other situations, and we could do the same with logs.

Our big timber companies think nothing of shipping logs from their private lands to the Far East, then bidding for public timber to run their mills. It can be argued that the big timber companies are out of line to complain about environmentalists' attempts to salvage the last of our virgin forests when they themselves are responsible for more lost jobs than all the spotted owls in the Northwest.

Money is the big motive. The Japanese are paying three or four times more for these logs than the U.S. market can pay. It's big money in the pockets of timber exporters and shipping companies, but it's lost jobs for Oregon mill workers.

The profitable demand overseas helps explain why a quarter of all trees cut in Oregon and Washington in 1988 were exported, according to figures compiled by Rep. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore. Some say exports are even higher, if we include partially processed logs and woodchips.

The raw-log industry and shipping companies refuse to acknowledge that they could make even more money by producing and shipping finished lumber.

Someone needs to begin the public debate that will help us decide how to balance our natural resources and jobs against private enterprise's laissez-faire.

Judicial Review

Absent Congressional protection, the courts have been the only avenue of protecting the ancient forests from violations made by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. It therefore is no surprise that the timber industry has attacked the courts and tried to prevent citizens from using the judicial system to stop unwise logging.

- Several bills pending in Congress would restrict or eliminate judicial review of federal agency decisions to log our national forests.
- In March 1992, Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan proposed elimination of the Forest Service appeals process in part because the administration views the current practice as “procedurally onerous and confrontational.”
- Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan also endorsed limits on citizens’s access to the courts and announced that government agencies could manage our national forests better “if we were free from the interference of the federal courts.” He continued, “Only the Congress of the United States can free us from that interference. We hope they will do that and do that expeditiously.”
- The role of the judiciary in preserving democratic values cannot be overstated. In 1803, Chief Justice John Marshall called the right to seek judicial review of government actions, “the very essence of civil liberty.”
- Judicial review is part of America’s system of governmental checks and balances—a cornerstone of democracy.
- Several bills currently before Congress—S. 1156 sponsored by Senator Bob Packwood and H.R. 2463 sponsored by Representative Jerry Huckaby—attempt to exempt federal agencies from complying with environmental laws and also to limit or eliminate judicial review of those agencies’ decisions.
- Past experience shows that Appropriations Bill riders insulating Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management decisions from judicial review has done nothing to bring those agencies back into compliance with the law. In fact it has institutionalized this behavior. They now, in the words of U.S. District Judge William Dwyer, “deliberately and systematically” disobey the law—and then expect Congress to bail them out by suspending the environmental laws, limiting judicial review, or both.
- Proposals to limit judicial review can set a dangerous precedent that could be used to erode other laws protecting our civil and individual rights.
- The attached letter from more than 600 deans of law schools and legal scholars across America demonstrates the broad support this issues has in the legal community. Also listed are 46 organizations and 24 attorneys general that oppose restrictions on judicial review.

October 10, 1991

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the House
H-204 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Speaker Foley:

It has come to our attention that several bills currently pending in the Congress would restrict or eliminate judicial review of federal agency decisions to log our national forests. Moreover, Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan recently endorsed such limits on citizens' access to the courts when he announced that government agencies could manage our national forests better "if we were free from the interference of the federal courts. Only the Congress of the United States can free us from that interference. We hope they will do that and do that expeditiously."

We, the undersigned law school deans and faculty, adamantly oppose these and other attempts to undermine existing environmental laws by restricting the ability of courts to review and enforce them.

The role of the judiciary in preserving democratic values cannot be overstated. In 1803, Chief Justice John Marshall called the right to seek judicial review of government actions "the very essence of civil liberty."

Yet several bills that may be acted upon this year, including S.1156, H.R. 2463, H.R. 2807, and H.R. 3263, would undermine the courts and, with them, one of the cornerstones of our system of governmental checks and balances. In particular, these bills attempt to put federal agencies above the law by including one or more provisions that:

- (1) rewrite longstanding rules of administrative law and civil procedure;
- (2) insulate from legal challenge any Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management decisions that are based on outdated information; and
- (3) arbitrarily declare that the requirements of specified environmental laws have been satisfied -- an approach the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled unconstitutionally abrogates the functions reserved to the courts.

However, government agencies should not be put above the law: they have the same obligation -- and responsibility -- to obey the law as individual citizens. Whether proposals to limit judicial review are included in authorizing bills or as "riders" on appropriations measures, they would sanction and encourage illegal agency conduct. In addition, they would set a dangerous and disturbing precedent that could be used to erode other important laws protecting our civil and individual rights.

We urge you to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that neither authorizing nor appropriations bills contain restrictions on administrative appeals or judicial review of our nation's environmental laws.

Sincerely,

ALABAMA

WILLIAM ANDREEN, University of Alabama School of Law
 JAMES BRYCE, University of Alabama School of Law
 PAMELA BUCY, University of Alabama School of Law
 HARRY COHEN, University of Alabama School of Law
 BRYAN FAIR, University of Alabama School of Law
 TIMOTHY HOFF, University of Alabama School of Law
 JERRY HOFFMAN, University of Alabama School of Law
 WYTHE HOLT, University of Alabama School of Law
 THOMAS JONES, University of Alabama School of Law
 MICHELLE MONSE, University of Alabama School of Law
 MARTHA MORGAN, University of Alabama School of Law
 KARL OKAMOTO, University of Alabama School of Law
 KENNETH RANDALL, University of Alabama School of Law
 NORMAN STEIN, University of Alabama School of Law

ARIZONA

ROBERT BARTELS, Arizona State University College of Law
 MICHAEL BERCH, Arizona State University College of Law
 DOUG BLAZE, Arizona State University College of Law
 CHUCK DALLYN, Arizona State University College of Law
 ROBERT DAUBER, Arizona State University College of Law
 IRA ELLMAN, Arizona State University College of Law
 JOE FELLER, Arizona State University College of Law
 HANNAH ARTERIAN FURNISH, Arizona State University College of Law
 MARK HALL, Arizona State University College of Law
 DAVID KADER, Arizona State University College of Law
 DENNIS KARJALA, Arizona State University College of Law
 JOHN D. LESHY, Arizona State University College of Law
 ALAN MATHESON, Arizona State University College of Law
 RICHARD MORGAN, Dean, Arizona State University College of Law
 WILLARD PEDRICK, Arizona State University College of Law
 JONATHAN ROSE, Arizona State University College of Law
 RALPH SPRITZER, Arizona State University College of Law
 DANIEL STROUSE, Arizona State University College of Law
 JIM WEINSTEIN, Arizona State University College of Law
 LAURENCE H. WINER, Arizona State University College of Law

ARKANSAS

FRANCES FENDLER-ROSENZWEIG, University of Arkansas - Little Rock
 School of Law
 LYNN FOSTER, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law

The inclusion of titles and affiliations is for identification purposes only and is not intended to represent the views of any school.

ARKANSAS (CONT.)

W. DENT GITCHEL, University of Arkansas - Little Rock
 School of Law
 CHUCK GOLDNER, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law
 SUSAN GOLDNER, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law
 KEN GOULD, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law
 DENNIS HANSEN, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law
 EUGENE MULLINS, University of Arkansas - Little Rock
 School of Law
 TERESA NAPPER, University of Arkansas - Little Rock School of Law
 L. SCOTT STAFFORD, University of Arkansas - Little Rock
 School of Law
 THOMAS SULLIVAN, University of Arkansas - Little Rock
 School of Law

CALIFORNIA

ELLEN APRILL, Loyola Law School
 BARBARA A. BABCOCK, Stanford University Law School
 FLORIAN BARTOSIC, University of California (Davis) Law School
 ALBERT BRECHT, University of Southern California Law Center
 ALAN E. BROWNSTEIN, University of California (Davis) Law School
 LEE CAMPBELL, University of Southern California Law Center
 ALEX CAPRON, University of Southern California Law Center
 JO CARRILLO, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 ERWIN CHERMERINSKY, University of Southern California Law Center
 RICHARD B. CUNNINGHAM, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 DENNIS CURTIS, University of Southern California Law Center
 JOEL C. DOBRIS, University of California (Davis) Law School
 DAVID L. FAIGMAN, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 ROGER W. FINDLEY, Loyola Law School
 BARBARA H. FRIED, Stanford University Law School
 LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN, Stanford University Law School
 JENNIFER FRIESEN, Loyola Law School
 ARTURO GANDARA, University of California (Davis) Law School
 RON GARET, University of Southern California Law Center
 ROBERT A. GIRARD, Stanford University Law School
 MICHAEL J. GLENNON, University of California (Davis) Law School
 VICTOR GOLD, Loyola Law School
 GARY S. GOODPASTER, University of California (Davis) Law School
 BRIAN E. GRAY, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 HENRY T. GREELY, Stanford University Law School
 JOSEPH R. GRODIN, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 BARBARA HERMAN, University of Southern California Law Center
 BRYAN HULL, Loyola Law School
 LESLIE JACOBS, University of California (Davis) Law School
 MARGARET Z. JOHNS, University of California (Davis) Law School
 KEVIN JOHNSON, University of California (Davis) Law School

CALIFORNIA (CONT.)

FRITZ JUENGER, University of California (Davis) Law School
 KAREN LASH, University of Southern California Law Center
 EVAN TSEN LEE, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 DAVID LEONARD, Loyola Law School
 MARTY LEVINE, University of Southern California Law Center
 ELIZABETH K. LEWICKI, University of California (Davis) Law School
 KARL MANHEIM, Loyola Law School
 LEO P. MARTINEZ, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 CALVIN R. MASSEY, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 CHRISTOPHER MAY, Loyola Law School
 THERESE MAYNARD, Loyola Law School
 GERALD T. McLAUGHLIN, Dean, Loyola Law School
 MIGUEL A. MÉNDEZ, Stanford University Law School
 JOHN HENRY MERRYMAN, Stanford University Law School
 ROBERT H. MNOOKIN, Stanford University Law School
 JOHN NOCKLEBY, Loyola Law School
 DANIEL ORTIZ, University of Southern California Law Center
 REX R. PERSCHBACHER, University of California (Davis) Law School
 JOHN W. POULOS, University of California (Davis) Law School
 EDWARD H. RABIN, University of California (Davis) Law School
 ROBERT L. RABIN, Stanford University Law School
 MARGARET JANE RADIN, Stanford University Law School
 NOEL RAGSDALE, University of Southern California Law Center
 DEBORAH L. RHODE, Stanford University Law School
 FLORRIE ROBERTS, Loyola Law School
 DAVID L. ROSENHAN, Stanford University Law School
 ELYN SAKS, University of Southern California Law Center
 JOSEPH SAX, University of California - Boalt Hall School of Law
 EILEEN A. SCALLEN, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 MORTIMER D. SCHWARTZ, University of California (Davis) Law School
 DANIEL P. SELMI, Associate Dean, Loyola Law School
 TED SETO, Loyola Law School
 DANIEL L. SIMMONS, University of California (Davis) Law School
 WILLIAM H. SIMON, Stanford University Law School
 JAMES F. SMITH, University of California (Davis) Law School
 LAWRENCE SOLUM, Loyola Law School
 MATT SPITZER, University of Southern California Law Center
 DANIEL STEWART, Loyola Law School
 CHRISTOPHER STONE, University of Southern California Law Center
 SCOTT E. SUNDBY, University of California, Hastings
 College of the Law
 PETER TIERSMA, Loyola Law School
 MICHAEL S. WALD, Stanford University Law School
 CATHERINE WELLS, University of Southern California Law Center
 MARTHA S. WEST, University of California (Davis) Law School
 CHARLES WHITEBREAD, University of Southern California Law Center
 GARY WILLIAMS, Loyola Law School
 RICHARD C. WYDICK, University of California (Davis) Law School

COLORADO

EMILY M. CALHOUN, University of Colorado School of Law
 RICHARD B. COLLINS, University of Colorado School of Law
 RICHARD DELGADO, University of Colorado School of Law
 DAVID GETCHES, University of Colorado School of Law
 DANIEL B. MAGRAW, JR., University of Colorado School of Law
 GEORGE W. PRING, University of Denver College of Law
 MARIANNE WESSON, University of Colorado School of Law
 CHARLES WILKINSON, University of Colorado School of Law

CONNECTICUT

JON BAUER, University of Connecticut School of Law
 PHILLIP I. BLUMBERG, University of Connecticut School of Law
 JOHN BRITTAIN, University of Connecticut School of Law
 HUGH C. MACGILL, Dean, University of Connecticut School of Law
 JEREMY PAUL, University of Connecticut School of Law
 CORNELIUS J. SCANLON, University of Connecticut School of Law
 TERRY J. TONDRO, University of Connecticut School of Law

DELAWARE

PHYLLIS BOOKSPAN, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 FRANCIS CATANIA, JR., Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 LARRY CONNELL, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 JOHN CULHANE, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 BARRY FURROW, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 ALAN GARFIELD, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 SUSAN GOLDBERG, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 JOHN HART, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 ROBERT HAYMAN, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 DAVID HODAS, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 J. PATRICK KELLY, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 MARTIN KOTLER, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 JOHN LANDIS, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 ROBERT LIPKIN, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 CHRISTINE McDERMOTT, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 MARY BRIGID McMANAMON, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 DONALD PEASE, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 LEONARD SOSNOV, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 KATHLEEN TUREZYN, Widener University School of Law, Delaware
 JOHN WHERRY, Widener University School of Law, Delaware

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

JOSE E. ALVAREZ, George Washington University National Law Center
 LINZ AUDAIN, American University, Washington College of Law
 HOPE BABCOCK, Georgetown University Law Center
 DANIEL BRADLOW, American University, Washington College of Law
 JAMES M. BROWN, George Washington University National Law Center

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (CONT.)

J. PETER BYRNE, Georgetown University Law Center
 NAOMI R. CAHN, Georgetown University Law Center
 MARY M. CHEH, George Washington University National Law Center
 RONALD COLLINS, Catholic University of America - Columbus
 School of Law
 C. THOMAS DIENES, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 WILLIAM N. ESKRIDGE, JR., Georgetown University Law Center
 CHAI FEIDBLUM, Georgetown University Law Center
 JACK FRIEDENTHAL, Dean, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 MARK HAGER, American University, Washington College of Law
 CHARLES M. MASNER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 BINNY MILLER, American University, Washington College of Law
 LAWRENCE G. MITCHELL, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 WALLACE J. MLYNIEC, Georgetown University Law Center
 DOUGLAS PARKER, Georgetown University Law Center
 JOEL PAUL, American University, Washington College of Law
 JAMIN RASKIN, American University, Washington College of Law
 PETER RAVEN-HANSEN, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 ARNOLD W. REITZE, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 PAUL RICE, American University, Washington College of Law
 THOMAS SARGENTICH, American University, Washington College of Law
 ROGER E. SCHECHTER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 LEWIS G. SCHILLER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 PHIL SCHRAG, Georgetown University Law Center
 TERESA M. SCHWARTZ, Associate Dean, George Washington University
 National Law Center
 ANN SHALLECK, American University, Washington College of Law
 ERIC S. SIRULNIK, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 ROBERT STRUMBERG, Georgetown University Law Center
 RICHARD P. THORNELL, Howard University School of Law
 JONATHAN TURLEY, George Washington University National Law Center
 HEATHCOTE W. WALES, Georgetown University Law Center
 BURT WECHSLER, American University, Washington College of Law
 RICK WILSON, American University, Washington College of Law
 LUIZE M. ZUBROW, George Washington University National Law Center
 DURWOOD ZAELEKE, American University, Washington College of Law

FLORIDA

DONNA R. CHRISTIE, Florida State University College of Law
 BARRY CURRIER, University of Florida College of Law
 ALYSON FLOURNOY, University of Florida College of Law
 LAWRENCE C. GEORGE, Florida State University College of Law
 RICHARD HAMANN, University of Florida College of Law

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (CONT.)

J. PETER BYRNE, Georgetown University Law Center
 NAOMI R. CAHN, Georgetown University Law Center
 MARY M. CHEH, George Washington University National Law Center
 RONALD COLLINS, Catholic University of America - Columbus
 School of Law
 C. THOMAS DIENES, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 WILLIAM N. ESKRIDGE, JR., Georgetown University Law Center
 CHAI FEIDBLUN, Georgetown University Law Center
 JACK FRIEDENTHAL, Dean, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 MARK HAGER, American University, Washington College of Law
 CHARLES M. MASNER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 BINNY MILLER, American University, Washington College of Law
 LAWRENCE G. MITCHELL, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 WALLACE J. MLYNIEC, Georgetown University Law Center
 DOUGLAS PARKER, Georgetown University Law Center
 JOEL PAUL, American University, Washington College of Law
 JAMIN RASKIN, American University, Washington College of Law
 PETER RAVEN-HANSEN, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 ARNOLD W. REITZE, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 PAUL RICE, American University, Washington College of Law
 THOMAS SARGENTICH, American University, Washington College of Law
 ROGER E. SCHECHTER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 LEWIS G. SCHILLER, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 PHIL SCHRAG, Georgetown University Law Center
 TERESA M. SCHWARTZ, Associate Dean, George Washington University
 National Law Center
 ANN SHALLECK, American University, Washington College of Law
 ERIC S. SIRULNIK, George Washington University National
 Law Center
 ROBERT STRUMBERG, Georgetown University Law Center
 RICHARD P. THORNELL, Howard University School of Law
 JONATHAN TURLEY, George Washington University National Law Center
 HEATHCOTE W. WALES, Georgetown University Law Center
 BURT WECHSLER, American University, Washington College of Law
 RICK WILSON, American University, Washington College of Law
 LUIZE M. ZUBROW, George Washington University National Law Center
 DURWOOD ZAELE, American University, Washington College of Law

FLORIDA

DONNA R. CHRISTIE, Florida State University College of Law
 BARRY CURRIER, University of Florida College of Law
 ALYSON FLOURNOY, University of Florida College of Law
 LAWRENCE C. GEORGE, Florida State University College of Law
 RICHARD HAMANN, University of Florida College of Law

FLORIDA (CONT.)

JEFFREY HARRISON, University of Florida College of Law
ROBERT H. KENNEDY, Florida State University College of Law
JOHN W. LARSON, Florida State University College of Law
JOE LITTLE, University of Florida College of Law
MACK PLAYER, Florida State University College of Law
SHARON RUSH, University of Florida College of Law
MARY TWITCHELL, University of Florida College of Law
JACK VAN DOREN, Florida State University College of Law

GEORGIA

HILNER BALL, University of Georgia School of Law
DORINDA DALLMEYER, University of Georgia School of Law
LAURIE FOWLER, University of Georgia School of Law
THOMAS SCHOENBAUM, University of Georgia School of Law
JAMES C. SMITH, University of Georgia School of Law

HAWAII

JOHN BARKAI, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
ADDISON BOWMAN, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
DAVID CALLIES, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
JAY DRATLER, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
DAVID FELLER, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
CASEY JARMAN, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
AMY KASTELY, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
SABRINA MCKENNA, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
RICHARD MILLER, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
JOHN PICKRON, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
JON VAN DYKE, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
JUDY WEIGHTMAN, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law
ERIC YAMAMOTO, University of Hawaii at Manoa School of Law

IDAHO

KEN GALLANT, University of Idaho College of Law
DALE D. GOBLE, University of Idaho College of Law
JOANN HENDERSON, University of Idaho College of Law
MONIQUE LILLARD, University of Idaho College of Law

ILLINOIS

GARY BALLESTEROS, Northwestern University School of Law
ANITA BERNSTEIN, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
FRED BOSSELMAN, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
MARK CORDES, Northern Illinois University College of Law
JACOB CORRE, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law

ILLINOIS (CONT.)

STUART DEUTSCH, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
DAVID GERBER, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
ROBERT GRAHAM, Northwestern University School of Law
FRED HARRIS, University of Illinois College of Law
STEVEN HEYMAN, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
RICHARD MATASAR, Dean, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago
- Kent College of Law
SHELDON NAHMOD, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
GABRIELLE SIEGEL, Northwestern University School of Law
JOAN STEINMAN, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
MARGARET STEWART, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago -
Kent College of Law
A. DAN TARLOCK, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law
RICHARD WRIGHT, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago - Kent
College of Law

INDIANA

PAUL BRIETZKE, Valparaiso University School of Law
EDWARD McGLYNN GAFFNEY, Dean, Valparaiso University School of Law
JACK HILLER, Valparaiso University School of Law

IOWA

JAMES A. ADAMS, Drake University Law School
JERRY L. ANDERSON, Drake University Law School
ANDREA CHARLOW, Drake University Law School
NEIL D. HAMILTON, Drake University Law School
ROBERT P. HUNTER, Drake University Law School
STANLEY INGBER, Drake University Law School
RUSSELL E. LOVELL II, Drake University Law School
DONALD J. POLDEN, Drake University Law School
MAURA STRASSBERG, Drake University Law School

KANSAS

ROBERT CASAD, University of Kansas School of Law
GEORGE CAMERON COGGINS, University of Kansas School of Law
KIM DAYTON, University of Kansas School of Law
ROBERT GLICKSMAN, University of Kansas School of Law

KENTUCKY

JOHN R. BATT, University of Kentucky College of Law
 CAROLYN S. BRATT, University of Kentucky College of Law
 ALVIN L. GOLDMAN, University of Kentucky College of Law
 LOUIS E. GRAHAM, University of Kentucky College of Law
 ROBERT G. LAWSON, University of Kentucky College of Law
 DAVID T. MILLER, University of Kentucky College of Law
 PAUL OBERST, University of Kentucky College of Law
 DAVID C. SHORT, University of Kentucky College of Law
 FREDERICK W. WHITESIDE, JR., University of Kentucky
 College of Law

LOUISIANA

ROBERT CLAYTON, Tulane Law School
 OLIVER HOUCK, Tulane Law School
 JANE JOHNSON, Tulane Law School
 JOHN KRAMER, Dean, Tulane Law School
 ROBERT KUEHN, Tulane Law School
 JOHN STICK, Tulane Law School
 KEITH WERHAN, Tulane Law School

MAINE

ORLANDO DELOGU, University of Maine School of Law
 ALISON RIESER, University of Maine School of Law

MARYLAND

W. SCOTT BURNS, University of Maryland School of Law
 ROBERT J. CONDLIN, University of Maryland School of Law
 THERESA GLENNON, University of Maryland School of Law
 EVERETT F. GOLDBERG, University of Maryland School of Law
 ROBERT V. PERCIVAL, University of Maryland School of Law

MASSACHUSETTS

BROOK K. BAKER, Northeastern University School of Law
 CHARLES BARON, Boston College Law School
 DONALD H. BERMAN, Northeastern University School of Law
 NATHANIEL BERMAN, Northeastern University School of Law
 LEE P. BRECKENRIDGE, Northeastern University School of Law
 JUDITH OLANS BROWN, Northeastern University School of Law
 THOMAS P. CAMPBELL, Northeastern University School of Law
 EDWARD O. CORREIA, Northeastern University School of Law
 RICHARD A. DAYNARD, Northeastern University School of Law
 PETER ENRICH, Northeastern University School of Law
 CHARLES L. FIELD, Northeastern University School of Law
 DANIEL GIVELBER, Dean, Northeastern University School of Law
 PHYLLIS GOLDFARB, Boston College Law School

MASSACHUSETTS (CONT.)

JAMES HACKNEY, Northeastern University School of Law
DEAN HASHIMOTO, Boston College Law School
KIMBERLY HAWKINS, Northeastern University School of Law
KARL E. KLARE, Northeastern University School of Law
RENEE M. LANDERS, Boston College Law School
HOPE LEWIS, Northeastern University School of Law
JEAN E. McEWEN, Boston College Law School
MARY E. O'CONNELL, Northeastern University School of Law
ZYGMUNT J. B. PLATER, Boston College Law School
DEBORAH A. RAMIREZ, Northeastern University School of Law
SUSAN K. SCOTT, Associate Dean, Northeastern University
School of Law
STEPHEN N. SUBRIN, Northeastern University School of Law
PAUL R. TREMBLAY, Boston College Law School
RAJINDER S. WALIA, Northeastern University School of Law
LUCY WILLIAMS, Northeastern University School of Law
MARGARET Y. K. WOO, Northeastern University School of Law

MICHIGAN

BO ABRAMS, Wayne State University Law School
DONALD DUQUETTE, University of Michigan Law School
JULIE KUNCE FIELD, University of Michigan Law School
SUSAN HEDMAN, University of Michigan Law School
MARK MITSHKUN, University of Michigan Law School
MARK VAN PUTTEN, University of Michigan Law School
JOSEPH VINING, University of Michigan Law School
MARY F. WHITE, University of Michigan Law School

MINNESOTA

STEPHEN BEFORT, University of Minnesota Law School
CAROL CHOMSKY, University of Minnesota Law School
LAURA COOPER, University of Minnesota Law School
DANIEL FARBER, University of Minnesota Law School
MIKE TONRY, University of Minnesota Law School

MISSISSIPPI

RICHARD BARNES, University of Mississippi School of Law
DEBORAH BELL, University of Mississippi School of Law
RONALD RYCHLAK, University of Mississippi School of Law

MISSOURI

M. SUSAN CARLSON, Washington University School of Law
D. BRUCE LA PIERRE, Washington University School of Law
STEPHEN H. LEGOMSKY, Washington University School of Law

MISSOURI (CONT.)

RONALD M. LEVIN, Associate Dean, Washington University
School of Law
DANIEL R. MANDELKER, Washington University School of Law
CHARLES R. McMANIS, Washington University School of Law
JOHN W. RAGSDALE, JR., University of Missouri - Kansas City
School of Law
KAREN L. TOKARZ, Washington University School of Law

MONTANA

MARGERY H. BROWN, University of Montana School of Law
BARI R. BURKE, University of Montana School of Law
BRENDA C. DESMOND, University of Montana School of Law
CARL TOBIAS, University of Montana School of Law
JACK TUHOLSKE, University of Montana School of Law

NEBRASKA

ROBERT C. DENICOLA, University of Nebraska College of Law
RICHARD HARNSBERGER, University of Nebraska College of Law
EMILY FOWLER HARTIGAN, University of Nebraska College of Law
PETER T. HOFFMAN, University of Nebraska College of Law
CRAIG M. LAWSON, University of Nebraska College of Law
ROBERT L. McGEORGE, University of Nebraska College of Law
KEVIN RUSER, University of Nebraska College of Law
ROBERT F. SCHOPP, University of Nebraska College of Law
JOHN ROCKWELL SNOWDEN, University of Nebraska College of Law
STEVEN L. WILLBORN, University of Nebraska College of Law

NEW HAMPSHIRE

RUTH CHEVION, Franklin Pierce Law Center
JAMES DUGGAN, Franklin Pierce Law Center
THOMAS FIELD, JR., Franklin Pierce Law Center
BRUCE FRIEDMAN, Franklin Pierce Law Center
RICHARD HESSE, Franklin Pierce Law Center
LINDA HUPP, Franklin Pierce Law Center
ELLEN MUSINSKY, Franklin Pierce Law Center
SARAH REDFIELD, Franklin Pierce Law Center
ARPY SAUNDERS, Franklin Pierce Law Center

NEW JERSEY

RONALD CHEN, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
CHRISTOPHER CLANCY, Seton Hall University School of Law
GARY FRANCIONE, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
CAROL GOFORTH, Seton Hall University School of Law
SCOTT GOULD, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
EUGENE GRESSMAN, Seton Hall University School of Law

NEW JERSEY (CONT.)

ALAN HYDE, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
 JONATHAN HYMAN, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
 DENIS McLAUGHLIN, Seton Hall University School of Law
 MARC POIRIER, Seton Hall University School of Law
 ANNAMAY SHEPPARD, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
 NADINE TAUB, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
 PAUL TRACHTENBERG, Rutgers University (Newark) School of Law
 MICHAEL ZIMMER, Associate Dean, Seton Hall U. School of Law

NEW MEXICO

CHARLES DUMARS, University of New Mexico School of Law

NEW YORK

MARK BARENBERG, Columbia University School of Law
 CURTIS J. BERGER, Columbia University School of Law
 TERRY BLACK, Pace University School of Law
 STEPHEN J. ELLMANN, Columbia University School of Law
 CYNTHIA R. FARINA, Cornell Law School
 MARTHA L. FINEMAN, Columbia University School of Law
 RICHARD D. GEIGER, Assistant Dean, Cornell Law School
 WALTER GELLHORN, Columbia University School of Law
 FRANK P. GRAD, Columbia University School of Law
 JANE L. HAMMOND, Cornell Law School
 ALFRED HILL, Columbia University School of Law
 ROBERT A. HILLMAN, Cornell Law School
 BARBARA J. HOLDEN-SMITH, Cornell Law School
 JOHN HUMBACH, Pace University School of Law
 SHERI LYNN JOHNSON, Cornell Law School
 JOHN KASDAN, Columbia University School of Law
 ROBERT B. KENT, Cornell Law School
 JOHN M. KERNOCHAN, Columbia University School of Law
 JAMES S. LIEBMAN, Columbia University School of Law
 ANNE LUKINGBEAL, Associate Dean, Cornell Law School
 DAVID LYONS, Cornell Law School
 PETER W. MARTIN, Cornell Law School
 JOANNE MINER, Cornell Law School
 DALE A. OESTERLE, Cornell Law School
 RICHARD OTTINGER, Pace University School of Law
 KELLIS E. PARKER, Columbia University School of Law
 NICOLAS A. ROBINSON, Pace University School of Law
 BARBARA SCHATZ, Columbia University School of Law
 JOHN A. SILICIANO, Cornell Law School
 WILLIAM SLYE, Pace University School of Law
 GRAHAM B. STRONG, Cornell Law School
 H. RICHARD UVILLER, Columbia University School of Law
 DAVID C. WILLIAMS, Cornell Law School
 SUSAN HOFFMAN WILLIAMS, Cornell Law School
 DAVID R. WOOLEY, Pace University School of Law

NORTH CAROLINA

DON HORNSTEIN, University of North Carolina School of Law
 JOSEPH J. KALO, University of North Carolina School of Law
 CHRISTOPHER SCHROEDER, Duke University School of Law

NORTH DAKOTA

MICHAEL J. AHLEN, University of North Dakota School of Law
 ALEXANDER J. BOTT, University of North Dakota School of Law
 W. JEREMY DAVIS, Dean, University of North Dakota School of Law
 PATRICIA BRUMFIELD FRY, University of North Dakota School of Law
 CHRISTOPHER R. KELLEY, University of North Dakota School of Law
 RANDY H. LEE, University of North Dakota School of Law
 BARRY F. SHANKS, University of North Dakota School of Law
 LARRY R. SPAIN, University of North Dakota School of Law
 CANDACE M. ZIERDT, University of North Dakota School of Law

OHIO

FRANCIS X. BEYTAGH, Dean, Ohio State University College of Law
 MICHAEL BRAUNSTEIN, Ohio State University College of Law
 SANFORD CAUST-ELLENBOGEN, Ohio State University College of Law
 EDWARD B. FOLEY, Ohio State University College of Law
 DAVID GOLDBERGER, Ohio State University College of Law
 ARTHUR F. GREENBAUM, Ohio State University College of Law
 SHELDON W. HALPERN, Ohio State University College of Law
 LAWRENCE HERMAN, Ohio State University College of Law
 TIMOTHY S. JOST, Ohio State University College of Law
 P. JOHN KOZYRIS, Ohio State University College of Law
 CRAIG A. MCEWEN, Ohio State University College of Law
 EARL FINBAR MURPHY, Ohio State University College of Law
 JOANNE WHARTON MURPHY, Assistant Dean, Ohio State University
 College of Law
 KATHY S. NORTHERN, Ohio State University College of Law
 JOHN B. QUIGLEY, Ohio State University College of Law
 NANCY B. RAPOPORT, Ohio State University College of Law
 RHONDA R. RIVERA, Ohio State University College of Law
 NANCY H. ROGERS, Ohio State University College of Law
 ALLAN J. SAMANSKY, Ohio State University College of Law
 PHILIP C. SORENSEN, Ohio State University College of Law
 GREGORY TRAVALIO, Assoc. Dean, Ohio State University
 College of Law
 DOUGLAS WHALEY, Ohio State University College of Law
 CHARLES E. WILSON, Ohio State University College of Law

OKLAHOMA

FREDERICK LEWIS, Oklahoma City University School of Law

OREGON

PAULA ABRAMS, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
DAVID E. ATKIN, University of Oregon Law Center
MICHAEL AXLINE, University of Oregon Law Center
STEVEN W. BENDER, University of Oregon Law Center
JOHN BOGDANSKI, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
JOHN E. BONINE, University of Oregon Law Center
CHAPIN D. CLARK, University of Oregon Law Center
WILLIAM FUNK, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
IBRAHIM GASSAMA, University of Oregon Law Center
LESLIE J. HARRIS, University of Oregon Law Center
RICHARD HILDRETH, University of Oregon Law Center
JAMES HOFFMAN, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
GREGORY A. JOHNSON, University of Oregon Law Center
CRAIG JOHNSTON, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
STEVEN KANTER, Dean, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
JAMES M. O'FALLON, University of Oregon Law Center
GEORGE M. PLATT, University of Oregon Law Center
MARTHA L. RICE, University of Oregon Law Center
KRIS OLSON ROGERS, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis
and Clark College
DAN ROHLF, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis and Clark College
DAVID SCHUMAN, University of Oregon Law Center
DOMINIC L. VETRI, University of Oregon Law Center
PAUL WILSON, Northwestern School of Law of Lewis and Clark
College

PENNSYLVANIA

EDWIN BAKER, University of Pennsylvania Law School
RAYMOND GALLAGHER, Widener University School of Law, Harrisburg
CHARLIE GEYH, Widener University School of Law, Harrisburg
MICHAEL GOLDBERG, Widener University School of Law, Harrisburg
BRUCE H. MANN, University of Pennsylvania Law School
JAMES MAY, Widener University School of Law, Harrisburg
DAVID RUDOVSKY, University of Pennsylvania Law School
ANDREW STRAUSS, Widener University School of Law, Harrisburg

SOUTH CAROLINA

GREGORY B. ADAMS, University of South Carolina School of Law
LEWIS W. BURKE, JR., University of South Carolina School of Law
KATHARINE BUTLER, University of South Carolina School of Law
RANDALL M. CHASTAIN, University of South Carolina School of Law
VANCE L. COWDEN, University of South Carolina School of Law
ROBERT FELIX, University of South Carolina School of Law
JAMES F. FLANAGAN, University of South Carolina School of Law

SOUTH CAROLINA (CONT.)

PATRICK J. FLYNN, University of South Carolina School of Law
 JOHN P. FREEMAN, University of South Carolina School of Law
 F. PATRICK HUBBARD, University of South Carolina School of Law
 BRUCE S. JOHNSON, University of South Carolina School of Law
 HERBERT A. JOHNSON, University of South Carolina School of Law
 DAVID K. LINNAN, University of South Carolina School of Law
 HENRY MATHER, University of South Carolina School of Law
 WILLIAM S. McANINCH, University of South Carolina School of Law
 MARTIN C. McWILLIAMS, JR., U. of South Carolina School of Law
 JOHN MONTGOMERY, Dean, University of South Carolina School of Law
 LIBBA PATTERSON, University of South Carolina School of Law
 WALTER A. REISER, JR., University of South Carolina School of Law
 ELDON D. WEDLOCK, University of South Carolina School of Law

SOUTH DAKOTA

JOHN H. DAVIDSON, University of South Dakota School of Law

TENNESSEE

FRANCES ANSLEY, University of Tennessee College of Law
 ANDREW GODDARD, Vanderbilt University School of Law
 GLENN REYNOLDS, University of Tennessee College of Law
 BARBARA STARK, University of Tennessee College of Law
 GREG STEIN, University of Tennessee College of Law
 JIM THOMPSON, University of Tennessee College of Law

TEXAS

MICHAEL CHURGIN, University of Texas School of Law
 SANFORD E. GAINES, University of Houston Law Center
 THOMAS O. MCGARITY, University of Texas School of Law
 ROY M. MERSKY, University of Texas School of Law
 L.A. (SCOT) POWE, JR., University of Texas School of Law
 KARL RABAGO, University of Houston Law Center

UTAH

DAVID DOMINGUEZ, Brigham Young U., J. Reuben Clark Law School
 FREDERICK M. GEDICKS, Brigham Young U., J. Reuben Clark
 Law School
 JAMES D. GORDON III, Brigham Young U., J. Reuben Clark Law School
 CONSTANCE K. LUNDBERG, Associate Dean, Brigham Young U.,
 J. Reuben Clark Law School
 KEVIN J. WORTHEN, Brigham Young U., J. Reuben Clark Law School



WISCONSIN

ARLEN CHRISTENSON, University of Wisconsin Law School
JAMES E. JONES, JR., University of Wisconsin Law School
MARYGOLD S. MELLI, University of Wisconsin Law School
GERALD J. THAIN, University of Wisconsin Law School
JOSEPH R. THOME, University of Wisconsin Law School
CLIFF F. THOMPSON, University of Wisconsin Law School
WILLIAM C. WHITFORD, University of Wisconsin Law School

WYOMING

JOAN BINDER, University of Wyoming College of Law
MARY FRANCES BLACKSTONE, University of Wyoming College of Law
JOHN BURMAN, University of Wyoming College of Law
ROB FISCHMAN, University of Wyoming College of Law
ROBERT B. KEITER, University of Wyoming College of Law
DEBRA MADSEN, Assistant Dean, U. of Wyoming College of Law
GEORGE RUDOLPH, University of Wyoming College of Law
MARK SQUILLACE, University of Wyoming College of Law
JACK VAN BAALEN, University of Wyoming College of Law

**ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSING RE-ENACTMENT OF
RESTRICTIONS ON JUDICIAL REVIEW**

Alliance for Justice	Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
American Civil Liberties Union	National Audubon Society
American Fisheries Society	National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund
American Rivers	National Parks and Conservation Association
Center for Auto Safety	National Wildlife Federation
Center for Law and Social Policy	National Women's Law Center
Center for Science in the Public Interest	Native American Rights Fund
Chesapeake Bay Foundation	Natural Resources Defense Council
Conservation Law Foundation	New York Lawyers for the Public Interest
Consumer Federation of America	Oregon Trial Lawyers Association
Consumers Union	People for the American Way
Defenders of Wildlife	Public Advocates
Environmental Action	Public Citizen's Congress Watch
Environmental Defense Fund	Public Voice
Equal Rights Advocates	Rainbow Lobby
Friends of the Earth	Sierra Club
Government Accountability Project	Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund
Gray Panthers	Southern Environmental Law Center
Greenpeace, U.S.A.	The Wilderness Society
Institute for Public Representation	Union of Concerned Scientists
Juvenile Law Center	Women's Legal Defense Fund
Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law	
League of Women Voters of the U. S.	
Mental Health Law Project	

**ATTORNEYS GENERAL OPPOSING RE-ENACTMENT
OF RESTRICTIONS ON JUDICIAL REVIEW (1991-92)**

ALABAMA: James H. Evans	NEW HAMPSHIRE: John P. Arnold
ARIZONA: Grant Woods	NEW JERSEY: Robert J. Del Tufo
ARKANSAS: Winston Bryant	NEW MEXICO: Tom Udall
CONNECTICUT: Richard Blumenthal	NEW YORK: Robert Abrams
FLORIDA: Robert A. Butterworth	NORTH DAKOTA: Nicholas J. Spaeth
IOWA: Bonnie J. Campbell	OHIO: Lee Fisher
MAINE: Michael E. Carpenter	RHODE ISLAND: James E. O'Neil
MASSACHUSETTS: Scott Harshbarger	SOUTH CAROLINA: T. Travis Medlock
MICHIGAN: Frank J. Kelley	TENNESSEE: Charles W. Burson
MINNESOTA: Hubert H. Humphrey III	TEXAS: Dan Morales
MISSISSIPPI: Mike Moore	UTAH: Paul Van Dam
NEVADA: Frankie Sue Del Papa	WISCONSIN: James E. Doyle

Fish

- The nine main salmon species native to the Pacific Northwest support commercial and recreational fishing industries that produce more than \$1 billion in personal income per year and have a 60,000 job impact in the region.
- In 1988, the commercial salmon industry contributed roughly \$320 million to the Pacific states' economies and generated approximately 15,250 jobs.
- Recreational fishing in the Pacific Northwest region is responsible for about \$931 million in annual personal income and generates 47,500 jobs.
- Since 1900, loss of fish habitat has contributed to the extinction of 73 % of the 40 native North American fishes known to be extinct. The American Fisheries Society (AFS) lists 106 populations of west coast salmon and steelhead as extinct and identifies 214 native, naturally-spawning stocks of anadromous (sea going) fish species as threatened in Oregon, California, Idaho, and Washington. In the Northwest, 175 of these wild fish stocks are at risk from the effects of logging and road building.
- 65 % of fish species native to California are extinct, endangered, or in need of special protection to prevent them from becoming endangered.
- Forestry, grazing, agriculture, urbanization, and other land and water management practices can damage and destroy fish habitats. The Northwest's fisheries are declining because of the damage to fish habitats.
- Successful fish spawning requires certain stream conditions including cool, well-oxygenated, and fresh water and food. In areas without logging, standing trees provide essential shade. Then, trees die naturally and fall into the streams; these downed logs are essential for healthy fish habitats because they modify stream flow and create a variety of in-stream pools and side channels fish use for shelter, rest, and protection.
- In addition to destroying the benefits of downed logs, logging and road building increase the amount of fine sediment in streams by 10 to 1000 times. The increased sedimentation adversely affects the viability of salmon eggs as well as the fish's ability to feed: salmon are visual feeders, and they can't see their food in water with high levels of suspended sediments.
- Logging frequently removes trees that line the sides of stream. These stream side trees are supposed to provide shade—vital for keeping water temperatures down, particularly during summer months when water levels are low. In southwest Oregon and northwest California, stream temperatures can reach and exceed lethal degrees without adequate shading.

- In April 1992, the Pacific Fishery Management Council voted to cut by approximately half the number of salmon that can be fished off California, Oregon, and Washington during the 1992 season.
- In an October 1991 report to the U.S. House of Representatives (Agriculture and Merchant Marine Committees), the Scientific Panel on Late-Successional Forest Ecosystems said that *under existing forest plans, the prospects for fish survival is "very low" to "low."* The Scientific Panel recommended protection for 137 watersheds* in the Coast, Siskiyou, Cascade and Olympic ranges.
- The "Watershed Option," developed by the Scientific Panel on Late-Successional Forest Ecosystems in the report listed above, is a set of recommendations to Congress. It suggests logging and roadbuilding restrictions that would protect 90 fish stocks identified as at risk of extinction within the range of the spotted owl. It was developed specifically to maintain and restore (1) ecological functions and processes in streams and (2) habitat of potential threatened and endangered fish species and stocks of anadromous salmonids.
- There is considerable overlap between high-quality spotted owl habitat proposed for protection under the Forest Service Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) and the "Key Watersheds" proposed for protection by the Scientific Panel on Late Successional Forest Ecosystems. There also is overlap between existing protected areas—National Parks, for example—and the Key Watersheds. This overlap is to be expected, since prime old growth and late successional forests provide good habitat for a wide range of creatures including fish and owls. Although measures needed to protect owls are not identical to those needed to protect fish, the logging and road building restrictions within proposed owl areas would extend much of the needed protection to fish habitats.

*A watershed is a portion of the forest in which all surface water drains to a common point. Watersheds can range from a few tens of acres that drain a small intermittent stream to many thousands of acres for a stream that drains hundreds of connected intermittent and perennial streams.

III. Key Issues

America's Forest Service: A Record of Lawbreaking and Timber Industry Favoritism

- The federal government continually has put the interests of big timber companies ahead of protecting wildlife and other forest values.
- The Fish and Wildlife Service broke the law by not listing the spotted owl under the Endangered Species Act (the agency subsequently relented); The Bureau of Land Management violated the National Environmental Policy Act by not preparing an adequate environmental impact statement on logging's effect on the owl; The Forest Service violated the National Forest Management Act by not protecting the owl.
- Most of the publicly owned ancient forests are managed by the U.S. Forest Service, which has pursued a policy of aggressive clearcutting.
- For the past 20 years, the Forest Service has spent 35 % of its budget on the timber program and only 2 % on recreation, fish and wildlife, and soil management.
- Nationwide, the national forests contain more than 340,000 miles of operable roads that are used for timber operations. These 340,000 miles of road are 8 times longer than the entire interstate highway system—and enough road to go around the world more than 8 times.
- For every mile of road built in unfragmented old growth, approximately 97 acres of old growth forests are altered by the effects of the construction.
- Major logging roads cost \$45,000 per mile on average—paid by the American taxpayer.
- American taxpayers foot the bill for marketing and preparing timber lands because the Forest Service doesn't pass these costs on to the timber industry. Over the next ten years, American taxpayers will have to cover \$2 billion of losses on timber sales.
- Replanting isn't always successful. The Forest Service acknowledges that in order to meet replanting goals, they must replant up to twice as many trees as they want to have standing five years later.

The Forest Service then uses survival rates based on the target number rather than the actual number of trees planted; if, for example, 300 trees survive in an area with a 300-tree goal, the Forest Service reports a 100 % survival rate even if 600 trees were planted to achieve this objective.

According to Forest Service reports, survival rates for trees planted in EPA Region 6 (Oregon and Washington) range from 61 % to 83 % (FY 1991).

- LeRoy Lee, a former Forest Service employee, has stated that the Forest Service counted 30,000 acres of trees that had been clearcut as still standing. Also, in one

ranger district, nearly three-fourths of the barren, clearcut lands were still counted as mature stands of timber.

- Al Isaacson, a 23-year veteran Forest Service hydrologist, resigned his post rather than accept a transfer after he complained that excessive logging was damaging water quality on Idaho's Panhandle National Forest. Isaacson testified, "we're getting 200-year floods three or four times a year that are directly proportional to clearcuts in the area."
- John McCormick, former head of the Forest Service's whistle-blower program testified before Congress saying that the Forest Service does little to prevent timber theft and overlooks illegal timber harvesting techniques.
- Montana Regional Forester John Mumma resigned because he refused to log the illegal and unsustainable volumes directed by his superiors.
- In 1990, Forest Supervisors across the country warned the Forest Service was "out of control." They complained that the agency's emphasis on timber "does not reflect... land stewardship values" and does not meet the "expectations of our public and our employees." Since that announcement, a continuous stream of whistle-blowers has described widespread corruption including falsified data, silenced dissent, timber theft, and illegal logging.
- Only the courts have been able to stop the administration from continuing to decimate our nation's forests. In his opinion halting the sale of timber on 66,000 acres of spotted owl habitat, U.S. District Judge William Dwyer said that he saw a "remarkable series of violations of environmental laws...a deliberate and systematic refusal by the Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service to comply with the laws protecting wildlife." Dwyer continued, "This is not the doing of the scientists, foresters, rangers, and others at the working level of these agencies. It reflects decisions made by higher authorities in the executive branch of government."
- In May 1990, Forest Service biologist Jack Ward Thomas and a panel of government scientists concluded that existing forest practices were a "prescription for extinction" of the owl.
- The new Forest Service plan ignores new science showing that declines in owl population are 7 to 10 times greater than previously indicated.

Can't See the Forest for the Sleaze

By John McCormick

The Forest Service simply does not tolerate freedom of dissent; "whistle-blower" is a four-letter word. The agency has become comfortable with lying to the public, ignoring long-festering problems and serving the timber industry as Government agents of environmental destruction rather than environmental protection.

I do not come to these conclusions lightly. I have dedicated my entire professional life to public service and am an outdoorsman in my personal time who deeply loves our environment, including the national forests. After 30 years of hard work and sometimes risking my life to defend

John McCormick headed the Forest Service's whistle-blower program from 1989 until his retirement this month. This article is based on his prepared testimony today before the House Civil Service Subcommittee.

Whistle-blowers are an endangered species.

the law, I know when public service has been replaced by a sellout. That is the case at the Forest Service.

I joined the agency in 1976, and led investigations for successful prosecutions of negligence fires by logging companies, the Government's first timber theft case and its then-largest successful timber theft prosecution.

In 1984, however, my career began to sour while I was the regional special agent in Alaska. After uncovering instances of timber theft, improper road construction in the national forests, conflict of interest and personal corruption, I was ordered off key investigations and pressured into taking an assignment in Georgia.

After another reassignment, I was exiled to a nonexistent headquarters job. To illustrate the low priority

placed on whistle-blower charges, I was ordered to handle those allegations, although there was no training or even a job description for nine months.

At the whistle-blower desk, it became obvious that my own nightmare was the rule rather than the exception. The quantity of whistle-blower allegations has increased sevenfold since 1987. What follows are examples of standard whistle-blower concerns that continue to go unheeded: The Forest Service has done little to prevent timber theft. Loggers harvest trees that cannot lawfully be cut under environmental laws and then avoid paying the Government for the trees because there is no record of the harvests having occurred. On other occasions, logging companies themselves, some with Forest Service permission, apply the markings that specify which trees can be cut legally.

Illegal timber harvesting techniques, particularly the use of heavy machinery that leaves diesel oil spills and contaminates watersheds, are often overlooked. These areas are so sensitive that, horses used to haul timber must wear diapers to avoid fouling the streams.

Reports and data have been tampered with to permit illegal harvesting in habitats necessary for endangered species such as the spotted owl and bald eagle.

There is a tradition of pork barrel projects, such as a \$160 million contract for a road to nowhere in Alaska while I was stationed there.

Regional foresters have complete authority over whistle-blowing investigations, including those involving their own conduct. This has created an obvious conflict of interest.

Employees who do not cooperate with attempted cover-ups of agency misconduct are often punished. Employees are transferred across the country, sometimes by mid-level managers, with only two weeks notice after the decision has been made. Forest Service regulations allow only the agency chief to make such decisions and require 30 days notice before reassignment. Employees are also obstructed from doing their jobs: training is denied, instructions are changed, information is withheld.

Regional officials often settle cases involving illegal logging by demanding repayment. This makes criminal prosecutions effectively impossible and has caused the U.S. Attorney to drop cases. Further, in civil settlements, violators frequently are not required to repay the value of the timber, let alone the "triple stumpage" penalty. The crime remains profitable even when wrongdoers are caught.

Sexual corruption is illustrated by practices such as bringing prostitutes into a Forest Service district office and out into the forest in a "Love Van," financed by taxpayer dollars.

The most striking feature of these abuses is that they keep occurring. As long as the whistle-blower system at the Forest Service absorbs employee concerns rather than acting on them responsibly, the pattern of lawlessness will continue. □

New York Times
January 29, 1992

New York Times March 24, 1989

IN THE NATION

Tom Wicker

Forests Are Still Vanishing

The Eastern region of the United States once was covered with dense forests. Westward to about the 95th meridian, beyond the Mississippi River, mighty trees covered the land, save in what are now Illinois and Iowa.

Not until the mid-19th century did settlers moving west, "which they had for generations seen at sunset through traceries of the twigs and leafage of the primal forests," reach the Great Plains and stand "at last with the forests behind them."

That was the end of "Book One of our history," wrote Herbert Quick, an Iowa editor and novelist, in his autobiography. Even by then the great forests through which the pioneers had pushed with ax and rifle were pocked and spotted with farm clearings and primitive roads; as the nation developed into an agricultural-industrial colossus, the destruction of the Eastern forests rapidly proceeded.

Now there's little left of the vast tree cover that once stretched from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and beyond; and only on the Pacific Slope are ancient or "old-growth" forests in sizable tracts still to be found in this country. Even they may be gone within 20 or 30 years.

Thus has the United States done throughout its history what a righteous world denounces Brazil for doing today; no wonder Brazilian leaders point to the United States as their role model in deforestation. And even without Brazil's development needs, the U.S. continues to clear away its most valuable forests.

The United States Forest Service

The U.S. has
long done
what Brazil
is now being
criticized for.

regulates most of the nation's remaining old-growth timber, almost all of it in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, including the important temperate rain forests of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington. But that doesn't mean these forests are protected from cutting.

The Forest Service is charged not with preserving forests but with their utilization — timber productivity as well as recreation and the protection of wildlife habitat and ecosystems. So it regularly permits private lumber companies, as they deplete their own forests, to cut Forest Service timber.

Old-growth trees, 300 or more years old, make particularly valuable timber for their huge size and tight grain. Critics charge that the Forest Service does not sufficiently protect these irreplaceable trees or the remarkable ecosystems that surround them, and that it contends twice as much old-growth remains on its lands as is actually the case.

Wilderness Society officials believe, for example, that within two or three years no "ecologically significant" old-growth will remain in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest in Washington. West Coast conifer forests unique to the United States are being cut, too; sometimes mixed stands of spruce, hemlock and cedar are inadequately replaced with Douglas fir alone, making for a very different forest. In old-growth areas, of course, saplings planted today hardly replace trees that took hundreds of years to grow.

For the loggers to get at the trees, roads must be cut, increasing forest destruction and preventing affected areas from ever being declared protected "wilderness." In six Southern Appalachian national forests encompassing 3.5 million acres, the Forest Service plans to open more than two million acres to logging in the next decade, doubling the timber harvest. The plans call for more than 3,000 miles of new roads in the six areas.

An active Federal tree-planting program was established in the 1985 farm bill, but the need is enormous and growing with every slash of the saw. The Wilderness Society estimates that up to 3.1 million Forest Service acres need to be reforested. The American Forestry Association has identified 20 million open acres in the Southeast alone that should be planted to trees.

In cities, towns and suburbs, which the Forestry Association calls "heat islands," it urges the need by 1992 for 100 million more trees to be planted in yards around houses and businesses, and 60 million more along streets — not just for scenery but to achieve huge savings in energy use.

Deforestation anywhere — in Montana or Brazil — means soil erosion, fouled streams, increased vulnerability to flood and wind, vanished habitat, extinct species, a heritage discarded. The disappearance of trees, moreover, with their capacity for absorbing carbons from the atmosphere, is a major cause of global warming, with all its dangers. In these circumstances, the United States needs to plant more and cut less; until it does, the finger it points at others will not be clean. □

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

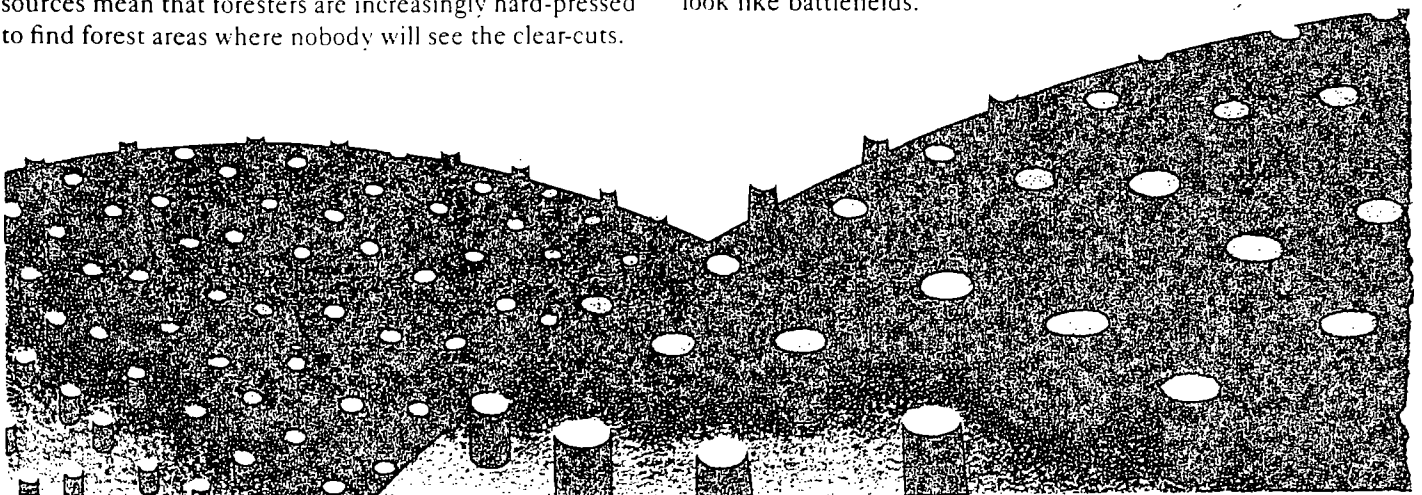
BY PERRI KNIZE

HERE 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.



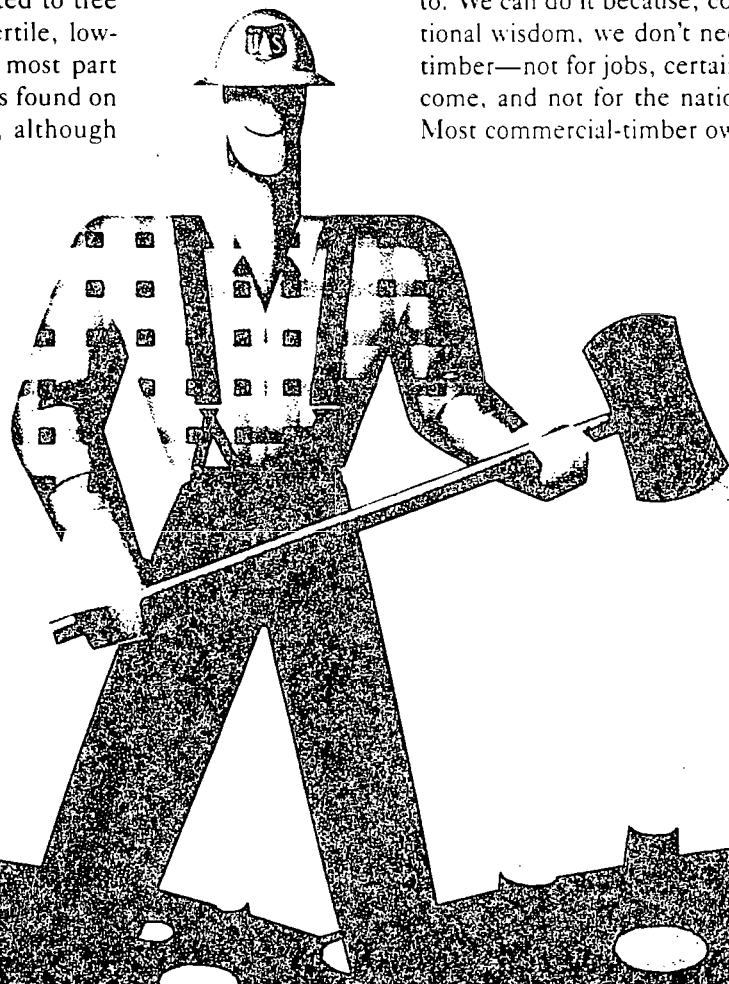
I was shocked: the Forest Service seemed more concerned about selling trees than about the vitality of the public's forests. Yet I met many dedicated Forest Service employees at all levels of the agency who were terribly unhappy about the emphasis on timber, and I felt compelled to learn as much as I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

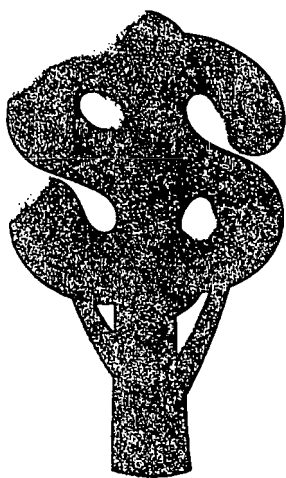
After all, the national forests supply only about 15 percent of the nation's wood, and Forest Service research shows that if that timber were removed from the market, half of the loss would be replaced by wood from private industrial tree farms and half by wood substitutes that are already on the market. 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.

OWMAN THE OREGONIAN
OFFICE BY TRIBUNE



Interior Secretary at Center of Storm Over Handling of Owl Controversy

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

If it were a fable, it could be entitled "The Owl and the Cabinet Secretary," and the moral might be that having friends in high places may turn out to be a mixed blessing for workers in the battered Pacific Northwest timber industry.

That, at least, is the lesson of past Bush administration attempts to loosen restrictions on logging imposed by the endangered-species battle over the northern spotted owl, and to broker a better "balance" between protecting the owl and protecting timber jobs.

Those efforts have only contributed to a prolonged policy impasse that has resulted in a string of court decisions finding the federal government in violation of several landmark environmental laws and placing millions of acres of federal land off-limits to new timber sales.

Now critics of Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. say he may be compounding earlier mistakes with his latest actions designed to provide relief to timber workers—actions that are likely to come under stern review at a hearing Tuesday before members of three House committees. Lujan, the critics say, is holding out false hopes with efforts that are only going to keep the issue bogged down in court and delay a final resolution.

"History may be repeating itself," four Democratic members of Congress from Oregon warned in response to Lujan's recent announcement that he is delaying release of a comprehensive recovery plan for the owl and convening a new task force to develop recovery alternatives.

Those alternatives presumably would entail fewer job losses than the 31,000 predicted by the official draft recovery plan that is required by the Endangered Species Act. But they also would undercut a basic tenet of the act by jettisoning the goal of rebuilding the owl population in favor of merely stabilizing it. In addition, they would require Congress to pass legislation exempting some timber sales on federal lands from long-standing environmental law.

The lawmakers predicted in a Feb. 19 letter to Lujan that the net result will be "more litigation, further injunctions, and continued chaos in federal forest management."

More delay and uncertainty would be intolerable, added Oregon Gov. Barbara Roberts (D). "We've got communities in my state that have been financially devastated and workers unemployed by the thousands," she said. "To play with people's lives . . . is just irresponsible."

The storm of criticism directed at Lujan centers on two ongoing developments in the long and tortured history of federal policy on the owl, which was declared a threatened species in 1990.

First is his management of a specially created Endangered Species Committee, dubbed the "God Squad," which is considering whether to grant a relatively narrow ex-

emption from the Endangered Species Act to the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management (BLM) so it can proceed with timber sales on 4,426 acres of BLM land in Oregon.

Second is Lujan's more recent decision to seek less economically burdensome alternatives to the owl recovery plan whose release has now been postponed until April. Lujan concedes that this new, far-reaching proposal would require a congressional exemption from such laws as the Endangered Species Act and the National Forest Management Act in order to open up more owl habitat to logging.

In the case of the BLM exemption request, to be decided in May by the seven-person "God Squad" chaired

by Lujan, senior Interior Department officials have sought to exclude from the proceedings arguments that question whether the basic legal requirements for convening the committee have been met. For example, the Interior Department prevented the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service from presenting its view that the BLM failed a key test of the exemption process by not consulting in good faith on the proposed timber sales and by failing to explore alternatives.

Late last month, that led to the resignation of the Fish and Wildlife Service's outside counsel in the "God Squad" deliberations because of his disagreement with the Interior Department's view that inclusion of the arguments would jeop-

ardize the government's position in a pending court case.

Those issues, should the "God Squad" grant BLM an exemption, virtually guarantee that the decision will be litigated in federal court, with timber cutting likely to be barred pending a decision.

In the second case, Lujan's call for recovery-plan alternatives that would "have significantly lower job and community impacts, while allowing survival of the owl," has been warmly received by industry representatives and Republican lawmakers from Oregon and Washington. They agree with the secretary that the government's goal should be, in Lujan's phrase, "preservation but not necessarily recov-

ery" of the owl—a position contrary to the Endangered Species Act.

"We have to look at other things than just the biology," Lujan said in an interview. "When the options [to be developed by the new recovery task force] are there and members of Congress have to choose one way or the other, either they will [accept] these options or say, 'Well, I'm satisfied with a loss of 31,000 jobs.'"

Pronouncing himself "thrilled," by Lujan's proposal, Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) said the initiative reflects his own long-standing desire "to consider jobs in whatever spotted owl recovery plan we come up with."

"I applaud anything anybody does to bring into play the social, human and economic equation," said Mike Draper, executive secretary of the

Western Council of Industrial Workers, a group that represents 30,000 workers in the timber industry.

But others have questioned whether Lujan's proposal will do anything but guarantee the continued management of forests by court injunction and create an even more polarized situation in Congress. It could, they say, reduce the chances of passing comprehensive old-growth forest legislation that would protect the owl, provide a stable timber supply and extend economic help to timber industry workers.

"Your decision to ignore the law's requirements seems calculated to once again raise hopes in timber dependent communities in the Pacific

See OWL, A9, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST

...R SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 1992 A9

Critics Say Lujan's Actions Contribute to Northwest Timber Sale Impasse

OWL From A8

Northwest without offering any prospect for improvement in the forest management deadlock," wrote the four Oregon Democrats—Reps. Peter A. DeFazio, Ron Wyden, Les AuCoin and Mike Kopetski—in their letter to Lujan.

The lengthy history of the owl issue is studded with instances in which agencies in the Agriculture and Interior departments have been ordered by courts to do more for the owl in order to comply with environmental law.

The courts, for example, have found that the Fish and Wildlife Service broke the law by not listing the owl under the Endangered Species

Act (the agency subsequently relented); that the BLM violated the National Environmental Policy Act by not preparing an adequate environmental impact statement on the effect of logging on the owl; and that the U.S. Forest Service violated the National Forest Management Act by not protecting the owl.

The net result is that the Forest Service and BLM are currently enjoined by federal courts from selling timber on millions of acres of federal land in Oregon, Washington and Northern California.

The events that led to the injunction against Forest Service timber sales in owl habitat illustrate the legal perils of trying to find legislative and administrative shortcuts to comply with environmental law.

That particular case began three years ago when the Seattle Audubon Society sued the Forest Service. U.S. District Judge William L. Dwyer in March 1989 issued a preliminary injunction temporarily halting Forest Service timber sales. Later that year, Congress stepped in with appropriations bill language that allowed the Forest Service to continue selling specific amounts of timber in the Northwest and directed the agency to develop a spotted owl management and conservation plan by Sept. 30, 1990.

The Forest Service did not follow that directive. Instead, Lujan and then-Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter created a group to develop a plan to "balance our responsibility in preserving the owl and forests while

protecting the economic lives of American men and women who live and work" in the Pacific Northwest.

Several months later, the plan emerged. It consisted of a three-page press release urging Congress to adopt legislation allowing for 3.5 billion board feet of timber to be cut in the Northwest and providing "insulation" from environmental laws. A week later, the Agriculture Department said it would manage timber sales in a manner that was "not inconsistent" with the earlier recommendations of an inter-agency scientific team.

That led directly to a frank denunciation of the executive branch by Judge Dwyer, who last spring accused the Forest Service and other agencies of a "remarkable series of

violations of the environmental laws." He barred the Forest Service from selling timber in Oregon, Washington and Northern California until the agency had developed new standards and guidelines for protecting the owl and a thorough environmental impact statement.

That history, say Lujan's critics, demonstrates the folly of administration efforts to sidestep the requirements of environmental laws.

"This latest Lujan maneuver is really breathtaking in its audacity," said AuCoin, who is challenging Packwood for the Senate next fall. "It's an administration whose agencies have broken the law, who have been told by the courts they are in violation of the law, who have harmed Oregonians because they

have broken the law and now want to continue to break the law."

Lujan's allies have rushed to his defense. "It seems to me it strikes a good balance," said Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest Resource Alliance.

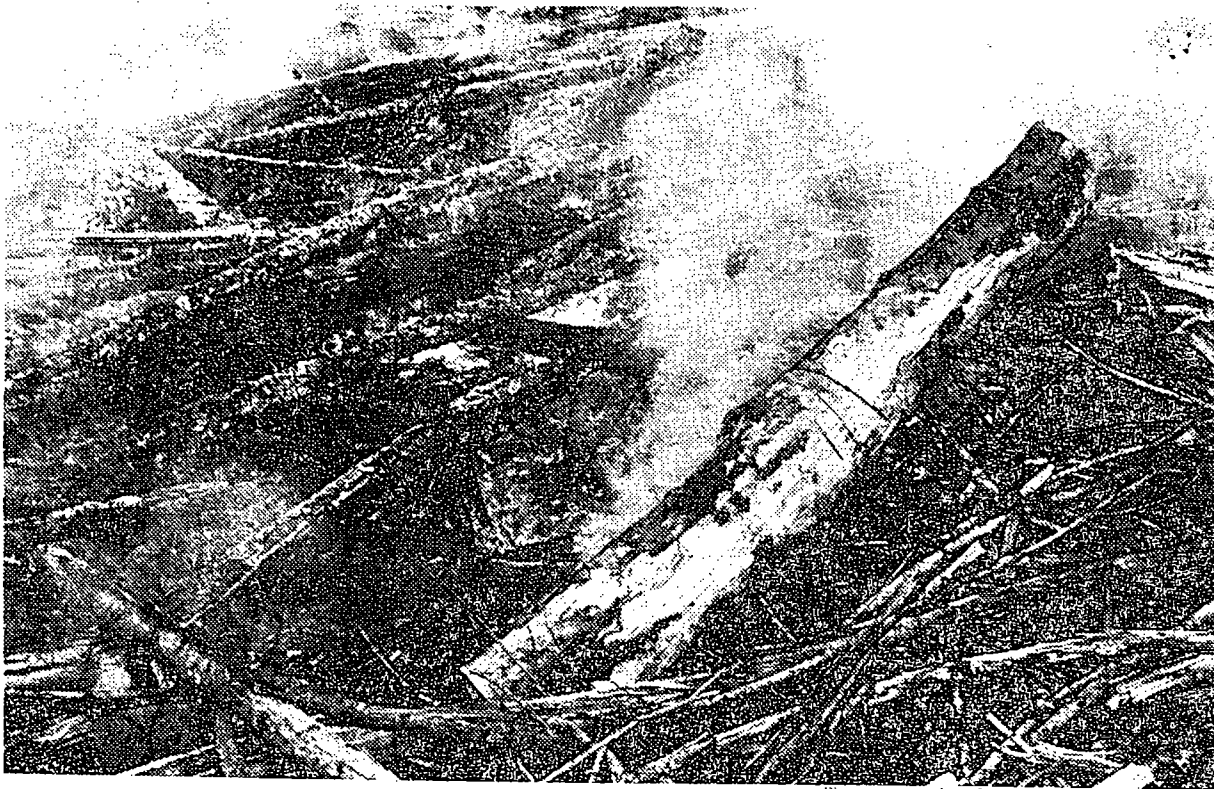
But the secretary's detractors say until Congress enacts comprehensive old-growth forest legislation, the only alternative is to abide by existing environmental law.

"As long as [Lujan] ignores his constitutionally sworn duty to uphold the laws of the land, he is not going to get any closer to a solution," said Kevin Kirchner, an attorney with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. "There is bound to be more litigation, and he is bound to be reprimanded by the courts again."

Taxol

- The tree products of the Pacific yew (*Taxus Brevifolia*) found primarily in old growth forests, is the principal source of taxol—one of the most promising new drugs for the treatment of ovarian, breast, and potentially other cancers.
- Taxol has been tested extensively by the National Cancer Institute, which had great success in using taxol to block cell division in several different types of cancer.
- Most promising to date is the response from late-stage ovarian cancer patients who had not responded to any other drug. 30-35 % of them responded favorably to taxol. Tests are also being conducted to see if taxol is an effective treatment for breast cancer.
- The US Forest Service's policies governing logging practices may be wasting 60 to 75 % of all yew trees in commercial timber harvest areas.
- Clearcutting douglas-fir, red cedar, and the forests' other large trees destroys many of the yews, which are smaller trees in the forest understory. Such logging practices make it virtually impossible to collect bark from yew trees. The likely result: lifesaving taxol is lost as yew bark is burned in slash piles.
- Oregon and Washington's national forests have an estimated 189,000 yew trees that have been sold but are not yet cut. These yew trees could produce enough taxol to treat 63,000 ovarian cancer patients—a five year supply.
- Nearly 40% of the world's medicines are derived from natural sources. The ancient forests provide a natural laboratory for a variety of potential cures.
- For the next 2-3 years, Pacific yew bark will be *the only* accessible source of taxol. New avenues, however, are expected to open soon. Scientists believe that a compound called baccatin (produced in the European picatta tree) can be converted to taxol in 3-4 stages. They predict that this process will yield an estimated ten times the amount of taxol currently found in yews. Scientists hope to switch to the picatta as soon as possible in order to protect the yews.
- According to the National Cancer Institute, taxol will be on the market within 5 years. The rights to produce it are owned by Bristol-Myers Squibb.

Trees for Cancer Drug Being Wasted



Photographs by John Giustina for The New York Times

Logging operations on public land typically consign the Pacific yew, and a medically valuable component of its bark, taxol, to trash piles for burning. A

yew log with some of its bark still intact, foreground, burned with other waste wood in a logged area of Umpqua National Forest in Oregon.

Continued From Page A1

Saul Schepartz, a director with the National Cancer Institute. "In years to come, the needs of taxol will far exceed the supply."

Another official at the institute, who would speak only on condition of anonymity, called the waste of yew bark "shameful" and "outrageous."

When asked about the yew still being burned or lost in logging, F. Dale Robertson, the chief of the Forest Service, said, "It's a crash program and we haven't quite worked out all the defects yet."

It takes up to 60 pounds of bark, or three very old yew trees, to provide enough taxol to treat a single cancer patient for about a year, so Government officials say they are now trying to minimize waste.

Although taxol is not yet available on the open market, about 1,000 cancer patients are receiving it on an experimental and emergency basis. By early next year, the Bristol-Myers Squibb Company expects to begin selling taxol for treatment of ovarian cancer. Although yew bark is the only approved source of taxol, numerous researchers are working to develop an artificial form of the drug.

Exclusive Rights to Bark

Yet even if the Forest Service were to curb waste of yews, the bark collection program itself is an invitation to waste and loss, critics in Congress and elsewhere say.

Last summer, the Government entered into a five-year agreement with Bristol-Myers, the nation's second largest pharmaceutical concern, giving the company nearly exclusive access to yew bark in the national forests. The intent was to encourage development of the drug and to get it to the market as fast as possible.

But critics says the contract encourages waste because there is no significant competition. In such an arrangement, the critics say, the tendency is to take only the bark that is most easily removed, to leave scraps on the ground and to strip some trees only partly.

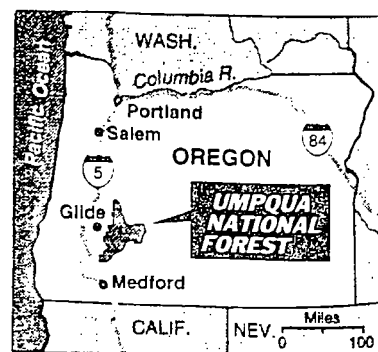
If more than one company were involved on an equal basis, the competitors would have incentive to salvage every ounce of the bark, the critics assert.

"This is the only case I know of where the Government has transferred control of an entire species over to a private company," said Representative Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, whose House subcommittee has held hearings on the subject. "You have the most important tree in the forest and the land agencies are running this thing by the seat of their pants."

Considered a Scrub Tree

Mr. Robertson of the Forest Service says the yew, which was long considered a scrub tree and was routinely bulldozed and burned, has been elevated to the most precious resource of the forest, and is now being treated as such. The slow-growing tree is found mainly in ancient forests on Federal land in Washington and Oregon. He said the agency has stepped up law enforcement against yew poachers, who became a problem several months ago after publicity about the value of the yew, and has ordered that no bark be burned in slash piles.

The American Cancer Society estimates that about 12,500 women will die



The New York Times

The Umpqua National Forest is a home to the valuable Pacific yew.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1992

Trees That Yield a Drug For Cancer Are Wasted

By TIMOTHY EGAN
Special to The New York Times

GLIDE, Ore. — Nearly a year after the Government recognized the Pacific yew as the most valuable tree in American forests because it yields a rare cancer-fighting drug, the precious bark is still being burned as scrap and discarded to rot on the forest floor in wasteful logging operations in the Northwest.

Here in the Umpqua National Forest last week, a crew of Forest Service workers set fire to a huge pile of downed trees, the garbage of a typical logging operation on Government land. But among the wood smoldering in the pile were several yew trees covered with sections of bark.

The bark can be processed to yield taxol, a drug considered so valuable in the treatment of ovarian cancer that the very lives of thousands of cancer patients hang on its development in private laboratories.

Bark Left in Piles

In the last year, the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, which both control land where yew trees are found, have received dozens of complaints from people who found similar cases of yews being wasted in the woods. Congressional investigators and several environmental groups have also documented instances of yew bark discarded on the ground in heaps known as slash piles.

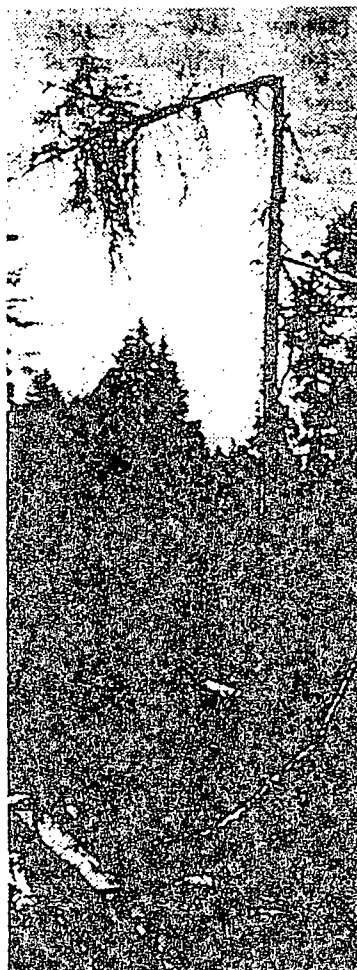
Most of the nation's yew bark is found in nine national forests in Washington and Oregon. Yet until a policy change three weeks ago, the logging in six of those forests was done without first removing the bark. In the traditional logging practice that was used in those forests, all trees were clear cut, a process in which 75 percent of the yew bark is lost, Forest Service documents say.

The Bureau of Land Management is also working toward a

policy of salvaging yew bark before clear-cutting in the much smaller amount of forest that it controls. Clinical development of taxol has been limited by a shortage of yew bark. Last year, more than 800,000 pounds of yew bark was collected, the most ever. That was enough to treat about 12,000 patients.

"The supply is finite," said Dr.

Continued on Page A12, Column 4



John Giustina for The New York Times

A damaged yew tree in a logged area near Eugene, Ore.



Paul Antos, who said he was appalled by the logging waste he finds daily, is building a home with lumber from discarded yew trees.

of ovarian cancer this year, and 45,000 will die of breast cancer. In trials, taxol has been found to be highly effective for treatment of both cancers, although the approval of the drug for breast cancer may be a few years away. The drug has also shown promise for treating lung cancer, which kills 143,000 Americans a year.

The Forest Service has never known exactly how many Pacific yews are left in the United States. Last year officials estimated there were 130 million trees. But Mr. Robertson, in an interview, said there were closer to 20 million. An inventory is now being done.

The Bureau of Land Management controls far fewer yew trees, but two months ago a survey by two environmental groups of logging practices in the agency's forests found that three in

every four yew trees were being lost.

"For every acre of forest cut in this wasteful manner, a cancer patient may go without taxol," said Bruce S. Mahheim, a scientist for the Environmental Defense Fund, which conducted, the study along with the Wilderness Society.

Trees Only Partly Stripped

Under the contract with Bristol-Myers, the bark is collected by crews of private workers, then sent to a laboratory for processing. In some cases, yew trees have been only partly stripped. When this happens, the Forest Service has the power to send the collectors back to salvage the waste.

Nancy Goldfarb, a spokeswoman for Bristol-Myers, said the contractor hired by the drug company to collect bark "has been instructed to make every effort to assure that none is wasted."

Here in the Umpqua National Forest in Western Oregon, a place of rolling woodlands covered in Douglas fir, cedar and black oak, with yew trees growing in small concentrations, yew bark was easy to find on a visit last week. It was in several of the piles readied for burning and in one large pile that had already been set afire by Forest Service crews. Such fires are part of the way the Government has long handled the residue of clear-cut

"These fires are the final indignity for the yew, which has been so mismanaged it makes you want to cry," said Gerald Rust, a commissioner of Lane County, Oregon, and a founder of the Native Yew Conservation Council. Ned Davis, the Forest Service ranger in this part of the Umpqua, said he had instructed his crews not to allow a single pound of yew bark to go to waste. But he said mistakes are often made.

Nearby, Paul Antos was building his home with yew logs that have been discarded by the timber workers and bark collectors. The typical trees grow in about 100 years to about 25 feet tall, with trunks about a foot in diameter. Mr. Antos has a permit to salvage the wood and said he was appalled by the waste he found daily.

Logging Policies Blamed

Environmentalists say the decades-old logging policies of the Government land agencies are the main reason yew is in short supply.

"We've been saying for some time that the ancient forest may hold answers to questions that nobody has yet to ask," said Wendell Wood, of the Oregon Natural Resources Council referring to the potential for medical or others uses found in the rich mix of species found in old forests.

But timber industry officials say the environmentalists themselves may be blocking an adequate supply of yew from going to cancer patients. Much of the yew grows on land that is home for the northern spotted owl, a threatened species, and therefore is generally off limits to logging and yew harvest.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1992

Yew Trees Needn't Fall to Make Cancer Drug

To the Editor:

"Trees That Yield a Drug for Cancer Are Wasted" (front page, Jan. 29) begins with the premise that yew bark can be processed to produce taxol, a drug to treat cancer. True, but it is equally true that taxol can be produced from the leaves (needles) of nearly every species of yew tested.

Harvesting a tree for bark kills the tree. Harvesting needles from yew trees, even large quantities of needles, does not kill the tree. Taking needles, then, makes yews a renewable resource, whereas taking yews themselves makes them nonrenewable. These trees grow very slowly.

Your numbers are questionable: even a very large tree rarely yield 20 pounds of bark. Five pounds of bark for each yew harvested is a much more common figure. Even so, it is widely agreed that the demand for taxol will never be met by harvesting trees, even if every yew now in existence were cut.

Bristol-Myers Squibb, the same company that uses bark at such an alarming rate, owns the patent for the process that converts yew leaves into taxenes. You should be addressing questions such as some of the following:

- Why isn't Bristol-Myers Squibb using needles to produce taxol, since it owns the patent?

- How many pounds of bark does Bristol-Myers have? (The company is licensed to collect 875,000 pounds, but persistent stories show it has collected nearly twice that much, therefore much of it illegally.)

- Where is the taxol that should have been produced from bark collected so far?

DAVID SCHNEIDER

San Francisco, Feb. 13, 1992
The writer is a docent at the Strybing Arboretum.

No Waste of Bark

To the Editor:

"Trees That Yield a Drug for Cancer Are Wasted" (front page, Jan. 29) is wrong in its assessment of the Bureau of Land Management's management of the Pacific yew for the tree's production of the anticancer substance taxol. You have been misled by those who, in their rush to fuel the fire of their attack on timber harvest in general, misinform by telling only part of the story.

In virtually every case in which we have investigated assertions of wasted yew bark, the accusations are unfounded. In some cases, other tree species have been misidentified as Pacific yew. On other sites, bark left behind consists of twigs and needles

too small for removal; even if twigs and needles were collected, the methods for extracting taxol from them have not yet been approved by the Food and Drug Administration. In other cases, the bark found had been cut several years ago, diminishing the viability of taxol in the bark.

The Bureau of Land Management has established and implemented a system for harvesting yew in timber sales that netted 65,000 pounds of bark in 1991. This represents considerable progress, considering that the yew collection program is only seven months old. We have developed a policy while trying to be responsive to



Thomas Kerr

the urgent humanitarian need for taxol. In the 1992 bark harvest season, which begins this spring, we will implement even tighter guidelines on yew harvest to insure maximal use of this valuable resource with the least impact to the environment.

Tight control over harvest of the yew will be accomplished by requiring that all bark be removed from trees meeting minimum size guidelines. Bureau employees will be in the field to weigh yew bark harvested by permit from agency-managed lands. This will allow us to monitor how much bark has been harvested, where it is harvested and who harvests it. An increased bureau presence in the field will insure that harvesters adhere to the standards we have set.

Last year our law enforcement staff investigated numerous cases of bark theft. We will prosecute yew bark thieves to the fullest extent of the law. Theft of yew bark from Federal land is punishable by a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

SUSAN LAMSON
Deputy Director for External Affairs
Bureau of Land Management
Washington, Feb. 3, 1992

Halt Clear-Cutting

To the Editor:

The clear-cutting of our national forests and other Federal forest lands is a national disgrace. The wasteful burning of yew trees, source of the anticancer drug taxol, is only one part of this national scandal ("Trees That Yield a Drug for Cancer Are Wasted," front page, Jan. 29).

Clear-cutting trees and burning the remains is universally condemned in the case of the worldwide destruction of tropical forests, yet this is the official policy the United States Forest Service is using to wreck our public forests.

For decades, the Forest Service has consigned these once magnificent forests to the role of lumberyard, exhausting them of yew trees, ancient oak, cedar, Douglas fir and redwood, and at the same time of the soil, fresh-water fish and salmon, international migratory songbirds, wandering herds of ungulates and predators and the fabric of forest biodiversity.

Giant timber companies and local timber interests have had a lock on scores of senators and representatives who every year vote for billions of tax dollars to the Forest Service to spend on clear-cutting national forests. The leader of the Congressional timber cabal is Senator Mark Hatfield, the senior Republican on the Appropriations Committee. For decades he has held his power of the Congressional purse over the heads of colleagues to bully them into voting for massive clear-cutting of national forests in his state of Oregon and throughout the forest system.

A new bill in Congress to protect forests already has 38 sponsors. Representative John Bryant's forest biodiversity and clear-cutting prohibition bill (H. R. 1969) would halt clear-cutting on all Federal forest lands permanently and would allow only selection logging, periodically cutting a few trees from a section of the forest while letting the rest of the forest grow intact.

It would mandate that the Forest Service repair the damage done by decades of clear-cutting and that it manage the forests for the full range of forest biodiversity, not just for timber. It includes a clause with severe penalties and allows the public to sue the Forest Service or other Federal agencies if they break any provisions.

CARL ROSS

Washington, Feb. 1, 1992

The writer is co-director of Save America's Forests, a coalition of environmental and citizens' groups and businesses.

TOP 10 COMPANIES HOLDING OUTSTANDING TIMBER SALES CONTRACTS

<u>Company</u>	<u>Board Feet (sold and uncut)</u>	<u>Location*</u>	<u>Patient Impact**</u>
Roseburg Forest Products	124 mmbf (USFS) 232 mmbf (BLM)	Rogue River, Siskiyou, Siuslaw Coos Bay, Medford, Roseburg, Eugene	8,000
Boise Cascade	74 mmbf (BLM) 96 mmbf (USFS)	Salem, Medford, Roseburg Rogue River, Siuslaw, Siskiyou	4,000
Pacific Lumber & Shipping	116 mmbf (USFS)	Gifford Pinchot	2,700
Bohemia	56 mmbf (BLM) 49 mmbf (USFS)	Coos Bay, Eugene, Roseburg Siuslaw	2,500
Freres Lumber	10 mmbf (USFS) 81 mmbf (BLM)	Siuslaw Salem	2,100
Hampton Affiliates	60 mmbf (USFS) 30 mmbf (BLM)	Siuslaw Salem	2,100
High Cascade	88 mmbf (USFS)	Gifford Pinchot	2,000
Seneca Sawmill	47 mmbf (USFS) 40 mmbf (USFS)	Siuslaw Eugene	2,000
Willamette Industries	77 mmbf (BLM) 8 mmbf (USFS)	Eugene, Salem Siuslaw	2,000
Medford Corp.	41 mmbf (USFS) 38 mmbf (BLM)	Rogue River Medford	1,800

* Only the Willamette, Umpqua, and Mt. Hood National Forests have established pre-logging requirements for yew bark collection. The five BLM Districts in western Oregon that contain ancient forest are Coos Bay, Medford, Eugene, Salem, and Roseburg, none of which have developed pre-logging rules for the Pacific yew.

** Reflects total estimated number of cancer patients that could be treated if bark from all yew trees in sale areas was harvested prior to logging.

Source: Timber Data Company, Contract Activity Reports for U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Region 6 and BLM Oregon State Office, September 30, 1991.

IV. Clips/Articles

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR., Deputy Publisher

MAX FRANKEL, Executive Editor
JOSEPH LELYVELD, Managing Editor
WARREN HOGE, Assistant Managing Editor
DAVID R. JONES, Assistant Managing Editor
CAROLYN LEE, Assistant Managing Editor
JOHN M. LEE, Assistant Managing Editor
ALLAN M. SIEGAL, Assistant Managing Editor

JACK ROSENTHAL, Editorial Page Editor
PHILIP M. BOFFEY, Deputy Editorial Page Editor

LANCE R. PRIMIS, President and General Manager
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Sr. V.P., Deputy General Manager
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, Sr. V.P., Deputy General Manager
ERICH G. LINKER JR., Sr. V.P., Advertising
WILLIAM L. POLLAK, Sr. V.P., Circulation
ELISE J. ROSS, Sr. V.P., Systems
JAMES A. CUTIE, V.P., Marketing

National Forests: Going, Going . . .

The forests are sanctuaries not only of human life but also of the human spirit. And every tree is a compact between generations.

So declared President Bush in 1989. Yet Mr. Bush has done little more than his indifferent predecessor to stop the devastation of these sanctuaries. Logging in the national forests continues at a furious pace. And neither the President nor Congress has tried to strike a fair compromise between the needs of nature and industry.

Last week, two senior Forest Service officials with responsibility for millions of public acres told Congress they had been kicked out of their jobs for resisting orders to increase the timber harvest that they felt were environmentally unsound. Their defiance, they said, provoked the wrath of the timber industry and the White House.

Such charges of industry favoritism are a further embarrassment to an Administration still smarting from the spanking it got in May from U.S. District Judge William L. Dwyer of Seattle. Accusing the Administration of a "deliberate and systematic refusal" to comply with laws protecting wildlife, he banned further logging in parts of the old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest until Federal agencies produced an effective protection plan for the endangered spotted owl.

Congress is now seeking a compromise to the old-growth dispute. But it obviously has a much bigger task: the need to rethink the purpose of the national forests and the role of their designated stewards, mainly the Forest Service.

Historically, Federal policy has favored exploitation of the national forests, which provide roughly 15 percent of the nation's wood. The Forest Service has long been in the business of selling timber. In 1976 a worried Congress adopted the National Forest Management Act, which urged the service to treat the forests as valuable ecosystems by balancing wilderness and industry values.

Yet the trees kept falling. One reason was that a big chunk of the service's budget comes from selling timber. Perversely, some of its conservation programs — erosion control and plant and animal inventory — are funded by timber sales. As a result, the service assigns targets to each of its nine national forest regions, rewarding forest managers who meet their "cut."

It's a cozy deal for industry because the timber harvested from public land is cheap. The Forest Service picks up road construction and other costs. That, of course, creates artificially low prices, reduces incentives to harvest private land and further increases the pressure on public lands. But loggers love it.

The Government has been equally solicitous of industry in the Pacific Northwest, whose majestic old-growth forests are coveted by loggers. These forests are also home to the spotted owl, and for years, conservation groups — as anxious to save the forests as they were the owl — urged that the bird be listed as a threatened species.

The Reagan Administration dawdled, knowing full well that if it protected the owl it would also have to protect its habitat. And when Mr. Bush reluctantly agreed to list the owl in 1990, his aides torpedoed an interagency plan to set aside millions of acres to protect the habitat.

That's what set Judge Dwyer off. He acknowledged the complexity of the issue and the hardship his decision might cause for logging families, whose anxiety borders on desperation. Yet he found it inconceivable that "the mightiest economy on earth" could not find a way both to manage its irreplaceable old-growth forests and ease the pain for workers, families and communities.

Judge Dwyer is right. But the courts are not the place to set policy in the Northwest or anywhere else in the national forest system. That is a job for the "environment President" and the Congress. And so far, both have failed.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *Publisher*
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR., *Deputy Publisher*

MAX FRANKEL, *Executive Editor*
JOSEPH LELYVELD, *Managing Editor*
WARREN HOGE, *Assistant Managing Editor*
DAVID R. JONES, *Assistant Managing Editor*
CAROLYN LEE, *Assistant Managing Editor*
JOHN M. LEE, *Assistant Managing Editor*
ALLAN M. SIEGAL, *Assistant Managing Editor*

JACK ROSENTHAL, *Editorial Page Editor*
LESLIE H. GELB, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor*

LANCE R. PRIMIS, *President*
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, *Sr. V.P., Production*
ERICH G. LINKER JR., *Sr. V.P., Advertising*
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, *Sr. V.P., Finance/Human Resources*
ELISE J. ROSS, *Sr. V.P., Systems*
WILLIAM L. POLLAK, *V.P., Circulation*

Yet Mr. Bush Writes Off Ancient Forests

President Bush says he's an environmentalist and pronounces on plans to plant a billion trees. But given the chance of saving the last remnant of the majestic old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest, he ducks.

The chance was created last week when the spotted owl, one of a hundred species that depend on these unique forests, was declared to be in danger of extinction. Instead of acting to save both owl and forest, as well as the logging communities that depend on the cutting, the White House threatens to dilute the Endangered Species Act.

A magnificent forest, with trees 200 to 1,000 years old, once stretched hundreds of miles from northern Washington to northern California. Voracious logging has reduced the forest to about a tenth its former size. Though large timber companies now harvest a sustainable yield from their own lands, many small mills that can only handle old logs depend on the ancient forests surviving on Federal and state lands.

Conservationists have long pleaded for the industry to convert to cutting reforested, second-growth areas. These pleas were ignored until it was found that the spotted owl, which needs large territories of old-growth forest to survive, might be threatened.

That's why the Fish and Wildlife Service last week formally listed the owl as an endangered species, which means that its entire habitat qualifies for legal protection.

This protection, if granted, would seriously af-

fect employment in Oregon and Washington. Many old-growth logs are exported to Japan at prices that American mills cannot match. These mills thus depend on logs from Federal land, which by law cannot be exported. Setting aside Federal forest to protect the spotted owl could cost 28,000 jobs, the Forest Service estimates.

But automation is likely to cost up to 8,000 of these jobs, anyway. And all jobs will disappear eventually; if cutting continues at present rates, the old-growth forest could vanish in 15 years.

In principle, most people would choose to save owls, trees and jobs. But there is wide disagreement on how much to reduce the annual harvest.

Environmental groups like the Sierra Club favor a sharp reduction, along with measures that might save many of the threatened jobs, like reforestation, recreational use of the forests and banning the export of logs cut from state and even private lands. Others, like Republican Senator Slade Gorton of Washington, want only a modest reduction in the annual harvest.

The Administration has offered no remedy. It has pronounced itself against compensating those who lose their jobs and in favor of a plan to gut the Endangered Species Act so that it won't create such tricky political problems. This abnegation of responsibility has thrown the issue to Congress, essentially leaving the solution up to the politically embattled representatives from the Northwest.

Mr. Bush likes the easy part of being an environmentalist. If he would now come to grips with the hard part, he would help everyone.

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."

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Forests, Jobs and Owls

THE NORTHERN spotted owl dispute is not about the owl but about the dwindling old-growth forest in which the owl lives. Loggers want to continue cutting the forest down and say jobs will be lost if they are prevented from doing so, as environmentalists wish. The administration has waffled, saying it wants to save the owl and the jobs. Who wouldn't? The only thing the administration hasn't figured out is how.

Here's an environmental issue on which the choice should be clear. The country isn't running out of jobs, but it is running out of ancient forest. There are several definitions of what constitutes such forest, so some disagreement exists about how much is left. But by one estimate, the classic old forest remaining is equal to no more than three Rhode Islands, of which only one is protected under current law.

This is an irreplaceable resource; these forests are special and majestic areas. The country doesn't need the lumber, and for the loggers and communities involved, cutting the forest down would be only a respite. Once it was done, there would be no forests (or owls) and still no jobs. Best adapt while at least the forests are left.

The timbering dispute has gone on for years, but it has intensified as the remaining old growth declined. A national forest management act in 1976 included some provisions that in theory might have

been used to halt the logging but weren't. Some land has been given protected status as wilderness or park, but this has been a limited solution. Now the Endangered Species Act has been invoked; the owl has become surrogate for its home.

The Reagan administration tried to say the owl was not a threatened species, but its decision was found baseless in court. Now the Bush administration—Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan having first complained that the act is too confining—has agreed that the owl is in jeopardy. But it mainly proposes to study what to do about that and in the meantime has indicated it will ask Congress-1) to immunize whatever is decided from challenge in the courts and 2) to ease the species act so a better balance can be struck between threatened species and threatened jobs.

Congress should do neither. Court-stripping is wrong, and the species act is more valuable and less onerous than the critics make it sound. Maybe the study will come up with a way to save both owl and jobs; we doubt it. The government may be able to help the affected states find other jobs. A lot of timber is now shipped out of the Northwest in raw form; if further processed at home, it could provide more jobs. But the stands of ancient timber that remain are only a fragment of what once existed, and they ought to be preserved.

Los Angeles Times August 16, 1989

As Owls Go, So Goes the Forest

Compared with the foreign debt or tax reform, environmental issues generally seem simple. Wastes foul the ocean. Industrial emissions pollute the air. Chemicals deplete the ozone layer.

But even environmental matters often are reduced to overly simplistic battle lines as one side or the other attempts to gain the emotional advantage of public support. A prime example is the fight over the cutting of old-growth national forests in the Pacific Northwest. From the timber industry's standpoint, the environmentalists want to bring a giant industry to its knees and throw innocent loggers out of work just to save a few reclusive owls.

True, the fate of the northern spotted owl is the legal flash-point of the controversy over cutting the old-growth forests in Washington, Oregon and Northern California. Environmental groups have won court injunctions against further cutting on certain federal forest lands until experts can determine the nature of the threat to the owl, which is protected under federal law.

But the issue is far broader and deeper than owls

versus jobs or owls against people. The viability of the owl is a symptom of the health of the whole forest. If the owl is disappearing, then something basic is wrong with the forest. If the forest is so severely threatened, then the public must decide whether something should be done to save it.

The law is supposed to do that now. That is the process established in a variety of federal statutes passed in the past two decades. But legislators in the Northwest are seeking to circumvent this process by voiding the court injunctions and precluding any further legal action on the proposed cutting of 10 million board feet of old-growth forests through the coming fiscal year. Such a provision was inserted by the Senate into the Interior appropriations bill that now awaits negotiations in a Senate-House conference committee.

Environmental law was written to provide long-term protection of the nation's natural resources, not to expedite their economic exploitation for short-term profits. That law should not be voided or short-circuited now.

Boston Sunday Globe

Defending the forests

On the wings of an owl, the Bush administration has tentatively decided to save six million acres of irreplaceable "old growth" forest in the Pacific Northwest. A Cabinet-level task force is reportedly tilting toward accepting the advice of a Fish and Wildlife Service panel to put the forests off-limits to logging to save the Northern spotted owl, which is declining toward extinction.

Because 20,000 timber-industry jobs are at stake, some loggers will conclude that, in the matter of birds vs. people, conservationists who have driven the administration to this decision are for the birds.

Actually, the owls are merely a symbol of a more important treasure, the ancient forest ecosystem. The old-growth forest — mostly Sitka spruce and Douglas fir on rainy western slopes of the Cascades — is rapidly disappearing. At recent rates of cutting, it will be gone in 20 years. This patch of the nation's natural heritage belongs to all Americans, and to their children.

There is inherently a conflict between preserving the environment and generating economic growth, both valid goals of public policy. At times it is necessary to favor jobs. The pro-environment position ought not to be absolutist.

The Endangered Species Act is, in fact, an absolutist law. It holds that once a species is declared to be threatened, no company or individual can engage in activities that harm it.

Saving obscure species is a brittle basis for conservation policy. It is politically risky to place curious little living things such as snail darters, louseworts and spotted owls against human beings. It would be far better if endangered ecosystems were saved for their own sakes rather than being piggybacked upon an owl.

Until bureaucracies such as the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management develop a more farsighted view of their responsibilities, however, the Endangered Species Act remains the forests' most reliable line of defense.

God Squad confusion

Saving the spotted owl should be committee's goal, but the administration undercuts its own credibility

When it comes to confusing the spotted owl issue, the federal government is on a roll it just can't stop.

Witness the opening proceedings by which the Endangered Species Committee — known as the God Squad — will review Bureau of Land Management timber sales in Western Oregon that have been blocked because they could jeopardize the owl, listed as a threatened species.

Most recently, the Environmental Protection Agency removed itself as a participant in the proceedings. That came after the agency submitted, then withdrew, testimony highly critical of BLM's assessment of the risk its logging would pose to the owl. Earlier, high-level officials ordered the lawyer for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to drop one of its legal arguments against the BLM position.

All this increases the suspicion that the Bush administration is manipulating the input before a federal hearings judge so the output will be favorable to the timber industry, irrespective of the facts of the matter.

The God Squad itself is composed mostly of high-level administration officials, but their work presumably will be much tidier if they aren't bothered by troublesome testimony or arguments from other federal

agencies that BLM hasn't been doing its job right.

That strategy could leave the Fish and Wildlife Service — enforcer of the Endangered Species Act — as the loneliest federal agency in town.

Even partisans of the timber industry shouldn't be too cheered by the administration's attempts to skew the issue in the industry's favor. The administration has tried that time and again. Each time it has caused more trouble as courts have stepped in to enforce the laws.

Had the administration faced up to the owl issue responsibly at the beginning, when less-drastic adjustments were possible, the owl might not have been in such jeopardy.

The proper function of these proceedings should be to explore just what it takes to achieve a high probability of the owl's survival and how the BLM timber sales affect that probability. The God Squad might, for instance, distinguish where owl habitat is essential for the species' protection, as opposed to merely desirable.

But the committee should not accept as an option a timber harvest strategy that makes the extinction of the owl or other species a significant probability.

And it most assuredly should not play God with the proceedings by allowing the facts to be slanted before they ever get to a decision.

The Sunday Oregonian

Founded Dec. 4, 1850. Established as a daily Feb. 4, 1861. The Sunday Oregonian established Dec. 4, 1881. Published daily and Sunday by the Oregonian Publishing Co., 1320 S.W. Broadway, Portland, Oregon 97201

FRED A. STICKEL, President and Publisher

WILLIAM A. HILLIARD, Editor

PATRICK F. STICKEL, General Manager

PETER THOMPSON, Managing Editor

BRIAN E. BOUNOUS, Advertising Director

JOBERT M. LANDAUER, Editorial Page Editor

PATRICK L. MARLTON, Circulation Director

DONALD J. STERLING JR., Assistant to the Publisher

JANUARY 12, 1992

The Sunday Oregonian

Founded Dec. 4, 1850. Established as a daily Feb. 4, 1861. The Sunday Oregonian established Dec. 4, 1881. Published daily and Sunday by the Oregonian Publishing Co., 1320 S.W. Broadway, Portland, Oregon 97201.

FRED A. STICKEL, President and Publisher

WILLIAM A. HILLIARD, Editor

PATRICK F. STICKEL, General Manager

PETER THOMPSON, Managing Editor

BRIAN E. BOUNOUS, Advertising Director

ROBERT M. LANDAUER, Editorial Page Editor

PATRICK L. MARLTON, Circulation Director

DONALD J. STERLING JR., Assistant to the Publisher

SEPTEMBER 15, 1991

More need for forest bill

The God Squad is no substitute for Congress' doing its job

Bureau of Land Management Director Cy Jamison has given Congress yet more reason to get down to business on a Northwest forestry bill. Otherwise, what should be a bipartisan, regionally guided effort to resolve a complex scientific and economic issue could become more confusing, more divisive and more controlled by outsiders.

Jamison has decided to ask for a seldom-convened, high-level panel — made up mostly of members of the administration — to consider granting 44 BLM timber sales an exemption from the Endangered Species Act's strictures.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has determined that the sales jeopardize the northern spotted owl, which has been listed as a threatened species. And Thursday, a federal judge ruled that the BLM had violated the Endangered Species Act when it adopted Jamison's timber-sales strategy without properly consulting with the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Some Northwest delegation members — such as Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. — have wanted to get the so-called God Squad into the picture. But the committee isn't the appropriate way to set long-term policy covering all the concerns about how the federal forests, especially old-growth stands, are to be managed. That's the role of Congress, taking into account both economic and scientific considerations; and Oregon's and Washington's senators and representatives should force the action.

One Cabinet-level committee already has taken a shot at the spotted-owl issue without success. This new panel's work is likely to be too prolonged and too narrowly focused to do much more. And Jamison colored his request with a political

tint right at the start by sharing his announcement podium with Packwood, who's running for re-election.

Thus, Oregon and Washington senators and representatives should push for legislation that assures both a predictable level of federal timber sales and protection of the spotted owl, other species and the old-growth ecosystem. Getting that policy statement is in the interests of environmentalists and the timber industry, although the two sides remain far apart over what it should entail.

The industry needs action to regain stability with federal timber sale levels. They have plummeted as the owl issue has worked through courts and committees.

Environmentalists should be eager for resolution, too; they may find their court victories illusory as bureaucrats correct what judges have held are procedural failings.

The congressional decision won't be easy. But paying attention to the work of a couple of committees other than the God Squad can help Congress make informed choices.

One is the scientific panel that recently identified a series of old-growth management alternatives and the environmental and economic consequences of each.

The other panel is preparing a spotted owl recovery plan. Its draft recommendation is due by the end of this year — before Congress is likely to finish passing any measure — and appears headed toward an ecosystem approach to forest management.

Managing the forests as an interrelated ecosystem is a sound alternative to a variety of single-species prescriptions. But it needs a prudent combination of flexibility to incorporate new discoveries and a firm mandate to carry it out. That's where Congress comes in.

The Sunday Oregonian

Founded Dec. 4, 1850. Established as a daily Feb. 4, 1861. The Sunday Oregonian established Dec. 4, 1881. Published daily and Sunday by the Oregonian Publishing Co., 1320 S.W. Broadway, Portland, Oregon 97201

FRED A. STICKEL, President and Publisher

WILLIAM A. HILLIARD, Editor

PATRICK F. STICKEL, General Manager

PETER THOMPSON, Managing Editor

BRIAN E. BOUNOUS, Advertising Director

ROBERT M. LANDAUER, Editorial Page Editor

PATRICK L. MARLTON, Circulation Director

DONALD J. STERLING JR., Assistant to the Publisher

AUGUST 11, 1991

Keep courts in picture

The new secretary of agriculture is making an old mistake in blaming the courts for the federal forest policy gridlock plaguing the Pacific Northwest.

Secretary Edward Madigan, whose department includes the U.S. Forest Service, told a news conference that "we believe we could manage the forests better if we were freed from the interference of federal courts, and only Congress can do that."

Congress should be very wary of doing that. Without the possibility of judges reviewing an agency's action, Congress has no assurance that its laws are being followed. Neither does the public. The best lawsuit is the one that doesn't get filed because bureaucrats — knowing they are accountable to the courts — follow the law the first time.

Blaming judges for trouble-causing decisions is much like blaming the bearers of evil tidings — often the real blame lies elsewhere. In the case of the federal timber controversy, the administration's problem isn't that a lot of lawsuits and administrative appeals have been filed, but that federal judges have determined that those filing them had a point: Federal agencies were not proceeding according to applicable laws or their own regulations.

The Reagan-Bush administrations' blunder-filled handling of the spotted-owl and old-growth issues falls far short of justifying a grant of

unconstrained power to the government to run the forests according to its unchallengeable assumptions of what the law permits. Indeed, even a confidence-building record wouldn't justify short-circuiting legal protections that might, in the future, protect the timber industry and workers frustrated by court action today.

Madigan is correct when he calls for legislation resolving the stalemate caused in part by court findings that the government neglected its responsibilities to protect the northern spotted owl. Congress needs to clarify what it expects in terms of forest protection and timber sales. That includes looking at interesting suggestions on ways to streamline the review process to ensure that unfounded lawsuits or appeals don't hamstring federal agencies.

But any responsible measure will provide protection of endangered species and biologically important forest ecosystems, as well as bring succor to a troubled timber industry. Thus, it must include a reasonable process for federal courts to review whether federal agencies are following law and their own regulations in finding the required balance.

Courts do indeed frustrate bureaucrats' ability to do whatever they want regardless of what the law requires. Whatever the bureaucrats think about that and however troubling in the short run, it's a safeguard for the public that shouldn't be tossed out.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

The voice of the Northwest since 1863

Editorials

Dwyer decision the correct one

US. District Judge William Dwyer has taken the only reasonable course in ruling that the Forest Service must prepare a plan to save the Northern spotted owl before allowing more cutting in the owl's habitat.

In one sense, Dwyer's ruling was a difficult one, since many residents of this state's timber-dependent communities remain ill-prepared to engage in other occupations. The issue of assistance to residents of these communities is one that should command the attention of Congress.

This ruling will, for the time being at least, shut down logging operations on almost 80 percent of 17 forests in Western Washington, western Oregon and Northern California.

The judge ruled that a "substantial risk" exists that the owl would be wiped out if logging continued on those parcels while the agency tried to fashion a habitat preservation plan. Obviously, if the planners discovered that the owl for its survival needed trees that had been felled in the interim, no amount of judicial restraint

would bring back either the bird or the trees.

However, the picture is not quite as bleak as it seems. Some harvesting would continue on federal lands, since 4.8 billion board feet of timber has been sold that has not yet been felled. Dwyer put 66,000 acres off limits until the new rules are in place.

In another sense, the ruling was an easy one. The Forest Service blatantly has flouted the law and ignored the directive of Congress to prepare the plan, as the judge noted. Dwyer pinned the blame for what he called "deliberate, systematic" violations of the law not on Forest Service personnel but on "higher authorities" in the executive branch of government.

If the Forest Service now abides by the law and moves along as smartly as it should have from the outset to prepare a cutting and habitat conservation plan, the pain caused by uncertainty can be somewhat lessened.

Stability is needed in the Northwest timber harvest regime, and the judge rightly has made it crystal clear that it is the Forest Service's responsibility to stop stalling and provide that stability.

The Atlanta Journal

Whose forests are they, anyway?

For years, the credo of the professional forester has been "sustained yield," an ethic that calls for cutting only as much timber each year as can be replaced. That way, the loggers will always have jobs, the sawmills will always have timber, the deer and bear will always have forests and watersheds will always be protected. Conducted on that basis, timber-cutting is an industry that can be sustained economically, environmentally, politically and morally.

However, during the go-go '80s, sustained-yield theories were largely abandoned as national lumber production soared from 31.8 billion board feet in 1981 to 49 billion board feet in 1989, figures that don't include millions of raw logs shipped overseas. In Montana in particular, companies such as Plum Creek and Champion International actually stripped their huge tracts of privately held timberland clean of vegetation. They didn't worry about the future because they fully expected that when the time came and their own timber was exhausted, they could use their considerable political influence to pry open public lands.

Now the time has come, and the pressure is being applied. Western timber companies are demanding that the U.S. Forest Service accelerate the cut on public forests, and they aren't taking no for an answer.

John Mumma told them no, for a while anyway. Mr. Mumma, the regional forest supervisor for Montana, Idaho and North and South Dakota, refused to accede to industry demands because doing so would require him to break environmental protection laws. For



John Sununu

his courage, the Forest Service bureaucracy ordered him transferred to a desk job in Washington, D.C. Mr. Mumma chose to retire instead, he told a congressional committee this week.

Lorraine Mintzmeyer, Rocky Mountain regional director for the National Park Service, told the committee a similar tale. Together with Mr. Mumma and other federal officials, she had helped compile a 60-page draft report recommending specific ways to protect Yellowstone National Park from encroaching commercial and resource development, including timber. But when the group's final report emerged, it had been shrunk to a 10-page document that was stripped of specifics and that embraced business as usual around Yellowstone. The change, she testified, was produced by political pressure from White House Chief of Staff John Sununu.

Ms. Mintzmeyer, by the way, was recently transferred to Philadelphia, a move she has reluctantly accepted.

The White House, not surprisingly, denies any connection to the transfers of Mr. Mumma and Ms. Mintzmeyer. No doubt it is the Yellowstone angle that has them most concerned. In the past Mr. Sununu has been implicated in gutting environmental policy on wetlands protection and global warming with little political damage. Most people consider those issues too complicated to get upset about.

But Yellowstone is different. If there is a piece of land that symbolizes the romantic link between Americans and the land, Yellowstone is it. Republicans do not want to see a Democratic presidential candidate standing in front of Old Faithful, explaining how the Bush White House sold out Yellowstone to development interests.

Yet that is apparently what happened.

San Francisco Examiner

Thursday, April 11, 1991 ★

Save the ancient trees

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY is passing out one million postcards—all printed on recycled paper—which it hopes citizens will use to send a message to Congress and the Bush administration: Save the ancient forests of California and the Pacific Northwest. Fewer than one in 10 of those old-growth trees remains standing, most of them on public lands, and logging threatens to wipe out even these majestic giants before too long. In two decades, the last of the uncut, undisturbed forests could be gone.

Each week, loggers fell four square miles of ancient forests on federal land from here to Seattle. Endangered forests of coast redwoods, Douglas fir and the Ponderosa pine are home to animals and plants as diverse as the northern spotted owl—threatened with extinction—and the Pacific yew tree, whose bark yields taxol, a cancer-fighting drug. Protecting ancient forests also helps to stall global warming, provides a natural filter for clean water, prevents erosion and gives us all a glimpse of what existed before humanity's first footfall intervened.

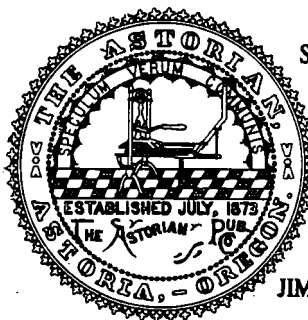
In the past, the federal government has aided and abetted the destruction of our great forests by encouraging wholesale cutting of timber on federal land while charging minuscule fees. The government has practically carried the chain saws of the timber companies. That's changing. Environmentalists have been more aggressive in forcing the government to comply with its own laws, including the Endangered Species Act and the National Forest Management Act. Loggers, beset with continuing assaults on what they can cut, are more willing to compromise to gain some predictability. At the state level, timber companies and environmental groups together are backing timber reform legislation.

The immediate goal of the Wilderness Society postcard-drive is to enact a federal moratorium on old-growth logging for three years, sponsored by Rep. Jim Jontz, D-Indiana. Once that is done, a plan to gain permanent protection for ancient forests can be worked out. This is a legacy we can—and should—leave to future generations.

THE

DAILY ASTORIAN

Founded in 1873



STEPHEN A. FORRESTER, *Editor*

TOM JACKSON, *News Editor*

JIM MAXWELL, *Advertising & Marketing Manager*

DICK PHILLIPS, *Operations Manager*

RICHARD SCHULTZ, *Classified Advertising Manager*

JIM ROBINSON, *Circulation Manager*

August 20, 1991

A dose of reality

Fish and Wildlife Service speaks the truth about timber industry job losses

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is the first government agency to acknowledge a fact long known to timber industry analysts: That considerable industry jobs have been lost to log exports and technology. The agency has given credence to that finding in its proposed rule for the designation of habitat critical to the survival of the northern spotted owl.

The overriding importance of log exports and technology in timber industry job loss in the period 1980-1990 has been quite apparent. It is lodged in the reams of statistics which the government keeps. It was always there for anyone's inspection. As Casey Stengel said, "You can look it up."

But the critical factor of log exports and technology did not suit the propaganda needs of the timber industry. Its p.r. boys would have us believe that pesky environmentalists caused massive job loss.

The timber leaving this country in the form of raw logs in the period 1980-1990 has been awesome. Enough to build millions of homes.

Technology has had a similar impact in terms of job loss. And that was quite understandable and predictable. After all, technology has replaced workers in virtually every other manufacturing industry.

The timber industry nurtures illusions for political gain. But the industry is so proficient at inventing propaganda that it believes its own illusions.

The industry has not been alone in feeding illusion to the public. Witness Sen. Bob Packwood, who promises that he will lead a fight to alter the Endangered Species Act. Witness Sen. Mark Hatfield, who says that the species act is in

danger.

Our two senators do us no favor in either of those speculations. In the first place, Packwood will not gut the species act. In the second place it is very unsenatorial of either Packwood or Hatfield to suggest that it is a good thing to alter the act.

Anyone who pays scant attention knows that our environment is deteriorating. There is the greenhouse effect, global warming, forest death in the Eastern states and ground water pollution, to name just four negative trends.

Man is the ultimate victim of environmental degradation. We humans are the ultimate and eventual endangered species.

Sen. Packwood recognizes an environmental threat in the high seas driftnet fishery, which some have termed ocean strip-mining. But Packwood does not want to admit a corollary truth: that domestic activities — such as the overcutting of Pacific Northwest forests — have endangered our environment in a similar manner.

It is okay to beat up on Asians who rape the high seas. But don't raise questions about the line that's peddled by the timber industry.

As a world, a nation and a region, our population is burgeoning. You do not need a doctorate in biology to recognize that our environmental systems are being stressed as never before. By calling for revision of the Endangered Species Act, Packwood is only deluding persons already wounded by unemployment. In aiding their illusion and denial, Packwood is neither being senatorial nor a leader.

Jessica Mathews

The Medicine No One Knew Was There

The Wall Street Journal calls it "the ultimate confrontation between medicine and the environment." The New York Times, a bit lower key, warns that "recovery for sick people may mean death for the spotted owl." The controversy could make earlier battles over endangered species and habitats look tame.

This time the subject is a drug called taxol. The head of the National Cancer Institute says it's the most important new cancer drug in 15 years. It has been shown to fight ovarian, breast and lung cancer and is only beginning to be tested. The difficulty is that taxol comes from the bark of the Pacific yew, a rare tree found in endangered, ancient forests. It is a complex molecule that so far has stymied chemists' best efforts to synthesize it in the lab. A breakthrough might be around the corner or years away.

The yew is a slow growing, shade loving tree, which makes it a poor candidate for plantations devoted to producing the drug. That leaves the natural forests as the only source of taxol for the indefinite future. But the yew grows sparsely, and six 100-year-old trees are needed to treat one patient. Harvesting enough for the vast potential market, at an affordable cost, could mean clear-cutting all the remaining ancient forests in the Northwest. Even then, there might not be enough taxol to meet the demand.

On first glance, the story seems to pose a stark ethical choice between human and other forms of life. If so, there would be only one acceptable answer. But in fact, the taxol dilemma is not really about ultimate values. It is both more mundane and more important. Stripped of philosophical trappings, it is actually about waste, sound resource management, the value of bio-diversity and the blinkered human habit of favoring short-term gain over long-term yield. Ironically, those who may most threaten the supply of the drug are not environmentalists trying to prevent the cutting of ancient forests but the managers of these public lands.

Until now, loggers have treated the Pacific yew as a trash tree, ripping it out and burning it along with other underbrush. Though taxol's potency was established in 1989, the Forest Service has been slow to respond, trapped by a mind-set that prizes lumber above all other forest products and services. Almost 2 billion

board feet of ancient forest timber is under contract to be cut this year and next, yet it took intense pressure from environmental groups to finally produce a government moratorium on burning yews just two months ago.

Only now is the Forest Service proposing an inventory to discover how much yew is in the forests and where. Without that knowledge it is impossible to sell as much as possible each year while sustaining the supply for the years ahead.

Scientists estimate that worldwide, 50 species become extinct each day. At that rate, in 25 years we will eliminate 10 to 15 percent of the planet's biological wealth. Biologists tear their hair out over this, for it represents a rate of loss that probably has only a single precedent in the planet's 4 billion year history. That was the hypothesized meteorite crash 65 million years ago that plunged Earth in darkness and wiped out the dinosaurs in a few years. Otherwise, mass extinctions take place over millions of years, not decades.

To those who catalogue it, today's loss is a catastrophe that will impoverish future generations in ways beyond reckoning. Harvard's E. O. Wilson calls it "the folly our descendants are least likely to forgive us." Yet because the numbers are uncertain, and the disappearances gradual and largely invisible, loss of biological diversity remains just another unaddressed problem on an overcrowded list.

Slowing the loss requires first of all that we preserve viable fragments of as many habitats and ecosystems as possible. Only 10 percent of America's old-growth forests remain. Had they been cut a bit faster, taxol might never have been discovered. The

spotted owl became a *cause célèbre* not for itself, but because it was chosen as an indicator species of the health of the ancient forest habitat and therefore of everything it contained—known and unknown.

Next, it is essential to find out more about what's being lost. Most species are unidentified, let alone screened for possible uses. Taxol was discovered in one such screening effort, but only a tiny fraction of species have been looked at and only for an even tinier portion of their potential value. Many species will have no direct human use but will turn out to be essential to the survival of others that do. Some species can disappear with little impact, but by and large ecosystems are stunningly interdependent networks of plants and animals.

The formula for balancing immediate human needs with environmental values and long-term human well-being is, therefore to save, study and use—not use up now, rue later. There will be some collisions, but a policy that puts a high value on preserving bio-diversity—knowing that there are thousands more taxols out there—will in the long run preserve more options than it forecloses. Business as usual has been: Ready, fire, aim. Too many of those shots are backfiring.

The writer, vice president of World Resources Institute, writes this column independently for The Post.

THE DENVER POST

WILLIAM DEAN SINGLETON, *Chairman*

DONALD F. HUNT, *Publisher*

RYAN McKIBBEN

Executive Vice President and General Manager

RICHARD JACOBS

Senior Vice President, Administration and Operations

KIRK MacDONALD, *VP Advertising*

FRIEZ ANDERSON, *VP Finance*

FRANK DIXON, *VP Operations*

STEVE HESSE, *VP Circulation*

KEN CALHOUN, *VP Marketing*

F. GILMAN SPENCER

Editor

CHUCK GREEN

Editor of the Editorial Page

NEIL WESTERGAARD

Executive Editor

WILLIAM H. HORNEY

Senior Editor

Felling trees, fighting cancer

AT A TIME when breast cancer is on the rise and doesn't seem preventable, the government ought to be encouraging the harvest of Pacific yew trees, from which the cancer-killing drug taxol is made.

Instead, federal officials are standing by while thousands of the scarce evergreens are wasted during the logging of more commercially desirable timber.

The U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, which supervise millions of acres of forested land in the Pacific Northwest, have been asked to require that logging companies allow the small and sparsely distributed yew trees to be harvested before other cutting can begin on federal lands.

But while three national forests in Oregon have adopted such a policy, six other forests west of the Cascades are dragging their feet and the BLM seems almost intransigent. Apparently, the logging firms are worried that yew cutters might pose liability problems, and that the big Douglas firs and red cedars might split part if they fall on yew tree stumps.

These concerns may well be

legitimate. But thousands of lives are at stake here. Because yew trees grow only about three to the acre, and it takes the bark from about three trees to produce enough taxol to treat one patient, the thousands of acres under contract to be cut represent an equivalent number of cancer patients who could be deprived of the drug if restrictions aren't imposed.

Moreover, while the supply of taxol will remain limited until nursery-grown trees or artificial substitutes begin providing new sources of the chemical, the demand seems likely to grow. In addition to breast cancer, which kills about 45,000 women each year, the drug has also been found to be effective against ovarian cancer, which kills 12,500 annually. And there are preliminary indications that it may also be effective against lung cancer, which claims 140,000 each year.

Clearly, the Americans who stand to benefit from this promising treatment deserve at least as much consideration as those who make their living by exploiting the very resources that could provide a cure.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1991

The Great Tree Robbery

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. □

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

Panel Halves Pacific Ocean Salmon Catch

*Some Experts Say
Industry Faces Ruin*

By Kate Darby Rauch
Special to The Washington Post

SEATTLE, April 10—A federal panel tonight voted to cut by approximately half the number of salmon that can be fished off California, Oregon and Washington this year. Many experts predicted the action could spell ruin for the region's \$66.4 million salmon fishing industry.

After holding months of public meetings from California to the Canadian border, the Pacific Fishery Management Council, meeting in San Francisco, chose the cutback from 1991 fishing levels over a more drastic options: a total ban on salmon fishing.

Such drastic action was made necessary because of a striking decline in the population of Pacific coast salmon in the past few years. Contingent on final approval by Commerce Secretary Barbara Hackman Franklin, the new restrictions will take effect next month. The measure does not affect salmon fishing off Alaska or Canada.

The action came as no surprise to the region's commercial, recreational and Indian tribal fishing concerns, already struggling to adjust to years of decline in the salmon catch.

"We're in for some real tough times," Hans Radtke, an Oregon economist who is a member of the council, said before the vote. "It looks like next year will be the same or worse. This is very important on the community level."

Revenue in these three states has been falling dramatically for years. In 1991, commercial and sport salmon fishing combined amounted to \$66.4 million, according to the Commerce Department—down 28 percent from the preceding year, and 58 percent below the 1976-1990 average.

"I'm tempted to get out," said Jeff Feldner, a boat owner and fishing croller from Newport, Ore., who represents the state's commercial salmon fleet to the council. "A lot of



BY ANDY KLAMSER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Revenue from Pacific Coast salmon fishing has been declining for years.

salmon fisherman right now are thinking about giving up," he said from San Francisco. Many, he said, have boats up for sale, though prices are low and buyers scarce. The Pacific Coast salmon fishing industry employs some 10,000 people on approximately 3,800 vessels.

The council, a Commerce Department agency, manages marine fishing regulations from three to 200 miles offshore. The 13-member group, based in Portland, Ore., works closely with state fisheries departments and sets yearly limits on the number and types of fish that can be caught by commercial and sport anglers.

Several factors—both natural and man-made—are being blamed for the salmon decline. They include the five-year drought in California and Oregon, which has lowered the water flow and raised the temperatures of spawning streams and rivers; a periodic warm ocean current called El Nino, which kills off nutrient-rich plankton that salmon feed on; logging, that can clog watersheds with eroded soil and debris; dams, which can hinder efficient spawning; and chemicals from agricultural runoff.

"Fewer fish are spawning, plus there's low survival in the ocean," said Ken Henry, a fisheries biologist in Seattle, and chairman of the council's salmon technical team.

When both happen, he said: "You're going to get low production. Some stocks are in serious trouble." Already, several species of Pacific salmon are listed as endangered or threatened.

Tonight's decision is expected to have minimal impact on the price or availability of salmon nationwide. Most salmon eaten in the United States comes from Alaska—whose \$320 million take in 1991 was about five times as large as that from California, Oregon and Washington combined—or is imported, usually "farmed" salmon from Canada or South America.

But along the coast, fear and discouragement have already set in. "It's quite a blow to the city," said Mary Yoder, mayor of Port Orford, Ore., population 1,050. "Most of our employment and workers are under fisheries."

By sharply curtailing marine fishing for a year, the council hopes that sufficient numbers of mature salmon will journey up freshwater streams and rivers to their spawning grounds, to replenish—or at least preserve—salmon stocks. But most observers agree that lasting solutions are needed.

"Society has to decide," said Feldner, "Whether or not they want to have salmon that are token museum populations, or salmon populations that will support fisheries."

Washington
Post
April 11, 1992

Environmentalism Doesn't Steal Jobs

By Stephen M. Meyer

IT may be of some comfort to Japan to learn that it is no longer considered solely to blame for America's economic travails. A new culprit has been uncovered: the environment.

If some of our political and industrial leaders are to be believed, owls, caribou, salmon and fir trees are responsible for keeping Americans out of work and homeless. Only by cashing in on the vast untapped wealth of America's public lands, releasing constraints on private development and removing environmental regulations on industry can prosperity return. Scientific evidence and professional judgment should not be allowed to stand in the way of economic gains — no matter how marginal or short term.

Environmental policy has always been an arena for clashes between public-public interests and public-private interests. But the "jobs issue" is being used cynically and deceptively by special interests to manipulate public opinion. Environment bashing has become political sport.

The Government assumed guardianship over vast tracts of U.S. terri-

Stephen M. Meyer is professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

tory to safeguard it in the public interest. Some in Congress and the Administration want to sell off the timber and mineral rights to private industry, even though many of these sites are in national forests and wildlife refuges. They claim that these sales will generate Federal revenue.

Fine, so why is the price to industry being set at a small percentage of the fair market value? If the special interests are going to walk off with public resources, and wreck some of the most precious wilderness areas left in the country, shouldn't they at least have to pay full price?

The development of public lands will create jobs, some insist. But the net number of new jobs actually created is usually quite small, since companies just move on when local resources are exhausted.

Logging, mining and drilling rates are set to make quick profits, not establish a sustainable local industry. So new jobs at one site merely cancel lost jobs at the last site. Employment in these localities goes from boom to bust in a few years. So why is taxpayers' money being spent to pay for roads and infrastructure to assist these companies? Is this in the public interest?

Onerous fuel efficiency and pollution standards are allegedly hobbling the competitiveness of the U.S. auto industry. The U.S. auto makers, President Bush and some in Congress would like to relax the rules. But can it really be environmental regulation that is



David Suter

closing auto plants when the very foreign cars that are swamping domestic sales perform better in fuel efficiency and emissions control tests? And then again a recent survey showed that 70 percent of American auto buyers would be willing to pay more money for more fuel-efficient cars. How does working against the market help American competitiveness?

The White House Council on Competitiveness believes that overly restrictive wetlands protection is stifling economic recovery, and so it would like to open up half of America's remaining wetlands to condominium and shopping mall development. But the issue is more than

Special interests use workers as a propaganda tool.

swamps versus shops. Wetlands are essential to controlling drinking-water pollution and storm and flood damage. How does developing wetlands help American competitiveness when taxpayers end up having to foot the bill for new water treatment plants and the expansion of federally subsidized flood insurance for ill-placed developers' projects?

The simple fact is that environmental regulation is not the reason that tens of billions of dollars worth of savings and loans went belly up, that real estate construction collapsed or that hundreds of thousands of American workers suddenly found themselves unemployed. Nor will environmental neglect buy prosperity or full employment — a poignant lesson of the collapse of the Communist economies in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Environment bashing, like Japan bashing, is a political gimmick of special interests. Environmental protection is a public interest that does not conflict with economic prosperity. Relaxing environmental protection will only mean that more Americans will breathe dirty air, drink contaminated water and have to travel farther to see a bird while they search for menial jobs at half-vacant shopping malls. □

Park, Forest Officials Allege GOP Pressure

Two Caught in Crossfire Over Public Lands

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two senior federal officials who were transferred from their jobs overseeing millions of acres of national parks and forests in the West told a congressional subcommittee yesterday that their stewardship of those resources was compromised by political pressure from Republican lawmakers and the White House.

The two officials—John Mumma, the National Forest Service regional forester for 25 million acres primarily in the northern Rockies, and Loretta Lorraine Mintzmyer, the National Park Service's regional director for the Rocky Mountain region—told the subcommittee their transfers stemmed from decisions on timber and park management that angered commercial interests with powerful political connections in Washington.

The testimony by the two members of the Senior Executive Service highlighted the intensifying struggle over resource allocation and public land use in the West between environmental groups and timber, mining and grazing interests. It also illustrates how government employees in the field are increasingly caught in that crossfire and in political disputes between the Bush administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Some lawmakers and environmental groups believe the order transferring Mumma is part of a larger campaign to intimidate field employees of the Forest Service into acquiescing in higher timber production. Ten days ago, for example, Forest Service Director F. Dale Robertson reversed an attempt by Lolo National Forest supervisor Orville L. Daniels to reduce cutting in the Montana forest from 78 million board feet per year to 52 million board feet.

In her testimony, Mintzmyer said her responsibility for preparing a comprehensive management plan for the Yellowstone National Park area was undercut through pressure from White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and that the document was subsequently wa-

tered down to "a brochure" because of "strictly political concerns." A 32-year employee of the Park Service, Mintzmyer has accepted the agency's insistence that she be transferred to its mid-Atlantic office in Philadelphia.

Mumma, a 28-year veteran of the Forest Service, cited "undue interference and pressure by political figures" intent on forcing larger timber harvests on public lands in the West as a major factor in his being ordered to a job in Washington. Mumma told members of the civil service subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that he will resign from the Forest Service rather than agree to the transfer.

"I have done everything I can to meet all of my [timber cutting] targets," Mumma told the subcommittee, arguing that it is often impossible to meet those targets and comply with federal environmental and wildlife protection laws. "I have failed to reach the quotas only because to do so would have required me to violate federal law. . . . I am extremely disappointed that what I feel as the political pressures I have dealt with over the last few years in my region have now apparently resulted in the decision to remove me from this region."

Annual timber-cutting targets are set by multi-year plans for individual forests and by congressional appropriations bills.

The Forest Service and the Interior Department have denied that the transfers of Mumma and Mintzmyer were reprisals, saying that they were routine personnel shifts.

The Interior Department and the White House also denied Mintzmyer's assertion that Sununu had intervened in the Interior Department's preparation of the Yellowstone management plan. Mintzmyer said that she had been told by Interior principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks Scott S. Sewell that Sununu had "personally spoken to him about this issue," conveying the White House view that "from a political perspective the existing draft . . . was a disaster and must be rewritten."

Interior spokesman Steven Goldstein and White House deputy press secretary Gary Foster said Sununu had never had any communication with Sewell on the Yellowstone document, known as the "Vision Plan."

Mumma also made allegations against a number of other political figures during his testimony to the subcommittee. He said, for instance, that he had been told by the chief of the Forest Service that Rep. Ron Marlenee (R-Mont.) had insisted that Mumma not be recertified in the Senior Executive Service and that Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.) was receiving regular reports on an inspector general's investigation into his tenure as regional forester.

Marlenee and Burns flatly denied the allegations.

The sometimes dramatic testimony by Mintzmyer and Mumma—who broke down in tears toward the end of his opening statement as he proclaimed his dedication to the Forest Service—brought angry denunciations by Democratic lawmakers who

said the cases demonstrate a disregard both for federal employees' rights and the nation's resources.

"Civil servants must be allowed to do their jobs without the undue influence of the monied and the powerful and fear of political reprisal," said subcommittee Chairman Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.).

Rep. Pat Williams (D-Mont.) said the cases of Mumma and Mintzmyer represent the tip of "an iceberg of a scandal" involving the "inappropriate political intervention in land management by the Park Service and Forest Service."

But Rep. Don Young (Alaska), the ranking GOP member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, said that absent administration testimony—which is to come later—the hearings into the Mumma and Mintzmyer transfers would become just a "media event." Some former Forest Service employees attending the hearing said Mumma is incorrect in his assertion that timber targets cannot be met without violating environmental laws.

The Owl's Golden Egg

Environmentalism Could Boost Lumber Profits and Prices

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

EUGENE, Ore.

It is sometimes hard to tell the winners and the losers, and why each is winning or losing, in the war over timber cutting on federal land in the Pacific Northwest.

The regional timber industry has sought to portray itself as a clear loser if environmentalists get their way and the timber harvest is sharply curtailed to protect recreational uses, scenic vistas, water quality, fisheries and wildlife such as the officially endangered spotted owl.

Nevertheless, a few weeks ago Mark S. Rogers, a wood industry analyst at Prudential Securities Inc. in New York, declared in a headline on a research paper, "What's Good for the Spotted Owl Is Great for the Wood-Products Industry."

"No tonic could be better for the depressed wood-products industry than a decrease in capacity coinciding with an increase in demand," Rogers wrote. "Thanks to the controversy over the spotted owl, industry capacity is almost certain to be cut just as the housing recovery begins to stimulate demand."

Rogers said the lumber industry has been plagued for more than a decade with too much production capacity, a condition that has kept profits low. Reduced harvests in this region will lead to a cut in industry capacity of 5 percent to 10 percent and a rebound in profits, he predicted.

This follows a decade in which national lumber production surged, rising from 31.8 billion board feet in 1981 to 49 billion board feet in 1989, as construction boomed around the country. This means the reexamination of the role of the national forests

as a wood reserve is taking place at a time when the industry already is undergoing change.

The adjustment is easier for the big national companies such as Weyerhaeuser Co. and Georgia-Pacific Corp., which in the 1950s and 1960s made big investments in the Southeast, where land was relatively cheap and it is possible to grow southern pine like a crop that is harvested every 30 or so years. The five Southeastern states of Georgia, Florida, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina already supply about a quarter of the nation's timber, more than the western coastal region of Oregon, Washington and California.

Jeff Olsen, an economist with the Wilderness Society, one of the environmental groups seeking to protect the remnants of this region's ancient fir and hemlock forests, also argues that the biggest firms in the industry began years ago to shift the focus of

their operations away from the Pacific Northwest after they had cut the bulk of the mature timber on their own land.

The symbol of that shift is the tower in downtown Atlanta that houses the headquarters of Georgia-Pacific, which moved there from Portland, Ore., in 1982.

Olsen said that between 1978—long before the spotted owl became an issue—and 1990, Georgia-Pacific and the six other largest lumber firms operating in the Northwest reduced their combined mill capacity in the region by one-third. Meanwhile, the seven companies were increasing their mill capacity in the South, where fast-growing, privately owned pine forests provide the bulk of the raw material, by 121 percent.

This shift has provoked regional political frictions.

Private timber interests in the Southeast contend that the timber

coming off the public lands of the Pacific Northwest depresses the price of their lumber, and they have made no secret of their support for environmental groups seeking to restrict the harvest in the national forests.

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) last year combined environmentalism and support for Georgia's private timber interests when he proposed cutting \$100 million from the U.S. Forest Service's budget for road building. The road network provides access to uncut stands of timber on the federal lands.

The amendment, which was strongly backed by environmental groups, was narrowly defeated.

Neither the commercial nor environmental arguments for reducing the Northwest harvest are persuasive to the loggers, mill workers and contractors who cut and haul logs in the forests of Oregon or Washington.

See **TIMBER**, H4, Col. 1

Lumbering May Benefit From Cuts

TIMBER, From H1

Many see their livelihoods in danger if the timber harvest on federal land is curtailed. Small- and medium-sized lumber and plywood companies, which fear they may not be among the survivors as industry capacity declines, are pressing members of Congress to save their businesses rather than owls.

Among those that may not share in the profits is Bohemia Inc., a company based here that has 2,100 employees turning out about \$300 million worth of lumber, plywood, laminated beams and other products annually at a dozen mills in Oregon and California. Bohemia, founded 75 years ago on the nearby Row River, decided late last year to liquidate itself rather than subject its stockholders to year after year of substandard profits.

With almost everyone conceding that the amount of timber cut on federal land is going to be reduced at least by half and maybe by much more than that, many companies, including Bohemia, can no longer count on having enough logs at a price they can afford to run their mills profitably.

"We are caught in the middle and we see no way out," said L.L. "Stub" Stewart, a director and retired chairman whose father helped found the company. "You hate like hell to see this happening after having been in business for 75 years."

While Bohemia's workers may come out losers, Bohemia's stockholders may not.

Ironically, the same forces that convinced Bohemia's president, Richard D. Tinney, and its board to sell out have made the company far more valuable.

Bohemia has 48,000 acres of woodland in Oregon and California that are now worth enough that analysts expect the company's shareholders to receive three or four times the \$8.25 per share its stock was selling for when the firm's liquidation was announced last December.

Other owners of softwood timber, whether in large stands or small, both here and in the South, should see a similar windfall. While they may not have noticed, individual landowners in Virginia or along the coast of South

Carolina who have stands of pine likely are a bit wealthier because of the cutting restrictions here.

Those restrictions, the full extent of which is still being thrashed out in Congress and the federal courts, has already sharply increased selling prices for logs from both federal and private land in this area. In similar fashion, as lumber production in the Southeastern United States rises to offset the lost output here, some of the tens of thousands of timber jobs being lost here will reappear in that region.

The larger companies, such as Weyerhaeuser, also benefit. Lynn Michaelis, chief economist for the company, agreed that "to a certain extent, we benefit from higher prices" for logs. However, those higher prices have the same impact on the profitability of some Weyerhaeuser processing operations as those of companies that do not own their own timber, he said. Some Weyerhaeuser mills already have been shuttered.

Michaelis said excess capacity in the industry held down the price of lumber during the 1980s to the point that it rose about 15 percent less than prices of goods and services generally. In other words, the real cost of lumber fell about 15 percent over the decade, making the cost of building homes lower than it otherwise would have been.

Now Michaelis believes the cutting restrictions are likely to provide a one-time 10 percent boost in lumber prices. With basic lumber and plywood accounting for 3 percent or so of the cost of an average house, restricting the cut on federal land here would raise the price of a \$100,000 home by about \$300, he said.

Richard Haynes, an economist at the Forest Service's Pacific Northwest Research Station in Portland, has come up with figures that are even smaller, about \$200 for an average home.

"That's the rub," Haynes said. "The cost to you, or me, is very small. . . . The economic impact is felt most in the region. What is causing the political impact is the localized effect. . . . Places like Sweet Home could be losing its entire manufacturing base." Sweet Home is a town of about 7,000 at the western edge of the Cascade Mountains northeast of here.

'80s Legacy Continues

The job losses and business closings that are on the way will hurt even more because they are a continuation of what happened here during the 1980s.

While the fight over the spotted owl is only now coming to a head, the struggle over old-growth forests has been a long-running battle.

"The basic turmoil has been a 20-year process we have been going through on land allocation," said Steve Paulson, who is in charge of timber sales at the Forest Service's regional headquarters in Portland. "The owl is only a surrogate for the land allocation issue."

Nevertheless, until recently, the efforts by environmentalists to reduce cutting of the region's remaining old-growth forests to enhance other uses such as recreation and to protect wildlife, including the owl, had not actually much affected the amount of timber being cut on federal land. During the latter half of the 1980s, more than 5 billion board feet was harvested each year. In fact, the cut on federal land rose to an all-time peak, according to Haynes.

Falling Payrolls

Despite the size of the federal cut, however, between 1979 and 1989 employment in the lumber and wood products industries in Washington and Oregon fell from 133,800 to 109,000. As mill owners who could afford it poured millions of dollars into their facilities to improve their efficiency, their payrolls fell. The mill owners who could not afford the investment shut down, and those jobs were lost as well.

In a nutshell, the industry showed the same pattern of increased production and efficiency and declining employment that appeared in most parts of the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy in the 1980s.

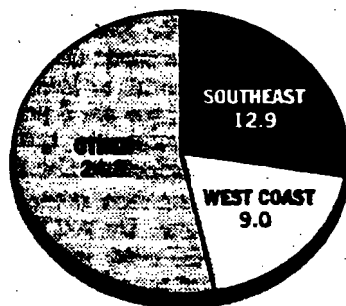
Paul F. Ehringer, a former timber industry executive who is now a consultant, tracks mill closings in the region. Since the beginning of 1980, Ehringer said, 205 mills turning out lumber, plywood, veneer and other products have closed in Washington and Oregon, costing about 18,800 jobs.

The Forest Service's Haynes estimated that saving most of the re-



LUMBER PRODUCTION

1990 ESTIMATES, IN BILLIONS OF BOARD FEET



SOURCE: American Forest Council

BY JOHN GUSTINA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Logs await processing at sawmill in Oregon. The industry has been plagued by too much production for more than a decade.

maining old-growth forest will cost the region about the same number of jobs it lost in the past decade for purely economic reasons.

"We are speeding up a decade of changes," the Forest Service's Haynes declared. "The spotted owl compresses it into a couple of years."

This process is playing itself out in the Willamette National Forest east of here, where Bohemia, seeing no way to avoid a shortage of large logs, closed its lumber mill on Culp Creek. Some of the 350 employees who lost their jobs had been with the company for more than 35 years, Stewart said.

Some have since found new jobs. Some are training at the community college here for new careers in high-technology jobs. Many, however, are still unemployed, and others have retired years before they planned to put their feet up.

The mill itself, its equipment auctioned this spring partly at scrap prices, stands deserted with gaping holes in its roof and no prospect it will ever operate again. Its payroll has been

lost to the community and most of its value has disappeared from the tax base of Lane County, an area the size of the state of Connecticut that produces more timber than any other area in the nation.

Bohemia's Stewart and other company executives, such as Gene Stevens, who oversees their Oregon logging operations, all are resigned to what is coming. But they all also regard it as a waste.

Flying over land east of here owned by Bohemia, Weyerhaeuser and other firms, the two men pointed out the mosaic of mature trees ready to be cut, areas recently stripped of timber and replanted plots with trees ranging from seedlings up to trees 25 or 30 years old. To them, the land was like a farm raising a crop with an exceptionally long growing season.

Ragged Forests

The Willamette National Forest was a mosaic, too, with clear cuts and replanted areas. But there, many of the mature trees were part of the old-growth forest—trees 160 to sev-

eral hundred years old. The old-growth forest had a ragged appearance, with trees missing tops, standing dead snags and many trees down on the forest floor.

On Hill's Creek near Wolf Mountain, Bohemia was hauling out timber bought from the national forest and cut last fall. The old-growth trees, with an average of 1,500 to 2,000 board feet of timber each, were worth about \$400 per thousand board feet, Stevens said.

The logs were heading for Bohemia's sawmill in Coburg, just north of here, to be turned into lumber or to be peeled into thin panels for making plywood. "This is real tree-growing country," exclaimed Stewart, whose grandfather homesteaded land not far away and whose father bossed a logging camp in another valley.

Now, after a century and a half of intensive harvesting, timber is taking a back seat in the Pacific Northwest. The southern pine plywood available for sale in lumber stores here is clear evidence of that.

Report claims increased productivity, not owls, eliminating most timber jobs

By KATHIE DURBIN

of The Oregonian staff

Boosts in productivity will cost the Northwest timber industry more jobs than will be lost by preserving old-growth forests, The Wilderness Society said in a report released Wednesday.

The report by the conservation group estimates higher productivity will cost more than 33,000 jobs in the region over the next 20 years.

Over the past 40 years, the report says, the federal government has allowed systematic logging of its forests to supply raw material for the timber industry.

"By the late 1980's, it became evident that if logging on federal land continued unabated through the 1990's, the ancient forests would be severely fragmented and their many economical values essentially destroyed," wrote George T. Frampton Jr., president of the The Wilderness Society in the report's introduction. "Yet, reducing federal timber supply for the region's mills and communities was seen by many as too great a price to pay for preserving the last of the ancient forests."

Profound changes in federal forest management — with corresponding reductions in logging of federal timber — will be necessary to prevent irreversible loss of biological diversity, Frampton wrote.

The report contends that banning log exports would more than offset reductions in federal timber supply to protect the spotted owl and old-growth forests.

Some timber economists dispute that, pointing out that much of the private timber cut for export is in areas distant from mills that are hurting because of restricted federal timber supplies — and might not be cut at all if lucrative foreign markets were not available.

The study, funded by the A.W. Mellon Foundation and the Pew Charitable Trusts, also looked at automation and the migration of the timber industry's major producers from the Northwest to the South over the past 13 years.

Between 1978 and 1990, the seven largest lumber and plywood companies reduced their manufacturing capacity in the Northwest by 34 percent and increased their capacity in the South by more than 121 percent, the study found. During the same period, lumber industry investment in the Northwest fell by 60 percent.

About 50 people from the Northwest timber industry staged a demonstration in front of the society's headquarters just before the report was released.

The group denounced the report as an attempt by the conservation group to "wash its hands of any responsibility for the

widespread economic unrest in California, Oregon and Washington."

"The pressure group still is refusing to accept any responsibility for its actions, while its attorneys and lobbyists pull out all the stops in order to shut down millions of acres of public forestland," said Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest Resource Alliance.

The report did recommend several actions to help workers and rural communities through the painful transition to an economy not based on cutting old growth trees.

Among the report's recommendations were:

- Increased funding and expanded eligibility for job retraining programs to help permanently displaced timber workers and their families obtain new skills.

- A six-month extension of unemployment benefits for unemployed workers who are enrolled in retraining programs, to allow them to complete the programs.

- Financial assistance for housing, health insurance and job search and relocation expenses.

- A change in the way federal timber receipts are distributed to counties, aimed at stabilizing revenue and reducing the pressure on federal forest managers to meet their timber sale targets.

The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1989

5 Copyright © 1989 The New York Times

With Fate of the Forests at Stake, Power Saws and Arguments Echo

By TIMOTHY EGAN

Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, March 19 — In the American rain forests, a misted expanse of coastal evergreens running from Northern California through Southeast Alaska, more of the tallest and oldest trees in the world are being cut from public land than ever before.

The cutting, spurred by profound changes in the timber industry, threatens the last stands of ancient trees in the United States, as well as the

throngs of animals and birds that have dwelled in the forests for eons.

The virgin timberlands that once covered much of the country have shrunk to a prized strip in the Far West, most of it owned by the Federal Government. These last ancient forests are being logged at the rate of 60,000 acres a year — three times the annual harvest at the height of the post-war building boom.

Some tree experts think only 2 million acres, about 10 percent, is left of the forest that was here before colonial times. Other estimates are as high as 6 million acres, or 30 percent. Some scientists and conservationists think the old forests will be gone in three decades if logging continues at the present rate. Others say it could be 15 years.

An Industry in Change

The cutting stems from industry changes as predictable as automation and as hard to control as foreign prosperity. Foreign timber companies are able to outbid American companies for logs from state and private lands. That has put more pressure on American companies to log the last remaining large source of raw wood for domestic use: the national forests. The companies plant new trees to replace the ones they cut, but seeds planted today will not become full-grown trees for decades.

For generations, the Forest Service was seen as the protector of the national forests, and the agency insists it still is. But some conservationists think the agency has become too cozy in recent years with the timber industry.

"Smokey the Bear has become Mr. Lumberjack," is how one conservationist group put it.

Paradoxically, all this cutting has

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Smokey the Bear
has become Mr.
Lumberjack,
some say.

Forest Debate Grows, as Saws Buzz

Continued From Page 1

not brought prosperity to everyone. Although the huge timber companies that export heavily and rely on automation are doing well, there is double-digit unemployment in many small Northwest communities that depend on the small mills. Economists blame much of this on the export of raw logs, which go from forest to ship without touching a mill worker's hand, and on automation. Never before have so many trees been cut in America by so few people.

Fires Slow the Logging

Nationwide, the amount of timber stripped from the 156 national forests reached an all-time high of 12.7 billion board feet in 1987. That record would have been exceeded last year, had not logging been curtailed by forest fires.

In the Northwest alone, a record 5.5 billion board feet (a typical 30-foot tree yields about 1,000 board feet) were logged from 19 national forests in 1988, about 20 percent more than 10 years ago. Most of that was irreplaceable "old growth," virgin timber or trees two centuries or more old.

Before World War II, virtually no timber was cut from these forests, which President Theodore Roosevelt placed into the national trust in 1905. Surrounded by expanding cities and cleared-over private lands, the Government forests have become the last home for some plants and wildlife at the very time they are being most intensively logged.

Conservationists say the 191 million-acre national forest system is in grave jeopardy. About 32 million of those acres have been designated "wilderness" and are inviolate. Twenty-three million acres of that land is in Alaska. In any event, much of the wilderness land is mountainous rather than timber-bearing.

About 10 percent of the national forest system is in the Northwest, and virtually all of the national system's virgin timber is there.



The New York Times/Michael O'Leary

A cleared area of the Mt. Baker National Forest in Washington State. More trees are being cut from Northwest rain forests than ever before.

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1989



The New York Times/Michael O'Leary

Timber taken from rain forests in the American Northwest being loaded onto a ship in Everett, Wash., for transport to Japan. One in four logs cut

from the West Coast, including Alaska, was sent overseas last year without ever touching an American millworker's hands.

©1989 The New York Times

One Log in Four

By the year 2000, timber — when measured by actual volume of wood, not number of trees — will be cut nearly twice as fast on national forests as new trees can replace it, according to a Forest Service analysis done this year.

One in four logs cut from the West Coast, including Alaska, was sent overseas last year, an all-time record, according to the Commerce Department. In the last 10 years, logs equal to a forest of 600,000 acres were sent overseas.

Fine-grained Douglas fir, hemlock, spruce and cedar, the most prized trees in the softwood lumber trade, come from the coastal rain forests, as do redwood and sequoia. Wood from these forests built the frontier towns of San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and much of the houses constructed in that post-war boom. Now the wood from those forests is the raw material for a Japanese home-building boom.

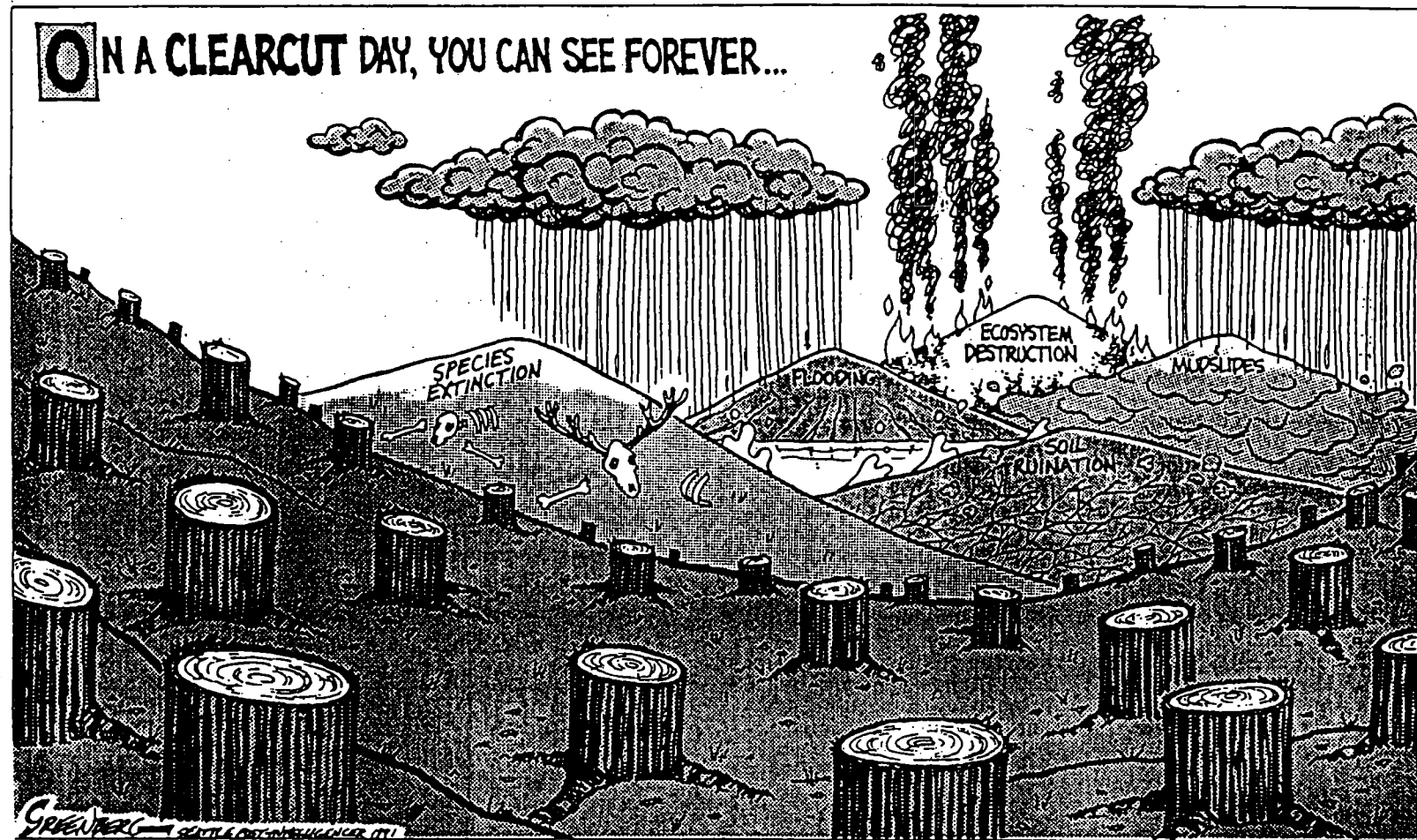
Small mill owners used to bid for wood from state and private forests. But in the midst of the export boom, small mills have been unable to match the bids of foreign log buyers, mainly the Japanese, who are buying up more and more logs from state and private lands.

As a result, the small mill owners are pressuring the Forest Service to let them cut more trees from Federal land, the only area from which log exports are prohibited. Big companies are also pressuring for more access to national forests as they cut the last of their own trees.

V. Cartoons

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

THE NEW FORESTRY



OWDNE

TECHNICAL
DRAWING

...ENVIRONMENTALISTS ARE
TOO NEGATIVE. FOR INSTANCE,
THEY WOULD SAY THIS TREE
IS CUT. I PREFER TO SAY IT'S
HALF-STANDING...

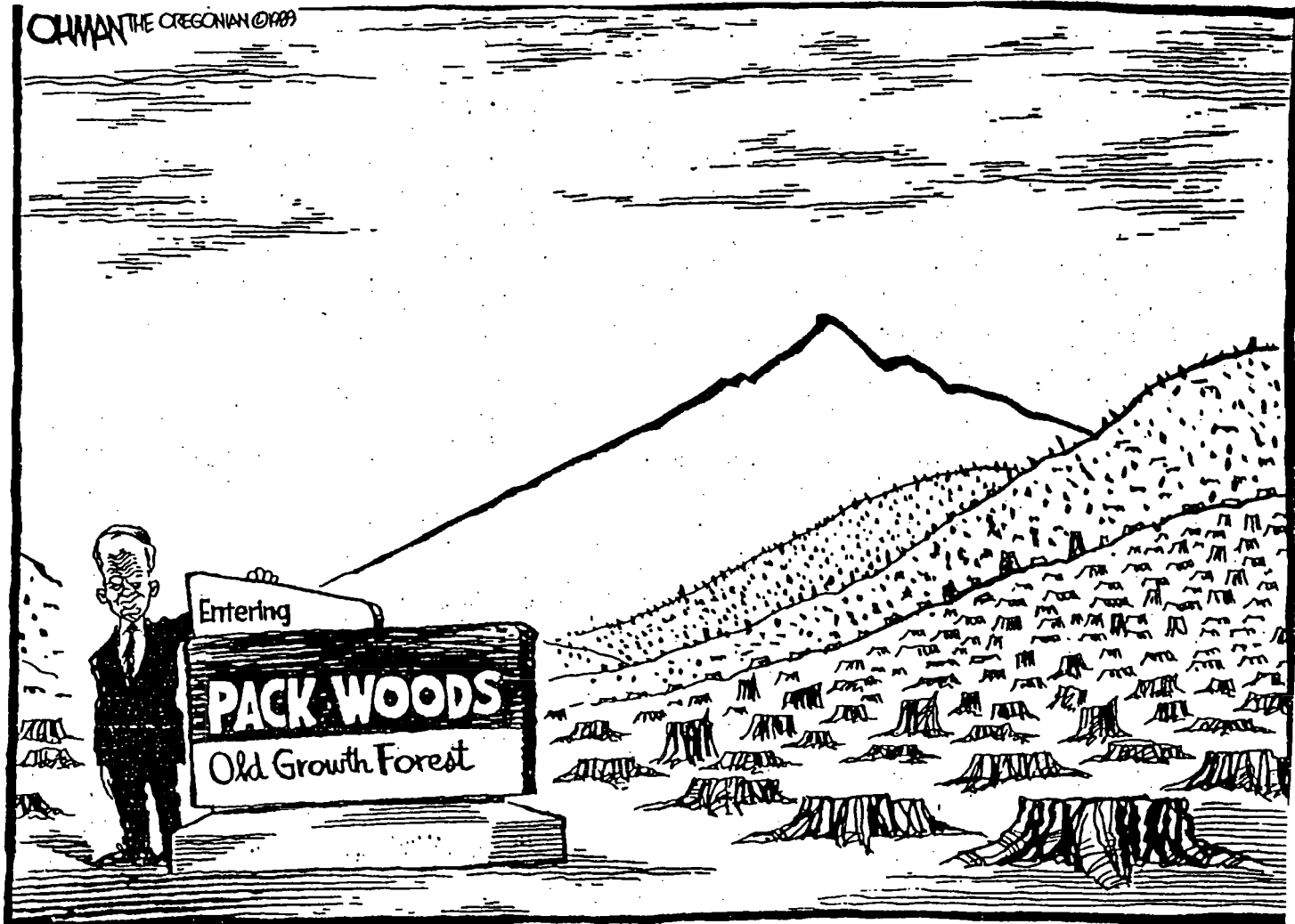


ONE LAST
GREAT ACT
of
Defiance

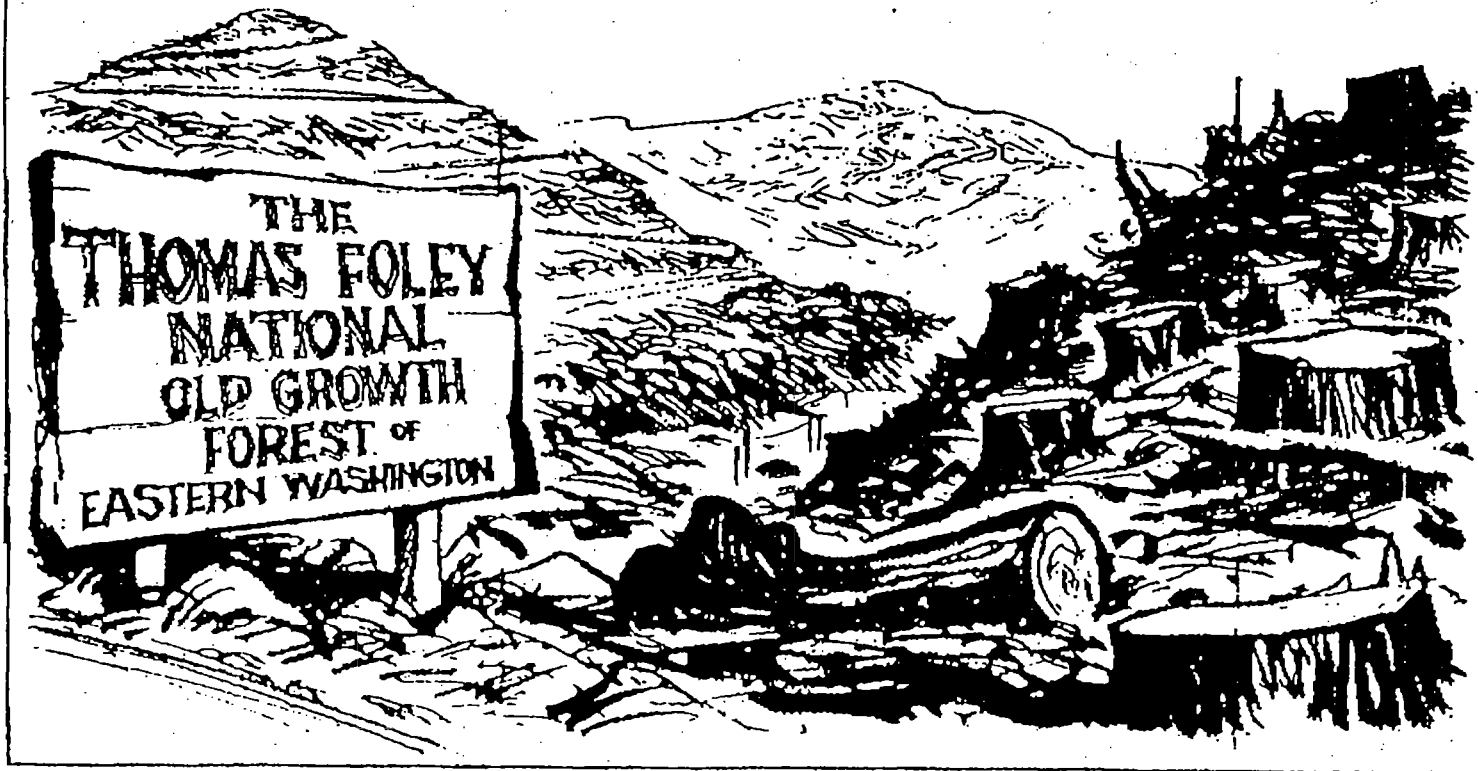
©1994 THE NEW YORK TIMES BOW BASSET



Portland Oregonian, 29 May 1989

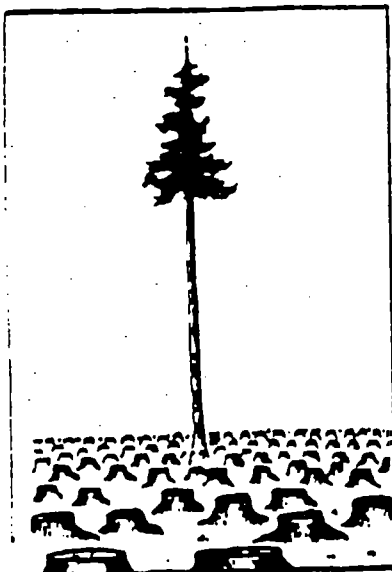
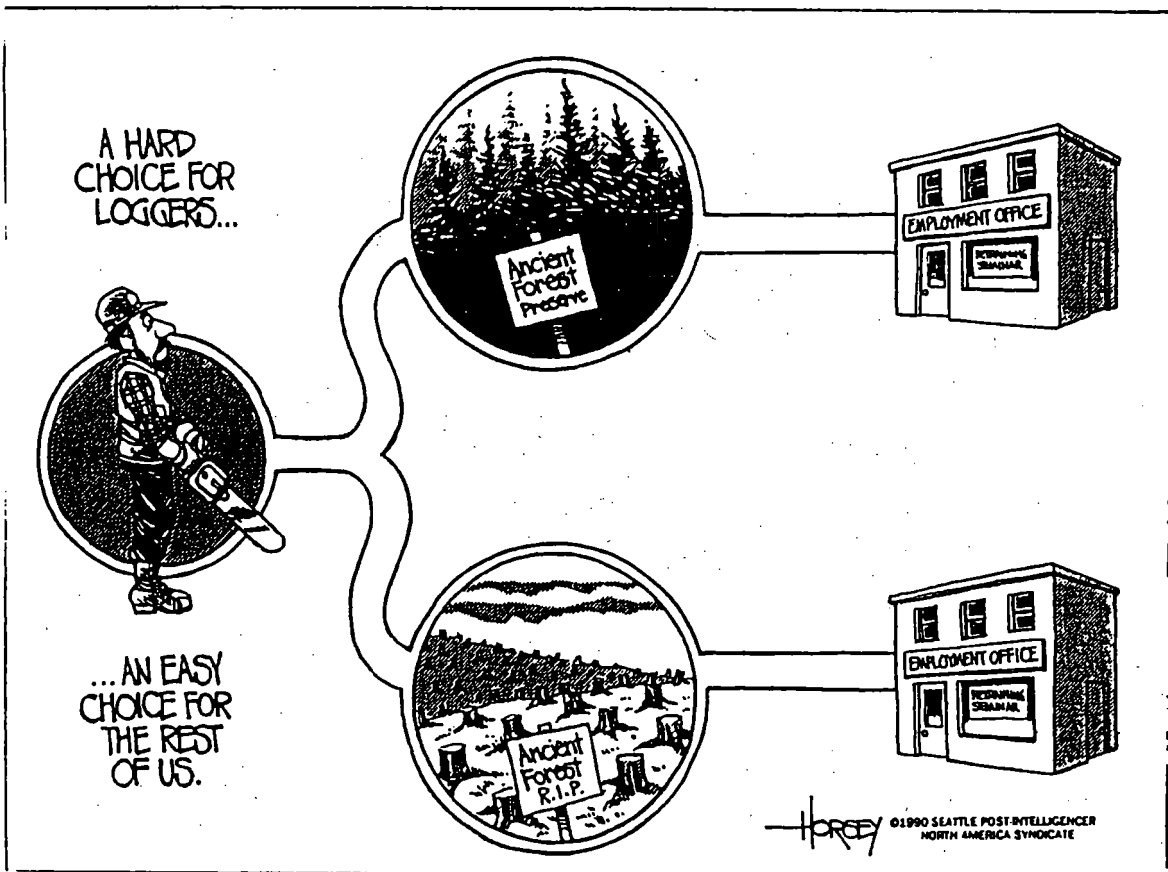


RIGGS IN THE SPOKESMAN REVIEW SPOKANE CHRONICLE





Scott Willis — Mercury News

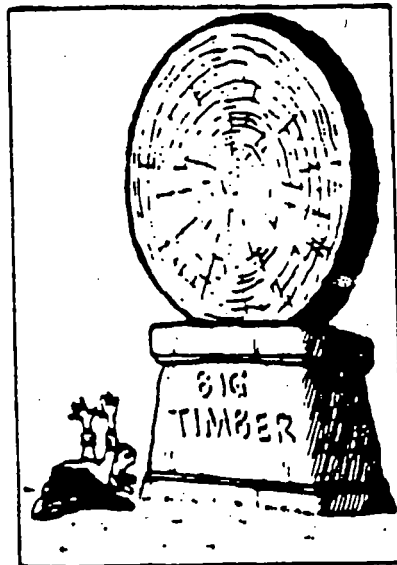


BY ALTH FOR THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

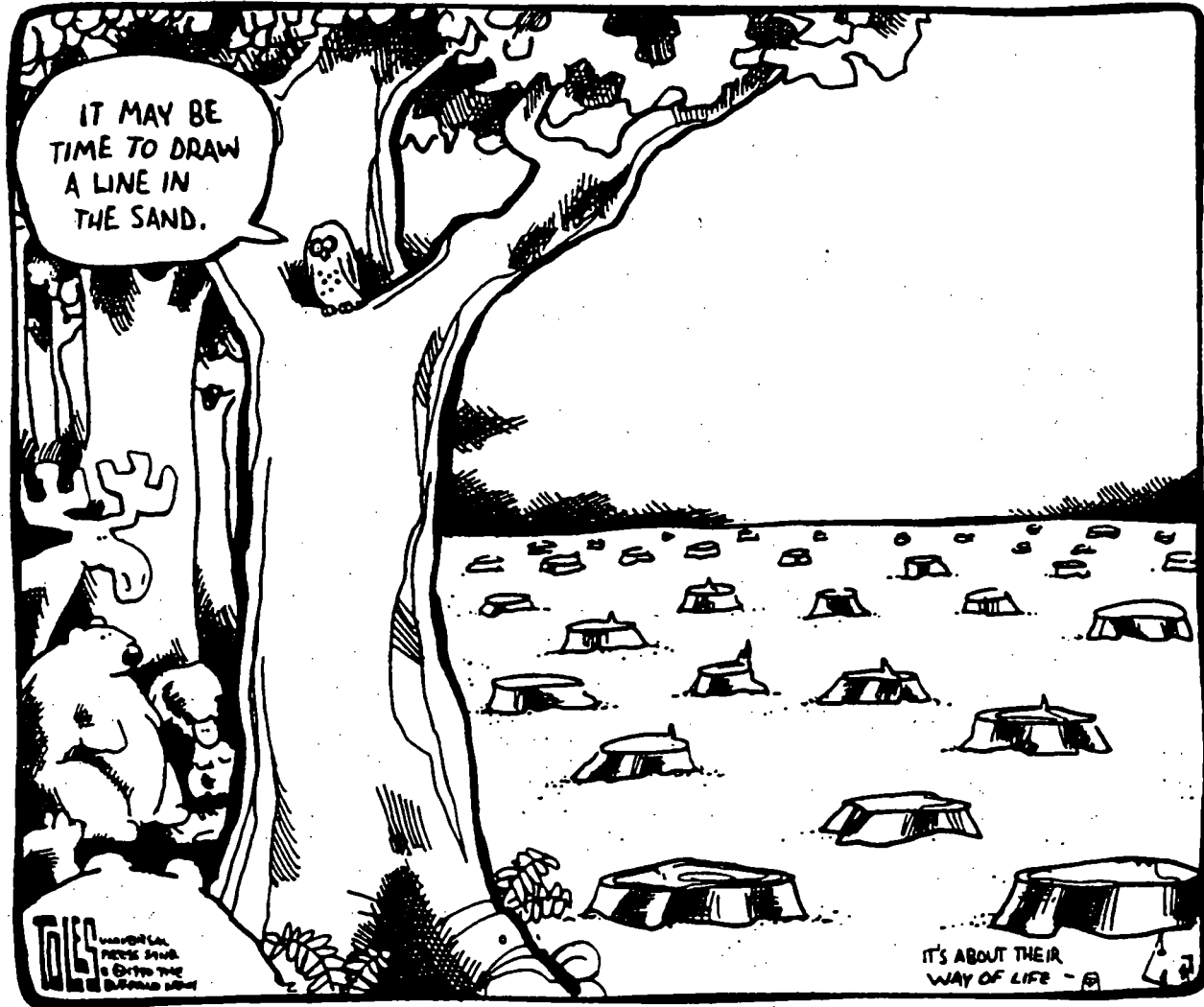
OLD-GROWTH
FOREST
(GOING...)



SPOTTED
OWL
(GOING...)



PRESIDENTIAL
BACKBONE
(GONE.)



From: The Boston Globe
Monday, Sept 3, 1990



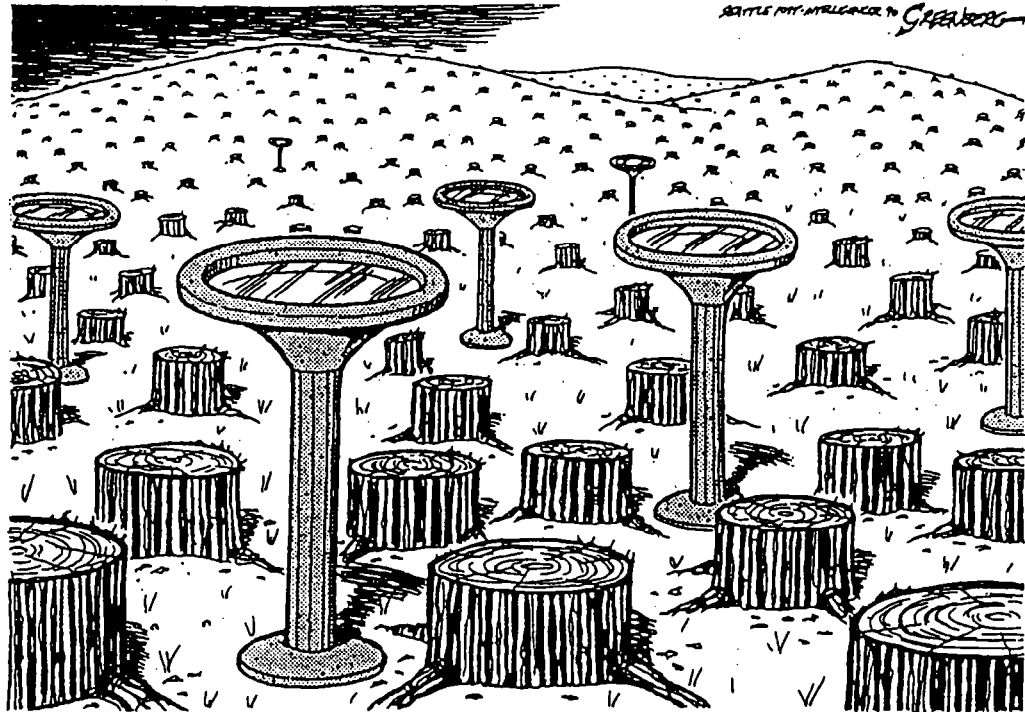
"QUICK! LOOK OVER THERE! IT'S THAT DANG SPOTTED OWL THAT MADE ME CLOSE YOUR MILL!"

Rip Van Bush



Seattle Post-Intelligencer

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER TO GREENBERG



LOGGING INDUSTRY ALTERNATIVE TO SHOW ITS CONCERN FOR THE SPOTTED OWL

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1989



Meanwhile, back in the Pacific Northwest . . .



The Demise of
Northwest Timber
Industry Jobs...

The Spotted Owl...



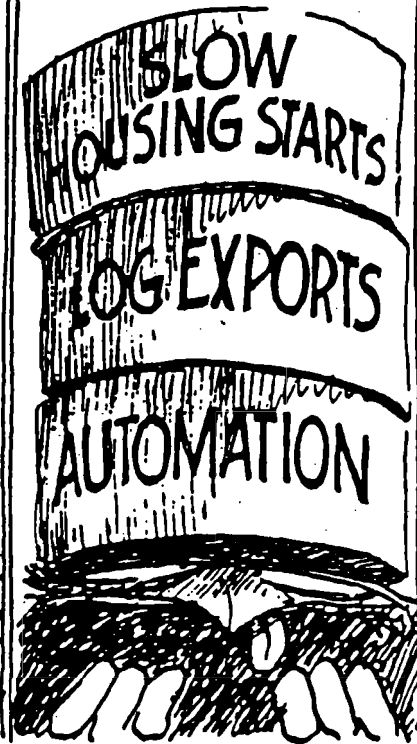
in addition to...



plus...

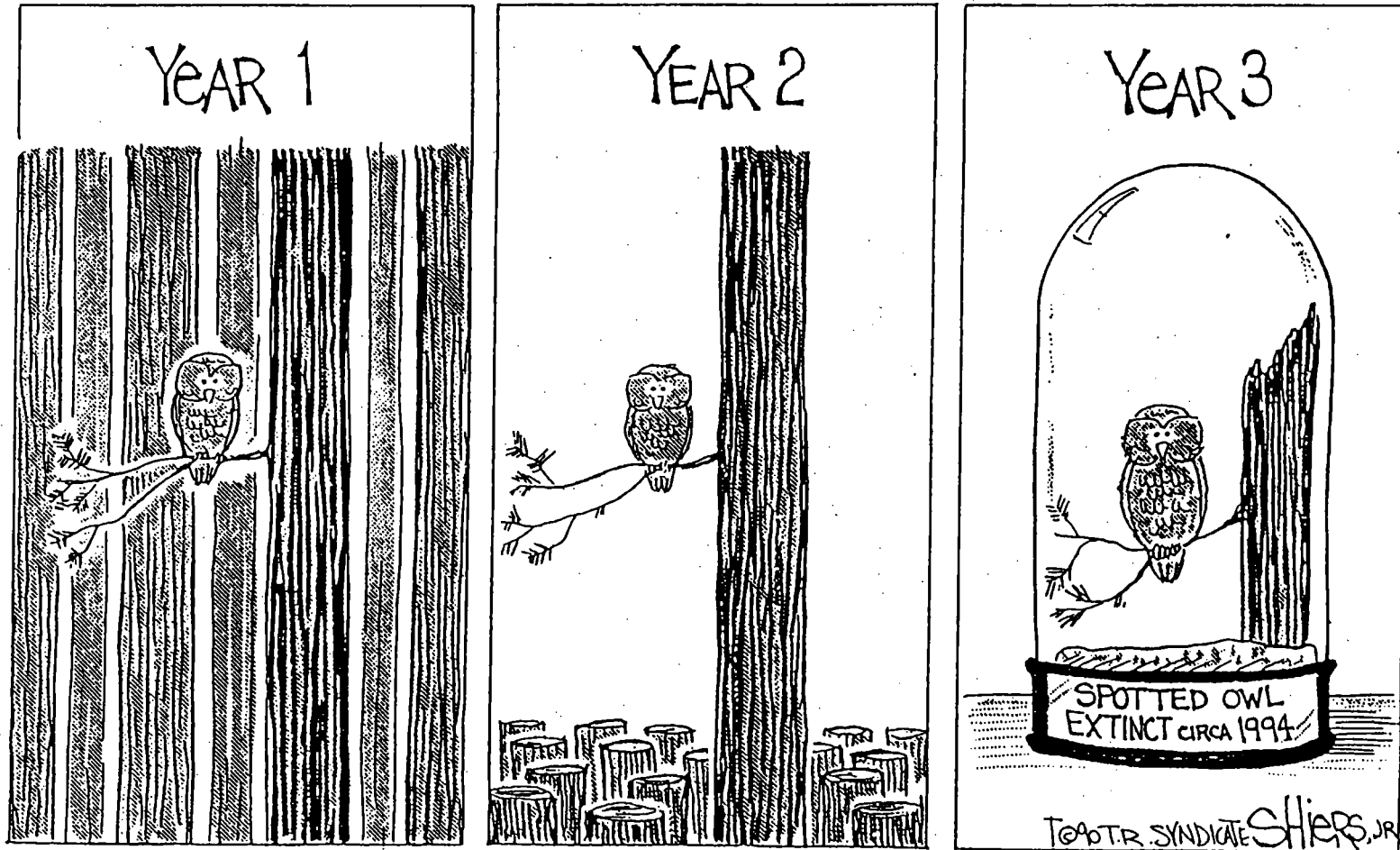


and...



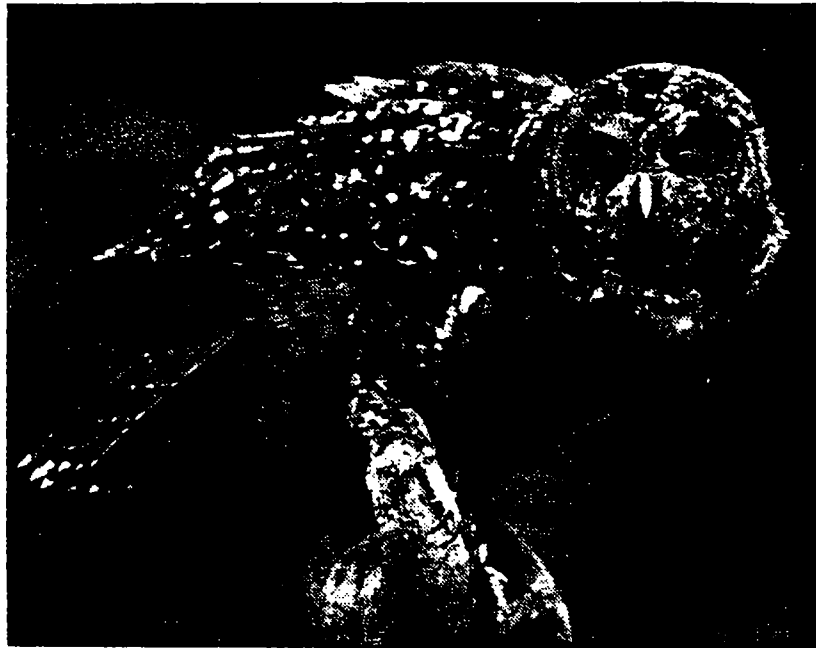
W. MARVIN ©1990

HOW GOVERNOR GARDNER'S 3 YEAR "PHASE OUT" OF OLD
GROWTH LOGGING WILL PRESERVE THE NORTHERN SPOTTED OWL:



VI. Letters to the Editor

Letters



Los Angeles Times

It's Not the Owl That Made Happy Camp Sad

The people of Happy Camp may believe that they are being killed by owls, "Spooked by an Owl, Town Fights Its Future" (April 23), but in truth the economic problems of their town did not arise because the spotted owl habitually roosts in the snags of the Pacific Northwest. Their troubles result from having looked upon the federal timberlands as inexhaustible—a great bonanza that would continue to provide riches for the indefinite future. But now the forests, like the gold mines of Happy Camp, are giving out.

The Forest Service is to be blamed, not for the slowing down of timber sales, which is inevitable, but more for encouraging the timber dependence of communities such as Happy Camp—building roads into the forests at taxpayer expense, selling timber below marketing costs and in other ways promoting over-cutting of timber.

The owl controversy has merely given publicity to a disastrous policy of long standing. The owls' and other cavity-nesting species' need for undisturbed forest areas has focused attention on the harvesting methods advocated by the Forest Service, such as clear-cutting and shelterwood cutting, in which large openings are created and the attempt is then made to regenerate the forest into "even-aged" timber stands. Such stands will not provide satisfactory habitat for creatures adapted to life in a primeval forest for several hundred years, if ever.

Today, only about 5% or less of the tremendous stretches of old-growth forests that once blanketed the Pacific Northwest still remain uncut. The preservation of at least a portion of these forests must be made a national priority. Legislation recently introduced in Con-

gress seeks to establish a national ancient forest reserve system, setting aside large tracts of old-growth forest in which logging and road building would be prohibited.

The ancient forest issue is not a contest between people and owls. The old-growth forests provide habitat for many other rare, threatened and endangered species of plants, fish, animals and birds. Moreover, the human benefits of ancient forests, both material and spiritual, are enormous.

NELLIE D. PATTERSON
Pacific Palisades

Ask Not for Whom the Owl Hoots

To the Editor:

You report that Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. has proposed an exception to the Endangered Species Act "in order to save jobs and permit logging" in the last great stands of Douglas fir and spruce in Washington, Oregon and California, the only habitat of the endangered northern spotted owl (news article, Feb. 21)

You quote environmentalists as describing remnant old-growth forests as the residue of a unique and irreplaceable resource, but you allude not at all to the greater reality: that our consumer-dominated society can't be sustained. Not only the spotted owl, but we also are heading for a dead end until we learn to accept being just part of a vast natural order.

Western man continues to devastate the biosphere, mining the stored riches of the planet, destroying topsoil, sacrificing biological diversity — the glue of Earth, and degrading both air and water quality; with a burgeoning humankind tending toward a monoculture, disaster looms.

Environmentalists are the lay priests of a different gospel that can help save us. The Endangered Species Act is a toehold for a society



Thomas Kerr

spinning out of control. The battles over the act are a thermometer for the confrontation.

You seem not to understand this, and including a large photograph of a spotted owl makes me want to spit. The adjustments that lie ahead will be hard enough without your colluding subtly with the shortsighted perception that the argument is jobs versus owl.

ARCHIE RUPRECHT
Seattle, Feb. 27, 1992

Saving the ancient forests will save region's economy, too

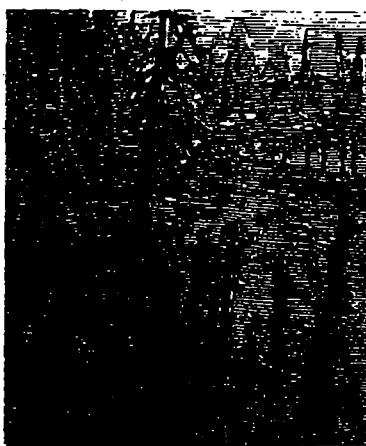
Your Feb. 27 editorial blast ("Jim Jontz National Park") at efforts to protect the ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest hit the wrong target.

Intent on enviro-bashing, the editorial merely repeats breezy boilerplate from an industry scrambling to duck responsibility for job losses and eager to pin the blame on others.

In the past decade, the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest has become leaner and more efficient — production of lumber and plywood is up 10 percent while more than 26,000 timber jobs have disappeared, say state, federal and industry experts. Industry retooling has been so successful that in 1979, the average mill in the Pacific Northwest needed 4.5 workers to make each 1 million board-feet of lumber, but by 1990, fewer than three workers were used to make the same amount of lumber. This trend demonstrates why cutting old-growth trees does not, and will not, create more timber jobs.

Workers have also been hit hard by the industry's decade-long ex-

port binge. The equivalent of nearly 32,000 U.S. jobs were lost to timber exports from Washington and Oregon in 1989. Today, the United States is both the largest



exporter of raw logs and largest importer of finished wood products.

Your editorial overlooked the numerous benefits to society of protecting the ancient forests, such as clean water for homes and businesses, valued at tens of mil-

lions of dollars annually; a robust outdoor recreation and tourism industry that pours some \$6 billion into the region's economy every year; a multimillion-dollar salmon industry; and a unique quality of life that was an important factor in the creation of more than 160,000 new jobs in Washington and Oregon last year.

These invaluable non-timber benefits will be lost forever if the ancient forests are clear-cut to oblivion. Protecting the ancient forests may be the only way to ensure that the region enjoys sustainable economic development. The bill proposed by Rep. Jim Jontz is, so far, the only proposal for Congress to consider how to begin the process of making that happen.

LARRY TUTTLE
Oregon Regional Director
The Wilderness Society
Portland, Ore.

JEAN DURNING
Washington State Regional Director
The Wilderness Society
Seattle

A Cancer Drug Argues for Preservation

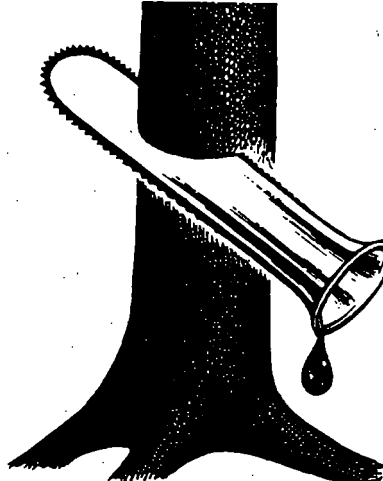
To the Editor:

I appreciated "Tree Yields a Cancer Treatment, but Ecological Cost May Be High" (front page, May 13), on the anticancer drug taxol, but not the implication there must be a trade-off between human health and old growth Pacific Northwest forests.

Many commonly used drugs have their origin in plant materials like the Pacific yew. But the problem, as you point out, is that the therapeutic compound in plants is usually present in very low concentrations. There simply are not enough plants to make enough of the drug commercially demanded.

The taxol situation actually supports an argument made for years by advocates of wild area preservation. Destruction of species destroys the availability of options with which to solve present or still unfaced problems. Here we have it: a relatively rare plant, the Pacific yew, is discovered to be the source of a promising treatment for a difficult-to-treat cancer.

SANDRA A. HOFFMANN
Madison, Wis., May 13, 1991



To the Editor:

Last year Agriculture Department scientists isolated taxol-producing cells and found a way to produce the drug in tissue culture. They hope to find a commercial partner to develop the process. Thanks to them, the yew tree would be saved. RITA CIRESI
University Park, Pa., May 14, 1991

Save our old growth forests

I wish to express my concern for the protection of our last remaining old growth forests in Colorado — more specifically, the Sandbench in the San Juan National forest. If the majority of Coloradans got involved in protecting this area, we could stop this timber sale — which I believe is illegal.

Hundreds of people are working to protect the Sandbench and bring the issue to a head. Dozens are being thrown in jail and arrested as well. It is unfortunate that many dedicated and sincere people have to resort to literally breaking the law to protect our last remaining old growth forests. The big question is why are laws being ignored that were passed in Congress to protect our forests?

JEFF KNIGHT
Aurora

Denver Post

December 15, 1991

VII. Opposition

The Act essentially considers only a single value. If, under the Act, a species is determined to be threatened, the species must not only be saved, but its numbers must be expanded at the expense of all other values — human, economic, and social.

The once productive forests of the Pacific Northwest have been crippled. The Forest Service's timber sale program in that region has been slashed from more than five billion board feet of timber per year to one billion board feet per year.

Of this billion board feet, 800 million will come from national forests in eastern Washington and Oregon, forests that are almost uninhabited by spotted owls.

If we apply the commonly used job multiplier of 18,000 jobs per billion board feet, this reduction from five billion board feet to one billion board feet means the loss of 72,000 jobs. The job loss estimates that range from 40,000 to 100,000 are, sadly, not exaggerated.

Real working people are suffering. They live in pain and grief. Recently, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported that the number of victims of domestic violence in Forks, Wash., has jumped 45 percent this year. The number of juveniles charged with assault in Forks has increased 148 percent.

Welfare grants for single-parent households in Forks increased 137 percent and food stamp grants increased 27 percent in just one month. Two children at Forks Elementary have made serious attempts at suicide.

Environmental organizations like to portray the timber industry as a group of greedy timber barons intent on mowing down the last stick on our National Forests. In fact, most of the communities suffering the greatest damage are tied to the national forests where large private companies play little or no role in timber harvesting.

The people of these communities are willing to pay a price to preserve our natural beauty — as long as that price is reasonable. But 40,000 workers losing their jobs in the



Photo courtesy United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

"The Forest Service's timber sale program in the Pacific Northwest has been slashed from more than five billion board feet of timber per year to one billion board feet per year," writes Washington Sen. Gorton. "Of this billion board feet, 800 million will come from national forests in eastern Washington and Oregon that are almost uninhabited by spotted owls." Above, a worker hoists a stack of boards from Willamette, Ore.

course of a year and dozens of communities becoming dislocated is not reasonable.

Critics argue that these job losses and this suffering are inevitable. They are not, and those who suggest otherwise are not looking at the facts.

Many downplay the impact of spotted owl decisions by claiming that Northwest

If you accept the concept of democratic policymaking as the blending of many values, the Endangered Species Act, as currently drafted, is profoundly undemocratic.

jobs will be lost anyway due to increased automation in Northwest mills. In fact, a great deal of technical enhancement took place in Northwest saw mills in the early 1980s.

Researchers have concluded that the 1990s will be a period in which automation has little or no impact on employment levels in Northwest mills.

It is also fashionable to point to the export of logs as the cause of thousands of job losses. The fact is Congress has prohibited

the export of logs from federal and state lands. The only remaining logs for export from the Northwest are those from privately owned lands.

Even if we supplemented the regional supply of timber manufactured in Northwest mills with the logs exported from private lands, we would not recover more than a small fraction of the volume of logs removed from the supply line by the imposition of spotted owl restrictions.

Some argue that timber job losses are inevitable because the Northwest is running out of timber anyway. Again, these arguments are dead wrong. Annual sales levels in our national forests have never exceeded the annual level of growth in volume. The law requires the Forest Service to plan for sales levels at the level of regeneration and even those levels have never been attained.

Although these factors may have a slight impact on jobs in the Northwest, it is wrong to deflect all responsibility from the Endangered Species Act for the dislocation and pain of thousands of Northwest families.

The belief that the federal government, through welfare or job retraining programs, can replace the productive jobs and careers lost by forest products workers, is misplaced.

Relocation and retraining will require a great deal more than just a moving van and six months at the local community college.

To replace the productive jobs and careers of unemployed workers, the government will be forced literally to buy homes, buy new slots in public schools, pave new roads, transplant businesses, and provide millions of dollars in new services.

Are federal taxpayers ready to pay those costs?

A reduction in timber supply from Northwest forests will not reduce worldwide demand for wood products. Economists predict absolutely no slowdown in worldwide demand for wood products and, in fact, predict a steady increase in demand through the coming decades.

A reduction in Northwest timber supply only means demand will be met from other parts of the world, including the tropical forests of South America and Southeast Asia. Nowhere are the environmental protections and reforestation requirements stronger than in the Pacific Northwest.

But all of these factors are not considered once the Endangered Species Act is applied.

The value promoted by the Endangered Species Act is important. But when one value dominates all others, public policymaking has gone astray. The Endangered Species Act need not be scrapped. It just needs repair.

Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash) is ranking member of the Commerce, Science, and Transportation consumer subcommittee.

Cost of Saving Endangered Species Too High When Timber Workers Suffer and Lose Jobs

By Sen. Slade Gorton

As a Senator from the Pacific Northwest, I have attempted to work for a balanced solution to the ongoing debate between protection for the northern spotted owl and protection of timber-based communities in this region.

Saving species from extinction is a worthwhile and important pursuit. We should act as stewards of the earth for the benefit of our grandchildren and their grandchildren.

But the costs of protecting the environment and saving species should be distributed equitably. I am suspicious of policies that impose heavy costs on working people and little on those who advocate them.

The Endangered Species Act, as currently drafted, requires a disproportionate amount of human sacrifice, in certain cases, for the enhancement of particular natural species.

The essence of democratic policy-making is the consideration of a variety of competing values that are eventually narrowed down to a single public-policy decision or series of decisions.

For example, when Congress passes a budget, we consider dozens of important values. We consider the relative values of all programs and distribute federal funds accordingly. The budget reflects a composite of all the competing values.

If you accept the concept of democratic policymaking as the merging and blending of many values, the Endangered Species Act is, as currently drafted, profoundly



VIII. Grassroots

Grassroots Overview

A. Media

- Building relationships with the media
- Wire services
- Newspapers/magazines
dailies, weeklies, magazines
- Radio
- Radio Feeds
- Television
- TV and Radio Public Service Announcements (PSAs)
- Materials
press releases, media advisories, press kits,
press mailings
- Contact with the Media
Op-eds, letters to the editor, editorial board meetings,
one-on-one meetings with reporters, news conferences, interviews,
tips for television and other public appearances

B. Outreach

- Phone/mail program
- Organizing volunteers
- Coalition building
- Event planning & advance work

Building Relationships with the Media

Why You Should Make Building Media Relationships a Priority

Build a professional rapport with members of the media just as you do with other professional contacts.

The media, while forced by their profession to remain neutral, are real people with personal interests and demands. Like members of any other profession, some reporters will be easier to relate to than others.

You will benefit significantly when you strengthen your contacts with reporters. Advantages of building strong relationships include:

- You'll be less likely to regard the media as adversaries and more likely to see them as individuals who can assist you in accomplishing your organizational goals.
- Reporters will be more likely to reflect the nuances and details of your program in their coverage as they become more familiar with your objectives and style.
- Your increased familiarity with reporters and their level of knowledge on environmental issues will help you determine how much you need to educate them before they begin writing a story.
- You'll become more adept at identifying interesting and newsworthy stories because of the feedback friendly reporters will offer you on their interest in the stories you suggest to them.
- Your frequent contact with reporters will give you insight into their story planning and will give you a better sense of when to create news and when to expect breaking news.
- You'll enjoy the media relations aspect of your job far more if you get to know the reporters you work with as people.

How to Build Relationships with the Media

The first and most important step in building relationships with media is to make your regular contact with them a top priority. You'll need to:

- Introduce yourself. If you are already acquainted, take the time to get to know key reporters better.
- Keep reporters informed of your activities and issues.
- Think of new story angles to offer them.
- Give them access to your organization's leadership and other resources.
- Understand their work environment and deadlines.

Guidelines for Building Relationships with Media

Here are some general guidelines for building relationships with individual members of the news media:

Make a list of reporters you need to get to know better

- Review your media list and make a list of reporters who speak to you frequently, but with whom you feel you could improve your relationship.
- Think about key new organizations—like the wire services and major dailies. Ask yourself whether you have a strong contact at each of these. If not, then also target them.
- Invite reporters you'd like to know better to lunch or breakfast or some other semi-social activity so you can talk informally about yourselves and your work.
- Make a special effort to introduce yourself to new reporters or those newly assigned to your issues. Small courtesies can make a difference, particularly when someone is new on the beat. Make an offer to help out in any way you can, especially by introducing the new reporter to the people in your organization.

Be a Continual Source of Information

You can send reporters a signal that you have their interest in mind by giving them information you think will be useful to them.

- **Phone Calls**—call them personally with key pieces of intelligence on stories in the news.
- **Mailings**—mail reporters information frequently. Make them feel like you are providing a helpful service (when you see something interesting to you, you share it with them). Sometimes, you might attach a note saying “FYI” or “Thought you might be interested.” Or you may want to make a short observation such as “Chalk one up for the good guys” in response to positive news.
- **Fact sheets**—compile your own fact sheets and distribute them to the media as easy-to-use term reference tools. Provide the names and phone numbers of your office and key staff (with home numbers for nights and weekends) and quick facts.
- Use your judgment on how often to call or write. You want to build a relationship, but you don’t want to be a pest.

Make Suggestions

- If you find out that a print or broadcast outlet is planning a story or series on an activity you’re involved in, take it upon yourself to think up angles, side bars, and stories that would be interesting.
- Drop a note to the reporters or producers who will be working on the project and outline your suggestions. They’ll appreciate the input and will likely come back to you for guidance and resources as they begin the project.
- Suggest ideas for new projects either through casual conversation or by setting up an informal meeting, or by a pitch memo.
- Don’t, however, make empty suggestions just to be in contact. You want to be helpful and credible.

Provide Access

- You can help reporters get the information or quotes they need by giving them access to key sources and spokespersons.
- Suggest other sources that might have the information reporters need and offer to call those people to set up a meeting or phone conversation (reporters will appreciate the introduction).

- If a national leader or expert is planning to visit, set up a lunch or meeting for key reporters to talk with him/her so that they can learn more about an issue or simply establish a long-term contact.
- Make sure you send reporters the message that they have access to you and your organization. If you can't return their phone calls immediately, have someone else call and let them know you are busy, that you are eager to help, and what time you'll be available.

Understand the Culture of the News Room

Deadlines

- When a reporter calls you for information, always ask if s/he is working on deadline. Sometimes reporters are working a week in advance; other times they are one hour before deadline.
- Never be a pest at deadline time. If you have the option, call reporters several hours in advance of their deadlines, but after they've had a chance to settle in for the day.
- If you need to call reporters right before their deadlines, acknowledge that you know you are calling at a bad time and explain the urgency of your call.
- Until you have a strong relationship with a reporter, every call you make will create an important and potentially lasting impression. Reporters will recognize and appreciate your simple consideration of their work schedules.

Beats

- Be mindful of the separate branches of the news media and their various interests based on their different assignments. Make sure you know which reporters cover what beats. If you don't know, ask an editor. You'll waste a reporter's time and yours if you pitch a story or relay information that s/he is not assigned to cover.

Resources

- Identify news organizations that have a difficult time sending reporters out of the newsroom to cover stories—usually those that are understaffed and have low-budgets—and do your best to help them overcome their limitations. Radio stations and wire services, for example, are under special pressure to cover everything with limited staff. If a radio reporter is interested in your event, but can't attend, arrange for a phone interview at the reporter's convenience, and ask that it not be aired until after your event. In the case of a wire service, give all the information you can in advance with the same embargo restriction.

- Most weekly newspapers have very few photographers and will appreciate your helping them get the story. They are more likely to run your story if you supply them with a press release to work from and a photograph. Be sure to label the photo clearly with time, place, names, etc.

Sensitivities

- It is natural that you will develop real friendships with some reporters over time. You do not have to cut off relationships once they become social, but you should be careful to avoid complicating or jeopardizing your professional relationship. Don't pressure the reporter to do anything that might make him/her feel uncomfortable or compromised. By the same token, don't allow yourself to be placed in an awkward situation.

"On Background"

- This is the only basis on which those not identified as spokespeople should speak to reporters. They can tell reporters that they can "help them quickly by giving out information on background only," and that you can get quotes for them later.

You should speak "On Background" when your comments are strictly for background information only, obviously not for attribution, and not to confirm what someone else may say off the record. Even if a reporter confirms the information he/she gathered on background with another source, it can't be referenced to you.

"Off the Record"

- Never go "off the record" with a reporter. Never say anything to a reporter that you wouldn't want to see in the press. Play it safe.

Who Pays? A Crucial Point to Note

- The matter of "Who pays?" for a meeting over food may be very important to a reporter. Many media outlets have strict rules against reporters accepting meals because it may be perceived as taking a financial favor in return for influence on coverage.
- News outlets' policies can vary greatly, so the best thing to do is find out what the reporter expects beforehand to avoid a sour note at the end of an otherwise productive session.
- If the meeting was your idea, always offer to pay at the outset, but be prepared to split the check if their management policy so dictates.

Wire Services

Wire Services are news organizations that provide print and broadcast media with up-to-the-minute news. As the name implies, the written news is transmitted continually via a “wire” machine.

Wire stories, especially those concerning out-of-town news, are frequently picked-up and run verbatim by print and broadcast outlets. Mid-size and smaller news organizations rely heavily on the wires for coverage outside of their area. Every large news organization subscribes to at least one wire service to keep abreast of news and to back-up its own operations. For that reason, it is critical to be included in wire story coverage. In addition to breaking-news, wires also run general news articles, special features on human interest stories and columns by well-known reporters.

The top three wires, all of which have bureaus in major cities around the nation, are:

- Associated Press (AP)
- United Press International (UPI)
- Reuters.

The “Daybook” is a useful resource of the wires. It is a calendar of upcoming news events that reporters and editors check daily to find out what press conferences and events are scheduled for that day or week. The daybook editors of local wires should always be included on your media advisory mailing list.

In addition to wire news services, there are also a number of wires (e.g., PR Newswire) that charge a fee, usually per word or line, to run your press release on their own separate wire operation which outlets pay to receive. These pay wires are often an effective means of ensuring that your statement gets out quickly—if you know that the news organizations you are targeting are subscribers. Contact your local PR Newswire or its counterpart to get a list of news organizations that subscribe to its services in your area.

Who to Contact

Like other mediums, wires in larger media markets typically have reporters assigned to cover specific beats. They also have staff assigned to take dictation in order to receive reactions to the top stories of the day. In smaller markets, a bureau chief and one or two other reporters cover as much news as possible regardless of the news area.

Wire Service Deadlines

Larger bureaus are staffed 24 hours a day and have continual deadlines. Weekdays during regular business hours, however, are best for reaching reporters that cover specific beats.

Newspapers/Magazines

Dailies

The 1600-plus daily newspapers (or “dailies”) in the United States provide an estimated 113 million individuals with their primary source of news every day. Dailies appear in morning and/or evening editions, usually seven days a week.

Dailies cover news in a variety of ways, usually by assigning a story to an appropriate department. In many cases, you can pitch a story to more than one department—just make sure you have a relevant angle for each department you pitch.

The better you understand the various ways dailies cover stories, the more successful you’ll be at generating solid and consistent news coverage. First, you must identify the right source to cover your story.

Who to Contact

- *City/Metro Editors* assign stories of local interest.
- *National Editors* assign stories of national significance.

Your local daily’s national reporters would be interested in how a national decision will affect your state or community. Major papers usually have out-of-town bureaus to cover national and international news.

Smaller papers generally rely on wire stories for national news, but will often add comments from area leaders to give the story a local angle.

- *Political Reporters* cover political races and trends. Many small and mid-sized papers’ political reporters are based at the state capital and usually have desks in the State House “press gallery.”
- *The Editorial Board* determines and writes the paper’s official position on various issues. Each weekday these commentaries are found on the editorial page. In major papers, a special section of the Sunday paper is often devoted entirely to editorial commentary.
- *Op-Ed Editors* determine which op-eds are to be used in the paper. Contact this person to discuss an op-ed topic before you invest the time in writing the piece. Some dailies have one person who serves as the op-ed editor and the editorial page editor.

- *The "Ombudsman"* is the staff member responsible for negotiating differences between the readers and the management of the paper. He or she meets with concerned readers or responds to their written communication. Often the ombudsman will write mediating columns on the paper's editorial pages to clear up disputes.
- *Photo Editors* assign photographers to cover events or activities that will be visually interesting (e.g., a rally) or that are historical (e.g., the signing of a bill). When you are planning an event it can be useful to send a separate advisory to the photo desk alerting photographers to unique "photo opportunities."
- *Lifestyle Editors* assign human interest stories or special features.
- Most newspapers have a regular column on local entertainment or gossip in their "style" section. If a local or national celebrity is participating in your event, contact the writer or editor of these columns about their interest in covering your event.
- *Advertising Writers* cover advertising or the media, usually in the business section. If you do a paid media buy, call the advertising writer with information about your ad campaign.

Daily Newspaper Deadlines

Morning Papers:

General News	4:00 pm the day before publication
Late-Breaking News	8:00 pm the day before publication
Major Late-Breaking News	11:00 pm the day before publication

Evening Papers:

General News	Anytime the day before
Late-Breaking News	7:00-9:00 am the day of publication
Major-Late Breaking News	11:00 am the day of publication

Sunday Papers:

General News	Saturday noon
Section News of Features	5:00 pm the Wednesday before publication (usually pre-printed)

Weekly Newspapers

Basic information about weeklies

Weekly newspapers (or “weeklies”) are either suburban papers found in close proximity to large cities or rural papers that provide isolated areas with a link to the nearest town or county seat. They may be offered for sale at newsstands, by subscription or distributed free-of-charge.

Weeklies primarily focus on events and issues that are directly tied to the community they serve.

Major differences between weeklies and dailies

- *Better response.* Local readers may identify more closely with their community paper than a major daily.
- *Better play.* If your press release is well written, they may print it verbatim. Because weeklies have less staff, your story may get better play than a daily.
- *Smaller staff.* Weekly and community newspapers usually have small staffs with general assignment reporters. The easier you can make it for them, the better. Have all information on hand, and written in brief, concise language.
- *Photographs.* Smaller papers are more likely to use photographs you supply. If you plan to take photographs at your event, use black and white film.
- *Publication deadlines.* As a rule, weekly staffs are swamped two to four days before publication. Respect these time restrictions and give them plenty of time to get to your story.
- *Sponsorships.* Weeklies are a great place to ask for free space.

Magazines

Magazines generally offer more comprehensive, in-depth coverage of a subject area than newspapers. Consequently, they also demand longer lead-times. Getting covered in magazines usually requires advance planning and a proactive media strategy.

Many magazines have editorial calendars, which provide information about special issues or features planned for the year. To find out what a magazine has planned, request an editorial calendar from the magazine’s advertising department at the beginning of each year.

Become familiar with the regular features that appear in every issue and think about where and how a story might fit into their format. The editors of these sections are always looking for information that will be newsworthy when the magazine is published.

Who to Contact

At smaller magazines, the editor-in-chief makes most of the assignment decisions. Larger magazines usually have different reporters assigned to cover specific beats (e.g., politics, national news, education, business, etc.).

Magazine Deadlines

News magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc.) usually have deadlines a week in advance for weeklies and a month in advance for monthlies.

Other magazines (e.g., consumer, fashion, trade, etc.) have longer deadlines, approximately three to six weeks in advance for weeklies and two to three months in advance for monthlies.

Radio

Radio plays an important role in shaping public policy debate. Even the most experienced media strategists often underestimate (and occasionally altogether overlook) its influence.

Radio reaches people in all aspects of their everyday life: in their car on the way to and from work, in their homes and offices, even while they exercise with a Walkman.

Radio's power to influence opinion

- The average American spends more than 4.5 hours a day listening to the radio.
- One example of the power of the radio was last year's Congressional pay raise which was elevated from virtual obscurity to a level of intense public debate by radio talk-show hosts around the country. When the pay raise was defeated, radio broadcasters were recognized as the driving force behind the public's protest.
- Your ability to use radio as a public platform to discuss and debate issues relating to ancient forest protection is a critical element to your community outreach.

Common radio formats

Radio programming offers a variety of formats that reach distinct and different audiences. The most common radio station formats and their primary/target audiences are:

- **All-News:** adults; heaviest listening during morning/afternoon rush hours (drive time)
- **All-Talk:** adults (over 40), heaviest listening mid-day and evening
- **Easy Listening:** adults (over 30)
- **Middle of the Road (MOR):** adults (over 30; slightly younger than easy listening)
- **Classical:** adults (usually higher-income bracket)
- **Country-Western:** adults (over 30)
- **Religious:** (slightly older than MOR audience)
- **Black:** black adults (age varies depending on format within category)
- **Top 40 Rock:** youth (18-35)

- **Soul:** black youth (teens to mid-30's)
- **Urban:** young adults (20+), contemporary music.

You also have to find the type of program that offers the best vehicle for your message.

- **News programs** provide a useful vehicle for giving immediate reaction to breaking-news. Radio newscasts usually air at least twice every hour, allowing your statement to be edited into many soundbites for repeated use throughout the day.
- **Regularly scheduled programs** (e.g., interview, talk-show, entertainment, etc.) provide a public platform to discuss issues at greater length and detail than in normal radio newscasts which are generally very brief.
- **Call-in shows** often serve as the modern equivalent of the town meeting with the most common themes tending to focus on current issues of controversy and community concern—like preparing for a labor shortage. Note: call-in programs can be unpredictable (in both large and small markets), but they are both popular with the general public and influential in determining public opinion.
- **Public service/affairs programs** are regularly or specially scheduled programs that let you inform and educate the general public about benchmarks or specific topics concerning issues.

Who to Contact

With the exception of all-news and all-talk stations (which tend to have larger news staffs and the ability to assign reporters to specific issues or beats) you usually will work with the stations' news director when pitching a story. Regularly scheduled interview or talk-show programs or public affairs programs usually have a producer or "booker" to coordinate scheduling and book guests.

Radio Deadlines

Pitch to radio at least one day in advance of your story. At a minimum, contact radio news directors four to five hours before your story release. In the case of breaking news, you can call on short notice to place a guest or feed an actuality. Programs will bump other guests if what you offer is substantially more interesting or timely. Do not call *during* a broadcast because in many cases, the news director also is the broadcaster.

Radio reporters tend to work early morning or late afternoon hours. Depending on the size of your market and the popularity of a local talk-show, it is best to book interviews as far in advance as possible, at least a week.

Radio Feeds

A radio feed is a pre-packaged news story that is fed to radio stations via phone and a tape recorder. 30 to 60 second feeds allow radio stations to receive a timely news story that is ready to air once it is received. Radio feeds have become more popular as radio stations and other media outlets have cut back on staff.

What to remember when you are considering a radio feed

- Is your news story timely? Is it newsworthy?
- Radio stations in large markets are less likely to take a feed than ones in smaller markets with less staff.
- Try to find supporters that work in PR, media or advertising and have radio feed equipment and experience. Will they help you send a feed? Do they know which stations are most likely to accept a feed?
- Try to identify third party spokespeople (i.e. local celebrities, opinion leaders, heads of organizations, etc.) to tape one or two sentence statements. With punchy, concise sound bites a story can be created and sent as a radio feed.

Television

Television is unique from all other mediums in that it demands visual presentation of your message.

To succeed in generating TV coverage you must be able to differentiate between a print and TV story—for example, a rally with hundreds of supporters is more likely to be covered by a TV crew than a “talking head” at a news conference.

Beyond simply identifying which of your events will be appropriate for TV coverage, you must also create events: signing a petition, giving a check, etc., are particularly appealing.

To maximize your use of television, remember that this medium provides you with a dual route for conveying your message—through the spoken word and through images. Podium signs, banners, and placards are all effective means of reinforcing your message and increasing visibility and recognition.

Although air-time on TV newscasts is limited, local stations usually have at least three scheduled news broadcasts a day—noon, late afternoon/early evening (between 4:00-6:00 p.m.) and final report (10:00-11:00 p.m.)—providing you with more opportunities for coverage than your local newspaper. During breaking news, the broadcasts also allow you to update your reaction and statements as more information is received throughout the day.

Generally, noon broadcasts report “lighter” news—special segments and human interest stories—while the late afternoon/early evening broadcasts serve as the station’s primary newscasts. The late news is usually a final update of the day’s news.

Cable TV is an often overlooked, but extremely effective means of reaching large audiences. Include cable TV in your media and advertising efforts whenever possible.

Who to Contact

Typically, you will deal with the stations’ assignment editor. Local stations usually have three assignment editors—one for the noon newscasts, one for both evening newscasts and a weekend assignment editor.

Occasionally, you may deal directly with the reporter who has been assigned to a specific story or beat.

Television Deadline

Pitch to TV stations the day before or four to six hours in advance of news broadcasts with the exception of news conferences or other pre-scheduled events which should be pitched several days in advance.

Do not call *during* or immediately before a broadcast unless you have major breaking news. TV reporters are busiest in the late afternoon before the evening newscasts.

Because the news is constantly changing and television newscasts cover a limited number of stories in their half-hour or hour time block, you will find TV assignment editors are extremely selective.

TV and Radio Public Service Announcements (PSAs)

Public Service Announcements (PSAs) are brief endorsements for a cause, issue or event. PSAs are different from advertisements in that PSA sponsors don't have to pay for air time; the television or radio station donates it. Although PSA air time is free, you are at the mercy of the station personnel; they are the ones with the power to determine *if* and *when* the PSA will air. A sample PSA is at the end of this chapter.

Contacting the station

- *First, decide whether you want radio and/or television.* Are you going to produce both radio and television PSAs for your campaign? Just radio? Just TV?
- *Do your homework.* Before you contact the station's public affairs director, be prepared to present a sound, dynamic argument for why the station should not only air, but possibly help you produce your PSA. Stations get hit up for PSAs daily. Show them how it will enhance their image. Anticipate their questions.
- *Contact the public affairs director* (also referred to as a public service director) to inquire about the stations' policies regarding PSAs. Find out what format is preferred. (10, 20, 30, 60 seconds; pre-taped; written for anchor to read.)
- *Enclose additional materials.* Send a cover letter *briefly* describing the event or your campaign, and encourage the station to air your PSA. In addition to the PSA, enclose a promotional brochure and/or fact sheet. The easier it is to understand your issue, the better chance you will have of getting the station interested in your PSA.

Writing tips for PSA scripts

- Be brief, concise and interesting.
- Write for the ear. Use a conversational tone. Read your script aloud to see if it reads smoothly. If writing for television, write for the eye and ear. Work with the station, if possible, on both TV and radio PSAs.
- Use contractions. Avoid long sentences.
- Double space script.
- Make sure the script is catchy and easy to read.
- Spell out complicated names phonetically.

Script writing guide

- 10-second spot—approximately 25 words
- 20-second spot—approximately 50 words
- 30-second spot—approximately 65 words
- 60-second spot—approximately 150 words

Sending the PSA

- For radio, send the PSA at least two weeks in advance of air time. For TV, about three weeks prior. For stations in larger markets, call ahead and let the public service announcement director know you are mailing a PSA.
- Call to find out who the public service person is at each station. If time is tight, it's acceptable to send the PSA "Attention: Public Service Announcement Department." Always verify the address and spelling of the PSA contact.
- A few days after the PSAs are sent, call the stations to find out if they will air it, or if they have any questions.

Press Releases

One of the most basic and important tools for publicity is a press release. Press releases are announcements to the media that they might not otherwise hear about. Releases, while frequently printed verbatim, are intended as 'ticklers' to interest a reporter to write further. Press releases should be issued only when you have a legitimate news item. A legitimate news item usually has one or two of the follow characteristics:

- It affects a large number of people.
- It will interest many people.
- It is new or unheard of.
- It is related to a current "hot" issue.

Getting Started

Define your purpose. What message do you want to send to the public about your program or campaign?

The five W's. Before you begin writing your release, identify the basics: who, what, when, where and why. "How" also should be answered.

Other details. Write down other key details and messages.

What to include

Identification. Identify the organization issuing the release. Include the contact name, address and phone number.

"FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE" with release and kill dates. A release date tells the media when to print or air your news announcement. The kill date indicates when they story or announcement should stop. These dates are especially important for events.

Quote. Include a brief, interesting and relevant quote about your project by your main spokesperson or other notable person.

Description of your organization. This information should appear near the end of the release such as the last paragraph.

Writing suggestions

- Use short sentences and short paragraphs.
- Keep your release objective. Never editorialize or use flowery language.
- Releases ideally should be one page. Never more than two.
- Give the basics in the first paragraph.
- Focus on one news message.
- Avoid technical jargon.
- Double or triple-space, and print on your organization's letterhead.
- Verify spellings of all names, dates, times, facts and statistics.
- Print "-30-" centered at the bottom of the release. It signifies the release's end.

Sending a release

Stations and publications. Select stations and publications which will be interested in your news.

Who gets the release? Call the news or assignment desk for this information and check the spelling of all names. Send it to the news desk or reporter covering the issue.

Send one week in advance. For events, send the release one week in advance so it lands on the newsdesk a few days before the event. The newsroom is a busy place. Most reporters don't know what story they will covering until that day.

Follow-up

Follow-up calls. A couple of days before your event, call the news desk or the reporter for each of the major stations and very briefly ask:

- Are they interested in covering the event?
- Do they know which reporter may be covering the event?
- Do they need more information?

Media Advisories

A media advisory is intended to alert print and electronic media about your event *in advance*. It is different from a press release because it offers basic information only. Media advisories usually are sent to arrive a day or two before the event to serve as a reminder for the press. A sample media advisory is at the end of this chapter.

- **Contacts.** Identify contacts and their day and evening phone numbers. Contacts should be prepared to answer questions and provide additional information.
- **Basics.** List the time (include beginning and ending times), date, place (include address and room number if applicable), who is sponsoring the event, who will be attending, and why the media want to cover it (why it's important).
- **Interview or photo opportunities.** If it's appropriate, identify a time and place for an interview and/or photo opportunity. Reporters have limited time to cover events. Particularly if your event is all day, having an identified opportunity is helpful. Think photo opportunities, interesting angle, interesting people.
- **Attention news desk.** Send the media advisory to the attention of the news or assignment desk or particular reporter who covers your type of issue or event.
- **AP and UPI day books.** Be sure to send a media advisory to the AP (Associated Press) and UPI (United Press International) "day books." The two wire services produce what is called a "day book" which has a log of the events of the day and is sent to the newsroom via the wire.
- **Another option.** Send the media advisory about a week before the event, and hand the press release out at the event.

Press Kits

Purpose

To provide media with an organized source of pertinent information on an issue and/or an event/activity that will assist them in reporting a story.

When to Use

Distribute kits at news conferences, news briefings, rallies, and any other events or activities that media attend.

Components

The kit should detail and enhance your event activity by including materials such as:

- A press release
- Copy of the spokesperson(s) statement
- An agenda of the event with correct names and title of participants
- Reproductions of any charts and graphs used at the news conference
- A fact sheet on your organization
- Any relevant news articles or other materials that will help media write/visualize the story
- Biographical information on you and other spokespersons.

Press Mailings

Purpose:

To keep media informed of your coalition's activities and stimulate ideas to encourage their ongoing coverage of the issue.

When to Use:

Mail whenever you have new information to share.

Try to mail on a regular basis—about once every 4-6 weeks to keep your organization's name and objectives in front of the media.

How to Use:

Send information to the reporters and editors who regularly cover your issues, but don't hesitate to cast the net wider—media who work on related issues will find useful any information that might affect their reporting.

For example, provide media with your newsletter, calendar, and direct mail. Include any relevant news articles or profile pieces, recent press releases, fact sheets, backgrounders, and summaries.

How often you are able to send mailings will depend largely on your level of activity. The most important thing is to think of the media as you undertake other key functions of your organization.

Contact with the Media

Opinion Editorials

An opinion-editorial, often called an op-ed, is a vehicle you can use to express your opinion in more detail than a letter to the editor. Op-eds appear on the page facing the editorials and are basically opinion essays.

Generally, op-eds are 1,000 words or less or about three to four typewritten pages, double-spaced. Call or write the op-eds person of your local paper for writing policies. Unless the paper pays you a fee, you can send your op-ed to more than one publication.

What publications look for in an op-ed

- Strong opinion.
- Well-documented, well-researched facts and arguments.
- Essays that add to people's knowledge or understanding of an issue.
- Hot issues or issues that are relevant and interesting to the local or regional area.
- Clear, well-organized writing with captivating examples or facts.
- Thoughtful, provocative, colorful writing.
- Authors with credibility or experience with the issue to validate their opinions.

Avoiding rejection

As you write, remember that major reasons editors reject opinion-editorials are poor writing, excessive length and lack of timeliness.

You'll increase your chances of publication if you send your piece with a cover letter briefly explaining your subject, why it would be interesting to the publication's readers, the story's main points, and your background.

Remember, your op-ed may not be published for months. These pieces often are scheduled far in advance; an editor may hold onto your piece until already scheduled ones have run.

Letters to the editor

Like op-eds, letters to the editor are vehicles for expressing an opinion. Letters to the editor most often discuss a recent event or issue covered by a publication, radio station, or television program. They can be used to express an opinion about the event or issue or to discuss the paper, magazine, radio or television program's coverage of an event or issue.

When you should write a letter to the editor

If you are concerned about the media's presentation of your event or issue (it was biased, it didn't contain important information, it didn't emphasize the information you wanted it to, etc.) write a letter to the editor. Use a letter to the editor to correct misinformation on presentation of information. Also use it to give the publication's readers, the radio station's listeners, or the television program's viewers the information you want them to hear.

Encouraging others to write letters to the editor

Letters to the editor also raise awareness of an issue or a particular point of view related to it. While op-eds often are written by authors with credibility or experience with the issue, letters to the editor can be written by individuals concerned about the issue. Encourage supporters in your area to write letters to the editor expressing their views on ancient forest protection, and events surrounding your campaign.

Letters to the editor also can be written by more than one person to show unity of opinion, leaders of influential organizations or organizations that represent many people, and prominent people in the area.

How to write letters to the editor

Letters should be well-written, concise, and clear. Remember that editors often cut letters for space; make sure the most important information comes first.

Because your letter will be brief, try to accomplish one goal with it. If, for example, you are writing to correct an error, stick to the facts; if you accuse the paper of "taking sides" you can detract from the information you are trying to present. If you are writing to express a point of view, try to include names of prominent people or organizations who also support your opinion to demonstrate the broad support your viewpoint has.

Where to send letters to the editor

Most publications clearly tell their readers where to address letters to the editor. Look on the page where letters to the editor are printed for the correct address and contact person. Radio stations, and television shows also tell their audiences where to address letters to the editor, but it may be easiest to call for the correct address and contact person.

Editorial Board Meetings

When and why to have editorial board meetings

Meet with editorial boards to speak with editors directly, present your positions, and encourage editorial support.

- Plan to meet with the editors before the paper takes a position on key issues. Most print media would rather hear positive input before an editorial is written than complaints after it appears.
- Arrange editorial board meetings when you want to present your views on a particular aspect of the issue.
- You can also request a meeting when you have a new “lead” on an issue or to introduce yourself and your agenda.
- The editorial staffs of your state and community newspapers can be important allies in promoting your case and are usually extremely open to meetings that will provide them insight for fair coverage of an issue.
- You should plan to meet with the editors of your state’s major dailies at least once a year. It’s important to make editors aware of your objectives and goals as they change and expand.
- Also, if you learn that the paper has a new editorial staff person, set up an introductory meeting.

How to arrange editorial board meetings

To arrange an editorial board meeting and follow through with success, you should:

- Contact the editorial page editor by phone or letter. Explain why you think the editors would be interested in meeting with you. (Large papers may have a staff of five to ten editorial writers who make up the board. Small papers may have only one editorial writer—usually the editor of the paper).
- Lay the groundwork. Send background materials to your contact(s) to prepare the editorial staff for your visit.
- Select the most appropriate representatives to attend the meeting. For example, this might include you and a director of one or more coalition groups, depending on what you plan to discuss.

- Before the meeting, research the facts to support your position, prepare talking points with no more than three or four succinct messages, and rehearse your arguments. Focus on local angles and those points that will make the strongest impression. Try to include local statistics that will help make your points stronger.
- Know the issue, the latest news and the opposition's views. Also know your paper's editorial position (e.g., what previous editorials have been written and previous positions on related issues or other issues involving your opposition).
- Find out who will be attending the meeting from the paper, what their position is, and what their interest is in the issue.
- Ask if they plan to write a news story out of your meeting. News reporters are often invited to attend editorial sessions. What you say in the session can then be quoted and used in a separate news story.
- Be courteous in any contact with newspaper staff. Try not to be combative or defensive, even if your audience appears to side with your opposition. Your composure will make it easier for them to understand your views and keep the door open for future visits.

One-on-one meetings with reporters

Use one-on-one meetings with reporters to give them new information that might affect their reporting on an issue. Also use them to introduce yourself, coalition members, or national spokespersons to specific reporters who regularly cover your issue, and to target reporters unable to attend a press conference or other event. The individual meeting offers them the opportunity to get the information at their convenience.

When to use one-on-one meetings

Most reporters are open to individual meetings, but do not usually have a lot of time to spend.

Plan one-on-one meetings around meals, usually breakfast or lunch works best, or at times when reporters are not on deadline. Indicate that the meeting will be brief—45 minutes to an hour.

How to set up one-on-one meetings

Set up one-on-one meetings by calling reporters in advance or sending a letter and following up with a phone call.

Indicate the nature of your call or letter, why it is of interest to the reporter, and when you would like to meet. Be flexible, and allow the reporter to choose the time and date, if possible.

News Conferences

Use a news conference (also called a press conference) to convene media for an announcement such as: release of new information about your organization or issue; a new angle on a previous story; a new position; a future event; a new project; a new campaign.

Generally, news conferences are either proactive or reactive.

The proactive news conference: you initiate it to announce or create a story.

The reactive news conference: you initiate it to respond to breaking news.

Regardless of the type of news conference, use this vehicle cautiously. If you call the press for an announcement, make sure you have "news" to deliver. Otherwise, you risk damaging your reputation as a serious and credible news source.

Timing your news conference

Schedule a proactive news conference to coordinate with media deadlines. Generally, the event should be held between 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m.

The best days of the week to hold a news conference are Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays. Fridays tend to be poor news days because your story will most likely appear in Saturday's paper, which has a low circulation. Mondays don't allow for last minute notification of reporters (because of the weekend).

Schedule a reactive news conference as close as possible to the breaking news you are reacting to. In the reactive news conference, timing is everything. If you wait too long, you will miss being included in the story.

Notifying the press

- Send out a media advisory to the appropriate media.
- Make follow-up calls at least two days before the event to encourage attendance. This also helps you determine the size of your event.

Selecting and arranging your site

- Site arrangements are a crucial part of a successful news conference.
- Select a site that is convenient for media, or one that provides strong visuals.
- Choose a room that is suited for the expected attendance. Most likely a small room that accommodates an average turnout of 10-15 people will be sufficient.

- Make sure the room is equipped for broadcast media (e.g., two-and three-pronged electric outlets, "mult box," etc.).
- Provide your logo or name on a podium board made of non-glare material.
- Provide chairs for reporters, leaving enough room in the back or in the middle for cameras and tripods.
- If you are speaking with other people, provide a head table with chairs and name cards to identify the speakers.
- Set up easels for any visual materials and make sure you bring double-sided tape to keep your visuals, podium logo, etc., in place.
- Provide a reception table at the room entrance where staff can distribute press kits and sign in media.
- Keep a media sign-in sheet—a crucial element for follow-up and future contact. Share the media sign-in sheet with your spokespersons before the news conference to alert them to media you know to be against your position.
- Provide a holding room for your spokespersons so that incoming media will not try to question them before the news conference begins. Talking to media beforehand can sometimes upstage your message.
- Provide modest refreshments only if possible and affordable.

The Event

- Arrive 1/2 to 1 hour early to make sure your room arrangements are in order in advance. Know where you can get back-up assistance if something goes wrong.
- Bring along a tape recorder to set on the podium to record the news conference. This will allow the speaker to review his/her answers to questions at a later time and will help him/her develop better answers for the future.
- Start the press conference on time and limit the event to 45 minutes to 1 hour. Allow ample time for question and answer.
- Depending on the formality of the news conference, have a moderator introduce you and the other spokespersons and field direct questions from the media to the appropriate person.

The moderator should also keep questioning in line with the agenda and call the news conference to a close.

If the setting is more informal, you should begin the news conference by greeting the reporters and briefly stating the purpose for bringing them to the event. Allot time for questions. Have a staff member watch your time and signal you to close the conference when reporters' questions become redundant or off-track.

- Leave the room as soon as possible following the news conference, unless you have arranged to do one-on-one interviews with the media. This tactic enables you to control your story by not responding to media questions that don't pertain to the message you just conveyed.

Crisis Management:

Have a sign-in sheet at the door to avoid disruptions by hostile individuals, and greet everyone who comes in. If you don't recognize people, find out who they are and why they are there. If they are evasive and say, "I just wanted to see what was going on," or if they set off your internal alarm in any other way, tell them the news conference is for legitimate reports only.

During the question period, have each individual state his/her name and media affiliation before posing a question. This will discourage random shots from opponents who may have slipped through your screening process.

If you find yourself in a situation that seems uncontrollable, stay calm. Avoid baiting the trouble-maker and doing anything that would turn the interruption into a news story. If all else fails, find a location where you can continue uninterrupted.

Follow-Up

Sometimes, even the best planned, most publicized news conferences can fail to attract media or be "upstaged" by breaking news. To make sure your information reaches media who did not attend:

- Call reporters and news outlets to inform them of what was said at the news conference. Offer to provide them with an interview so they can cover the story.
- Make sure all the media outlets receive a press kit along with the speakers' statements and any other pertinent information. (Distribute these by fax or hand deliver if there is a chance that a news organization will cover the story that day).

Interviews

Some people dread interviews, but they don't have to be feared. If you are prepared, you can control the interview—and control the audience's perceptions of you and your issue.

Before the Interview

- Get to the studio early so you can meet the host before you are on camera. Decide how you will address one another—formally or by first names (first names generally make you feel more at ease and tend to result in a more relaxed interview overall).
- Prepare and practice talking in “soundbites” (15 to 30 second responses). The more adept you are at giving succinct answers, the more useful your responses will be to the overall program, especially if there will be others interviewed.

During the Interview

- Be aware of your audience. Remember that although the interviewer is asking the questions, individuals in the audience and/or at home are watching or listening—be sure to include them in your remarks.
- If you are doing an interview that is taped and will be edited later, remember that your entire interview will *not* be aired; so, establish the point you want to make first and then elaborate.

Panel Discussions

- Find out who else will be on the panel and learn their positions.
- Anticipate what questions will be directed to you, and prepare your responses.
- Review relevant facts, statistics and specific examples, so that you will be ready to offer strong support for your position.
- During the interview, be ready to give your position—don't let your co-panelists overshadow you. If you can't answer a questions, say so. Don't respond to hecklers in the audience. Be brief and to the point. Time is usually limited.

Tips For Television and Other Public Appearances

When you decide what to wear for a television or public appearance, you should have one goal in mind: you want people to pay attention to what you are saying rather than what you are wearing or how you look. Basically, you want to avoid being sloppy and being flashy because these styles are most distracting.

Try using these guidelines:

- Wear solids—brights for women and subdued colors for men.
- Women should apply make-up regularly; men should be made-up or powdered to remove glare.
- If you can opt out of glasses, do so because of the glare.
- Do NOT wear large or flashy prints or patterns.
- Do NOT wear white, black, shiny or glittery fabrics.
- Do NOT over accessorize (e.g., large scarves, loud ties, shiny or large jewelry, hats).

Phone/Mail Program

An effective phone and mail program is one of a campaign's most powerful tools. Through a phone and mail program, supporters can be identified, volunteers recruited and funds raised. An effective phone/mail program also can educate supporters about the issue and the stakes, build a crowd for events, and generate new donors.

Phone and mail efforts complement each other. With the phone, a caller can do a quick I.D. and probe on the issue. Mail follow-up further educates and recruits support. What a volunteer learns on the phone about a supporter's views determines what kind of mailing is sent to that voter.

Setting up a phone/mail program—checklist

The following outline explains how to set up a successful phone bank and follow-up mail program. The outline is preceded by a quick checklist of the steps involved in your successful phone/mail program.

- Appoint a phone bank supervisor.
- Obtain phone lists.
- Find a location.
- Determine how many phones and volunteers are needed.
- Write a phone script and devise coding system.
- Set a date to start.
- Follow daily routine.
- Design and send follow-up mail.

Appoint a phone bank supervisor

Appoint a phone bank supervisor. This person will work closely with the mail program and should have a thorough understanding of campaign strategy. The supervisor must do the following:

- Write a phone bank plan and calendar appropriate to your particular campaign and its idiosyncrasies. Integrate the phone bank plan with a follow-up mail plan.
- Recruit and train volunteers. Hire paid staff only if there is a shortage of available volunteers.
- Determine resources for targeting and computerized lists and results.
- Oversee the operation.

Obtain phone lists

- Evaluate existing research to define target groups and supporters.
- Determine availability of phone lists and take steps to get them and merge them into one list.

Find a location

Determine how many phones you need (the variables are the number of volunteers, how long volunteers are available, and the number of names are on the calling list; each volunteer will be able to complete 12 calls in one hour).

Phone banks can be organized from one large centralized location or from several smaller sites. A centralized phone bank, if possible, is the best option. It is the easiest to manage because it allows close supervision to ensure quality and quantity of calls.

If a centralized location is impossible, appoint captains to each site to report to supervisor and maintain uniformity in phoning practices.

Organizations that often have large numbers of phones are law offices, real estate and insurance firms, unions, local campaigns and stock brokerages. Encourage supporters employed at such places to ask their employers/office managers to let the campaign use their phones after hours.

If no existing site can be found, place an installation order with the phone company and determine the time involved to install the phones. ***Make sure to get touch tone phones and not rotary dial!*** Only order phone installation as a last resort because it is expensive.

Develop a phone script and tally sheet

- Write a script to be used by the volunteers. Make it brief and to the point. Avoid lengthy conversations.
- Provide volunteers with a brief fact sheet or *Question & Answer* sheet on the old growth issue. If someone wants extensive information, the volunteer should tell them someone else will call them back and send more information.
- Devise a simple, uniform coding system for the volunteers to record information obtained from potential supporters.

Set a date to start

Calculate a starting date by how many names are on the phone list, how many phones exist, how many volunteers are available and how many hours each volunteer can work. Overbook the number of needed volunteers; there are always "no shows." (Each volunteer will be able to complete 12 calls in one hour.)

Follow a daily routine

- Call volunteers to remind them of their commitment. This is usually done the night before they are scheduled to phone.
- Welcome volunteers when they arrive and have them sign in (to keep track of volunteers who fulfill their commitments).
- Listen as volunteers make calls so you can catch any problems.
- Check to make sure volunteers are coding voter information correctly.
- Schedule break times for volunteers and provide refreshments.
- Thank volunteers at the end of their shift, check their work and encourage them to sign up for another shift.

If possible, design and send follow-up mail

Identify the different audiences you want to reach through your mail program and determine the size of each one. The size of these audiences will shrink during the campaign as you identify favorable voters via the phone and other voter contact tools.

Define the tasks you want to accomplish using direct mail.

Determine the costs of producing different mail packages and develop a budget based on the size of each mailing and the package costs. You also need to assess how many volunteers are needed to conduct the mailing.

Final tips on phone/mail

- Create the following forms: fact sheets/Q & A, script, tally sheets, daily report forms (samples of some of these forms are at the end of this chapter).
- Make sure volunteers hang up after six rings.
- The best times to phone are generally 4pm to 9m on weekdays and 10 am to 6 pm on weekends.
- For maximum productivity, schedule your phone shifts for two to three hour periods.
- Basic supplies needed to run a phone bank include work tables, folding chairs, pencils, pens, scratch paper, staplers, paper clips, Scotch tape, masking tape, scissors, refreshments, felt-tip pens and posterboard for charts.
- Make sure volunteers avoid lengthy conversations with voters.
- The three constantly changing variables are: volunteers, lists and telephones. Constantly try to expand each of the three variables in order to operate a successful telephone system.

Organizing Volunteers

Appoint a volunteer coordinator

The most important person in any volunteer operation is the volunteer coordinator. She or he can be a staff member or a volunteer, but must be committed to *full time* hours.

The coordinator should be well organized and have the right kind of personality to deal with campaign staff members and volunteers alike.

The coordinator should be working for weeks before the volunteer effort begins.

Locate and set up volunteer headquarters

To stay happy, volunteers must work in a nice environment. Factors to consider when choosing a location include the following:

- Is it safe inside and outside?
- Is it near rapid transit?
- Is there enough parking available? Is it free? If not, can you cover the cost? Is the area well lit?
- Is the location air conditioned or heated on the weekends and after hours? Is the lighting inside sufficient?
- Is there a comfortable sound level? Remember, telephones can be distracting. Can you put up a partition or old carpet on the wall?
- Is there a break area? Are there adequate restrooms and are they kept clean and stocked by the building? Are they available after hours and on the weekends?
- Are there comfortable chairs?

Recruit volunteers

The volunteer coordinator and Campaign Manager should decide what kind of jobs will require volunteers. This way, you'll know your volunteer needs in advance and your recruitment can target these needs.

People volunteer for several reasons and you should be aware of these when you begin your recruitment process.

- Many people volunteer because they care about the issue. These people want to feel like they are making a difference.
- Some people have made volunteer work their hobby. While they are obviously concerned with the issues, they also see this as an opportunity to meet people and socialize.
- Some workers volunteer in hopes to land a job or earn money. These people can be strong workers but you should be honest with them up front about job opportunities during or after the campaign.
- Many people work in dull or unchallenging jobs. Politics is a unique profession where they can excel. These volunteers want recognition. They want to be seen doing something important or working with important people.
- There will be volunteers who have never been politically active. They will take this issue personally and feel a need to get involved. They will need to be walked through the steps carefully but not patronized.

Final tips on volunteer recruitment

- Volunteers are not paid so sometimes they don't follow through on their commitments. So when you plan, expect to lose many of your volunteers. In other words, recruit twice as many volunteers as you need to perform a given task. In the case that everyone does show up, have extra envelope stuffing or other tasks for them to do.
- Calling the public at random is not an efficient way to generate volunteers. People who are already environmentally active are your best source for volunteers.
- Gather a list of local organizations that might be interested in the cause. Find contact people in each organization and ask them to mobilize their group.
- Volunteer cards should be distributed at any function these groups have. (Get permission from a member and ask him/her to be in charge of collecting the cards.)

Maintain the volunteer organization

As mentioned earlier, there are several types of volunteers. Each one should be given recognition and encouragement. In addition, there are some basic guidelines to help you

recognize—and keep—your volunteers:

- Thank the volunteers as soon as they volunteer to help, even before they actually do any work.
- Give volunteers specific jobs they can accomplish. Don't send them off to organize a certain area without the proper "tools" (i.e., lists, literature, maps. . .).
- Break boring and tedious tasks into smaller tasks, and spread them around to all the volunteers.
- Set up some form of training for each task. Even answering phones can be intimidating if people don't know how the phone system works. Write all instructions.
- Integrate all volunteer activity into a reporting system. Make sure all marked up lists are returned to the person supervising the project when the volunteer has finished with them.
- Some volunteers don't work out. You can never "fire" a volunteer, so a reassignment may be the best way to deal with the problem.
- Make sure volunteers are informed about what's going on in the campaign. They should feel as if they are really part of the campaign and know the inside scoop.

Coalition Building

Expanding the coalition of organizations supporting the protection of our ancient forests may be one of the most effective ways to influence key decision makers.

The existing coalition is large and continuing to grow (see Chapter One of the handbook), but you must make every effort to bring new organizations and individuals into our coalition.

Everyone expects environmental organizations to be supportive, and they are. We must continue to expand our reach because when non-traditional organizations support our cause, more people take notice.

Who can we add to the coalition?

Organizations with an interest in protecting our ancient forests may include:

- **Local affiliates of national or regional organizations that have joined the coalition.** For example, the national ACLU has endorsed us by fighting the attempt to limit judicial review. You can leverage the ACLU's national support to seek an endorsement from a local ACLU chapter.
- **Women's and health organizations.** Groups interested in the taxol/Pacific yew issue protection for the sake of our children's future health—and their own current health (see taxol section of the handbook). Examples of these groups include American Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters.
- **Legal organizations.** The legal community has been very supportive in the fight against limiting judicial review. Contact law firms, legal funds, law schools, etc.
- **Recreation organizations.** Approach any groups that benefit from the protection of our national parks. RV groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, schools with environmental clubs, local chambers, fishing organizations, riverguides, and many others have a vested interest in stopping the destruction of our limited natural resources.

How to approach potentially supportive organizations

- Use local supporters to open the door. Ask them to make calls and set up meetings or briefings.
- Distribute a basic issue package. Remember not to overwhelm anyone with too much information at first.

- **Know what you want from potential supporters. You can ask for letters of support, use of their mailing list, an article in their newsletter, an opportunity to present to their members, use of their phones, volunteers, etc. Also, be patient. You don't have to get everything at your first meeting.**

Event planning and advance work

Develop a concept for the event

Hold events to raise awareness, increase visibility, build volunteers, etc. Your job is to leave more than you found. After the event, you should have more volunteers, more enthusiasm, more press, more available phones, etc.

- Work with local supporters to find out what would be interesting for the people in that area.
- Plan an event where people will enjoy “seeing and being seen.”
- Remember the demographics of the town. If you are planning an afternoon event, figure out the central area that will attract the most people during lunch time so they can eat and be part of the crowd.
- Hold a kick-off meeting to get people excited about the event and to generate more ideas and volunteers.

Build an event staff

The more people involved, the bigger and better the event will be.

Assign people to key tasks. The local volunteers, organizers and staff people can fill the following functions:

- Volunteer coordinator
- A phone supervisor who is in charge of finding free phone banks. (Each phone bank should have the same captain every night.) This person is also in charge of finding and overseeing the phoning of lists.
- A leafleting coordinator.
- A person to be in charge of finding the site.
- A person to handle the press.
- A person to be in charge of constituencies.
- If buses make sense for your event (there may not be enough money in your budget), you need one person to coordinate filling them.

Set a date for the event

Lock in the day and time of the event early. The earlier you do this, the easier it will be for people to block off that date and plan to be there. You also can determine conflicts right away and work around them.

As soon as the day and time are locked in, begin looking for a site. Sometimes you will have the perfect site but it won't be available on the date. You must set priorities: which is more important, the site or the date?

Choose a site for the event

There is never a perfect or right site. Factors to balance when choosing a site include:

- The symbolism (e.g. Capitol building steps).
- Presence of a built-in crowd: how many people are normally at the site at the time of day that the event is scheduled?
- Is the site close to a densely populated area? It's better to have an outdoor site close to downtown than one in the suburbs if the event is scheduled for 12 noon on a weekday.
- Do people know where the site is? Press people are more likely to show up if they are familiar with the site and its location.
- How many people will it take to fill the site? You need roughly five square feet per person (including the press area). Therefore, a site that is 50 feet by 100 or 5,000 square feet needs 1,000 people to fill it.
- Can access by the opposition be restricted? Consider using credentials to insure that the visual is completely made up of supporters.
- What kind of visual can the site create? People can stand on steps behind the speakers' area to make it look more crowded.
- Can you get permission from the proper authorities to use the site? Do you need insurance or permits?
- How easy is it to get the props (sound, risers) into the site area?
- Do not use rooms with fixed seats. Avoid rooms with sloping floors.

- If you use an outdoor site, you need an indoor site very close by in case of rain. Ideally, the rain site should be a few yards from the outdoor site. The further away the rain site is, the tougher it is to move your crowd. The location of the rain site needs to be on your leaflets.
- Are there unusual factors present? For example, will your speakers be in the shade with the press in the sun? Is there a building with reflecting glass behind the speakers? If it's indoors, is the room odd shaped or is there a mirror, etc. that will reflect light back to the press cameras?
- If there is not a large crowd or if the weather is bad, can you make the site smaller?

Obtain material for the event

For the event's speakers you will need:

- A floor standing microphone and a sound system. Avoid wireless microphone if possible.
- Floor standing podium.
- Descriptive slogan or sign on front of podium positioned at the top of the podium to get on the news.
- If there is no sign or banner behind the speaker, make sure the back drop is a plain color (blue is best).
- A box for shorter speakers to stand on so they can be seen over the top of the podium.
- Water and glasses should be on a shelf in the back of the podium for the speakers to use while they are talking.
- Directional markings behind the podium. Where should the speakers stand and how should they exit after they are done talking.
- The stage should be elevated, especially if the crowd will hold signs on sticks. The stage needs to be elevated enough so that the people at the back of the room can see. Watch out for low ceilings.

Arrange for TV

The television media people will need the following:

- A mult box with line level sound (borrow or rent one). Have it tested; if it fails during the event, the press can't use their video. If they can't use their video, the event doesn't get on TV. It's as if the event never happened.
- Press risers. Each camera needs a space 3-5 feet wide. Therefore, 3-4 cameras need 12 feet of riser. Make sure the lowest riser is at least as high as the speakers' riser. If a second row of risers is needed, make sure it is 18-24 inches off the ground. If the crowd has signs on sticks, the lowest level has to be at least 36-48 inches high. Watch out for low ceilings. Also, if the risers are too high, the crowd won't be in the shot.
- For outdoor events, the sun has to be to the back of the TV cameras.
- You'll get the best shot when TV cameras are 45-60 feet from the stage. Avoid straight on shots; a 45 degree angle is best.

Arrange For Print And Radio Press

Consider the following:

- Make sure all reporters can see and hear the event. Don't give them chairs unless the event is indoors. If they are standing they will better feel the energy of the crowd and write a better story. People have less energy when they are sitting.
- Radio people need access to the mult box. Give them a table next to the press risers to put their tape recorders on.

Final tips on media arrangements

- Have the risers roped off. Put volunteers on the risers to keep the crowd off. The volunteers should only help the press with logistics. They should not talk to the press or offer their estimate of the size of the crowd.
- Have an identifiable and knowledgeable spokesperson in the media area.
- To keep the opposition out of the story, make sure the media's vision of the opponents' area is obstructed. This is particularly important with TV.

- It's helpful to have a friendly public official (from the police or fire department) near the press area. This person can give the official crowd estimate. Under no circumstance can this look staged.

Coordinate The Public

Take the following steps to maximize the crowd at your event:

- Use credentials to keep opponents out. You may want to consider using more than one type of credential. For example, one credential allows the holder into an area very close to the stage. The other credential allows the holder into an area a little further back. The area between the stage and the press risers should be filled with your strongest supporters. These people will be the most lively.
- Use bleachers or risers (for outdoor events) or chairs (for indoor events) so that people at the back of the crowd can see. Also, this gives the crowd "height"; it makes it seem bigger than it really is.
- If everyone holds the same sign, the crowd looks bigger than it really is. (Although homemade signs make the event look less slick and more a grassroots effort, homemade signs—particularly on white paper—don't look good on TV).
- Staple the signs back to back. This way, both the speakers and the TV cameras can see the signs.
- Get people attending the event to sign sign-in sheets. Have them include names and phone numbers. They can be called later to volunteer.
- Think about selling buttons, etc. to raise money.

Build A Crowd

Telephone: the best way to build a crowd is by using the telephone. (See phone bank section of handbook.)

Leaflets: leaflets are best for weekday crowds during business hours, where people are coming from somewhere besides home, like their office. Leaflets have a limited purpose. They reinforce the phone calling and the impression that the event will happen. Even with noontime or downtown crowds, trying to build a crowd with leaflets alone will not work. When using leaflets, remember the following:

- Leaflets should be no larger than 5 1/2 inches by 8 1/2 inches ("half-size").

- Keep the message simple.
- Use the least expensive paper—never more than one color.
- Always use a union printer—leaflets must have a union bug.
- Depending on geographic size and size of the leaflet, price per thousand should be kept under \$6.00.
- Include the local office address and phone number on the leaflet. Some people getting the leaflet may want to know where to volunteer.
- Concentrate 90% of distribution near site of event; radiate outward to shopping centers, college campuses, apartment complexes, etc.
- In high density urban areas (New York City subway exit at 7:30 am) maximum distribution is approximately 500 hour; in low density or residential areas, 150 per hour is more likely.
- Break leaflets into packages of no more than 200. Don't give a leafletter too many leaflets—there is a negative psychological reaction if the entire package cannot be distributed. (Give a leafletter several packages.)
- The best way to deliver a leaflet is to place it directly in the pedestrian's hand and make eye contact (verbal hype is also good), next best is giving leaflets to an organization to pass out at membership meetings, etc.

Posters:

- Cover poles around the area of the event and drop off the coverage as you move outward.
- Black print on white stock is the quickest and the cheapest. The posters should not cost more than 10 cents each for 1,000 or more.
- If the posters are to be read by passing motorist, bold face print should be used. Standard size: 19" by 23".

Free Media: free media can be very effective if it is used correctly. Try to get the media to attend a smaller event held before the rally. The purpose of this early, smaller event is to generate a news story that helps advertise the rally. Example: the TV station films a key supporter and/or volunteers leafleting for the rally, or volunteers painting signs, or a news conference, etc.

Other Techniques: these include paid media, invitations, leaflets, etc. sent by mail. This is helpful in constituency crowd building.

Design the Program

- Obtain appropriate music.
- Decide on the length of the program.

Length of overall program depends on the time of day that the event is called for. Noontime program should be shorter than evening events. While there is no iron-clad rule, the best noontime programs start at 12:15 and end at 12:50 or 1:00. If the program goes much longer, the media will leave and you will begin to lose your crowd. For an evening crowd, the event could last an hour.

The length of time each person talks depends on how compelling their story is, how central their speech is to the event, how dynamic they are, and how important they are to the politics of the event. Be specific and underestimate the time allotment when you tell a speaker how long they can talk for. Example: if you want them to speak 5 minutes (which to the audience, may seem like a very long time) tell them they can speak for 3 minutes. They'll end up going over their time allotment.

- Be specific on what topics the speaker should cover.
- Pay attention to how the program builds in theme and energy. The last speaker should be particularly dynamic or someone well-known, for whom the crowd will wait.
- Stay with the theme. Speakers on other topics should be avoided unless there is an extremely important reason to do so otherwise.
- Be careful of the special guest who may not be that dynamic.
- On the day before the event, go over with each speaker the topic that she or he will cover. Have them to do a run-through of their speech.
- Ask the speakers to be there early. If the event is called for noon, have them show up at 11:15. This gives you time for a final run-through and ensures that no speaker will be so late that they'll miss their turn.
- Have a back-up speaker in case someone doesn't show up.
- Have an MC introduce each speaker.

- Have a staff person keep the program moving and direct the MC to cut off long winded speakers. The staff person should give the MC cards with the names (and pronunciation if needed) of all the speakers.
- Give the speakers and others who need to be on stage a special credential to get through the crowd.

Walk Through The Event

As you get closer to the event, keep walking it through. This will help you see gaps or holes.

Make sure you do a walk through on the day before the event. Give yourself plenty of time to walk through the volunteers who will help staff the event.

On the day of the event, walk it through three times.

- On the first walk through, imagine that you are a member of the media. Make sure that directional signs are clear, the press area is protected, etc.
- The second time, imagine that you are a speaker. Make sure you have a holding area, something to drink before the event, water on the podium, bathroom, etc.
- The third time, imagine that you are a member of the public. Can you see and hear the speakers? What will be done with the protesters, where will people sign in and buy their buttons, etc.

For emergencies, have a good communication system like walkie talkies.

Develop contingency plans for a protest.

Have an assistant at the day of the event. This person can be a trusted volunteer; the best person is someone with whom you've worked before. Things will always go wrong at the last minute. If something has to get done, have the assistant do it.

Sample media advisory

Contact: Jim Walton, (206) 591-5135 or
Genelle Birk (206) 591- 5175 or
756-3419 (Sat. June 2 only)

May 25, 1990

Media Advisory

WHAT: Tacoma Community Summit. A gathering of over 125 Tacoma stakeholders representing broad interests, backgrounds and neighborhoods to identify issues and strategies Tacoma should address in the '90's.

WHEN: Saturday, June 2, 1990, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

WHERE: University of Puget Sound, Student Union Building,
1400 North Lawrence, Tacoma.

WHY: During Mayor Karen Vialle's campaign, several people remarked that the people of Tacoma should have a say in Tacoma's future. This event marks the first time individuals representing different interest and community groups, and backgrounds will come together to develop a plan for Tacoma this decade.

Interview Opportunity: From 9:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m., Summit participants will create visual or word images of Tacoma in the year 2000. These pictures will be assembled into one large mural. The mayor and the facilitator, Glen Hiemstra will be available for comment. Participants also may be interviewed during this portion of the agenda. There will be a 15-minute break at 10:00 a.m.

Sample PSA

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

October 17, 1990

Contact: Greg Elkerton
Project Coordinator
Northwest Waste Information EXPO
500 Wall Street, Suite 413
Seattle, WA 98121
728-2223

Begin Use: Immediately

Do not use after: November 7, 1990 (a.m.)

Time: 10 seconds

If reducing and recycling solid and hazardous wastes is your business, you need to be at Northwest Waste Information EXPO '90. Call 728-2223 for more information.

Time: 20 seconds

Does your business deal with hazardous or solid waste? Do you want to be more environmentally responsible? Learn waste and recycling techniques at Northwest Waste Information EXPO '90. For more information, call 728-2223.

Time: 30 seconds

Are you a small business owner who doesn't know what to do with your hazardous and solid wastes? Northwest Waste Information EXPO '90 will help you be a better friend to the environment and potentially half your pocketbook. It's all happening November 7 and 8 at the Seattle Trade Center. This year's EXPO includes exhibits, demonstrations and more than 50 industry seminars by waste and recycling experts. Sponsored by the Waste Information Network and the Neighborhood Business Council. For more information, call 728-2223.

PHONER'S VOTER AND ISSUE ID TALLY SHEET

DATE: _____

SHIFT: _____

Use cross-hatches only. This sheet records *only* the number of calls.

Name: _____

Location Called: _____

Total Calls Completed: _____

Dialed Calls. (Use one cross-hatch per each dialed call.)

Busy/No Answer _____

Disconnected _____

Completed Calls

Opinion:

For: _____

Undecided: _____

Unfavorable: _____

Issue Preference:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

Vote:

For: _____

Undecided: _____

Against: _____

SUPERVISOR'S STATISTICS SHEET FOR PHONERS' VOTER ID CALLS

Date: _____

Shift: _____

Location Called: _____

	Today's Total	Cumulative Total
ID CALLS (# of calls placed)	_____	_____
# of Calling Hours (# hours times # phones)	_____	_____

COMPLETED CALLS

Favorables: #	_____	_____
% of ttl. completed calls	_____	_____
Undecideds: #	_____	_____
% of ttl. completed calls	_____	_____
Opposed: #	_____	_____
% of ttl. completed calls	_____	_____

ISSUE ID

#1 (%)	_____	_____
#2 (%)	_____	_____
#3 (%)	_____	_____
#4 (%)	_____	_____
#5 (%)	_____	_____
#6 (%)	_____	_____

Busy/No Answer: #	_____	_____
% of ttl. calls	_____	_____
Disconnected: #	_____	_____
% of ttl. calls	_____	_____

Checklist for Protecting America's Ancient Forests

This checklist can help you organize your campaign. Although it includes many ideas, it is by no means exhaustive. Use your creativity, try out new ideas, and let us know what's working for you. If you'd like more information about any of the areas listed below, consult your handbook or contact Americans for the Ancient Forests.

Use tried and true materials and arguments

- ✓ Reprint and distribute relevant parts of the handbook (fact sheets, questions and answers) to local organizations and the press. These materials cover a wide range of subjects but reinforce a few strong, proven arguments for ancient forest protection.
- ✓ Use talking points when you speak to interested organizations, the press, and others. Stick to the messages that work.

Work with environmental and allied organizations

- ✓ Set up meetings with organizations receptive to our messages. Continue to expand the coalition.
- ✓ Demonstrate organized support for ancient forest protection; encourage local organizations to sign joint letters or mailgrams.
- ✓ Encourage local supporters to write and call their elected officials.
- ✓ Get Congressional schedules and attend members' public events to ask questions about the protection of *our* ancient forests.
- ✓ Collect mailing lists from supportive and potentially supportive organizations. Use the lists for phone bank and mail programs.

Expand the coalition by appealing to third parties and opinion leaders

- ✓ Gather support from a broad array of third-parties and local opinion leaders. Ask for letters and/or statements to demonstrate that ancient forest protection has broad and substantial support.
- ✓ Use fact sheets and other excerpts from the handbook to solicit support from a variety of organizations—target organizations and select the arguments that would best appeal to them.
- ✓ Develop a local speakers bureau by collecting the names of people willing to speak to organizations about the ancient forests.

Work with local press

- ✓ Encourage supporters to author or sign Op Ed pieces. Distribute them to local print media (dailies, weeklies, business publications) and organization newsletters.
- ✓ Write letters to the editor and encourage others to do so.
- ✓ Seek press opportunities and turn campaign events (local organization endorsements, announcements of organizational meetings, statements by members of Congress) into media events.
- ✓ Contact local radio and television (if possible) talk shows and schedule guest appearances for people who can educate listeners/viewers on the need to protect *our* ancient forests. (Third party spokespersons are your best bet for guest appearances.)
- ✓ Seek opportunities for national experts to speak about ancient forest protection. Let us know if you have such an opportunity and need help lining up an expert.
- ✓ Contact local editorial boards, send them information, and set up meetings to discuss ancient forest protection. Encourage them to publish supportive editorials.

Five Arguments: Why We Should Fight to Protect Our Ancient Forests

America's ancient forests are disappearing. Only 10% are standing today.

Our forests are fast disappearing. As of today, 90% of our ancient forests have been decimated, and more are cut each day. America's forests are one of our country's most important natural resources. Preserving them must be a priority—for our government and for every citizen—because once they're lost, they're gone forever. Like the Grand Canyon and Old Faithful, our ancient forests are an irreplaceable part of America's national heritage.

Replanting forests is not a solution. Our national forests are valuable ecosystems that have evolved over hundreds of years. The timber industry clearcuts the forests and "replaces" them with single-species tree farms. Planting these tree crops can't recreate our national forests. Moreover, replanting is often unsuccessful; The Forest Service acknowledges that in order to meet replanting goals, they must replant up to twice as many trees as they want to have standing five years later.

If we lose our ancient forests, we lose much more than trees.

Failing to preserve our forests has many consequences. We may lose our clean water, our most productive spawning grounds for salmon, a several billion dollar-per-year recreation industry, more than 200 animal species, and countless plant species. We also lose the jobs that depend on the forests, leaving the timber-dependent communities with higher unemployment and bleaker economic prospects.

Our government is breaking laws that are supposed to protect our public lands.

Federal laws are supposed to protect our national forests, but key government agencies have broken these laws repeatedly, placing the interests of big timber companies ahead of protecting wildlife and other forest values.

Only the courts have been able to stop the administration and its agencies from continuing to decimate our nation's forests. U.S. District Judge William Dwyer, in his opinion temporarily halting timber cutting in certain areas, said that government agencies acted with a "deliberate and systematic refusal...to comply with the laws protecting wildlife."

Congress, therefore, must provide permanent protection for these ancient forests by designating ancient forest reserves.

Timber companies are exporting logs and jobs.

One out of every four logs from the Pacific Northwest is shipped overseas. When we send raw, unprocessed logs overseas, we send American jobs with them. If we keep our logs here, processing them in America and creating American-made products, we can save jobs.

The timber industry is trying to have it both ways. Timber companies export a substantial percentage of the timber they cut on private lands, but claim they need the wood from national forests (public lands) to meet domestic demand and provide jobs.

We are in the process of destroying our national forests to serve an insatiable international market. This process can only lead us in one direction: toward grave environmental losses, job losses, and future timber shortages.

Ancient forests provide lifesaving cancer treatments.

Taxol, found in the ancient forest's pacific yew tree, is one of the most promising new drugs for the treatment of ovarian, breast, and other cancers. Our government's logging policy may be wasting 60 to 75 percent of all yew trees—a reckless policy given the American Cancer Society's estimates of ovarian cancer patients: 21,000 women are diagnosed with ovarian cancer every year. With current treatment options, 12,500 women are expected to die from ovarian cancer *each year*.

Nearly 40% of the world's medicines are derived from natural sources. The ancient forests provide a natural laboratory for a variety of potential cures.

America's Ancient Forests

A Disappearing Part of Our Nation's Heritage

Why should Americans fight to protect our ancient forests?

The ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest are the last relatively intact "old-growth" ecosystems in America. Found principally in northern California, Oregon, and Washington, the ancient forests—like the Grand Canyon and Old Faithful—are a vital part of our national heritage.

Clearcutting has eliminated 90% of America's virgin forests

Today, our ancient forests are in jeopardy. They are disappearing—being clearcut—at the astonishing rate of 60,000 acres per year. Only 10% of our ancient forests still stand, and two-thirds of these remaining forests have no protection from future logging. If we allow current practices to continue, our ancient forests will be gone in the next 20 years; and once they are gone, they are gone forever.

In addition, timber companies export raw logs cut in the Pacific Northwest. It is estimated that 600 timber jobs are lost for every 100 million board feet exported. Last year, we exported 3 billion feet of raw logs from Pacific Northwest ports.

Destroying the forests destroys an ecosystem and an economy

Destroying these forests can ruin an ecosystem that provides much more than trees. We may lose:

Water for millions of people

The forests help maintain clean, abundant water for tens of millions of people, farms, and industries.

Productive spawning grounds for salmon

The forest's streams and rivers provide spawning grounds for salmon fisheries and habitat for trout and other sport fish.

A several billion dollar-per-year recreation industry

Millions of people visit the Pacific Northwest every year to hike, camp, fish, and enjoy natural surroundings that are being destroyed.

Abundant wildlife

The ancient forests are ecosystems that support more than 200 animal and countless plant species. If the forests are destroyed, these animals and plants will be lost forever.

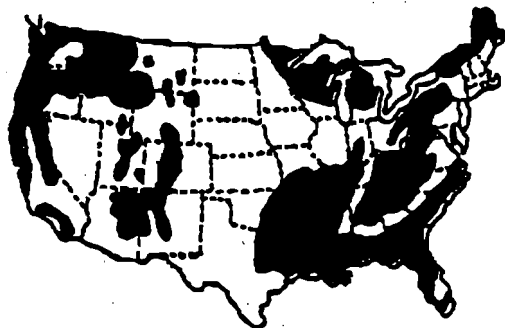
Ancient forests provide lifesaving drugs

Nearly 40% of the world's medicines are derived from natural sources. The ancient forests provide an essential laboratory for a variety of potential cures.

Taxol, found in the ancient forest's pacific yew tree, is one of the most promising new drugs for the treatment of ovarian, breast, and other cancers.

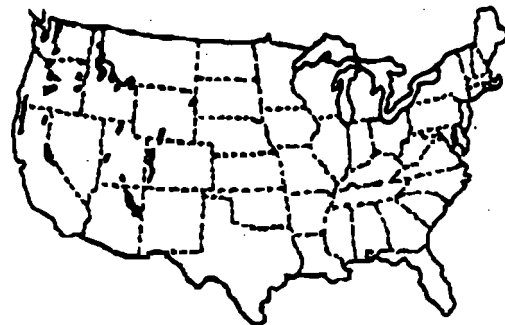
Our government's logging policy may be wasting 60 to 75% of all yew trees—a reckless policy given the American Cancer Society's estimates of ovarian cancer patients: 21,000 women are diagnosed with ovarian cancer each year and, with current treatment options, 12,500 women are expected to die from ovarian cancer *each year*.

Once, America had abundant virgin forests



America's virgin forests, 1850

Today, less than 10% remain



America's virgin forests, 1989

Our government is breaking the law rather than enforcing it

Federal laws are supposed to protect our national forests, but key government agencies have broken these laws repeatedly; the federal government has put the interests of big timber companies ahead of protecting wildlife and other forest values.

- *The Washington Post* reported that the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Forest Service all violated federal law.
- The government's timber-first policy has sacrificed water quality and the survival of countless fish, animal, and plant species. In the last 20 years, the Forest Service spent 35% of its budget on the timber program and only 2% on recreation, fish, wildlife, and soil management.
- In 1990, Forest Supervisors across the country warned the Forest Service was "out of control," saying the agency's emphasis on timber "doesn't reflect...land stewardship values" and doesn't meet "expectations of...public and employees." Since then, whistle-blowers have described corruption including falsified data, silenced dissent, timber theft, and illegal logging.
- John McCormick, former head of the Forest Service's whistle-blower program testified before Congress saying the Forest Service does little to prevent timber theft and overlooks illegal timber harvesting techniques.
- Montana Regional Forester John Mumma resigned because he refused to log the illegal and unsustainable volumes directed by his superiors.
- The government built thousands of miles of roads in virgin forests for logging companies to use—all at taxpayers' expense.

Only courts have been able to stop the administration's pattern of lawlessness. U.S. District Judge William Dwyer, in an opinion temporarily halting timber cutting in certain areas, said government agencies acted with a "deliberate and systematic refusal...to comply with...laws protecting wildlife."

Timber companies are causing most of the job losses

In recent years, all of the Northwest region's industrial sectors—with the notable exception of the timber industry—have increased employment rates well in excess of the national average.

Timber industry employment has fallen: during the 1980s, before any spotted owl protections were imposed, Washington and Oregon lost more than 26,000 timber-related jobs—even though timber cut from the national forests in these two states increased from 3.6 to 5.5 billion board feet per year.

These job losses were largely due to the modernization of mills, the export of raw logs overseas, and the movement of timber capital from the Northwest to other parts of the United States.

Timber companies export logs—and export jobs

The timber industry is trying to have it both ways. They cut timber on private lands and export a substantial percentage to the Pacific Rim, and then claim they need to clearcut the trees of our national forests to meet domestic demand and save jobs.

Timber companies export 1 out of every 4 logs cut in the Northwest. If we processed these logs in the United States instead of exporting them, we could generate up to 18,000 direct timber jobs, helping the communities that depend on these jobs.

Timber companies are leaving the Northwest

The timber industry employs only 4% of workers in the Northwest, in part because the industry's major producers have shifted their operations and investments from the Northwest to the South.

Between 1978 and 1990, the nation's 7 largest lumber and plywood companies reduced their manufacturing capacity in the Pacific Northwest by 34% and increased capacity in southern states by more than 121%. Timber industry investment in the Northwest has fallen by 60% since 1978.

As timber companies export raw logs and flee the Northwest, the number of timber-related jobs in the region can be expected to further decrease.

Make your voice heard

Help us preserve the ancient forests, an irreplaceable part of our national heritage. You can organize your friends, neighbors, colleagues; work with opinion leaders and your scientific, legal, medical, and environmental communities; write letters to newspapers; contact your elected representatives. For more information, contact Americans for the Ancient Forests, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036, 202/296-2777.

Americans for the Ancient Forests is a national grassroots public education campaign working for the protection of America's remaining ancient (old growth) forests. The campaign is supported by national foundations and individuals concerned with the destruction of our national heritage.

Questions and Answers

1. Why do we need to protect our ancient forests?

The ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest are the last intact “old-growth” ecosystems in the United States. These forests—our national forests—are disappearing. As of today, 90% of our ancient forests have been destroyed with clearcutting, and more are cut each day. These forests are an irreplaceable part of America’s national heritage; preserving them must be a priority.

In addition, failing to preserve our forests has many consequences. If we destroy our ancient forests, we lose the jobs that depend on the forests, leaving the timber-dependent communities with higher unemployment and bleaker economic prospects. We also may lose plant and animal species forever.

2. Why are our ancient forests being destroyed?

Most of the publicly-owned ancient forests are managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, which, under pressure from timber interests, have pursued a policy that includes aggressive clearcutting. Federal laws are supposed to protect our national forests, but the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have broken these laws repeatedly. When public lands are mismanaged in this way, our environment pays and big timber companies benefit.

3. Don’t existing laws already protect our ancient forests?

No. Current laws are supposed to protect our forests and provide balance, but they aren’t being properly enforced, and the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have broken them repeatedly. In addition, current laws don’t mandate an ecosystem approach; they don’t effectively preserve the forest ecosystem.

4. What are some examples of federal lawlessness involving our forests?

The federal government continually has put the interests of big timber companies ahead of protecting wildlife and other forest values.

According to *The Washington Post*, specific examples of federal lawbreaking include:

- The Fish and Wildlife Service broke the law by not listing the spotted owl under the Endangered Species Act (the agency subsequently relented).
- The Bureau of Land Management violated the National Environmental Policy Act by not preparing an adequate environmental impact statement on logging’s effect on the owl.

- The Forest Service violated the National Forest Management Act by not protecting the owl.

In addition to these violations of law, the government has mismanaged our forests:

- Nationwide, America's national forests contain more than 340,000 miles of operable roads used to cut timber. On average, major logging roads cost \$45,000 per mile, a cost paid by American taxpayers.
- American taxpayers foot the bill for marketing and preparing timber lands because the Forest Service doesn't pass these costs on to the timber industry. Over the next ten years, American taxpayers will have to cover losses on timber sales of \$2 billion.
- For the last 20 years, the Forest Service has spent 35 % of its budget on the timber program and only 2 % on recreation, fish, wildlife, and soil management.

Only the courts have been able to stop the administration from continuing to decimate our nation's forests. U.S. District Judge William Dwyer, in an opinion temporarily halting timber cutting in certain areas, said government agencies acted with a "deliberate and systematic refusal...to comply with the laws protecting wildlife."

5. Is the present controversy just a case of jobs vs. spotted owls?

No. The consequences of failing to preserve our forests extend far beyond losing the spotted owl. If we destroy our ancient forests, we lose the jobs that depend on the forests, leaving the timber-dependent communities with higher unemployment and bleaker economic prospects. We also may lose our clean water, our most productive spawning grounds for salmon and the billion dollar Northwest fishing industry (see question 16), a several billion dollar-per-year recreation industry, more than 200 animal species, and countless plant species.

6. Is the spotted owl the main reason for job losses in the timber industry?

No. The timber industry was hit with increasing job loss long before the spotted owl controversy. During the 1980s, Washington and Oregon lost more than 25,000 timber-related jobs per year even though the amount of timber cut from the national forests in these two states increased from 3.6 to 5.5 billion board feet per year. These job losses were largely due to the modernization of the mills, export of raw logs overseas, and the movement of timber industry capital from the Northwest region to other parts of the United States (see question 11).

7. Won't we run short of timber and lose jobs if we stop logging in the ancient forests?

No. We cut more than enough timber each year to meet domestic demand. Timber companies export 25 % of the logs cut in the Pacific Northwest every year and in the process, send jobs overseas.

8. How much Northwestern timber does the U.S. export?

The industry cuts approximately 350,000 acres of the Northwest's forest each year. The three Pacific Northwest states alone export 25 % of these logs (roughly 3.3 billion board feet) unprocessed by our domestic mills.

9. How many Northwest jobs are lost as a result of log exports?

It is estimated that 600 timber jobs are lost for every 100 million board feet exported. Last year we exported 3 billion board feet of raw logs from Pacific Northwest ports.

10. How many jobs could we save with a log export ban?

Because of legislation enacted in 1990 logs are not exported from federal lands, and only Washington state exports logs from state lands. Timber companies, however, still export substantial quantities of timber from private lands; they export 25 % of the logs cut in the Pacific Northwest every year.

If we processed these logs in the United States instead of exporting them, we could generate up to 18,000 new timber jobs. Reducing or eliminating the exports also would reduce pressure to over-cut our federal forests.

11. Is the timber industry a large part of the Northwest's economy?

No, timber is only a small part of the region's economy, in part because the timber industry's major producers have shifted their operations and investments from the Northwest to other areas of the country:

- The timber industry employs only 4% of the work force in Oregon and Washington.
- Each year, Oregon and Washington's economies add an average of 160,000 new *non-timber* jobs to the region's employment base.
- Between 1978 and 1990, the nation's seven largest lumber and plywood companies reduced their manufacturing capacity in the Pacific Northwest by 34% and increased capacity in the southern states by more than 121%.
- Workers in Oregon and Washington lost more than 26,000 timber-related jobs in the 1980s—at a time when the industry was cutting a record amount of timber from our nation's forests. These jobs were lost before a single acre of federal land was protected as spotted owl habitat.

12. Can the timber industry continue its current practices indefinitely?

No. In fact, changes in the timber industry are inevitable. The timber industry has cut trees faster than they can grow, rapidly liquidating the ancient forests. Only 10% of the region's original ancient forests remain, most on public land. If current timber-cutting practices continue, the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest could disappear within 20 years.

13. Doesn't replanting trees ensure that the forests will grow back?

No. Timber companies are replanting single-species tree farms of value only to loggers. Replanted areas lack the biological capital and nutrients provided by the long, natural cycle of forest growth and decay.

In addition, replanting isn't always successful. The Forest Service acknowledges that in order to meet replanting goals, they must replant up to twice as many trees as they want to have standing five years later.

The Forest Service then uses survival rates based on the target number rather than the actual number of trees planted; if, for example, 300 trees survive in an area with a 300-tree goal, the Forest Service reports a 100% survival rate even if 600 trees were planted to achieve this objective.

According to Forest Service reports, survival rates for trees planted in EPA Region 6 (Oregon and Washington) range from 61% to 83% (FY 1991).

14. Does logging adversely affect fish habitat?

Yes. Forestry, road building, grazing, agriculture, urbanization and other land and water management practices damage and eliminate fish habitats, and the Northwest's fisheries are declining because fish habitats are being destroyed. At least 106 populations of West Coast salmonids (salmon, steelhead, trout, and char) have been driven to extinction, and more than 210 additional populations in the region currently are at risk.

In April 1992, the Pacific Fishery Management Council decided to cut approximately in half the number of salmon that can be fished off California, Oregon and Washington in 1992.

15. How do current logging practices alter fish habitats?

Successful fish spawning requires certain stream conditions including cool, well-oxygenated, fresh water and food. In areas without logging, trees that line the sides of streams provide essential shade. When they die naturally, they fall into the streams, helping to create healthy fish habitats. These downed logs are essential because they modify stream flow and create a variety of in-stream pools and side channels that fish use for shelter, rest, and protection.

Areas with logging lose the essential benefits of downed logs. In addition, logging and road building increase the amount of fine sediments in streams by 10 to 1000 times.

This increased sedimentation adversely affects the viability of salmon eggs as well as the fish's ability to feed: salmon are visual feeders, and they can't see their food in water with high levels of suspended sediments.

Areas with logging also suffer from water temperature problems. Logging frequently removes the shade trees that line the sides of stream. This shade is vital for keeping water temperatures down, particularly during summer months when water levels are low. In southwest Oregon and northwest California, stream temperatures can reach and exceed lethal degrees without adequate shading.

16. What economic impact do fish have in the Pacific Northwest?

There are nine main native salmon species in the Pacific Northwest states. These fish support commercial and recreational fishing industries that produce more than \$1 billion in personal income per year and more than 60,000 jobs in the region.

In 1988, the commercial salmon industry contributed roughly \$320 million to the Pacific states' economies and generated approximately 15,250 jobs.

Recreational fishing in the Pacific Northwest region is responsible for about \$931 million in annual personal income impacts and generates 47,500 jobs.

17. What are the scientific experts saying?

In an October 1991 report to the U.S. House of Representatives (Agriculture and Merchant Marine Committees), the Scientific Panel on Late-Successional Forest Ecosystems said that *under existing forest plans, the prospects for fish survival is "very low" to "low."*

The Scientific Panel recommended protection for 137 watersheds* in the Coast, Siskiyou, Cascade and Olympic ranges.

*A watershed is a portion of the forest in which all surface water drains to a common point. Watersheds can range from a few tens of acres that drain a small intermittent stream to many thousands of acres for a stream that drains hundreds of connected intermittent and perennial streams.

18. What is the "Watershed Option"?

The "Watershed Option," developed by the Scientific Panel on Late-Successional Forest Ecosystems* in the report listed above, is a set of recommendations to Congress. It suggests public land management changes that would protect 90 fish stocks identified as at risk of extinction within the geographic range of the spotted owl.

The Watershed Option recommended policy changes that would maintain and restore (1) ecological functions and processes in streams and (2) habitat of potential threatened and endangered fish species and stocks of anadromous salmonids.

*Ancient forest is a lay term for late successional forest.

19. Is there any overlap between spotted owl habitat and the "Key Watersheds"?

There is considerable overlap between high-quality spotted owl habitat proposed for protection under the Forest Service Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) and the "Key Watersheds" proposed for protection by the Scientific Panel on Late Successional Forest Ecosystems.

Similarly, there is overlap between existing protected areas—National Parks, for example—and the Key Watersheds. This overlap is to be expected, since prime old growth and late successional forests provide good habitat for a wide range of creatures including fish and owls. Although measures needed to protect owls are not identical to those needed to protect fish, the logging and road building restrictions within proposed owl areas would extend much of the needed protection to fish habitats.

20. What is the Ancient Forest Alliance?

The Ancient Forest Alliance is a broad-based coalition of more than 100 national, state and local organization seeking greater protection for the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest. The coalition includes six major national environmental groups as well as environmental and other citizen action organizations throughout the country.

21. What is Americans for the Ancient Forests?

Americans for the Ancient Forests is a national grassroots public education campaign committed to the protection of America's remaining ancient (old growth) forests. The campaign is supported by national foundations and individuals concerned with the destruction of our national heritage.

For more information, contact Americans for the Ancient Forests, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036, 202/296-2777.

Quotes

U.S. District Judge William Dwyer
May 1991:

"More is involved here than a simple failure by an agency to comply with its governing statute. The most recent violation of the NFMA (National Forest Management Act) exemplifies a deliberate and systematic refusal by the Forest Service and the FWS (Fish and Wildlife Service) to comply with the laws protecting wildlife."

"To bypass the environmental laws, either briefly or permanently, would not fend off the changes transforming the timber industry."

President George Bush
Mt. Rushmore, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 1989:

"The forests are the sanctuaries not only of wildlife but also of the human spirit. And every tree is a compact between the generations."

Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan
August 1991:

"We believe we [government agencies] could manage our national forests better if we were free from the interference of the federal courts. Only the Congress of the United States can free us from that interference. We hope they will do that and do that expeditiously."

George H. Weyerhaeuser
President & CEO of Weyerhaeuser Paper Company
February 20, 1986:

"[Despite record demand for wood products] scores of mills remain closed and thousands of workers remain unemployed in the Pacific Northwest forest products industry...The reason is that the industry has changed on the inside. [There has been] a fundamental reorganization of both production and marketing. The result is... *excess capacity*...[which] has continued to depress prices and thereby created an environment in which only those producers able to reduce their costs are able to succeed or indeed survive."

John Muir, Founder of the Sierra Club:

"...since Christ's time, God has cared for these trees, saved them from drought, disease, avalanche, and a thousand straining, leveling tempests and floods: but he cannot save them from the fools."

**R. Max Peterson, former Chief, U.S. Forest Service,
speaking about the decades of extreme and excessive logging
in the U.S. National Forest System:**

"Anybody, on the back of an envelope, could have figured out that the rate of [timber] harvest cannot be sustained."

**Tom Giesen, Chairman, Economic Committee,
Native Forest Council:**

"Mill closures and unemployment are due to automation, gains in efficiency, and the fact that about one out of every four logs cut in the Northwest is shipped overseas unprocessed. Overall, industry set records in 1987 and 1988 for profits, and it had near-record production. It has cut more logs than ever."

U.S. Senator Bob Packwood:

"The General Accounting Office's findings reinforce the need for a permanent ban on log exports from federal lands and the closing of loopholes in current log export regulations."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt on logging on the Olympic Peninsula, 1937:

"I hope the son-of-a-bitch who logged that is roasting in hell!"

U.S. Congressman Peter DeFazio:

"Our future is being shipped overseas."

"They are making obscene profits by exporting our natural heritage. Their profits come first and our workers and communities, second."

"It's stupid, it's bad policy, and it's got to stop."

Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota:

“The days have ended when the forest may be viewed only as trees and trees viewed only as timber. The soil and the water, grasses and the shrubs, the fish and the wildlife, and the beauty that is the forest must become integral parts of resource managers’ thinking and actions.”

***New York Times* article, March 20, 1989:**

“Smokey the Bear has become Mr. Lumberjack, some say.”

Ancient Forest Recent Chronology

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| January 1987 | Initial petition filed for listing the northern spotted owl under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). |
| August 1987 | 29 environmental groups file second petition to list northern spotted owl as "threatened." |
| October 1987 | 11 environmental organizations filed suit in U.S. District Court in Portland seeking injunction against further logging around 289 spotted owl habitats pending completion of supplemental environmental impact statements by Bureau of Land Management for western Oregon lands that analyze new data on northern spotted owl (<i>Portland Audubon Society v. Hodel "PAS"</i>). |
| November 1987 | The Department of Interior's (DOI) expert on population viability, Dr. Mark Shaffer, concludes that all evidence "argues strongly for listing (the owl) as threatened or endangered at this time." |
| December 1987 | Department of Interior refuses to list spotted owl as "threatened." |
| April 1988 | Portland District Court dismisses lawsuit against BLM (<i>PAS</i>) on grounds that FY89 Interior Appropriations Act bars judicial review of outdated forest management plans. Environmental plaintiffs immediately appeal. |
| May 1988 | 25 environmental organizations file suit in U.S. District Court in Seattle against the Department of Interior to have northern spotted owl listed under the Endangered Species Act (<i>Northern Spotted Owl v. Hodel</i>). |
| May 1988 | U.S. Court of Appeals issues temporary injunction to halt logging of all Oregon Bureau of Land Management old growth pending review of citizen claims in <i>PAS</i> case. |
| November 1988 | U.S. District Judge Thomas Zilly rules in the Northern Spotted Owl case that the decision not to list the owl under ESA is arbitrary and capricious and contrary to law. <i>"The Service disregarded all the expert opinion on population viability, including that of its own expert, that the owl is facing extinction, and instead merely asserted its expertise in support of its conclusions."</i> The Court gave the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service until May 1, 1989 to reconsider its decision. |

- December 1988** U.S. Forest Service issues new owl management plan that scientists call "a prescription for extinction of the owl."
- February 1989** Nine environmental organizations file suit in U.S. District Court in Seattle challenging the Forest Service "prescription for extinction" owl management plan. The court is asked to halt all USFS timber sales in owl habitat until a scientifically and legally sound plan is prepared.
- March 1989** Injunctions are granted in *Seattle Audubon v. Robertson* halting 163 planned sales of old growth on national forests in Washington and Oregon. U.S. District Court Judge William Dwyer rules that USFS owl management plan probably violates federal environmental laws.
- April 1989** The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service declares spotted owl warrants listing as threatened under Endangered Species Act and announces intention to issue proposed rulemaking.
- October 1989** Congress adopts Section 318 of the FY 1990 Interior Appropriations Act, which insulates Forest Service and BLM timber sales from judicial review. The Forest Service is given a "one-year breather" from the court-ordered ban on timber sales in old-growth forests and is ordered to revise its owl protection plan by September 30, 1990.
- October 1989** Environmental groups file a new suit challenging the constitutionality of FY90 Interior Appropriations Act which barred judicial review of agency actions relating to timber sales in Washington and Oregon.
- December 1989** U.S. District Court Judge Helen Frye dismisses *Portland Audubon Society v. Hodel* on grounds that FY90 Interior Appropriations Act bars judicial review of agency actions.
- January 1990** Environmental groups appeal dismissal of *Portland Audubon v. Hodel* and request injunction pending ruling on constitutionality of Section 318.
- April 1990** The Thomas Committee (the Interagency Scientific Committee whose report is known as the "Thomas Report,") submits its report, "Conservation Strategy for the Northern Spotted Owl," to Congress and proposes a plan to establish Habitat Conservation Areas in northern California and western Washington and Oregon to protect the northern spotted owl. The report acknowledges that their strategy would probably result in loss of 50 percent of remaining owl population before stabilizing in 50 years.

- May 1990** *The Portland Oregonian* reports that the Administration pressured regional agency heads from the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, Fish and Wildlife Service, and others not to sign a joint letter endorsing the Interagency Scientific Committee's "Conservation Strategy."
- June 1990** USFWS formally proposes listing the northern spotted owl as a threatened species across its entire range in northern California, western Oregon and Washington but refused to designate critical habitat as required by the Endangered Species Act.
- June 1990** Bush Administration establishes interagency task force, headed by (then) Secretary of Agriculture, Clayton Yeutter, to examine economic impacts of spotted owl listing and proposes exempting USFS and BLM from compliance with major environmental laws regulating logging on public lands.
- July 1990** A letter signed by 15 State Attorney Generals is sent to House Speaker Thomas Foley and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell asking them to prevent reenactment of legislation limiting judicial review.
- August 1990** Environmental groups ask Judge Zilly to order FWS to designate critical habitat as mandated by the ESA.
- September 1990** A letter signed by 458 law school deans and professors is sent to House Speaker Foley and Senate Leader Mitchell urging them to oppose legislation reenacting limits on judicial review.
- September 1990** U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals rules that Section 318 banned judicial review and is unconstitutional.
- September 1990** Yeutter task force issues two-and-a-half page "report" outlining proposed alternatives to spotted owl listing, including invoking Endangered Species Committee to seek exemption for USFS and BLM from law so logging can continue in owl habitat.
- September 1990** BLM announces the "Jamison Strategy," which ignores key provisions of the ISC report and allows logging levels much greater than would be permitted by the ISC.
- October 1990** Judge Dwyer is asked by conservation groups to order the Forest Service to formally adopt an owl management plan—as required by Congress and NFMA.

- February 1991** Secretary of Interior Manuel Lujan appoints 13-member spotted owl recovery team which is made up primarily of lawyers, economists and administrators.
- February 1991** Judge Zilly rules that the Fish and Wildlife Service abused its discretion, acted arbitrarily and capriciously—and violated the Endangered Species Act—when it refused to designate critical habitat concurrent with its listing of the owl as threatened. FWS is put on a timetable for complying.
- February 1991** Judge Zilly rules in favor of environmentalists and orders the Fish and Wildlife Service to designate critical habitat for the spotted owl.
- April 1991** A lawsuit is filed challenging the Bureau of Land Management's failure to consult with the Fish and Wildlife Service regarding the spotted owl impacts of its two-year timber sale plan, called the "Jamison Strategy."
- May 1991** Judge Dwyer issues injunction against 171 timber sales on 66,000 acres of spotted owl habitat in national forests because the Forest Service "deliberately and systematically violated key environmental laws."
- June 1991** Conservationists submit petition to the Fish and Wildlife Service to list the marbled murrelet as a threatened species.
- July 1991** A letter signed by 24 state Attorneys General opposing Congressional attempts to limit judicial review is sent to Foley and Mitchell.
- August 1991** Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan tells reporters:
"We think we could manage (our national forests) better if we were free from the interference of the federal courts. Only the Congress of the United States can free us from that interference. We hope they will do that and do that expeditiously."
- September 1991** A top Forest Service official admits in court that the agency was instructed by the Bush Administration to disobey an Act of Congress.

A letter from nearly 600 law school deans and professors opposing legislation limiting judicial review of federal government activities is sent to Foley, Mitchell, and other members of Congress.
- September 1991** U.S. District Judge Robert Jones rules that the BLM violated ESA by failing to consult with the Fish and Wildlife Service on the Jamison Strategy.

- September 1991** The Bureau of Land Management asks Interior Secretary Lujan to convene the Endangered Species Committee ("God Squad") in order to exempt 44 timber sales in western Oregon from the requirements of the ESA.
- December 1991** The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upholds Judge Dwyer's May 1991 ruling and injunction in the SAS case:
 "[The Forest Service's] systematic refusal to follow the law in the past, as chronicled by the district court, is not an excuse for avoiding the concurrent requirements of the NFMA and ESA in the future."
- December 1991** In a letter to the Bureau of Land Management's Oregon State Director, the Environmental Protection Agency declares that BLM has not complied with NEPA in preparing its timber sale program.
- December 1991** The Fish and Wildlife Service asks the God Squad to terminate the exemption proceeding because the Bureau of Land Management didn't carry out the statutory prerequisites of consulting on the Jamison Strategy "in good faith" on the 44 timber sales for which it sought an exemption.
- January 1992** Judge Frye temporarily bars BLM from selling any timber in owl habitat because the Bureau has not prepared an environmental impact statement analyzing the impacts of its timber program on spotted owls and their habitat.
- February 1992** Lujan announces that he will ignore the draft recovery plan for the spotted owl prepared by his own hand-picked team of economists, policy-makers, and scientists, because he believes it will result in too many lost jobs. Instead, he appoints a new work group to develop yet another set of "spotted owl management options." The work group is directed to develop new options that "would not necessarily meet (the) requirements imposed by current law."
- March 1992** The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upholds Judge Jones' September, 1991 ruling that "without a doubt" the BLM violated the ESA by refusing to consult with FWS on the Jamison Strategy. The court also enjoins any future BLM timber sales until the Bureau consults with FWS on the individual sales, on the Jamison Strategy, and on any other owl conservation plan, including the existing timber management plans. The court's ruling directly undermines Interior Secretary Lujan's decision to convene the ESA's God Committee.

March 1992

Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan proposes elimination of the Forest Service appeals process in part because the administration views the current process as "procedurally onerous and confrontational."

Forest Service signs decision document implementing spotted owl management plan but ignores new evidence of a 7 to 10-fold increase in the rate of decline of owl populations. Injunction against timber sales is lifted and SAS case closes.

Eleven environmental organizations file suit in federal district court in Seattle challenging the legality of a the new Forest Service plan for the spotted owl because the new plan allows the continued logging of publicly-owned ancient forests and threatens the survival of the spotted owl.

Supreme Court rules that Sec. 318 of the FY90 Appropriations bill (banning judicial review) was constitutional.

April 1992

Five organizations send a demand letter to the Forest Service calling for changes in fish habitat management and an economic analysis of the loss of salmon habitat and associated jobs.

The Pacific Fishery Management Council voted to cut by approximately half the number of salmon that can be fished off California, Oregon, and Washington during the 1992 season.

Six committee and subcommittee chairs (of the House Interior, Agriculture, and Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committees and relevant subcommittees) jointly introduce new ancient forest protection legislation. The bill (H.R. 4899) would establish old-growth forest reserves in the Pacific Northwest and restrict commercial logging on Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management lands.

Myths and Facts

General Myths

Myth #1

Trees are a renewable resource.

FACT:

The ancient forests' ecosystem is a continuing resource until humans destroy it. Neither research nor innovative forestry has solved the erosion and soil depletion problems caused by clearcutting. If current logging practices continue, our forests will be gone. And once they are gone, they're gone forever.

Myth #2:

"America has over 20% more trees than it had 20 years ago. [We] plant 6,000,000 trees a day."

—Weyerhaeuser Paper Company advertisement

FACT:

The number of trees in the country isn't the measure of our forests' value, and planting tree crops can't replace or re-create forests.

In addition, replanting isn't always successful. The Forest Service acknowledges that in order to meet replanting goals, they must replant up to twice as many trees as they want to have standing five years later.

The Forest Service then uses survival rates based on the target number rather than the actual number of trees planted; if, for example, 300 trees survive

in an area with a 300-tree goal, the Forest Service reports a 100% survival rate even if 600 trees were planted to achieve this objective.

According to Forest Service reports, survival rates for trees planted in EPA Region 6 (Oregon and Washington) range from 61% to 83% (FY 1991).

Our old growth forests are valuable ecosystems with trees older than our country. In place of these lush forests with immense age and species diversity, the timber industry plants an even-aged, single-species crop. This is called a tree farm, not a forest.

Replanted areas lack the biological capital and nutrients provided by the long, natural cycle of forest growth and decay; the large doses of chemical fertilizers and herbicides often applied to these areas can't replace this natural cycle.

In addition to clearcutting's devastating effects, the timber industry has added a new—and growing—practice: some timber companies are selling their logged-over land for development rather than replanting it.

Myth #3:

America will never run out of trees: national forests are cut on a sustained yield basis.

FACT:

Even if tree farms did resemble natural forests, the tim-

ber industry's rate of cutting far exceeds all re-vegetation programs. Retiring Regional Forester James Torrence acknowledged that the new Forest Plans continue these unsustainable cut levels.

Myth #4:

Old-growth virgin forests are unhealthy, disease-ridden, and insect-infested. If we don't cut and replant them, they're just going to die anyway.

FACT:

Since the Ice Age, our old-growth forests have thrived through their own indigenous processes. They have evolved into some of the healthiest, most resilient ecosystems on earth. They are not, all of a sudden, going to fall down and rot away.

All species in the forest are interdependent: seedlings, for example, require the shaded canopy of mature trees because they need cool temperatures. Without the strength and diversity of native forests, many tree or fiber plantations will suffer from unnatural levels of insect infestation, disease, drought, or fire.

At present logging rates, America will run out of its remaining unprotected national forests in the next twenty years.

Owl Myths

Myth #5:

We've already set aside enough land in the Pacific Northwest to protect the spotted owl and other species.

FACT:

Most of the region's low-elevation forests—the most productive forest and best wildlife habitat—were not set aside when they could have been; over the last 30 years they have been converted into industrial tree farms. Most land that is protected (wilderness areas and national parks) is largely rock and ice. However scenic these parks and preserves may be, most were not designed to protect wildlife diversity, fisheries, and the integrity of ecosystems.

Myth #6:

Pacific Northwest timber makes up 30% of all the timber used in the United States. If we protect the northern spotted owl, our nation will have a timber shortage.

FACT:

Protecting the spotted owl will affect only federal lands. Even though the Northwest provides a significant portion of the nation's timber supply, 63% of Washington and Oregon's total timber production from 1979-1987 was from non-federal lands.

Economic Myths

Myth #7:

The people of the Pacific Northwest depend on the timber from public land for economic survival.

FACT:

Only 4% of jobs in Washington and Oregon are timber dependent.

The economic survival of Pacific Northwest communities depends on protecting, not liquidating, the region's last ancient forest ecosystems, most of which are on public land.

Many vital sectors of the Northwest's economy, however, depend on the public's ancient forests—and the wildlife and water they provide. The economic centers that depend on protecting the ancient forests include fishing, farming, and tourism:

- In 1989, 6.8 million out-of-state visitors spent \$2.3 billion in Oregon alone.
- The Pacific Northwest's fishing industry produces more than \$1 billion in personal income per year and has a 60,000 job impact.
- Scenic beauty, wildlife, and abundant outdoor recreation are essential in attracting business investments to the region.

Myth #8:

Unless timber corporations have access to the public's forests, regional economies will be ruined.

FACT:

Timber corporations themselves have been ruining regional economies for years by exporting timber and starving domestic mills.

The number of timber jobs already is decreasing, and economists project the timber industry will support even fewer Northwest jobs in the future.

The downward trend in timber jobs began in the 1980s; it was due primarily to the modernization of mills and the export of unprocessed logs overseas. Workers in Oregon and Washington lost more than 25,000 timber-related jobs in the 1980s—at a time when the industry was cutting a record amount of timber from the national forests.

If exports are banned and all cutting on virgin forests on federal lands ceases, the Northwest will have as much timber for its mills as it has now. Responsible companies are now re-tooling their mills for the second-growth timber on private lands, and developing new products of equal quality and function.

Myth #9:

The timber industry in the Northwest is highly dependent on timber from federal lands.

FACT:

Most of the timber cut in the Northwest is cut from private lands, not federal lands:

- In 1988, the Pacific Northwest timber industry

employed some 250,000 workers. Of these, only 20% (or 50,000) were dependent on federal forest land.

- In Washington state, 62% of the 1988 timber cut was from private lands, 11% from state lands, and only 21% from federal lands.
- From 1980-1985, private lands provided 90.2% of the softwood saw timber cut in Northern California, and 51% in Western Oregon.
- Overall, for the western portion of these states (the area most affected by the spotted owl/ ancient forest issue) private lands provided 62.4% of the softwood saw timber cut during the period 1980-1985.

Myth #10:

Timber sales overall make a profit for the federal treasury.

FACT:

The Forest Service timber program has lost \$5.6 billion over the past decade (documented in an analysis performed at the request of the House Government Operations Subcommittee of Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources).

According to The Wilderness Society, in recent years, timber sales on about two-thirds of the national forests cost taxpayers more than \$1 billion in tax subsidies. In 1990, The Wilderness Society estimates that 98 of 120 national forests required taxpayer subsidies of \$257 million.

Myth #11:

Our nation needs the wood we get from clearcutting our national forests.

FACT:

The timber industry is trying to have it both ways. Timber companies export a substantial percentage of the timber they cut on private lands, but they claim they need the wood from national forests (public lands) to meet domestic demand and provide jobs.

More than 25% of all timber cut in the Northwest goes overseas as raw logs or unfinished raw materials. Sending raw logs overseas costs us American jobs. If we keep our logs here, processing them in America and creating American products, we can save timber-related jobs and help the communities that depend on them.

Myth #12:

Protection of the spotted owl/ancient forests would raise the cost of lumber 20% and add \$55 billion to consumer debt. The dream of affordable housing would disappear.

FACT:

The dream of affordable housing depends on more than the price of lumber. In fact, lumber represents only 7% of the cost of building a house; costs of construction labor, land prices and mortgage rates have a greater affect on housing affordability.

Less than 9% of all lumber used to build new homes and other facilities in the United

States comes from old-growth forests.

If, as the Forest Service predicts, lumber prices increase by 15% due to ancient forest protection and the elimination of subsidized timber sales, the cost of a new home now priced at \$98,500 would rise by only \$724 (less than 1% of its total cost). The average mortgage payment on a new home would rise by only \$4.80/month.

Our export policies also affect the cost of housing. One out of every four logs from the Pacific Northwest is shipped overseas. Because we send so much wood out of our country, we are importing logs from Canada—and this imported lumber carries a 14.8% tariff.

Water Myths

Myth #13:

Logging and associated road building doesn't silt up streams anymore.

FACT:

Today, logging and associated road building are the major causes of stream siltation and water quality loss in Pacific Northwest forests. At least 106 populations of West Coast salmonids (salmon, steelhead, trout, and char) have been driven to extinction and more than 210 additional populations are currently at risk of extinction.

Talking Points

- 90% of America's ancient forests already are gone, and much of the remaining 10% are threatened.
- Big timber companies, with help from our own Forest Service, are destroying our precious ancient forests.
- A part of our national heritage—as important and spectacular as the Grand Canyon, Old Faithful, and Yosemite Park—is at stake.
- When these forests are gone, they're gone forever.
- When the forests are gone, so are precious water, lifesaving medicines, more than 200 animal species, and countless plant species.
- We need to save the ancient forests now so our children will be able to enjoy them.
- We're not talking about saving all the trees—just some very special forests.
- At the same time big timber companies say that they need the wood from our ancient forests, they are exporting one quarter of the timber they cut on private lands to Japan and other countries at enormous profit. Last year we exported 3 billion board feet of raw logs from Pacific Northwest ports. If we processed these logs in the United States instead of exporting them, we could generate up to 18,000 direct timber jobs.
- Timber jobs in the region are declining more because of automation and the recession than because of environmental protections.
- Protecting the ancient forests and watersheds will also help save a fishing industry that produces more than \$1 billion in personal income per year and has a 60,000 job impact.
- Ancient forest protection is supported by a broad coalition of environmentalists, fishermen, scientists, lawyers and others.
- Time is short; we've got to act now if we want to save a critical part of America's heritage.

Supporters of Ancient Forest Protection

The Ancient Forest Alliance is the major coalition of organizations seeking greater protection for the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest. A broad-based coalition, the alliance includes major national environmental groups as well as environmental and other citizen action organizations in Oregon, Washington and northern California.

The Ancient Forest Alliance includes:

National Organizations

Americans for the Ancient Forests
National Audubon Society
National Wildlife Federation
Natural Resources Defense Council
Sierra Club
Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund
Western Ancient Forest Campaign
The Wilderness Society

Regional and Local Organizations

Ancient Forest Defense Fund
Audubon Society of Portland
Blue Mountain Audubon Society
California Native Plant Society
California Wilderness Coalition
Cascade Chapter, Sierra Club
Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants
Columbia Chapter, Sierra Club
Davis Audubon Society
Earth First!
Environmental Protection Information Center
Forest Alliance
Forest Issues Task Force
Friends of Del Norte County
Friends of Ecological Reserves
Friends of Opal Creek
Friends of Plumas Wilderness
Friends of the Greensprings
Gifford Pinchot Task Force
Headwaters
Hells Canyon Preservation Council
Inland Empire Public Lands Council
Kalmiopsis Audubon Society
Kern Kaweah Chapter, Sierra Club
Kettle Range Conservation Group

Lane County Audubon Society
Lighthawk, The Environmental Airforce
Loowit Chapter, Sierra Club
Lower Columbia River Audubon Society
Madron Audubon Society
Many Rivers Chapter, Sierra Club
Marble Mountain Audubon Society
Matolle Restoration Council
Mendicino Environmental Center
Mother Lode Chapter, Sierra Club
Mt. Diablo Audubon Society
Mt. Hood Study Group
Mount Rainier National Park Associates
Mt. Shasta Audubon Society
The Mountaineers
Native Forests Council
Native Plant Society of Oregon
North Cascades Conservation Group
Northcoast Environmental Center
Okanogan Wilderness League
Olympic Park Associates
Oregon Chapter, Sierra Club
Oregon Environmental Council
Oregon Natural Resources Council
Oregon Wildlife Federation
Pilchuk Audubon Society
Puget Sound Chapter, Sierra Club
Redwood Chapter, Sierra Club
Rogue Chapter, Sierra Club
Sacramento Audubon Society
Salem Audubon Society
Santa Clara Valley Audubon Society
Santiam Wilderness Committee
Save the Redwoods League
Seattle Audubon Society
Sierra Club of Western Canada
Siskiyou Audubon Society
Siskiyou Park Supporters
Siskiyou Regional Education Project

South Fork Trinity Watershed Association
Spokane Chapter, Sierra Club
Spokane Audubon Society
Tahoma Audubon Society
Tatoosh Chapter, Sierra Club
Tawona Chapter, Sierra Club
Tehepite Chapter, Sierra Club
Ten Mile Creek Association

Tolyabe Chapter, Sierra Club
Tulare County Audubon Society
Umatilla Forest Resource Council
Washington Native Plant Society
Washington Wilderness Coalition
Western Canada Wilderness Committee
Western Natural Resources Law Clinic

In addition, a variety of other groups have expressed support on ancient forest issues. These groups include:

- **Scientists**, who support a science-based solution to maintaining our last old growth ecosystems

Close to 100 scientists from 30 universities and scientific organizations signed a letter expressing support for efforts to protect America's last ancient forests. These forests, the letter states, "are without equal...they harbor over 200 species of vertebrates and an uncounted number of plants, fungi, and bacteria. Together, they form an ecosystem whose richness and complexity we are just beginning to understand. These forests represent an irreplaceable, world-class resource."

- **Attorneys**, who are working to preserve individuals' right to protect the ancient forests through litigation against law-breaking federal agencies.

More than 600 deans of law schools and legal scholars across America signed a letter to Speaker of the House Tom Foley stating their opposition to "attempts to undermine existing environmental laws by restricting the ability of courts to review and enforce them." The letter said that "several bills that may be acted upon this year...would undermine the courts and, with them, one of the cornerstones of our system of governmental checks and balances."

In addition, 24 attorneys general have stated that they oppose restrictions on judicial review.

- **Physicians**, who support protecting the ancient forests to preserve taxol and the other lifesaving treatments the ancient forests can provide.

Members of the medical community have written to Speaker of the House Tom Foley expressing concern about the "ongoing mismanagement of the [ancient] forests, which...have irreplaceable value."

A

PAGE 2

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

August 4, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FINANCIAL; PAGE H1

LENGTH: 2176 words

HEADLINE: The Owl's Golden Egg;
Environmentalism Could Boost Lumber Profits and Prices

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: John M. Berry, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: EUGENE, Ore.

BODY:

It is sometimes hard to tell the winners and the losers, and why each is winning or losing, in the war over timber cutting on federal land in the Pacific Northwest.

The regional timber industry has sought to portray itself as a clear loser if environmentalists get their way and the timber harvest is sharply curtailed to protect recreational uses, scenic vistas, water quality, fisheries and wildlife such as the officially endangered spotted owl.

Nevertheless, a few weeks ago Mark S. Rogers, a wood industry analyst at Prudential Securities Inc. in New York, declared in a headline on a research paper, "What's Good for the Spotted Owl Is Great for the Wood-Products Industry."

"No tonic could be better for the depressed wood-products industry than a decrease in capacity coinciding with an increase in demand," Rogers wrote. "Thanks to the controversy over the spotted owl, industry capacity is almost certain to be cut just as the housing recovery begins to stimulate demand."

Rogers said the lumber industry has been plagued for more than a decade with too much production capacity, a condition that has kept profits low. Reduced harvests in this region will lead to a cut in industry capacity of 5 percent to 10 percent and a rebound in profits, he predicted.

This follows a decade in which national lumber production surged, rising from 31.8 billion board feet in 1981 to 49 billion board feet in 1989, as construction boomed around the country. This means the reexamination of the role of the national forests as a wood reserve is taking place at a time when the industry already is undergoing change.

The adjustment is easier for the big national companies such as Weyerhaeuser Co. and Georgia-Pacific Corp., which in the 1950s and 1960s made big investments in the Southeast, where land was relatively cheap and it is possible to grow southern pine like a crop that is harvested every 30 or so years. The five Southeastern states of Georgia, Florida, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina already supply about a quarter of the nation's timber, more than the

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

western coastal region of Oregon, Washington and California.

Jeff Olsen, an economist with the Wilderness Society, one of the environmental groups seeking to protect the remnants of this region's ancient fir and hemlock forests, also argues that the biggest firms in the industry began years ago to shift the focus of their operations away from the Pacific Northwest after they had cut the bulk of the mature timber on their own land.

The symbol of that shift is the tower in downtown Atlanta that houses the headquarters of Georgia-Pacific, which moved there from Portland, Ore., in 1982.

Olsen said that between 1978 -- long before the spotted owl became an issue -- and 1990, Georgia-Pacific and the six other largest lumber firms operating in the Northwest reduced their combined mill capacity in the region by one-third. Meanwhile, the seven companies were increasing their mill capacity in the South, where fast-growing, privately owned pine forests provide the bulk of the raw material, by 121 percent.

This shift has provoked regional political frictions.

Private timber interests in the Southeast contend that the timber coming off the public lands of the Pacific Northwest depresses the price of their lumber, and they have made no secret of their support for environmental groups seeking to restrict the harvest in the national forests.

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) last year combined environmentalism and support for Georgia's private timber interests when he proposed cutting \$ 100 million from the U.S. Forest Service's budget for road building. The road network provides access to uncut stands of timber on the federal lands.

The amendment, which was strongly backed by environmental groups, was narrowly defeated.

Neither the commercial nor environmental arguments for reducing the Northwest harvest are persuasive to the loggers, mill workers and contractors who cut and haul logs in the forests of Oregon or Washington. Many see their livelihoods in danger if the timber harvest on federal land is curtailed. Small- and medium-sized lumber and plywood companies, which fear they may not be among the survivors as industry capacity declines, are pressing members of Congress to save their businesses rather than owls.

Among those that may not share in the profits is Bohemia Inc., a company based here that has 2,100 employees turning out about \$ 300 million worth of lumber, plywood, laminated beams and other products annually at a dozen mills in Oregon and California. Bohemia, founded 75 years ago on the nearby Row River, decided late last year to liquidate itself rather than subject its stockholders to year after year of substandard profits.

With almost everyone conceding that the amount of timber cut on federal land is going to be reduced at least by half and maybe by much more than that, many companies, including Bohemia, can no longer count on having enough logs at a price they can afford to run their mills profitably.

"We are caught in the middle and we see no way out," said L.L. "Stub" Stewart, a director and retired chairman whose father helped found the

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

company. "You hate like hell to see this happening after having been in business for 75 years."

While Bohemia's workers may come out losers, Bohemia's stockholders may not.

Ironically, the same forces that convinced Bohemia's president, Richard D. Tinney, and its board to sell out have made the company far more valuable.

Bohemia has 48,000 acres of woodland in Oregon and California that are now worth enough that analysts expect the company's shareholders to receive three or four times the \$ 8.25 per share its stock was selling for when the firm's liquidation was announced last December.

Other owners of softwood timber, whether in large stands or small, both here and in the South, should see a similar windfall. While they may not have noticed, individual landowners in Virginia or along the coast of South Carolina who have stands of pine likely are a bit wealthier because of the cutting restrictions here.

Those restrictions, the full extent of which is still being thrashed out in Congress and the federal courts, has already sharply increased selling prices for logs from both federal and private land in this area. In similar fashion, as lumber production in the Southeastern United States rises to offset the lost output here, some of the tens of thousands of timber jobs being lost here will reappear in that region.

The larger companies, such as Weyerhaeuser, also benefit. Lynn Michaelis, chief economist for the company, agreed that "to a certain extent, we benefit from higher prices" for logs. However, those higher prices have the same impact on the profitability of some Weyerhaeuser processing operations as those of companies that do not own their own timber, he said. Some Weyerhaeuser mills already have been shuttered.

Michaelis said excess capacity in the industry held down the price of lumber during the 1980s to the point that it rose about 15 percent less than prices of goods and services generally. In other words, the real cost of lumber fell about 15 percent over the decade, making the cost of building homes lower than it otherwise would have been.

Now Michaelis believes the cutting restrictions are likely to provide a one-time 10 percent boost in lumber prices. With basic lumber and plywood accounting for 3 percent or so of the cost of an average house, restricting the cut on federal land here would raise the price of a \$ 100,000 home by about \$ 300, he said.

Richard Haynes, an economist at the Forest Service's Pacific Northwest Research Station in Portland, has come up with figures that are even smaller, about \$ 200 for an average home.

"That's the rub," Haynes said. "The cost to you, or me, is very small. ... The economic impact is felt most in the region. What is causing the political impact is the localized effect. ... Places like Sweet Home could be losing its entire manufacturing base." Sweet Home is a town of about 7,000 at the western edge of the Cascade Mountains northeast of here.

'80s Legacy Continues The job losses and business closings that are on the way will hurt even more because they are a continuation of what happened here during the 1980s.

While the fight over the spotted owl is only now coming to a head, the struggle over old-growth forests has been a long-running battle.

"The basic turmoil has been a 20-year process we have been going through on land allocation," said Steve Paulson, who is in charge of timber sales at the Forest Service's regional headquarters in Portland. "The owl is only a surrogate for the land allocation issue."

Nevertheless, until recently, the efforts by environmentalists to reduce cutting of the region's remaining old-growth forests to enhance other uses such as recreation and to protect wildlife, including the owl, had not actually much affected the amount of timber being cut on federal land. During the latter half of the 1980s, more than 5 billion board feet was harvested each year. In fact, the cut on federal land rose to an all-time peak, according to Haynes.

Falling Payrolls Despite the size of the federal cut, however, between 1979 and 1989 employment in the lumber and wood products industries in Washington and Oregon fell from 133,800 to 109,000. As mill owners who could afford it poured millions of dollars into their facilities to improve their efficiency, their payrolls fell. The mill owners who could not afford the investment shut down, and those jobs were lost as well.

In a nutshell, the industry showed the same pattern of increased production and efficiency and declining employment that appeared in most parts of the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy in the 1980s.

Paul F. Ehringer, a former timber industry executive who is now a consultant, tracks mill closings in the region. Since the beginning of 1980, Ehringer said, 205 mills turning out lumber, plywood, veneer and other products have closed in Washington and Oregon, costing about 18,800 jobs.

The Forest Service's Haynes estimated that saving most of the remaining old-growth forest will cost the region about the same number of jobs it lost in the past decade for purely economic reasons.

"We are speeding up a decade of changes," the Forest Service's Haynes declared. "The spotted owl compresses it into a couple of years."

This process is playing itself out in the Willamette National Forest east of here, where Bohemia, seeing no way to avoid a shortage of large logs, closed its lumber mill on Culp Creek. Some of the 350 employees who lost their jobs had been with the company for more than 35 years, Stewart said.

Some have since found new jobs. Some are training at the community college here for new careers in high-technology jobs. Many, however, are still unemployed, and others have retired years before they planned to put their feet up.

The mill itself, its equipment auctioned this spring partly at scrap prices, stands deserted with gaping holes in its roof and no prospect it will ever operate again. Its payroll has been lost to the community and most of its

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

PAGE 6

value has disappeared from the tax base of Lane County an area the size of the state of Connecticut that produces more timber than any other area in the nation.

Bohemia's Stewart and other company executives, such as Gene Stevens, who oversees their Oregon logging operations, all are resigned to what is coming. But they all also regard it as a waste.

Flying over land east of here owned by Bohemia, Weyerhaeuser and other firms, the two men pointed out the mosaic of mature trees ready to be cut, areas recently stripped of timber and replanted plots with trees ranging from seedlings up to trees 25 or 30 years old. To them, the land was like a farm raising a crop with an exceptionally long growing season.

Ragged Forests The Willamette National Forest was a mosaic, too, with clear cuts and replanted areas. But there, many of the mature trees were part of the old-growth forest -- trees 160 to several hundred years old. The old-growth forest had a ragged appearance, with trees missing tops, standing dead snags and many trees down on the forest floor.

On Hill's Creek near Wolf Mountain, Bohemia was hauling out timber bought from the national forest and cut last fall. The old-growth trees, with an average of 1,500 to 2,000 board feet of timber each, were worth about \$ 400 per thousand board feet, Stevens said.

The logs were heading for Bohemia's sawmill in Coburg, just north of here, to be turned into lumber or to be peeled into thin panels for making plywood. "This is real tree-growing country," exclaimed Stewart, whose grandfather homesteaded land not far away and whose father bossed a logging camp in another valley.

Now, after a century and a half of intensive harvesting, timber is taking a back seat in the Pacific Northwest. The southern pine plywood available for sale in lumber stores here is clear evidence of that.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, A LOGGING OPERATION IN OREGON. SOME INDUSTRY EXPERTS SAY SHARP CUTBACKS IN HARVESTING TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT COULD BOOST PRICES JUST AS A HOUSING INDUSTRY RECOVERY BEGINS TO STIMULATE DEMAND. JOHN GIUSTINA FOR TWP

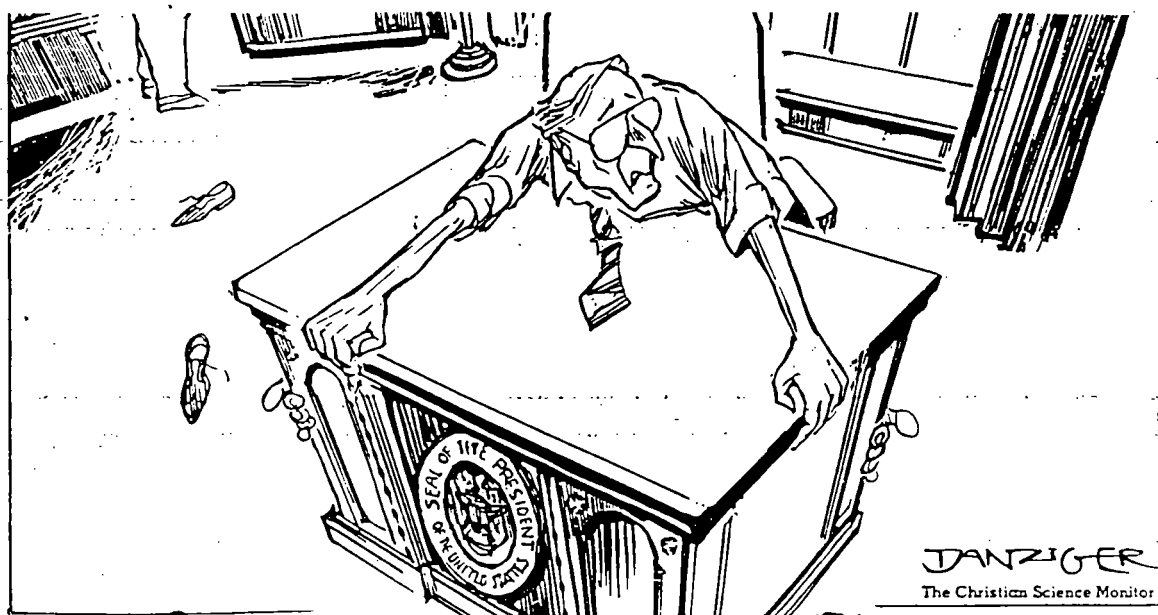
TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FEATURE

SUBJECT: FORESTRY AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES; ENDANGERED SPECIES; ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT; PROFITS; BUSINESS MANAGEMENT; OREGON; WASHINGTON

ORGANIZATION: WEYERHAUSER CO.; GEORGIA-PACIFIC CORP.

ENHANCEMENT: OWL

B



Christian S. Monitor 9/18/92

Of Owls and Politics

PRESIDENT Bush thrust the northern spotted owl into the campaign this week. Addressing a crowd in Colville, Wash., he called for putting brakes on the Endangered Species Act and giving more weight to economic concerns.

The president's words were cheered. Lumber-mill towns throughout the Far West bristle with resentment over federal efforts to protect the owl by placing large tracts of virgin forest off-limits to loggers.

The resentment is fanned by other economic factors. Automation in the timber industry has done away with many mill jobs, and tree harvesting in remote parts of the Western forest has become more expensive, turning companies toward less mountainous stands of pine in the Southeast.

But discontent has centered on the endangered owl – and by extension on hundreds of other rare creatures that inhabit the country's woodlands. The imminent reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act, first passed in 1973, will be a showdown.

On one side are aggrieved citizens, wood-products companies, land developers, and others who argue that the act is rigid and oblivious to economic need. On the other are environmental groups who cite the animals saved by the act – from alligators to bald eagles – and say the law already includes ways of accommodating economic interests.

The issue won't be resolved before the election, and it may have little impact on voters' decisions, except in pockets of the West. It's a subject of considerable importance, however, in setting a course for the United States as it heads into a new century. The protection of species won't fade as an issue. Works like the new book by Harvard biologist Edward O. Wilson, "The Diversity of Life," will keep it squarely in view.

Mr. Bush has staked out his position, and the law may in fact need some adjusting. But the act's central purpose – protecting nature's riches against obliteration by industry and development – remains valid. It needs careful preserving.

412 REU 09-14-92 17:04 EDT 193 Lines. Copyright 1992. All rights reserved.

BC-TEXT-CAMPAIGN/BUSH/LUMBER-MULTITAKES

PRESIDENT BUSH ADDRESS TO EMPLOYEES AND FAMILIES AT THE
VAAGAN BROTHERS LUMBER COMPANY

Location: Colville, Wash.

Time: 4 p.m. EDT

September 14, 1992

+++++

The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems inside the District of Columbia, call 202-898- 8355; outside D.C., call 1-800-537-9755.

+++++

+++++

This transcript is provided by News Transcripts, Inc. If questions of content arise, call 202-682-9050

+++++

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all very much. What a wonderful welcome!

(Cheers and applause)

And may I thank your very special senator, Senator Slade Gorton, for that introduction, and much more for all he does for this great state back in Washington, D.C. You have an outstanding senator.

(Cheers and applause)

And thanks to Duane Vogin (phonetic) and all of the rest of you for letting us visit here today. I know we've disrupted not only this wonderful facility but a lot of things around town. And I'm grateful to the mayor, Mayor Scott, and the police officials and everybody else who assist in the planning and the success of a visit like this.

I'll tell you, I really enjoyed flying in here in that helicopter, and for those of you who haven't been up there, there are a lot of trees around here, so don't listen to the, some of the crisis--

(Cheers and applause)

You know last week in Detroit I released an agenda for American renewal, I see a sign back there on that, and the agenda was based on a fundamental premise, that the challenges America faces, foreign, domestic, and economic, and yes, environmental, are connected, they're linked. And the solution to one cannot be divorced from the solution to the other. We need an integrated approach and we need to bring this integrated approach to the relationship between the economy and the environment.

Environmental protection and economic growth must go hand in hand. They can't be divorced from each other. And this morning, down in southern California, I spoke about ways to bring them together.

But frankly, I believe that when it comes to the Endangered Species Act and its application here in the northwest, the balance has simply been lost.

And like many of you, I love to hunt, and hike, and fish, and I love the outdoors.

(Cheers and applause)

And like you I have learned through a lifetime of experience appreciate and respect the wilderness and I know that you and you

ve chosen to live in this beautiful part of the country respect and
were these forests as others never can.

(Cheers and applause)

And you resent the implication that earning your livelihood
here with sound management of the forests makes you less of a
conservationist than the city dweller or the suburbanite.

(Cheers and applause)

And for the past--and I am proud of this record although I
don't have the endorsement of some of the extreme environmental groups.
But for the past four years we've worked hard to protect our precious
environment and we've accomplished a great deal.

Four years ago I promised Americans a new Clean Air Act. For
over a decade no one could get it done, but we did, and my Clean Air
Act reduces smog in our cities and gets toxic pollutants out of the
air, and will cut acid rain in half.

And four years ago I promised I would protect the
environmentally sensitive areas off our coasts from the excesses of
offshore drilling, and today there will be no drilling off the coast of
California or Washington, and Oregon, not far from here, off the
Florida Keys, off the New England coast. We have banned ocean drilling
until the year 2000.

Four years ago I promised to be a good steward of our public
lands, and we've added thousands of miles of trails for Americans like
you who love the outdoors.

We're reopening and upgrading camp sites all across America,
and we've added 1.5 million acres to our national parks, wildlife
areas, forests and recreation lands.

And the fact is that every American cares about the
environment and most consider themselves environmentalist, and that is
particularly true here in the Pacific Northwest. And yet Americans

Today realize that we can protect our lands while also using them for people's benefit.

(Cheers and applause)

They understand the need for wilderness and recreation areas as well as the need for paper for our schools and offices, and timber for new homes. Being out here in the great Pacific Northwest, I'm reminded of Teddy Roosevelt, the very first president to focus attention on the nation, of the nation on the condition of our natural resources.

And Teddy Roosevelt once said this: Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people.

What President Roosevelt had in mind and what the American people have always wanted is balance, and not far--

(Cheers and applause)

--not far from here is a timber town called Forks. And like Leville, Forks supported a mill and the mill supported a community. And because of a lack of timber the mill had to close, and today unemployment in Forks is at 20 percent. And the car dealership is closed, the clothing store gone, movie theater shut down, domestic violence complaints have doubled just in the past year.

And Forks is in crisis for a simple reason. The balance that I was talking about, that balance has been lost. And I've come here because we must restore the balance. Now--

(Cheers and applause)

--listen to senator, Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield, who was a co-sponsor of the original Endangered Species Act back in 1972.

This year he wrote: There is no question that the act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it 20 years ago.

The Endangered Species Act was intended as a shield for species against the effects of major construction projects like highways and dams, not a sword aimed at jobs and families and communities of the entire regions like the Northwest.

(Cheers and applause)

But today, when harvesting on federal timberland is stopped outright by 13 different lawsuits, under seven different statutes, each in consistence with the other, the balance has been lost and it's time to fight for jobs, families and communities.

(Cheers and applause)

And the time has come, the time has come to talk sensibly. When 100s of mills have been shut down, thousands of timber workers been thrown out of work, and revenues for schools and other local services have been slashed, the balance has been lost, and it's time for fight for jobs, families and communities.

(Cheers and applause)

And so as I say we must talk sense about the Endangered Species Act, about the spotted owl and about the management of our forests, because it is my firm belief that people and their jobs deserve protection.

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: George, what about AIDS? (Cheers and applause)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Let me--

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: What about AIDS? What are you going to do about AIDS? Why do you hide from it, George?

PRESIDENT BUSH: If you'll let me--

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: (inaudible)

PRESIDENT BUSH: --let me digress for one minute. (Shouting ensues from audience) (''Four More Years'')

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: What about AIDS, George?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Let me digress. This man has asked a question here. I wasn't planning to discuss this. His question is--

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: What about your own national commission reports?

PRESIDENT BUSH: If you'll listen, sir, I'll explain to you what about AIDS. AIDS is a serious problem. Under my administration we've appropriated \$4.3 billion--

MALE VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: That's a lie (inaudible) are lying; that's a lie--

PRESIDENT BUSH: --ten times as much per victim as for cancer. We've asked for 4.9. We are the leaders in research and we're going to keep on fighting until we get this thing whipped.

(Cheers and applause) (Shouts of ``Four More Years'')

Now--now let me, let me go back to the Endangered Species Act, and let me be clear. The basic purpose of the Endangered Species Act is good and noble--to save the rare and threatened species in this country.

PRESIDENT BUSH (continuing): But today, the act and other laws are being used by people with extreme views, particularly here in Washington and Oregon, to achieve in the courts what no sane official would ever have voted for--the complete lock-up of the most productive forest in the entire United States. And the Endangered Species Act is rigidly interpreted by some courts and is driven by the Congress, has forced an extreme approach and created an unnecessarily tragic situation here in the Northwest.

Massive areas of federal land are being set aside for the owl, virtually ignoring the fact that two-thirds of the Northwest old growth forest are already designated as parks, wilderness, or other classification.

(Applause)

Other classifications that prevent harvesting. And each pair of owls--listen, America--gets 3,500 acres to itself while jobs, families and communities are being wiped out in the process.

(Applause)

And the other side has been talking about a false choice. They claim that this timber crisis is just politics, and the simple fact is this: The false choice is being driven by extremists who are twisting the Endangered Species Act and its application to the northern spotted owl.

(Applause)

So I came up here to set the record straight, and let's do that for the entire country, right here. We have always worked within the parameters of the law to address this problem, but I can tell you this: the law is broken and it must be fixed.

(Applause)

We have asked the United States Congress for funds to cut enough timber in this region to keep people employed. But these

Conflicting laws allow challenge after challenge, so this year we sent Congress an alternative plan, a preservation plan that would save 1,000 jobs compared to the recovery plan required by the act. And Congress has simply failed to act.

My friends, it is time to consider the human factor in the spotted owl equation.

(Applause)

My opponent talks about putting people first. Well, we can start right here in the Pacific Northwest. And so here's what I propose, here's what I propose. First, I will not sign an extension of the Endangered Species Act unless it gives greater consideration to jobs.

(Applause)

And to families and to communities, too. And I will not sign it without a specific plan in place to harvest enough timber to keep timber families working in 1993 and beyond. It is time to make people more important than owls.

(Applause)

And, second, I will fight to end the injunctions that it put an economic stranglehold on the Northwest in order to free up the timber that we need today, because the families and the timber communities of the Pacific Northwest need relief now.

And I call upon Congress to pass my plan to produce 2.6 billion board feet of timber from Forest Service lands in the northwest region next year, and to pass language that prevents lawsuits from stopping reasonable harvests with reasonable species protection.

(Applause)

It is time to put people ahead of process. Third, my administration will speed the harvesting of

dead or dying timber that has been dangerously building up during a
seven-year drought. And one step is our new rule to allow more timber
salvage operations to occur without triggering some of the
time-consuming requirements that are blocking progress. This will
reduce the risk of fire, it will provide up to 450 million board feet
of timber for the mills in the near term, and it's time then to protect
jobs with timber that's available now.

(Applause)

And, fourth, we will make sure that 100 percent of the raw
logs from Washington state-owned public lands are processed here. It's
time to put the mills back to work.

(Applause)

And, finally, I call upon Congress to pass the spotted owl
preservation plan, and that's Senator Gorton's bill, which he calls the
Northern Spotted Owl Preservation and Northwest Economic Stabilization
Act of 1992. It's time to preserve both owls and jobs. And that's
what Slade Gorton's act does, and he helps the families in the process.

(Applause)

Now, the senator mentioned my opponent, so I will, too. My
opponent's approach to this problem, to your jobs, is double-speak, and
when Bill Clinton spoke in Pennsylvania he said what the Sierra Club
wanted to hear. They concluded that Governor Clinton was, quote,
promising the protection of old growth forest in the Pacific
Northwest--and then, when he heard I was coming here, Mr. Clinton
cynically held out false hope to timber families by promising--get
this: another meeting. There have already been more than 40
bipartisan meetings of the Northwest congressional delegation on this
issue for three years.

Now, here--you wondered what these are--these are the
studies. Look at them. We don't need any more studies of this

problem. We need action in the United States Congress. Good heavens.

I mean, come on.

(Applause)

We produced a pile of studies and proposals this high, and the best thing for the timber industry is all the trees it took to print these reports.

(Laughter)

No more studies--let's change the law, let's change the law.

And the difference on this is clear, the difference on this is clear. It's as simple as this. My opponent will not fight to change the law, to restore the balance. And now I know that he's getting famous for being on both sides of every issue.

Do you want to know the real views of the other ticket? Senator Gore wrote it in black and white in his book before he knew that he'd be looking for your votes, and in his book Senator Gore said this--and I quote: "I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the spotted owl." And Senator Gore wrote--and I quote: "The jobs will be lost anyway."

I challenge Governor Clinton: Do you agree with your running mate? Do you endorse the book that you once called "'magnificent'"? It is time we worried not only about the endangered species but about endangered jobs, jobs in the timber industry and in agriculture and in transportation and in recreation as well.

(Applause)

All of those are threatened by the Endangered Species Act.

I've come here to tell you that I'm a candidate who respect wild life, yes, but who will also fight for jobs and families and communities. And I've come here to tell you that I will

not stand for a solution that puts at least 32,000 people out of work.

I can tell you: that solution will not stand.

(Applause)

And I've come here to tell you that we haven't forgotten about the human factor, because in the end, no matter how you look at it, that's the most important factor of all. I've come here today to tell you that we can restore the balance, and we must restore the balance. And with your help we will restore the balance.

Thank you, and may God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

(Applause)

Bush lumbers along

Stumping against owls won't save jobs

On the environment, George Bush has been a man for many seasons. In 1980, when he was campaigning for the Republican nomination in Pennsylvania's depressed coal towns, Mr. Bush liked to say federal environmental laws were the reason that workers were hurting. "In light of the harsh realities of this new era," he told the miners of Bigler, Pa., "it is time to review the basic environmental laws themselves — the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act . . ."

Then he was beaten by Ronald Reagan and consigned to the vice-presidency — only to re-emerge eight years later (after Reagan's assault on environmental safeguards) as — surprise! — the "environment President."

But the other day Mr. Bush was back to his old tune, this time blaming the Endangered Species Act for the hurt that out-of-work Washington state loggers are feeling. He said it's time to make people more important than owls; to worry about "endangered jobs" that are threatened by the act.

We'd submit that if the President wants to talk about endangered jobs, he's setting up something of a straw man (or, perhaps, straw owl). Throughout the Pacific Northwest, automation, the export of raw

(rather than U.S.-processed) logs, and a decline in home building were causing worker layoffs long before the spotted owl became a *cause celebre*. Indeed, jobs dropped despite record timber harvests during the 1980s.

The story is the same across the country: Shifting technology, foreign competition and the economic downturn — not measures like the 20-year-old Endangered Species Act — have wrought the havoc. The question is not owls versus people, it's whether Mr. Bush has a credible plan for economic recovery against the *real* threats.

The fact of the matter, according to a study just released by the Environmental Defense Fund, is that it is exceedingly rare that projects are halted because they violate the Endangered Species Act. Moreover, California, Florida and Hawaii have managed rapid growth even though they're home to more than half the species on the endangered list.

Finally, though Mr. Bush would have his audiences believe otherwise, the act already allows exemptions for economic hardship. His administration, in fact, has approved one allowing the cutting of several parcels in the Northwest's majestic old-growth forests, owls or no owls.

Wednesday
September 16, 1992**Seattle Post-Intel**

The voice of the Northwest since 186

Editorials**Owls and jobs:
Not that simple**

The campaign visit by President George Bush to Colville Monday offered overly simplistic solutions to a complex timber supply problem in the Northwest woods.

Bush tried to cast the issue as one of "jobs vs. owls." But this portrayal ignores what really has been happening to jobs and trees.

The facts are that too many trees — and thus too many jobs — have been exported, bypassing local mills. The facts are that too many mills were unable to adapt to modern demands and thus they closed. The facts are that many mills successfully modernized — employing new automated equipment — which meant they employed fewer workers.

The facts are that when the Endangered Species Act finally — and properly — was invoked to end overcutting, there were too many mills caught by surprise, forced to compete for too few logs.

The facts are that for too long, too many trees were cut too fast and with too careless a disregard for the effect on streambeds, water,

Service has yet to comply with a court order to devise a harvest regime that follows the law.

None of this is to suggest that enforcement of the Endangered Species Act will not cause fewer trees to be harvested and fewer jobs in mill towns. And none of it is to suggest that presidential candidates should not bestir themselves to address the painful concerns of people who are out of work. Too little has been done to respond to the needs of the timber towns affected by this controversy.

But we submit that there will be no resolution of the timber crisis in the Pacific Northwest unless everyone involved is willing to accept the economic and ecological facts of the situation as they are and to make a good faith effort to negotiate a solution based on a rational comprehension of these facts.

The people of the Northwest do not want their economic misery used against them as a "wedge issue" to divide them for political purposes. They do want an ecologically sound solution, forest

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671 # of pages: 3

To	From	Co.	Phone #	Fax #
Rick Khapala	Lee	Seattle		
Co.				
Dept.				
Fax #				

2

PAGE 2

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

August 4, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FINANCIAL; PAGE H1

LENGTH: 2176 words

HEADLINE: The Owl's Golden Egg;
Environmentalism Could Boost Lumber Profits and Prices

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: John M. Berry, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: EUGENE, Ore.

BODY:

It is sometimes hard to tell the winners and the losers, and why each is winning or losing, in the war over timber cutting on federal land in the Pacific Northwest.

The regional timber industry has sought to portray itself as a clear loser if environmentalists get their way and the timber harvest is sharply curtailed to protect recreational uses, scenic vistas, water quality, fisheries and wildlife such as the officially endangered spotted owl.

Nevertheless, a few weeks ago Mark S. Rogers, a wood industry analyst at Prudential Securities Inc. in New York, declared in a headline on a research paper, "What's Good for the Spotted Owl Is Great for the Wood-Products Industry."

"No tonic could be better for the depressed wood-products industry than a decrease in capacity coinciding with an increase in demand," Rogers wrote. "Thanks to the controversy over the spotted owl, industry capacity is almost certain to be cut just as the housing recovery begins to stimulate demand."

Rogers said the lumber industry has been plagued for more than a decade with too much production capacity, a condition that has kept profits low. Reduced harvests in this region will lead to a cut in industry capacity of 5 percent to 10 percent and a rebound in profits, he predicted.

This follows a decade in which national lumber production surged, rising from 31.8 billion board feet in 1981 to 49 billion board feet in 1989, as construction boomed around the country. This means the reexamination of the role of the national forests as a wood reserve is taking place at a time when the industry already is undergoing change.

The adjustment is easier for the big national companies such as Weyerhaeuser Co. and Georgia-Pacific Corp., which in the 1950s and 1960s made big investments in the Southeast, where land was relatively cheap and it is possible to grow southern pine like a crop that is harvested every 30 or so years. The five Southeastern states of Georgia, Florida, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina already supply about a quarter of the nation's timber, more than the

PAGE 3

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

western coastal region of Oregon, Washington and California.

Jeff Olsen, an economist with the Wilderness Society, one of the environmental groups seeking to protect the remnants of this region's ancient fir and hemlock forests, also argues that the biggest firms in the industry began years ago to shift the focus of their operations away from the Pacific Northwest after they had cut the bulk of the mature timber on their own land.

The symbol of that shift is the tower in downtown Atlanta that houses the headquarters of Georgia-Pacific, which moved there from Portland, Ore., in 1982.

Olsen said that between 1978 -- long before the spotted owl became an issue -- and 1990, Georgia-Pacific and the six other largest lumber firms operating in the Northwest reduced their combined mill capacity in the region by one-third. Meanwhile, the seven companies were increasing their mill capacity in the South, where fast-growing, privately owned pine forests provide the bulk of the raw material, by 121 percent.

This shift has provoked regional political frictions.

Private timber interests in the Southeast contend that the timber coming off the public lands of the Pacific Northwest depresses the price of their lumber, and they have made no secret of their support for environmental groups seeking to restrict the harvest in the national forests.

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) last year combined environmentalism and support for Georgia's private timber interests when he proposed cutting \$ 100 million from the U.S. Forest Service's budget for road building. The road network provides access to uncut stands of timber on the federal lands.

The amendment, which was strongly backed by environmental groups, was narrowly defeated.

Neither the commercial nor environmental arguments for reducing the Northwest harvest are persuasive to the loggers, mill workers and contractors who cut and haul logs in the forests of Oregon or Washington. Many see their livelihoods in danger if the timber harvest on federal land is curtailed. Small- and medium-sized lumber and plywood companies, which fear they may not be among the survivors as industry capacity declines, are pressing members of Congress to save their businesses rather than owls.

Among those that may not share in the profits is Bohemia Inc., a company based here that has 2,100 employees turning out about \$ 300 million worth of lumber, plywood, laminated beams and other products annually at a dozen mills in Oregon and California. Bohemia, founded 75 years ago on the nearby Row River, decided late last year to liquidate itself rather than subject its stockholders to year after year of substandard profits.

With almost everyone conceding that the amount of timber cut on federal land is going to be reduced at least by half and maybe by much more than that, many companies, including Bohemia, can no longer count on having enough logs at a price they can afford to run their mills profitably.

"We are caught in the middle and we see no way out," said L.L. "Stub" Stewart, a director and retired chairman whose father helped found the

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

PAGE 4

company. "You hate like hell to see this happening after having been in business for 75 years."

While Bohemia's workers may come out losers, Bohemia's stockholders may not.

Ironically, the same forces that convinced Bohemia's president, Richard D. Tinney, and its board to sell out have made the company far more valuable.

Bohemia has 48,000 acres of woodland in Oregon and California that are now worth enough that analysts expect the company's shareholders to receive three or four times the \$ 8.25 per share its stock was selling for when the firm's liquidation was announced last December.

Other owners of softwood timber, whether in large stands or small, both here and in the South, should see a similar windfall. While they may not have noticed, individual landowners in Virginia or along the coast of South Carolina who have stands of pine likely are a bit wealthier because of the cutting restrictions here.

Those restrictions, the full extent of which is still being thrashed out in Congress and the federal courts, has already sharply increased selling prices for logs from both federal and private land in this area. In similar fashion, as lumber production in the Southeastern United States rises to offset the lost output here, some of the tens of thousands of timber jobs being lost here will reappear in that region.

The larger companies, such as Weyerhaeuser, also benefit. Lynn Michaelis, chief economist for the company, agreed that "to a certain extent, we benefit from higher prices" for logs. However, those higher prices have the same impact on the profitability of some Weyerhaeuser processing operations as those of companies that do not own their own timber, he said. Some Weyerhaeuser mills already have been shuttered.

Michaelis said excess capacity in the industry held down the price of lumber during the 1980s to the point that it rose about 15 percent less than prices of goods and services generally. In other words, the real cost of lumber fell about 15 percent over the decade, making the cost of building homes lower than it otherwise would have been.

Now Michaelis believes the cutting restrictions are likely to provide a one-time 10 percent boost in lumber prices. With basic lumber and plywood accounting for 3 percent or so of the cost of an average house, restricting the cut on federal land here would raise the price of a \$ 100,000 home by about \$ 300, he said.

Richard Haynes, an economist at the Forest Service's Pacific Northwest Research Station in Portland, has come up with figures that are even smaller, about \$ 200 for an average home.

"That's the rub," Haynes said. "The cost to you, or me, is very small. ... The economic impact is felt most in the region. What is causing the political impact is the localized effect. ... Places like Sweet Home could be losing its tire manufacturing base." Sweet Home is a town of about 7,000 at the western edge of the Cascade Mountains northeast of here.

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

PAGE 5

'80s Legacy Continues The job losses and business closings that are on the way will hurt even more because they are a continuation of what happened here during the 1980s.

While the fight over the spotted owl is only now coming to a head, the struggle over old-growth forests has been a long-running battle.

"The basic turmoil has been a 20-year process we have been going through on land allocation," said Steve Paulson, who is in charge of timber sales at the Forest Service's regional headquarters in Portland. "The owl is only a surrogate for the land allocation issue."

Nevertheless, until recently, the efforts by environmentalists to reduce cutting of the region's remaining old-growth forests to enhance other uses such as recreation and to protect wildlife, including the owl, had not actually much affected the amount of timber being cut on federal land. During the latter half of the 1980s, more than 5 billion board feet was harvested each year. In fact, the cut on federal land rose to an all-time peak, according to Haynes.

Falling Payrolls Despite the size of the federal cut, however, between 1979 and 1989 employment in the lumber and wood products industries in Washington and Oregon fell from 133,800 to 109,000. As mill owners who could afford it poured millions of dollars into their facilities to improve their efficiency, their payrolls fell. The mill owners who could not afford the investment shut down, and those jobs were lost as well.

In a nutshell, the industry showed the same pattern of increased production and efficiency and declining employment that appeared in most parts of the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy in the 1980s.

Paul F. Ehringer, a former timber industry executive who is now a consultant, tracks mill closings in the region. Since the beginning of 1980, Ehringer said, 205 mills turning out lumber, plywood, veneer and other products have closed in Washington and Oregon, costing about 18,800 jobs.

The Forest Service's Haynes estimated that saving most of the remaining old-growth forest will cost the region about the same number of jobs it lost in the past decade for purely economic reasons.

"We are speeding up a decade of changes," the Forest Service's Haynes declared. "The spotted owl compresses it into a couple of years."

This process is playing itself out in the Willamette National Forest east of here, where Bohemia, seeing no way to avoid a shortage of large logs, closed its lumber mill on Culp Creek. Some of the 350 employees who lost their jobs had been with the company for more than 35 years, Stewart said.

Some have since found new jobs. Some are training at the community college here for new careers in high-technology jobs. Many, however, are still unemployed, and others have retired years before they planned to put their feet up.

The mill itself, its equipment auctioned this spring partly at scrap prices, stands deserted with gaping holes in its roof and no prospect it will ever operate again. Its payroll has been lost to the community and most of its

PAGE 6

The Washington Post, August 4, 1991

value has disappeared from the tax base of Lane County, an area the size of the state of Connecticut that produces more timber than any other area in the nation.

Bohemia's Stewart and other company executives, such as Gene Stevens, who oversees their Oregon logging operations, all are resigned to what is coming. But they all also regard it as a waste.

Flying over land east of here owned by Bohemia, Weyerhaeuser and other firms, the two men pointed out the mosaic of mature trees ready to be cut, areas recently stripped of timber and replanted plots with trees ranging from seedlings up to trees 25 or 30 years old. To them, the land was like a farm raising a crop with an exceptionally long growing season.

Ragged Forests The Willamette National Forest was a mosaic, too, with clear cuts and replanted areas. But there, many of the mature trees were part of the old-growth forest -- trees 160 to several hundred years old. The old-growth forest had a ragged appearance, with trees missing tops, standing dead snags and many trees down on the forest floor.

On Hill's Creek near Wolf Mountain, Bohemia was hauling out timber bought from the national forest and cut last fall. The old-growth trees, with an average of 1,500 to 2,000 board feet of timber each, were worth about \$ 400 per thousand board feet, Stevens said.

The logs were heading for Bohemia's sawmill in Coburg, just north of here, to be turned into lumber or to be peeled into thin panels for making plywood. "This is real tree-growing country," exclaimed Stewart, whose grandfather homesteaded land not far away and whose father bossed a logging camp in another valley.

Now, after a century and a half of intensive harvesting, timber is taking a back seat in the Pacific Northwest. The southern pine plywood available for sale in lumber stores here is clear evidence of that.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, A LOGGING OPERATION IN OREGON. SOME INDUSTRY EXPERTS SAY SHARP CUTBACKS IN HARVESTING TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT COULD BOOST PRICES JUST AS A HOUSING INDUSTRY RECOVERY BEGINS TO STIMULATE DEMAND. JOHN GIUSTINA FOR TWP

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FEATURE

SUBJECT: FORESTRY AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES; ENDANGERED SPECIES; ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT; PROFITS; BUSINESS MANAGEMENT; OREGON; WASHINGTON

ORGANIZATION: WEYERHAUSER CO.; GEORGIA-PACIFIC CORP.

ENHANCEMENT: OWL

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES
Copyright Times Mirror Company 1992

DATE: SUNDAY February 9, 1992

EDITION: Home Edition

PART-NAME: Business

PART-NUMBER: D

DESK: Financial

SOURCE: MICHAEL PARRISH

TIMES STAFF WRITER

LENGTH: LONG

PAGE: 1

COLUMN: 5

WESTERN DEBATE HIDES TIMBER'S FLIGHT SOUTH FORESTS:
WOOD-PRODUCTS COMPANIES ARE LEAVING THE NORTHWEST FOR
ECONOMIC REASONS. THE RETREAT HASN'T EASED TENSIONS BETWEEN
LOGGERS AND ENVIRONMENTALISTS.

The public debate over U.S. forests has a distinctly Western flavor.

Throughout the West, loggers and environmentalists are wrangling over protection for the northern spotted owl, logging techniques and harvest rates. The wood-products industry claims that up to 100,000 timber-related jobs could be lost in Washington, Oregon and other Western states by tighter logging rules.

And compromise seems as rare as an endangered species. Only Thursday, California legislators killed Gov. Pete Wilson's controversial Grand Accord, a package of bills designed to bring peace between most of the state's loggers and conservationists.

Yet all this may be missing the timber for the trees.

The heart and much of the future of the forest products business is no longer in the West; it has quietly been migrating to the South.

U.S. timber companies have found the South hospitable because of its low land and labor prices, modern mills, proximity to two-thirds of the U.S. market, productive climate and forests that are 90% privately owned, thus exempt from many federal environmental regulations.

The result: Southern wood is 26% cheaper to produce.

"We don't believe that there is anywhere else in the world where you can grow a tree and make it into a product more efficiently than in the wood-basket area of the South," says Sheila Weidman of Georgia-Pacific Corp., the largest U.S. timberland owner which a decade ago moved its corporate headquarters from Portland, Ore., to Atlanta.

Yet the fact that the largest wood-products companies--for economic reasons --have for years been retreating from the Pacific Northwest has hardly eased tensions between West Coast loggers and environmentalists. Both sides have dug in, particularly on the public relations front, over the last stands of old-growth trees.

Industry representatives say the contention that large economic forces are the real culprit offers little solace to loggers about to lose their jobs. The argument only gives comfort to old-growth advocates.

"It's a red herring that preservationists are using to generate public

support," said Ralph Saperstein, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Assn., which represents forest products manufacturers in Oregon and Washington.

Environmentalists respond that the shift is proof of the Western forests' growing competitive disadvantage, now that 80% of the old growth has been cut. It also means, they say, that the timber industry has become a far less bedrock economic force in the West--quite apart from environmentalists' efforts to protect old growth and endangered species.

Beyond this, environmentalists contend that the West's old growth--the invaluable remains of the world's only temperate-zone rain forest--is but a fraction of the 483 million acres of U.S. timberland. Blaming their efforts to save the trees, they say, is a ploy by the timber industry to divert the attention of loggers and their families from the larger transition to a second-growth timber economy.

"It's easy to point the finger at environmentalists," said Jeffrey T. Olson, a forest economist with the Washington-based *Wilderness* Society. "But these changes began long before the spotted owl was even an issue."

How much the West's role has already declined is apparent from a *Wilderness* Society report released last fall, written by Olson and H. Michael Anderson, a forest planning specialist.

Between 1978 and 1990, according to the study, the seven largest U.S. lumber and plywood companies reduced their manufacturing capacity in the Pacific Northwest by 34% while increasing capacity in the South by 121%. Lumber industry investment in the Northwest fell 60% during those dozen years.

As wood-processing capacity continues to shift from the West to the South, the former region's share of the lumber market among major U.S. and Canadian producing regions is likely to drop to 35% by the year 2000 from 44% in 1976, according to a separate report prepared last year for John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., one of the largest institutional investors in U.S. timberland.

Western industry representatives are quick to point out that there still will be logging in Western states.

Increased investments in the South are "just good business," says Con Schallau, a forest economist with the American Forest Resource Alliance, an industry group. "But to say that we have abandoned the Pacific Northwest is just not true."

Still, investments by some of the biggest forest products companies reveal the faith they have put in Southeastern forests--a preference that for some took hold as long as 15 years ago:

- * Most of Georgia-Pacific's operations are in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana. The company has 56 wood-processing facilities in Washington, Oregon and California, compared to 230 in the South.

- * New York-based International Paper Co., the world's largest wood-products company in terms of sales, has recently divested some of its Western holdings, leaving only 6% of its timber property in the West--compared to 69% in the South.

- * Louisiana-Pacific Corp. may still be based in Portland, but it has been reducing operations in the Pacific Northwest for 10 years. As of 1990, Louisiana-Pacific had 940 million board-feet of lumber capacity in the West,

compared to 1.2 billion in the South.

* Even Tacoma, Wash.-based Weyerhaeuser Co.--a name historically associated with the Western timber industry--now has half its timberland holdings in the South.

Most industry groups blame the slowdown in Western logging on environmentalists' efforts to preserve old-growth forest. They say plenty has been set aside already--by industry count, about 5 million acres of old growth in wilderness areas, national parks and other reserves in Oregon, Washington and California.

Not knowing which trees will be preserved next and what the cutting rules will be, say the timber companies, discourages long-term investment.

"If there is a shift, it is because of the regulatory uncertainty," said Andrea Tuttle, an Arcata, Calif.-based environmental policy specialist and former consultant to the state Senate Select Committee on Forest Resources.

But others see environmentalists being used as scapegoats for such industry mismanagement as over-cutting of timber stocks.

"It really bothers me when I see all these reports blaming the woes of the timber industry on environmentalists," said Jim Pfeifer, a Boise, Ida., strategic-planning consultant who worked on the *Wilderness* Society study. "It's just not true," said Pfeifer, a veteran of 15 years as a planner with large wood-products companies. "As they cut out their timberlands, they closed down facilities."

Beyond these arguments, however, is a major factor that few dispute: The South's timber-friendly climate.

With about 230 frost-free days a year--compared to 134 in a typical central Oregon forest--intensively farmed Southern forests grow trees twice as fast. Genetic improvements in Southern trees are also considered ahead of the rest of the nation. So-called "super trees" there can be profitably harvested in 15 to 30 years, compared to the 60-to-80-year growth cycle in the Pacific Northwest.

The South is harvesting its fourth generation of efficient "plantation" forest. The old growth that might have provoked preservationist sentiment is long gone with the wind.

Estimates vary widely about the coming timber shortage in the West, but there is little optimism.

"If you look across the board at the changes we're thinking of in the West, we're looking at drops in harvest of 10% to 25%," said Brian J. Greber, a forest economist at Oregon State University in Corvallis. "And I don't see the market share shifting back and growing again on the West Coast to any extent."

The industry cites 263 mill closings since 1980 in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and California--which threw 24,430 people out of work.

"Until very recently, our members have been making major capital improvements," says Don Zea, a spokesman for the California Forestry Assn. "They have had to shut down mills in some regions where they simply can't get the trees."

Industry critics counter that as mills designed to handle large-diameter old-growth trees have run out of big logs, some larger companies have been reluctant to invest in expensive retooling to adjust to the smaller trees of a

second-growth forest.

"There does seem to be a split between national companies that have lands elsewhere and the ones that I think are really determined to make a go of it in California," says Robert A. Ewing, program manager of the state Forest and Range Resources Assessment Program.

Meanwhile, calls by loggers to amend the Endangered Species Act already have increased since the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service recommended that almost 7 million acres be preserved for the northern spotted owl.

In the end, though, all sides agree that logging will continue in the West.

Some innovative regional companies, such as Sierra Pacific Industries--the largest private timber owner in California--"hope to carve out a niche for themselves in a certain size of timber and certain kind of product," consultant Tuttle says. Even the big companies, she notes, "are not entirely fleeing. They have retained residual capacity here."

Olson, of the *Wilderness* Society, *sees a better, if diminished, future for Western logging.

"There will be an industry here 20 years from now--an industry that will be much better equipped to deal with market changes that are coming on at a rapid rate," he said. "But the pattern that emerges is inescapable: It's a basic redeployment of capital to the South."