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An Open Letter To Our President

Post

Dear Mr. President: June 22, 1993

Those of us who spoke to you about the plight of workers at the Forest Conference in Portland, Oregon are counting on you today.

We know you are weighing various options for solving the forest crisis here in the Northwest and northern California and that your choices are not easy to make. But we also know from talking with you that you understand the importance of finding a solution that will treat people like us fairly.

You changed our lives by giving us hope that such a solution is possible. You seemed to appreciate that behind the cold numbers about harvest levels are real people — thousands who have families just like ours. That's why we're depending on you to think about us just as we're thinking about you.

Lately, we have been greatly troubled by a steady leak of reports in our daily papers that the plan you may offer will not provide enough timber to support our jobs and the way of life we've worked so hard to preserve. If these reports are true, tens of thousands of people will lose their jobs.

That would be a calamity, Mr. President, and we don't believe the American people want this to happen or that you would let it happen.

There are some who would have you believe that you can't save the owl and save the people too. That isn't true. We can work together to solve these problems at the local level if we are given the chance.

The national environmental groups are calling you names. We're calling you our President. Please don't let us down.

Sincerely,

Buzz Eades

Larry Mason

Nadine Bailey

Jackie Lang

The Oregon Lands Coalition *(503) 363-8582*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT

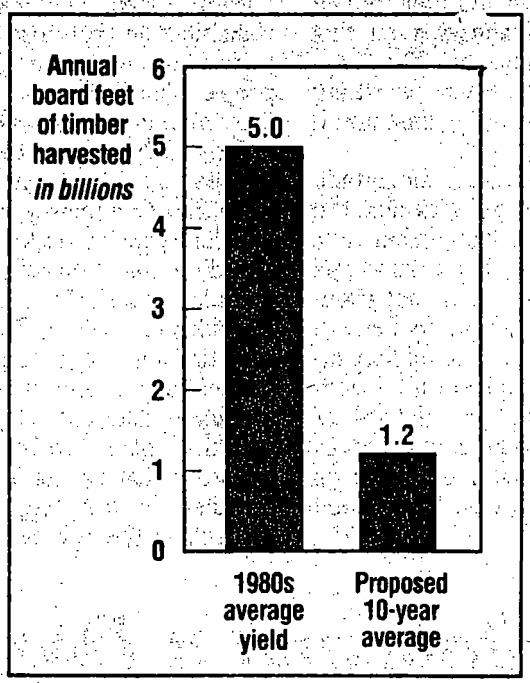
June 21 Post

New proposal a "win" for timber?

Tell that to the 85,000 who'll lose their jobs.

Mr. President, at the Forest Summit you promised you'd resolve the Northwest forest crisis so that everybody wins. If the recommendations you reviewed over the weekend are implemented, thousands of people will lose.

We have long worked for a balanced solution. And we know that means compromise—a plan that balances the needs of the forest and the needs of forest communities.



A 75% reduction in annual timber harvests represents a loss of 85,000 direct and indirect jobs.

The memo you reviewed this weekend calls for an average annual timber yield of 1.2 billion board feet—at most. That may sound like a lot to environmentalists. It's not. In fact, it's 75 percent less than we were harvesting in the 1980s.

Here's another number: 85,000. Compared to 1.2 billion, it doesn't sound all that big. But that's 85,000 *people*. That's the number of people who will lose their jobs if timber harvests are slashed to the proposed levels. These are men and women and families whose lives—directly or indirectly—depend on a balanced solution to timber harvesting.

These are men and women and families whose livelihoods will be destroyed and whose communities will disappear.

Environmentalists say these recommendations would mean a "win" for timber workers. That's going to be hard to explain to all the men and women who are going to *lose*—their jobs, their homes, their way of life. And we know what it's like to lose. We have friends who have already lost—like the single mother who raises her kids in the city park because she *lost* her home after *losing* her job.

That's one person. One mother. One family. One. *That's* a big number.

So as you consider solutions for the Northwest, we'd like you to think of *one* thing. When everybody works *together* to make a better future for our forests and our families, that's when everybody wins.

We think *that's* worth working for.

We're ready, as always, to work with you.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

Western Council of Industrial Workers

International Woodworkers of America, U.S.

United Paperworkers International Union

Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers

Paid for in part by the labor unions of the forest products industry: (202) 546-6206 ext. 309

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

...mber Prices Off Sharply

LUMBER, From E1

family home in October and March, according to Census Bureau figures, has remained at $125,000, although it fluctuated throughout that period, dropping to $118,000 in January and rising to $120,500 in February.

After lumber prices peaked in March, the new-home sales price climbed to $127,500 in April. Census Bureau sales figures for May are not yet available.

Nor do new-home sales figures seem to show that home buyers were locked out of the market. In October, according to the Census Bureau, new single-family homes were selling at an annualized rate of 637,000. In April they were selling at an annualized rate of 751,000, a 23 percent improvement over March's figure.

Environmentalists said the lumber price free fall proves that logging regulations were not to blame for price increases, higher home prices or the unrealized aspirations of home buyers as the NAHB has contended.

The home builders "are scrambling for excuses for putting out misleading information in advance of [President Clinton's April 2] forest summit," said Kevin Kirchner, a staff attorney with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. "The key issue is whether the home builders were telling the truth about what was causing prices to go up."

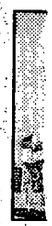
Kirchner, pointing to a March report issued by the Congressional Research Service, the research arm of Congress, said the economic recovery was the major reason lumber prices rose, with seasonal factors and a new countervailing duty on Canadian lumber also contributing. The report estimated that 10 percent of the price hike was caused by environmentalist lawsuits that reduced the supply of timber from federal forests.

Fran Hunt, a forester with the National Wildlife Federation, said "although we have seen lumber prices spike over the last few months, nothing has changed with respect to protection of the spotted owl. That shoots a big hole in the home builders' argument."

Ross W. Gorte, the forest economist who wrote the Congressional Research Report, said the controversy is overblown because the contested federal lands account only for 7 percent of the country's lumber supply. Moreover, Gorte said, "Interest rates are what drive home buying and home building, not lumber prices."

R. Denny Scott, an economist for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, defended the home builders' reluctance to promise lower housing prices prematurely. "A home builder cannot give a bid on a home and expect that price to hold in today's current lumber market because that builder does not know what lumber prices are going to do tomorrow, next week or the month after when that home is actually delivered," he said.

P



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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

AMERICAN
FOREST &
PAPER
ASSOCIATION

June 4, 1993

The Honorable Katie McGinty
Director
Office on Environmental Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Katie:

I do not know about you, but I have become offended by the unseemly, prurient interest that the press has recently expressed in the range of harvest levels that may result from the various alternatives that your task groups are considering. As we indicated when we met on May 10, we have held the position since last Summer that it may not be useful to include long-term, sustained-yield numbers as a component of a legislative solution. Similarly, we believe that the basis on which any solution should be accepted or rejected is the quality of resource management that it would afford, and its responsiveness to economic and social needs. The flexibility of the proposal and the latitude that it provides for on-the-ground implementation in the face of changing circumstances and new information are also important considerations.

In order to deal with the barrage of media inquires as to what our "number" is, I have prepared the attached paper to elaborate on the notion that we "do not do numbers." I hope you will find the attached materials helpful as your deliberations continue.

As always, if you have any questions or need additional assistance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Mark

Mark Rey

Attachment

Katie -

I understand that my colleagues in the environmental community are confused about this. They're often confused where numbers are concerned.

- M

1250 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202-463-2700 Fax: 202-463-2785

JUN- 7-93 MON 16:47 P.02

THE CURRENT FOCUS ON HARVEST NUMBERS IS UNHELPFUL
TO THE CAUSE OF DEVELOPING A BALANCED SOLUTION
TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FOREST CRISIS

Recent press reports, spurred in part by anonymous leaks from the Clinton Administration, have focused heavily on the range of possible timber harvest levels afforded by different management alternatives being developed by task groups chartered by the Administration. For the following reasons, this myopic focus on timber harvest numbers is unhelpful to the effort to develop a balanced solution to the forest crisis in the Pacific Northwest and northern California.

I. The Most Important Basis For Evaluating Both the Reasonableness and the Success of a Solution Is the System of Management It Applies on Forest Lands -- Not the Harvest Numbers That May or May Not Result Over Time.

Over the past three years, much attention in this debate has been directed toward a comparison of potential harvest levels under various alternative proposals with the historical harvest levels that: (1) occurred on federal forest lands; and (2) allowed the level of economic activity that exists now in the Northwest to occur. In one respect, it is important that this comparison be made to assess the social and economic impacts of any solution. However, it is not wise to start the discussion with a fixation on the long-term, sustained-yield harvest levels that different alternative solutions would allow, and then work backward to the environmental and economic acceptability of these solutions.

The most important standards by which any solution should be judged are: (1) does it achieve a reasonable balance between environmental stewardship, and national and regional economic needs; and (2) is it sufficiently flexible to allow land managers to implement it through an adaptive management approach over time, taking into account new developments and new information. A reasonable harvest level will flow from a reasonably developed program. Conversely, starting with a pre-ordained, long-term, sustained yield harvest level and working backward is less likely to result in an environmentally or economically sensitive program.

Last summer, during Senate Energy Committee debates on the Forest and Families Protection Act (S. 1156), their was general congressional agreement on the proposition that a long-term solution embodied in legislation should not be encumbered by hard harvest level numbers for either the short or the long-term. Rather, the forest industry believes that a long-term solution should be balanced in the fashion described above. Short-term harvest levels should be the province of immediate supply and demand needs, and financial and fiscal realities. These short-term needs can be reconciled over time as long as long-term sustainability (over, for example, a ten-year period) is not exceeded.

Thus, the Forest and Families Protection Act draft reviewed by the Senate Energy Committee last September did not include specified harvest levels. Rather, the bill described a process by which land management objectives would be set. Harvest levels

JUN- 7-93 MON 16:48 P.03

in both the short and long term would flow from the direction provided to achieve these objectives.

II. There Will Be an Inherent Difference In the Amount of Harvest Possible During at Least the First Three Years After Adoption of a Long-Term Solution, and Whatever Long-Term Sustained-Yield Level the Solution Affords.

Much of the media discussion over the past several days has focused on a range of harvest numbers inferred to be long-term sustained yield levels associated with various alternative management strategies. The implication is that these harvest levels would be achieved immediately after adoption of one or another of the alternatives described. This assumption is incorrect.

Typically, it takes the Forest Service and BLM upwards of five years to prepare timber for sale. Thus, the most important variable in determining how much timber can be sold and harvested in at least the first three years after adoption of a new program will be the physical time and effort involved in preparing timber for sale under new management direction.

Prior to the current firestorm of court injunctions, the Forest Service and BLM had a significant volume of timber in different stages of preparation in a "pipeline" for eventual sale to purchasers. Immediately following the development of a new management regime, the physical location and status of the timber either fully or nearly ready for sale will dictate how much timber could be sold. If much of this nearly or already prepared timber is in conflict with the new management program, then it will not be sold. The agencies will not be able to instantaneously provide replacement volume in compliance with the new management program. They will require the requisite amount of time to prepare that volume. Therefore, it is probable (if not virtually certain) that the volume of timber that can be sold immediately upon adoption of a new solution will be lower than whatever long-term, sustained-yield volume the solution affords. This will occur unless specific provisions take into account the need to release for sale some nearly or already prepared timber, even if it is in conflict with the long-term management regime.

Indeed, the flexibility and reasonableness of a long-term solution will be a reflection of whether consideration can be given to freeing some timber in the short-term, even if it does not comport with the long-term program. By contrast, if long-term risk analyses are applied instantaneously to each years' timber sale program, an inflexible solution will result in exceedingly low levels of timber sales in the first three or more years after adoption of the new solution. This is a critical variable which is poorly understood.

III. There Is Considerable Imprecision In the Way the Numbers Are Currently Being Used, Such That Almost No Real Communication Is Taking Place.

Contemporary media reports have been casting numbers into the public arena with such ambiguity that it is not clear what the numbers compare with, by way of

JUN- 7-93 MON 16:49 P.04

historic harvest levels over what geography. For instance, numbers in one report associated with the management of the "national forests in Oregon and Washington" leave unclear whether they also include the Bureau of the Land Management lands in western Oregon and the northern California national forests included in the spotted owl region. Also unstated is whether these numbers apply to national forests in Oregon and Washington outside of the spotted owl region on the east-side of the Cascades.

It is assumed that the Administration's Forest Ecology Task Group has been working on alternatives for federal forest lands in the spotted owl region. This encompasses Forest Service lands in western Oregon, western Washington, and northern California, as well the Bureau of Land Management O&C lands in western Oregon. The historic harvest level through the mid-1980's from these lands was 5.2 billion board feet (BBF). This harvest level formed the basis for the economic activity that occurred prior to the court injunctions and the mill capacity that exists within this region today. Below, is a chart showing the job impacts associated with different, lower levels of harvest from these same lands. Some of these impacts could be mitigated by increased harvests on the periphery of this region. At the same time, this spreadsheet gives a comparative analysis of the implications of different options.

Loss Component[1]	JOB LOSSES ASSOCIATED WITH ALTERNATIVE FEDERAL ALLOWABLE SALE QUANTITIES Three-State Spotted Owl Region					
	BILLION BOARD FEET					
	5 [2]	4	3	2	1	.8
Direct Jobs	0	10,516	20,726	30,936	41,146	43,188
Indirect Jobs	0	12,271	24,187	36,101	48,017	50,399
Total Jobs[3]	0	22,788	44,913	67,038	89,163	93,588

IV. <u>The Popular Media Seem to be Using Harvest Numbers As a Way of Keeping Score</u>.

One ineluctable conclusion from the coverage of the past week is that the media are fixed on having numbers in order to evaluate who is winning and losing. The issue is becoming so complex it is beginning to be covered like a sporting contest. This is obviously not a helpful way to conduct the debate, nor the right way to manage our federal forest lands. Therefore, continuing to release numbers with as little context as has been the case over the past several days will only exacerbate this problem and polarize an already difficult situation. It would be helpful to begin now to wean the media from this superficiality and focus their attention on how the different alternatives would manage our federal forest lands, provide for the economic well-being of the people of the region, and meet the wood products needs of all Americans.

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[1] Assumptions: Total jobs per million board feer = 22.1250; Direct jobs = .46147 X Total jobs

[2] The average 1983-87 harvest level is 5.030 billion board feet.

[3] Of the total loss, Federal plans account for 14,119 jobs.

JUN-23-93 MON 16:58 P.05

NEWS SUMMARY
U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

Thursday, April 1, 1993 A61

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Thursday, April 1, 1993

Clinton Prepares to Break Logjam of 'Owls vs. Jobs'

Environmentalists, loggers upbeat about the 'Timber Summit'

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASHLAND, ORE.

THE Clinton administration's Pacific Northwest forest conference represents a major investment in political capital. Not only is a large portion of the Cabinet participating in the conference – along with some two dozen other senior officials – but it involves the high-visibility balancing of economics and environment in a problem area that has simmered for more than a decade.

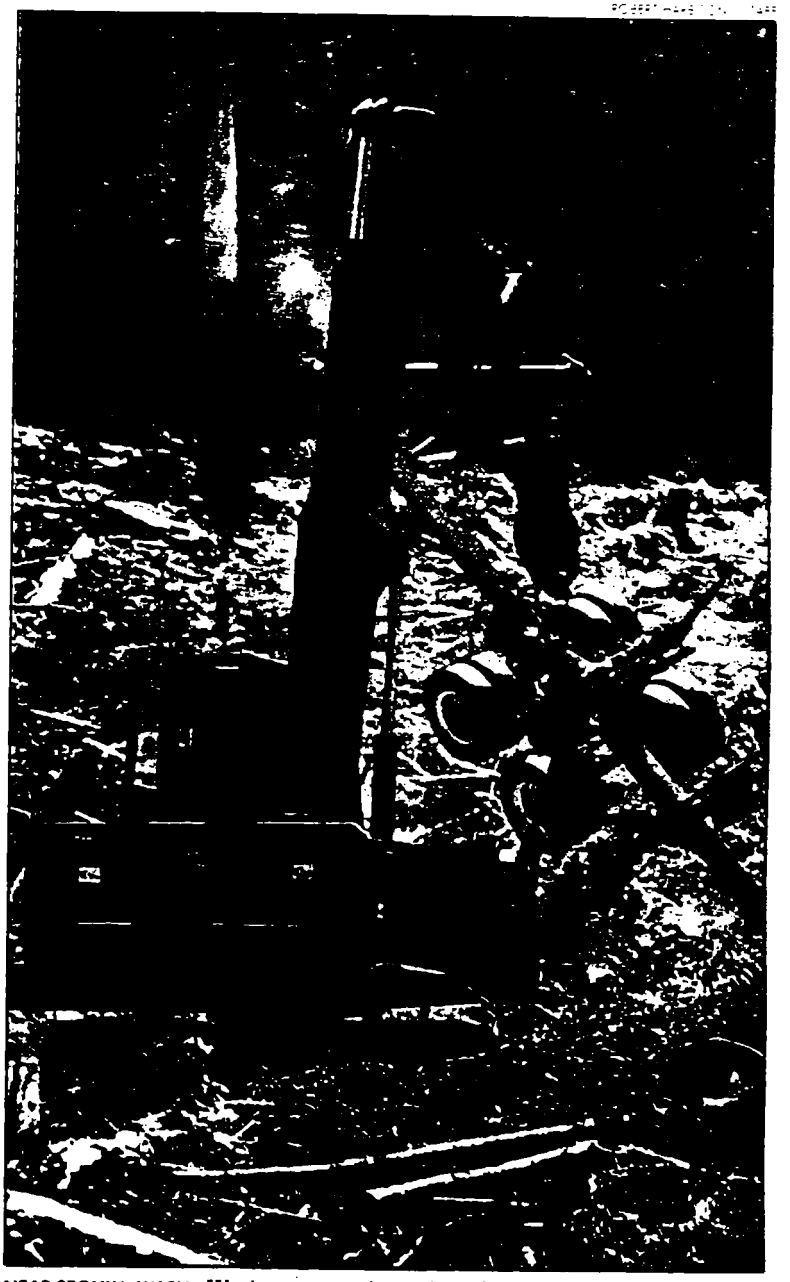
Going into the one-day meeting tomorrow in Portland, Ore., most parties seem optimistic that some solid first steps will be taken to resolve the issue. "The comments I've heard are very encouraging," said Julie Norman, president of the environmental group Headwaters and a participating panelist. "It's such a breath of fresh air compared with the Bush administration."

"We are certainly hopeful," said Sharla Moffett, executive vice president of the Southern Oregon Timber Industries Association, representing some 100 companies from giant Boise-Cascade to independent loggers. "We're encouraged that it's happening within the first 100 days of the Clinton administration."

The shorthand version of the issue is "jobs versus owls" – protection of the northern spotted owl, "threatened" under the Endangered Species Act, and the tens of thousands of timber-industry jobs that could be lost in an industry already declining.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has likened the situation to a "train wreck," and the description seems apt. Government agencies have been at odds over how to deal with it. Opponents of logging on federal land have been able to tie up hundreds of proposed timber sales through the appeals process. Federal judges, charging agencies with "a remarkable series of violations of environmental laws," in essence have taken over management of millions of acres of public forest land in Oregon, Washington, and

See **TIMBER** *page 4*



NEAR SEQUIM, WASH.: *Workers preparing to load Douglas Fir timbers onto a truck. A compromise seems to be brewing in the Northwest, with loggers prepared to save historic forests and environmentalists willing to save jobs.*

TIMBER from page 1

northern California.

Although environmentalists say log exports from private timberlands and mill automation are the main culprits in the loss of jobs, and not the court injunctions that have blocked the sale of timber from federally owned land, the economic impact has been severe in many communities. Timber-industry jobs have dropped one-third in the region over the past decade as hundreds of mills shut down.

Meanwhile, it has become apparent that the ecological health of old-growth forests here involves much more than the spotted owl. The marbled murrelet shorebird and three stocks of Pacific Northwest salmon have also been listed under the Endangered Species Act. The American Fisheries Society warns that 214 stocks of ocean-migrating fish along the West Coast are in danger of extinction from human impacts – including logging along streams and rivers. A recent court-ordered report by Forest Service scientists says logging may have to be restricted further to protect the ecosystem that is habitat to hundreds of species.

Mr. Babbitt and other senior officials were active in the environmental movement before joining the administration. But in his visit to Oregon and California mill towns and forest lands over the weekend, Babbitt emphasized the need to "find a balanced solution that will provide jobs and timber flowing back into the mills and do a reasonable job of conserving environmental values."

Babbitt also has talked about getting the injunctions on timber sales lifted by convincing federal courts that the administration will uphold such laws as the National Forest Management Act, which requires that biological diversity be protected on national forests.

"That kind of language coming out of this administration is refreshing to hear," said Mike Wiedeman, who owns a small logging company and is board chairman of an 81,000-member grassroots group called the Oregon Lands Coalition.

Still, President Clinton earlier this month said old-growth forests "are as much a part of our national heritage as the Grand Canyon or Yosemite." Administration officials have also insisted that decisions about protecting ecosystems should be made on the basis of the best scientific evidence available. And as Ms. Moffett put it, "The forest-products industry understands we will never go back to historic harvests."

For their part, many environmentalists now acknowledge the need to help timber-dependent communities, as well as preserve "ancient forests." Some have been quietly working with representatives of the industry and federal agencies to find local solutions. It's this kind of practical local problem-solving that the administration wants to nurture.

"The president's instruction to all of us is that the time is at hand to break the gridlock," Babbitt said.

Mr. Clinton Heads for the Timber

A man of lofty aims, Bruce Babbitt began his tenure as Secretary of the Interior hoping to reverse a century of federally sponsored exploitation of public lands by striking a sensible balance between commerce and environmental stewardship. He knew he would face obstacles, but probably the last thing he expected was that one of them would turn out to be the man who gave him the job, President Clinton.

Mr. Babbitt wanted to raise the fees for grazing livestock on 280 million acres of public rangeland. He also wanted to charge royalties on gold, silver and other metals now mined from Federal land at no cost. The money would be used for a host of worthy purposes, like lowering the deficit, restoring damaged lands and improving the badly stressed national park system.

The proposals were tucked into the budget resolutions passed by the House and Senate. Then, however, a powerful cadre of Western senators had second thoughts about what they had done. They threatened to torpedo Mr. Clinton's entire economic package — the centerpiece of his Presidency to date — if the mining and grazing provisions survived. Mr. Clinton agreed to drop them.

His cave-in was reminiscent of his behavior as Governor of Arkansas, when he often favored the economic welfare of the chicken industry over strict regulation of its adverse effects on the environment. It also set many to wondering about his future commitment.

"I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast," said an official at the Wilderness Society — which, like other environmental groups, has invested high hopes in the new Administration.

•

The President's spokesmen say his retreat is purely tactical. The budget plan is so important, they say, that losing a few little skirmishes here and there is incidental to winning the larger war. For his part, Mr. Babbitt stoically insists that he can still get his grazing fees and mining royalties through administrative action and separate legislation.

Maybe so. But the President's stated determination not to yield to special interests suddenly seems negotiable. His reversal must surely send a frisson of pleasure through other influential opponents of Mr. Clinton's budget proposals, like farmers threatened with the loss of *their* cherished subsidies.

"This is absolutely spoon-feeding the special interests," complained Representative George Miller, a Democrat from California. "The decision to defer these reforms ... sends the message that business as usual has lived to fight another day."

The timing of Mr. Clinton's volte-face is equally unsettling. It arrives fresh on the heels of his decision to accept a toxic waste incinerator in Ohio that Vice President Al Gore — Mr. Clinton's putative conscience on environmental matters — had pledged to keep closed pending further study.

It also arrives virtually on the eve of tomorrow's "forest summit" in Portland, Ore., a brief media extravaganza that seeks to address a very serious question: how to protect a treasured environmental resource (in this case the old-growth forests, where lives the spotted owl) without putting thousands of people on unemployment lines.

That, too, is a matter dear to Mr. Babbitt's heart. He hopes both to protect the forests and put thousands of loggers back to work restoring the land hit hardest by past logging practices — by, for example, repairing watersheds and streams that nurture salmon, one of the forests' most valuable and commercially important species.

But it will not be easy to ram even that compromise past hostile lawmakers from the Pacific Northwest, and Mr. Clinton's retreat on grazing and mining has environmentalists wondering whether he has lost his will to fight for the forests as well.

Mr. Babbitt's cause is not wholly lost. Under the law, he can raise grazing fees by administrative order, which he intends to do after careful consultation with ranchers large and small. He also promises to protect smaller ranchers who might be vulnerable to a sharp rise in grazing costs. Imposing royalties on mining companies, however, will require new law and, probably, a bruising legislative struggle. He will need the support of his wavering boss to succeed.

Mr. Babbitt's chances of defeating influential lobbying interests were much better as long as his proposals were linked to the larger budget package. Now, according to Mr. Clinton, they aren't. Running for protective cover, the President has removed Mr. Babbitt's.

FRIDAY'S FOREST SUMMIT: WHAT'S AT STAKE

4,600 OWLS vs. 32,100 JOBS

'There's no home for salmon . . . spotted owl . . . old growth forests.'
— Billy Frank Jr.

By Jeff Reinking

FISHING RIGHTS: They are worth little now for Billy Frank Jr., of the Nisqually tribe. Frank cites loss of watersheds.

COVER STORY

Clinton's job: 'Undoing the mess'

Environmental concerns clash with economic necessities at summit

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

PORTLAND, Ore. — Not far from the narrow, twisting Clackamas River, seven men in bright orange hardhats rev their chain saws to cut down ancient Douglas firs.

They are practically alone in sprawling Mount Hood National Forest, where just five years ago 200 trucks a day drove down Route 224 loaded with freshly cut logs.

When the men break for coffee around a small campfire, it's quiet enough to hear the hoot of a spotted owl. "Normally, we'd have six sites going with 80 people working. Now we have just this one," says Don Grim of Grim Logging Co.

Silent chain saws bespeak the dilemma facing President Clinton as he convenes a "forest summit" here Friday. How

Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

Behind the spotted owl controversy

The Clinton administration is convening a summit Friday to search for a compromise in the contentious battle over protection of the endangered northern spotted owl. Where the factions stand:

What environmentalists want

All old growth forests on federal land off limits to further logging. Environmentalists calculate three million acres of old growth forest are left.

What the industry wants

It would agree to protect some forest land but says the environmentalists' demands would cripple the timber industry unless other protected forest land is opened elsewhere for logging. Industry also says there are 9 million acres of old growth remaining.

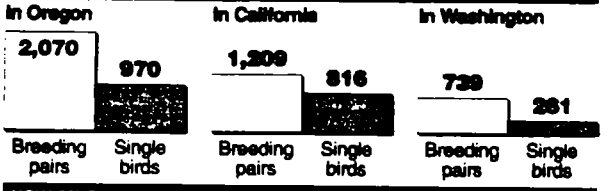
What Clinton administration could do

Preserve much of the old growth forest but open other areas for logging. The administration also may offer funding to help retrain displaced timber workers.

4,600 owls vs. 32,100 jobs

The plan would take about 5.4 million acres of federal land, an area about the size of Massachusetts, out of production to save 2,300 breeding pairs. In addition, 2.1 million acres of national parkland would be off limits. An estimated 32,100 jobs would be lost, according to the Forest Service, although the timber industry puts job losses much higher.

HOW MANY OWLS THERE ARE NOW

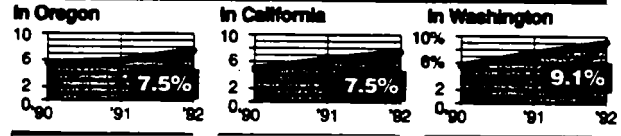


HOW MUCH LAND AN OWL NEEDS

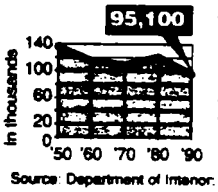
Owl's nesting area: Circle about 1.8 miles across
Timber in nesting area: Enough to build 4,100 homes

Economic situation in the Northwest

UNEMPLOYMENT ON THE RISE

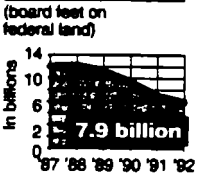


FEWER TIMBER INDUSTRY JOBS



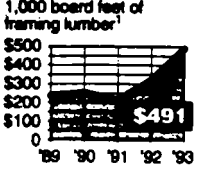
LESS TIMBER HARVESTED

(board feet on federal land)



LUMBER PRICES UP

Average price per 1,000 board feet of framing lumber[1]



Source: Department of Interior; Wilderness Society; Northwest Forest Resource Council

1 – for second week in March

By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

COVER STORY

'Time to reinvest in forests'

Continued from 1A

does he protect the spotted owl amid demands of timber interests to harvest the bird's old-growth habitat?

For the administration, the long-running and bitter division over the owl is but one of dozens of imminent clashes across the country pitting the welfare of endangered species against human livelihoods.

Clinton as mediator promises to "hammer out a solution."

The president will have his hands full with polarizing goals: protecting owls, salmon and more than 600 species dependent on old-growth forests while retaining supplies of lumber, paper and other wood products that will put people back to work.

And there is doubt about how much can be accomplished in the circus atmosphere developing in this city: 25,000 people are expected, all vying for Clinton's attention:

▶ Four hundred timber businesses will shut down and give their workers Friday off with pay so they can come to Portland for a family day on the waterfront.

▶ Today, environmentalists step up with a pre-summit concert featuring Bonnie Raitt, Neil Young, David Crosby and Kenny Loggins.

▶ Friday, a salmon-fishing flotilla rides the Willamette River to a rally.

Whatever solutions arise, Clinton cautions: "Everybody may be somewhat disappointed. But the paralysis now gripping the lives of people there is totally unacceptable."

Everyone agrees on that.

But the issues are as complex as the forests: haphazard patchworks of steep, scraped slopes, young planted seedlings, eroded roads, winding rivers, healthy stands of trees.

Unlikely advocates for change have emerged. Take George Atiyeh.

"Forest managers should look at this like a business," says the former logger from Mill City who now flies for the environmental group Lighthawk. "Now is the time to reinvest in forests, restore them."

Stan Shaufler, owner of Owl Lumber and Manufacturing in Bremerton, Wash., says national forest logging bans have cut his supply to trees cleared for urban development.

But he supports cutbacks. "We can scale back the volume of harvests in old-growth, take reduced cuts, with a plan to perpetuate these forests."

Few doubt there will be change. The question is, how much?

"Timber interests ... ought to be quaking in their boots," says Bill Arthur of the Sierra Club in Seattle, the son of a logger.

The initial skirmish will be over how much "old-growth" forest — with trees dating to Columbus — will be set aside as wilderness. No more than 8 million acres of virgin forest remain of the 21 million acres that once blanketed the Northwest.

Bottom line for many environmentalists: protect old-growth areas. "It's a critical part of our heritage," says Bob Chlopak of Americans for the Ancient Forests.

But Washington and Oregon's lush national forests of unevenly aged trees — towering snags down to mossy undergrowth — provide 10% of U.S. timber supplies.

"Environmentalists have got the public believing that we're ready to cut the last tree," says Chris West of the Northwest Forestry Association. "We have more forest land preserved and protected in the Pacific Northwest than in any other region."

What companies want out of the summit is "some assurance of a stable supply of timber from the Western national forests," says Luke Popovich of American Forest and Paper Association. That is likely to come from isolated, old-growth stands and non-ancient woods.

The summit spotlight also will fall on the fishing industry, another unhappy but critical component of Northwest forests.

Nisqually Indian Billy Frank Jr. plans to tell Clinton the problem: "Devastation of 90% of watersheds throughout the Northwest. There is no home for salmon any more, no home for spotted owl, no home for old-growth forests."

A rotting and patched dug-out cedar canoe lies on a grassy bank of Washington's Nisqually River outside Olympia. It's Frank's reminder of his salmon-fishing days and the Northwest tribes' battle to regain treaty fishing rights — finally granted in 1974 but worth little now.

Few coho, chinook, chum, steelhead or sockeye return upriver to spawn. Fishermen from 20 tribes don't catch enough to make a living, their spawning grounds silted over from eroding clear-cut forests.

"The forest summit will be an empty exercise if all they do is talk jobs and owls," says Charles Gauvin, president of Trout Unlimited.

About 60,000 fishing-related jobs rely on Northwest stocks, though 90 fish populations are at risk in owl territory and being considered for listing as endangered species.

But here is where Clinton's economic plans mesh perfectly, Gauvin says. "Restoration, undoing the mess and stabilizing the forests, creates jobs. Thousands of miles of logging roads need to be retired."

Out of this summit could come higher prices for federal timber and longer periods between harvests of replanted trees. Timber firms' practice of exporting raw logs from private forests could come under fire.

"You're exporting the jobs that would've been created to mill those logs here," says Sami Yassa of the Natural Resouces Defense Council.

And Clinton is sure to hear gripes about preservation for preservation's sake. "Values are not limited to timber," says Fran Hunt of the National Wildlife Federation.

Argues Perry Pendley of the conservative Mountain States Legal Foundation: "We're dealing with an abyss that separates environmentalists from many people in the real world. We must use the forest as a resource, not just a place to visit."

ENVIRONMENT

Trees vs. People: Conference

In the old days Hortons Bay was a lumbering town. No one who lived in it was out of sound of the big saws in the mill by the lake. Then one year there were no more logs to make lumber

—Ernest Hemingway, Michigan, 1927, in his story, "The End of Something"

By JOHN BALZAR
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PORTLAND, Ore.—No, it's not a new tale. America has heard it before, the story of falling trees, closing mills, lost jobs and displaced wildlife—the end of something for which nobody takes blame or delight.

In Portland Friday, President Clinton will see if he can stand up to this history.

With Vice President Al Gore and four Cabinet officers in attendance, Clinton will host a one-day, round-table "forest conference" that promises to test like nothing before his belief that economic growth and environmental preservation are compatible pursuits.

Somehow, someway, the towering coastal forests of Northern California, Oregon and Washington state can be made to serve the values of the wild and the needs of people, forever. Or so Clinton has vowed. As campaign promises go, this one is a doozy.

For more than a decade, the Pacific Northwest has been quarreling—each year with increasing hysteria—over the fate and future of the dense, moist stands of fir and spruce and hemlock and pine. This terrain is America's rain forest, its finest tree habitat; lumbering is among its pioneer industries.

The primary dispute involves those portions of the forest owned by the public, managed by the U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management for what is called "multiple use" purposes. Within these public forests of the three states are some 3 million acres of unlogged, ancient forests that are at the very heart of the fight.

If the loggers and those elements of the timber industry dependent on cutting in national forests—and, importantly, not all are—have their way, the future will look something like this:

Some minimum quantity of old growth stands are set aside for environmental protection. But the remainder will be penetrated by a web of new roads and the trees will be cut down as fast as they can, sold to the highest bidders, and replaced with fast-growing seedlings. These will then be harvested on rotations of somewhere between 30 and 50 or more years.

The national forests, then, will look pretty much like the privately owned tree plantations operated across vast areas of the region—dense patches of like-sized and single-species trees interspersed with clear cuts and replantings.

Over time, there will be fewer jobs because of mechanization. But at least the volume of wood fiber coming out of the forests remains as high, and the price as low as possible.

If environmentalists have their way, not another of these trees will fall to the saw, and the 3 million acres will be held in preserves, joining another 3 million of designated federal wilderness and parklands. This "ecosystem" will provide the remaining space to hold off extinction of animals dependent on the complex ecology of the ancient forests—such as the much-discussed, seldom-seen spotted owl, the cancer-fighting Yew tree and other life forms.

Lumber jobs will decrease faster than they otherwise would. But environmentalists argue the time is ripe for government action to help both workers and the regional ecology with some sort of forest lands rehabilitation jobs programs, such as tearing out old logging roads and restoring spawning streams for the troubled northwest salmon.

As for wood fiber, logs now cut from private lands will meet all domestic demands if the government will ban their export to Asia, or eliminate agricultural tax breaks that provide an incentive to send this unmilled wood abroad.

During his campaign, Clinton refused to take sides in the Northwest forestry dispute. Instead, he promised to elevate the issue to a presidential priority by calling all parties together at a "summit."

As a result, so much presidential horsepower will be assembling at the scene of trouble that experts could not easily recall a precedent.

Administration officials emphasized repeatedly that Clinton's intention Fri-

The Buzz Over Timber

The forest conference will feature talk of the God Squad, the Gang of Four and stumpers such as sufficiency language. Here's a guide to some of the buzzwords and phrases:

■ **The God Squad:** The Endangered Species Committee, nicknamed because it can exempt a creature from the Endangered Species Act and allow it to become extinct if the cost of saving it is too great.

■ **The Gang of Four:** A committee of four scientists who gave Congress the most recent data on the condition of old-growth forests, home to the spotted owl.

■ **Critical habitat:** The area designated essential to the existence of a creature, in this case the spotted owl. Anyone who wants to conduct commercial activity, including logging, on land declared a critical habitat must first get permission from the Fish and Wildlife Service.

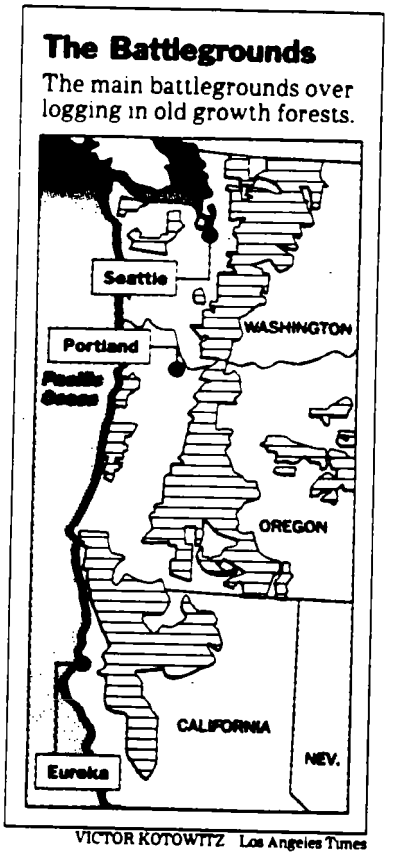
■ **Indicator species:** Kind of like a canary in the coal mine. Because it's at the top of the food chain, its health is an early warning of the overall health of other life in the forest.

■ **Certainty:** Nobody agrees on what that means. To environmentalists, certainty means assurances that the old-growth forests will be protected against logging. To the timber industry, it means they'll be allowed to cut enough trees to meet demands for lumber and wood products. And to workers, it means a promise they still will have a job in the forest or the sawmills.

■ **Sufficiency language:** Such language in a bill would have the effect of insulating the legislation from certain court challenges, an idea opposed by environmentalists.

Sources: Associated Press, National Park Service, Times staff

Will Put Clinton's Ideas to the Test



day is to listen. His proposals for a new national policy on Northwest forests are not expected for several weeks.

In a recent statement, the President warned that his eventual decision "will probably make everybody mad."

Environmentalists have come to expect the new Administration will tilt their way, citing the overall tone of the presidential campaign, the repeated and specific promises of the candidate and the background of his appointees.

"There is a reason that this conference is being held here on the Pacific Coast. We've cut our way from the East to the West. And now we've run out of forests," says Sierra Club Northwest regional director Bill Arthur.

Labor is no less determined that Clinton back down not one inch from his unequivocal vow that jobs and job growth are the heart of his presidency.

"We can't base this decision on science alone. It has to take into account the human and economic consequences . . . there has to be some risk for animals as well as folks," says Mike Draper of the Western Council of Industrial Workers.

Oddly, the effect of heightened presidential interest in the Northwest forests may be to exaggerate the dimensions of the problem in the public eye.

For instance, the Administration of President George Bush, which was openly sympathetic to logging interests, estimated that 30,000 jobs could be at stake, even at the worst case. This is fewer than recent reductions in automobiles, aerospace, IBM, or the military, to name just some, and none of those have rated on-the-spot presidential conferences.

University of Oregon economist Ed Whitelaw says the Northwest weathered the recession better than much of the country, despite pockets of woe in rural timber communities. Unemployment in Oregon, for example, is lower than in New York or California and its economic growth rate higher.

"The engine of timber has decoupled from the train of our economy," says Whitelaw. "We have other engines now. Some of the folks riding back in the train don't realize this, however."

One of the major bones of contention is a threatened shortage of logs to keep domestic mills operating in the Northwest.

Both industry and environmental specialists agree, however, that private landowners like Weyerhaeuser Co. export more unmilled logs abroad than whatever quantity is likely to be reduced from national forests as the result of old-growth preservation.

Environmentalists argue that if jobs really are the issue, these exports should be banned, or at the least the government should eliminate the tax incentives that favor exporting U.S. logs the same as exporting U.S. wheat.

The industry argues that log export bans would interfere with private property rights and depress U.S. trade and corporate profits. A recent surge in the price of lumber also has entered the debate. The National Assn. of Home Builders calls this "a crisis" that has added $3,600 to the price of a new home.

However, the association's chief economist acknowledged that this increase has been more than offset by recent and long-term reductions in interest rates. And even today, lumber prices are no greater in constant dollars than during the late 1970s.

Times researcher Doug Conner assisted with this story.

ALSTON CHASE

Gnatcatch-22 at the forestry conference

It took God six days to make the world, but President Clinton is allotting just 24 hours to remake the Pacific Northwest.

His forest conference, held in Portland, Ore., April 2, is supposed to settle the fight between loggers and environmentalists over ancient forests, spotted owls, marbled murrelets and sockeye salmon. And somehow Mr. Clinton believes this one-day meeting — aimed at "issues delineation" — will produce a peace that has eluded everyone else for a decade.

Fat chance. Mr. Clinton will discover harmony in the Northwest as elusive as Richard Nixon found victory in Vietnam. Mr. Clinton's rumored strategy — the so-called "ecosystem" option — is no more likely to bring peace than Mr. Nixon's famed "secret plan" ended hostilities in Asia.

Time is indeed of the essence. Without resolution, logging will come to a standstill by fall; the Fish and Wildlife Service will be unable to finalize its owl recovery plan, and public timber harvests will remain in limbo.

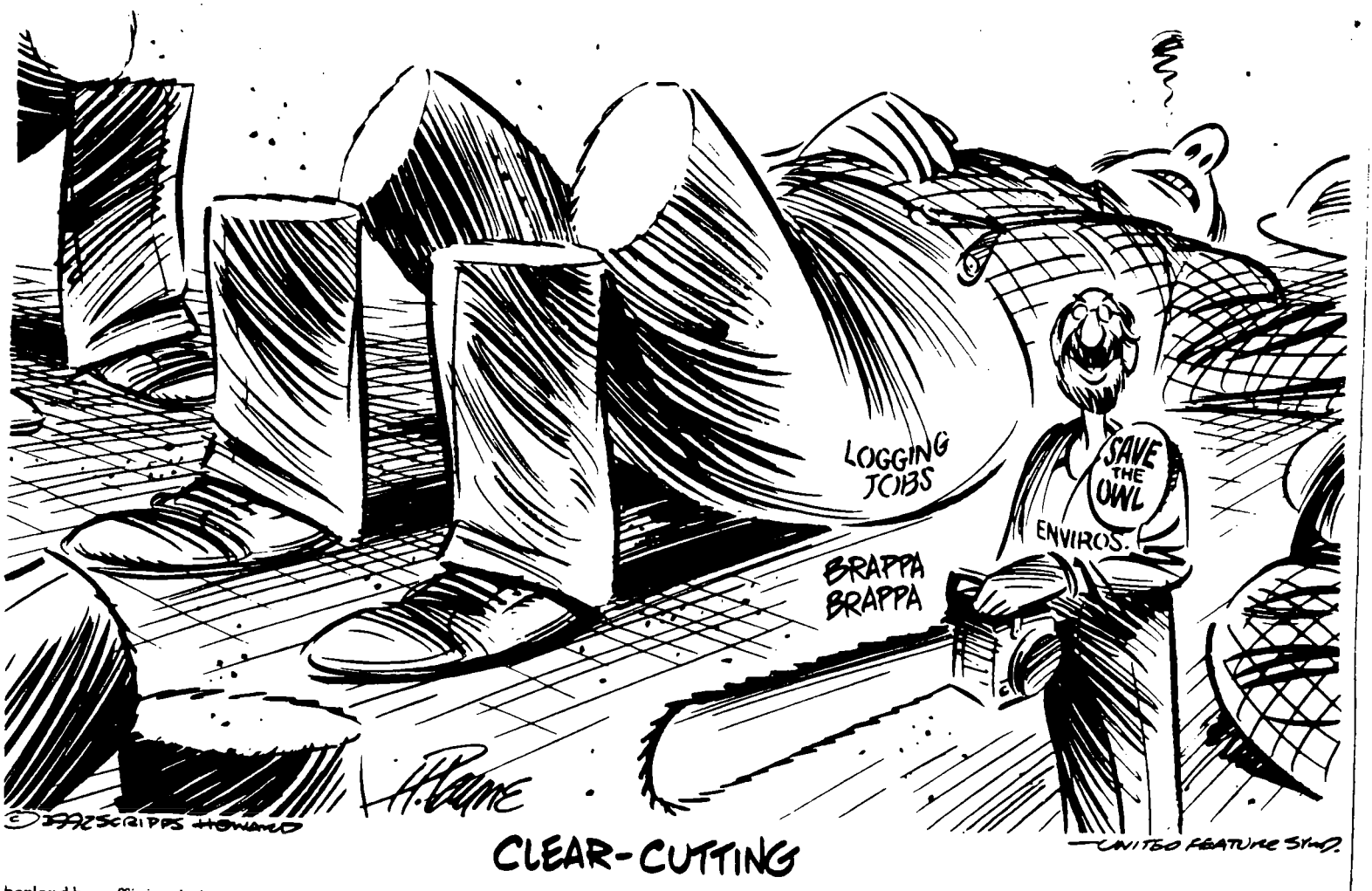
The administration is pursuing a quick fix for another reason: to save the Endangered Species Act. This legislation is due for congressional reauthorization in 1993. Yet many savants view the spotted owl as hooting proof that the act spreads economic chaos. So unless the owl issue is settled before Congress considers reauthorization, pressure to weaken the law will mount.

In seeking a solution, Mr. Clinton faces a dilemma: Satisfying court demands for sufficient owl habitat would further damage the region's economy. Allotting the bird less than maximum, however, could require a legislative solution — asking Congress to declare what habitat is legally sufficient. This could have an unpredictable outcome.

Hence what seems simple — dividing the forests between loggers and threatened species — is not. Neither side wants compromise.

Loggers demand an end to uncertainty and a guarantee of timber sufficiency. They want Mr. Clinton to revise laws that permit virtually anyone with a word processor to appeal harvest plans. They insist tim-

Alston Chase is a nationally syndicated columnist specializing in environmental issues.



CLEAR-CUTTING

berland be sufficiently large to allow rational, long-range rotations. They believe the Endangered Species Act's prohibition against damaging habitat (the "taking" clause) should not apply to logging on private lands. And they want a guarantee that environmentalists will not come back next year, demanding more.

Environmentalists want a comprehensive solution, combining the recovery plans for owls, murrelets and salmon into one old-growth ecosystem."

Mr. Clinton is tilting toward the environmentalists. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is known to favor the ecosystem option. He recently introduced this strategy in setting aside habitat for 50 species, including a newly listed threatened bird, the gnatcatcher, in California. Describing his idea as "trail-blazing," he says the multispecies approach offers flexibility, allowing some economic activities to continue within threatened species' habitat.

This effort at compromise is laudable. Nevertheless, the ecosystem option is a gnatcatch-22: It will harm creatures, not help them.

"Ecosystem" is an environmental buzzword. There are more "ecosystem protection" bills bouncing through Congress than checks. Yet the idea is not new. The National Park Service embraced the same policy in 1968, averring that since parks were "comparatively self-contained ecosystems," management should stress "the concept of preservation of a total environment, as compared with the protection of an individual feature or species."

Unfortunately, this sexy-sounding policy was a dud, causing national parks to lose species at an even greater rate than nonpark lands. And the principle reason for this failure is that scientists didn't know what an ecosystem was.

The word signifies nothing that can be drawn on a map. Ecosystems are not things, but biological processes in evolution, in which each species plays a role. And society has so altered these processes that we cannot delineate precisely the ecosystem of one species, much less several. We do not know what creatures' evolutionary requirements are, and thus cannot say what habitat they will need over time.

Consequently, a Northwest "old-growth ecosystem" preserve might not protect its resident populations. And unlike individual species recovery plans, it offers no quantifiable way to measure success. Federal accountability, already inadequate, would vanish entirely.

So how should Mr. Clinton solve the owl problem?

In the Bible, King Solomon resolved a dispute between two women who both claimed the same baby as their own. He suggested cutting the child in two, giving half to each woman. The real mother, horrified, renounced her claim to prevent her child's death. And thus did Solomon expose the impostor.

Likewise, if both sides in the owl dispute put the Earth first, they might agree on a truly holistic solution — such as the "new forestry," which calls neither for pure wilderness nor for intensively managed forests, but for selective harvesting to promote biodiversity.

But if everyone remains polarized, a Solomonic solution may be the only option. Mr. Clinton would be forced to cut the baby in half. And no one would like what remains.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

COLUMN RIGHT/
ALAN CHARLES RAUL

Stop Hiding Behind Courts on Logging

■ What's needed is executive and legislative policy-making.

On Friday, the President will hold his promised "forest summit." Loggers, millworkers and the so-called timber-dependent communities will face off against their main competition for living space in the Pacific Northwest—the northern spotted owls, the marbled murrelets and the Snake River sockeye. If only the wildlife were willing to compromise.

Timber sales out of the national forests in Washington and Oregon dropped last year to about 385 million board feet, after averaging more than 4 billion board feet a year for the previous decade. The sharp decline has caused the price of lumber used for home-building to skyrocket to $474 per thousand board feet, up more than 80% in the last six months. Since it takes about 15,000 board feet to build the average 2,000-square-foot house, the cost of a new home may be forced up by as much as $4,000. Still, the most important statistic is the human one—the more than 30,000 jobs lost to the region's timber industry.

In this "jobs vs. environment" fight, the protected species and subspecies have been winning hands down.

They have the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws in their corner. Court case after court case proves that the use of federal land to preserve habitat for fish and wildlife trumps any other purpose for the land.

Are these consequences really intended by Congress and the President? Do the political officials in the nation's capital truly mean for unelected judges to decide these delicate questions, especially where there is so much merit to both sides?

But judges are not paid to compromise. They issue blanket injunctions because they operate in a binary system of total winners and total losers. Under today's environmental conservation laws, fish and wildlife will consistently win big in court, even where reasonable compromises are conceivable. That is a balancing job for policy-makers. The forest summit is the chance to take this debate out of the courts.

President Clinton should listen to biologists in Portland and economists and loggers and conservationists. Then, he needs to lead the way to a balance between the environment and the economy.

Balance was the environmental watchword of the last Administration, but without some balance, the outlook for the Pacific Northwest is more litigation and less employment. The President has to get

'It is Congress' choice . . . to put federal judges in charge of timber/wildlife policy.'

Congress to stop hiding behind lawsuits and injunctions. Judges and biologists should not be deciding how much timber to harvest and how many jobs to save in the Pacific Northwest. Congress should be.

While the 4 billion board-foot level has properly been relegated to the history books, the status quo of 385 million board feet is absurdly unbalanced. It is an outcome only a court could produce.

It need not be this way. In last year's landmark decision involving the Forest Service, the Supreme Court put the lawmakers on notice that it is Congress' choice, not a legal imperative, to put federal judges in charge of timber/wildlife policy. The justices easily rejected an environmental challenge to the 1990 appropriations bill that ordered the Forest Service to harvest a specified amount of timber and adopt a particular conservation strategy.

Normally, this would not be a grand constitutional issue, but here, Congress' decision directly contradicted a judge's injunction in a pending owl lawsuit. The Supreme Court concluded that Congress always retains the power to step in, make policy and change the law, even if a federal judge has already expressed a different view. The trick will be to get Congress to use its power.

To break the logjam, the President must recognize that the timber/wildlife issue is like health care—what it needs is a little presidential policy-making and a new law on Capitol Hill. Congress can take back the policy-making role any time it wants. But if Congress does not, the federal judges will continue to apply existing law to ban any balance between competing economic and environmental goals.

Here is how the President can strike a deal with the owls:

- Mandate logging at half the historical level, around 2 billion board feet a year.
- Require federal agencies—and create incentives for private owners—to manage land as multidimensional ecosystems.
- Establish serious monitoring procedures to develop detailed data on the region's biodiversity.
- Insist on an overall conservation strategy that helps protect all vulnerable birds and fish, not just the species or subspecies on the brink of extinction.

A law containing all of this may not be ideal bioscience or ideal economics, but it will be decent policy. All we need is a few wise owls to make it happen.

Alan Charles Raul, an environmental lawyer in Washington, was general counsel of the Agriculture Department during the Bush Administration.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

Economic Scene | Peter Passell

The Pacific timber industry isn't really on the endangered list.

WILL the northern spotted owl drive Pacific timber cutters to ruin and housing prices into the stratosphere?

Give the bird a break. Reports of the industry's imminent demise, Topic A at tomorrow's timber meeting in Portland, have been much exaggerated. But the owl, immortalized by President Bush as the "little furry-feathery guy," has become a symbol of a conflict with no obvious middle ground.

The issue, as Jeff Olson of the Wilderness Society puts it, is whether Federal forests "will be managed as tree farms or ecosystems." And since environmentalists hold most of the political cards, lumber prices are unlikely to return to 1980's levels anytime soon.

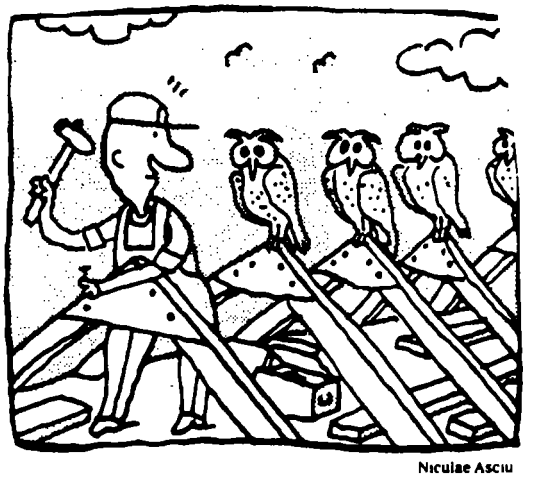
• • •

In February 1991 the 15,800 board feet of lumber used to frame the average house cost $3,200 at the sawmill gate. Today, the same quantity costs $7,000. What happened?

Ross Gorte of the Congressional Research Service notes that lumber prices typically rise by 30 percent during economic upswings. Add bad weather in timber regions along with a possible accumulation of logs in anticipation of rising demand from Japan, and you can explain some of the price increase.

Some, but not much. Al Goetzl, an economist for the American Forest and Paper Association, points out that the recovery in home building has been modest. Sales of lumber are not even close to the 1987 peak, when the price was half what it is today.

The smoking gun, Mr. Goetzl argues, is the decline in harvests from Federal forests. In 1987, 35 percent of America's softwood lumber came courtesy of Uncle Sam. Five years later, the figure was down to 25 percent. Annual Western production from Federal lands plummeted from 11.4 million board feet to just 5.7 million, the loss of



Niculae Asciu

enough timber to build 400,000 average-size houses.

Harvests have collapsed because legal complaints about casual environmental management of Federal forests — especially old-growth forests with the biggest, most valuable trees — have begun to receive a sympathetic hearing.

The courts have virtually stopped Federal timber sales. And the inventory of trees awaiting the chain saw is rapidly depleting: Federal timber under contract fell from 27 million board feet in 1987 to 11 million in 1992.

The little furry-feathery guy has certainly played a part in forest gridlock. Logging is barred within cursing range of the owls' nests, blocking access to millions of acres.

But Michael J. Bean of the Environmental Defense Fund notes the owl is just the leading edge of a legal assault based on broad forestry management statutes requiring full environmental disclosure and protection of species balance. A return to harvesting as usual in Western old-growth forests, he argues, would damage the habitat of a variety of animals ranging from the salmon to the marbled murrelet, a sea bird.

The industry might yet soften the Endangered Species Act, but it does not have the political muscle to overturn the statutes setting standards

for public land. And while President Clinton might be in a mood for compromise, environmentalists are not: "The sustainable harvest from Federal forests, said Brock Evans of the National Audubon Society, "is less than the harvest now."

Canada will not fill the gap: British Columbia is under pressure to reduce harvests from forests that on average, have been more aggressively cut than their American counterparts. Siberia could. However, it would take billions of dollars' worth of roads and sawmill capacity — and a stable business environment — to make Russia a major producer.

Fast-growing pine from private lands in the American Southeast may eventually replace declining output from old-growth Pacific forests. And a variety of "engineered wood" products — composites made from wood scraps and smaller trees — are just now gaining market acceptance. But nobody expects these substitutes to ever sell for as little as the old-growth timber harvested in the 1980's.

• • •

Apocalypse? No. The Northwest, with its growing, diversified economy, is better poised than other regions to absorb displaced timber workers. Many lumber companies will actually end up winners, since their losses from smaller public harvests are more than offset by the higher value of trees on their own land: the giant Weyerhaeuser is posting near-record profits. And although there is no comparable silver lining for the construction industry, the damage begs for perspective.

Lumber represents just 10 to 15 percent of the cost of building a house, and construction represents just half the cost of the total retail package. Thus the near doubling of lumber prices should add only about 5 percent to housing costs. The Congressional Research Service figures this would increase the typical monthly mortgage payment by about $40 — less than the impact of a one percentage point increase in interest rates.

Of course, $40 a month here, there and everywhere adds up to real money. But there are intangible values that some people think are worth every penny: "We're deciding the fate of our ancient forests," Mr. Evans said.

A Forest Rises From the Ashes, Privately

By Dixy Lee Ray

When President Clinton flies into Portland, Ore., for Friday's Timber Summit, he may, weather permitting, get a spectacular view of Mount St. Helens. The still-simmering volcano that erupted with explosive force on May 18, 1980, leveled trees as far as 15 miles to the north and over a 156-square-mile area. Ten percent of the mountain's mass dissolved into ash, and more than one billion board feet of lumber were downed in a single moment. Most animal life was wiped out. But 13 years later, the area is a testimony to the success of a pursuit that this weekend's summit is likely to ignore: private-sector forest management.

For weeks after the big eruption, and amid all that gray and lifeless landscape, the question persisted: Will this area ever support a forest again? Most people, including many biologists, believed that years would pass, decades, or maybe even centuries, before the land could recover. How wrong they were.

On the government land, Congress in 1982 established a 110,000-acre National Volcanic Monument, where nature has been allowed to take its course, unperturbed and unaffected by human actions. But on neighboring private land, Weyerhaeuser Co. and others set to work immediately, salvaging the downed trees and planting new seedlings. They saved 850 million board feet of timber, enough to build 85,000 three-bedroom homes.

The stage was set for a grand demonstration: On similar but separate parcels of land, side by side, one could observe and compare natural recovery with managed and assisted recovery.

Within a year or two, the return of life, both plant and animal, was remarkable. Today, the differences between the "natural" and the managed areas are dramatic. Both are recovering, but the undisturbed public lands lag far behind.

Nature proved to be far more resilient than most people expected. On the private land, within weeks of the eruption, experimental plantings of tree seedlings were made to determine the ability of young trees to survive on the ash-covered ground. It was found that, as long as the seedlings' roots could reach the soil under the ash, the trees would survive. Using this information and scraping away ash where necessary, 18.4 million trees were planted on 45,500 acres by 1987. Today, the number of new plantings has reached nearly 16 billion.

THE TIMBER SUMMIT

The result of this effort is a lush forest. Most of the pre-1987 plantings are between 25 and 30 feet tall. Undergrowth carpets the ground and wildlife is abundant. Meanwhile on the public land, natural recovery has taken place at a considerably slower pace. The same species of plants, flowers and grasses have occurred, as have a number of trees, but the growth has been far slower and the trees more sparse than on the managed land.

Moreover, the reforested growth on private land is not significantly different from the original (pre-1980) forest below the slopes of the volcano. Before the eruption, there was an almost unbroken expanse of evergreens, including Douglas Fir (some of these were giants of 400 years in age), Noble Fir, Pacific Silver Fir, and Western Red Cedar. The undergrowth was also extensive and diverse. A four-square-mile remnant of this old growth was shielded by a ridge from the volcanic blast and remains as a striking example of virgin Northwest forest. It can be compared to the public and private reforested recovery areas closer to the mountain.

Who can say, except on a subjective, emotional basis, which forest is "better"—the old untouched one that evolved slowly over many decades or the newly replanted one? Both have approximately the same complex of tree species and varied undergrowth, and the same wildlife, birds and insects inhabit both. Deciding that one forest surpasses the other is a value judgment heavily influenced by what one believes a forest is "for."

It is true that the history of American private forest management has been mixed; but on the whole it has been extremely successful. Of the 3.6 million square miles that constitute the U.S. today, 1.13 million square miles, or 32%, are wooded.

From colonial days to the mid-19th century, there was considerable deforestation; most of the once expansive Eastern hardwood forest was cut before 1900 as the settlers cleared land for agriculture. Up to about 1920, the classic robber-baron "cut and run" philosophy dominated. But beginning early in this century, forestry started to change. In 1909 Henry E. Hardtner, owner of Louisiana's Urania Lumber Co., admonished his contemporaries to "protect your remaining forests and commence at once the reforestation of your denuded areas." Indeed, it was the forest industry itself that provided the leadership and capital to establish the reforestation movement—a movement whose outlook now prevails throughout the industry.

Today the evergreen-dominated forests of New England and the Old South have regrown. In the Southeast, many managed forests and tree plantations have extensively reforested the land. Reforestation in Maine makes that state our most heavily wooded: 90% of its surface area is covered with forests.

It's time to get rid of long-outdated stereotypes about rapacious timber companies that slash away at pristine forests without concern for their preservation.

President Clinton and Vice President (and Environment Czar) Al Gore are in a position to do just that. The White House says the purpose of the Forest Summit is to learn how the federal government can "provide leadership and encourage new, innovative and creative approaches" to addressing the forest-management controversy. But the Mount St. Helens case proves that private companies, employing state-of-the-art reforesting techniques, are leading the way in forest management innovation—as they always have. And they are doing it without the government's help.

Ms. Ray was governor of Washington state from 1977 to 1981 and is a former head of the Atomic Energy Commission. This article is adapted from her book "Environmental Overkill," due out this month from Regnery Gateway.

Cut Down

Even a Logger Praised As Sensitive to Ecology Faces Bitter Opposition

Bud McCrary Treats Forest Gently, but Some Want No Old Trees Taken at All

Bad Sign for Oregon Summit

By CHARLES MCCOY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PESCADERO, Calif. – When environmentalists, loggers and President Clinton meet in Oregon tomorrow for a timber summit, they might do well to ponder the predicament of Homer T. "Bud" McCrary.

Mr. McCrary is a model of that rare bird, the environmentally conscious logger. Groups like the Nature Conservancy and the Natural Resources Defense Council have cited his operation as an example of logging that doesn't trash the forest. The Sierra Club recommended him in 1990 for an award recognizing forest conservation efforts.

After Mr. McCrary's Big Creek Lumber Co. bought 4,000 acres of redwood and fir forest above Butano Creek in the Santa Cruz Mountains in 1991, a lot of environmentalists were relieved: The parcel's previous owner, Texas financier Charles Hurwitz, had a reputation for ruthless clear-cutting of ancient forests; Mr. McCrary avoids clear-cutting and planned to cut just four old-growth trees an acre.

Bud McCrary

"The Butano had been rescued," recalls Gail Lucas, a former Sierra Club timber expert. "We knew Bud would log that land with care."

But Mr. McCrary is also a symbol of a split in environmentalists' attitudes, with an increasing number abandoning support of careful, selective logging and opposing cutting *any* very old trees. The Sierra Club has turned on Mr. McCrary, joining court actions to stop him from logging the Butano. More extreme groups have used sabotage to slow his crews.

"We will defend the trees of the Butano however we can," says Daniel Barron, a leader of a coalition including Greenpeace, Earth First! and local activists, which has put people on platforms in Mr. McCrary's trees to block their felling. "We want Big Creek out of business in the Butano."

Asks Mr. McCrary: "Is it immoral to cut down an old tree?" To which Mr. Barron replies: "Absolutely."

President Clinton's call for the timber summit in Portland, Ore., prompted a gush of optimism that peace in the forests might at long last be on the horizon. Indeed, one seemingly promising proposal sure to come out of the summit will be a commitment from the timber industry to employ more of the low-impact techniques for which Mr. McCrary is known. Yet now even Mr. McCrary is having trouble cutting trees, underscoring the great difficulty of reaching compromise in the forest.

While federal policy makers have debated endlessly how to balance wildlife protection and timber harvest rates, many of the trench warriors in the forest wars, among both environmentalists and timber interests, have become increasingly radical. Meanwhile, lumber prices are skyrocketing, largely because of logging restrictions on public land, provoking heavy cutting – often with the brutish methods – on much private land.

For Mr. McCrary, a slim, soft-spoken 66-year-old, the flak is jarring after so many years of being regarded as a forest good guy. The McCrarys have lived along Big Creek, a waterfall-studded torrent, for four generations. Bud and his brother, Frank "Lud" McCrary, 64, started cutting timber on family land after returning from World War II; today, their Big Creek company owns about 8,000 acres and logs periodically on thousands more acres, all private. It employs 170 people and has annual sales of about $30 million. In its 47-year existence, Mr. McCrary says, the company has always made money.

Unusual Combination

For most of that time, Mr. McCrary also was unscathed by the ferocious fights between loggers and environmentalists. Mr. McCrary – and his green friends – say that is because the McCrarys' approach blends a woodsman's respect for the land with a general indifference to maximum short-term profits, an unusual combination in the timber business. Agnes McCrary, Bud and Lud's 89-year-old mother, says this may stem from a lifetime spent living on the land they log.

"The boys learned that the real value out here isn't money or fancy clothes, it's the land," she says. "Destroy the land and you've got nothing."

Bud McCrary puts it another way: "There's a lot of talk about bottom lines in this business, but the real bottom line is what will be here in 50 years, in 100 years, in 200 years."

Such pronouncements from a logger might invite skepticism, but testimonials for Big Creek roll in from unlikely angles. "Mr. McCrary works with the forest, as opposed to working over the forest," says William Dempsey, a Nature Conservancy field representative. Adds Ms. Lucas, for-

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Cut Down: A Logger Sensitive to Ecology Still Faces Opposition

Continued From First Page

merly the Sierra Club's top California forest expert: "If all logging was done as carefully as Bud's, we wouldn't have a crisis in our forests."

Last month, some West Coast environmentalists fearful about the future of Siberia's virgin forests had Mr. McCrary meet with Russia's minister of natural resources. "We wanted Bud to explain to the minister that there are ways to log productively without devastating the forests," says Mr. Dempsey.

Out in the forests on a recent morning, it is clear that Big Creek isn't a run-of-the-mill operation. Its lands bear none of the tractor gashes, smoldering clear-cuts and football-field-size landslides that mar much of the West's timberland. Roads are narrower than those other loggers cut, and built to minimize erosion. Big Creek typically cuts only about half of the large trees on a tract; other California loggers often obliterate everything on an 80-acre parcel, the maximum clear-cut under state law. Oregon and Washington allow 500-acre clear-cuts.

Mr. McCrary lopes up a steep slope to part of an area logged three years ago. Big Creek took enough timber out of here to build dozens of houses. Now, young redwoods and firs sprout where the old trees stood. They jostle for light with 40-year-old, 100-foot trees that weren't touched by the logging. The area doesn't look much different from the county-owned parkland that starts a few yards away.

At times Mr. McCrary seems to have more in common with his opponents than with the rest of the timber business. He has donated land and money for a salmon and steelhead hatchery on the family homestead to try to bring fish back to Big Creek and other nearby streams; past logging by other companies helped ruin spawning beds. Every year, he leads a Sierra Club day-hike to a series of wild, tree-lined waterfalls on McCrary land. Berry Falls, a gorgeous cascade flanked by 600-year-old redwoods, used to be on the McCrarys' land; they sold the spot to a state park in the 1960s. "It was a special place, and it just had more value to society as parkland," Mr. McCrary says.

Some in the timber industry regard Mr. McCrary as sanctimonious, and point out that as a private company, Big Creek doesn't face any pressure to maximize profits or please shareholders. Some think his green connections amount to fraternizing with the enemy. But mostly, he is resented by some timber interests for demonstrating that low-impact techniques work; timber companies have dismissed the gentler approach as hopelessly uneconomic. "Bud's success stands as a reproach to them," says Robert Hrubes, a forestry consultant in Point Richmond, Calif.

Mr. McCrary's recent troubles have made him a trailblazer in the art of what he calls "political forestry." Basically, this means constantly engaging opponents, trying to ease their fears and change their minds about Big Creek's work. It carries Mr. McCrary into places where most woodcutters dare not tread.

One such place is the University of California campus at Santa Cruz. On a recent Friday night, Dave Foreman, cofounder of Earth First!, is addressing several hundred students and forest activists. Mr. McCrary sits among them. "Howl with me now, howl for the wolf," Mr. Foreman implores. "Aaah-ROOO!" he cries. The audience also wails – except for Mr. McCrary. He scratches his thick white hair, watching in silence.

Up to the howling part, Mr. Foreman has been talking eloquently about the need to restore the lost paradise of primordial American nature – which, of course, would require severe logging restrictions. So when the howling fades, Mr. McCrary makes his way toward Mr. Foreman. "I own a logging company, and I enjoyed your speech," says Mr. McCrary. Mr. Foreman, who isn't accustomed to compliments from loggers, smiles and says: "Then, I'll have to get more radical." They talk about whether it is possible to log without wrecking the forest. They don't agree, but Mr. McCrary ends up inviting Mr. Foreman to tour Big Creek's operations – surely one of the few times a lumberjack has asked such a renowned eco-radical onto his lands.

The trouble around Butano Creek started in 1990, when Mr. McCrary began trying to log tracts in the area. He wasn't expecting a fuss. Big Creek had done some logging on the Butano without incident for several years as a contractor for Pacific Lumber Co. He had volunteered to put 378 acres of the land's old-growth trees in a conservation area, off limits to the saw. He planned to cut about four old trees an acre over three or four years.

Moreover, while the Butano woods are lovely, they aren't the dense weave of ancient trees at the heart of the West's timber battles. Except for the acres Mr. McCrary targeted for conservation, most of the old-growth habitat that once covered the land was wiped out by clear-cutting by other companies in the 1950s. What is left is mostly second-growth redwoods about 40 to 60 years old, with a few pockets of older giants. The area has no spotted owls. "We really didn't expect this kind of fight," Mr. McCrary says.

It started nonetheless. The Audubon Society, a fly-fishermen's group and Mr. McCrary's old friends at the Sierra Club banded together to challenge Big Creek in court, where forest defenders have scored big victories in recent years. The suit, filed in early 1991 in state court in Redwood City, Calif., alleged that Big Creek's logging would imperil the marbled murrelet, a reclusive and endangered seabird protected by state and federal law. In October of that year, a state judge dismissed the suit, citing a lack of evidence.

A few months later, a second suit containing most of the same allegations was filed in the same court. Biologists testified that no murrelet nests existed on the land and praised Big Creek's murrelet protections. State Judge Judith Kozloski ruled against the environmentalists, calling the case an "end-run" around the previous defeat. She ordered the plaintiffs

to pay Big Creek's attorney fees.

The real action, though, has been in the woods. Since last summer, Earth First! and other activists have bedeviled Big Creek with a tactic known as monkey wrenching. They have drained transmission fluid from Big Creek tractors. They have plugged padlocks with epoxy and quick-drying cement. An activist calling herself Three Sisters camped in one of Mr. McCrary's tall redwoods for six days in protest before she was hauled down. Others have handcuffed and chained themselves to logging trucks and to the sawmill main gate. Once, an exasperated Mr. McCrary, under the watchful eye of police, cut some of them loose with a blowtorch.

The court maneuvering and sabotage slowed Big Creek's cutting and added hundreds of thousands of dollars in costs from legal fees and additional security, Mr. McCrary says. The result: By late fall, facing a shortage of raw logs, Mr. McCrary, for the first time, cut back workers' hours and put his main sawmill on a four-day work week. In December, he closed the mill altogether. It has been shuttered since.

Now, as logging season looms, the Butano battle is flaring again: Big Creek is seeking approval from state forest regulators to log four old trees an acre on a different part of the property. Mr. McCrary says he needs the logs to reopen his mill. His opponents have bombarded timber regulators with complaints and threatened more lawsuits.

Some environmentalists think Mr. McCrary's critics are barking up the wrong tree – and may end up hurting the larger cause of forest protection. "Some people would rather fight than win," says the Nature Conservancy's Mr. Dempsey. "I admire these people's commitment and energy, but there are lots of villains in the forest. Bud's not among them."

Particularly puzzling to some of Mr. McCrary's supporters is the Sierra Club's role. The club's national leaders' proposals on logging reform have never called for a total ban on the cutting of old trees – in fact, they promote the kind of selective cutting Mr. McCrary has helped pioneer. Darryl Young, the club's legislative director for California, says the Butano is a special case. "We think Big Creek does a good job generally, but we don't think any old growth should be cut in the Butano," he says. "It's been ravaged in the past. . . . I'll admit that our position might seem contradictory."

Other Butano defenders offer more impassioned arguments. They contend that the Butano ecosystem was so badly abused by slash-and-burn cutting that it must be left untouched for decades if it is to recover. They worry that any new logging will trigger landslides that could clog Butano Creek, damaging steelhead spawning sites, and silt up Pescadero Marsh, a coastal wetland the creek spills into. Indeed, for years after the earlier logging, parts of the creek were plugged with dirt, twigs and debris. They insist that marbled murrelets do need the old trees proposed for cutting, and that other rare species – townsend big-eared bats, foothill yellow-legged frogs, sharp-shinned hawks – could be jeopardized, too.

Then there are the moral arguments. Many of Big Creek's opponents simply believe it is wrong to cut down trees, particularly older ones. They say at least 90% of the nation's virgin forests are gone; many creatures dependent on them are gone or endangered. "We have laid waste to the forests, exterminated species," says Mr. Barron. "These trees are living beings that loggers are killing, and that is manifestly wrong."

All this weighs on Mr. McCrary. He won't talk much about Big Creek's financial condition, but he clearly made a big stretch by buying the Butano tract for about $8 million. "We've got big payments to make," he says. "It's hard to make payments when you can't work much." Lately, he says, he has begun to think about maybe selling the Butano land, retiring to a life of hiking and building trails. But who would buy the land? The most likely bidders would be timber companies with deeper pockets, or housing developers. "Would that be progress?" he wonders aloud.

Mr. McCrary's mother, Agnes, wonders, too. She sits with Bud at her kitchen table, looking through old family photos. Some show parts of McCrary land almost bare of trees – not from logging but from natural forces like lightning-sparked fires, which in the days before modern firefighting techniques regularly leveled tracts of forest land. Those same lands today are covered with redwoods and Douglas firs.

She picks out a photo of a young Agnes, age five, standing next to a spindly redwood just about as tall as she was. Today that tree is 140 feet tall and 15 feet around. "McCrarys have taken good care of this land for a long time," she says. "It'd be awful sad to see that come to an end."

COLUMN LEFT/
ALEXANDER COCKBURN

LOS ANGELES TIMES

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

Compromise Kills Nature by Inches

■ The Oregon 'forest summit' could trigger destructive environmental trade-offs.

The new, improved style of American environmentalism is predicated on the trade-off, as brokered by big groups such as the National Wildlife Federation, by foundations such as Rockefeller or Pew that give money to these groups, by business and by government.

The theory of the trade-off is that inside every seemingly irreconcilable antagonism there's a dormant compromise awaiting the reviving kiss of the mediator. Downgrade the California gnatcatcher from "endangered" to "threatened," throw in some uplifting talk about an ecosystemic approach and Lo! Gov. Pete Wilson declares that the lamb has lain down with the wolf, or in this case the gnatcatcher is in the safe embrace of the coastal developer.

This union from opposing ends of the Great Chain of Being, brokered by Wilson and blessed by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, has been given the mediator's ultimate accolade: It is a "win-win" solution. The developer gets his teeth into coastal habitat and the gnatcatcher gets a bit of chaparral at the far end of a golf course, now called "open space." This is the kind of ecosystem a builder can live with. Whether the gnatcatcher can live with it is another matter entirely.

Sometime between tomorrow's "forest summit" in Portland, Ore., and early June, the Clinton Administration will offer a mix of executive orders and legislation addressing forest and timber issues in the Pacific Northwest.

The timber giants have both a short and a long-term schedule: Restrict the agenda to forests west of the Cascades, extort every last ounce of anti-environmental currency from the entirely bogus owls-vs.-jobs debate, demand the opening of tracts of national forest and the carving of roads to reach them. Above all, demand "sufficiency."

Sufficiency and *certainty* are words embodying the eternal dream of the corporate ravager—that once the Forest Service has signed off on the prospective "harvest" (another word that has been taken from us) the plan is immune to legal challenge.

In fact, the timber giants have already essentially abandoned or are preparing to abandon the Pacific Northwest, with its depleted forests and fractious environmental communities. For them, the new U.S. targets of opportunity lie in the Mississippi basin, on the west side of the Appalachians and in the South, where quicker-growing crops than redwood or Douglas fir can satisfy the demand for fiber, which, as the raw material for "structural construction products" is where the future lies.

'Sufficiency and certainty are words embodying the dream of the corporate ravager.'

On the other side of the fence are the defenders of the forests, who have their own schedule: Save the last of the ancient forest of the Pacific Northwest and ban log exports, whereby anywhere from a quarter to a half of all timber cut in the region is shipped across the Pacific, denying workers here the opportunity to earn the value added in making goods from the wood. The defenders also seek protection for ravaged forests east of the Cascades.

But outside this set of core demands there is predictable diversity, from the environmental Establishment through the spectrum to the Western Ancient Forest Campaign, Save America's Forests or the Oregon Natural Resources Council. Here we enter the shadow of the trade-off, where the Establishment groups cut the deals.

The Clinton Administration has been displaying zeal to assuage all parties. Clinton has had kind words for "sufficiency." Vice President Al Gore speaks of environmental stewardship in exalted terms. Babbitt says he looks forward to the Administration's "lifting the edges of injunctions" in order to provide timber for rural mills in the Northwest.

The timber industry and its sympathetic legislators in Congress, starting with Speaker Tom Foley of Washington, who killed off the Ancient Forest Act last year, have immense political clout. Timber money axed at least four forest defenders in Congress, so the Clinton folk are treading carefully, and trade-offs are on the table.

There are those who hope that the Portland summit will be followed by executive orders curtailing logging of old-growth trees west of the Cascades, designating critical watersheds and so forth. There are those who hope that there will be meaningful economic conversion assistance for timber workers and a serious attempt to consider the nation's forest resources, ecosystems and bio-regions.

The rhythms of the trade-off are antipathetic to such long-term vision. Trade-offs means a preserve here against the lifting of an injunction there, saving the west side of the Cascades at the expense of everything east, a bit of "sufficiency," some regulated pillage and, at the end of the day, the fragmentation of ecosystems in a fashion familiar to the beleaguered gnatcatcher, facing doom in its "win-win" scenario.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation and other publications.

GRANTS PASS, Ore. (AP) _ The Miller Redwood mill used to make plywood the old-fashioned way, with layers of veneer peeled from huge logs that took hundreds of years to grow.

But as the fight over the northern spotted owl and the Northwest's ancient forests has choked off logging of the forest giants, the mill has come up with a new product called DuraTemp, faced with a wood-grained hardboard sheet made of pressed sawdust.

"Clear veneers that primarily came from old-growth logs are history," said Gary Connolly, panel products sales manager for Stimson Lumber Co., which owns the mill north of Grants Pass.

When the northern spotted owl was brought under the wing of the Endangered Species Act in June 1990, the timber industry argued that the Northwest could have owls, or it could have jobs, but it couldn't have both.

Environmentalists countered that cutting the last of the old-growth forests that owls depend on for nesting and hunting would just delay an inevitable transition.

That owls vs. jobs gambit is no longer in play, as Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt made clear while touring Oregon mills and forests in preparation for President Clinton's forest conference Friday in Portland.

"Our forebears came west and set up a resource economy in an endless frontier," Babbitt said. "The empty spaces are closing in. We see our limits.

"It's not going to be like it was in the past. That does not mean we cannot make an investment in the future."

The transition has been tough.

In the three years the owl has been protected as a threatened species, Eugene, Ore., consultant Paul F. Ehinger has tallied 134 mills closing in the Northwest, eliminating the jobs of 13,500 mill workers and 3,500 loggers.

The survivors have been mills that converted to laser-guided saws and computerized lathes and found uses for everything down to the sawdust.

The growing power of the environmental movement, which has won lawsuit after lawsuit in the past three years, is not lost on the timber industry. It is much more interested now in embracing new kinds of forestry that don't rely on clear-cutting vast swaths of forest.

"The model we used for the last 20 years led us into a blind alley," said David Ford, vice president of the Western Forest Industries Association. "Rather than hit ourselves in the head, it's time to take a fresh look."

The segment of the timber industry that cuts logs on private land has actually profited from rising log prices brought on by short supplies. But the transition has been tough on people whose jobs are linked to logging in the national forests, run by the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

Douglas County Sheriff John Pardon told Babbitt that domestic violence in the county has risen 51 percent. Douglas County Commissioner Joyce Morgan told him relief organizations are handing out more food baskets.

Cris Blackert, a single mother who works at the Roseburg Forest Products plywood mill in Riddle, said five teen-agers have committed suicide in her home town of Myrtle Creek.

"The kids are scared," said Blackert, who says the tenor of her Sunday school class has changed. "I have gone from teaching the word of God to, 'Would you pray for my folks? They're fighting.' "

And scientists are pressing to reduce logging even more to protect other threatened species. So mill owners figure they'll do well to get half of the logs they used to from public lands, said Mike Shea, an analyst for Charter Investment Group in Portland.

Jeff Olson, an economist for The Wilderness Society, points out that the timber industry lost 26,000 jobs to automation in the decade before the owl was protected, and would be able to run for only 20 more years on the remaining old growth, if it wasn't protected.

"I tell my friends in labor they should consider the spotted owl their friend," said Andy Kerr, conservation director for the Oregon Natural Resources Council.

"Auto workers can't blame the spotted owl. Timber workers should politically use the spotted owl to get a better deal in the form of retraining, education, especially because we have a more sympathetic administration."

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USA TODAY • THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

KANSAS

TOPEKA — A legislative panel refused to recommend ratification of compacts that allow the Kickapoo and the Prairie Band Potawatomi Indian tribe to have casino-style gambling. The Legislature votes on the compacts Friday.

SOUTH DAKOTA

FLANDREAU — A tribal judge tossed out recall petitions against Santee Sioux tribal officers George Allen Jr., Cheryl Rederth and Gordon Jones Jr., saying no one can prove the signatures are valid. The three rejected a plan to build a motel near the Royal River casino.

Thursday, April 1, 1993

Environmental Groups Try to Stymie U.S. Aid For Russian OCS Work

By Nick Snow
Oil Daily Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — With most of the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) already off-limits to oil and gas leasing until the next century, environmental activists are setting their sights on stopping American aid to help Russia develop its offshore program.

Environmental groups have asked Congress to restrain any attempt by the Department of Interior's Minerals Management Service (MMS) to help Russia develop its offshore petroleum program.

"MMS is using funds to negotiate with the Russian government to encourage oil and gas development in the Chukchi and Bering Sea on the Russian side," said Dorothy Smith, atmosphere and energy campaign director for the Alaskan chapter of Greenpeace. "We believe this is a misuse of tax money at a time when the national goal is to reduce the federal budget deficit."

She also asked the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee earlier this week to order MMS to halt all federal OCS sales off Alaska's coast until

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Environmental...

(Continued from 1)

more comprehensive environmental impact information is developed.

An MMS spokesman said Wednesday that Russia has made four specific requests through the agency's Office of International Activities and Minerals (Intermar) for short-term training of regulators.

The training has involved royalty collection, leasing and pre-leasing program administration, and environmental and geologic studies, he said.

"It is entirely consistent with what President Clinton said two weeks ago about helping Russia run its energy programs better," the MMS spokesman said.

But Pamela K. Miller, who represented two Cook Inlet, Alaska, environmental groups before the House subcommittee, echoed Smith's assessment that federal OCS leasing in that state needs to be halted and re-examined.

"The oil and gas industry has not proven to be a good neighbor on the Kenai Peninsula. It has dumped millions of tons of hazardous waste on the land and into the water," she said.

Miller also asked the subcommittee to ban funding "for MMS to export its dubious programs and technology to Russia."

Other environmental and local government representatives asked the subcommittee to formally extend existing OCS moratoria despite the Clinton administration's stated commitment to not pursue leasing outside the Central and Western Gulf of Mexico.

"We'd like this committee to put the areas on hold to allow the administration a chance to fully review a program that has been plagued with controversy," said Lisa Speer, senior staff scientist with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

"This is not a lockup. It involves only one-quarter of the nation's oil and gas resources. The other three-quarters will remain available," she said.

The oil and gas industry acknowledges that MMS has modified its five-year leasing program to accommodate moratoria, according to Aston A. Hinds, environmental operations vice president for Baroid Drilling Fluids Inc.

Testifying on behalf of the National Ocean Industries Association, American Petroleum Institute and four other petroleum trade associations, he asked the subcommittee to increase funding for the MMS environmental studies program.

"The execution and full conclusion of these studies is important," Hinds said.

U.S. Will Test Burning as Spill Cleanup

But it Must Go to Canada to Light the Fire

Tampa, Fla.—The U.S. will participate in a full-scale test burn of oil in the ocean in early August, which "should establish (in-situ) burning as a safe counter measure" for dealing with large oil spills, according to a U.S. government official.

Edward Tennyson, project manager of oil spill response research for the Minerals Management Service, told a session of the 1993 International Oil Spill Conference that two test burns of 10,000 gallons each are scheduled to take place 25 miles off St. John's, Newfoundland. The U.S. Coast Guard and Canadian environmental authorities are cooperating with the test.

Much smaller controlled test burns have been held at facilities in the U.S., but Environmental Protection Agency officials have refused to grant a permit for a large test burn in the open ocean.

The August tests "will measure the emissions and physical parameters of a real burn," Tennyson said. "We really need to know the operational implications (of a large burn). How you do it, and what do you look for?"

MMS funded research on in-situ burning of spilled oil began in 1983. In a paper submitted to the conference, Tennyson said the research indicates burning spilled oil offers removal rates significantly above those of conventional booms and skimmers, and that preliminary data indicate that air quality impacts of burning compare favorably with the natural evaporation of the more toxic, lighter molecular compounds that normally occur near a spill.

Field verification is necessary to quantify the effects of scaling on health and safety issues pertinent to the responder and nearby populations, Tennyson said.

A second study presented to the conference concluded that burning offers a "logistically simple and highly efficient means of eliminating large quantities of oil quickly and cheaply."

According to a paper delivered by Alan A. Allen, with Splitec, a Washington state-based firm, burning provides spill response personnel with a control technique that has a broad range of applicability and requires minimal backup support.

The emissions associated with such burns "would represent insignificant contributions to the atmosphere even if a major burn were conducted every day... The issue really comes down to a balance of priorities among the people of a given region of potential oil spill impact. Decisions need to be made before a spill event on whether they want a short-term, minor impact to the air or a relatively long-term, potentially major impact to the shoreline."

Charles Corbett, a consultant to the International Assn. of Independent Tanker Owners, said at another conference session that dispersants are a "viable tool" for responding

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U.S. Plans Test Burn

(Continued from p. 1)

to oil spills and it's "time we go with it. We just haven't eliminated the political barriers to this potential tool."

Corbett said the Oil Pollution Act of 1990 clearly suggests that the use of dispersants should be given more consideration in the U.S. Their use should be encouraged where warranted, he said, and "preapproval under certain conditions should be standard operating practice."

He also expressed concern about members of Congress questioning the Coast Guard's decision not to require tankers to carry over-the-side spill containment and cleanup equipment. Requiring a tanker crew to deploy and operate such equipment can endanger the safety of ship and crew, Corbett said. "It just doesn't make sense, and we're kind of emotional about it," he said.—*Gerald Karey*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

White House Environmental Official McGinty Has Clout to the Dismay of Some Oil Executives

By TIMOTHY NOAH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – The day after President Clinton proposed his broad-based energy tax, a group of oil executives was ushered into the White House to be briefed by an administration eager to soothe. But when it was over, the 29-year-old official who presided had left some of them even madder.

The aide, Kathleen McGinty, was asked at the meeting why the energy tax on oil would be more than double the rate for coal and natural gas. Her blunt response was that oil imposes unique environmental and national-security costs on society. Afterward, some of the oil executives complained that listening to her was, as one put it, like listening to a college freshman.

Kathleen McGinty

What Ms. McGinty lacks in political tact she more than makes up in clout. Known to the president (and virtually everyone else) as "Katie," Ms. McGinty heads the new White House Office on Environmental Policy, which is quickly shaping up to be President Clinton's – and, perhaps more importantly, Vice President Albert Gore's – main clearinghouse on environmental matters. As such, she is one of the most powerful of the White House's "youth brigade" of 20-something policy aides.

It is not a pleasing prospect for some in industry, who view her as lacking in experience. "Katie McGinty is a cloistered acolyte of Al Gore," complains Kent Jeffreys, director of environmental studies for the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a pro-market group, partly funded by industry, that battles frequently with environmentalists. "She has no background or experience."

Mr. Gore, for whom Ms. McGinty previously worked as a Senate aide, praises Ms. McGinty's "great knowledge of the full range of environmental issues and the economic dimensions of environmental issues."

She sits on the National Security Council, the National Economic Council and the Domestic Policy Council, and could well play a more influential role on the environment than those who head the Environmental Protection Agency, the Interior Department and the Energy Department.

It is Ms. McGinty's office – not Interior – that is taking the lead in preparations for this week's "forest summit" in which environmentalists and timber industry executives will attempt to hash out their differences in discussion sessions to be attended by the president and vice president. She is also playing a key role in an NSC-directed comprehensive review of U.S. global environmental policies, which is expected to be completed next month.

Already, she has access that most cabinet secretaries can only envy; she talks to Mr. Gore at least once a day, and is said to meet frequently with the president.

Just recently, Ms. McGinty and Mr. Gore scored a major victory over the State, Justice, and Defense departments, when President Clinton decided against appealing a federal appeals court decision that for the first time extended jurisdiction of U.S. environmental law beyond U.S. borders. The decision concerned Antarctica, an international zone, but State, Defense and Justice argued that if unchallenged it could lead to broader applications on the high seas, in outer space and in other nations.

Ms. McGinty, who trained as both a chemist and an attorney before joining then-Sen. Gore's legislative staff fresh out of law school in 1989, is greatly respected by environmentalists. Liz Barratt-Brown, a senior attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, praises her intelligence and especially her unflappability, "which amazes me given how much pressure she has on her now."

Ms. McGinty has also won the respect of at least some industry figures. Isabelle Claxton, a lobbyist at Merck & Co., says Ms. McGinty offered strong support to negotiations Merck conducted with environmentalists and other drug firms over the international biodiversity convention, a treaty as yet unsigned by the U.S. placing guidelines on the commercialization of plant and animal life.

Thus far, however, Ms. McGinty has shown a greater mastery of environmental issues than of the politics surrounding them. The environmental group Greenpeace, for instance, is mad that she wouldn't meet with its protesters after Mr. Gore issued – and then backed away from – a written pledge that the Clinton administration would block the test burn of a hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio. Rick Hind, a legislative analyst at Greenpeace, accuses the administration of "deserting" its allies on the matter.

Then there is the meeting with oil interests over the energy tax. Not everyone blames Ms. McGinty for the hostile tone that quickly developed. Tony Sanchez, chairman of Sanchez-O'Brien Oil & Gas Corp., a Houston-based independent exploration company, says the real fault lay with Charles DiBona, president of the American Petroleum Institute, who insistently peppered Ms. McGinty and others present with skeptical questions about how the tax would work. According to Mr. Sanchez, Mr. DiBona was "rude" and made "sly remarks" at the meeting. "I thought it was very unbecoming," he says.

Mr. DiBona denies he behaved disrespectfully, saying only that he asked "a number of very direct questions" that Ms. McGinty and other administration officials had difficulty answering. Since the meeting, he says, the administration has modified its proposal in certain ways to address some of his concerns.

But he and his group were excluded, along with Mobil and a handful of other companies, from a subsequent administration meeting with oil-industry officials on the tax. An administration source says the decision to exclude them was made at the White House, but not by Ms. McGinty.

Asked about the omission, Ms. McGinty insists that Mr. DiBona and the others are all welcome. "It's only a matter of them picking up the phone and coming by," she says.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993 LOS ANGELES TIMES

Scientists Offer Tough Conservation Guidelines

■ Environment: State panel says 95% of coastal scrublands in Southern California should be barred from development in order to save imperiled species.

By MARLA CONE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN DIEGO—Ninety-five percent of the remaining sage scrub in Southern California must be spared from development for several years to guarantee the survival of the California gnatcatcher and other imperiled creatures, according to guidelines issued Wednesday by a state panel of scientists.

The stringent new guidelines set the framework for a novel state experiment in creating wildlife preserves for the gnatcatcher—a tiny songbird that the Interior Department declared a threatened species last week—and about 75 other birds, lizards, mammals and plants that share the gnatcatcher's habitat.

Local governments and developers are supposed to use the scientists' advice to launch the long, difficult process of planning permanent preserves for the rare wildlife. The idea of the program, created by Gov. Pete Wilson's Resources Agency, is to reach voluntary agreements to protect large mosaics of natural lands, focusing on the sage scrub homes of the gnatcatcher.

Dennis Murphy, a Stanford University wildlife biologist who chairs the state's 5-member scientific panel, said the scientists concluded that the condition of Southern California's natural lands "is as bad as it looks."

"It is very clear that coastal sage scrub is in trouble and needs protection," he said. "If we're only going to lose 5% more, I'd be one happy conservation biologist. But in fact I believe there will be pressures above and beyond that 5%."

Following the advice of the scientists is not mandatory.

But city and county officials will face pressure to follow it, since state and federal wildlife agencies have veto power. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has warned that the federal government will exert control over Southern California's development under the Endangered Species Act if the state program fails to protect the gnatcatcher.

Murphy said that ideally, not even one more acre of the habitat should be bulldozed, since it is already so depleted that species like the gnatcatcher are edging toward extinction. But realistically, he said, because development pressures are so intense in Southern California, a 5% loss is tolerable.

The clash over the shrubby habitat is intense because it grows in the same low-lying hills and mesas, some with commanding ocean or canyon views, that are coveted for building large housing subdivisions and other projects in Southern California.

Developers and environmentalists, who have been anxiously awaiting the scientists' guidelines, were guarded Wednesday in their reaction.

Several developers said they weren't alarmed at the

Please see SCRUB, B4

SCRUB: Panel Wants 95% of

Continued from B1

prospect of a temporary ban on developing virtually any of the remaining habitat. Because of the sluggish economy here, construction has been scaled back almost to a halt in Southern California.

"Nobody screamed mortal pain—not the developers, not the environmentalists. They screamed pain, but not mortal pain," Murphy said. "The fact that they're not screaming up front means that I think we have a percentage everyone can live with."

The scientists called their plan conservative—erring in the favor of wildlife.

They recommend that the 95% restriction remain in place until more data are collected and preserves are created—which they said could take three to six years. The idea, Murphy said, is to limit the damage until research determines which lands should be preserved permanently.

Environmentalists generally were pleased by the scientists' rules. Dan Silver of the Endangered Habitats League, a coalition of about 50 California environmental groups, called them "very strict and conservative."

They worried, though, that the scientists' advice might not be enforced by city and county officials who have the most immediate power to approve development.

"Who's going to say no to the big developers like the Irvine Co.?" said Ann Notthoff of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "There's

Land Set Aside

great flexibility in these guidelines. Is there enough teeth in them to mean there really won't be development on the highest value lands [for wildlife]?"

State officials running the program acknowledged that politics will mingle with science to eventually determine which lands are saved.

"Biologists say 'save it all and fix the rest.' But we're making trade-offs," said Tom Reid, a consultant to the California Department of Fish and Game, which is overseeing the state conservation program. "I'm not saying it's all politically negotiable. What I'm saying is we have now developed scientific tools for making these political decisions that provide guidance to local governments."

LOS ANGELES TIMES APRIL 1, 1993

Wilson Expected to Signal Change in Delta Water Policy

By DEAN E. MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Gov. Pete Wilson is expected today to end weeks of speculation about the direction of his year-old water policy by backing away from support for temporary environmental protections in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

The specifics of the governor's announcement, to be made at a news conference in Washington, were a closely guarded secret Wednesday. Wilson took several drafts of a letter outlining his new position—which one aide described as a "mid-course correction"—but had not settled on a final version, an Administration official said.

Several sources said, however, that Wilson's decision would mark a change in his policy on how to protect the delta environment. "It will change the process as we now know it," one Administration official said.

Wilson proposed the so-called interim delta standards a year ago in a major address touted by his staff, saying immediate protections for the estuary were necessary while a permanent solution to the delta's environmental and water-delivery problems was sought. The delta serves as a collection basin for two-thirds of the state's drinking water and is the primary source of irrigation water for

Please see DELTA, B4

DELTA: Change Seen in State Water Policy

Continued from B1

Central Valley farms.

The proposed temporary standards, fashioned by the State Water Resources Control Board, became a thorny political issue for the governor. Farmers and irrigation districts in the Central Valley complained that the standards would divert too much water to fish and wildlife, leaving thousands of agricultural acres with no source of water.

Agriculture lobbyists have placed "enormous pressure" on the board and the governor since a draft version of the standards was released in December, one high-ranking Wilson official said. The board, which has two vacant seats, has been split for weeks on an order that would adopt the standards.

In the meantime, the federal government listed the delta smelt as a threatened species—the second delta fish protected under the Endangered Species Act. Several Wilson Administration officials said the governor is concerned that the delta would become a regulatory labyrinth if the state imposes interim protections on top of new federal requirements under the endangered species law.

Under one option recommended to Wilson, the governor would delay any new state protections until federal and state officials coordinate their delta policies. Last month, Wilson wrote a letter to President Clinton asking for a meeting of senior advisers to discuss delta environmental and economic concerns.

Another scenario has Wilson asking the state board to undertake a complete environmental assessment of the proposed standards—a step demanded by urban water agencies as well as agricultural ones—before making a final decision. That could delay adoption of standards for up to two years.

A third option has Wilson requesting that the state board postpone a decision until he appoints two new members, a move that skeptical environmentalists equate to "packing the court" with safe votes.

Although he has no direct authority over the state board, the governor appoints its members and has traditionally enjoyed its cooperation on water policy issues.

Board member Marc Del Piero said Wednesday that the board has received no communication from Wilson and has not discussed what action it would take when and if it does.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Clinton's proposed energy tax wouldn't be paid by coal producers but instead would be collected from utilities when they use coal, under an expected revision in the proposal.

(Articles on Page A3)

* * *

EPA Proposes Rules On Water Pollution For Great Lakes Area

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON – The Environmental Protection Agency proposed regulations setting uniform water-pollution standards for states in the Great Lakes region.

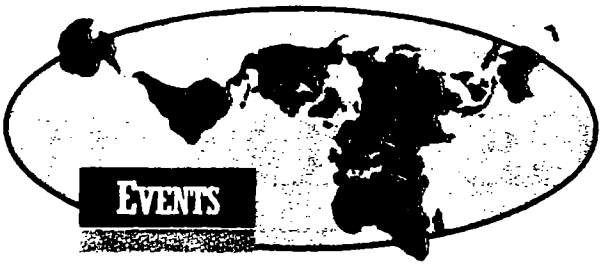
The eagerly awaited rules, which would be enforced by the states and, as a last resort, by the EPA, are designed to protect human, animal and plant life. Implementing them is expected to cost industries and municipalities that discharge water pollutants in the region $230 million, according to the EPA.

Among the industries likely to be hardest hit are paper, petroleum, chemicals and steel. Karen Neale, executive director of the Great Lakes Water Quality Coalition, which represents industrial and municipal dischargers of waste water, said she had "major concerns" with the initiative, which she said would bring "minimal improvement" to water quality while placing "very expensive" new burdens on industry.

But Rebecca Shriner, an activist with the National Wildlife Federation, hailed the release of the rules, which was delayed during the Bush administration, "as a victory for the public and the health of the Great Lakes."

The proposed rules, which will be published in the Federal Register, aren't expected to be made final for two years. Once in place, states would have two years to enact procedures in accord with the rules; if they don't act by then, the federal government will assume responsibility for enforcement. Under the proposal, violators would be punished by either the states or the federal government with fines of $25,000 per day per violation.

Under the proposed regulations, states would be directed to enforce limits on emissions of 20 pollutants that are threatening to human health, including mercury, dioxin, PCBs, and dieldrin. They will also set limits on 16 pollutants threatening to aquatic life, and four pollutants threatening to wildlife. Based on a preliminary survey of 50 plants, the EPA estimates emission reductions ranging from 30% for chlordane to 90% for copper, selenium and trichloroethylene.



CALL DROPPED TO RAISE LAND-USE FEES

Heeding Western senators, President Clinton has backed off his call for Congress to enact higher grazing and mining fees as part of his current budget blueprint. Mr. Clinton still wants to increase grazing fees on federally owned range lands and impose royalties on minerals extracted from public lands, but he will not insist that Congress hew to those proposals now, administration officials said Tuesday. Clinton's plan called for raising $48 million over four years by increasing grazing fees, and $471 million by charging royalties for gold, silver, and other minerals that private companies mine from federal lands.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

The Washington Times

OPM reports bonuses to outgoing officials

Bonuses to political appointees shot up to $386,000 in the waning days of the Bush administration, suggesting that the "spirit and purpose" of the awards program was skirted, according to a Clinton administration report obtained yesterday.

The Office of Personnel Management launched its study of "last-minute" bonuses to Bush appointees at President Clinton's request last month. The White House said the post-election surge in awards, first reported by the Associated Press, smelled "fishy."

The study, sent to Mr. Clinton this week, found that bonuses to political appointees totaled $386,000 from Nov. 1, 1992, to Jan. 31, 1993, compared with $102,000 during the same period a year earlier.

APRIL 1, 1993

THE NEW YORK TIMES

CLINTON'S UNSEEN GOVERNMENT

A tightly knit group of Clinton campaign veterans work at the White House without portfolio, without Government pay and without the legally binding inconvenience of being forced to abide by Government ethics rules. A16

Lawmakers Back Off on COLA Cuts

Only Federal Retirees Under 62 Would See A Decline in Benefits

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional negotiators yesterday pulled back from cutting the cost-of-living adjustments for millions of retired federal workers, approving a plan that reduced COLAs only for retirees under the age of 62.

The action, part of the fiscal 1994 budget resolution, could be revised in any number of ways as Congress begins detailed work on the budget over the next few weeks.

The COLA cutback would save $2.7 billion over five years, substantially less than the $8 billion originally sought by the House Budget Committee.

The new plan was a significant victory for lobbyists and unions representing civil service and postal retirees in a year when many Democrats are pushing for spending cuts as a way to reassure voters about President Clinton's economic package.

. . .

Budget Negotiators

. . .

The compromise budget plan also reflects a decision announced by the White House to drop a provision to raise mining, grazing and timber fees, a proposal that had drawn sharp fire from western Democrats.

. . .

The Washington Times THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

Pipeline owner finds more damage signs

By Maria Koklanaris
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Investigators yesterday said they found more signs of damage along sections of a pipeline that ruptured in Reston on Sunday, dumping 336,000 gallons of diesel fuel into a stream that feeds the Potomac River.

Officials of Colonial Pipeline, the Atlanta-based owner of the pipeline, said they found scars and dents on a section of the line about 40 feet from where the 42-inch rupture occurred. Earlier this week they found similar damage along the ruptured parts of the pipe.

They said the dents probably came from construction equipment hitting the pipe, and said the damage reinforces their earlier statement that the pipe probably broke because a bulldozer or backhoe once struck it.

"The damage is similar [to that found earlier]," said Sam Whitehead, a spokesman for Colonial. "We're still looking for more. We're going to uncover about an additional 300 feet."

A preliminary report on what caused the break should be ready in a few days from the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB). An 18-foot section of pipe, including the break, was removed from the ground behind the Reston Hospital Center yesterday and taken to an NTSB laboratory for analysis.

Mr. Whitehead said he hoped a new segment of pipeline would be installed by today.

When service is eventually restored, the U.S. Department of Transportation's Office of Pipeline Services has mandated a flow rate of 80 percent of the previous rate, which was nearly 550 pounds per square inch.

George Mocharko, lead investigator for NTSB, said the agency is trying to determine what heavy equipment might have been in the area of the pipeline burst. He said the agency would also look into whether that equipment might have belonged to Colonial.

Mr. Whitehead said the company has had no equipment in the area since it installed the pipe in 1980. He also said the pipe was inspected immediately after installation and was undamaged.

Colonial said yesterday it has removed 343,000 gallons of contaminated water from Sugarland Run, the Potomac tributary that bore the brunt of the spill, and from the area where the stream meets the river. About 70 to 75 percent — or 240,000 to 257,000 gallons — of the liquid removed was fuel.

It is not known exactly how much fuel is in the river itself, but an oily sheen is visible as far south as Charles County, Md. A Coast Guard official said yesterday the agency has placed booms designed to keep oil from reaching "environmentally sensitive" areas of shoreline in five new areas of the river.

They include the Mason Neck Wildlife Refuge Center in Lorton.

The most intense cleanup is near the Algonkian Regional Park in eastern Loudoun County, where the stream runs into the Potomac. Tens of thousands of gallons of oil are pooled there.

Colonial contractors and local, state and federal officials are using a 3,000-foot section of pipe to siphon out the fuel.

Rainy weather, expected last night and today, could hamper the cleanup by washing away some of the booms. But it could help the water situation in Fairfax County, where one of two treatment plants has been closed.

Water Authority officials said the rain could wash the oil on the Potomac far enough away from the plant to allow them to reopen.

CHERRY BLOSSOM FESTIVAL

Cherry Blossom Festival events are free unless otherwise noted. Call 202/646-0366 or 202/737-2599 for more information.

Today

■ **Noon to 2 p.m.:** Potomac River luncheon cruise on the Spirit of Washington. Buffet and entertainment. Pier 4 at Sixth and Water streets SW. Tickets are $25 and can be purchased by calling Sharon Ransom at 301/779-1047.

■ **6 p.m.:** Congressional reception for blossom princesses. Cannon House Office Building Caucus Room. A benefit for Children's Hospital, tickets cost $15 and can be purchased through Ticketmaster.

■ **6 p.m.:** Waterfront Cherry Blossom Splash, including a sushi demonstration, entertainment, food and dancing along the waterfront at Phillips Flagship.

Tomorrow

■ **6 p.m.:** Grand ball and banquet to choose the cherry blossom queen. Sheraton Washington Hotel, Woodley Road and Connecticut Avenue NW. Tickets are $75 and may be purchased by calling Peter Bonin at 301/565-2185 or through Ticketmaster.

Saturday

■ **9 a.m. to 5 p.m.:** Second Cherry Blossom Festival Regatta and the George Washington University Invitational Classic, Washington Harbor. Featuring 15 colleges and 50 crews from the United States and Japan.

■ **9 a.m.:** Invitational rugby tournament on the Mall at the Lincoln Memorialgrounds and West Potomac Park field. Features teams from across the United States and Canada. Runs through Sunday.

■ **Noon to 3 p.m.:** Festival parade runs west on Constitution Avenue from Seventh to 17th streets NW. For grandstand tickets, call the Jaycees at 202/726-1137.

■ **Noon to 6 p.m.:** Matsuri, a festival of Japan at Freedom Plaza, 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. Music, dancing, entertainment and food.

In addition, a number of concerts and exhibits will be happening all week, including:

Mainichi Shodo Exhibition, a Japanese calligraphy display at the Japan Information Cultural Center, Lafayette Center, 1120 20th St. NW.

Ishikawa Paintings, a showing of cherry blossom paintings by Yoshiko Ishikawa, National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1250 New York Ave. NW.

Noon concerts in the park at Farragut Square, Freedom Plaza. Blues, jazz, country and pop bands perform daily.

Riverside Baptist Church at Seventh Street and Maine Avenue SW will sponsor a series of music and arts performances throughout the week.

The Washington Times

NEWS SUMMARY

U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

Friday, April 2, 1993 A62

FOREST CONFERENCE SUPPLEMENT

Mesa Tribune April 2, 1993

Editorials

Battle over the forests

Averting crisis

President Clinton is taking the Green Team up to the Pacific Northwest today in hopes of simmering down the growing battle between environmentalists trying to save old-growth forests and the timber industry trying to save jobs.

In an accurate and honest assessment of his chances, Clinton says he probably will make everyone mad. And he probably will (with the exception of the congressional delegation from the Northwest, which is showing typical political gumption by staying away).

Environmentalists, worried that the last of the once-magnificent expanses of old-growth forests are threatened with extinction, are unlikely to view compromising on the subject with open arms. And people in the timber industry, which has been losing jobs like the aerospace industry, are more than suspicious of environmentalists. They're angry.

The conference, and much of the arguing and ire, will focus on the spotted owl. Its endangered status, and the subsequent closing of national forest acreage to protect its habitat, has been blamed by the industry for its layoffs, for higher lumber prices, for the economic slide in the region where lumber and logging have for generations employed thousands.

Some things both sides need to realize:

■ There is no constitutional guarantee that all children will be able to follow in their parents' footsteps. Because an industry is viable in one era, because it operates by certain rules during that time, that doesn't mean it will always be so.

If they chop down all the old-growth forests, which they seem intent on doing, the same thing will happen — they'll have to find other resources that are more renewable. Even if there were no spotted owl, even if no one tried to protect those forests, eventually the industry would have to come to this point. (Many of the lost jobs, by the way, are because of industry retooling and raw logs being shipped overseas, not endangered species.)

■ Environmentalists need to try to understand better the plight of the displaced workers in such a situation. When the livelihood of workers with skills in a

single industry is threatened, they are going to put the fate of their families first, and that's perfectly understandable. A little more compassion for these people's future, a less abrupt evolution or replacement of industry, would go a long way.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is developing a more holistic approach to endangered and threatened creatures that seeks to address problems before they reach this no-winners clash of immediate economics and endangered wildlife. It is an approach that should have been tried all along, but it requires that all interests give a little.

Crises arise when an ecosystem is allowed to deteriorate to the point that an entire species is threatened. Then it appears as if we side with some obscure bird or fish at the expense of vital, jobs-rich industry. The single-species approach has not proven successful enough at either preserving habitat or protecting economies.

We need to do a better job addressing both issues earlier, before insurmountable deterioration sets in. That allows changes in both habitat preservation and in industry operation to occur over time, rather than precipitously. That can help avoid the crisis mentality, the expensive legal hassles, the political wars, the us-vs.-them mentality.

The real battle is over preserving — for our long-range economic health — entire ecosystems. It's not the single creature that's important. Plants, animals, insects and, yes, humans, don't exist in a vacuum. They are interdependent. Sure, species have come and gone throughout time, but humankind has presided over a greatly increased evaporation of species and ecosystems and diversity in our domain, and that can come back to haunt us.

It's like pulling bolts willy-nilly off an airplane wing: it can stand having a few of them missing, but eventually the whole thing will come tumbling out of the sky, and there's nothing that can be done then to fix it.

It's unlikely that Clinton, Babbitt, et al, will be able to walk away with everyone shaking hands. Their approach, though, is the more logical and long-range than what has been attempted before, and it's heartening that they have the moxie, will and interest to take this on.

Rocky Mountain News April 2, 1993

Forestry summit in disarray as Clinton abandons reforms

By Gary Gerhardt
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Enthusiasm by Colorado's environmental community has soured for President Clinton's forest summit in Oregon today after he unexpectedly changed gears on grazing and mining rate increases.

Meeting with western senators this week, Clinton reportedly agreed to drop his proposal to raise grazing fees and mining royalties to gain support for his budget plan.

"Seven whining Democratic senators went into Bill Clinton's office expecting to get a pound of flesh and came out with a whole hog," said Tom Dougherty, western division staff director for the National Wildlife Federation.

Environmentalists generally felt Clinton's selection of Al Gore as his running mate and Bruce Babbitt as interior secretary was a signal of change.

Today's summit in Portland has been trumpeted as the "Super Bowl of Forestry," bringing together timber interests, environmentalists and government officials to determine the future of logging in the Northwest.

But when the president agreed to dump grazing and mining reforms, environmentalists felt betrayed.

"I'm appalled, sickened, shocked and disgusted," said Robert K. Turner, regional vice president of the National Audubon Society in Boulder. "It's a much bigger tragedy than simply grazing and mining issues."

He said while mining royalties and grazing fees aren't going to solve the national debt, "it's one of the '10,000 pieces of pain' all of us need to share if we're going to start balancing the budget."

Rocky Smith of the Colorado Environmental Coalition said he wonders how Babbitt feels about the president's reversal.

"Babbitt made some strong statements about the need to reform both grazing and mining," Smith said. "Now, if the president is backing off, I can't help but think Babbitt feels the president has cut off the limb he's on."

Dougherty says he no longer has a clue what's going to come out of the forest summit.

"I still feel it's long overdue, but if it's eye-wash, a facade to tell people they're doing something only to go to the backroom and cut a deal with minute factions of the U.S. Senate, what difference does it make?" he said.

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, VA
April 2, 1993
Page A-14

NORTHWEST SUMMIT

The forest political

Take an outfit like B.E.I.R.U.T., "Boisterous Extremists for Insurrection Against Republicans and Other Unprincipled Thugs." Put their four-letter fliers trashing President Clinton's upcoming "forest summit" up against timber interests who sport bumper stickers that proclaim SAVE A LOGGER, SHOOT AN OWL, and you don't got much procpoot for compromise or competence.

Cooler heads ought to prevail, and may. Northwest loggers are realizing that old-timber forests aren't a forever source of employment, and as much because of a changing timber industry worldwide as green power. And in California the other day, environmentalists came to an agreement, brokered in large part by Clinton Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, to save the gnatcatcher and portions of its habitat *and* allow residential development of other portions.

Today's summit brings before President Clinton, Vice President Gore, the secretaries of interior, agriculture, labor and commerce representatives of logging, labor and environmental groups long at odds in the owls-vs.-jobs debate. The preferable resolution: an owls-*and*-jobs solution. Whatever he decides, President Clinton has acknowledged, will make somebody mad.

Too true: Among the major issues is whether timber interests and labor can be "certain" that settled policy means settled; that is, even if the Clinton policy allows a modicum of old-growth cutting, will environmental groups be allowed to effectively overrule it by interminable lawsuits?

PRESIDENT CLINTON

Environment *and* economics are major concerns, short-term and long; must they so customarily be addressed as competing, never as complementary, each side denying the others any merit whatever? The endangered-species legislation is up for congressional review this year, its unchallenged, unaltered renewal no sure thing; nor should it be. Congress helped ensure this ongoing conflict; it ought to help resolve it. And if the dominion-over-the-Earth lobby has been myopic, the wildlife-at-all-costs lobby has too often bordered on misanthropic.

If the Clinton White House can move the debate beyond that zero-sum, winner-takes-all attitude, an administration whose watchword is change will have produced a most welcome one.

Arizona Republic April 2, 1993

Logging vs. owls coming to a head

By Steve Yozwiak
The Arizona Republic

SWEET HOME, Ore. — Flowering plum trees dab the emerald landscape with lavender here, where occasional logging trucks prowl through the heart of the Pacific Northwest's premier timber forests.

But the spring blossoms mask the dark thoughts of many of the 7,005 folks in this once-thriving mill city just as "scenic corridors" of Douglas firs along Oregon's rural highways mask a checkerboard of wide swaths cut out of Willamette National Forest.

"There's so many people out of work it's scary," said Kathi Stephens, who runs the American Family Video rental outlet in the center of the community while her husband, Tom, remains unemployed two years after losing his job as a woodcutter.

She worries that tensions between environmentalists and loggers will continue to escalate as the federal government tries to figure out how to prevent the extinction of wildlife, including owls, maintain rural logging economies and ensure the health of public forests.

The issues are at the heart of a daylong conference today in which President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore will meet with loggers, scientists and environmentalists at the Oregon Convention Center in Portland.

The issues are of particular interest to Arizona, where the listing of the Mexican spotted owl as an endangered species just last month has touched off fierce debate about the future of forests and rural economies. The owl also was listed in New Mexico and in portions of

— See LOGGING, page A11

The Associated Press

Logging vs. owls coming to head in Clinton visit

— LOGGING, *from page A1*

southern Utah and Colorado.

In Oregon, where a parallel situation has existed for about three years now, "nobody's got hurt physically yet. But it's coming," said Kathi Stephens, who has lived and worked in the west-central part of the state for two decades as she and Tom reared six children.

Federal-court orders have locked up such large tracts of public and private lands that many fear there soon will be no more cuttable trees.

Three of the seven mills run by Willamette Industries have closed in the past five years.

Folks in Sweet Home blame their troubles on the owls, on the 1973 Endangered Species Act and on what they perceive as inaccurate propaganda from radical socialist preservationists.

Environmentalists' defense

Environmentalists claim that a greedy timber industry, poor forest management under the Reagan-Bush administrations and political pressure by Democratic congressional leaders resulted in a rape of federal forests over the past decade.

They say jobs are being lost because one of four trees felled in the Northwest is being exported to Asia and because erosion damage from clear-cutting has harmed salmon fisheries.

Loggers doubt those estimates of exported logs, and they say the decline in salmon is due to off-shore foreign fishing and increasing populations of seals and other sea mammals.

Environmentalists maintain that only 10 percent remains of the Northwest's ancient forests — those areas yet untouched over the past two centuries by ax or chain saw.

These old-growth forests under debate are considered the prime habitat of owls and other threatened species, but they also are home to the last of the giant trees coveted by the timber industry.

The conference is widely seen as a precedent-setting effort that could shape federal forest policy nationwide as more species are pushed to the brink and local economies are strained.

Quick fix feared

But many view it as too limited in scope and geared toward a quick fix of the problems west of the Cascade Mountains of Oregon and Washington.

In Portland on Tuesday, a coalition of 22 environmental groups petitioned the U.S. Forest Service for a halt to the logging of all old-growth forests in the more arid eastern side of the Cascades.

The move has possible implications for Arizona, because the eastern side of the Cascades includes stands of old-growth ponderosa pine, which environmentalists contend are rapidly disappearing in the Southwest, too.

"There is no west-side solution that can stand by itself," said Nathaniel Lawrence, an attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, which led the petition effort.

"The forest ecosystem is in collapse, and something has to be done about it."

In Eugene, Ore., Brian Hunt, spokesman for the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics, said he fears that if the Clinton-Gore conference fails to take a national perspective, the limits on logging in the Northwest could prompt the Forest Service to seek higher timber-sales volumes elsewhere.

Might affect Southwest

"There's the threat that the volume will be displaced to other parts of the country, including the Southwest," said Hunt, whose group consists of 2,000 current and former Forest Service employees fed up with what they see as the agency's cozy relationship with timber firms.

"The Forest Service has been an accomplice to this crisis," Hunt said.

South on Oregon 20 from Kathi Stephens, Sweet Home Forest District Ranger Rolf Anderson spreads out maps of the 1.7 million-acre Willamette Forest, which runs for 100 miles through northeastern Oregon on the rainy western slopes of the Cascades.

Since World War II, it has produced the highest percentage of timber sales of any national forest in the United States, said Anderson, who has worked in this region since 1976.

During the 1980s, Anderson was the forest's land-management planning officer, responsible for a 1990 plan that proposed to set aside up to 2,000 acres of habitat for every pair of nesting northern spotted owls.

But Anderson's plan was overridden by an interagency scientific committee composed of Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management

and National Park Service personnel.

Larger areas needed

The committee concluded soon after the northern spotted owls were listed in 1990 that larger areas of habitat were needed to support upward of 20 pairs of owls. These larger areas would allow fledglings room to forage and disperse once they left their nests.

Anderson's maps now include thick yellow lines surrounding 10 tracts of up to 40,000 acres each set aside for the Willamette Forest's 400 to 600 owls.

Two such tracts cover more than half of the lands previously opened to logging in his Sweet Home Ranger District.

"It's the epicenter of the spotted owls," Anderson said of that area.

Asked what he hopes comes from today's forest conference, he pointed to the yellow circles.

"I think the answers are there," he said. "Large areas preserved from timber harvest."

Down the road from the ranger station, John Kunzman is working to rebuild his South River Saw and Marine, a business that supplies loggers and mills with everything from brooms to logging cable.

The "and Marine" part of his business was added just three years ago after the declining timber industry forced him to diversify into boat sales.

Change of heart

"We sat out here fat, dumb and happy, providing the rest of the country with the American dream — a home," said Kunzman, a founding member of the Oregon Land Coalition, a pro-logging group.

"But we found out there's an ocean out there, and the ocean doesn't grow trees," said Kunzman, who also is president of Communities for a Great Oregon, one of dozens of pro-logging groups that have sprung up throughout the Northwest in recent years.

"We did it (the cutting) because the demand for the product was so great, and nobody said, 'Hey, what about the environment?' "

Kunzman now says that the forests were cut too much, that cutting will never return to the levels of the late 1980s, that clear-cutting should end, and that communities such as Sweet Home should never again allow themselves to put their economic eggs in one basket.

"We are under a heavy, almost moral imperative"

President Clinton

Clinton pledges unified stand

■ The president says the government will speak with one voice in seeking a solution to the Northwest forest impasse

By KATHIE DURBIN and JEFF MAPES
of The Oregonian staff

The federal government has a moral obligation as well as a political responsibility to solve the Northwest forest impasse, President Clinton said Thursday in Portland.

In an exclusive, hourlong interview with The Oregonian's editorial board on the eve of the Northwest Forest Conference, the president and Vice President Al Gore reaffirmed their intention of finding that solution. They said they would begin by making sure the administration speaks with one voice.

"I think virtually everyone in our administration believes that we are under a heavy, almost moral, imperative to try to come to a position for the United States government," Clinton said. "There is something very disconcerting about having people here or anywhere ask where their government stands, and we give them five different answers."

Both Clinton and Gore said they were heartened by signs that people in the Northwest want a truce in the timber wars.

"I have been tremendously impressed with the statements by people on all sides of all the related controversies that all seem to point in the direction of healing and balance and movement," Gore said.

Clinton admitted that the stakes are high in the process that will begin with Friday's daylong symposium on the forest conflict.

"It's sort of a high-risk thing, because people have their hopes vested in it, and we don't want to dash those hopes," he said.

But he said he hoped the town-meeting approach he used during his presidential campaign — bringing together

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■ Continued from Page One

people with diverse views to listen to one another and to address their government directly — will be an effective tool in the Northwest's longest-running environmental dispute.

"The prospect that that might actually be used as a method of governing ... is quite exhilarating," Clinton said. "I believe that the economic summit that we had in Little Rock ... helped a lot, not only in development of the economic plan but in building support for it."

Although neither Clinton nor Gore offered specifics on the shape a solution might take, the president said that letting the courts decide issues affecting a region's whole economy is no way to make policy.

"We have to break out of the debates that have been framed for us by the fact that these cases have been brought to the courts," Clinton said.

Instead, he said, citizens of the Northwest must decide what kind of economic and ecological future they want for their region — including how much old-growth forest should be saved forever — and the solutions must flow from that vision.

"We've got to think about these bigger questions and try to come up with a big plan for the long run and then work back to the specific questions," Clinton said.

On another Western environmental issue, Clinton and Gore insisted that they had not caved in to lobbying pressure by removing from the administration's proposed budget an increase in the federal grazing fees and the first-ever federal royalties on minerals.

Gore called that a "complete misunderstanding of what happened," and Clinton said the administration would still pursue the changes through regulations and other congressional action.

The president said Western senators had convinced him that the increases — which have been staunchly opposed by ranchers and miners

President Clinton responds during an interview Thursday with The Oregonian editorial board.

MICHAEL LLOYD/The Oregonian

— should be pursued in other forums, where the changes could be more carefully considered.

In the end, though, Clinton said he thought the administration would develop a new policy that would reward ranchers and miners for more environmentally sound practices, while also bringing in more money to the federal Treasury.

"We think we've got the votes for mining-law reform and for grazing-law reform," Clinton said.

In the tradition of vice presidents, Gore also used the interview with the editorial board to take a partisan jab at Oregon's two Republican senators, Mark O. Hatfield and Bob Packwood, for joining with other GOP senators to block passage of the president's $16.3 billion economic stimulus plan.

"Senator Packwood and Senator Hatfield voted in favor of gridlock today," Gore said. "I hope that the people of Oregon will tell them that this president deserves a chance to put new policies into place and stop the gridlock they are continuing to support."

Republicans are threatening to filibuster against the jobs package, arguing that it is loaded with pork-barrel projects that will worsen the federal deficit.

But Clinton countered that he was supporting the very approach that Republicans once favored by proposing federal grants that local governments can decide how to spend.

The president also noted that the world's wealthiest countries all are having trouble creating new jobs, and that he hoped to produce fruit with his proposals to improve job training and to invest in key areas of the economy.

Clinton, who will travel to Vancouver, British Columbia, on Saturday for a two-day meeting with Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, also brushed aside criticism that the United States was too closely aligned with the embattled Yeltsin.

Clinton said it would be counterproductive for the United States "to go around like with a lantern in the dark, just trying to turn over a rock to find somebody else to say, 'Well, he'd be fine,' or 'She'd be all right.' "

"We need to play the cards that are on the table," the president added, "and stick with someone we know who has demonstrated real personal courage."

The president also defended his policy reversals on Haiti, saying he wanted to prevent a mass exodus from the island that could overwhelm nearby states and lead to thousands of drownings among Haitians trying to flee the impoverished country.

Clinton charged that the federal government had "shafted the states of this country that have disproportionate immigrant burdens" and that he was moving in the budget to give more aid to those states.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Light in the forest

Between loggers and owls, the right side belongs to science

Most people, President Clinton told The Oregonian's editorial board Thursday night, "are truly tired of fighting this battle in the framework in which they've been fighting it."

That wrong framework, as the president grasps, is seeing the fight over the Northwest's forests in terms of jobs vs. owls.

The right one combines the scientific understanding of nature, the management of natural resources and the public expectation of what that management will produce.

For the federal forests of Oregon and Washington, the political system's inability to build that framework has paralyzed the management of federal forests west of the Cascade Range and brought death to much of the federal forests east of the mountains. The spotted owl didn't cause that problem; the bird's threatened status and the ensuing controversy reflected it.

Clinton's Northwest forest conference Friday in Portland offers a new beginning toward a responsible and effective federal forest-management policy. Only a beginning, though, because the real test will come when Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and their aides and Cabinet members take what they hear at the conference, blend it with expert opinions from elsewhere and produce a unified administration policy.

There are two reasons for hope that this time the effort to break the gridlock on the forests will succeed. One is the amazing amount of attention and study the problem has received from the top levels of the administration. This conference draws not only the president and vice president but four Cabinet-level officers.

The second is the wide variety of viewpoints the administration will receive firsthand. Any credible resolution of this problem has to start with a recognition of how complicated it is, how many ways people and their values are affected.

The Oregonian's testimony on the Northwest forest problems has appeared in uncounted news articles and more than 100 editorials over the past several years. Looking through those editorials is a study in frustration and failed expectations.

We still urge a forest policy based on scientific understanding of natural processes. "Processes" is an important idea for Clinton and Gore and their people to take from this conference, because the forest argument too often seems to be about things - things like old-growth, or owls, or timber, or jobs.

But nature is a series of complicated processes that any valid policy must protect. Do right by the processes and you'll go a long way toward doing right by the things.

To do that, we must manage the whole forest ecosystem rather than each species individually. That management must make scientific sense, not just reflect political compromises.

"We have to come out with a big plan for the long run," Clinton said, "and then work back to the specific questions."

The gap between science, management and public expectations can be closed. It will be a difficult undertaking and in ways a painful one. But on a new framework, it can be an ultimately productive one.

That framework must be built on science. We've spent too long pretending otherwise.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

PR factor looms large at forest meeting

■ The Portland conference may be as important as a tool to educate the public as it is for its problem-solving potential

ANALYSIS

By DON HAMILTON
of The Oregonian staff

WASHINGTON — When President-elect Bill Clinton held his economic conference in Little Rock, Ark., in December, the two-day event had importance beyond the ultimate results.

That may well hold true Friday in Portland, when Clinton, now president, convenes his Northwest Forest Conference, bringing all sides together to look for a solution to the long-running dispute over management of old-growth forests in the Northwest.

The event in Little Rock was a curious format, a hybrid of education and politics, an exercise in the president-elect as the nation's civics instructor. It was part seminar, part public relations, part grass-roots democracy and a little bit of showing off. The format allowed Clinton to demonstrate his extensive command of issues while trying to build a consensus by bringing as many different people into the dialogue as he could.

The Portland meeting promises to be similar. The scientists, timber executives, environmentalists and local politicians the president has invited will have a chance to speak. The president will have his own remarks.

Like the Little Rock meeting, the Portland event has brought twists in terminology. Both were dubbed summits at first, but then changed to conferences. A summit, White House officials said, suggests results at the end of the day. Any results from Portland, they're quick to say, won't be found for several months.

Significant differences, though, can be found between the Friday conference and the Little Rock sessions. Clinton wasn't president then and, despite the topic, the atmosphere wasn't as politically polarized as what he'll find in Portland.

How this process will affect the final package of timber legislation isn't clear. Academics and administration officials said they couldn't really gauge the impact the Little Rock meeting had on Clinton's final budget plan, released in February.

But, said Henry Aaron, a fellow with the Brookings Institute, that may not be the most important point.

"It was high-level public relations," Aaron said. "This was a president who received 43 percent of the vote showing his intelligence and mastery of an issue. And it was a smashing success. But I tend to doubt it had any impact on policy."

Also unclear is the extent to which these sessions change Clinton's thinking.

"It's debatable how much he's swayed," said Ann Bennett, instructor in American politics at the University of Arkansas. "He's trying to keep an open mind. There's a desire to be a consensus-builder, making people think they have a voice. He's trying to be a good president."

The importance of bringing the public along in the process is crucial, Aaron said.

But this is also a method that the public could grow tired of and should be used judiciously, he added.

Bennett finds the roots of these meetings in the threads of Clinton's 1960s ideology. These conferences, she said, resemble the teach-in, an academic tool used a generation ago on college campuses to study civil rights and the Vietnam War.

James A. Thurber, government professor at American University, thinks these conferences fit Clinton's temperament perfectly. He is, he said, a combination of Lyndon Johnson's ability to schmooze and Jimmy Carter's intellectual curiosity. These conferences, he said, are an extension of Clinton's efforts to take his issues directly to the public.

"This president has a strategy of going above the heads of the Cabinet and the media to build grass-roots support for his ideas and to find out what's acceptable for the controversial issues," Thurber said. "He likes politics, he likes governing, and he likes solving them."

Thursday evening in Portland, Clinton verified that he sees such gatherings as a good governing tool.

"The prospect that it might be used as a method of government is quite exhilarating," he said. "The economic summit helped a lot, not only in the development of the economic package but in our understanding of the issues involved."

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Opponents on forests differ on prospects

■ Environmentalists are more skeptical of the Northwest Forest Conference's potential than are timber interests

By FOSTER CHURCH
of The Oregonian staff

Opposing sides in the war over the woods communicated by dueling news conferences Thursday.

But environmentalists who backed President Clinton during the election sounded distinctly more skeptical of the potential for his Northwest Forest Conference, while industry workers held out hope for constructive action.

"Mr. Clinton is a master of politics of process," said Jay D. Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation. "And whether there is any substance to come out of this process, we will not know until tomorrow evening at sundown. We will know in a few weeks back in Washington, and I'm a cynic enough to believe that what we are going to see is politics as usual. I hope I'm wrong."

Hair was joined at a news conference by National Audubon Society president Peter A.A. Berle and Karin Sheldon, president of The Wilderness Society.

They agreed that while they were ready to help beleaguered timber communities retrench and retrain, they weren't about to give up more old-growth timber to be processed in mills.

"This is not a regional economic issue," Sheldon said. "This is a central social dilemma about what we are going to do about the remaining 10 percent of the landscape that defined us."

Hair sharply criticized Clinton for backing off on earlier proposals to raise grazing fees and charge royalties on mining on Western federal lands.

"What kind of started out like a love affair, quite frankly now is feeling more like date rape, and we are unhappy about that," Hair said.

Environmentalists also strongly opposed any limitations on court challenges of timber sales and came down hard against log exports.

"We can no longer be a woodlot for Japan and other nations," Sheldon said.

But at another news conference, three timber community activists who will participate in the conference talked more about the jobs that come from harvesting than about landscape.

"If we don't have resource extraction and we don't have manufacturing in America, we don't have an economy," said Larry Mason of Forks, Wash., whose family sawmill closed in 1990.

Mason said the environment should not be destroyed to stabilize the economy. But he added, "We've got to find a way to go into the forest with the environmentalists, with the scientists, with people like us who have intimate experiential knowledge of the dynamics of the forest."

Mason said that any solution should create and protect jobs and not simply retrain workers for service industries.

"We are willing to do things completely differently," he said. "Whatever it takes, we will do it. But there's got to be a job."

Environmentalists stressed that forest protection was a national issue that should be solved nationally, while the industry side said workers see more and know more about the forests than scientists and bureaucrats.

"I would like to see government listen to the people who live in the forest," said Nadine Bailey, a Northern California activist. "We've got to get back to the ground and get into those drainages."

Workers also sounded much more optimistic than environmentalists about Clinton's leadership.

"We feel he has kept his promise to make this a presidency that listens to everyone," Bailey said.

And Mason said what is needed now is a well-defined direction.

"What we need is a plan, not rhetoric, not strategy," he said. "We've got to find something that works, and when our president asks us to work, we roll up our sleeves."

Oregonian April 2, 1993

On timber, Clinton's chips are down

By DAVID SARASOHN
Associate Editor, The Oregonian

Actually, Friday's timber summit could be a good warm-up for President Clinton's weekend meeting with Boris Yeltsin.

In both cases, he'll be talking to people trying to keep their jobs.

And in both cases, the revolution isn't going to stop. There is about as much chance that the timber industry won't change dramatically as that Yeltsin will return to the Kremlin and find Leonid Brezhnev there.

SARASOHN

So far, Clinton's greatest advantage has been that he understands that. George Bush pretended that he didn't.

"We have to decide," Clinton told The Oregonian editorial board Thursday night, "what we want Oregon, on both sides, to look like in five or 10 years, what we want Washington, on both sides, to look like, what we want Northern California to look like, and then work backward."

Up to now, federal timber policy has been backward in a different way.

Last fall, Clinton attended his first forest talks in Oregon, and his entire audience consisted of fewer people than Friday's valet-parking staff.

But if what Clinton said then still holds, this summit could actually lead upward.

Sept. 15, Clinton met with half a dozen current and former loggers in a back yard in Springfield, with TV lights hung in the linden tree and the next-door garage turned into a campaign press-and-pizza center. The current loggers worried that they might soon become former, and the former ones seemed less aggrieved than relieved.

Clinton took it all in, in his unique posture that might be called "aggressive listening." He skipped by the requests for specific commitments, and talked about what people who worked in the forests had the right to expect from their government.

He pointed out, for example, how useful it would be if all the federal agencies making forest policy understood they were working for the same government. It's entertaining when the Bureau of Land Management makes faces at the Fish and Wildlife Service, but it doesn't seem to help the land, the fish or the wildlife.

Unless you consider lawyers wildlife.

"I am determined to break this logjam," declared Clinton. "You're entitled to have all the federal agencies on the same side."

But after that, all he would promise was that the inevitable changes coming would be managed -- and that people who lost jobs in the process would get some help.

"If national policy puts you out of a job, then national policy should put you back into one," Clinton declared sweepingly — a statement that interest not only the woods but also coal mines and defense plants. "If they want to rebuild a forest, they can put a lot of people to work rehabilitating the forest they want to set aside."

Of course, nobody knows what those jobs would pay, and when they might show up. Clinton's comments weren't exactly what his lawn-chair panelists hoped to hear —afterwards, they weren't saying who they'd vote for — but the change wasn't news to anybody there.

The spotted owl is only the latest thing to hack away at logging jobs. There's also automation, salmon, fast-growing Southern forests and the reality that the old growth is going -- either now or a few years later. Even during the cut-everything-that-doesn't-move '80s, when the chain saws were in overdrive, the number of people actually working in the woods dropped sharply.

"I can't promise," said Clinton, "to make things the way they were."

At just about that moment, before a timber audience in Medford, George Bush promised just that. In his only Oregon appearance — a Bush speech in Portland would have needed more security than the World Trade Center -- the president attacked the Endangered Species Act and insisted that there was lots more timber to cut.

It was an intoxicating appeal. Bush lost Oregon in a landslide, but he carried the timber towns.

But today, there seems to be more of an understanding that the changes aren't going to stop, that the federal courts aren't going to order the spotted owl to be fricasseed.

The things that Clinton promised last September -- consistency from the federal government, a level of timber cut that the industry can count on, help for the people and places that are going to get overrun —would provide a good place to start.

Thursday night, Clinton again promised to "let all agencies know that when this meeting is over, they can expect the federal government to have a position - not five or six positions."

One position isn't a bad starting position.

"It's terrible," one former logger sitting under the linden tree told the Democratic presidential candidate, "not to have a future to look forward to."

Clinton has promised to give the woods a future but it's not going to look much like the past.

And working it out could be about as tough as retraining Boris Yeltsin.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Can one day of talk resolve five years of bitter fighting?

Administration will need wisdom, patience to sort out complex forest issues

By EDWARD FLATTAU

The Northwest Forest Conference will be a supreme test of President Clinton's skills in conflict resolution.

This longstanding, complex controversy has generated such strong emotions and a bewildering maze of claims and counterclaims that it's hard to imagine anyone mediating a compromise in the course of a day.

FLATTAU

Yet that is precisely what Clinton and Vice President Al Gore hope to do when they convene the summit in Portland and invoke the collegial process that has served them so well in the past.

They will be hearing from timber industry executives, lumberjacks, environmentalists, federal officials and other concerned citizens, many of whom cannot even agree on precisely what they are arguing about.

It's difficult to reach an accord on what percentage of old-growth forest in the Pacific Northwest should be declared off-limits to chain saws when there's no unanimity regarding just how much ancient woodlands are left.

The industry maintains that there are 7.5 million acres of federal old-growth forest left in the Pacific Northwest, with 4.2 million acres officially protected.

Environmentalists insist that only 3.8 million acres remain, of which a mere 900,000 have been set aside for posterity.

These gaping discrepancies stem from different definitions of old growth.

Loggers and the U.S. Forest Service consider tracts with many mature and overmature trees to be old-growth forest, regardless of whether any harvesting has occurred.

Environmental organizations have excluded from old-growth classification any areas that display logging scars and lack the diversity of foliage endemic to virgin forests.

If you think these conflicting viewpoints can lead to confusion, you've seen nothing yet.

The timber companies charge that protection of the threatened Northern spotted owl, as well as other environmental restrictions on tree cutting, are responsible for the recent record 70 percent jump in lumber prices. Industry spokesmen warn that the price explosion threatens the economic well-being of the nation, not to mention that of home builders and buyers.

Environmentalists retort that when inflation is taken into consideration, wood prices are lower than they were 15 years ago. Such mainstream environmental organizations as the National Wildlife Federation and Wilderness Society refer to a just-published Congressional Research Service report that concludes the lumber price run-up in the past two months has been sparked primarily by the nation's economic recovery, normal seasonal fluctuations and panic buying in response to industry's dire predictions of shortages. The study blames harvest reduction due to environmental restraints for 10 percent of the price increases at most.

But the dispute doesn't end there.

To demonstrate the absence of any significant relationship between timber prices and the owl, environmentalists note that 90 percent of lumber used for home construction comes from woodlands free of any ancient-forest cutting prohibitions. Moreover, they contend that owl protection applies to less than 1 percent of all federal forestlands.

In this bewildering contest of shifting definitions, the logging interests reply that their access to timber on both public and private lands has been severely constrained by environmental laws, and thus, has pushed up lumber prices. They assert that nearly half of the inventory of standing softwood timber available for harvesting is on public lands, and that approximately a quarter of the saw timber purchased in 1992 came from that same source.

Environmentalists ask if the owl is such a catalyst for higher lumber prices, why didn't the cost of timber soar when the bird was officially designated as threatened and certain portions of its national forest habitat subsequently enjoined from being logged?

Industry replies that prices did spurt upward (but only momentarily after which they rapidly declined).

By now, you've got the picture. The exchange of charges and countercharges seems interminable.

Clinton and Gore will need the patience of Job and the shrewdness of Solomon as they wade through the welter of conflicting evidence submitted at the forest conference.

Working in our leaders' favor is that all of the concerned parties are tired of battling each other and want out.

What remains unanswered is whether the competing interests are capable of putting more than five years of acrimonious conflict to rest in a single day of deliberation.

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Edward Flattau has been writing his Global Horizons environmental column from Washington, D.C., since 1972.

Forest conference reaches harvest point

■ The players are assembled, and though nothing new may be said, the dynamics of the economic and environmental issues will change

By KATHIE DURBIN
of The Oregonian staff

The sound and fury surrounding President Clinton's one-day Northwest Forest Conference reaches crescendo Friday.

An event that Clinton promised almost casually during last fall's presidential campaign has blossomed over the past three weeks into a Northwest extravaganza, with concerts, rallies, vigils, briefing books and news conferences.

It also has drawn tens of thousands of rural residents, environmentalists, reporters and hangers-on to Portland. Virtually no one is willing to predict the outcome, however.

"This is the president's show," said Forest Service biologist Jack Ward Thomas, whose name has become synonymous with the science of old-growth forests and northern spotted owls. "I don't want to prejudge what's going to happen."

President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore arrived at the Oregon Air National Guard Base at the Portland airport on separate planes Thursday, shortly after 5 p.m.

A patient crowd of more than 75 people waited more than an hour in the cold and rain to see the arrival. They huddled in their coats and under umbrellas, clutching their small cameras and camcorders.

Larry Boitano was invited by a friend who worked on the base to watch the arrival of Air Force I and Air Force II. But the pomp and circumstance accompanying the presidential visit was overshadowed by the harsh realities of the Northwest timber crisis.

A Portland homebuilder, Boitano has 25 to 30 homes under construction, and he has helplessly watched as prices for finished lumber have skyrocketed in the last year. He said he had lost $100,000 to the price increases recently.

"When you take a hit that big . . . you go back on the water diet," Boitano said.

Clinton and Gore, both wearing blue suits and crimson ties, greeted about 15 dignitaries who waited in a light rain on the tarmac. Gov. Barbara Roberts gave the president a gold box of flowers, and state Rep. Margaret Carter, D-Portland, drew a big laugh and a high five from the Arkansas Democrat.

In a brief news conference, Clinton said he had returned to Oregon to keep a campaign promise.

"On behalf of the vice president and myself, we are delighted to be in Oregon, back in the Pacific Northwest fulfilling our commitment, made in the campaign, to come out here to try to hammer out a balanced solution to the difficult problem we'll be discussing tomorrow," Clinton said. "I appreciate the many thousands of people who have agreed to be a part of this, and I'm really hopeful that we can get something done."

Afterward, he and Gore left for the Benson Hotel in downtown Portland.

Meanwhile, in nearby Tom McCall Waterfront Park, about 50,000 people were listening to music by Carole King, David Crosby and Neil Young.

Environmentalists had organized the concert hoping to add a festive note to the parade of news conferences they have held during the

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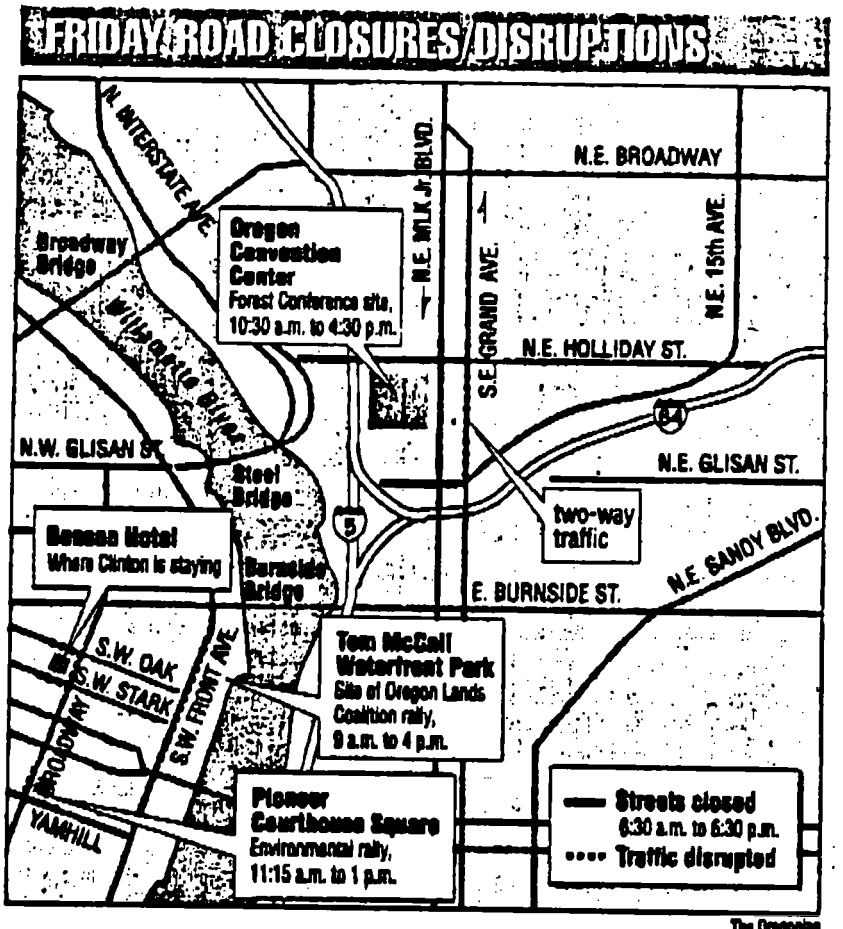
Conference:

Dignitaries, rain greet Clinton, Gore



week leading up to Friday's formal conference.

Thousands of people from timber communities all over the Northwest will take their turn at the park Friday when they stage a Family Timber Summit from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Meanwhile, the centerpiece event —the Northwest Forest Conference — officially begins at 10:30 a.m. in the Oregon Convention Center. Fifty persons from all walks of life will get the ears of the president, vice president and seven top administration officials as an audience of invited guests looks on. National Public Radio will broadcast the event from gavel to gavel, and it also will be carried on KOPB (10) television.

The conference itself risks being anti-climactic. Northwest residents who have followed the contentious and complex forest battles closely during the past four years may hear little new.

But the extraordinary attention Clinton is training on the issue changes the dynamics of the debate.

"What it evinces to me is a seriousness about problem-solving," Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt told The Oregonian last weekend. "Once we decide to do it, we'd better do it in full view of everyone. If I were an Oregonian, I'd say, 'At last, by his commitment and his presence, the president has promised we're going to break the gridlock.' "

The conflict pitting those who want to protect the region's remaining old-growth forests and roadless areas against those who believe they should be open to logging has languished in the courts for four years.

But everything about Friday's event has been on the fast track.

The White House put together the conference hastily to dovetail with the weekend summit meeting between Clinton and Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin in Vancouver, British Columbia. Babbitt and Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy have made fact-finding tours to the Northwest over the past seven days to get a feel for the forests, the timber industry and the timber communities.

Conference participants were announced only Tuesday, although some knew much earlier that they were on the list. The presenters —five members of each panel who will kick off the proceedings with three-minute opening statements —reportedly are free to say whatever they wish, although the White House has reviewed their statements for length.

Not everyone is satisfied with the mix. For instance, some environmentalists question how the administration can begin to discuss "ecosystem management," a likely element of a long-term solution, without including a discussion of logging practices on state and private, as well as public, forest lands.

"I'm a cynic enough to believe that what we are going to see is politics as usual," said Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation.

Brian Meehan, Phil Manzano and Barnes Ellis of The Oregonian staff also contributed to this report.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Science should drive the discussion

By DENIS P. LAVENDER

IN MY OPINION

It is ironic that with the current concern about forest-species diversity, the consensus of media discussions treats the forests as a relatively uniform ecosystem.

This approach has given false validity to statements such as "clear-cuts are damaging" or about "ubiquitous ancient old growth prior to settlements." These statements are irrelevant and confuse the already complex issues of forest management.

In British Columbia, ecologists and silviculturists have devised an elaborate system to define more than 100 biogeoclimatic zones and subzones, each one of which includes distinct micro- and macro-flora and has parameters that must be considered in development of harvest scenarios. Oregon is only one-fourth the size of British Columbia and has no such operative ecological framework, but, nonetheless, soil and meteorological variations are similar. We also have an equally diverse series of forests.

To evaluate properly the effects of harvest systems on the soil we must recognize that terms like "clear-cutting," "shelterwoods" or "selection harvests" describe the *pattern* of tree removal, but not the technique used.

There are two types of harvest systems: moving cable devices that cause little disturbance, and track-laying or rubber-tired vehicles that do disturb the soil significantly. The degree to which the site may or may not be degraded in a clear-cut, then, depends on the harvest system, the depth and structure of the soil (fine shallow soils are more readily affected than deep, coarse), moisture content (wet soils are more readily compacted than dry), depth of the litter layer (a thick layer provides more protection against erosion than a thin) and degree of slope.

Given these variations in site characteristics, harvest methodology and the multitude of potential interactions, it is clearly impossible to draw valid general conclusions of the impact of clear-cutting on soils.

I participated in the reforestation of the Tillamook Burn more than 35 years ago. That area of the coast range was devastated by four major fires and then clear-cut to salvage a large volume of timber. This area now is described in very positive terms, certainly evidence that clear-cutting did not affect the area's productivity. However, a similar occurrence on a shallow, fragile soil on a higher-elevation site would be disastrous.

Additionally, it should be recognized that the roads necessary for *all* harvest operations represent the greatest impact on the site; post-harvest problems with regeneration, insects and disease are frequently a result of an interaction between original-stand ecology and the pattern of harvest. And an increasing body of evidence — particularly from cool, moist sites — indicates that a substantial disturbance of the soil is necessary to maintain productivity.

References to forests in the Pacific Northwest frequently cite "ancient, primeval stands." Such description may be valid for stands of Alaska yellow cedar, Pacific silver fir and mountain hemlock found on cold, wet sites. Regeneration of such forests commonly occurs after the death of single trees. Such a "gap" regeneration pattern may maintain these forests indefinitely, and individual trees may exceed 1,000 years in age.

But a more common forest-succession pattern, particularly for pine and Douglas fir forests, is for a given forest stand to be destroyed by fire, insects or disease far short of the maximum age of the species.

About 40 years ago I participated in a project to study the occurrence of a destructive fungus to the age of Douglas-fir stands more than 100 years old.

We took samples of stands in Western Oregon in all age ranges in proportion to their occurrence before the heavy timber harvests began. We examined more than 400 such forests. Sixty percent of these stands were less than 250 years old, and only 6 percent were more than 400 years old, with a maximum of 480 years. And the prognosis for continued existence of the older stands was poor because they had developed a high level of disease. Clearly, these older forests were not healthy ecosystems.

These statistics show that we can't preserve old-growth Douglas-fir stands for future generations unless we actively manage young stands for that goal. Incidentally, such a stand on the University of British Columbia research forest has the characteristics of old growth at 100 years.

This is not written in advocacy of any particular forest-management scenario, but rather to emphasize the extremely diverse nature of the many ecosystems that make up the Pacific Northwest.

If we want a truly sustainable forest resource, we must manage in accordance with this diversity. Forest-management goals are clearly in the public domain. The silvicultural knowledge needed to expedite such goals are the province of well-trained foresters and biologists who can recognize site limitations and potentials, not politicians, bureaucrats or environmentalists.

Denis P. Lavender is professor emeritus both in tree physiology at Oregon State University and forest sciences at the University of British Columbia.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Questions, answers given on spotted owl, forests

A lengthy debate focuses on the owl's living quarters and the logging that should be allowed on federal lands

By JEFF BARNARD
The Associated Press

The northern spotted owl is a rare, big-eyed bird that lives in the old-growrth forests of the Northwest. Those old trees are also a valuable crop for timber companies.

Should the spotted owl's living quarters be protected from logging? Should some logging be allowed on the federal forest lands?

That's been the debate without a solution. And Friday, President Clinton is holding a conference to hear from the various sides.

Here are some questions and answers on the long-simmering dispute:

Q: *What's old-growth forest?*

A: Old growth describes a complex ecosystem that varies according to altitude, rainfall and latitude. Forests preferred by the spotted owl generally have towering Douglas fir trees that can be 500 years old that create a canopy. As fire and old age fell the giants, breaks in the canopy allow sunlight to reach parts of the forest floor. A second story of Pacific yew, bigleaf maple and others live in the shadow of the giants. Standing dead trees, called snags, provide food and shelter for insects and birds. Rotting logs on the forest floor store water, provide nutrients for the living trees, and harbor salamanders, insects and rodents. Mushrooms and truffles extract water and minerals from the ground and transfer them to the trees, which give life-giving carbon to the fungi.

Q: *How much is left?*

A: The Wilderness Society has mapped 3.8 million acres of ancient forest remaining in 12 national forests in the Northwest out of 25 million acres that stood when white settlers began streaming into the area 150 years ago. Practically no old growth remains on private timberlands. Until recently, the Forest Service policy was to cut down old growth, considered wasteful, and replace it with plantations of fast-growing commercially valuable trees.

Q: *What's so special about the spotted owl?*

A: The spotted owl is considered an indicator species, a sort of canary in the coal mine. Because the owl is at the top of the food chain, it's health serves as an early warning for the overall health of the forest.

Q: *How many are there?*

A: The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service estimates there are 3,000 breeding pairs of spotted owls in Washington, Oregon and Northern California.

Q: *What do they look like?*

WHAT IS AN OLD-GROWTH FOREST?

Foresters and biologists have developed at least four definitions of the ecological characteristics of old-growth forests. All four include the same basic elements.

This definition was developed by the U.S. Forest Service's Old-Growth Definition Task Group, headed by Jerry Franklin, chief plant ecologist for the agency's Pacific Northwest Research Station.

- Two or more tree species with a wide range of ages and tree sizes
- Six to eight Douglas fir or other coniferous trees per acre, at least 30 inches in diameter or at least 200 years old
- A multi layered forest canopy
- Two to four snags (standing dead trees) per acre at least 20 inches in diameter and at least 15 feet tall
- At least 10 tons per acre of fallen logs, including at least two log sections per acre that are at least 24 inches in diameter and 50 feet long.

The Oregonian

A: The spotted owl is about 16 inches tall. It is mottled brown and white, with a round head and large eyes. They have little fear of man, defend their territory against other owls, and will pluck a mouse out of the hand of a person.

Q: *Why do they need ancient forests to live in?*

A: The owls nest in cavities found in large old trees. They feed on rodents, such as red tree voles and flying squirrels, that live in ancient forests. Thick stands of young trees offer no room for the owls to fly. Open spaces leave them vulnerable to being eaten by great horned owls and goshawks.

Q: *How many acres are people fighting over? Where is it?*

A: The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has designated 8.3 million acres of national forests and other federal lands in Washington, Oregon and Northern California as critical spotted owl habitat. Of that, about 4.5 million acres are considered suitable for timber harvest.

Q: *Why can't timber companies cut trees there?*

A: Federal court injunctions have prohibited logging in owl habitat on national forests until the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management have a plan to protect the owl. While private timber owners are prohibited from cutting close to owl nests, restrictions on private lands are far less stringent than federal lands.

Q: *How many jobs are at stake?*

A: Estimates on jobs lost to the owl vary widely, but the Forest Service has told a federal court it expects the Northwest to lose 30,000 jobs by 1995. However, the agency also figured 12,000 timber jobs would be lost in the 1990s without special owl protections.

Q: *How much do we cut a year?*

A: The Forest Service reports 10.6 billion board feet of timber was cut in Oregon and Washington in 1991, the most recent figures available. Of that, 6.4 billion board feet came from private lands, and 2.8 billion board feet from national forests. The rest came from state and other federal lands.

The Kansas City Star Friday, April 2, 1993

Uncut forests are in dispute

Logging in the U.S. is topic of president's conference in Oregon.

By GARY BLONSTON
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

SWEET HOME, Ore. — The trees stand 200 feet high and 6 feet thick, their bark turned mossy by time and the nurturing climate that makes these slopes of the Cascade Range the most hospitable places on earth for Douglas firs.

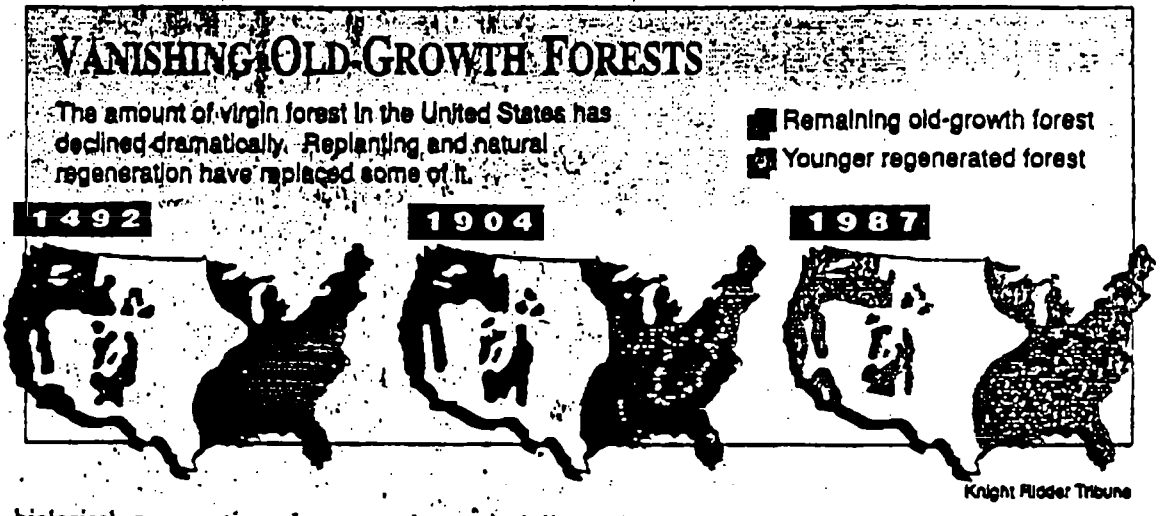
They are the final remnants of the ancient, uncut forests of the Pacific Northwest. Environmentalists see them as silent monuments to an epoch too quickly passing.

But around Sweet Home, and dozens of other little lumbering towns like it throughout the Pacific Northwest, most people see the old trees another way: They are jobs and income and protection against a suddenly shaky future.

They also see them as wasted wood, a usable crop being deprived them by a federal judge who they think listened too much to environmental lawyers and other people who don't understand.

The passions stirred by these old trees are what President Clinton will hear about all day today at his forest conference in Portland, Ore., as he and his delegation of Washington decision-makers seek quick and ling resolution of an environmental conflict so visceral it seems to sum up all the others simmering across the land.

Money vs. natural values. Tradition vs. change. Short-term human security vs. long-term biological preservation. Loggers vs. the most famous resident of the old forests, the threatened northern spotted owl. People vs. people.



At Mollie's Bakery, the most popular cafe in Sweet Home, when the regulars stop joking about eating owls, the talk turns glum and harsh.

"Everything the environmentalists say is, to me, ridiculous," says Larry Barton, 69, who has spent his life in the woods.

Even Marge Geil, 43, an environmentalist turned logger's wife and perennial optimist about her town, tells of selling the house to save the family business and says: "Something has ended. My husband can't pass on to my son what he has done. That's very sad. We thought our life was set."

The conversation at Mollie's has become a national anthem of sorts, wherever one-industry towns have been hit by military base closings or factory shutdowns.

But in the timber country, the enemy doesn't seem to be some abstract and distant force like the end of the Cold War or global economic shift. The trouble is other people with very different views and values.

It was environmentalists — the word is a contemptuous pejorative in Sweet Home — who filed the lawsuit nearly two years ago that brought to a crisis state a 10-year conflict about lumbering in the old forests.

That is when U.S. District Judge William Dwyer in Seattle forbade any logging on about 2 million acres of old-growth stands in Northwest federal forests until the government submitted an acceptable plan for protecting the ecosystem and its wildlife, most notably the spotted owl.

The U.S. Forest Service plan is due by August, but the impact of the injunction in many lumber towns that depended on federal wood already has been dramatic. Sweet Home, a town of about 6,000 people, has lost 800 jobs in the 1990s as the logging ban has hastened the deterioration of employment possibilities in an industry already undergoing dramatic changes from automation and other economic forces.

Larry Blem, a timber company manager, says his industry has cooperated.

"There is compromise on our side," he says, "but not on the other side. ... They've never conceded. ... Somebody has to tell them they have to stop, too."

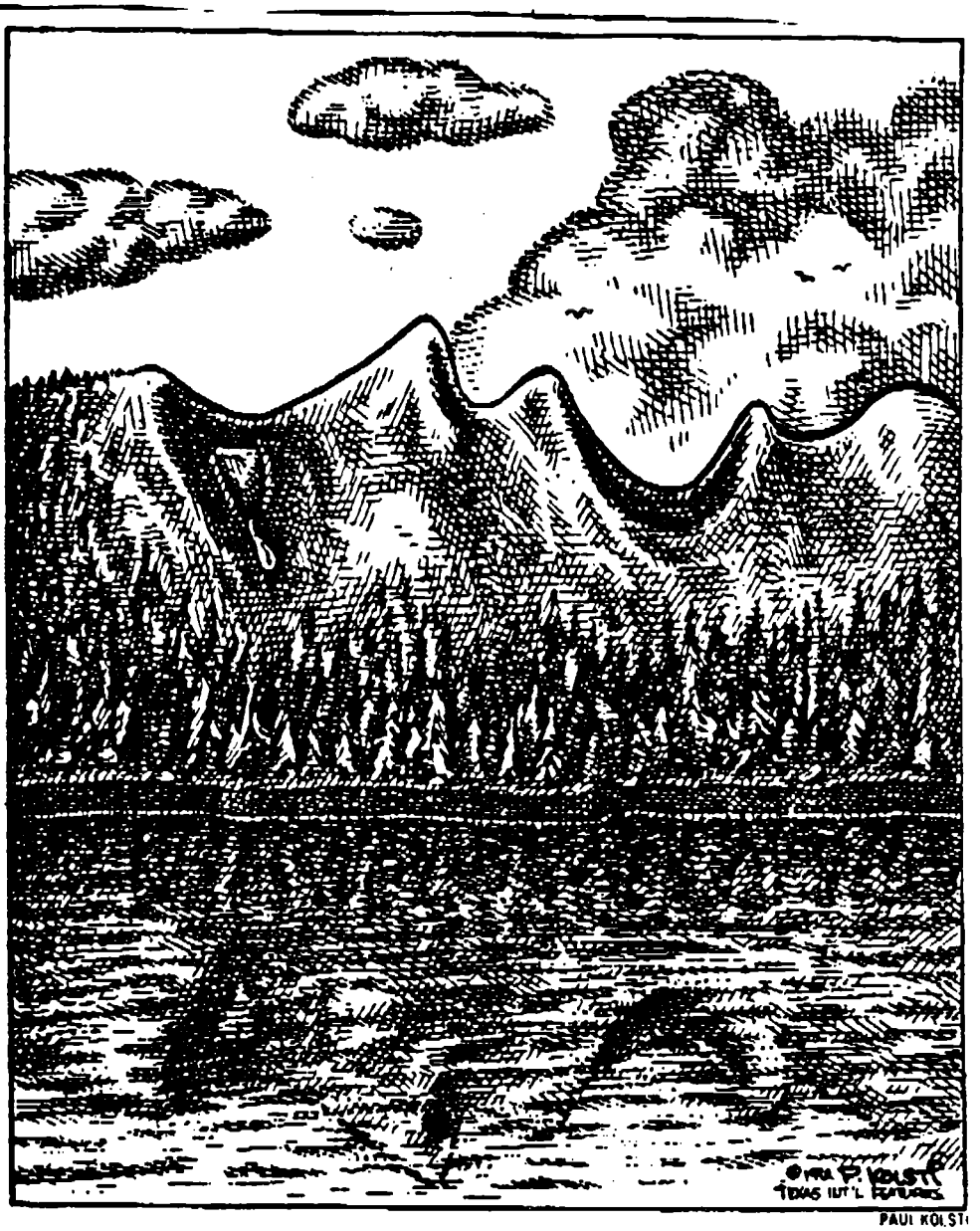
Environmental activists naturally disagree. As National Audubon Society vice president Brock Evans said in a Washington meeting last week, "If there ever was a hopeless, lost cause, it was rescuing any more of the ancient forest."

Just how much of the ancient forest will be preserved is the central issue of the forest conference. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has made it clear that some logging will be allowed, but Clinton also has indicated that some forest will be saved, in a compromise that will "make everybody mad."

IN MY OPINION

Eastside logging will hurt fishery

By JAMES W. WEBER



PAUL KOLST

At the Northwest forest conference Friday, some will argue that we need to allow salvage logging in Eastern Oregon to compensate for decreases in the westside timber supply. But increasing salvage logging will only make it tougher, if not impossible, to rebuild Columbia basin salmon runs.

Disguised by the seemingly benign title "Blue Mountain Ecosystem Restoration Strategy," the U.S. Forest Service is proposing extensive salvage logging and other activities in Eastern Oregon.

The Forest Service concedes that decades of mismanagement have resulted in numerous dead and dying trees and heavily degraded streams and riparian areas throughout Eastern Oregon national forests. The agency also admits that its own logging practices and fire-exclusion policies are at the root of the problems.

Despite these admissions, the Forest Service's cure — massive salvage logging of dying timber and continuation of most of its fire-suppression policies — is shockingly similar to what it admits caused the problem.

Decades of research and grim experience have demonstrated that logging harms fish habitat by increasing stream temperatures and sedimentation. Accelerating logging will surely worsen the water quality and fish-habitat conditions that already threaten the survival of salmon and trout in Eastern Oregon streams.

The Forest Service proposal recommends extensive salvage logging in both the upper Grande Ronde River and John Day River watersheds. The upper Grande Ronde was recently proposed by the National Marine Fisheries Service for designation as critical habitat for Snake River chinook. Both watersheds are already notorious for their serious sediment and temperature problems.

Although the John Day is above only three dams, chinook populations in that system are severely reduced. Additional logging in these watersheds will decrease the productivity of the ecosystem on which these fish populations depend.

In addition to salvage logging, the Forest Service proposal calls for revisions to some of its grazing-management plans to address

James W. Weber of Southeast Portland is a policy assistant specializing in fish-habitat protection issues with the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission.

the widespread fish-habitat degradation caused by cattle grazing.

The proposal does not acknowledge that the Forest Service is already required to revise all of its grazing plans, committed to do so as part of the salmon summit agreement. The proposal, a so-called ecosystem restoration strategy, would actually make fewer constructive changes in grazing policies than already promised by the agency.

The Forest Service also recommends implementation of stream-improvement projects. Unless surrounding land management is compatible with such improvements, these projects will be a waste of taxpayers' money.

A recent survey of stream-improvement projects, sponsored by the Bonneville Power Administration, found that ongoing logging and grazing activities often eliminated the benefits that stream-improvement projects were supposed to provide. More salvage logging and more stream-improvement projects would simply continue the ineffective management of the past.

Advocates of increased salvage logging argue that it is essential to log quickly as many of the dying trees as possible to provide wood to local mills before the trees lose their commercial value. They argue that accelerated salvage logging will maintain local communities, but they do not say what will happen in three years to these same communities when the salvage logging is completed.

The truth is simple and disturbing. Historical timber-harvest levels in Ukiah averaged 40 million board feet annually. For the next three years, the district wants to salvage log double the historical amount. After salvage logging, the district estimates that future harvest levels will be about 10 million to 15 million board feet – only a fraction of the historical amount.

The question is not whether we should maintain historical harvest levels in eastside forests. There are simply not enough trees because of the Forest Service's past management. It is inevitable that harvest levels will drop.

The real question is, three years from now, will fish habitat be recovering or will it be even more degraded than it is now? The cost of further degraded fish habitat in eastside forests is significant to the Pacific Northwest and the nation.

Oregonian April 1, 1993

Competing sides duel with information

■ Briefing books are the heavy artillery, while press-release faxes arrive like sniper fire

By KATHIE DURBIN
of The Oregonian staff

With so many experts in town for the Northwest Forest Conference, Portland is on the verge of information overload.

Virtually everyone with something to say about forests and their uses has prepared a briefing book, set up a phone line and offered to be available for interviews.

The stack of faxed news releases and thick briefing books is climbing toward the ceiling as Friday's conference approaches, but who has time to read them all?

On Wednesday, the Northwest Forestry Association produced a fat sheaf of 41 position papers in a loose-leaf notebook with the title "Building Toward a Balanced Solution."

Also Wednesday, Ecotrust, a private, nonprofit Portland organization that's working to create model sustainable-development and forest-preservation projects, circulated two reports detailing the decline of coastal temperate rain forests in the Northwest, Alaska, British Columbia and around the globe.

Earlier this week, the Agricultural Export Alliance sent out briefing packets presenting its members' view that restricting private log exports would not create a windfall of logs for Northwest mills and would hurt port communities.

Reforestation contractors issued a report describing how planting trees, restoring streams, thinning stands and pruning, thinning and fertilizing younger stands could create new jobs in the Northwest.

On Thursday, the executive directors of virtually all major conservation groups will be available for interviews in Portland at the Ancient Forest Alliance Press Center, across from the Oregon Convention Center, where Friday's conference is happening.

The Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club and the Ancient Forest Alliance all issued press packets Wednesday with background material on such topics as the decline of wild salmon runs and the fragmentation of old-growth forests. The National Audubon Society released a report documenting economic growth in many of Washington state's rural communities despite the timber shortage.

Academia also is trying to get a word in. Oregon State University, the University of Oregon and Lewis & Clark College's Northwestern School of Law have all offered access to experts on issues ranging from forest economics to forest ecology.

The staff of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, architect of environmentalists' successful legal effort to halt timber sales in old-growth forests, also will be on hand.

The Forest Conference is taking on an international flavor, as well. The Western Canada Wilderness Committee announced Wednesday that it would have delegates in Portland to increase American awareness of forest practices in British Columbia. It also wants to publicize what environmentalists on both sides of the border consider the province's unfair trade advantage with the United States, caused in part by less stringent environmental regulations.

"We want to see B.C.'s Third World forest policy raised to U.S. levels through greener trade agreements that will ensure B.C.'s compliance with U.S. standards," said Russ Forster, chairman of the committee's Victoria, British Columbia, branch.

Also on hand will be leaders of the Forest Alliance of B.C., which describes itself as a broad-based coalition "whose common concern is to protect B.C.'s forest environment and forest-based economy."

Clinton to arrive Thursday evening

■ The president and vice president will fly to Portland for Friday's forest conference just in time for the rush hour

Bill Clinton and Al Gore will join the Portland rush hour Thursday evening when they arrive for the Northwest Forest Conference.

The president and vice president are both scheduled to arrive in Portland on separate flights shortly after 5 p.m. They will meet local officials at the Oregon Air National Guard Base before being whisked downtown.

The Secret Service doesn't discuss travel routes, but you can be sure that the presidential motorcade will tie up any traffic in its path. Clinton is reportedly staying at the Benson Hotel.

The president's only scheduled event Thursday evening is a meeting with The Oregonian's editorial board. Gore's office said the vice president doesn't have any scheduled events in Portland on Thursday evening.

Clinton is scheduled to remain in Portland until he leaves Saturday for his Vancouver, British Columbia, meeting with Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin. But most Portlanders won't have the opportunity for more than a chance encounter with the president.

The forest conference is open only by invitation and no public events have been scheduled for Clinton's visit. There has been some speculation that Clinton would attend a Thursday evening concert in Tom McCall Waterfront Park sponsored by environmentalists. Among others, it features Bonnie Raitt, a Clinton favorite. But White House aides said they knew of no plans for Clinton to show up.

Several Cabinet officials who will attend the conference are scheduled to arrive Friday morning. They include Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner. Labor Secretary Robert Reich is scheduled to arrive Thursday evening after touring two lumber mills in Shelton, Wash.

Meanwhile, interest groups hoping to capture Clinton's and the media's attention plan a full agenda of events Thursday and Friday:

- On Thursday, at 9:30 a.m., a flotilla of fishing boats will be greeted on land by fishermen and their supporters in Tom McCall Waterfront Park, just north of RiverPlace. Commercial, sport and tribal fishing interests will speak out to protect forest habitat for Pacific Northwest salmon.

The Oregon Rivers Council also will participate in the rally, with a presentation on their program to create jobs while restoring watersheds in logged areas.

- The free concert featuring Neil Young, Raitt, Kenny Loggins and many others will be held at the north end of Tom McCall Waterfront Park, near the Burnside Bridge, from 4 to 8 p.m. The "Ancient Forest Celebration" will also feature speakers, including Denis Hayes, organizer of Earth Day.
- On Friday, at 9:30 a.m., timber industry supporters will rally in Tom McCall Waterfront Park, between the Salmon Street Fountain and the Morrison Bridge. People are expected to come from Montana, Idaho, California and Washington, as well as Oregon.

At 11 a.m., the rally will become a "people's convention" to vote on a statement of goals that organizers hope to present to Clinton on Friday afternoon.

- At noon Friday, environmental groups will sponsor a lunch-hour concert in Pioneer Courthouse Square featuring Carole King.

Oregonian April 1, 1993

Coalition asks limits to logging in nation

■ Forty-seven environmental groups call for a melding of business and ecological interests to save stands of mature trees

By KATHLEEN MONJE
Correspondent, The Oregonian

EUGENE -- Two groups with seats at Friday's Northwest Forest Conference and 45 without them called Wednesday for a logging ban in old-growth and mature second-growth forests across the country.

The 47 groups -- which include the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Association and the Oregon Natural Resources Council, both summit invitees -- represent about 5 million Americans, said Chad Hanson, a volunteer with the University of Oregon Survival Center.

They arrived at their resolutions on the issues of preserving forests, restoring ecosystems and halting log exports by consensus at a Portland meeting, Hanson said.

Their proposal, called the Traditional Native American and Grassroots Resolution for Ecosystem Survival, also got the backing of Greenpeace USA and 10 California Indian tribes in the Intertribal Sinkyone Wilderness Council, he said.

The Earth Island Institute in California, many student and citizen environmental groups including one from Yale University, Earth First and the Oregon Guides and Packers Association also were among those signing on, Hanson said.

"This proposal is proof that labor and environmental groups can work together," said Scott Watts, who also works at the UO Survival Center.

The coalition wants to create a partnership among labor, environmental and corporate interests to remove the polarities surrounding forest issues, the joint declaration said.

The resolution states the view that all road building on public forests must be banned and forests cannot be further fragmented if ecosystems are to be preserved. In addition, timber salvage operations should be discontinued, along with the use of herbicides and chemical fertilizers, it says.

A scientific board should be created to identify and evaluate management projects and the scope of the new regulations should be nationwide, including state and private lands, the resolution says.

Recycling and the development of alternative fiber sources and building materials must be encouraged to reduce the demand for wood fiber, the groups say.

Other demands in the coalition's proposal include:

- Protection for forests on the eastern side of the Cascades because salmon spawn there and for all riparian zones and watersheds, to protect native fish.
- The adoption of a traditional American Indian model of land stewardship and the preservation of historic and present Indian sites.
- An end to the "inter-state poaching" of logs to mills in other regions, to stabilize local economies.
- Government money for worker retraining and for loans and affordable insurance for small businesses that produce secondary wood products.
- The re-creation of programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps for fishery, ecosystem and riparian restoration.
- Corporate examination of ecological and social impacts before and during any development.
- Opposition to all trade agreements with other nations, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, because they have the potential to override existing environmental laws.

Forest forum to draw thousands

PILGRIMAGE: Timber workers from around the region will flock to Portland to put a human face on the Northwest timber crisis. **Page C6**

■ Folks on all sides of the timber issue will converge on Portland for a variety of events trying to catch the president's ear

By JOAN LAATZ
of The Oregonian staff

Yes, you can see Neil Young and Bonnie Raitt for free Thursday in Portland, but you probably won't get to see President Clinton.

The president and Vice President Al Gore are expected to arrive in town Thursday evening, about the same time the Ancient Forest Celebration concert is going on in Tom McCall Waterfront Park. But the president's schedule contains no public appearances, and the Northwest Forest Conference that brings him to Portland is not open to the public, with the exception of invited guests.

Celebration organizer Mark Epstein thinks it is unlikely the president will drop in on the concert, but he noted that Clinton played saxophone on inauguration night with Kenny Loggins, who is on the lineup Thursday. And Bonnie Raitt is reportedly one of the president's favorites.

"So, who knows?" Epstein said. "Maybe he'll show up."

Epstein announced Wednesday that Neil Young was joining the headliners of the concert, which is fast turning into a major event. Organizers expect it to draw at least 10,000 people. Other performers include David Crosby, Ann and Nancy Wilson, Phish, the U-Krew, Curtis Salgado and a host of others.

"There will be at least one surprise – and probably more — that are not on the list now," Epstein said.

The concert is being broadcast live by MTV.

Performances will be interspersed with speeches by Denis Hayes, founder of Earth Day,

Please turn to FORESTS, Page A19

STEVE NEHL/The Oregonian

Paul Rowton plays a guitar at a timber industry vigil Wednesday evening at the Oregon Convention Center.

■ Continued from Page One

and other environmental leaders, Winona LaDuke of Women of All Red Nations, and Diane Ellison, who owns a timber company.

Portland police are bracing for the event and others surrounding Friday's forest conference, which is drawing disparate factions from all over the Northwest. Processions of timber workers, their families and supporters are expected to arrive Thursday and Friday. And environmental groups from around the nation are in town, as well.

Up to 400 volunteers are being trained in "passive peacekeeping" methods to deal with the concert crowd, Epstein said. Those volunteers and other concert staff people will be wearing red T-shirts marked with the Ancient Forest Celebration logo, he said, and will be available to

help with lost children as well as any conflicts.

Concert organizers have been in contact with the Oregon Lands Coalition, a pro-timber industry group planning a rally Friday, Epstein said, and both are eager to avoid any confrontations.

"Both sides are trying to send a very positive message," he said.

Portland police have been asked to close Front Avenue alongside the park to minimize the chance of hassles, but Epstein said the city had not yet decided on that.

No alcohol will be allowed at the concert, and concert-goers will be urged to clean up after the show.

"Remember, it's an environmental event," Epstein said. "We want people to leave the park cleaner than they found it."

Epstein urged concert-goers to walk, ride bikes or use public transportation to reach the park, where there is very little parking.

The concert is perhaps the largest of what will be a flurry of Tom McCall Waterfront Park events surrounding the conference as it becomes clear that all kinds of groups are hoping to snag a piece of attention from the president and the national media in Portland for the conference.

Opponents of the ban on gays in the military plan to circulate petitions throughout the concert crowd, hoping to gather enough signatures to impress upon Clinton the amount of support for eliminating the ban.

Earlier Thursday, at 9:30 a.m., sport, commercial and tribal fishermen will rally near RiverPlace to draw attention to shrinking salmon runs, caused in part by logging practices. The fishing industry contends that more than 60,000 jobs and a $1 billion industry are jeopardized by declining fish populations.

Meanwhile, Waterfront Park will be taken over Friday by timber industry supporters, who will hold a rally and a "people's convention" to vote on a goals statement to give to the president.

A spokeswoman for the Oregon Lands Coalition, sponsor of the rally, said there would be none of the hostile tone that had marked some pro-timber rhetoric in the past. Recipes for spotted owl fricassee are out.

"We need to start identifying values that moderates on all sides can agree on," said Jackie Lang, state coordinator for the Oregon Lands Coalition. "We need a litmus test we can use to identify our shared values related to the forest."

Charter bus companies reported heavy demands for buses Friday to carry people from timber towns throughout Oregon to the industry rally. At least two companies — Raz Transportation Co. and Evergreen Stage Line in Portland — have set up waiting lists. Organizers have reserved part of the Memorial Coliseum parking lot to unload people who are being bused in from all over Oregon as well as from Washington, Idaho, Montana and California. People are being encouraged to take MAX to the park.

Other conference-related developments Wednesday included:

- An Oregon Lands Coalition candlelight vigil in front of the Oregon Convention Center. Three dozen children of timber industry families held small phosphorous rods and sang along with a guitarist to "This Land Is Your Land."

With the group was Jeanette Basl, who held her 3-year-old daughter, Paris.

"Because of the terrible restrictions, people like my husband have to travel all over the state looking for trees to harvest, to no avail most of the time," she said.

- Organizers of an environmental rally Friday at Pioneer Courthouse Square announced that Carole King would perform at noon, along with others.
- Reps. Ron Wyden, D-Ore., and Norm Dicks, D-Wash., sent a letter to Clinton urging him to transfer money from the U.S. Forest Service's logging road-building accounts to fish restoration and enhancement projects.

Ted Mahar and Foster Church of The Oregonian staff contributed to this report.

Conference may lead to traffic nightmare

■ Police prepare to handle unruly protesters at the forest session but warn of limited availability elsewhere in the city

By BARNES C. ELLIS
of The Oregonian staff

President Clinton hopes the Northwest Forest Conference will help balance one environment, but the gala event is certain to disrupt another: Portland roads.

Tens of thousands of people are expected to descend on Portland this week for the conference, including hordes of philosophically warring loggers and environmentalists. Demonstrations, parties with entertainers such as Bonnie Raitt and Kenny Loggins and official motorcades could snarl traffic around the city.

Officials hope that's the least of their problems. Police are preparing for the possibility of mass arrests, and officers and supervisors have been instructed in techniques for controlling large crowds.

"There will be officers out there with their batons and wearing their helmets," Sgt. Derrick Foxworth said. All officers not wearing their equipment, he said, will be carrying it with them.

Although the exact number of officers involved in "Operation Summit" is secret, Foxworth said it was in the hundreds. Vacations for police officers have been canceled from Thursday through Saturday, and many officers will work overtime and overlapping shifts.

Members of the Gang Enforcement Team will return to regular duty. The bureau is even attempting to reschedule all court appearances for police officers.

If it's something unrelated to the forest conference, citizens can expect delays in police response. From Thursday through Saturday police plan to respond only to emergency calls, those involving a life in immediate danger or a crime in progress. Other calls will be handled as officers become available or over the telephone.

Police Chief Tom Potter issued a statement lamenting incidents of violence in earlier demonstrations in the city and urging organizers of events and demonstrations to "be cautious of groups or individuals . . . whose sole agenda is divisiveness and disruption.

"We ask that you take steps to ensure that your event or demonstration is carried out peacefully," Potter said. He invited organizers to contact the Police Bureau for planning help, and asked citizens to "join with us as peacekeepers" to make the conference "productive and successful."

For motorists, here are the key areas to avoid:

• Tom McCall Waterfront Park, Thursday afternoon and evening. Entertainers including Bonnie Raitt and Kenny Loggins will draw large crowds to the area for the Ancient Forest Celebration from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Traffic on Southwest Front Avenue will be disrupted by pedestrian traffic.

• The Oregon Convention Center, Friday. Streets around the conference site will be closed and traffic diverted from 6:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Holladay and Glisan streets from the Steel Bridge to Grand Avenue will be closed. Northeast Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard from Hassalo Street to I-84 will be diverted onto Grand Avenue. Grand Avenue, normally a one-way northbound thoroughfare, will carry both north and southbound traffic.

• The Benson Hotel, Thursday through Saturday. Streets around the hotel, where President Clinton and other Washington, D.C., officials reportedly are staying, will be closed. Unless you are hoping to catch a glimpse of the president, avoid the hotel at 309 S.W. Broadway St.

Clinton's motorcade also may create delays of 10 to 15 minutes, although police and Secret Service officials refused to divulge his schedule or route for security purposes.

"They've changed the times on us two, three times already," said Al Bosco, special agent in charge of the Portland office. However, he confirmed that Clinton was expected to arrive at Portland International Airport sometime late Thursday afternoon and was staying at the Benson.

An advance team of the Secret Service already had arrived in Portland to assist in preparations, Bosco said, but he declined to say what for or how many. "We don't talk about numbers," he said.

Not that anybody has a handle on numbers surrounding the first event of its kind, anyway. While some reports have suggested that the conference may draw 30,000 people to the city, Foxworth said police "kind of looked at each other" in a meeting Wednesday morning and wondered how anybody could know.

The cost to taxpayers for all the security is similarly difficult to know in advance. When former President Bush came to Portland in September 1991, Foxworth said the cost of paying 200 officers for only six hours of work was about $97,000. "I think we could easily double, maybe even triple that," he said.

Oregonian April 1, 1993

Pro-timber caravans plan conference pilgrimage

■ Loggers, sawmill workers and their families will flock to Portland to put a human face on the crisis for President Clinton

By RICHARD COCKLE
Correspondent, The Oregonian

A silent caravan of buses, vans and pickups will roll out of lonesome Wallowa County in northeastern Oregon at 3:30 a.m. Friday, bound for the Northwest Forest Conference in Portland.

This pre-dawn pilgrimage will include more than 200 loggers, sawmill workers and their families. They hope to put a human face on the job side of the timber crisis, and they're not alone. Organizers say identical caravans are planned by timber communities from Riddle, in Southern Oregon, to Troy, Mont., to communities on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington state.

"We expect a crowd in excess of 10,000," said organizer Michael Wiedeman of Enterprise. "Almost every logging company that I know of is closing down and taking their employees."

More than 200 sawmills will be shutting down for the day across five Northwest states, he said.

In the logging town of Forks, Wash., population 3,060, at least 110 businesses plan to close their doors so the owners and employees can go to Portland.

"We truly support the wood industry," explained beautician Linda McCoy, 37, who plans to lock up her shop, The Hair Affair, in Forks. "I feel like President Clinton will see how many people will turn out for something like this and love their community and really want to keep it all together."

Darlene George, 58, co-owner of Lloyd George Jewelers in Forks, also plans to attend.

"There should be a lot of people there that we know," she said. "It should be an interesting experience for a lot of people."

Lloyd Hastings, 65, of Gimre's Shoe Store in Roseburg, wants to be there, but can't. Hastings said his 35-year-old shoe store has been knocked to its knees by Douglas County's poor economy, a direct result of the timber crisis.

"We've got timber galore, as far as I'm concerned," said Hastings. "The trouble is, the environmentalists want the whole works. If we don't have the timber and we don't have the jobs, we don't have a town."

Troy Reinhart of Douglas Timber Operators Inc. in Roseburg said about 30 local businesses in his town of 16,850 plan to shut down, and possibly more than that.

"There's a lot of them that we don't hear about," he said.

Wallowa County, population 6,950, doesn't even have a stoplight. But it does have three sawmills that will put out "closed" signs for the day, as will numerous local businesses, said Wiedeman.

Wiedeman owns BTO Logging in Pilot Rock and is president of the Oregon Lands Coalition, which is spearheading the effort. The 4-year-old agriculture-timber group represents 64 separate organizations and 80,000 Oregon families.

Stangel Industries and Machine Shop in Enterprise will be among the businesses that shut down for the day.

"There's eight or nine of us that are going," said Joe Stangel, 40, who fears that logging cutbacks in his northeastern corner of the state won't be resolved before the dying forests are blackened by wildfires.

Should that happen, "no one will get any good out of it, and it will ruin the habitat for the wildlife as well," he said.

Wiedeman said the number of timber industry sympathizers that show up for the conference could outpace his best guess.

"The dynamics of this thing re really changing fast," he said. "Who knows by Friday what the number will reach? . . . I've been getting calls all day long from folks from Astoria to Boise. There's companies shutting down all over the Northwest."

The interest in the conference by Eastern Oregon timber workers may come as a surprise in some quarters. A spokesman for Vice President Al Gore said earlier this month that the forests of Eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington would not be addressed.

Instead, the conference was expected to focus on the northern spotted owl and timber jobs.

The eastside forests have been plagued by insects, disease and drought for most of a decade. More recently, declining salmon runs have prompted sharp cutbacks in national forest timber sales.

"Personally, I'm not convinced forest health won't be on the table," said Wiedeman. "Any time you talk about ecosystems or environmental stewardship or ecosystem sustainability or any of the current buzzwords, forest health is the tie that binds."

Oregonian April 1, 1993

Timber industry seeks relief in House

Eight bills would take on logging restrictions created by the state endangered species act

By DAN HORTSCH
of The Oregonian staff

SALEM — Oregon's timber industry, scrambling to recover a portion of lost timber harvests even as the Clinton administration takes a hard look at the issues, hopes to modify the state's endangered species act to squeeze more logs out of state-owned lands.

No fewer than eight House bills — two of them identical — one way or another would attempt to remove or relieve the effects of the state endangered species act on logging practices.

House Bill 2927 covers the most ground. Among its provisions the bill would: require that state species protection programs be adopted within two years of the listing of a species or the listing would be void; set up a permit system for "incidental take" or loss of endangered species on a case-by-case basis; and direct the state to consider economic and social consequences in recovery and protection plans.

Other bills, introduced on behalf of the industry by legislative committees or by individual legislators, point in a similar direction. One would remove the northern spotted owl from the state endangered species list until the state met certain rulemaking requirements.

The hope, said Greg Miller of the Oregon Forest Industries Council, which backs HB2927, is to improve timber harvests on state lands "to get back to where they were" before concerns about the owl and other species led to present and potential restrictions on logging.

The intent is not to wipe out protection of endangered species, one witness recently told a House subcommittee.

"We firmly believe we should do all that's practical to preserve any species native to Oregon," Mike Miller of Associated Oregon Loggers told the Natural Resources subcommittee on agriculture.

State lands, Miller said, total fewer than 800,000 acres, compared to the 7.5 million acres of federal forest land affected by the federal Endangered Species Act.

The hearing last week on the House bills was vitriolic at times as subcommittee members exchanged blunt words with Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council.

The proposed legislation, Kerr said, "gives false hope to the communities damaged by decades of greedy overcutting of our virgin forests" and constitutes an attack on thousands of forest-dependent jobs of the commercial, sports and American Indian fishing communities, mushroom harvesters and others. He also called the legislation "incredibly stupid."

Rep. Liz VanLeeuwen, R-Halsey, subcommittee chairwoman, told Kerr that she was "a little bit insulted by your testimony."

State forest and wildlife officials said in interviews that the practical effect of the bills would not be great because of the broad scope of federal regulations.

Oregonian April 1, 1993

Laws must change, timber attorney says

■ The environmental statutes have not been interpreted the way Congress intended, a lawyer contends

By KATHIE DURBIN
of The Oregonian staff

Gridlock in the Northwest forest conflict won't ease without changes in the nation's environmental laws, a timber industry attorney asserted Wednesday.

"The problem the forest conference is trying to solve is at heart a problem of the judicial system," said Portland attorney Mark Rutzick, who has represented industry groups in several spotted owl lawsuits. "The environmental laws are preventing any land management plan from being implemented."

His comments came at a news briefing held by the Northwest Forestry Association, which represents Oregon and Washington companies that buy federal timber. The association released a thick briefing book containing 41 papers on topics from mill automation to lumber markets to the fire history of Northwest forests.

Association officials have hinted that their president, James Geisinger, will announce a significant shift in the industry's position on federal timber and forest issues at the Friday symposium.

But on Wednesday, Rutzick repeated the industry's contention that environmentalists have persuaded the federal courts to interpret key environmental laws in ways Congress did not intend when it passed them in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Specifically, he said the Endangered Species Act, the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Forest Management Act impose overlapping and contradictory review requirements that have left federal agencies paralyzed and have created problems for state and private forest managers as well.

"As these laws interact in the current environment, no agency can ever make a decision," he said.

Most political observers believe chances are slight that Congress and the Clinton administration would approve changes that would weaken the nation's most important environmental laws.

Donn Zea of the California Forestry Association said his members are "poised to work with the Clinton administration" on ways to manage public and private forests for spotted owl habitat and timber production. Biologists have found abundant owls in the fast-growing younger coastal redwood forests of Northern California, and some companies have worked with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on habitat conservation plans that will allow them to log owl habitat.

Northern California has lost 37 mills since 1988, Zea said.

Toward a new era for federal forests

By PHIL COGSWELL
Associate Editor, The Oregonian

President Clinton's Northwest forest conference could mark the beginning of a fifth era in federal natural-resource policy -- the era of ecosystem management. The U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management already have moved in this direction. A visible push from on high would be a powerful stimulus.

COGSWELL

The first era — through the 19th century — was rapid depletion of the nation's forests. The second was an alarmed reaction to that trend, when Theodore Roosevelt established a series of forest reserves — later national forests — to conserve timber for future generations.

The third, coming with World War II and the following housing boom, was the shift to harvesting those federal forests in a major way. The fourth — launched in the late 1960s — was the application of environmental brakes on federal timber policy, with the inconsistencies, controversy and overall fumbling that have produced the current policy gridlock.

The most likely result of Friday's conference in Portland is a move to a fifth — ecosystem management.

First, it's a way to break through the current stand-by-stand, species-by-species controversies.

Second, it already is high in the administration's consciousness. In their recent visits to Oregon and Washington, the secretaries of interior and agriculture both have noted the need to look at ecosystems as a whole, as have many members of the Northwest congressional delegation.

Third, the approach is gaining increasing scientific currency, although it is still a collection of concepts rather than a detailed strategy. Administration officials have emphasized they want a scientific underpinning to the forest policy that will flow from the conference.

Scientists consider an ecosystem to be the interrelated — and often mutually dependent — community of plants, animals and bacteria and the physical and chemical environment they share. In a forest, standing trees are only one piece of the system, and their survival may depend on a microscopic organism they coexist with. You have to save all the functions to save the ecosystem.

"The more we learn, the more we've appreciated how complex those systems are," says Logan Norris, head of the Department of Forest Science at Oregon State University's College of Forestry.

Norris chaired a Society of American Foresters task force that has provoked considerable debate within the society with a recent report calling on the forestry profession to move toward "an ecosystem approach to management." The task force explained its notion of ecosystem management this way:

"It attempts to maintain the complex processes, pathways and interdependencies of forest ecosystems and keep them functioning well over long periods of time, in order to provide resilience to short-term stress and adaptation to long-term change. Thus the condition of the forest landscape is the dominant focus, and the sustained yield of products and services is provided within this context."

This landscape approach - the big forest picture, so to speak — moves past the last decades' debates over which old-growth stands to log and which to preserve. All those stands are a part of the larger landscape.

Obscured by the professional lingo in which the task-force recommendations are couched is the revolutionary nature of the suggestion: a departure from a professional focus on raising trees for timber to managing entire forest systems. Further challenging traditional notions for forestry is the task force's assertion that "coordinated management at the landscape level, including across ownerships, is an essential component."

But while the industry is bothered by the word "ecosystem," environmentalists are disturbed by the word "management." This challenges the traditional environmentalist emphasis that the best way to deal with a forest is to leave it alone. Realistically, though, doing nothing is a management decision; and while that might work for one stand of trees, we've already done so much reshaping of the landscape that active management is needed to avoid deterioration.

Also likely to worry environmentalists is the task force's recognition of "humans as part of the ecosystem." Thus, "ecosystem management of forests includes products as an essential part of the mix, including intensive management."

Clinton, however, has said his ultimate forest policy is likely to make all sides unhappy. This approach shifts the debate toward what's good science rather than what's acceptable politically.

Ecosystem management isn't simple - science often isn't. Nor is it uncontroversial -- there's lots of room to argue the details.

But four cycles of forest policy are over. It's time for the fifth.

Billings Gazette March 30, 1993

ARE BABIES 'ENDANGERED SPECIES'?

Birds protected, but not babies

Question: Why no compromise on abortion issue?

COMMENTARY

Cal Thomas
National columnist

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION thinks a bird in the land is more valuable than a life in the womb. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt declared the California gnatcatcher threatened under the Endangered Species Act, but proposed suspending the federal rules which would normally prohibit further land development in the bird's habitat so long as developers preserve ugh land to allow the songbird to survive.

Pro-lifers who believe the unborn are more valuable than gnatcatchers would be thrilled with a compromise of any kind on the abortion issue by the Administration, but they do not hear a peep. The Administration, with majority congressional complicity, moves ahead relentlessly to clear the few remaining obstacles blocking abortion "developers."

The House last week approved a permanent end to the so-called "gag rule," which prohibited abortion counseling at clinics receiving federal funds.

To rub salt in the wound, the House approved a $500 million budget over the next two years for family planning clinics, a 56 percent increase. Rep. James Inhofe (R-Okla.) lamented, "This vote will mark the dawn of the abortion era. One hundred years from now, history will reflect (on) this barbaric era when millions of unborn babies were brutally murdered with the advice and consent of government."

Attorney General Janet Reno has ordered the drafting of "priority" legislation that would make it a felony to block access to abortion clinics, thereby singling out for federal criminalization a specific act of civil disobedience. The law most likely would violate the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause, but this matters not to pro-abortionists.

Abortion has attained a special category in medicine, in reason and in political discourse that sets it apart from every other issue. Evidence no longer matters, only power politics. The Clinton Administration appears eager to ram its view down the throats of Americans who disagree. It would be nice if the Administration would devote a few hours of hearings, as it is doing with health care, to this preeminent issue.

Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor lamented the placing of abortion in a special category in her dissent in Thornburgh vs. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology: " ... no legal rule or doctrine is safe from ad hoc nullification by this Court when an occasion for its application arises in a case involving state regulation of abortion. The permissible scope of abortion regulation is not the only constitutional issue on which the Court is divided, but — except when it comes to abortion — the Court has generally refused to let such disagreements, however longstanding or deeply felt, prevent it from evenhandedly applying uncontroversial legal doctrines to cases that come before it."

The abortion issue is anything but even-handed.

Do even the pro-choicers fully contemplate what they have done? Nearly 30 million babies have been legally killed in the United States since 1973. That is a number equal to 11 percent of America's living population. Are we so rich in human talent that we can afford to lose the contributions to science, to medicine, to the arts many of those killed in the womb might have made?

Writing in the March issue of Crisis magazine, Michael Novak observes that 20 million of the dead were white and about 10 million were black. "Since the number of currently living blacks is 31 million, the missing 10 million represents an enormous loss for, without abortion, America's black community would now number 41 million persons. It would be 35 percent larger than it is. Abortion has swept through the black community like a scythe, cutting down every fourth member."

For blacks, abortion has achieved what lynch mobs did not. It has kept the black population down and "under control."

The California gnatcatcher at least has a song that can be heard and a body that can be seen. The unborn have no voice and most networks will not show fetal life or the remains of an abortion. Michael Novak writes, "Our generation is too sensitive to witness what it does to its helpless ones — but not too sensitive to do it."

The television networks don't interview the women I've met who have been emotionally and in some cases physically scarred for life because they were not told the truth about abortion, about their babies, about how the procedure would not solve their problem but compound it.

What does it say about a nation that cares more for birds than people? About a government that refuses to protect the weakest member of the human family? President Clinton may or may not improve the economy, but no amount of economic success will wash the blood of innocents from his hands.

Billings Gazette March 30, 1993

Clinton takes on spotted owl

No easy answers seen in 'summit'

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Clinton, who prides himself on his problem-solving skills, tackles a real conundrum this week: the deadlock between the spotted owl and Northwest loggers over the ancient trees that are the lifeline to both.

The crisis over the old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest is as daunting and complex as any Clinton faces — pitting conservationists against the timber industry and labor, and embroiling Congress, local communities, federal courts and warring government agencies in a battle that has raged for years in Washington, Oregon and Northern California.

Clinton during his campaign managed to avoid any specific judgments on the problem. But he promised to hold a "summit" on the conflict between protecting the northern spotted owl, which is in danger of extinction, and saving the livelihood of timber-dependent communities.

Now the summit has been downgraded to a one-day conference, with the White House selecting representatives of competing sides to make their cases before Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

Administration officials have rejected any idea that the conference Friday would end with a presidential wave-of-the-wand solution.

"This is not about solutions. On April 3 we are not going to suddenly announce what our policy is," said Marla Romash, spokeswoman for the White House Office on Environment, which is coordinating the conference. "No one is pretending this is going to be easy."

The conference affords Clinton a chance to take on one of today's most contentious problems — how to mesh economic interests with conservation needs.

Clinton acknowledged the thorny challenge last week, saying that whatever he decides will "probably make everybody mad."

In any event the White House hopes the conference will showcase a president moving forward in a balanced way on a problem that, so far, has stymied the government.

"Good politicians like to play to their strengths. Clinton sees his strength as reconciling differences," said Erwin C. Hargrove, political science professor at Vanderbilt University. "He looks around for challenges of this kind. The risk is if he's not fully aware of the dimensions of the issue, he could get sandbagged."

About 2,000 pairs of spotted owls are known to exist, surviving in the canopy and woody-debris conditions of the old-growth forest.

The same forests, now at about 10 percent of their original size, have long provided timber for logging companies and mills that have lost an estimated 17,000 jobs in the two years since a federal court order blocked logging on millions of acres of owl habitat. Timber also lost 26,000 jobs to automation in the decade preceding the order.

Both Clinton and Gore have indicated a strong sensi-

on biodiversity, timbering conflict

tivity to the environmental side of the argument — the need to save the forests of trees as old as 1,000 years, and to protect the northern spotted owl, which the Forest Service selected two decades ago as an "indicator species" to gauge the overall health of the forest ecosystem.

Promising to protect the forests, Clinton said in his campaign, "Human life depends on the biological diversity in intact ecosystems like old-growth forests."

Gore as a senator helped block Oregon Republican Sen. Bob Packwood's attempt to secure an exemption from the Endangered Species Act to allow logging of spotted owl habitat.

Clinton also has indicated he will help workers and communities hurt by logging bans.

He expressed support in 1991 for a sweeping preservation proposal by Sen. Brock Adams, D-Wash., that included an economic relief package for worker assistance and retraining and economic diversification.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt described the conference as the first step toward a habitat plan that will convince the U.S. District Court in Seattle to lift the logging injunction.

The administration already has achieved part of its goal. Federal government agencies that were at odds over forest use during the Bush administration — the Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service — have been given new marching orders: the administration will adopt a unified position.

PORTLAND, Ore. (AP) - President Clinton is hoping today's Northwest forest conference offers clues to compromise in the bitter debate pitting the region's once-dominant timber industry against a rare owl and thinning forests.

``We want to come out with a long-term, balanced approach that will be good for the region,'' Clinton told reporters on the eve of the daylong gathering in Portland.

Clinton, accompanied by Vice President Al Gore, said his goal was to find ``a balanced solution to a difficult problem,'' and that his first step on that path would be ensuring that the several federal agencies embroiled in the dispute speak with one voice.

``I think virtually everyone in our administration believes that we are under a heavy, almost moral imperative to try to come to a position for the United States government,'' Clinton said in an interview with The Oregonian newspaper. ``There is something very disconcerting about having people here or anywhere ask where their government stands and we give them five different answers.''

Clinton, who took a 20-minute morning jog with Gore today in a steady drizzle, pledged to propose a solution ``within a fairly short period of time,'' but offered no specifics.

To help him, Clinton is assembling a new task force to review data on old-growth forests, according to Michael Francis of the Wilderness Society and others attending today's meeting.

The new team - the fourth to study the issue in the past three years - reportedly will be divided into three major segments - studying wildlife, timber management and socioeconomic problems - and report back within a few months.

Environmentalists urged quick action. ``We don't want to study our resources to death,'' said Kathryn Brigham of the Umatilla Tribe near Pendleton, Ore. ``The trouble with scientific studies is everybody has got one that says exactly what they want it to say,'' said Jackie Lang of the Oregon Lands Coalition.

For his part, Clinton said he was here to listen and learn. And he was sure to get an earful as a host of interest groups jockeyed to make their case while watching Clinton for signs of how his administration was likely to handle future jobs-vs.-environment disputes.

Timber companies, organized labor, environmental groups and even the Roman Catholic Church were among the organizations sending representatives to discuss the issues surrounding the battle between the logging industry and protectors of the threatened northern spotted owl.

Clinton's forest conference was a pause on his path to Vancouver, British Columbia, for his weekend summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The president arrived in Portland to encouraging talk of a compromise from some quarters but sharp criticism from others.

``I think there has been a little too much posturing,'' said Denny Scott, chief economist for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, a union that has sided with the timber industry. Scott said Clinton's participation could force honest bargaining. ``When the end is in sight, people tend to put their best foot forward,'' he said.

That conciliatory tone was echoed by Larry Mason, executive director of Washington Commercial Forest Action Committee of Forks, Wash., a timber town.

``There will not be an end-all solution,'' Mason said of the conference. ``But there could be a new tone.''

Environmentalists, however, voiced alarm at Clinton's recent decision to back off, for now, on his demand for higher grazing and mining fees on federal lands.

``What kind of started out as a love affair quite frankly now is feeling more like date rape,'' Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation, said of the environmental community's relationship with Clinton.

Hair said Clinton's performance at the forest conference will determine ``if it's politics as usual or if he really wants change.''

Today's conference is modeled after the economic conference Clinton held in Little Rock, Ark., during the post-election transition as he shaped his budget, jobs and tax programs.

As was the case then, Clinton, joined by Gore and several Cabinet members, was presiding over a series of roundtable discussions about a long-running feud that but has turned bitter in the past few years because of court orders closing millions of acres of federal land to timber cutting to protect the threatened owl.

Oregon Gov. Barbara Roberts called Clinton's conference ``the first and most critical step in a process that is going to bring a resolution to a stalemate we have suffered with for three years in the Northwest.''

Clinton said in advance that his ultimate position in the dispute - aides said he would send Congress a plan designed to be enacted this year - would ``probably make everybody mad.''

There was no doubt on the eve of the conference that hardly anyone was happy.

Virtually every interest group involved in the debate held pre-conference events to make their case, including aerial tours of forest areas and a concert hosted by environmentalists that drew an ~~estimated 60,000 people on a drizzly Thursday night.~~

AP-NP-04-02-93

PORTLAND, Ore. (AP) - President Clinton today convened a Northwest forest conference urging bitter rivals in a jobs-vs.-environment feud to ''move beyond confrontation'' and work with him to find the elusive compromise.

''A healthy economy and a healthy environment are not at odds with each other - they are essential to each other,'' Clinton said in his opening statement. ''This is not about choosing between jobs and the environment but recognizing the importance of both.''

A parade of witnesses then spoke, many poignantly, of the fragile state of the Pacific Northwest's ancient forests and the rare species that call them home, and also of the suffering of timber families because of jobs lost after courts blocked logging in millions of acres of federal lands to protect the Northern Spotted Owl.

''I am here today because I am scared,'' said Buzz Eades, a sixth-generation logger. ''I am afraid of the future that faces my family. ... Thank you for giving me hope, sir.''

Another witness spoke of the grief of ''modern Paul Bunyans who are hiding in the car when the wife buys groceries with food stamps.''

But environmentalists demanded that Clinton permanently forbid timber cutting in the old growth forests.

With Vice President Al Gore and a handful of Cabinet members at his side, Clinton convened the daylong conference hoping presidential prestige would break the impasse between environmentalists and a timber industry that blames massive job losses on overzealous environmental protection.

''It is time we moved beyond argument and confrontation to a new approach that replaces fear with hope and stalemate with progress,'' Gore said. ''A healthy forest economy relies on healthy forests.''

The first conference witness was Archbishop Thomas Murphy, head of the Archdiocese of Seattle, who said the social tensions caused by the standoff have caused people on all sides of the dispute to ''lash out at their loved ones or find solace in alcohol and drugs.''

A local labor leader followed, showing photographs of families he said had been devastated after losing their timber industry jobs to the ''gridlock'' blocking a solution.

''These are the faces behind the statistics, Mr. President,'' said Mike Draper, the executive secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. '''Together we can find a solution that protects the forests of God and the families of man.''

Before opening the forum to representatives of the warring factions, Clinton acknowledged the ''vehement'' differences but urged his audience to take a conciliatory tone.

''Let's confront problems - not people,'' Clinton said. ''Together, we can move beyond confrontation to build consensus on a balanced policy to preserve jobs and to protect our environment.''

Clinton said his goal was to find ``a balanced solution to a difficult problem,'' and that his first step on that path would be ensuring that the several federal agencies embroiled in the dispute speak with one voice.

``For too long, the national government has done more to confuse the issues than to clarify them,'' Clinton said.

Aides said the administration hoped to propose to Congress later this year a plan that would meet legal requirements to protect the Northern Spotted Owl but allow some timber cutting to resume on federal lands where harvesting is now blocked by court orders to protect the owl habitat.

One by one, the witnesses spoke of their commitment to compromise.

But for all the conciliatory talk, and the polite tone of the statements, there was ample evidence of the deep divisions in a debate that has defied solution.

Diana Wales, an Audubon Society activist from Oregon, said the forest ecosystem was so fragile that simply changing harvesting practices was not enough.

``It's too late to think about a tuneup - you simply have to stop,'' she said.

Bob Spence, president of Pacific Lumber Sales Co., followed and spoke somberly of layoffs and a ``catastrophic'' 95 percent drop in the company's sales because of court orders preventing harvesting on millions of acres of federal lands.

``We were always confident that we could stay in business forever,'' he said. ``But now, all of that has changed.''

Clinton pledged to propose a solution ``within a fairly short period of time,'' but offered no specifics. ``The process we begin today will not be easy. Its outcome cannot possibly make everyone happy ... but the worst thing we can do is nothing.''

Clinton's forest conference was a pause on his path to Vancouver, British Columbia, for his weekend summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The president arrived in Portland to encouraging talk of a compromise from some quarters but sharp criticism from others.

``There will not be an end-all solution,'' Larry Mason, executive director of Washington Commercial Forest Action Committee of Forks, Wash., a timber town, said of the conference. ``But there could be a new tone.''

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AP-NP-04-02-93

NEWS SUMMARY

U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

Wednesday, March 31, 1993 A60

S U P P L E M E N T

Interior design

To the editors:

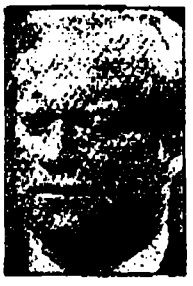
Jacob Weisberg's otherwise fine article about Bruce Babbitt ("Babbitt's Feast," March 8) contains a blooper: "In the spotted owl conservationists in the Pacific Northwest, the Forest Service is battling the Fish and Wildlife Service even though both are part of the same department."

The Forest Service's home department is not Interior, but Agriculture. If that seems strange to you, you're not alone. Many conservationists have long thought it anomalous to entrust our vast, ecologically diverse national forest lands (which exceed Texas in size) to a department that views trees as a commodity like corn or soybeans.

Be that as it may, Weisberg's basic point about Interior Department infighting is still valid: the Fish and Wildlife Service has been at loggerheads with the Bureau of Land Management, which *is* within the Interior. BLM's vast holdings are mostly arid lands or tundra in states such as Nevada, Wyoming and Alaska, but do include substantial old-growth forest tracts in the Pacific Northwest that are spotted owl habitat. BLM is just as commodity-oriented as the Forest Service, and just as blind to the ecological values of the priceless jewels entrusted to its care.

HOWARD FOX
Washington, D.C.

Arizona Republic March 31, 1993



Fife Symington / "Right now, there really isn't a resolution in sight that I'm aware of. . . . I don't believe we're close."

Symington: No solution in sight on Indian gaming

By Jeff Barker
Republic Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — There "really isn't a resolution in sight" to Arizona's Indian-gaming controversy, Gov. Fife Symington said Tuesday after meeting with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, who has sought — so far unsuccessfully — to broker a compromise.

Symington met with Babbitt for just under an hour. He offered few details of the session but insisted he still hopes to reach a settlement that will satisfy state officials and tribes.

"I think it's in everybody's best interest to reach a compromise, but there are some very strongly held beliefs on both sides, and we need to work our way through the process," the GOP governor said.

"Right now, there really isn't a resolution in sight that I'm aware of. . . . I don't believe we're close."

The Tohono O'odham, Pascua-Yaqui and White Mountain Apache tribes have refused to heed Babbitt's call to negotiate with Symington, who insists on limiting the size of reservation casinos.

— See SYMINGTON, page A10

Symington-Babbitt meeting fails to resolve Indian-gaming deadlock

— SYMINGTON, from page A1

Babbitt has proposed allowing Arizona tribes to have gambling machines in their casinos, but not such table games as roulette, craps and blackjack. The compromise would permit tribes at least 250 machines and entitle larger tribes to more.

Interviewed after Tuesday's meeting, Symington did not rule out allowing 250 machines, but neither would he endorse the proposal.

"I see all those issues as being part of an overall puzzle," he said. "So I'm just kind of waiting to see what the overall proposal would be, because the number of slots in many ways is dependent on other things in the compact."

Babbitt was unavailable for comment after the meeting. Interior Department spokesman Bob Walker called the session with Symington "another one of the rounds of meetings they are having on the Indian-gaming issue."

Under the federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, tribes must seek to reach a compact with the states to operate gaming facilities.

Four Arizona tribes agreed to limit operations to 250 video-gaming machines and opened their casinos. However, the Tohono O'odham, Pascua-Yaqui and White Mountain Apaches asked for more machines.

The state refused, and a federal court ordered a mediator to decide the issue. Last month, federal mediator Frank X. Gordon Jr., a former chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, awarded compacts to the three tribes, authorizing them to operate as many as 2,600 video-gaming machines each, plus keno and table games.

If Symington does not sign the compacts by April 16, they will go to Babbitt, who must sign them, although he can modify the terms.

After Gordon's ruling, Symington called a special session of the state Legislature, which enacted a law barring casino gambling in Arizona.

In Phoenix on Tuesday, Senate Majority Leader Tom Patterson told his colleagues they may be asked to undo the new law banning casino games if the state is able to reach a compromise with Indian tribes on the appropriate level of gaming.

In that case, the ban on casino games may be reversed, Patterson said, adding that he was speaking only for himself and not testing the waters for Symington, who riled many of his GOP colleagues in successfully pushing for the ban.

On Tuesday, Symington also testified before two congressional panels that oversee federal water projects. Without naming a specific dollar amount, he requested support for the "successful completion" of the Central Arizona Project, which provides Colorado River water for industry, municipalities, agriculture and tribes.

Contributing to this article was Mary Jo Pitzl of The Arizona Republic.

Phoenix Gazette March 31, 1993

Tribal leader ready to deal but won't cut table games

Apache says he might slot-machine-only plan

By Pat Flannery
THE PHOENIX GAZETTE

The White Mountain Apache Tribe is willing to negotiate with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt on the amount of casino gambling on its reservation, but not the types, a tribal official said.

Tribal Chairman Ronnie Lupe said Tuesday that his tribe will not forgo table games as Babbitt proposed last week.

Lupe said the tribe will negotiate with Babbitt if Gov. [illegible] does not sign a compact recommended last month by a federal mediator. Symington is not expected to sign it.

Symington and Babbitt met again Tuesday in Washington, D.C., to discuss the Indian gaming issue.

Symington reportedly is prepared to fill casino gaming void in Arizona to allow limited numbers of slot machines on the reservations.

Three tribes — the White Mountain Apache, [illegible] Yaqui — [illegible] casino gambling [illegible] than the state has been willing [illegible]

Federal mediator Frank X. Gordon sided with the Indians, saying the state could not limit reservation gaming because it allows horse and dog racing and a lottery under existing law.

Symington limited state law with special legislation several weeks ago. He must decide by mid-April whether to sign the compacts selected by Gordon.

Symington has not said how he will act, but is widely expected not to sign. That puts the matter in Babbitt's hands. Though Babbitt's proposal suggested that he also would seek to limit gaming on Arizona reservations, Lupe said Tuesday that his tribe cannot back down.

"We have a figure (to offer Babbitt) that is a little lower than what we asked in our compact proposal," Lupe said. "But just machines . . . will not suffice, because we're in a rural area. We have to have something to draw (people) with."

The three tribes are expected to make counteroffers to Babbitt this week or next. Lupe said each will offer its own proposal rather than have a single proposal for all three tribes.

Spokesmen for the Yaqui [illegible]

See GAMBLING, page [illegible]

GAMBLING

From B1

and Pascua Yaqui tribes could not be reached for comment late Tuesday.

Symington met with Babbitt for about an hour for general discussion of the secretary's three-point compromise proposal. The governor said afterward that both sides are seeking a solution, but he would not offer details.

Arizona Senate Majority Leader Tom Patterson, R-east Phoenix, warned his fellow members in a floor speech Tuesday that more legislative action could be required on the matter this year.

Based on Babbitt's proposal, Patterson said he expects Babbitt to reject the compacts recommended by Gordon. However, Patterson said he had no particular information from Symington or Babbitt on which he based his expectation.

Should Arizona's gambling law be changed, or a recent casino gaming ban repealed, it would affect a referendum that backers of Indian gaming are trying to put on the 1994 ballot.

Referendum organizer John Kromko, a former Tucson lawmaker, said more than 15,000 petition signatures have been gathered. At least 62,771 valid signatures of registered voters are needed to put it to a statewide vote.

Kromko accused Republican lawmakers of being fearful of the referendum because it would force Symington to run for re-election with the issue hanging. It also is expected to increase Democratic registration on reservations.

While different counterproposals are to be offered to Babbitt by Indian leaders, all are expected to be consistent with Gordon's mediated decision giving the tribes sovereignty on the matter.

The Coastland Times
Manteo, NC
March 29, 1993
Page A-1

Inlet Group Pins Hope On Convincing Babbitt

"We are looking forward to Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt's visit to the Oregon Inlet," said Harry Schiffman, chairman of the Oregon Inlet and Waterways Commission, at Thursday night's meeting.

"We will concentrate on briefing the secretary on the jetties project," Schiffman said.

Earlier this month, Governor Jim Hunt wrote to Babbitt inviting him to visit the area in May and examine the inlet. "We appreciate the governor's effort to bring the new secretary here," said Fletcher Willey, a member of the commission.

"Secretary Babbitt will not make a decision until he has the chance to visit here," said Robert Williams, a Dare County commissioner and member of the OIWC.

According to Willey, Sen. Lauch Faircloth expressed full support of the project and Sen. Jesse Helms has always supported the jetties project.

"All the elected people we spoke to are supportive of us," said Schiffman. "There are a lot of misconceptions about the project coming from special interest groups. We will concentrate on giving the facts to our elected officals."

According to Tom Jarrett of the Wilmington district of the Army Corps of Engineers, the length of the north jetty will be 11,450 feet. The length of this jetty, as to the portion sticking out beyond the beach, will be 2,500-3,000 feet, the portion underwater will be 5,000 feet. Four thousand feet will be below ground surface as an anchorage on Bodie Island.

The south jetty will have a length of 7,575 feet, including 3,125 feet of the terminal groin already in place. The length of this jetty as it sticks out beyond the existing beach will be 3,000-3,500 feet, 4,450 feet of the structure will be under water. It will have the same length of shore anchorage as the north jetty.

The cost of the project is estimated at $78 million.

The recent storm opened up the inlet, and some of the buoys were swept out to sea. It was reported that the dredge scheduled to begin work this summer will not be cancelled because the inlet changes so quickly, and it may be needed by August.

"All the waterways suffered damage," reported Chief R.R. Winslow of the Oregon Inlet Coast Guard Station on the mid-March storm. The local buoy tender was in repair when the storm hit. "We went to Delaware and Fort Macon, N.C., to get buoy tenders to work the inlet," Chief Winslow stated. "We got the waterways back so mariners can use them."

On Long Shoal, the temporary marker will be repaired as soon as possible. According to Winslow, the buoy tenders ran out of supplies and are reloading. They will be rebuilding the buoys as soon as they can.

A resolution of appreciation and commendation to the Coast Guard for its efforts following the storm was unanimously passed.

The Stumpy Point back channel has filled up from the storm, and Williams said the county is looking into the problem.

In more talk about the recent storm that resulted in considerable damage on the sound side, Glenn Miller, a member of the commission, said there is a situation in Currituck where water is ready to come through any day. James Fletcher, an audience member, said, "an inlet north of Duck would have allievated some of the water and lessened the effects of water damage."

"For water control, an inlet to the north would change the motion of water from the Albemarle Sound around Roanoke Island," said H.O. Golden, an OIWC member.

It was announced the dredge work from Island H into Wanchese will be completed in two and a half weeks.

An inquiry to the state Department of Transportation to check the pylons on the Bonner Bridge over Oregon Inlet was requested.

The next Oregon Inlet and Waterways Commission meeting is scheduled for Thursday, April 29, at 7:30 p.m. in the county administration building on Budleigh Street in Manteo.

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, VA
March 31, 1993

Jetty supporters find sympathetic ear

By Jon Glass
Staff writer

County and state officials also have invited U.S. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to attend a similar briefing. The secretary has expressed interest in a visit but has not scheduled a trip.

Arizona Republic March 31, 1993

Clinton backs off on land fees

West's miners and ranchers win reprieve

By Jeff Barker
Republic Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The mining and ranching industries won hard-fought concessions Tuesday from the Clinton administration, which agreed to drop proposed increases in grazing and mining fees from the president's 1994 budget plan.

The moves, made after extensive lobbying by Western senators, were hailed by industry officials but criticized by environmental groups that have been pushing for reform of U.S. land-use practices.

"This is really bad news for reform of the outdated public-lands policy," said Jim Norton, Southwest representative of the Wilderness Society, an environmental advocacy group.

"President Clinton started out speaking softly and carrying a big stick, and now the Rocky Mountain Democrats have taken away the stick."

The administration said it still is committed to ensuring that the government receives a greater return for the use of natural resources on federal lands.

However, officials said reforms in mining- and grazing-rights would not be sought through the budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. Rather, the administration plans to focus on legislation or federal rules to accomplish its public-lands objectives, the Interior Department said.

"This doesn't affect the future commitment to our goals, but it does affect fiscal year '94 as far as the budget process is concerned," said Stephanie Hanna, a spokeswoman for the department.

The concessions erase a portion of Clinton's economic plan that was released by the Office of Management and Budget on Feb. 17. The plan had

— See CLINTON, page A7

Clinton backs off on land-use fees for mines, ranches

— CLINTON, *from page A1*

been expected to become part of Clinton's 1994 budget, which is to be released next week.

In the plan, the president proposed instituting first-time royalties on gold, silver and other hard-rock minerals extracted on federal lands, phasing out unproductive timber sales at national forests, and increasing the fees that ranchers pay to graze livestock on land controlled by the Interior and Agriculture departments.

The administration agreed to drop all three proposals from its budget plan after meeting with Sens. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., Max Baucus, D-Montana, and other Western lawmakers, according to Baucus.

DeConcini, Baucus and other senators received official word of the action Tuesday afternoon in a meeting at the Capitol with Thomas "Mac" McLarty, White House chief of staff.

McLarty said the original proposals still might appear in Clinton's budget document, which is nearly complete. But he assured the senators that the administration has agreed to let lawmakers "write it out," according to a participant at Tuesday's meeting.

All the proposals would have affected Arizona, where hundreds of miners and ranchers operate on federal property.

Western senators believe that thousands of jobs will be lost if ranchers, miners and timber firms are forced to shoulder too much of the burden of reducing the federal budget deficit.

The American Mining Congress, an industry group, said Tuesday that 10,000 to 30,000 jobs in mining and mining-related activities could be lost if a 5 percent royalty were enacted.

The Feb. 17 plan called for a 12.5 percent royalty, which DeConcini said was unacceptable.

"The royalties would make mining companies far less willing to put money into discovering new mining sites, destroying thousands of jobs," DeConcini said Tuesday.

Like DeConcini, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., said he also opposes large fee increases for mining and ranching on public lands.

McCain said he feared Tuesday's action may be moot because the administration might raise grazing fees by other means, and Congress may impose a mining royalty.

"This may be very short-lived," McCain said.

Congress could still pass a hard-rock mining royalty, no matter what Clinton does. Democrats have been pushing an 8 percent royalty.

Federal mining law now permits individuals and corporations to pay no royalty and to "patent" a claim for as little as $2.50 an acre, so long as they can prove a legitimate mineral discovery has been made.

Mesa Tribune March 31, 1993

Clinton backs off fee hikes

Grazing, mining interests rejoice

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Bowing to Western senators, President Clinton has backed off his call for Congress to enact higher grazing and mining fees as part of his current budget blueprint.

DeConcini

Clinton still wants to increase grazing fees for federally owned range lands and impose royalties on minerals extracted from public lands, but he will not insist that Congress hew to those proposals now, administration officials said Tuesday.

Instead the administration will seek the revenue increases through separate legislation and administrative actions, they said.

The shift — in essence agreeing to drop the fee proposals from the fiscal 1994 budget — was portrayed by administration officials as a way to buy more time to debate the use of Western lands. It was greeted by Western senators as a victory, and was quickly criticized by environmentalists.

"President Clinton has recognized the adverse impact that his plan would have on Montana and other Western states and has moved boldly to address this injustice," said Sen. Max Baucus of Montana, one of several Democratic Western senators who met with Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and other top administration officials on the issue two weeks ago.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., said the mining laws "are not perfect" and need reform, but said he was "extremely pleased the White House has demonstrated a willingness to work with the people who would be most directly affected by this provision in the budget proposal."

The administration remains committed to the goal of charging more for use of government lands, and Clinton's budget projections will retain the target revenue he proposed, officials said. But privately some officials have said those targets, set by Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta, especially in mining, would be hard to achieve without congressional action.

"We're not going to insist that these be done" as part of the budget bill Congress ultimately passes, said a White House official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "The administration will pursue it as part of mining reform legislation" and an administrative regulation on grazing, he said.

Mining reform legislation, including not only royalty increases but also environmental protection provisions, already is pending in Congress, but has failed several attempts previously.

Clinton's plan called for raising $43 million over four years by increasing grazing fees, and $471 million by charging royalties for gold, silver and other minerals that private companies mine from federal lands.

Clinton Backs Off Grazing Fees
(Wire Stories)

Oregonian March 31, 1993

White House retreats on grazing fees

■ Clinton aides say they backed down out of deference to Western senators, but higher fees will still be sought

By ALAN K. OTA
of The Oregonian staff

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration met the demands of Western senators Tuesday by agreeing not to push for higher fees on grazing and mining on public lands as part of simmering debate of its budget on Capitol Hill.

The decision left the fate of the fee increases unclear and drew heavy fire from environmentalists. Administration officials confirmed the change of plan was made in deference to Western senators but said they would continue to seek the higher fees through administrative decisions and other legislation.

"This is a change of process, not a change of policy," said Kevin Sweeney, an Interior Department spokesman.

The retreat came as the administration sought to quell opposition to Clinton's budget plan, which could be up for a key vote in the Senate by next week.

Sweeney said the administration would not oppose the push by Western lawmakers in the Senate to delete the proposed fee increases from Clinton's budget plan, which already has been passed by the House.

Sweeney said the administration would likely continue to press for higher grazing fees through administrative action, following a series of hearings to be held on the issue in Western states.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt plans to start the hearings at the end of April.

Sweeney said mining fee increases would be sought as part of legislation aimed at reforming the 1872 Mining Law. That law has permited the sale of mining rights on public land for as little as $2.50 an acre.

The administration had proposed to increase the grazing fees on federal land to raise $48 million over four years. And it proposed to raised $471 million by collecting a royalty equal to 12.5 percent of the value of gold and other minerals taken from public lands.

Environmental groups criticized the Clinton administration for raising the "white flag" on efforts to reform mining and grazing laws, which have been criticized for giving away natural resources on public lands for a small

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■ Continued from Page C1

fraction of their true value.

"I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast," said Michael Francis, a national forest expert for The Wilderness Society.

Democratic senators from the West had strongly lobbied the White House in recent weeks opposing the fee boosts as a threat to residents of rural areas who depend on ranching and mining jobs for their livelihood. The effort was led by Sens. Max Baucus, D-Mont., and Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo.

Campbell said he had lobbied President Clinton on the issue by telephone. He said Clinton's decision would disprove a rumor in Washington that the president was planning to follow the lead of environmental groups on public land issues without considering the harm to the economies of states that rely on natural resource-based industries.

"The gossip was that he'd write off the West and gain votes in California by going with the environmental community," Campbell said. "This disproves that. He's really willing to listen. And he doesn't want to hurt the West."

Anchorage Daily News, Wednesday, March 31, 1993

Mining royalties dropped

Budget turnaround also saves logging

By DAVID WHITNEY
Daily News reporter

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration has retreated from its insistence that the 1994 budget include new mining royalties and the phasing out of unprofitable timber operations on federal lands.

A proposed new 12.5 percent mineral royalty and higher grazing fees were dropped Tuesday from the budget plan already passed by the House and Senate.

Daily News file photo

Sen. Ted Stevens believes the White House action means little in the long run.

And the White House also agreed to drop the planned phase-out of unprofitable logging operations like those in the Tongass National Forest, said Sen. Max Baucus, D-Montana and chairman of the Senate Environment Committee.

The turnabout cheered Alaska logging and mining interests, who have said the proposals would threaten the state's mining industry and its Southeast timber mills.

"This is excellent news," said Steve Borell of the Alaska Miners Association. "It shows that the various senators who have met with the president have gotten his attention."

Western Democrats have been lobbying the president hard to reconsider the land-use changes, but the White House had pushed for them to be part of the budget. The new position was portrayed by administration officials as a way to buy more time to debate the use of Western lands.

Administration officials said Clinton still wants the changes, but will not insist that Congress adopt them now.

"The administration's policy has not changed. The process has changed some," White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said. "We're still committed to pursuing reform in grazing, mining and below-cost timber sales."

Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens, a senior Repub-

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TURNABOUT:

Continued from Page A-1

lican on the Senate Appropriations Committee, said the White House announcement means little.

"I still expect to see mining law legislation and I think we'll have consideration of below-cost timber operations," Stevens said.

Some environmentalists, however, were outraged over what they saw as the administration's retreat on key environmental policy. They said it will take the pressure off Congress to enact the reforms this year.

"I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast," said Mike Francis, director of national forest programs at the Wilderness Society.

Mike Matz of the Sierra Club said he was "not happy" with the administration's decision.

"But their commitment to these reforms is still solid," Matz said. "It may be that for political purposes they're just scaling back the rhetoric."

The administration's decision came as House and Senate members prepared to meet in a conference committee to resolve their differences over Clinton's budget, which has cleared both chambers.

The budget had anticipated $790 million in savings and new revenues from mining royalties, increased grazing fees and the phase-out of unprofitable logging.

But during the Senate debate on the budget proposal, several Democratic lawmakers made clear that these proposals would not be approved by various authorizing committees.

"They are going through the extraordinary process of rewriting the budget after Congress has already voted on it," said Alaska Sen. Frank Murkowski, a Republican who praised the administration's new position as "good news" for the state.

The Forest Service recently reported that the Tongass, the nation's largest national forest, lost $23 million last year. The forest supplies wood to two major Southeast mills, Alaska Pulp and Ketchikan Pulp.

"What I hope is that a more realistic impact of the timber industry contribution to the state and the country is now being looked at," said Dave Mathews of the Alaska Forest Association.

A mineral royalty would affect dozens of small placer mines operating on Alaska's vast federal lands. Placer miners wash gold and other minerals out of surface sediments.

Neither of Alaska's two hardrock mines, the Red Dog zinc mine near Kotzebue and the Greens Creek silver mine near Juneau, would be affected by the mineral royalty, because they aren't on federal land.

Two major gold mines planned near Juneau, the Alaska-Juneau and Kensington mines, are also on land that likely wouldn't be affected by a royalty.

□ The Associated Press and States News Service contributed to this story.

LA DAILY NEWS - March 31, 1993

President backing down on land-management plan

By Richard L. Berke
The New York Times

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Rocky Mountain News March 31, 1993

Mining, grazing fee hikes on hold

Clinton administration yields to lobbying; western senators happy, environmentalists upset

By John Brinkley
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The White House, lobbied hard by Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., and other western senators Tuesday dropped its proposals to raise the costs of grazing and mining on public lands.

The Clinton administration said it would remove the proposals from the five-year budget plan it submitted to Congress, but that does not take the heat off the livestock and mining industries.

Clinton still wants to increase grazing fees on federal range lands and impose royalties on minerals extracted from public lands, but he will not insist that Congress hold to those proposals now, administration officials said.

Instead, the administration will seek the revenue increases through separate legislation and administrative actions, they said.

The shift — in essence agreeing to drop the fee proposals from the fiscal 1994 budget — was portrayed by administration officials as a way of buying more time to debate the use of western lands. It was greeted by western senators as a victory, but was quickly criticized by environmentalists.

"It amounts to capitulation by the White House," said Darrell Knuffke, regional director of the Wilderness Society. "It's a statement by the White House that it's time for no change.

"Western senators for 100 years have viewed themselves as spokesmen for western commodity interests," Knuffke said. "They continue to believe that those are the central features of the western economy despite evidence to the contrary."

The administration has never said how much the grazing fee should be raised, only the amount it wanted to get from the Western livestock industry — $48 million over five years.

Federal grazing fees now are well below those charged on private lands.

As for the mining royalty, the official said the White House would strongly support pending legislation that would impose an 8% royalty on the gross value of hard-rock metals and minerals extracted from public lands. The administration originally proposed a 12.5% royalty.

Campbell, who met with Clinton twice about the public land user fees, said the administration's action at least got the ranching and mining industries "off the hook of being driven by OMB."

The White House Office of Management and Budget is where the fee increase proposals originated.

"They just went down the list, and they just sort of assessed different industries," Campbell said. "They never considered what the market would stand."

The American Mining Congress issued a qualified sigh of relief.

"Although we do not know the specifics of the changes in the administration's budget proposal, we are certainly encouraged by this development," Mining Congress President John Knebel said.

The Wilderness Society took the opposite view.

"I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast," said Michael Francis, director of the Wilderness Society's national forest program.

Denver Post March 31, 1993

Environmentalists blast deal on mine fees

Clinton gave in too easily, they say

By Adriel Bettelheim
Denver Post Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A compromise Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell and other Western Democrats struck with the White House on mining and grazing fees has environmental groups charging the Clinton administration has sold out.

The compromise announced yesterday removes proposed fee increases from the budget Congress will adopt this year. While the administration is still expected to pursue reforms to mining and grazing later this year in Congress, some groups say Clinton gave in quickly rather than risk losing Western votes on his budget proposal.

"We see it as one last, desperate attempt to stop the train from moving," said Melanie Griffin, Washington director of the Sierra Club.

"They came out swinging in the right direction and got the environmental community behind them, but at the first sign of the enemy on the horizon they wilted from the battlefield," said Mike Francis, a spokesman for the Wilderness Society.

The Clinton administration proposed in its fiscal 1994 budget to increase revenues from public lands by hiking below-market grazing fees and impose a new 12.5 percent royalty on hardrock mining.

In all, Clinton's initial plan estimated it could raise $48 million over four years by raising grazing fees and $471 million by charging royalties for gold, silver and other minerals mined from public lands.

But a coalition of Western Democratic senators led by Campbell and Sen. Max Baucus of Montana argued the increases would be unfair to the West and put a heavy burden on local business interests.

With the White House nervous about Democratic defections as the Senate prepares to vote on Clinton's budget proposals, administration officials yesterday agreed to strike the user fee issue and also remove provisions that would have eliminated below-cost timber sales.

Campbell yesterday said he was "elated" with the White House agreement.

"They heard us when we argued that crucial policy issues shouldn't be driven by bottom-line numbers or the hurry-it-up nature of the budget reconciliation bill," Campbell said.

The issue of user fees is sensitive in Colorado, where about 2,700 ranchers graze animals on some 13 million acres owned by the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau

Please see MINING on 11A

Mining, grazing reform now left up to Congress

MINING from Page 1A

of Land Management.

Meanwhile, hardrock miners extract more than $250 million worth of minerals in the state each year, though the figure has been depressed because of weak metals prices.

An aide to Campbell said the freshman senator has been at odds with environmentalists before but remains committed to reforming mining and grazing fees.

"We're not walking away from the issue, and if that's what they think, they're sorely misreading the White House and Ben," the aide said.

Any reforms to mining or grazing will now come as part of legislation proposed in Congress.

Meanwhile, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt will hold a series of meetings in the West next month to get public comment from those who would be affected by the fee hikes.

Babbitt earlier this year expressed discomfort at having to raise mining and grazing fees as part of the budget process.

Campbell and the other western senators are said to be pushing a two-tiered grazing fee system that would distinguish between ranchers whose income isn't primarily derived from agriculture and those who are fully dependent on it.

The system is expected to charge the part-time ranchers more.

Meanwhile, Babbitt is said to favor a system that encourages proper range management by offering rebates for responsible land use.

However, the cost of administering a rebate program could wipe out any cost savings.

On mining, Campbell and the other western lawmakers are expected to push for a lower royalty.

Billings Gazette
Montana

March 31, 1993

Policy change shocks environmentalists

By MICHAEL MILSTEIN
Gazette Wyoming Bureau

Environmentalists, buoyed by the election of a president friendly to their cause, said Tuesday they were "blindsided" by the Clinton administration's agreement to pull back on its proposed Western land reforms.

Representatives of conservation and environmental groups blasted the administration's change of heart. The Wilderness Society described it as a sudden surrender to special interests.

"I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast," said Michael Francis, director of The Society's national forest program. "The Clinton White House came out charging, but once close enough to see the whites of the enemy's eyes, turned tail."

Tim Warner, a spokesman for Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., said that depiction was "uneducated."

Baucus and other Western Senate Democrats had been lobbying the White House in recent weeks to ease its reform proposals, which they said would harm the West's economy.

The Montana senator announced Monday the administration would drop land reform proposals from its budget package. Baucus said there is room for reform in government land policies, but that hikes in hardrock mineral royalties, grazing fees and elimination of below-cost timber sales should proceed through the legislative process.

Environmentalists, however, complained Baucus was pursuing a strategy that would keep subsidies in place by stalling reforms in Congress, where they have languished for years.

"This will keep Montana's and Wyoming's economy in the 19th century," said Michael Scott of The Wilderness Society. "The senators are going to reach deeply into the pockets of taxpayers to keep paying subsidies to huge multinational corporations that benefit from public lands."

Weaker policy changes proposed by Baucus and other Western senators will turn "meaningful reform into a token gesture." Scott said: "Frankly, we were blindsided."

Louisa Willcox of the Greater Yellowstone Coalition said the land reform plan "was environmentally sound and economically fair" because it would have miners and loggers pay market value for resources. The region around Yellowstone National Park is booming in population due to natural qualities that the land reform proposals would protect.

"More delays in halting environmental damage will only kill the goose that lays the golden egg," she said.

Warner said Clinton staffers "haven't reversed themselves at all." Following an "education process" of talking to Western lawmakers, the administration simply realized that Congress is a "more proper forum" for discussing the land issues, he said.

That will provide for "more balanced, fair reform," Warner said, rather than the "brutal reform" that might have progressed if the changes were passed quickly as part of the president's new budget.

Billings Gazette
Montana

March 31, 1993

By MICHAEL MILSTEIN
Gazette Wyoming Bureau

After weeks of talks with Clinton administration staffers, a Montana senator announced the president has agreed to drop major changes in Western land management policy from his budget package.

Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., said Clinton's staff will not ask for immediate increases in grazing fees on public lands, an end to below-cost timber sales from the national forests or new royalty payments on miners digging minerals from public lands.

In addition, the president has agreed to reduce cuts in the farm program and to work with Congress on "legitimate concerns" over his energy tax, the Montana senator said.

Word of the turnaround came without warning for foes and proponents of the changes and Interior Department officials, who had already added new fee money into their upcoming budget.

A Baucus spokesman said the administration's agenda still includes Western land reforms. But a Thursday memo from Baucus and Sen. Ben Nighthorse-Campbell, D-Colo., to White House Chief of Staff Mack McClarty asks the administration to moderate its intentions.

Instead of imposing a 12.5 percent gross mineral royalty as suggested by new Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, for instance, the Western lawmakers suggest a 4 percent royalty on miners' net profits. They would also give the Interior Secretary power to waive royalty fees.

Also in the memo obtained by The Gazette, Baucus and Nighthorse-Campbell

(More on Policy, Page 7A)

■ Angry environmentalists/7A

Policy

From Page One

propose hiking grazing fees in the West by just 24.7 percent, from $1.86 per month for a cow and a calf to $2.32. That would raise $35 million to be "invested in the improvement of the range resource."

Some studies show the free market value of the range would be many times higher than the government now charges.

Michael Scott of The Wilderness Society said the relaxed changes are nothing more than "window dressing."

Baucus spokesman Tim Warner said the memo to McClarty was a "starting point" for negotiations with the White House. Clinton has not given up on land reforms, he said, but will pursue them through the legislative process rather than as part of the new federal budget.

"Each of these issues will be addressed later in other forums, and I do believe they need to be addressed, but in a way that is fair and balanced," Baucus said in a release. "The American West cannot be made to suffer more than other areas of the country."

But a leading Democratic advocate of land reforms in the House of Representatives said Clinton's reversal came out of the blue and would make it difficult for any key reforms to get passed into law.

"This is a fundamental mistake by the administration," said Rep. George Miller, D-Calif. "The gridlock normally associated with Western land battles will continue to dominate the Congress."

Baucus led a dozen Western Democratic senators who met with Clinton two weeks ago to complain about the proposed energy tax and new fees for grazing and mining on federal lands. Those new fees were high-profile parts of the president's new budget.

The budget proposals would have phased out below-cost timber sales, in which the Forest Service sells trees for prices that don't cover the cost of the sale. The Forest Service said it lost $50 million on sales totaling $255 million in 1992.

Baucus and Nighthorse-Campbell, who said they also represented several other Western senators, suggested in their memo that the Forest Service cut its expenses on below-cost forests by $72 million over five years.

That would still allow the agency to lose money on timber sales when costs are inflated by efforts to protect sensitive species or when logging is needed to accomplish "management objectives."

They said royalties on hardrock minerals like gold "must be reasonable and rational," since they are difficult to discover and have volatile prices. The 4 percent royalty the senators proposed would be phased in over three years, and could be waived by the Secretary of Interior if conditions make the new fee "inequitable."

The two senators said they "remain extremely concerned about the onerous effect" of the Clinton energy tax on Western states.

They asked that any energy tax be structured so it is collected "as close as possible to the fuel consumption point," to reduce the impact on oil and gas producers. And it should not be "overly burdensome" on agriculture and energy intensive industries such as aluminum, steel and paper manufacturers.

WASHINGTON (AP) _ An angry chairman of the House Natural Resources Committee says President Clinton is making a "fundamental mistake" in dropping his insistence that Congress include land-use fee increases in its budget blueprint.

But a key Senate backer of mining reforms sees no problem with Clinton's move.

The White House said Tuesday it still was committed to charging higher fees for grazing and mining on federally owned lands, but would pursue those through separate legislative and administrative methods rather than as part of the budget process.

That didn't mollify Rep. George Miller, D-Calif., the House committee chairman. He said Clinton's decision was "a serious undermining of those efforts" toward reform of longtime government policies on public lands.

"This is a fundamental mistake by the administration," said Miller, a longtime proponent of reducing federal subsidies on Western lands.

However, Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., a leading proponent of mining law reform, said he did not object to the move. He said it would allow more opportunity to debate broader questions in mining law reform, such as environmental reclamation issues he is pursuing.

At issue are Clinton's proposals to increase grazing fees on federally owned rangelands and to make mining companies pay royalties for the minerals they take from federal lands. The debate is over whether the revenues expected from those changes should be nailed into the budget that Congress passes, or should be dealt with separately.

"The administration's policy has not changed. The process has changed some," said White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers. "We're still committed to pursuing reform in grazing, mining and below-cost timber sales."

The administration initially had touted the subsidy cuts as an important component of deficit-reduction efforts that urged sacrifices by everyone. But Clinton subsequently bowed to pressure from Western senators who objected to slashing the subsidies and wanted the issue out of the budget process.

"It was very clear that the desire to have substantial deficit reduction and everybody making a sacrifice is what was driving everybody," Miller said in an interview.

Removing the issue from the budget considerations would "take the pressure off people to vote for the national interest versus the special interest," he said.

Don Mellman of the Wilderness Society agreed.

"It's much easier to pass these politically painful changes in these federal land subsidies when they are part of a larger package where everyone is being asked to sacrifice," he said.

Administration officials portrayed the shift as a way to buy more time to debate the use of Western lands and draw in broader environmental issues.

Western Democratic senators, who met with Clinton two weeks ago to press their case, cheered the decision.

"President Clinton has recognized the adverse impact that his plan would have on Montana and other Western states and has moved boldly to address this injustice," said Sen. Max Baucus of Montana.

John Knebel, president of the American Mining Congress, said the move indicates the administration "has taken into consideration the impact its proposals would have on the economies of Western states."

Clinton's plan called for raising $48 million over four years by increasing grazing fees, and $471 million by charging royalties for gold, silver and other minerals that private companies mine from federal lands.

To meet the mining revenue target, the administration had proposed a 12.5 percent royalty on gross mining revenues, despite furious opposition from the mining industry and its congressional supporters.

Increasing grazing fees can be handled without congressional action, although Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is contemplating giving credits to ranchers for improvements to the range land. That approach may require legislation.

AP-DS-03-31-93

March 31, 1993

Denver Post

WESTERN EMPIRE

MONTANA

BILLINGS

■ **EQUIPMENT MISSING** — The U.S. Bureau of Land Management has lost about $7.5 million worth of equipment, at least partly because of poor record-keeping federal auditors have found.

The bureau failed to assign responsibility for property, maintain records or to investigate missing, stolen or damaged property, reports the Interior Department's inspector general.

Cy Jamison, BLM director at the time of the audit, said agency officials "disagree substantially" with the report, but the BLM will strengthen its record-keeping.

The audit, reported yesterday by the Billings Gazette, said nearly 11,000 pieces of equipment were missing from BLM offices across the West. For example, the BLM's Denver Service Center was missing 428 items worth $739,000, including 40 modems, 35 computer monitors, 32 computer terminals, 29 printers and a central processing unit worth $61,739.

Rocky Mountain News March 31, 1993

Parks face water woes, group warns

Environmental report contends development, pollution threatening 3 pristine preserves

By Gary Gerhardt
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

There are serious threats to water flowing through national parks, but the National Park Service often is helpless to prevent them, according to a report issued Tuesday by a watchdog group.

The National Parks and Conservation Association report says the threats include dams, geothermal development, acid rain, mining projects and unprotected watersheds outside and upstream from parks. The report also says there's a lack of effective regulations to curb use and pollution of water, and inadequate basic research.

"Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt said he wants the national parks to be the flagship of America's environmental efforts," said NPCA president Paul Pritchard. "This report is an SOS from the Titanic."

The NPCA, a non-profit organization working on national parks issues, highlighted three Rocky Mountain regional parks with potential problems: Yellowstone, Zion and Dinosaur.

Dinosaur National Monument in northwestern Colorado faces the same situation the Grand Canyon did years ago, Pritchard said. Dams proposed on the Yampa River would reduce the natural flow of the park's water, and the Flaming Gorge dam and hydroelectric plant on the Green River has changed the river's ecology.

Oil pipelines crisscross the Yampa and its watersheds, presenting a serious risk to aquatic life and water quality. Water runoff from cattle feedlots and agricultural lands, leaking septic tanks and inadequate wastewater treatment also affect the river ecology.

Monument superintendent Dennis Huffman said he needs an additional $400,000 to $500,000 a year for scientists to collect baseline data to protect the waters.

In Yellowstone, proposals to tap geothermal systems for heating and power generation risk turning off Old Faithful geyser.

"Can you imagine turning off the very symbol of America's national parks?" Pritchard said.

In Utah's Zion National, exploding populations in cities around the parks have developers calling for dams on Virgin River's North and East Forks. The reservoirs would flood natural canyons and tame the flash floods that carved the park's spectacular landscape.

Terri Martin, NPCA's Rocky Mountain regional director, said park officials often aren't consulted before actions affecting them are taken upstream.

"There are administrative and Congressional actions needed to correct this . . .," she said.

Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, Monday, March 29, 1993

Babbitt serves as point man in forest fight

By JOEL CONNELLY
Seattle Post-Intelligencer

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Associated Press photo

FOREST TOUR—Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, left, and California Congressman Dan Hamburg put on flight suits before taking a helicopter tour of some California forests Sunday.

Diverse group due for forest meeting

■ The list of those who will participate in the Portland conference Friday represents a wide spectrum of interests

By DON HAMILTON
of The Oregonian staff

WASHINGTON — Loggers and scientists, union leaders, environmentalists, mill owners and economists —even a Roman Catholic archbishop —will lead President Clinton through the intricacies of the timber crisis Friday during the Northwest Forest Conference in Portland.

Clinton on Tuesday released the names of the 50 people who will take part in the day-long gathering at the Oregon Convention Center. The list, a surprisingly diverse potpourri of familiar players and little-known names, drew generally positive reactions.

"I'm sure the White House has carefully balanced it," said Andy Kerr of the Oregon Natural Resources Council, who received a last-minute invitation after national environmental groups and some Northwest lawmakers lobbied for his inclusion.

"The list shows the administration's understanding of the breadth of issues that needs to be considered," said Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. James Geisinger, the association's president, will be a key presenter.

■ **FORESTS:** Environmentalists petitioned the U.S. Forest Service on Tuesday to stop logging old-growth forests in Eastern Oregon. **Page B12**

■ **FISH:** The Northwest Forest Conference will go beyond trees to discuss the survival of fish and fisheries. **Page B12**

Clinton, accompanied by Vice President Al Gore, four Cabinet secretaries and three other advisers, will use the information gleaned Friday to draft what they hope will be a long-term solution to the forest and timber deadlock that has plagued the Northwest.

The conference fulfills a promise Clinton made in the Northwest last year while a candidate. He now will try to follow through on his contention that the environment can be protected while preserving the economic underpinnings of the region. Clinton and Gore will seek a resolution where others have failed and in doing so will challenge long-standing political and social animosities.

Both Clinton and Gore will take part in the entire conference, which is scheduled to begin at 10:30 a.m. and wind up with a closing statement from Clinton at 4:30 p.m. Also attending will be Govs. Barbara Roberts of Oregon, Mike Lowry of Washington, Walter Hickel of Alaska, Cecil D. Andrus of Idaho and Pete Wilson of California.

Invitations were being sent out late Tuesday to several hundred people being asked to observe the gathering.

Please turn to FORESTS, Page A13

Forests:

■ Continued from Page One

They are, said a White House official, people who have taken part in the Northwest forest debate in recent years. The gathering, however, will not be open to the general public. Few, if any, members of Congress will attend, although many plan to send their natural resource aides.

The conference will be a roundtable discussion fashioned after Clinton's economic summit held in Little Rock, Ark., before his inauguration. On Friday, Clinton and Gore will lead a nine-member panel that will include Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy; Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt; Labor Secretary Robert Reich; Commerce Secretary Ron Brown; Carol Browner, head of the Environmental Protection Agency; Alice Rivlin, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget; and Jack Gibbons, the White House science and technology adviser.

The agenda calls for a welcome from Roberts and Portland Mayor Vera Katz, opening statements from Clinton and Gore, and a historical perspective from E. Kimbark MacColl.

Then the real work starts. Three panels will appear one by one before Clinton's group. The first, with 17

Roundtable discussion slated

people, will address who is affected by the crisis. The second panel, with 13 people, will look at the ecological and economic situation. And the third, with 20 people, will discuss solutions. Each panel will have about 90 minutes in front of Clinton's group.

At the start of each panel, four or five people will make opening statements and then the session will be thrown open to all panelists for comment. A senior White House official, who asked to remain unidentified, said participants had no restrictions on what they could say.

"We want them to speak from their hearts and from their experience," the official said.

The idea, the official said, is to introduce Clinton, Gore and the others to as many voices from the region as possible.

"The conference is about listening and learning. In the end, they'll have a strong understanding of these issues."

The list encompasses a wide range of timber industry players, from giants Weyerhaeuser Co. and Sierra Pacific Industries with their vast private timberland holdings, to mid-size, family owned companies such as Portland-based Willamina Lumber Co. and Pacific Lumber Sales Co. of Seattle, which rely heavily on public timber.

> *"We want them to speak from their hearts and from their experience."*
>
> White house official

No one from the grass-roots Oregon Lands Coalition made the list, but Larry Mason, a timber community activist who heads the Forks, Wash., Western Commercial Forest Action Committee, did.

A number of loggers will get their say. So will a longshoreman, a lumber yard owner and the founder of a forest and salmon habitat restoration business cooperative.

Most of the leading scientists involved in the spotted owl and old-growth studies of the past four years will be involved.

Fisheries are sure to be in the spotlight, with representatives of the Pacific Rivers Council, Columbia Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, Oregon Salmon Commission and Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations on the list.

Two sociologists will discuss the impact of economic hard times on timber families, as will Archbishop Thomas Murphy of the Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle, who has helped organize relief efforts in Western Washington.

Representatives of most key environmental groups were invited. A notable exception was The Wilderness Society, which has played a prominent role in framing arguments for saving old-growth forests with its work in forest mapping, forest ecology and the economic transitions facing the rural Northwest.

After the conference, White House officials and congressional leaders will start drafting what they hope will be a long-term solution that could be administrative action, legislation or, more likely, a combination of both, a senior White House official said Tuesday, asking to remain anonymous.

But no timetable has yet been set for drafting the solution. It will be completed, though, as soon as possible, the official said.

"The goal is to move with great urgency but with great restraint toward a balanced policy," the official said.

Kathie Durbin of The Oregonian staff contributed to this story.

AP-Forests-Lingo
When No One's Certain About What Certainty Means

By SCOTT SONNER

WASHINGTON (AP) - When leaders of foreign countries meet, much care is taken to accurately translate terms and phrases that carry a loaded meaning for one side or the other.

Likewise, when President Clinton convenes a conference on the use of federal forests Friday in Portland, Ore., he'll hear what may sound like a foreign language.

There'll be talk of the God Squad, the Gang of Four, indicator species, critical habitat and stumpers like sufficiency language.

That's the language that has evolved in the long-simmering dispute over whether loggers should be allowed to cut trees in federal forests where northern spotted owls live.

Perhaps most importantly, sprinkled throughout the testimony will be countless references to ``certainty.'' The problem? Nobody agrees on what that means.

``When you talk in generalities, everyone agrees. It's different when you start putting lines on paper,'' said Rep. Bruce Vento, D-Minn., chairman of the House Natural Resources subcommittee on forests and public lands.

To environmentalists, certainty means assurances that the old-growth forests will be protected against logging.

To the timber industry, it means they'll be allowed to cut enough trees to meet demands for lumber and wood products.

And to workers, it means a promise they still will have a job in the forest or the saw mills.

During a briefing for about 30 members of Congress earlier this month, Vice President Al Gore said that the Clinton administration advocates ``certainty.''

But is he talking the same language as lawmakers from the Northwest?

``I'm not sure that they are,'' said Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash. ``By the time they are finished, I hope they mean the same thing by certainty as we do.''

For Northwest lawmakers, talk about ``certainty'' means that any legislation regulating use of the region's forests must include ``sufficiency language'' - another buzz phrase.

Such language in a bill would have the effect of insulating the legislation from certain court challenges, an idea vigorously opposed by environmentalists.

For example, any bill to resolve the dispute will likely divide the region, allowing logging in some areas and banning it in others. Timber industry leaders are most concerned that even in the areas approved for logging, environmentalists would file lawsuits to block the activity.

Sufficiency language would say the bill's protections are sufficient to meet all other existing laws.

If outsiders can master multiple views on ``certainty'' and jargon like ``sufficiency language,'' stuff like the God Squad, the Gang of Four and the critical habitat of indicator species ought to be easy.

Here's some help.

The God Squad is really the Endangered Species Committee, nicknamed because it can exempt a creature from the Endangered Species Act and allow it to become extinct if the cost of saving it is too great.

The Gang of Four is a committee of four scientists who gave Congress the most recent data on the condition of old-growth forests, home to the spotted owl.

Critical habitat is the area designated essential to the existence of a creature, in this case the spotted owl. Anyone who wants to conduct commercial activity, including logging, on land declared a critical habitat must first get permission from the Fish and Wildlife Service.

And an indicator species, like the spotted owl, is kind of like a canary in the coal mine. Because it's at the top of the food chain, its health is an early warning of the overall health of other life in the forest.

AP-NP-03-31-93

THE OREGONIAN, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 1993

Right questions will bring right answers

By HOWARD SOHN

IN MY OPINION

When President Clinton and his team arrive for the forest conference, they will be looking for answers.

They won't get the right answers — the ones that will lead to good public policy — unless they ask the right questions.

Much of the debate to now has been counterproductive to good public policy because the issues have been defined by adversarial parties doing battle and by the news appeal of conflict.

Framing the issue as spotted owls vs. loggers, while symbolically potent, represents too narrow a focus and generates more heat than light. The bird and the industry employee may be victims of policy, but they themselves are not the issue.

The questions deserving attention are more basic: What are we looking for from our forests? What is their role in a human-inhabited world? What are our objectives in managing the forests, and how can we manage them to meet those objectives?

Should we manage our forests or leave them alone? In fact, to manage or not is not a choice we have. Any decisions we make — to establish more reserves, to fight fires or not — are forest-management decisions.

The real question is: *How actively* should we manage our forests? Should we use the best science available to generate or regenerate desired forest conditions and characteristics, or should we step back and let nature take its course, healing any wounds in its own good time?

How much old growth should be protected? It is inappropriate to focus only on old growth, which itself is subject to various definitions and is replaceable as young forests mature. The right question: What is the optimum age distribution of our forests, given such objectives as ecosystem viability and sustainable harvest?

Central to any discussion of old-growth forests is their dynamic character. Even virgin forests are not frozen in a static state; they are subject to fire and disease, and any particular reserved forest may not survive without an appropriate human role.

What is the right level of annual harvest? Policy-makers risk jumping on this question prematurely. The forest sciences are not yet capable of accurately projecting the right harvest level over time. More large-scale research is needed. The right question is: How can we balance the demand for forest products with the present, incomplete state of scientific knowledge about ecosystem sustainability? The right answer will take into account the entire forest system.

What is the impact of logging in the Pacific Northwest on the environment? This question is valid provided the impact of present practices, not abandoned past practices, are the basis for assessing future impact. But there is an equally important question: What is the global environmental impact of substantially reduced harvests in the Pacific

Howard Sohn is president of Sun Studs Inc. and Rock Timber Co., both of Roseburg.

Northwest?

Our chief concern should be the same as Vice President Al Gore's in his book, "Earth in the Balance": the effects of what we do on environmental quality worldwide. The Northwest is blessed with exceptional forest growth and regeneration capacity. From a global environmental-policy standpoint, the world's supply of wood and paper raw material should come primarily from those places best endowed in regeneration potential. To shut down here simply shifts the burden to others, and to places and products whose adverse environmental impact is greater.

How can we satisfy the environmentalists and the industry? This politically driven question is the wrong one to ask. In fact, neither environmental-advocacy organizations nor the forest-products industry deserve attention in their own right. Both exist to serve the needs or interests of others.

The correct question is: How can we meet the world's need for wood and paper products on a continuing basis in a way that is compatible with a quality environment? Despite all the rhetoric, timber is not the issue; the demand for wood-based products and where they will come from is. And that makes it not only an economic issue, but an environmental one in which the non-commodity values of the forests such as water quality, wildlife and carbon dioxide conversion are critical factors.

Should we ban clearcuts? However visually displeasing clearcuts are to everyone, that is, unless aesthetics is our top priority, the wrong question. The right question is: What harvest practices are most consistent with our forest-management objectives? If rapid regeneration of harvested forests is our goal, do clearcuts have an appropriate place as one practice among others? Or does this practice have effects, other than visual, that are environmentally adverse and should be taken into account?

Oregonian March 31, 1993

Conference to include three discussions

■ The participants represent forestry, ecology, business and related fields

The following people will take part in the Northwest Forest Conference at the Oregon Convetion Center in Portland. The conference is broken down into three roundtable discussions.

Roundtable 1, 11:15 a.m. 'Who is Affected and How?'

Presenters

• Mike Draper, executive secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Western Council of Industrial Workers, Portland. His members work as loggers, in sawmills, and in plywood and particle board manufacturing and remanufacturing plants.

• Diana Wales is a partner in a small law firm in Roseburg, with a practice limited to family law. She is also a co-chairwoman of the Umpqua Valley Audubon Society Conservation Committee.

• Bob Spence, president, Pacific Lumber Sales Co., Seattle. Spence and his family operate this privately held company, which owns three sawmills and exports both logs and finished wood products.

• Patricia Lee, charter member Oregon Trout, Streamside Inn, Idevld Park, Ore., runs an inn and is in the process of creating an environmental education center for the children of Douglas County.

• Archbishop Thomas Murphy, Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle. Murphy has led the Roman Catholic Church in Western Washington since 1991.

Panelists

• Bill Arthur, director of the Sierra Club's Northwest Office in Seattle.

• Nadine Bailey, Hayfork, Calif., the wife of a logger and a spokeswoman for loggers whose livelihoods depend on timber harvesting.

• Nat Bingham, a commercial fisherman who owns and operates a fishing vessel and fishes for salmon, crab and albacore.

• Buzz Eades, Eades Forest Resources, a graduate forester and a sixth-generation logger.

• John Hampton, chief executive officer, Willamina Lumber Co., Portland.

• Ken Marson, Marson & Marson Lumber, runs a retail lumber yard, Ace Hardware Center and Truss Manufacturing Plant.

• Larry Mason, Western Commercial Forest Action Committee, Forks, Wash., owned a mill that had to close.

• Margaret Powell, member, Hoopa Tribe, Hoopa, Calif., owner of a small mill at the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation.

• Vic Sher, the managing attorney for the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund in Seattle.

• Phyllis Strouger, mayor, Hoquiam, Wash., served on the Hoquiam City Council from 1969 to 1988. She has served as mayor since 1988.

• Frank Tallerico, superintendant of schools, Siskiyou County, Yreka, Calif., has served as superintendent for the past eight years.

• Meca Wawona, founder of New Growth Forestry in Ukiah, Calif.

Roundtable 2, 1:30 p.m. 'Ecological and Economic Assets'

Forest management presenters

• John Gordon, dean, Yale University School of Forestry. Gordon is a forest ecologist who spent the majority of his career at Oregon State University. He has written extensively on forest policy issues and was one of the "Gang of Four," who produced a 1991 study on the health of the forests and different management alternatives.

• Lorin Hicks, Plum Creek Timber Co., Seattle. Hicks is a wildlife biologist who was a contributing author of the Spotted Owl Recovery Plan.

• Charles Meslow, director, U.S. Department of Interior Fish and Wildlife Service, Cooperative Research Unit, Corvallis. Meslow is a research biologist at Oregon State University.

Panelists

• Rick Brown, National Wildlife Federation, Portland. Brown is a wildlife and forest ecologist who previously worked for the Forest Service.

• Jerry Franklin, University of Washington, Seattle. Franklin is a leading forest ecologist whose research focuses on old-growth forests.

• Chad Oliver, University of Washington, Seattle.

• Jim Sedell, Department of Agriculture Forest Service, Corvallis.

• Dan Thomaschesld, vice president, Sierra Pacific Industries, Redding, Calif.

Economic issues presenters

• Brian Greber, professor, Oregon State University, Corvallis. Greber's research addresses forest product markets and regional economics.

• Louise Fortmann, University of California, Berkeley. Fortmann is a rural sociologist who has focused on environmental protest and community well-being.

Panelists

• Ann Hanus, assistant state forester, Oregon Department of Forestry, Salem.

• Bob Lee, University of Washington, Seattle. Lee's field of study centers on the social aspects of forest resource use.

• Ed Whitelaw, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Roundtable 3, 3:15 p.m. 'Where Do We Go From Here?'

Presenters

• Julie Norman, president of Headwaters, a Southwest Oregon grass-roots group working for federal forestry reform through policy research, timber sale monitoring, public education, and negotiations/litigation.

• Jim Geisinger, president, Northwest Forestry Association, Portland. The association represents forest products manufacturers and forest landowners in Washington and Oregon who depend on public lands for a fiber supply.

• Gus Kostopulos, executive director, Woodnet, a nonprofit network of more than 300 wood products manufacturers on Washington's Olympic Peninsula.

• Roslyn Haffner, has operated a vocational counseling service since 1987, focusing primarily on assisting injured workers back to gainful employment.

• Rich Nafziger is currently deputy insurance commissioner for policy and legislative affairs for the state of Washington. Between 1988 and 1993, he served as special assistant to the governor for timber policy and rural development and was director of the governor's timber team.

Panelists

• Charles W. Bingham, executive vice president, Weyerhaeuser Co., director of Puget Sound Power and Light Co..

• Jim Coates, vice president, International Woodworkers of America Local 3-2.

• Bob Doppelt, executive director and co-founder of the Pacific Rivers Council.

• Irv Fletcher, president, Oregon AFL-CIO.

• Eric Hollenbeck, has worked in the woods since age 14, and is opening a School of the Trsditional Arts to educate tomorrow's woodworkers and entrepreneurs.

• Jim Irvine is vice president and treasurer, National Association of Home Builders and is a home builder from Portland.

• Andy Kerr, conservation director, Oregon Natural Resources Council.

• Katherine Mater, vice president of Mater Engineering Inc., a forest products engineering and market research firm.

• Walter Minnick, CEO of TJ International of Boise, one of the largest purchasers of veneer in the west.

• Charles Ollivier, active participant in the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 14 for 27 years, 12 of which were as prusident.

• Felice Pace, program coordinator for the Klamath Forest Alliance, a nonprofit organization based in Northern California.

• Tom Robinson, manager of the Oregon Salmon Commission.

• Dave Schmidt, a Linn County commissioner since 1988.

• Ted Strong, executive director of the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission.

• Jack Ward Thomas, chief research biologist and project leader for range and wildlife habitat research for the Forest Service.

The Examiner — Tuesday, March 30, 1993

Independence, Mo
(Reprinted from San Francisco Examiner)

GUEST EDITORIAL

At loggerheads over cutting trees

We're tempted to suggest that the upcoming timber summit will show how the industry and environmentalists are at loggerheads.

Loggerheads, however, had nothing to do with loggers. They were poles with iron cups for melting tar, which sailors in wooden ships would hurl at their foes at close range, or "at loggerheads."

As it stands, President Clinton will attend and Vice President Gore will preside Friday at the loggerheads conference in Portland, Ore., on cutting of trees in the national forests and other federal lands in upper California and the Pacific Northwest.

Clinton already has said any compromise "will probably make everybody mad."

Delegates to the summit include new secretaries of Interior, Agriculture and Labor, other Clintonians and representatives of the industry, environmental groups, organized labor and local communities.

Much more is at stake than a federal court's shutdown last June of all logging in 17 national forests while awaiting a federal plan to protect an endangered species, the northern spotted owl. The Forest Service has identified 667 species reliant on old-growth forests in the same region, a risk list led by the marbled murrelet (a small seabird) and about 175 kinds of fish (including several species of salmon).

Timber companies have already chopped down virtually all ancient forests on private land. Of the 21 million acres of the forest primeval that once cloaked Oregon, Washington and the northern reaches of California, most of the remaining 10 percent is in national forests and other public property.

While blaming environmentalists for an almost complete shutdown of logging and milling, timber companies export each year about 3 billion board feet of raw logs — about one in four — to Japan and other foreign mills.

A quick fix would be a long-lasting mistake. These magnificent forests, created since time-out-of-mind, face liquidation in just one generation. The administration should take the time to reach permanent solutions that won't induce combatants to toss tar at each other.

San Francisco Examiner

'Regular guy' puts tree plea up in lights

By JOAN LAATZ
of The Oregonian staff

Frank Selker has something to say to Bill Clinton when the president comes to Portland on Friday for the Northwest Forest Conference.

But how is a self-described regular guy supposed to get the top executive's attention?

Selker hopes he's found the answer: rent a marquee.

On Sunday, the Portland engineering consultant put his message on the Fox Theater marquee on Southwest Broadway in downtown Portland. He wanted it to sound casual but serious. So what'd he say?

"Yo, Bill and Al! 90% of ancient forest is cut. Save whats left."

At one side of the marquee, Selker placed the image of a tree. Along the bottom are representations of nine tree stumps. He paid $250 to rent the space for a week.

"The Fox marquee is my personal S-O-S to Bill Clinton and Al Gore," said Selker, 34. "I hope they will save what little is left of the Northwest's ancient forests from the lumber barons that control the region."

Such outspoken behavior isn't customary for Selker. The husband and father says he isn't usually an activist. But he's a native Northwesterner who remembers with longing the landscape of his childhood, when he was growing up in Longview, Wash.

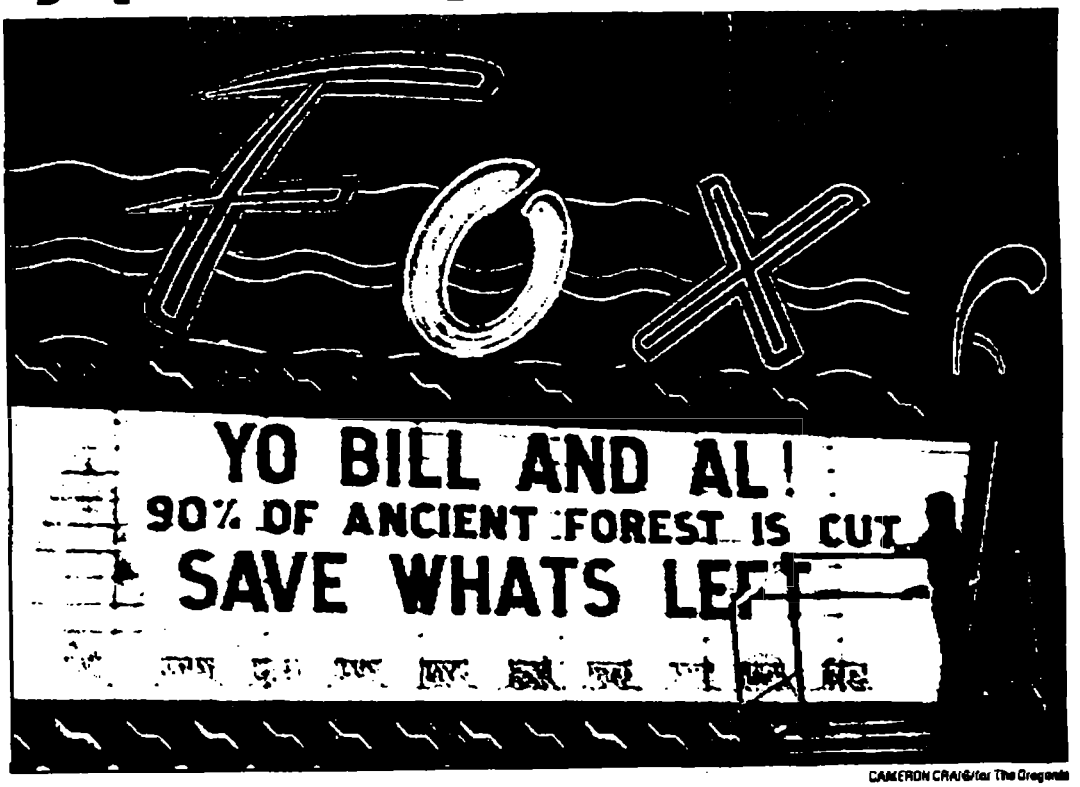
An experience last summer moved Selker to speak out. He drove by a Washington mountain lake where he'd spent many happy times camping and learning to sail. He wanted to show his young children the place.

"I couldn't believe it," he said of his reaction to the "moonscape" he encountered. "It was clear-cut, stumps clear down to shore.

"It was a gorgeous place and my kids will never see it."

When he saw the marquee a few weeks ago, he got the idea to jump on the "rare opportunity" of the president coming to town. He knows he can't deliver his message in person.

"I'm concerned that our futures aren't being represented, that my kids' futures aren't going to be represented" at the forest conference, Selker said. "I don't have much influence, I can't do a lot. But I can do this."



CAMERON CRAIG/for The Oregonian

Glenn Beattie, assistant manager at the Fox Theater, installs Frank Selker's message to the administration.

Coalition files forest-protection

Activists make the move out of fear that eastern forests will be used to replace western ones

By KATHIE DURBIN
of The Oregonian staff

An environmental coalition formally petitioned the U.S. Forest Service Tuesday to stop logging old-growth forests east of the Cascades in Oregon and Washington.

It wants the Forest Service to hold off until it develops strict new standards for protecting sensitive eastside woodpeckers, goshawks and other species.

The announcement, timed to affect President Clinton's Northwest Forest Conference in Portland on Friday, serves notice on the new administration that conservationists will continue to wage their forest protection campaign on both sides of the Cascades.

"By this action today we are sending a message that eastside forests are inextricably linked to those on the west side," said Bob Freimark of The Wilderness Society.

"The reality is that there is very little old growth left" in the ponderosa pine forests of the east side, said Tim Lillebo of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "It's gone so far that there is no way to turn it around."

Although conference organizers have put no forest-related topic off-limits, no representatives of eastside environmental or industry groups were included in the list of participants released Tuesday. Some environmentalists say they fear the administration will use the forests of Eastern Oregon, Eastern Washington, Idaho and Montana as a "sacrifice zone" to replace timber set aside in old-growth reserves west of the Cascades.

Nathaniel Lawrence of the Natural Resources Defense Council said timber sale levels on the eastside forests have dropped by nearly half in the past five years even without court injunctions, "simply because of the state of the forests." Years of overcutting, fire suppression and drought have created an ecological crisis in some eastside national forests.

In a 1991 report, a scientific panel found that "relatively little" old growth remains east of the Cascades. David Marshall, a Portland biologist who worked 31 years for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, released a report Tuesday showing that the Forest Service has set aside far less habitat for the American marten, the northern goshawk, and the pileated, three-toed, black-backed white-headed woodpeckers — all eastside species — than studies show they need.

In other developments:

- The leaders of 73 environmental groups, including major national organizations such as The Wilderness Society, National Audubon Society and Sierra Club, sent a letter to President Clinton urging him to reject any plan that calls for lifting federal court injunctions or temporarily suspending environmental laws in order to get more timber to lumber mills.
- Another environmental coalition released a list of forestry reform principles developed by conservation groups and Indian tribes at two recent conferences. More than 40 organizations, from Greenpeace and Earth Island Institute to commercial fishing associations and local grassroots and student groups, signed the letter.

petition

- Reps. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., Jolene Unsoeld, D-Wash., and Pete Stark, D-Calif., introduced a bill that would end the $100 million annual taxpayer subsidy to exporters of raw logs.

The subsidy, available under provisions of the Foreign Sales Corporation tax, should be ended to encourage domestic processing of logs from private land, the lawmakers said. The state of Washington estimates that diverting 25 percent of raw log exports to U.S. mills would save 3,000 mill jobs.

- Rep. Ron Wyden, R-Ore., introduced a bill that he said would increase timber production, jobs and forest health on public lands in Oregon, Washington and Northern California.

The bill, co-sponsored by Rep. Mike Kopetski, D-Ore., and Rep. Wally Herger, R-Calif., calls for a survey of second-growth stands in the Northwest that are not likely to be designated spotted owl habitat. The bill would provide an as-yet unspecified amount of money for reforestation projects in those stands on both public and private lands.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

Oregonian March 31, 1993

'Save the salmon' issue raises stakes in forests debate

President Clinton will be told that the state of the forests is critica to the fishing industry and to survival of river species

By JOAN LAATZ
of The Oregonian staff

Less than a lifetime ago, the Pacific Northwest was the last great domain of salmon fishing in the world.

The mysterious, prehistoric fish coursed through the region's rivers and streams like lifeblood through arteries. The Northwest was, in one writer's words, wherever the salmon went.

But then settlers in the region repeated mistakes made by those who had destroyed the wild salmon runs of Europe and the Eastern United States. They dammed their rivers without adequately providing for fish runs. They polluted them. And they logged the forests that supported the stream beds where these great anadromous fish always returned to spawn and die.

So the wild Northwest salmon have begun to disappear.

When President Clinton comes to Portland on Friday for the Northwest Forest Conference, he'll hear about far more than forests and trees.

He'll hear about the loss of thousands of fishing-industry jobs that have disappeared with the decline of the great salmon fishery. He'll be briefed on forest management plans that ignored river and habitat health. And he'll be told about an ecosystem so altered that a species that lived for thousands of years no longer can survive in it.

What do forests have to do with fish? A lot, scientists and environmentalists say.

"Salmon and forests are very closely aligned. They're really inseparable," said Jeff Pampush, executive director of the conservation group Oregon Trout. "Unless we're willing to protect the forested habitat in which salmon evolved, the old growth ... we're not going to hold onto them."

When the president sits down with regional representatives Friday, salmon will be the emerging issue that underscores the breadth of the environmental and economic problems the Northwest faces. Salmon are the messengers of what's become the mantra of the times: ecosystem management.

"This is well beyond salmon," said Bob Doppelt, executive director of the Pacific Rivers Council. "Salmon are just a symbol of a crisis in watershed ecosystems and riverine biodiversity and all the species that use them."

Salmon were relative late-comers to the debate over old-growth forests, but when they arrived they made a big splash.

Suddenly, people who couldn't care less about an obscure bird called the northern spotted owl were paying attention. They realized that to let salmon disappear would destroy much of the region's identity.

Environmentalists were quick to seize upon the salmon's plight to add fuel to the debate over the forests. But they didn't have to rely on image-making and politics to sound the alarm. Science did that.

In April 1991, when federal forest lands across the Northwest were already tied up by injunctions against logging, the American Fisheries Society announced that 214 wild runs of West Coast salmon, steelhead and cutthroat trout were in danger of going extinct. Another 106 populations were already gone, the society of professional fisheries biologists said.

The biologists blamed logging, mining, agriculture, fishing and dams for the declines.

Six months later, two biologists who had prepared the report were in front of Congress, telling House subcommittees that national forest plans under consideration were likely to contribute to "the decline and extinction of native fishes over vast portions of their range."

The forest plans that the biologists criticized already advocated big cutbacks in the amount of federal forest land available for logging in watersheds from Northern California to the Olympic Peninsula. But bigger reductions were needed, the biologists said.

Their findings came on the heels of the Gang of Four report, a forest-management study put together by government scientists after the listing of the northern spotted owl as an endangered species. Not content to rely on those reports, the U.S. Forest Service called for its own scientific studies.

All the conclusions pointed to the same thing: Protecting watersheds and wild fish would require even less logging.

Revising the forest plans would cost the region 200 million to 350 million board feet of timber annually, enough to support 3,000 to 4,000 jobs. Those losses would be on top of the economic effects of protecting old-growth forests and the northern spotted owl that depends on them.

When four populations of Snake River and Lower Columbia River salmon were added to the Endangered Species List, the stakes went up. Now federal agencies that govern river and forest activities in the region are required to consider fish protection in all their decisions.

But getting the various parties to accept responsibility for protecting fish isn't easy.

"Because the salmon range is so large, every special interest can blame every other special interest," said Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "The Corps (of Engineers) blames the Forest Service; the aluminum industry blames the fishermen. The thing is, everybody is guilty."

If that's so, then enforcing the Endangered Species Act should be done uniformly among the agencies, said Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. But he claims that's not being done.

The timber industry is barred from cutting trees, yet fishermen are still allowed to fish, he said. "All we're asking for is a fair application of the Endangered Species Act."

Major forest and river interests hope to be at the conference table Friday to impress upon the president the scope of the debate. Their messages will be different, but their sense of urgency will be the same, be it over jobs or trees or fish or ecosystems: Much is at stake.

"The thing is, do we have the political will to do something about it?" Doppelt said. "Time is of the essence ... or nature may run out of patience."

Seattle Times March 30, 1993

A battle over who owns the Northwest totem

Ross Anderson
Times editorial columnist

I FIRST saw the Pacific Northwest in 1962, when Dad squished Mom and four kids into the family Ford and meandered north from California to the Seattle World's Fair.

Thirty-one years later, I remember the Space Needle, the ferry ride to Bainbridge, Mount Rainier and the Ballard locks. But the overwhelming image is of trees. Millions upon millions of stately, lush, wonderful trees. That's how I decided, at age 14, that I would live in the Pacific Northwest. It was the trees.

I'm not the only one. Perhaps no region on Earth is more closely associated with a single emblem than the Northwest and its trees. Trees are woven into our homes, our literature, history, leisure and — even in the midst of a timber crisis — our economy. The extraordinary resource that Northwest Indians carved into totem poles has become the regional totem.

Now, as Northwesterners prepare for Friday's unprecedented White House "forest conference" in Portland, we are reminded that the regional totem is also a recurring focus for deep, intra-regional conflict.

More than ever, the Northwest seems divided into two polarized camps, each equally enamored of trees — except neither side understands the nature of the other's affection. The rift is a century old, flaring periodically into fights over clear-cuts and wilderness, over ski areas and sprawl.

This time, Northwest decision-makers acknowledge they can't solve it. For relief in the forests of Washington and Oregon, we now turn to a president from the hills of Arkansas, with the help of advisers from Tennessee, Arizona and Mississippi.

At issue, of course, is the devastating downturn in the Northwest timber industry, brought on largely by environmental efforts to protect remaining populations of spotted owls. The legal and political stalemate surrounding the Endangered Species Act already has closed mills and thrown thousands of people out of work.

Removing Northwest timber from the national market has impacts that extend across the continent. Wholesale lumber prices have nearly tripled in a few months, adding an estimated $4,600 to the cost of a typical new home.

And nobody expects Friday's "summit" to yield an instant solution.

The details of the conference have been a well-kept secret. The White House says Clinton will open the meeting, then jet off to Vancouver, B.C., handing the gavel to Vice President Al Gore. But Portland remains President Clinton's show. And neither side is confident of his loyalties. Arkansas has a mixed environmental record and millions of acres of timber, mostly privately-owned by, among others, our own Weyerhaeuser Corp.

He's clearly paying attention, however. By Friday, this president will have spent more time in the Northwest than his predecessor did in four years.

Gore, meanwhile, has won the hearts of tree-huggers — largely thanks to his 1992 book, which reads like a Greenpeace broadside.

By embracing the environmental argument, Gore strikes terror into the hearts of the timber industry. But the vice president is also an astute politician who, in his national role, is likely to be far more open to the competing arguments than he was as a senator.

Sitting nearby will be some key Cabinet officials, particularly Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Agriculture chief Mike Espy, both of whom will tour Northwest forests before taking their seats at the table.

Taylor Jones / Los Angeles Times Syndicate

For relief in the forests of Washington and Oregon, we now turn to a president from the hills of Arkansas, with the help of advisers from Tennessee, Arizona and Mississippi.

Babbitt, an intellectually adept former governor of Arizona, is a champion of the environmentalists who has a keen understanding of the conflicts inherent to publicly owned resources — including trees. Espy is a former congressman from the Mississippi delta who now oversees the Forest Service.

Both are considered among Clinton's best appointments, and both enjoy critical psychic and political distance from the fray. Insiders from both sides hope they might heal the old departmental

rivalries that aggravate the Northwest crisis.

Northwest senators and congressmen are expected to keep their distance from the deliberations. One exception may be Rep. Norm Dicks, the Bremerton Democrat who now represents the hard-hit Olympic Peninsula and is a longtime political ally to Gore. Dicks has emerged as the delegation leader on the issue, and it may be impossible to keep him out of Portland.

House Speaker Tom Foley has remained behind the scenes, but will be a critical factor if and when legislation needs to move in the House. Washington Democrats Al Swift and Jolene Unsoeld and Oregon Rep. Peter DeFazio, will be players.

Republicans don't expect to be invited to Portland. But, given the obstructionist powers of minority senators, the White House would be wise to work with Washington Sen. Slade Gorton, who has championed the cause of timber country, and Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield, dean of the Northwest delegation.

The rest of the cast is likely to be filled by carefully selected spokespersons from each of the interest groups – from Forks loggers to Weyerhaeuser and the Sierra Club. The challenge faced by Gore and Co. is to assemble a cast that articulates the key arguments, while unraveling the rhetorical and statistical morass surrounding the issue.

More than ever, the trees debate has been dominated by demagogues and a complex mythology that serves mostly to fog the issues. One side has persuaded much of the nation that our "ancient forests" have been flattened, leaving a few dozen Douglas firs to posterity. This ignores the fact that millions of trees, more than half of the old growth, are well-protected in national parks and wilderness areas encompassing thousands of square miles.

The other side continues to insist that clear-cuts are biologically sound, that a few more 200-year-old firs won't be missed – ignoring the political reality that taxpayers hate looking at denuded mountainsides, and that aesthetics help drive the politics.

If the decision-makers learn nothing else on Friday, they must go home with an understanding that the spotted owl debate does not lend itself to an easy technological or economic fix.

The forest fight has evolved from skirmishes over this grove or that into a far broader struggle over social values. It is a conflict between science and theology, between economics and aesthetics. One point of view assesses the forest in quantifiable terms – dollars and jobs per thousand board-feet. The other sees the same forest as an intangible asset, overlain with the uncertainties of global ecology.

Both are valid measurements, and there is still room in Northwest forests for trees and woodsmen. Alas, the debate is waged largely by a few people who refuse to acknowledge the other's view.

Forging all this into a tangible legislative package is a formidable task – one that has baffled our best and brightest.

We're likely to see attempts to draw new lines on federal lands, freeing up private forests for logging. We may see new incentives for timber companies to experiment with selective logging or other alternatives to clear-cuts.

Ultimately, however, it's difficult to foresee a workable solution that does not include adjustments to the Endangered Species Act. It is that vaguely-written act which moved the controversy from the political arena into the courts, which are ill-equipped to weigh the alternatives in a struggle over values.

The timber industry is adamant: Any solution that does not involve the ESA is no solution at all.

And they may be right. There is a role for the courts, which can halt destruction while the politicians sit and debate. But ultimately, only politicians can weave a meaningful compromise in a regional debate that seems to have lost its center.

Learning how to live with the owl

THE FOREST SUMMIT

Geoffrey Moss

Seattle Times March 30, 1993

Kirk Johnson
Special to The Times

THE much-awaited "summit" meets in a few days to resolve the deadlock surrounding Northwest old growth forests. But given the posturing of some timber and environmental lobbying groups, early prospects for the conference appear dim.

Organizations such as the Ancient Forest Alliance and the Northwest Forestry Association reportedly disagree over virtually every aspect of the session – from who should participate in it, to what issues should be on the table.

They continue to display a winner-take-all attitude that has stymied resolution of the conflict for five years, leaving Northwest forest communities to suffer.

Their behavior is in contrast to a growing number of rural communities and environmentally minded organizations here in the Northwest. Against enormous obstacles, these parties are working together locally to reconcile the goals of economic vitality and environmental protection.

What they seek is not an elusive "balance" between the economy and the environment, but rather synergies: ways that economic activity can promote a healthy environment; and that healthy ecosystems can enrich their inhabitants, economically and otherwise.

Many of these initiatives offer lessons – for communities and environmental organizations interested in pursuing similar initiatives, and for participants in the upcoming forest conference:

Move beyond polarization. A great deal of fear and distrust separates many rural community residents and environmentalists (who may be local residents as well). But numerous instances exist of erstwhile adversaries engaging in successful negotiation, facilitation, or other conflict-resolution efforts.

One example is Condon, Mont. With the help of a local facilitator, loggers, mill owners, environmentalists, merchants and other residents have moved from open confrontation to working together to diversify their economy and maintain their quality of life in the face of declining timber harvests.

Forge new alliances. As events such as last summer's "Earth Summit" focus greater attention on the concept of sustainable development, foundations and other funders look to encourage new collaborations that move beyond the economy-vs.-environment stalemate.

With a foundation grant, the Wilderness Society worked with Oregon's Linn County and Washington's Grays Harbor County to develop tourism and recreation strategies, as a partial response to the need for economic diversification.

Portland-based Ecotrust has brought substantial expertise and foundation funding to a project to promote a healthy ecosystem and economy in Washington's Willapa Bay area. While such initiatives can raise concerns of local vs. external control, many community leaders report that the experience, on balance, is beneficial.

Cooperate to add value. Additional processing of the Northwest's natural resources before they leave local communities can increase the jobs and economic benefits derived from sustainable harvest levels. But rural small businesses often lack the capital, scale and expertise needed to implement these value added strategies. One promising approach is for small companies to work together and "act big" when it serves their interest.

A number of wood products networks have formed in Washington and around the region, helping member firms share costs, jointly produce goods and target new markets, frequently overseas.

In a similar manner, the four tribes that make up the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission are considering establishing a company to purchase, process and market fish caught from the Columbia River.

Think forests, not timber. The Clinton administration's decision to rename the "timber conference" as the "forest conference" is instructive for rural communities.

Timber will remain an important resource for the Northwest, particularly high quality wood for value added products. But forward-thinking forest managers are considering other ways to tap the economic potential of the forests.

In Washington, the Forest Service's Darrington Ranger District is working with the local community to expand recreational activities such as kayaking and cross-country skiing, while looking to establish Darrington as a center for forestry research and natural resources education.

Harness environmental forces. An environmentally minded public increasingly makes its interests known through spending and investment decisions (just look at the recent tourist boycotts targeted at Victoria's sewage policies and Alaska's proposed wolf kill).

As a test of its sustainable forestry certification program, southern Oregon's Rogue Institute for Ecology and Economy is monitoring the harvest and production of 250,000 board feet of lumber for Wal-Mart's new environmental store (dubbed an "Eco-Mart") in Kansas.

Seattle-based Cascadia Revolving Fund is pooling funds from socially and environmentally minded investors to help finance small wood products firms and other enterprises on the Olympic Peninsula.

Diversify, diversify, diversify. In recent years, rural communities have sought to diversify their economies to avoid excessive reliance on a single resource such as timber. At the same time many natural resource policies have reduced ecosystem diversity to boost short-term economic gain. Throughout much of the Northwest, single species tree farms have replaced diverse natural forests, while hatcheries have contributed to the decline of wild salmon.

Yet simplified ecosystems, like simplified economies, are less resilient and more vulnerable to stress. Thus, some initiatives seek to promote ecosystem diversity for both ecological and economic reasons. For instance, the Willapa Business Development Program encourages companies that "contribute to restoring the natural diversity and produc-

tivity of the Willapa region."

Turn threats into opportunities. While many rural areas enjoy beautiful, healthy environments, others suffer from environmental degradation due to years of intensive resource extraction. Instead of seeing such situations as threats, some communities and environmental organizations are instead looking at them as opportunities.

Community and economic development leaders in Butte, Mont., have taken steps toward transforming a landscape scarred and polluted by a century of copper mining into what Smithsonian magazine calls "the Silicon Valley of waste treatment."

The Pacific Rivers Council has begun exploring with three Oregon communities the short-term job creation and longer-term economic development potential of watershed restoration.

The Forest Conference challenge. These initiatives suggest a number of specific actions for the forest conference.

First, the federal government's failure to adopt a unified policy to protect the northern spotted owl and the old growth forests it inhabits has contributed to a sharp decline in federal timber harvests. The conference and resulting legislative package must establish certainty and stability in federal forest policy by forging agreement on how much remaining old growth will be protected, and what environmentally sound forestry practices will be used on other federal lands.

Beyond that, the conference must look for ways to help forest communities adjust to reduced federal timber harvests. For instance, it should lower the barriers that make it difficult for small, local contractors to successfully bid on Forest Service harvest, thinning and restoration contracts.

It should also consider a proposal, by Oregon State University forestry professor Norm Johnson, to grant forest communities exclusive rights for the commercial harvest of specialty forest products from adjacent federal forest lands.

Additionally, federal and state policymakers should increase targeted support to secondary wood products firms and networks, to expand the Northwest's value-added wood products industry.

Of course, the conference must also address the broader issues of environmentally sound economic diversification. Examples include Cascadia Revolving Fund and Shorebank Corp., a nationally noted development bank beginning to explore lending opportunities in the Willapa Bay area. Such partnerships are especially important in Washington, which has a constitutional prohibition on state lending of credit.

Finally, behind virtually every promising community initiative lies a grant from a foundation, the Forest Service, a state department of community development or other funder. Such funding can help unleash the creative energies of local participants. The forest conference should assure funding is continued and expanded.

Kirk Johnson is a policy analyst, Northwest Policy Center, University of Washington Graduate School of Public Affairs.

DAILY NEWS / SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1993

Ecosystem preservation backed to save endangered species

By Andrew Horan
The Orange County Register

From the spotted owl to the California gnatcatcher, for 20 years people battled to add animals to the U.S. endangered-species list as part of a larger goal to protect entire ecosystems.

They called the creatures "indicator species": protect them and whole habitats would be preserved. Environmentalists and landowners now agree that approach doesn't work. And on Thursday, for the first time, the government caught up.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt declared the gnatcatcher a threatened species, but embraced a novel, voluntary ecosystem-conservation project under way in Orange and nearby counties as a way to avoid an "endangered" listing. Babbitt said California's Natural Communities Conservation Planning project should be a template for resolving future disputes that pit humans against animals.

Can the project be re-created in other cases? State and federal wildlife regulators are confident it can.

"I firmly believe something very similar will happen in a number of places in the state, perhaps sooner than those who are waiting for the results of this initial approach think," said Larry Eng, the California Department of Fish and Game biologist who is supervising the conservation project.

Builders and environmentalists — each of whom have their doubts about whether the conservation project can be completed to their satisfaction — aren't sure, although most agree that planners everywhere should at least try.

"This is a good thing, if it's done well," said Dan Taylor, a western regional representative of the National Audubon Society.

A complex formula is needed to make the dream of ecosystem-planning come alive, said landowners, environmentalists and government officials.

"There has to be an important economic interest threatened directly, and one or more endangered-species listings which are the bullet that could kill the economic interest," said Bart Doyle, an attorney for the Building Industry Association of Southern California.

"If you change just one variable, the whole picture changes," said Doyle, who has been discussing ecosystem preservation for at least a decade.

For instance, in Southern California, builders argued that adding the gnatcatcher to the endangered-species list would kill $200 million in construction and related activities and cost tens of thousands of jobs. And besides the gnatcatcher, wildlife regulators must consider petitions to add the cactus wren and orange-throated whiptail lizard to the lists.

So, after years of talk about ecosystem preservation that began at Starr Ranch in Orange County in the early 1980s, California's voluntary conservation project was born on the day in 1991 that state wildlife officials were considering the gnatcatcher case. But without the federal threatened listing, the voluntary plan was powerless to preserve the gnatcatcher, federal and state biologists said.

A few hundred miles north, in Kern County, where there is no imminent threat of an endangered-species listing, people have been talking about an ecosystem plan for five years. They just can't seem to get it done — mostly because farmers, miners and local governments don't feel a strong enough threat to their livelihoods, Eng and Doyle said.

Other plans farther up the San Joaquin Valley and in the high desert also are proceeding at a languid pace.

A deliberate pace is good, but only if the process begins much earlier than it did with the gnatcatcher, Audubon's Taylor said. That way, scientists could thoroughly study the situation and planners could write more informed preservation guidelines in order to ward off a listing.

"If we'd had this approach 20 years ago, we wouldn't have needed the listing," he said.

The Weekender

by Donovan Kelly

Weekenders are not the enemy

Dear Linda Buzzerd,

As I read your "Up The River" column two weeks ago, I walked with you through that snowy woods. I walked in fear that I, a weekender, would become the enemy. I guess I'm part of the change you fear, but I am not the enemy.

My family just celebrated our second Christmas in the weekend cabin on the ridge that makes us part of Morgan County. Obviously, we are new to the Morgan family and therefore part of the new change you described so well. Our roots do not yet run deep in the soil of the county, but deep enough to draw our daughter back from Arizona and our son back from Indiana.

Why? Only an outsider to Morgan County would ask that question. In a few short years, the cabin has become the right place to celebrate as a family a season of hope and renewal. Precisely becauses it is the place where we can walk alone together through a snowy woods.

I won't speak for the rest of my family, but our very small piece of a not very high ridge in Morgan County is the balm that lets me function in that other world you called the East Coast. For better or for worse, we need the East Coast to keep the world running. For better or for worse, Morgan County is stuck with weekenders like me who need to escape the East Coast for a few hours.

Please give us a chance to show you that most weekenders are here for better, not for worse. I agree fully with your conclusion: we do not own this county or any piece of it. It belongs to the ages. I hope to leave our small piece of a not very high ridge as natural as possible for future generations to enjoy.

How? By not clearcutting, but instead leaving as much natural cover as possible, including dead trees and briar patches, that are part of the wildness that brought us here. By recycling and composting to help the land regenerate. By using as few chemicals as possible to avoid environmental damage we cannot even anticipate.

How do we protect the county while allowing for inevitable change? I'm not sure. There are no easy answers and everything involves trade-offs. I don't want to clearcut part of the county just to build a super highway to get me to my cabin a little quicker. But if the commerce generated by that new highway will help the county finance environmental trade-offs such as recycling, safer landfills or clean flowing spring waters, I would have to consider them. I'm too old to send any children to Morgan County schools, but if higher taxes will help educate the next generation to be wiser than we have been in dealing with the hard issues facing Morgan County and the East Coast, then I must look beyond the immediate pain to my pocketbook.

Let me put it another way. Sometimes we need an outsider to remind us of our blessings and duty. Bruce Babbitt, the new Secretary of the Department of Interior, is a student of the Grand Canyon. To remind his new employees of their responsibility to serve as stewards of the Nation's natural resources, Babbitt turned to a quote from an Englishman, J.B. Priestly, who feared in 1935 that Americans would take the Grand Canyon for granted:

"The Colorado River made it. But you feel when you're there that God gave the Colorado River its instructions. It is all of Beethoven's nine symphonies in stone and magic light. Even to remember that it is still there lifts up the heart. If I were an American, I should make its remembrance the final test of men, arts and policies. I should ask myself, 'Is this good enough to exist in the same country as the Canyon?' How would I feel about this man, this kind of art, these political measures, if I were near the rim? Every member of officer in the federal government ought to remind himself (or herself) with triumphant pride that he is on the staff of the Grand Canyon."

I don't think Babbitt or Priestly would mind if we inserted Morgan County in place of the Grand Canyon. Are the actions we take as citizens and land owners worthy of a county as grand as Morgan?

Federal Computer Week March 29, 1993

New Hope for Old Growth
Interior's biomapping project would target old-growth forests — the nation's most diverse habitats — wetlands and National Park preserves.

National Computer Map Survey To Troubleshoot Eco Conflicts

By JOHN MOORE

The Interior Department is pursuing a national biological survey and computerized mapping initiative, a program likely to require a complex web of geographic information system, satellite imagery and remote-sensing technologies.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is the prime mover behind the survey, which would provide the first comprehensive digital view of the nation's ecosystems. Babbitt, who disclosed the project earlier this month, hopes to establish the biological survey as a permanent function, much like Interior's U.S. Geological Survey.

A digital map of the nation's biology would help government and industry officials make better decisions on economic vs. ecological conflicts. Priorities in mapping would include old-growth forests — the nation's most diverse habitats — wetlands and National Park preserves, observers said.

"We want to know what is out there and spot the potential crises before they become crises," an Interior spokesman said. He added that a position paper providing additional details on Babbitt's initiative may soon be available.

Industry observers indicated

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the fledgling survey will almost surely call for GIS technology, which could be used to map land use, vegetation and other features.

Imagery and remote-sensing data from satellites embarked on Mission to Planet Earth programs could play a role as well.

Indeed, such technology could provide scientists and engineers preparing environmental impact studies with biological details previously unavailable, according to observers.

Visualizing Diversity

"It would be a real asset to have a database of the biological diversity of the U.S.," said Louis Hecht, a Washington, D.C., area consultant specializing in GIS. "With modern technology, you can begin to visualize that diversity."

The tools for recording the nation's wide-ranging habitats are moving into place. USGS, for example, could award its GIS II contract as early as this week. Environmental Systems Research Institute Inc. is the only known bidder, sources said. GIS II would provide new GIS software to run on Interior's Data General Corp. Aviion workstations.

Interior's Bureau of Land Management, meanwhile, is readying its own GIS program, the estimated $328 million Automated Land and Minerals Records System. Grumman Data Systems and Services and Computer Sciences Corp. have submitted best and final offers for the award, which is expected in April.

Also, NASA's Earth Observing System Data and Information System could provide detailed information on such topics as evapotranspiration, the total water loss from the soil and the surfaces of plants.

The EOSDIS Core System contract, which will build eight distributed databases of satellite imagery, was awarded to Hughes Information Technology Co. last fall.

"Advanced sensor technology gives us far better ways of distinguishing the minute [factors] that we are trying to look for," said Harry Niedzwiadek, a vice president with Autometric Inc., an Alexandria, Va., firm that focuses on GIS and remote-sensing imagery.

All Together Now

But the emerging technologies must be used in concert to have maximum effectiveness, Niedzwiadek said.

Babbitt's biological survey could provide the impetus for integrating GIS and remote-sensing technology, he added.

"No one has paid that close attention to how to merge GIS and remote-sensing technology," Niedzwiadek noted. "We must integrate the two through common algorithms."

The military, in a potential example of Defense conversion, may be able to help solve this problem.

The Defense/intelligence community has led the way in integrating information from disparate sources. Defense and intelligence agencies have created data fusion workstations that pull together digitized maps, satellite imagery and intelligence databases [*FCW*, June 29, 1992].

But thus far, Interior only has called upon the National Academy of Sciences and a few science advisers to help advance the biological survey. ◀

Anchorage Daily News Tuesday, March 30, 1993

Spill aftermath

Two chances to protect our coastland

The Clinton administration's announcement that it intends to spend $25 million to buy private lands along Prince William Sound and the Gulf of Alaska is welcome news to those who appreciate the wildlife and the scenic beauty of our coastland. The announcement, with the weight of three Cabinet members behind it, demonstrates the breadth of the new administration's commitment to conservation.

Clinton

The federal government will get the money for the land purchases from its share of the Exxon criminal settlement. That money will buy additions to the Kenai Fjords National Park, the Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge, the Maritime National Wildlife Refuges and Chugach National Park.

Add to the proposed federal purchases Gov. Wally Hickel's plan to buy land to complete Kachemak Bay State Park, and you have the start of something good: a higher level of protection for one of the most ecologically rich and beautiful coastlines in the world.

The Kachemak Bay purchase will prevent unsightly logging from spoiling the vista across Kachemak Bay from Homer. Attempts to buy back the parkland from Native groups and a logging company have been under way for years, but the deal is now closer than it's ever been before.

The money for the state purchase of Kachemak Bay land would also come from oil spill settlement money. However, before the Kachemak purchase goes through, the legislature still must agree to appropriate $7 million, and must ratify a separate settlement the Hickel administration made that dedicates another pot of money to the park.

We're confident the legislature will recognize a bargain when it sees it — and take up the opportunity to forever protect the view across the bay.

Arizona Republic March 31, 1993

Ex-watchdog accused of impropriety

By Jonathan Sidener
The Arizona Republic

The state official responsible for regulating Indian gaming attempted to use his position to set up a business deal with the Fort McDowell Indian Community shortly before his retirement, a tribal leader charges.

Tribal Council Vice President Gilbert Jones claims that he was approached by William Linton about running off-track betting at the tribal gaming center upon his retirement as director of the state Racing Department and State Gaming Agency.

Linton, who retired Feb. 26, denies any wrongdoing.

"It's never been part of my plans to work for the tribes after I retired," Linton said.

He added that he is setting up a consulting business to work with the horse- and dog-racing industries.

Jones said Linton approached him in January, told him he was ready to retire and wanted to run off-track betting for the tribe.

"It didn't seem appropriate," Jones said. "I reported it to the Tribal Gaming Agency."

Jones originally misidentified Linton. In a March 6 *Arizona Republic*

— See GAMING, *page A11*

Gaming watchdog sought deal with tribe, official says

— GAMING, *from page A1*

article, he was quoted as saying that Gary Fitzsimmons, assistant to the Gaming Agency director, had attempted to set up the deal.

When Jones saw a photograph of Fitzsimmons, he said, he realized he had made a mistake.

Fitzsimmons, who had denied proposing an off-track-betting deal, said he was aware that Jones had withdrawn the allegation. He declined further comment.

An investigation continues into other allegations that Fitzsimmons attempted to influence tribal officials to hire his friends and do business with particular slot-machine manufacturers.

Jones last week identified a photograph of Linton as that of the official who made the proposal.

On Monday, Linton said he had briefly discussed off-track betting with Jones in January, but said he offered his assistance only in his role as Gaming Agency director. The State Gaming Agency licenses and regulates gaming on the Fort McDowell and other Indian reservations in Arizona.

A spokesman for the Attorney General's Office said that using a state position for personal gain would be a criminal offense.

William Linton / "It's never been part of my plans to work for the tribes after I retired."

Spokesman Steve Tseffos said he could not comment on the allegations against Linton. State law also mandates that officials wait at least [illegible] months after leaving state employment before working in areas where they had oversight, Tseffos said.

Jones said he told Kate Mead, acting deputy director of the Gaming Agency, three weeks ago that he had been mistaken and that it was Linton, not Fitzsimmons, who made the offer.

On Monday, Mead acknowledged that she had not yet spoken to Linton about the allegations, despite learning about them three weeks ago. She said that Linton has a reputation for high ethical standards and that she does not put much confidence in the allegations.

Doug Cole, a spokesman for Gov. Fife Symington, told *The Republic*

that Symington's office was unaware of the allegations against Linton until contacted by *The Republic*. He said Mead will be directed to investigate.

Mead said she will look into the charges if instructed to do so.

"If Doug Cole says that I'm going to investigate, then I am," she said Monday.

When the State Gaming Agency opened for business last summer, Fitzsimmons and Linton were its only employees.

Although the two face allegations of improprieties, Cole said it is too soon to speculate whether regulation of Indian gaming has been compromised.

He said that there is no immediate question about the way the Gaming Agency is being run, because Linton has retired.

"It's a difficult question to answer," he said. "It's all still hypothetical. We need to get more information. The individual is no longer there. That makes a difference."

Cole said the governor has confidence that Mead will correct any problems she might find.

"In all issues surrounding gaming, the governor is very, very concerned about the regulatory aspects, about being sure that limited gaming is run in a appropriate fashion," Cole said. "And that continues to be our goal."

Graduate school offering courses for ASG managers

The Department of Interior is following through with real actions to help ASG deal with problems of mismangement of funds and supplies. Stephen Latimer of the United States Department of Agriculture, Graduate School is in the territory to consult with the new administration on training strategies designed to rid ASG of abuse, waste and mismanagement.

The USDA Graduate School has been contracted by the Department of Interior to provide training sessions for local government employees in various fields of management. Latimer, a financial management coordinator, said that a qualified instructor will be sent to the territory sometime in April to train government employees on procurement and grants management.

As host, the Department of Human Resources will recruit about thirty employees for each course, from various departments on a first come first serve basis. Fono Latham, who is co-ordinating the USDA courses said department directors are being asked to recommend employees with responsibilities in the subject areas.

Working for the first time with the Lutali Administration, Latimer said that he was glad to see that everyone from department directors to the governor were enthusiastic about the idea.

He pointed out that the present administration is taking advantage of the opportunity since directors themselves are expected to attend training sessions.

The two courses in grants and procurement management will be offered from April 26 to April 30 and Lonnie Lebow of the USDA Graduate School will teach both courses.

The course on grants management will cover the financial aspects of the federal grant process. Students are to review all stages of the grant application and disbursing process with emphasis on administrative constraints which affect the process.

Participants will learn how procurements are made with grant funds, what allowable and disallowed costs are and the concept of letters of credit, budget reviews and grant close-outs.

The procurement management course will focus on the award and administration of government contracts, including the bidding process, legal review, sub contracting, and legal remedies for bidders and contractors.

The courses are being offered free of charge to ASG employees, with the Department of Interior footing the entire bill.

"Soring Chinook Season...Extension"
Wind Farms - Yakima Indians
(Oregonian - 3/30/93)

"Mni Wiconi Efforts Net Citizen Award for Means, Little"
(Bureau Of Reclamation Award - Water/Oglala Lakota)
(Indian Country Today - 2/25/93)

"Tiqua Indians Seek to End Poverty Via Texas' First Legal Casino"
(Las Vegas Review-Journal - 3/28/93)

"Media Coverage Can Help Protect Indians' Freedom of Worship"
(Star Tribune - 3/27/93)

"Deputy Who Killed Rancher During Raid Won't be Charged"
Drug Raid - Park Service Mentioned
(LA Daily News - 3/30/93)

"Villagers Get No Answer" (Subsistence Walrus Hunting)
(Anchorage Daily News - 3/31/93)

Oregonian
May 30, 1993

Timber teams look at small harvests

■ Task forces working on the Northwest logging dilemma are considering harvests far lower than in the 1980s

By SCOTT SONNER
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A Clinton administration official says government scientists are finding that logging on Northwest national forests must fall to less than half the levels of the 1980s to meet Clinton's pledge to follow environmental laws protecting spotted owls and other wildlife.

The official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said alternatives under review would produce at most less than 2 billion board feet of timber on national forests in Oregon and Washington. Peak levels in the 1980s were more than 6 billion board feet.

Another government official, also speaking on condition of anonymity, said the high end could be no more than 1.5 billion board feet. Lobbyists for two environmental organizations, also not wanting to be named, said the scientists' range is from 750 million board feet to 1.5 billion board feet.

"With ranges like that, we might as well turn the entire West Coast into a

Please turn to TIMBER, Page A14

Timber: Task forces appear likely to

■ Continued from Page One

national park," said Chris West, vice president for the timber industry's Northwest Forestry Association in Portland.

The administration is having more trouble than expected with the Northwest compromise to preserve both old-growth forests and timber jobs. Officials say the three working groups Clinton appointed in April apparently will miss his June 2 deadline to provide him with a series of management options for the region.

"We are working to come as close as possible to make that deadline. We are working with a great sense of urgency. . . . I don't think anyone could put a specific date on it," said Marla Romash, spokeswoman for Vice President Al Gore and the White House Office on Environmental Policy.

The small harvest levels would present a political dilemma for a Democratic administration that captured the White House with strong support from both labor and environmentalists.

If it meant just stiffing the industry, Clinton would have an easier job following the scientists' advice for aggressive ecological protection. But most labor unions have sided with the industry's plea for more wood for their saw mills.

And he already has rung up a huge political debt with one of the timber industry's most influential supporters, House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash., who last year helped kill a sweeping forest protection bill.

Foley has carried the banner for Clinton's economic agenda this year and helped deliver critical votes for his budget package.

Congress has tried unsuccessfully to find an old-growth compromise since the Fish and Wildlife Service declared the northern spotted owl a threatened species in 1990.

Most federal logging in the region came to a halt in 1991 when U.S. District Judge William Dwyer of Seattle ruled that excessive timber harvests on federal lands violated environmental laws.

The judge gave the Clinton administration until July 16 to submit a legally defensible plan to protect the threatened owl, threatened marbled murrelet and other wildlife on those lands.

Clinton convened a forest conference April 2 in Portland and appointed the working teams to develop management alternatives from which he will choose.

Administration officials privately have said expectations are too high on both sides.

miss Clinton's June 2 deadline

"There's going to have to be compromise. We have to come down somewhere in the middle," said one official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Congressional aides and lobbyists for both sides said Clinton's promise to abide by existing environmental laws may have restricted his options more than he realized.

Sources familiar with the work say Clinton's interagency scientific team in Portland is reaching the same conclusion as did four previous groups of scientists: The laws don't allow for much logging, given the past excessive harvests.

"They are finding it more difficult than they thought it would be to craft a plan that meets the legal and technical requirements and still helps the economy, saves jobs and saves the environment," one environmental lobbyist said.

Rep. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., is among those complaining that Clinton is leaving too much of the decision-making in the hands of scientists who say dramatic logging cutbacks are the only legal options.

"I think they are finding they have created a very difficult box to get out of," DeFazio said. He said four previous scientific groups compiled enough evidence on which to base a broad policy decision.

"What the administration is now realizing is that their maneuvering room has been dramatically shortened by having this fifth scientific process," DeFazio said.

West said the administration made the mistake of turning to the same scientists involved in the previous studies.

"They are not getting a broad range of options and alternatives," West said.

But Michael Francis, public lands director for The Wilderness Society, said, "There are no free lunches left in the Northwest.

"Given 12 years of mismanagement in the region, it has left President Clinton with very few legally, environmentally and socially responsible options," he said.

Romash rejects the claim that the administration's focus has been too narrow.

"We have been in regular contact with a whole range of people, workers, business people, loggers, environmentalists, tribes," she said.

She disputes claims that the administration didn't fully understand the implications of following existing laws.

"I don't think there have been many surprises. We went into this process understanding we faced a difficult task. We are at a second stage of understanding we face a difficult task."

NEWS SUMMARY
U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

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Scott Applewhite/The Associated Press

President Clinton makes a point at a Northwestern-forest conference in Portland, Ore., as Vice President Al Gore (center) and Frank Tallerico, a school superintendent from Yreka, Calif., look on.

Clinton vows timber solution

'We must break gridlock'

By Steve Yozwiak
The Arizona Republic

PORTLAND, Ore. — President Clinton on Friday ordered his Cabinet to "end the stalemate" and "arrive at a balanced solution" within 60 days in the battle over forests in the Pacific Northwest.

The president gave his directive at the Oregon Convention Center after listening for eight hours to environmentalists, timber executives and forestry experts on the fate of the old-growth forests in western Oregon, Washington state and northern California.

Reuters

A demonstrator in Portland, Ore., one of hundreds led by the environmental group Earth First!, shows his feelings about logging in the old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest.

"One of the things that has come out of this meeting to me loud and clear is you want us to try to break the paralysis that presently controls the situation," Clinton said at the end of the conference. "I hope that as we leave here, that we are more committed to working together than perhaps we were before."

He ordered his Cabinet officers responsible for the environment, who attended the event, to craft a "balanced, comprehensive, long-term policy" and to "report back to me in 60 days" with proposals to end the stalemate.

The old-growth forests are considered by environmentalists to be prime habitat for the endangered northern

— See CLINTON, page A2

Clinton vows timber solution

— CLINTON, from page A1

spotted owl and other wildlife.

The giant trees in these areas also are the most prized by timber interests, which otherwise must rely on smaller trees replanted in areas previously logged during the past two centuries.

It became clear midway through the conference that agreement, even on basic issues, will be extremely difficult to achieve. Rick Brown, a wildlife and forest ecologist for the National Wildlife Federation who previously worked for the U.S. Forest Service, told Clinton and Vice President Al Gore that "fully protected, permanent reserves (of old-growth areas) are needed as part of this solution."

But, Dan Tomascheski, vice president of Sierra Pacific Industries of Redding, Calif., told the president that setting aside old-growth preserves "would be a disaster for the timber industry . . . in the Pacific Northwest."

The polarization of ideas is similar in the Southwest, where last month the Mexican spotted owl was listed as threatened with extinction in Arizona, New Mexico, southern Utah and Colorado.

Rob Smith, Southwest representative for the Sierra Club in Phoenix, said in a telephone interview that "final solutions are not going to be found in one day."

But, Smith said he is "optimistic" that timber firms in Arizona will realize that if they continue cutting old growth at current rates, "they're literally cutting themselves out of a job."

However, Jim Matson, chairman of the Southwest Natural Resources Council in Flagstaff, a timber-trade group, said he believes that there is plenty of spotted-owl habitat in Arizona and that because Southwestern timber firms don't clear-cut, or remove all trees in a given area as they do in most areas of the Northwest, Arizona forests are healthier than those in the Pacific Northwest.

Smith countered, "The industry is in a state of denial. They're still arguing about whether owls are endangered."

Matson said in a telephone interview that he hopes the Oregon summit will prompt the Clinton administration to make federal agencies work together to forge compromises.

"Right now, there's a fair amount of bureaucratic gridlock between the Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service that is bound to worsen," Matson said.

Clinton promised that very action at the end of Friday's conference.

Speculation was rife in Oregon that Clinton's summit today and Sunday with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Vancouver, British Columbia, will include discussions about how U.S. timber firms can help develop the vast forest of Siberia.

Selected Siberian trees already have been brought to Oregon to be checked for quality and graded.

Although such exploitation of Russian natural resources could help stabilize that nation's economy, environmentalists and logging advocates in the Northwest are wary of environmental consequences in Siberia. For example, if substantial portions of Siberian forests were cut, environmentalists and logging advocates said they would be concerned about the effect on global warming.

That aside, the issues surrounding American forests likely will continue to

To hear more details on a public-opinion poll rating President Clinton on his concern for jobs and the environment, call *PRESSLINE* at 271-5656 and push 2534.

generate deep emotion, such as that expressed outside the convention center.

Across the Willamette River from the center, thousands of loggers and their families huddled under huge tents Friday in Portland's Waterfront Park at a rally to show their support for timber cutting. Mills across Oregon were closed so workers could ride chartered buses to the rally.

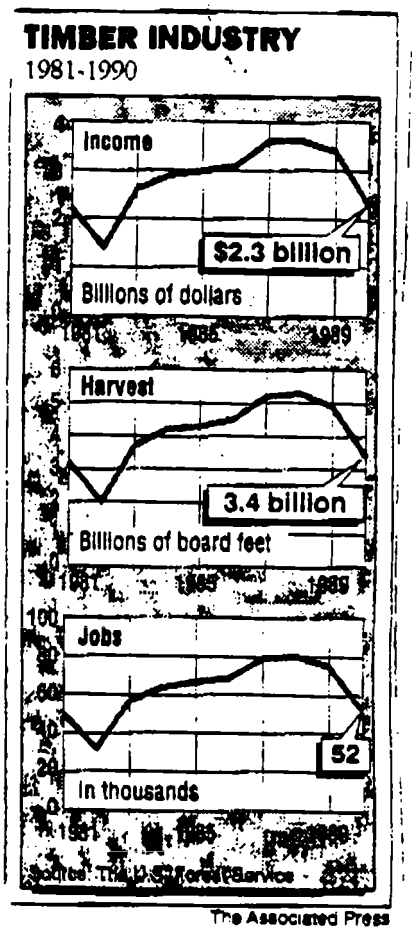
On Thursday night, an estimated 50,000 people attended a free concert sponsored by the Ancient Forest Celebration in support of putting an end to to old-growth logging. It featured Neil Young, David Crosby and other musicians.

Local newspapers and airwaves were full of advertisements pushing one view or another.

One full-page ad by timber-giant Boise Cascade called for the federal government to increase to 8.2 billion board-feet annually the amount of wood available from federal forests in five Northwestern states.

In 1987, when environmentalists first sought protection for the northern spotted owl, a record 5.6 billion board-feet was cut in national forests in Oregon and Washington.

Contributing to this article was *Reuters*.



The Associated Press

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS MURPHY
OF SEATTLE

We have always been confident we could stay in business forever, but all that has changed.

BOB SPENCE
PRESIDENT OF PACIFIC LUMBER SALES CO. OF SEATTLE

"

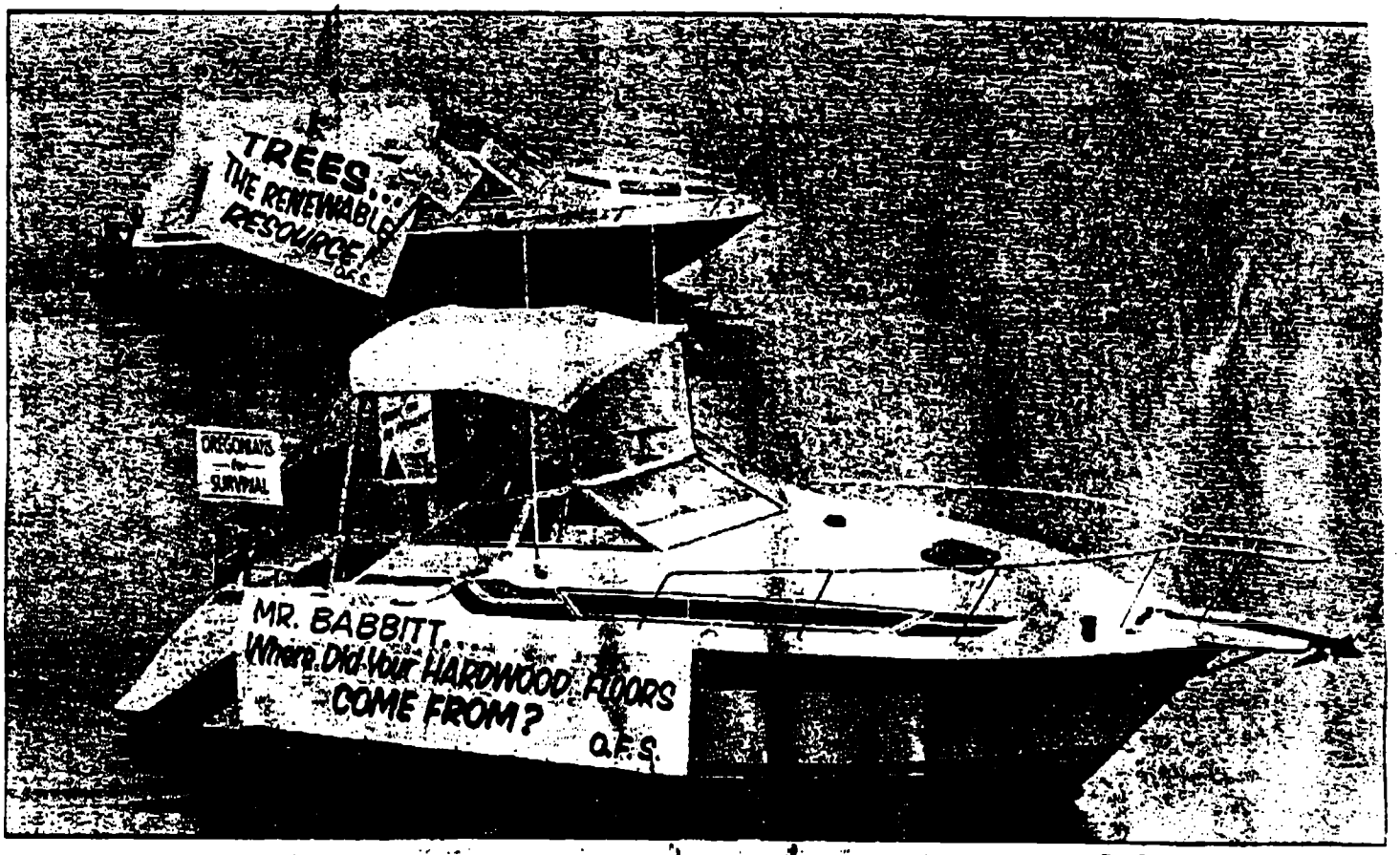
Don't send us money. Let us work. We need those jobs; we need that pride.

NADINE BAILEY
HAYFORK, CALIF., WIFE OF A LOGGER

We are down to the point now where we have to protect the remaining existing (fish) habitats. We have to ask people to get out of denial that what is happening on the land is affecting those fish.

NAT BINGHAM
COMMERCIAL FISHERMAN

A culture, a way of life . . . is dying. The timber crisis is a moral issue. . . . Our hope is common ground will be found for a common good.



Eric Risberg/The Associated Press

Two boats in the Willamette River in Portland, Ore., show support for the timber industry during a rally coinciding with the forest conference.

Don Ryan/The Associated Press

Employees of the Smurfit Paper Mill in Newberg, Ore., gesture after hanging a pro-lumber-industry banner on a freeway overpass in Portland, the site of a conference on logging in the Northwest.

WASHINGTON (AP) _ Just a few short months after campaigning vigorously for President Clinton, environmental leaders now are questioning how good a friend they have in the White House.

Previously reluctant to criticize a president they considered vastly more sympathetic to their cause than his Republican predecessors, the groups no longer are able to contain their disappointment.

Their distress surfaced publicly last week when Clinton decided to appease Western senators by dropping his insistence that fees charged to miners, loggers and ranchers who use federal lands be raised as part of his budget.

"We're concerned about the strength of his commitment," Wilderness Society President Karin Sheldon said. "It's unfortunate that in that first game of chicken, he blinked like he did."

The administration is promising to enact the higher fees in separate legislation. But environmentalists who have fought for years to get Congress to raise the fees viewed the budget as the best chance for quick enactment.

Environmentalists already were wary of some earlier decisions Clinton had made, but they felt especially betrayed because they had mounted a substantial lobbying effort to help Clinton pass the budget plan.

"We're getting kind of fed up with Clinton," National Audubon Society's Brock Evans said. "Our enthusiasm is slipping rapidly."

The administration announced its willingness to let Congress cut the fee provision from the budget just as Clinton was heading to the Northwest to tackle another thorny environmental issue _ the future of logging in the region's ancient forests.

National Wildlife Federation President Jay Hair vented his outrage at the conference, saying Clinton's honeymoon with environmentalists now seemed "more like date rape."

Many fellow activists agreed with Hair's sentiment, if not his choice of analogies. Hair accused Clinton of a breach of trust, saying, "He's got to learn a lesson, that he cannot take the environmental community for granted."

Administration officials played down the criticism as a honeymoon spat.

"Every now and then even good friends have a disagreement," said Marla Romash, spokeswoman for Vice President Al Gore.

"Sometimes they feel they have to raise their voices to get attention," she said. "The Bush administration needed a hearing aid on environmental issues. We hear them without shouting."

Kevin Sweeney, spokesman for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, said the criticism on the Western land subsidies issue was unfair because the administration intends to push for the higher fees in administrative and legislative actions outside the budget.

But some conservationists think the land fees decision bodes ill for a favorable outcome in the Northwest logging dispute.

"After this retreat, how can they regain the high ground on the environment?" said Liz Raisbeck, Audubon's senior vice president.

Conservationists have had other bones to pick with Clinton.

Many opposed his decision to abolish the congressionally established White House Council on Environmental Quality, which was charged with ensuring that government agencies prepare environmental impact reports for large projects.

Clinton replaced the council with his own White House environmental office, but gave most of the council's functions to the Environmental Protection Agency, a move that critics said diminished the council's previous status.

Other conservationists were bothered by the administration's decision not to block the start of a hazardous waste incinerator in Liverpool, Ohio. Before the inauguration, Gore had promised to block the project pending a congressional probe of its licensing.

Still, conservationists have been pleased with their increased access to the administration and key personnel appointments in the Interior and Agriculture departments and the EPA.

That made Clinton's shift on Western lands all the more stunning, they said.

"We think he made a mistake, but that doesn't mean we think he's slime," said Bill Snapes, a Defenders of Wildlife attorney. "The big question is going to be how he comes out on the Northwest."

AP-DS-04-05-93

Arizona Republic April 3, 1993

Rival plans offered in gaming war

Tribal leaders assail 'hypocrisy'

By Jeff Barker
Republic Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Two lawmakers offered competing proposals Friday to help resolve the nation's Indian-gaming controversy, as Arizona tribes decried the state's "hypocrisy" in rejecting casino gambling on reservations.

Representatives of the Tohono O'odhams and White Mountain Apaches appealed to the federal government to help them overcome Arizona's resistance to potentially lucrative gambling operations on their reservations.

Joining the Arizona tribal leaders in submitting testimony to a House Natural Resources subcommittee hearing were Native Americans from California, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Washington.

Many of the tribal witnesses told the subcommittee on Native American affairs that they need leadership from Congress or the

— See RIVAL, page A26

Rival plans offered in gaming war

— RIVAL, from page A1

Clinton administration because they lack the money to fight expensive legal battles with their states.

"Unfortunately, some governors and members of Congress are desperately trying to take away the right of Native Americans to use gaming as an economic tool to better their lives," said Charles Keechi, chairman of the National Indian Gaming Association, an advocacy group representing about 70 tribes.

Keechi, who also is chief of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma, said that "it's a stacked deck" against Native Americans because most tribes are poor.

Reps. Peter Hoagland, D-Neb., and Esteban Torres, D-Calif., offered rival "solutions" Friday in the form of new legislation.

Hoagland's bill seeks to clarify the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 by restricting tribes to the same sort of gaming allowed by their states.

Hoagland's position was echoed at the hearing by Colorado's Gov. Roy Romer, a Democrat who is chairman of the National Governors Association.

"I do not believe it was the intention of Congress when they passed the Indian gaming law to override the laws of the state," Romer said. "It's a very basic issue."

The 1988 law placed bingo and other social games under tribal control but barred slot machines and many casino table games unless there is a "compact" with the state.

Mary Ann Antone, chairwoman of the Tohono O'odham Legislative Council, said it was "hypocritical" for Arizona to ban casino gambling when it runs lottery games and permits betting on horse and dog racing.

Antone testified at the four-hour hearing, while Ronnie Lupe, White Mountain Apache tribal chairman, submitted written remarks but did not appear.

Lupe's statement accused the state of "hypocrisy."

Absent Friday was Arizona Gov. Fife Symington, who opposes full-blown gambling on reservations. The governor remained in Phoenix because "it's the final weeks of the legislative session," spokesman Doug Cole said.

Torres said his bill would help prevent states from evading their legal responsibility to negotiate with tribes in good faith. Under the measure, states that refused to cooperate would see casino gambling forced on them and regulated by a national commission.

Torres said his bill is needed "to overcome recent and widespread efforts by states to thwart fundamental protective safeguards which Congress provided when it enacted the (gaming act)."

In Arizona, four tribes agreed to limit operations to 250 video-gaming machines and opened casinos. However, the Tohono O'odham, Pascua Yaqui and White Mountain Apaches asked for more machines.

The issue went to federal mediator Frank X. Gordon Jr., former chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, who awarded compacts to the three tribes allowing them as many as 2,600 video-gaming machines each, plus keno and table games.

If Symington does not sign the compacts by April 16, they will go to Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, who must sign them, although he can modify the terms.

But Antone criticized Babbitt's recent compromise proposal under which Arizona tribes could have gambling machines in their casinos, but not table games such as roulette, craps and blackjack.

"We can only view his (Babbitt's) proposals and principles as an unintended invasion of our tribal sovereignty and rights, and nullification of the victory we won in the mediation process," Antone said.

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993 · USA TODAY

NEVADA

CARSON CITY — Gov. Miller supports the state's Indian tribes, who want to keep state fuel taxes collected at service stations on reservations. The move could cost the state and counties $700,000 in annual fuel tax. A similar proposal in '91 failed.

Arizona Republic April 4, 1993

Indians urged not to rely on gambling

Indians from throughout the West have been urged to strengthen their tribal economies through industry and not rely on the tempting quick fix of reservation gambling.

About 200 Indians representing 10 tribes participated Friday in the Native American Leadership Seminar in Orem, Utah, sponsored by the Provo, Utah-based American Indian Services. Seminar host Chuck Foster said its purpose was to bring together Indian leaders interested in strengthening their communities economically, educationally, socially and spiritually.

Idaho Attorney General Larry Echohawk said that although gambling can raise a lot of money quickly, "emphasis should be on education and giving reservation youth a hunger for learning, not on get-rich-quick schemes."

Arizona Republic April 4, 1993

Symington denies he'd ban all tribal gaming

The Associated Press

PRESCOTT — Gov. Fife Symington, speaking from a podium down the hall from a glittering Indian-owned casino, said Saturday he remains willing to negotiate with tribes on the spread of reservation gaming.

Symington told the Arizona Associated Press Broadcasters Association that he has been wrongly portrayed as a complete opponent of reservation gambling. Symington said he supports limited reservation gaming but is unalterably against the proliferation of huge, Las Vegas-style casinos on reservations statewide.

"I've always been willing to negotiate," Symington told radio and TV journalists.

"This governor has tried hard and been aggressive to negotiate limited gaming compacts in this state. But they want it all."

Under a 1988 federal law, tribes are allowed to offer slot machines, card games, craps and roulette, subject to negotiating a compact with the state in which their reservation lies.

Symington negotiated compacts with four tribes allowing each tribe to have 260 electronic slot and poker machines.

But a federal mediator's ruling in the case of three tribes that failed to reach agreement with the state has thrown negotiations with all tribes into disarray. The ruling allows the White Mountain Apache, Pascua Yaqui and Tohono O'odham reservations to each have 2,600 machines, plus card and table gaming.

The ruling, if approved by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, a former Arizona governor, technically would allow each of Arizona's 21 tribes to build up to the 2,600-machine limit.

Symington said that is unacceptable and pressed a casino-gambling ban through the Legislature in an effort to head off expansion of tribal gambling.

Gambling supporters are circulating a referendum petition that would invalidate the law.

Before his speech, Symington visited Bucky O'Neill's Casino and Lounge, which has been converted into a small slot-machine parlor, at the Sheraton Hotel in Prescott. Symington said he was impressed with the operation, which is on land owned by the Yavapai-Prescott Tribe.

But he said gambling on a Las Vegas scale, if extended to all the state's 21 reservations, potentially could grow to a $3.2 billion industry in annual income.

By comparison, the state budget he just signed is $3.7 billion.

"There is a dividing line between limited gaming and the impact of full-blown casino gambling in the state of Arizona," Symington said. "If you think that you can contain it on the Indian reservations, I will place you a bet on the final outcome. We as a state will have to embrace gaming."

Symington also said he believes that reservation gambling would hurt the Arizona Lottery.

OCS Meeting Postponed

WASHINGTON — The Department of the Interior's Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Policy Committee meeting originally set for April 28 and 29 has been rescheduled. Tentative plans are to hold the meeting Oct. 20 and 21.

Minerals Management Service officials, in consultation with the chairman of the OCS Policy Committee, agreed that a fall meeting would be more productive in view of the timing of various programs and the status of subcommittee work.

The Policy Committee meeting will be held in the Washington, D.C., area to make it easier for top-level department officials to attend.

ALASKA

JUNEAU — Alaska Native Melba Sherer says she's in a quandry after being cited for violating the Endangered Species Act for possessing a whale skull she found near Admiralty Island. She can't use her right to subsistence hunting because she would have had to kill the whale before using its bones, federal officials said...

MARYLAND

COLUMBIA — Two minor earthquakes registering about 1.5 on the Richter scale shook the area Sunday, a scientist said. Howard County has been shaken by nearly 12 minor quakes since March 10, with the largest registering 2.7.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX — Almost 250,000 people toured the Grand Canyon by helicopter in '92, making it the USA's most popular site for such flights, says a survey by Helicopter Assn. Intl. Runner-up: Hawaii. The group hopes to curb the trend toward more limits on "flightseeing" in parks.

Anchorage Daily News Saturday, April 3, 1993

Mining-law change would reduce exploration, investment

By STEVEN C. BORRELL

COMPASS
POINTS OF VIEW FROM OUR COMMUNITY

This week, the Clinton administration retreated from its frontal attack on the mining industry, but it hasn't altered its objective. The administration still wants changes in the laws that will cause serious damage.

Those changes were spelled out by Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt at a U.S. House hearing on a bill to replace the General Mining Law or Mining Law of 1872 (excerpted in the Daily News March 26). I attended that hearing and wish to give another perspective on this issue.

Mr. Babbitt feels that the current law no longer serves the public interest. Although there are some items that should be changed, the key points of this law remain just as important today as they were in 1872. This was one of the first laws in our country that was truly non-discriminatory. Any person, irrespective of sex, race, color, creed, financial status, etc., was, and still is, treated the same. Mr. Babbitt wants this to change?

The key principle of the existing Mining Law is that any person can go out onto the public land to look for minerals and if they find a valuable mineral deposit, be it gold, silver, platinum, copper, zinc, etc., that person has a first right to develop those minerals. Yes, he or she must get all manner of permits but the one who finds it has a right to it. This is the same approach our country uses with inventions. The person that expends their time and money and discovers what was previously an unknown product or process gains an equity right to future use of that product or process. For minerals, the person that expends their time and money and discovers what was previously an unknown mineral deposit gains an equity interest in that mineral deposit.

The bill being considered at the hearing was H.R. 322 and it would forever destroy this principle and replace it with a system in which (due to the paperwork, fees, rents, overbearing permit requirements, etc.) only large corporations would be able to participate. The independent prospector and geologist would be history.

Mr. Babbitt also feels that the mining industry is not providing a fair return to the government. The miner creates new wealth, creates jobs in America, pays income taxes, property taxes, permit fees, etc. He buys equipment and supplies so others pay taxes and he provides domestic metals to the manufacturing industry which helps our balance of payments and reduces the trade deficit as compared to buying the metals from other countries.

H.R. 322 proposes an 8 percent gross royalty and in Mr. Babbitt's view this is a fair return. Only a very few mines would survive imposition of such a royalty and those that did survive would be forced to mine only the highest grade ores. If, for example, the Greens Creek Mine at Juneau had been forced to pay this royalty, it would have been forced to close several years ago and the jobs and supplies purchased (and taxes paid) would have been greatly reduced. Metal prices are determined on the international market and new costs cannot be passed on to the customer. If a mine begins to lose money because of an added cost, it must close.

Mr. Babbitt feels that a major defect in the Mining Law is that it does not include environmental protection standards. His implication is that there are no laws covering environmental protection. Nothing could be further from the case. There are a myriad of specific state and federal laws regarding reclamation, water quality, air quality, etc., and each of these must be followed. No, they are not in the same statute as the Mining Law but still apply and the miner

Ill-conceived initiatives, including H.R. 322, are forcing the mineral industry to leave the country just as they forced much of the oil industry to leave.

is required to comply with them.

Mr. Babbitt considers the current provisions for resolution of conflicts between claim holders to be archaic. If claimants now have conflicts, they settle these in court at no cost for the Department of Interior. Under H.R. 322 the government would adjudicate conflicts, many of which would then go to court on appeal against the Department of Interior, with both steps costing the government. Unless the objective is more central government control, the existing system seems better to me.

In response to the "real question" — "jobs stupid" — Mr. Babbitt did not reply. He skirted the issue of creating new jobs in America. Congressman Don Young was at the hearing and he asked Mr. Babbitt what the net effect would be on jobs. Babbitt talked around the topic without giving a straight answer.

What the Administration and the Congress needs to do is find ways to encourage exploration investment and creation of new jobs in the U.S. America could be a net exporter of nearly all metals. However, ill-conceived initiatives, including H.R. 322, are forcing the mineral industry to leave the country just as they forced much of the oil industry to leave. At the same time, other countries are changing their laws to encourage outside investment and mineral development.

Over the past three years there has been a mass exodus of exploration investments out of the U.S. and into Latin America, Indonesia, Russia, etc. With exploration occurring elsewhere, new mines will be built elsewhere also. The challenge for Mr. Babbitt is to now convince all those companies now working in Latin America that the U.S. is still a place they should consider investing their money.

❑ Steven C. Borell, executive director of the Alaska Miners Association, is a registered professional engineer in Alaska, Colorado and North Dakota who has worked in coal, placer and hardrock mining for over 19 years.

Albuquerque Journal
Albuquerque New Mexico
April 4, 1993

Fort Wingate Studied For BIA Prison

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

GALLUP — Fort Wingate will be inspected later this month by a Bureau of Indian Affairs team that wants to know if the old military depot would be suitable as a BIA prison, an official said.

Fort Wingate apparently is among several sites throughout the country that are under consideration for a BIA detention center, said Bob Walker, an Interior Department spokesman in Washington, D.C.

Details were not available, he said Friday.

Gallup Mayor George Galanis said the city has been trying to find uses for the depot, which closed Jan. 8.

He said he was still working with the Interior Department and the Army on using the depot as a storage site for other federal agencies. Wingate has more than 700 storage structures.

Fort Wingate opened in 1860 and was used for weapons storage for major U.S. wars including World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam.

Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., has said 8,400 acres of the military reservation would be transferred from the Army to the Bureau of Land Management under the 1988 Base Closure and Realignment Act.

LOS ANGELES TIMES TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

Tribes Renew Rivalry in Bay Area

■ Native Americans: Hoopas develop sister-city relationship with town of Pinole. Yuroks affiliate with Berkeley.

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—For generations the Yurok and Hoopa Indian tribes have fought over control of their ancestral lands on the north coast of California.

Now, the battle has moved south to the Bay Area. The Hoopa Indians can claim the town of Pinole. But the underdog Yuroks will soon have Berkeley.

The two East Bay cities, entering the arena of Indian affairs, are developing sister-city relationships with the rival tribes.

For Berkeley, this is in keeping with a long tradition of activism. After all, this is the city that last year declared Columbus Day to be Indigenous People's Day.

Over the past decade, it has established other sister-city relationships that highlight its left-wing political views: a village in rebel-held El Salvador, a city in Nicaragua during the reign of the Sandanistas, a community in the rain forests of Borneo.

"It's funny, because it's such a Berkeley Berserkely thing," said Beth Weinberger, an aide to City Council member Linda Miao, who is pushing the proposal. "But we won't let that stop us."

But Pinole? This is a bedroom community better known as a pit stop on Interstate 80 than as a hotbed of social adventurism.

The small town nine miles north of Berkeley was once the site of an American Indian settlement. Its name comes from an Indian word for meal. With that in mind, said City Manager Donald Bradley, it seemed natural to establish fraternal relations last year with an Indian tribe and chance provided the Hoopas.

City officials hope to promote cultural exchanges and foster better understanding between Pinole and the tribe. In an early sign of success, a former City Council member has moved to the reservation to serve as its attorney.

Bradley noted that Pinole was the first city in the nation to establish sister-city relations with an Indian tribe. "We don't look to gain anything other than better understanding of the Indian culture," he said.

Neither Pinole nor Berkeley has any intention of entering the long-running dispute between the two tribes along the Klamath River, 350 miles to the north.

The feud between the Yuroks and Hoopas began more than a century ago when the federal government created a reservation north of Eureka and gave the most valuable land and timber stands to the Hoopas. The Yuroks have attempted to wrest a larger share from the Hoopas, but acts of Congress and years of litigation have yet to resolve the disagreement.

For Berkeley, the sister-city relationship with the Yuroks offers a forum for environmental activism, education about the plight of Indians and an opportunity to provide practical assistance to the tribe.

One of the major problems facing the Yuroks is rebuilding the Klamath River salmon population, which has been seriously depleted by water diversions and timber harvests.

"Establishing a sister-city relationship with a Native American community would further Berkeley's explicit recognition of Indigenous People's Day, 500 Years of Resistance, the vast social contribution of California indigenous communities, and the sovereign rights of all Native American nations," says the Berkeley sister-city proposal.

The idea was raised by former Councilwoman Nancy Skinner, a popular environmentalist who decided not to run for reelection after her house became uninhabitable. In keeping with her environmental views, she painted her house with a milk-based paint but it went sour, forcing her to find a new home.

In her place, the Berkeley-Yurok proposal has been picked up by her successor, Miao. Backers hope that it will be approved before Earth Day, April 24, so it can be included in local celebrations focusing on "environmental racism" and indigenous people.

Chances for passage seem good. Like the Pinole-Hoopa program, it would not cost the taxpayers any money. The Berkeley council has approved nine other sister cities in the past 10 years. And when a Berkeley delegation was raising money for a recent visit to the Yurok reservation, most of the council members chipped in $25 from their own pockets.

Albuquerque Journal
Albuquerque, New Mexico
April 4, 1993

BLM Decries Petroglyph Vandalism

Damage Mars Site in Wyoming

By Matt Kohlman
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

ROCK SPRINGS, Wyo. — The White Mountain petroglyphs display Indian drawings thousands of years old, but it's more recent art such as "Joe was here" that has Randy Porter worried.

Cultural destruction ranging from the lifting of arrowheads to the hoisting of an Indian mummy up a flagpole is all too common in the West, says Porter, a geologist with the U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

Early Indians made their presence known through drawings of elk, feather headdresses, human stick figures and other sketches on the sandstone cliffs of the White Mountain range in southwestern Wyoming.

Later humans added bullet holes, graffiti and chalk and crayon marks within the carvings.

"The drawings date back from thousands of years to last week," Porter says. "It's not as impressive as the pueblo ruins in the Southwest but they prove that Wyoming has been inhabited by people for thousands of years."

Porter points to a chipped section of the cliffs where a person tried to chisel out a petroglyph and just broke it.

The petroglyphs are regularly used by schools for environmental education field trips, and the BLM is working to build a parking area and footpath to the site. Some feel the site should be kept secret instead, while others are more concerned about the area's importance as a deer fawning and eagle nesting area.

Porter and others hope vandalism and poaching of cultural relics will be deterred through education and the 1979 Archaeological Resource Protection Act. An initial violation of the act could lead to two years in prison and a $20,000 fine for the theft or destruction of more than $500 worth of artifacts.

Although the act also applies to non-Indian artifacts over 100 years old, illegal trafficking of Indian remains are among the worst violations, says Michael Martin, BLM special agent in charge of investigations in Wyoming.

He cites one example in 1983 when an Indian mummy nicknamed "Hector" was found by four oilfield roughnecks in southwestern Wyoming and grabbed from its grave.

"They placed the mummy in a car as though it were a passenger ... and ultimately tied the mummy to a flag pole and raised it to the top," he says. "It showed complete disrespect for the grave, recklessness and complete disrespect for the dead and the culture."

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APRIL 4, 1993

A fertile forest summit

Only God can make a tree; but Friday's conference may sow the seeds of a needed timber policy

President Clinton's Northwest forest conference succeeded Friday. It didn't break the federal timber policy gridlock in Western Oregon and Washington, but it provided a genuinely productive starting point for Clinton's determined effort to create a new, comprehensive federal policy that will do just that.

A major gain was a precious opportunity for people from the Northwest — carefully selected but also broadly representative — to tell the highest level of their government their side of a pressing, often life-changing problem. And it gave the government a chance to show that it was listening and that it cared.

That's no small matter in these days of a citizenry feeling alienated from its government. This time, the government came to the people.

The very holding of the conference, moreover, may have narrowed the areas of real, legitimate conflict. This unmistakable manifestation of the president's determination to devise a new timber policy forces parties to become realistic lest they be ignored.

One significant concession in that regard was the Northwest Forestry Association's call for implementation of the developing concept called ecosystem management. There's room to debate what that means on the ground — and what ground it would be applied to — but it does help encourage the administration to look in that direction for a new forest-management policy.

So, too, did the important testimony of Professor John Gordon of Yale University School of Forestry, head of the scientific panel known as the Gang of Four that prepared a landmark report on forest-policy options and their consequences for jobs and wildlife.

Overall, the conference produced the varied and candid discussion from Northwesterners that the president said he wanted as a basis for the comprehensive and coordinated federal forest policy he seeks.

Friday's meeting — and the attendant hoopla from various sides of the forest dispute — had a certain showbiz flavor. Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and the Cabinet members who attended may find that this session was the easy part; crafting the policy will be the hard chore. A good beginning doesn't assure success, and much difficulty and controversy await the administration.

But a good start is a good omen. The president must be pleased. So should the Northwest.

Oregonian April 3, 1993

Hope offered in forest fray

■ Promising action within 60 days, the president urges all parties at the Northwest Forest Conference to continue talking and to take the dispute out of the courtroom

By DON HAMILTON, KATHIE DURBIN, BRIAN T. MEEHAN and JOAN LAATZ
of The Oregonian staff

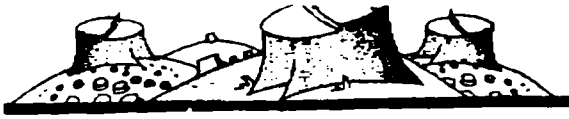
After an extraordinary day of testimony about the fear gripping timber towns and the priceless legacy stored in the Northwest's old-growth forests, President Clinton buoyed all sides in the grinding timber conflict by ordering the federal government to draft a solution within 60 days.

"I tell you, I'll never forget what I've heard today — the stories, the pictures, the passions from all of you," Clinton said in his closing remarks after eight hours of often-stirring testimony Friday in the Oregon Convention Center.

The conference, eagerly anticipated by timber groups, brought Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and four Cabinet officials together under one Oregon roof, the first such assemblage in the state's history. They heard testimony covering nearly every aspect of the debate, from raw-log exports to unemployment rates in rural mill towns, from the plight of threatened salmon to the legacy the Northwest will leave its children's children.

Clinton trained the optimism that has marked

Please turn to CONFERENCE, Page A15



FIGHT FOR THE FOREST

Conference: Clinton backs environmental laws

■ Continued from Page One

his young administration on one of the nation's most daunting environmental stalemates — but provided only a sketchy outline of a likely solution.

He said he would ask his Cabinet for a plan that's grounded in the best science, that provides a sustainable level of timber sales, that preserves forests and streams and that brings federal policies into harmony.

Clinton urged all sides to bring their differences to the conference room and to avoid more of the courtroom battles that have marked the forest debate. And he asked environmentalists and industry leaders alike to sustain the dialogue that marked this extraordinary day of testimony.

"You don't have to fight in a court of law anymore," Clinton said. "You can work with us to try to have a long-term solution. If you feel frustrated . . . I ask you to stay at the table and keep talking and keep trying to find common ground. I don't want this situation to go back to the posturing, to positioning, to the politics of division that had characterized this difficult issue in the past."

At a news conference after the marathon symposium, however, Clinton said he had no plans to propose changes in the nation's environmental laws, under which conservation groups have brought federal timber sales in three states to a virtual halt.

"I'd like to have a chance to make the laws work as they are," Clinton said.

Responding to a question, Gore added that restricting the right of environmentalists to sue over federal timber sales would constitute such a "change in the law."

Friday's conference in the brightly lit ballroom of the Oregon Convention Center was an intriguing blend of state ceremony and college teach-in, of debate and town-hall meeting. Cabinet members sat among loggers' wives and salmon fishermen, breaking in to ask questions on issues ranging from silviculture to job retraining. Outspoken adversaries in the conflict were on their best behavior.

Security was tight under the center's twin glass towers. Bomb-detecting dogs patroled the cavernous Convention Center as more than 700 journalists flooded the building.

Portland historian Kimbark MacColl led off the day with a brief lecture, describing how railroads acquired vast Northwest timber holdings in the 19th century and sold them to timber barons, who set about liquidating what seemed like a limitless resource. Settlers regarded the natural bounty that blanketed the region not as a source of wonder but as an economic birthright, he said.

"The historical record is not a pretty one, and all parties must share some of the blame," MacColl said.

Combatants in the timber argument at last found common ground in their reaction to the day's events. Both sides praised Clinton's aggressive call for a solution within 60 days.

"I am generally encouraged," said Andy Kerr, an outspoken environmentalist and conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "Of course, my reference point is George Bush and Ronald Reagan. This guy is sharp."

"This is the most encouraging thing to happen on this very divisive issue in 30 years," Washington Gov. Mike Lowry said.

. . .

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Sunday, April 4, 1993

THE $2 MILLION MISTAKE

Out of the forest and into the workshops

THE BEST lessons from the forest conference may not be about logging at all but about the necessity to diversify the Northwest economy away from timber and airplanes toward entirely new categories of employment.

The visit late last week by Labor Secretary Robert Reich to the lumber town of Shelton on the Olympic Peninsula showed the importance of squeezing jobs out of new approaches to market development.

One such market is the growth industry of value-added wood manufacturing. As calculated by the University of Washington's Northwest Policy Center, every million board feet of new lumber creates two new jobs – but value-added wood products in the form of windows and doors creates 20 to 30 new jobs from the same million board feet.

Job creation while manufacturing jobs are dwindling is not a fantasy.

In itself, creating jobs by adding value to raw logs is nothing new, but what can be new is coordinated state interest in creating the climate for those jobs.

That comes from deliberate state and local efforts to aid in forming marketing networks and a business climate encouraging capital to invest in manufacturing sites.

In other states – notably Pennsylvania's Ben Franklin Partnership programs – teamwork between government, universities and industry took depressed areas to the leading edge of job creation and job retention. Starting with $1 million in 1982, four Ben Franklin centers have nearly $1 billion from state and matching funds and are credited with retaining 12,000 jobs and creating 12,000 more.

In contrast, Washington state's commitment to forming new industry alliances is $2 million in Gov. Lowry's budget, and down to zero in the Senate Democrat's budget. That's a ridiculous curtailment of economic development at precisely the time when it is needed most.

Washington has some promising new alliances forming in metal work and wood products. New marketing networks usually emerge as spinoffs from older, traditional industries in transition. It's the crucial stage between standard business practices and new job creation that needs the stimulus of official encouragement from experts who can guide companies through state regulations and match ideas to capital.

Job creation while primary manufacturing jobs are dwindling is not a fantasy. It can happen but only if the state encourages new alliances to form. So far, that's not happening enough in Washington.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Monday, April 5, 1993

Timber: The tough part now is cutting a deal

By Rob Taylor
P-I Reporter

With President Clinton's forest conference over and its participants home, the Clinton administration this week faces the hard part of the Northwest forest struggle: crafting a solution.

Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and Cabinet members gave many hints in the past 10 days on the kinds of proposals they are considering. While the hints have been vague, they suggest possible outlines for the comprehensive, long-term solution that Clinton has promised within two months.

Given the federal budget deficit and the difficulty of getting new spending through the U.S. Senate, any forest program from the administration is likely to have modest funding and uncertain duration.

And everything remains subject to change. Only last week, the administration showed that it will back off of its desired goals when it runs into strong opposition. To win Democratic Senate support for its budget, it dropped — for now at least — demands for mineral royalties, higher grazing fees and an end to below-cost timber sales on federal lands.

That said, some of the likely options for the administration's forest package are:

■ Adopting ecosystem management for federal lands.

The concept is acclaimed by Cabinet members, environmentalists, scientists, timber trade groups and Dale Robertson, chief of the U.S. Forest Service. The administration has much to gain and little to lose by promoting it.

The trouble will be defining it, because it means different things to different people. For many foresters, management has been synonymous with growing and harvesting trees. Environmentalists say ecosystem management should protect forest wildlife and other resources, and harvest only what doesn't damage them.

Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council, an environmental group, voiced strong distrust of Friday's endorsement for ecosystem management from Jim Geisinger, president of the Northwest Forestry Association. "I hear ecosystem," Kerr quipped. "Mr. Geisinger hears management."

■ Eliminating the tax break for exports of unprocessed logs.

At the conference, Gore grilled Weyerhaeuser Co. Executive Vice President Charles Bingham on the need for this benefit to log exporters, estimated to be worth about $100 million a year. Clinton criticized that tax break during last fall's campaign, so it is viewed as the most likely change affecting exports.

Any curb on exports would give domestic mill owners and workers access to more and cheaper raw logs to help

Analysis

replace those lost to lower harvests c federal lands.

Reducing log exports by 25 perce would save roughly 3,000 mill jobs and a equal number of jobs in other industrie by one Washington state study. Millir logs creates 6.56 times as many jobs a exporting them, according to the sam study.

Environmentalists have been pushir for tougher export constraints, either by federal order or tariff. But these involv greater political and economic risks tha eliminating the tax subsidy.

A ban would anger private landow ers and, according to several economist impose significant net costs on the U. economy. A temporary tariff, as propose by the Washington Environmental Cou cil's Melanie Rowland, would be le disruptive. Either would be deplore abroad as a trade restraint and coul invite retaliation against other U.S. i dustries.

■ Additional federal timber sales.

The administration appears to b leaning away from the firm guarantees c timber sales that the industry want Clinton and Gore have rejected changi the environmental laws that have broug federal timber sales in the region to near standstill. Gore suggested to repor ers that he also would oppose any mov

to insulate some timber sales from environmental challenges.

Absent guarantees, the administration sounds likely to press harder to provide timber sales that can meet environmental reviews. Clinton, in his closing remarks, said he would favor sales consistent with "sound forest management," that would not "degrade or destroy our forest and environment." While this surely will offer far less federal timber than was sold in the 1980s, it could increase sales above current levels.

■ Defer action on protecting old-growth timber in Eastern Washington and Oregon.

In organizing Friday's conference, the administration avoided including participants from forests east of the Cascades, a broad hint that they are unlikely to be part of the administration's proposals.

Environmentalists want east-side old-growth forest protection. They repeated over the weekend that if they do not get it from the administration and Congress, they will file lawsuits to get it from courts.

Politically, this collides with the resistance of U.S. House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash., who can slow — and sometimes block — legislation. Also, scientific study of eastside forests, and litigation there, is less advanced than on the west side.

■ A forest and watershed restoration program.

"There will be jobs, I am reasonably sure, in restoring forests and watersheds," Labor Secretary Robert Reich said Thursday in Seattle.

Environmentalists and salmon fishermen have been promoting this, with the support of Washington Democratic U.S. Reps. Norm Dicks and Jolene Unsoeld, and others. It offers jobs for timber industry workers and other rural residents repairing erosion-prone logging roads, damaged streambeds and denuded streamsides. They also could plant trees where past harvests have not been replaced with healthy new growth, and possibly prune younger forests for wood production or to create desired stand structures for wildlife.

■ Steps to stimulate private sector jobs.

The administration's conference showcased several entrepreneurs who are developing and marketing new forest products, from glue-laminated beams to ferns.

The administration will be considering a variety of ways to help small-business expansion in timber-dependent areas. The tools include tax breaks, community grants, loan guarantees, technical assistance and worker-training programs.

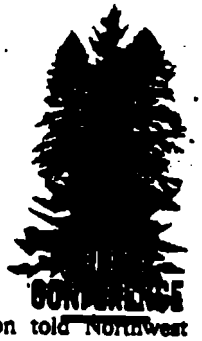
Clinton has acknowledged that anything he decides is likely to anger many people. "Everybody may be somewhat disappointed," he said at a recent news conference, "but the paralysis now gripping the lives of the people out there is totally unacceptable."

THE SEATTLE TIMES

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

Clinton not in favor of changing environment laws or halting suits

by Eric Pryne
and Mark Matassa
Times staff reporters



PORTLAND – President Clinton and Vice President Gore said last night they will not propose changing environmental laws – or restricting environmentalists' right to go to court to enforce them – as part of their solution to the Northwest forest crisis.

"I'd like to be given a chance to make the laws work," Clinton told Northwest newspaper reporters after the conference.

When asked whether that meant the administration would not recommend limitations on environmentalists' power to sue, Gore responded: "That would be making changes in the law, wouldn't it?"

Environmentalists have used the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws to drastically curtail logging on the Northwest's federal forests in recent years. Timber interests have argued any solution must restrict their adversaries' ability to seek relief in the courts.

"I don't want to deny anybody their legitimate day in court," said Clinton, who spoke softly and looked tired after a long day refereeing the region's forest fight. "But, on the other hand, the country cannot be governed solely by lawsuits. In the end decisions have to be made."

Clinton ordered his cabinet to report back to him with a Northwest forest package within 60 days. But the president and vice president provided few specifics on what that package might look like.

The president and vice president deflected questions about whether old-growth reserves should be established, whether log exports should be further

Please see **OWL** on A 8

OWL

continued from Page 1

restricted, or whether federal forests east of the Cascades should be included in their package.

Clinton and Gore both said they were pleased and impressed with what they heard at the conference.

"The thing that impressed me most about this was the feeling I got that everybody that talked was ready for a resolution," Clinton said. "... They wanted us to take a stand that was coherent."

Gore said: "I think a lot of people really heard what the others were saying. I think there was a lot of deep listening going on on all sides."

The president did not give a precise reading of what he'd like the final policy to be. But he outlined some broad principles that suggest the finished product will be some compromise between environmentalists who want no further logging of old-growth forests and timber interests who say jobs, economic vitality and an entire way of life depend on that.

Rich Nafziger, head of Washington's state timber team under former Gov. Booth Gardner and a panelist yesterday, predicted the government will allow limited logging in old-growth forests, combined with more aggressive management of forest ecosystems and the use of tax incentives to encourage more private timber production and more manufacturing of finished wood products.

For residents of the Northwest, who by now have heard every conceivable angle of the old-growth forest debate, yesterday's conference must have sounded as familiar as the rasp of a chain saw – or, perhaps, the hiss of an espresso machine.

But Clinton's long-promised meeting was aimed at a wider audience: the federal bureaucracy, which during the Reagan and Bush administrations often fought among itself; the national press, targeted by interest groups on all sides; and ultimately the American public, whom the president wants to convince of its stake.

Finally, Clinton himself was part of the audience. He said repeatedly he came to the conference to learn, and it seemed true. He asked probing questions and was attentive throughout.

As at his Little Rock economics conference earlier this year, the president seemed to revel in details. And, as at that earlier meeting, participants and other observers yesterday praised his command of a difficult subject.

Clinton and Gore, along with five Cabinet secretaries and two other administration officials, heard from three groups of panelists who, over nearly eight hours, dissected the region's forests economically, biologically, topographically, sociologically and politically.

Some of the most moving testimony came at the day's first session, titled "Who is Affected and How?" Mill owners, loggers and residents of timber-dependent towns told often-wrenching stories of how their livelihoods, and their way of life, are disappearing.

Phyllis Strauger, the mayor of Hoquiam, told the panel about a woman, the wife and mother in a displaced timber family, whose newborn baby died because in the last days of her pregnancy the woman had not eaten.

The only food the family could afford, Strauger said, the mother had given to her other children.

"Surely, surely," the mayor pleaded, "this planet is big enough to support wildlife species and the human species."

Like many from the rural Northwest, Strauger said it might be too late for her timber-dependent community to change, to diversify its economy.

Yet speaker after speaker also said change was inevitable.

No one made that clearer than Clinton, who might have been preparing timber workers for a forest plan they won't like.

Twice during this century, he said, many people in his home state of Arkansas have been forced to leave, to make for themselves a new way of life, when the agriculture economy collapsed. Such transitions are "horrible," he said, but often unavoidable.

And there is a limit, he warned, to what he can do as president. "I cannot repeal the laws of change."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer,
Sunday, April 4, 1993

Ecologists heartened by forest conference

Clinton, Gore rule out changes or new limits

by Eric Pryne
Times staff reporter

PORTLAND – Environmentalists were beaming yesterday over the Clinton administration's first key decision in its move to craft a solution to the fight over the Northwest's federal forests.

At the end of his daylong forest conference Friday, Clinton asked his Cabinet to put together a package by June.

But during a session later with Western-states reporters, Clinton and Vice President Al Gore ruled

■ Forest conference prompts plenty of possible solutions. B 1

out changes in environmental laws or limits on environmentalists' ability to use them in court to block logging.

"It's very heartening and very significant," said Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council.

A timber-industry spokesman downplayed the decision's significance.

"That isn't that big a deal to us," said Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. "If we can get certainty and predictability and solve this problem without changing the laws, that's fine."

But the industry and its allies have argued for years that any solution should include either

Please see **TIMBER** on A 8

Industry had hoped for changes or limits

TIMBER

continued from Page 1

changes in the laws, or limits on environmentalists' ability to use them in court.

At the forest conference, a spokesman for the National Association of Home Builders urged Clinton to consider changes in the Endangered Species Act.

That isn't on the horizon, Clinton told reporters. "I'd like to be given a chance to make the laws work," he said.

"I think that the purposes for which they were adopted and their general scope were absolutely right, and I can't tell you now that I think they should be amended."

That hands-off policy also applies to environmentalists' ability to use those laws to challenge logging plans, Gore indicated later.

Two-year shutdown

Most logging of federal old-growth forests in Western Washington, Western Oregon and Northern California has been shut down for two years, largely as a result of successful environmentalist lawsuits that charged agencies with violations of the National Forest Management Act, Endangered Species Act and other laws.

Environmentalists have been reluctant to give up that tool, arguing that their suits only forced agencies to follow the law.

Brock Evans, vice president of the National Audubon Society, said members of the Northwest congressional delegation have been telling him for a long time that environmentalists must accept limits on their legal rights as part of any solution.

The administration's rejection of that approach is "an encouraging sign," Evans said.

It means at least 8 million acres of Northwest old-growth forest must be set aside, Kerr argued. That's the minimum a team of scientists has said is needed to comply with wildlife-protection provisions of the National Forest Management Act, he said.

No 'rule by lawsuit'

While maintaining that "I don't want to deny anybody their legitimate day in court," Clinton also said that "the country cannot be governed solely by lawsuits. . . .

"You don't have to fight in a court of law any more," the president told forest-conference participants. "You can work with us."

Vic Sher, managing attorney in the Seattle office of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, said he, too, looks forward to resolving conflicts out of court.

"The courts, we agree, are a lousy place to manage the public lands," Sher said. The Bush administration left environmentalists with no alternative, he said.

But Sher, whose organization filed most of the lawsuits that have halted logging, rejected the idea of a litigation cease-fire.

Tankers don't turn fast

"He (Clinton) has got a huge federal bureaucracy that's full of holdovers," he said. "It takes a while to turn a tanker. . . . We're not there yet."

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund served notice in January that it would sue the Forest Service unless rules for protecting salmon habitat on national forests are improved.

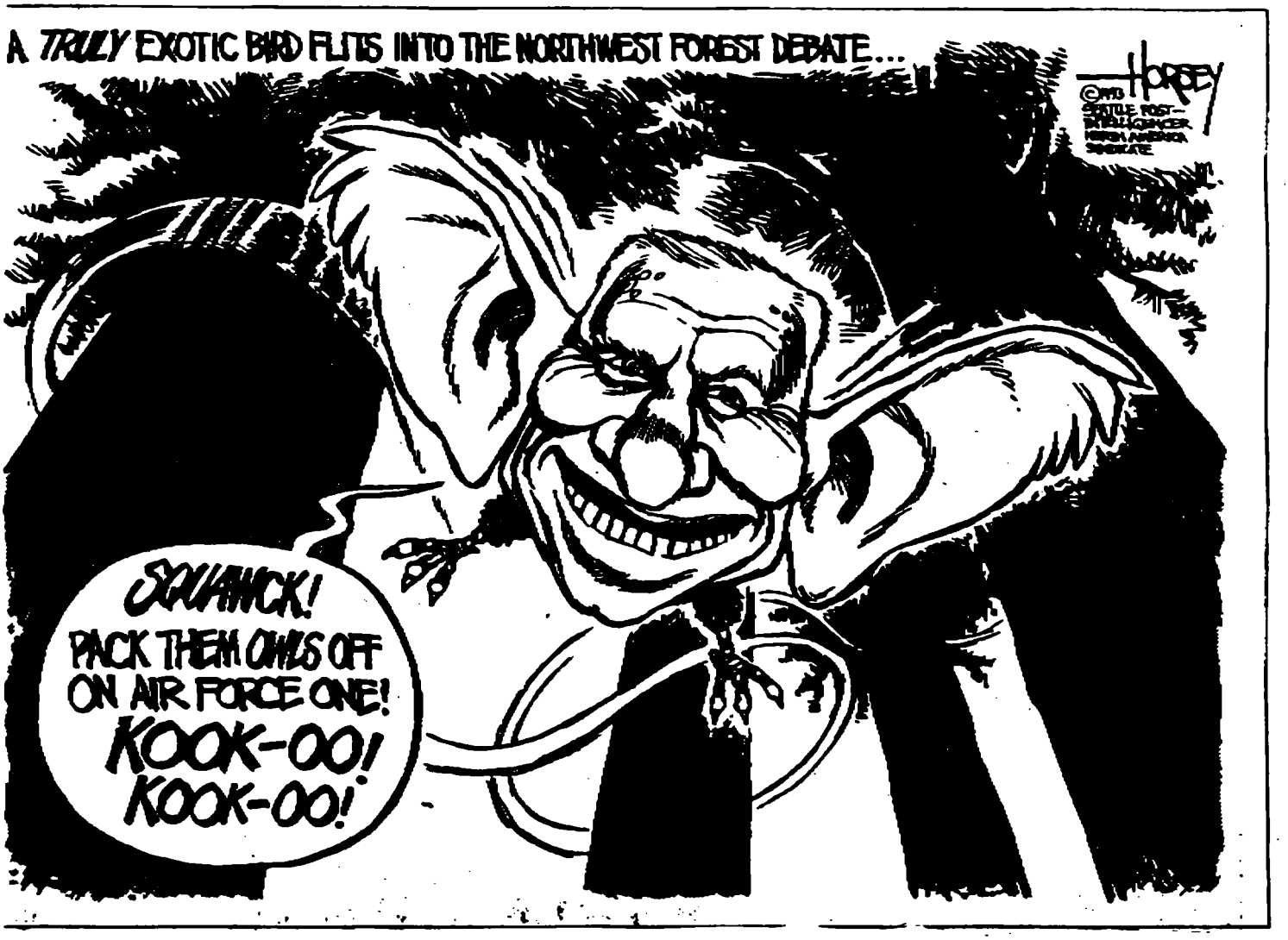
And last week, the Natural Resources Defense Council said it would file a lawsuit in 30 days to halt logging of old growth on national forests east of the Cascades in Washington and Oregon unless the Forest Service adopts new rules to protect the marten, the northern goshawk and other wildlife.

Forests east of the Cascades have not been affected by court injunctions to protect the threatened northern spotted owl.

A Clinton administration decision to protect old growth in those forest would mean no suit, Kerr said.

April 4, 1993

Seattle Post-Intelligencer



Oregonian

Salt Lake Tribune March 27, 1993

With Fund, Ranchers Can't Howl Over Wolves' Kill

By Mike Capuzzo
SPECIAL TO THE TRIBUNE

Wild Things

Do you long for the mournful howl of the wolf to be heard again in the West, restoring a 60-years lost piece of our ecosystem? Yet, do you also sympathize with the Western rancher, whose grandfather drove out the wolf only to have it return to threaten the livelihood of his sons and daughters?

Defenders of Wildlife has put up $100,000 and promised to compensate any rancher who loses livestock to the 40 or 50 wolves newly returned to the northern Rockies. In the past five years, the group has paid out $10,613 to ranchers for the loss of 36 sheep, lambs, cows, calves or other livestock.

This seems to bear out federal biologists' claims that wolves kill a tiny fraction of livestock. It also strengthens the possibility that Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt will approve wolf restoration to Yellowstone next year. To make a tax-deductible contribution to the wolf-compensation fund, write to: Wolf Restoration Fund, Defenders of Wildlife, 1244 Nineteenth St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Arizona Republic April 3, 1993

Seeing through the haze

THOUGH it has taken more than a year, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals has affirmed the authority of the Environmental Protection Agency to go after polluters contributing to the haze in national parks. It is a welcome decision with many potential ramifications for air polluters, and is predicated on sound reasoning.

In a unanimous decision, a three-judge panel of the 9th Circuit rejected the appeal of an EPA regulation by the Central Arizona Water Conservation District. Among the points questioned by the CAWCD was the EPA's authority to impose anti-pollution equipment at the coal-fired Navajo Generating Station at Page.

At issue was a multiparty agreement worked out in the summer of 1991 for cleaning up the air at the Grand Canyon. The agreement called for scrubbers to be installed on the three smokestacks at the generating station and was approved by the White House, the EPA, the utilities that own the plant (including the Salt River Project, the plant's operator) and two environmental groups — the Grand Canyon Trust and the Environmental Defense Fund.

Under terms of the agreement, the Navajo plant's sulfur dioxide emissions were to be cut by 90 percent. So important was the agreement to the Bush administration that the president traveled to the canyon's South Rim to sign the accord.

In throwing out CAWCD's appeal, the court said that the EPA's rules would make "reasonable progress toward the national goal of remedying visibility impairment at the Grand Canyon." It dismissed the contention of the water district that the total cost of the cleanup — $2 billion over 20 years — would be excessive, given the imperceptible improvement in visibility. This was the same argument used by the utilities right up until they signed off on the compromise agreement.

Judge Alfred Goodwin also disputed the CAWCD contention that the rules were based on flawed science. An initial National Park Service study found that the Navajo plant contributed significantly to reduced winter visibility over the canyon, but a study financed by SRP found than only about 7 percent of the time did the plant contribute to air pollution.

Scientific evidence, wrote Judge Goodwin, "more than adequately supports EPA's reasonable conclusion that visibility impairment in the Grand Canyon is reasonably attributable" to the Navajo plant. He also said the court had the duty to defer to the expertise of the administrative agency in the face of conflicting claims as to the amount of likely improvement.

Make no mistake. The air quality of our national parks is in decline — so much so that visitors are unable to enjoy fully the beauty, according to a study by the National Academy of Sciences. The 9th Circuit's ruling cannot help but aid the cleanup of our national parks, which is long overdue.

Anchorage Daily News Saturday, April 3, 1993

Second thoughts

THE EXTREMISTS are angry, but most westerners — including Alaskans — are breathing a little easier following word that President Bill Clinton dropped his insistence, for now, that miners be charged royalty fees and that other users of public resources be charged higher rates.

Environmentalists may be upset with the news, but miners and others aren't claiming victory.

They recognize the president's retreat was motivated by political considerations — he needed support from western Democrats in the Senate on Thursday to pass his budget. By backing off his position to penalize miners, ranchers, loggers and other western interests, the president provided cover for Democrats from the West to support his overall budget package.

The fight is still a long way from over. Nonetheless, the reprieve provides more time now for public lands users to present their case. It's not too much to hope that the president can be persuaded to change his mind altogether.

As has happened with other controversial issues, President Clinton is discovering that the world may not be as black and white as candidate Clinton declared it to be. Once taking office he quickly learned, for example, about the serious complexities associated with opening U.S. doors to Haitians or with lifting the ban on gays in the military. He backed off campaign pledges to take immediate action on those issues.

Now he may be backing off a little on charging hefty fees for the development or use of public resources.

AS PRESIDENT Clinton learned Friday at his forest conference in Portland — and as he is learning with each miner, rancher or western resource developer he meets — there are no easily defined good guys and bad guys in this public policy debate.

Westerners, who make their living developing the resources on which the rest of the nation depends, are just as concerned about the environment as environmentalists are. Likewise, the issue of land "giveaways" that opponents accurse current federal policies of providing to miners and ranchers becomes less sensational once all the facts about the industries are understood.

There may be the occasional abuse of the system — lands acquired fraudulently — but that abuse is the exception rather than the rule. A "fix" for the system, such as hefty royalties for hard rock mining, could do far more damage to the nation's economy and security than the protection it might provide public lands.

The challenge for western congressional delegations and development interests is now to use the time provided by the president's reprieve to counter the sensational propaganda of the environmental extremists and assist the administration in crafting responsible policy modifications.

Anchorage Daily News Saturday, April 3, 1993

Why lock up more land?

By TOM FINK

There seems to be much talk these days about the state and federal government buying land in Alaska which is available for human use and placing that land in a category so that humans cannot use it. The whole concept is a little difficult to understand.

Alaska is a very large state. It consists of 365 million acres. However, 160 million acres are tied up in single-purpose or very limited purpose classification. Such classifications are national parks, wild and scenic rivers, wildlife refuges, wilderness areas and so forth.

Let me give you an idea of the amount of land in Alaska which is already classified so that humans cannot live on it or use it. Imagine the East Coast. To match Alaska's park lands, the following areas would have no permanent people and would be left for the flora and fauna: Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina.

If you think in terms of the Midwest, imagine an empty swath including Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas. If you think in terms of the West Coast, think of a vacant swath of Washington, Oregon and the northern half of California.

There have been numerous land grabs in Alaska. The largest one was in 1980 when President Jimmy Carter and Congress tied up over 100 million acres.

I can't understand any Alaskan wanting to take more land out of use. I know there are people who believe that there is some other sacred land in Alaska that must be put away — but if we need new restricted land, it would seem we should trade some of the currently restricted land for some new restricted land. Or for every acre we buy and put into restricted use, we should buy an acre and put it back into the public domain.

The state is bulging with money from the Exxon Valdez settlement, and that creates difficulty. Too much money is a bad thing. The money is an attractive nuisance for those who want to "save" the earth. Before anyone goes off the deep end by putting more land into restricted use classifications, please look at the current situation. Think what it would do, for example, to the rest of the United States if we took a block of land on the West Coast, Midwest or the East Coast of an equal size. We're getting totally carried away.

Tom Fink is mayor of Anchorage.

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

THE NEW YORK TIMES

TRYING TO RESOLVE IMPASSE

Convinced after eight days of a Senate filibuster that President Clinton's economic stimulus plan cannot be pushed through without concessions, Mr. Clinton's top aides signaled new willingness to strike a deal. But it was far from clear what kind of compromises could close a widening gap between Republicans and Democrats on the plan. A1

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

The Washington Times

Thousands of resumes 'lost' at White House

More than 25 out of every 40 resumes received by the White House are said to be irretrievably lost because of a computer system's shortcomings and an aide's attempt to cover them up. Other assistants to President Clinton say Mark Bilsky, who manages the Resumix computer system, was responsible for the loss and has tried to conceal the system's failings and silence any criticism by subordinates. ■ Page A1

THE FEDERAL DIARY

Locality Raise May Stay

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

White-collar federal workers here and in other areas with high costs of living still have a shot at locality raises next year, even though Congress has tentatively approved the president's request to skip the 2.2 percent across-the-board raise due federal and military personnel in 1994.

Some politicians believe they can save part of the 1990 pay law that authorized double-header raises (a general increase, plus local catch-up-to-industry adjustments) beginning next year. That law, the Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act, authorizes two federal raises a year over the next decade. One is tied to nationwide changes in private pay; the other would gradually close the local federal-vs.-industry pay gap in 32 regions of the country.

Although the 2.2 percent nationwide raise is dead, insiders believe that Congress will come up with funds for modest locality adjustments next year. The size would depend on available funds and each area's so-called pay gap, but it could be worth 2 percent or more here.

Rumor Control

Federal offices in Dallas, Kansas City, Mo., and other regions are buzzing with false reports that could push some people into retirement for the wrong reasons. The reports said incorrectly that the budget resolution has eliminated the so-called high-three-year salary formula used to compute pensions, and that senior executives are about to lose the right to accumulate unlimited vacation time.

Both proposals, and a dozen other cost-cutting ideas, are still being studied. Neither is part of the budget plan approved by Congress.

People

Morris O. Alexander has retired from the Army's Security Assistance Command after 53 years of federal-military service (including a World War II battlefield commission). At ASAC he handled military aid to Turkey.

Army Materiel Command's **Hazel Poole** is retiring after 47 years. During her 29 years with AMC, she helped set up the depot maintenance system.

Alene D. Tayman has retired from the Government Printing Office after 39 years. She was historian of bills for the congressional index office.

Early Retirement Club

Thousands of retirement-age government workers are holding out for a cash carrot from Uncle Sam. They've been inspired by the $25,000 buyouts Defense (with special congressional approval) has given 30,000 civilians to resign or retire.

Because of the buyout fever, less than 4 percent of the employees offered early retirement (without a cash incentive) take it.

There are some workers who say they would take early retirement (without any cash incentive) if given the chance. They've formed a grass-roots organization, Early Outers, to push their case.

Anyone interested in no-cash early outs can contact Harold H. Dawley Jr., 1007 Whitney Ave., Gretna, La.

7.125 Percent Payoff

Most federal workers under the old Civil Service Retirement System are eligible to invest in a government-backed program that is paying 7.125 percent this year. For details on the Voluntary Contributions Plan, check the Diary tomorrow.

TENURE OF POLITICAL APPOINTEES

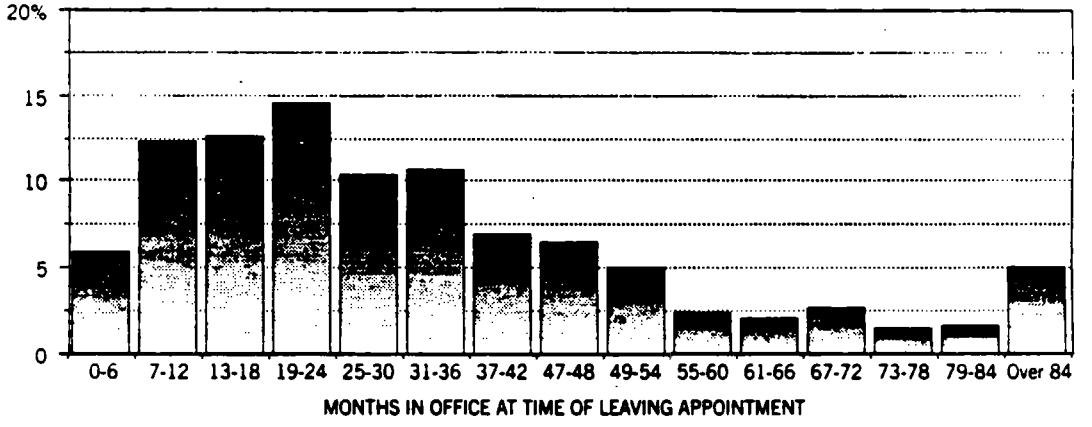
When nominees to politically appointed jobs appear before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, sooner or later Chairman John Glenn (D-Ohio) will bring it up. He has even talked it up with President Clinton at the White House.

All too often, Glenn suggests, political appointees join the executive branch just to embellish their resumes. About a third of the 3,000 or so who fill the ranks—from Cabinet secretaries and ambassadors to sub-Cabinet officials—depart within 18 months, according to figures compiled by the General Accounting Office at Glenn's request.

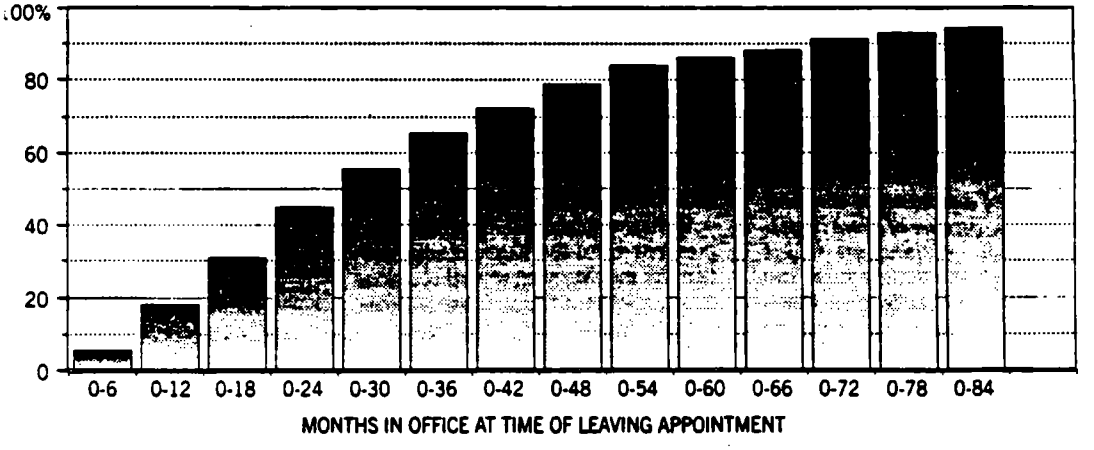
With that kind of churning at the top, no business, much less a government, can operate efficiently, Glenn contends. It is no surprise, then, that when administration nominees appear before Glenn, he invariably extracts a pledge that they will stay in town for the next four years. Here is why:

Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio

TENURE OF EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE POLITICAL APPOINTEES WHO SERVED BETWEEN 10/1/82 AND 9/30/91
AS PERCENT OF ALL POLITICAL APPOINTEES



CUMULATIVE PROFILE OF THE TENURE OF EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE POLITICAL APPOINTEES WHO SERVED BETWEEN 10/1/82 AND 9/30/91
ACCUMULATIVE PERCENT OF ALL EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE POLITICAL APPOINTEES



SOURCE: Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs

BY CAROL PORTER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Saving Statues From Acid Rain

By Catherine O'Neill
Special to The Washington Post

It isn't unusual to give your umbrella a workout during April. You've heard the saying, "April showers bring May flowers . . ."

Unfortunately, showers can also bring pollutants. Chemicals from car exhausts, burning coal or oil and some natural sources mix with the water in clouds and fall to earth as "acid rain." Fog and snow can also contain damaging acids.

You've probably heard that acid rain can harm trees and upset the balance of other living things. But did you know that acid rain can damage the stone and metal that form outdoor sculpture?

If you live in the Washington, D.C., area, you see outdoor sculpture so often that you probably hardly notice it anymore. Almost every square or circle in the city has some kind of monument or fountain. There are generals on horseback, famous people from history, angels, animals and more.

Outdoor monuments are an important part of cultural history all over the United States. There are at least 50,000 across the country, and they all get rained on.

Arthur Beale, director of research at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, explains that rain, fog and snow often bring moisture that is on the acidic side. When the acids are fairly strong, they react with materials such as bronze and marble. What happens to the sculptures then? "They dissolve," says Beale.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Carved surfaces are affected more quickly by acid rain.

"Their surfaces are slowly lost. And since sculpture depends on surface, when it's lost, it's gone forever. And when we lose our cultural heritage, we lose touch with our past."

Beale adds that the damage acid rain does to sculpture can make people more aware of the danger this substance poses to the natural environment. When people look at a metal statue that is stained and streaked or a marble one that is pitted with holes, they may say: "If [acid rain] is doing this to material that was meant to last hundreds of years, what's it doing to trees? What's it doing to ME?"

Beale says there are three ways to protect a statue from the "aggressive" environment created by pollution: 1) Move it indoors. 2) Shelter it with a roof or shed. 3) Apply a protective coating of plastic or wax.

Some outdoor sculptures are so large that none of these three solutions is possible. Take the Statue of Liberty, which is made of hammered copper. She's too big to move indoors or contain in a shed. And a protective coating would be too expensive, Beale says.

People are working to preserve outdoor sculpture. Susan I. Sherwood, a physical scientist for the National Park Service, explains a project at the Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania. Park Service scientists wanted to see how Civil War monuments there are being affected. They attached cups and gutters to statues and monuments to collect material that washed off during rainstorms. They also gathered data on how acidic the rain from each storm was. They discovered that the most serious erosion began when rain had a pH level of 4.0 (pH is a symbol for the degree of acidity). On the pH scale, pure rain has a level of 7. As the numbers go down, the acid gets stronger. At pH 4.0, erosion rates are more than double those of pH4.5 or pH5.

Researchers also found that complex carved surfaces are much easier to damage than flat monuments like obelisks—the tall needle shape of the Washington Monument. Curving surfaces allow rain to whoosh around on the surface rather than run straight off. "It's like . . . sugar in iced tea," Sherwood explains. "It dissolves faster if you stir it around."

Another effort is called SOS! (for Save Our Sculpture). Program director Susan Nichols explains that the volunteer organization is in the process of listing the location, condition and history of every outdoor sculpture in the United States. The information will go into a computer that historians, artists and conservationists can use.

Kids can get involved in SOS! In Cleveland, for example, high school students took photographs of deteriorating statues and exhibited them in City Hall to call attention to the problem. Some schools use the program to teach history and art. Scout troops "adopt" sculptures and raise funds for their conservation. And families can help with the national survey.

To learn more about outdoor sculpture, open your umbrella, grab a guidebook and head downtown with your family to take a tour. ■

Tips for Parents

SOS! is a joint project of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art and the National Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Property. For details, call (800) 421-1381 (in the District, 625-1495) or write: SOS!, NIC, 3299 K St. NW, Suite 403, Washington, D.C. 20007.

For You to Do

Some students involved with Project SOS! have designed their own public sculptures. Students in West Virginia made a "Peace Totem" and placed it outdoors. As you walk around the city to see the cherry blossoms, notice all the monuments, and take a sketchpad to draw ideas for a sculpture you and your classmates can design.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

Australian Navy Helps Endangered Giant Clams to Relocate

An endangered species will assist in research on reefs.

By NINA BICK

ORPHEUS ISLAND RESEARCH STATION, Australia

THE Australian Navy has stepped in to help the giant clam, an endangered species that has been driven to extinction in waters off many South Pacific islands and heavily fished on the Great Barrier Reef by poachers.

. . .

NEWS SUMMARY
U.S. Department of the Interior Office of Communications

Thursday, April 8, 1993 A66

San Francisco Chronicle TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

Timber Summit Optimism

Executives pleasantly surprised by Clinton's effort

By Jeff Pelline
Chronicle Staff Writer

Many people in the timber industry shuddered when Bill Clinton was elected president. They worried that Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, both ardent environmentalists, wouldn't recognize or sympathize with their economic plight.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Last Friday's timber summit in Portland proved a pleasant surprise for the industry. Timber officials said yesterday that they found Clinton and Gore gratifyingly open-minded about the complex issues that pit timber harvesters against the protectors of endangered species, such as the Northern spotted owl.

Wall Street also reacted favorably yesterday. Stocks in forest-products companies staged a strong rally after taking a beating in the days preceding the summit. In New York Stock Exchange trading, Louisiana Pacific Corp. jumped 1⅝ to close at 70, Weyerhaeuser Corp. was up 3⅛ to 42¼, Georgia-Pacific rose 3 to 61¾ and Potlatch climbed ¾ to 48½.

As a result of the industry-environmentalist conflict, the supply of timber has fallen far short of demand, and prices of timber used for home-building and other essential projects have risen sky high.

Reflecting on Clinton's attempt to address the issue at the summit, Jim Geisinger, president of the Northwest Forestry Association, an industry trade group, said: "We were encouraged by his willingness

TIMBER: *Page C14 Col. 2*

TIMBER: Clinton Surprises Industry

From Page C1

to listen, his knowledge of the issues involved and above all by the sincerity of his commitment to help people."

"The president and his key advisers took a monumental first step toward ending gridlock in the forest," said Bill Dennison, president of the California Forestry Association.

Officials of Weyerhaeuser and Sierra Pacific Industries applauded the president for recognizing the urgency of the timber crisis and making it a top priority in his administration. Clinton has asked his cabinet to come up with a plan within 60 days to help break the gridlock.

"As we begin the process of framing a plan for the future, the forest products industry must be at the table with government, environmentalists and communities," Dennison said.

The effort to resolve all the conflicting views won't exactly be a walk in the woods. Among the proposals put forward by industry, environmentalists and government:

■ Adopting ecosystem management for federal lands. It is generally agreed that this is a good idea in principle. But everyone has his own notion of how to achieve it.

■ Additional federal timber sales. That is the primary goal of the industry, but it is unclear to what extent Clinton would sanction it, and environmentalists generally oppose it. The matter may have to be cleared up in the courts.

■ Eliminating the tax break for exports of unprocessed logs. In the past, Clinton has supported this. Environmentalists claim that any curb on exports would give domestic mill owners and workers access to more and cheaper raw logs to help replace those lost to lower harvests on federal lands. The industry disputes this, and says that such a solution shouldn't figure in timber policy anyway — that this is strictly a trade issue.

The industry praised Clinton for acknowledging that government policies on timber harvesting often are in conflict. In his closing remarks at the conference, Clinton said: "I was mortified ... to see how often the departments were at odds with each other, so that there was no voice of the United States."

For example, the Forest Service — part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture — is charged with managing both the economic and environmental aspects of logging. But the Fish and Wildlife Service — under the Department of the Interior — also gets involved, often at cross purposes.

Industry people said they were pleased that they were able to get across the point that the run-up in lumber prices stemmed largely from supply problems, not simply increased demand.

The harvest levels from some major national forests in Northern California — Six Rivers, Klamath, Mendocino and Shasta-Trinity — were restricted to 95 million board feet last year, down from 776 million in 1988, according to the California Forestry Association. (A million board feet is about enough to build 85 homes.)

The industry also stressed at the summit that job retraining is not a cure-all for timber-industry layoffs. That point was also made by Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who pointed out that many other jobs in timber-country communities are largely dependent on the industry.

THE WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

THE FEDERAL PAGE

Acquisition Of Park Lands To Take a Hit

Lower Funding Proposal Part of 'Budget Reality'

Associated Press

After promising during his campaign to buy more park and recreation areas, President Clinton wants to spend substantially less than George Bush did to acquire and protect new lands, an administration official confirmed yesterday.

To the dismay of conservation groups, Clinton is proposing $209 million for public land purchases in his 1994 budget to be released today, considerably less than the $366 million Bush sought last year, said the official, who asked not to be named.

The Clinton administration has decided to focus on upkeep and repair of lands the government already owns, officials said.

"There is a budget reality that is clear. There is not a lot of money to go around," said Kevin Sweeney, spokesman for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. Sweeney refused to confirm the budget figures that will be released today, but said Babbitt has made it a clear priority "to make sure that the parks we have are in very good shape."

The National Park Service faces a $4 billion backlog of serious maintenance problems, some of which were targeted with a $250 million allocation in Clinton's economic stimulus package, which is stalled in Congress.

The Park Service is slated for a 19 percent operating increase in the 1994 budget, and an overall budget increase of $300 million, to $1.5 billion, the official said.

But environmentalists and their congressional allies contend the government also should fully utilize a fund specifically designated for public land acquisition.

Environmentalists already were upset with Clinton for dropping his insistence that Congress use the budget process to levy royalties on miners who use western lands and to raise grazing fees, a shift that the administration counters was one of tactics, not policy. They greeted the latest news glumly.

"If this is true, we would be disappointed because we had hoped from the position that the president had taken during the campaign that we would be doing much better," said Don Hellman, a Wilderness Society attorney.

Clinton had promised in his campaign book "Putting People First" to "expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund."

The Washington Times THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

POLITICS, POLICY AND ANALYSIS

1994 budget deficit exceeds entire outlay 2 decades ago

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton will produce his first budget today, a belt-tightening plan for fiscal 1994 that still bears a $262 billion deficit that exceeds the entire federal budget of 20 years ago.

The 1994 budget, which would take effect Oct. 1, features $1.513 trillion in spending and $1.251 trillion in taxes and other revenues. In 1973, the budget was $245.7 billion.

The oft-delayed budget released at noon will be the first submitted to Congress under the Democrats' five-year budget resolution that promises to reduce deficit-spending by $496 billion through Sept. 30, 1998.

The plan will increase spending for food stamps, expansion of earned-income tax credits for the working poor, child immunization, Head Start and the WIC (Women, Infants and Children) program. Other increases include spending for mass transit, highway construction, and defense conversion.

If Mr. Clinton does request outlays of $1.513 trillion, as he has indicated, it would be the first time since 1965 that a president asked to spend less than the previous year's budget request.

President Bush requested $1.517 trillion for fiscal 1993. Congressional cuts and sharp declines in interest rates paid for federal borrowing reduced outlays this fiscal year to an estimated $1.475 trillion.

Presidential aides treated the actual release of the budget today as anti-climactic, something of a formality, since they contend the budget already is enacted through the budget resolution capping spending and revenue by category.

That resolution, which was passed April 3 against unanimous opposition in both houses by Republicans and a handful of Democrats, locked in the size of a budget before the Clinton administration revealed where dollars would come from or be spent.

Meanwhile yesterday, the president continued to rail against the Republican resistance that has sidetracked, at least temporarily, his parallel plan to stimulate the economy now with $16.3 billion charged to the 1993 deficit.

"This recovery is like a fire starving for oxygen," the president said.

Mr. Clinton promised a 1994 spending plan that will provide $264 billion for defense, a 5.5 percent cut of $6.8 billion from the current year.

Some Cabinet departments may expect increased spending budgets for 1994:

- Commerce, $3.2 billion, a 3.2 percent increase.
- Education, $31 billion, up 0.3 percent.
- Health and Human Services, $639.6 billion, up 8.1 percent.
- Housing and Urban Development, $28.9 billion, up 11.2 percent.
- Transportation, $39.2 billion, up 7.4 percent.
- Treasury, $319.9 billion, up 5.8 percent.
- Veterans Affairs, $37.1 billion, up 4.8 percent.

And some departments can expect decreases:

- Agriculture, $63.6 billion, a 5.1 percent decrease.
- Energy, $15.8 billion, down 6.5 percent.
- Interior, $7.2 billion, down 4 percent.
- Justice, $10.4 billion, down 0.9 percent.
- Labor, $37.8 billion, down 19 percent.
- State $5.6 billion, 1.8 percent.

Because some of Mr. Clinton's proposed "spending changes" actually involve revenue increases — taxes and user fees alike — it has been difficult to make categorical comparisons until the budget was published.

But revenue increases also rise sharply each year of the five-year period with the congressional Budget Conference Committee approving overall increases totaling $247 billion in that period.

Under Mr. Clinton's plan, which he has called "A Vision of Change for America," the five-year deficit will be cut by reducing spending $182.3 billion with most of the cuts in defense programs, increasing taxes by $246.3 billion, with the remaining $67.4 billion in cuts achieved by savings on interest payments.

USA TODAY · THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

BUDGET DETAILS: The White House today unveils the details in President Clinton's $1.5 trillion budget proposal for 1994, and already some of his allies are complaining.

The budget will flesh out the spending increases and cuts and the tax increases proposed by Clinton in February as part of his five-year, $482 billion deficit-reduction plan.

Democrats controlling Congress will greet the budget with open arms — a marked contrast from the past 12 years, when Republican budgets were "dead on arrival."

Both the House and Senate have passed blueprints that usually follow delivery of the president's budget. Tax and spending bills will be debated during the next few months.

But familiarity with Clinton's goals and a friendly reception on Capitol Hill won't preclude trouble:

▶ Environmental groups groused Wednesday upon learning the Clinton budget will trim about $70 million from the Interior Department's land and water conservation fund, used to buy public lands. "We are very disappointed," said Graham Cox of the Audubon Society.

▶ Lobbyists for the elderly are expected to step up their opposition to Medicare cuts and increased taxes on Social Security benefits.

▶ Republicans, who this week blocked Clinton's $16.3 billion, short-term spending plan, will attack specific increases in domestic spending, cuts in defense and new taxes.

Not included in the budget: Clinton's health-care reform proposal, now expected late next month. — ***Richard Wolf***

By Matt Mendelsohn, USA TODAY

WAITING FOR PRESIDENT: Bill Clinton's South Lawn jogging track will help cut down on Washington 'gridlock.'

TRACK TIME: President Clinton's much-ballyhooed White House jogging track is finished and waiting for Clinton to try it out. The 5-foot-wide track is built along the driveway on the White House south lawn. The $30,000 track was paid for through donated materials and a White House donations fund. The track allows Clinton to run without snarling traffic and being followed by a motorcade of Secret Service agents, staff and media. But aides say Clinton isn't expected to give up running in downtown Washington.

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Woman With Guns Is Seized In Park by the White House

WASHINGTON, April 7 (Reuters) — A Kentucky woman was arrested across the street from the White House today after two pistols and a pellet gun were found in her truck, the Secret Service said.

The woman, Carolyn Eaves, 44 years old, of Midway, Ky., told officials she wanted to meet President Clinton but did not make any threats, said a service spokesman, Dave Adams.

She was charged with carrying an unregistered firearm and ammunition and with possession of an illegal drug, Mr. Adams said.

Witnesses said law-enforcement officials immediately converged on the woman when she drove a red pickup truck over a curb into Lafayette Park.

Officers found two .22-caliber pistols, an air pellet gun and a box of ammunition in the truck Mr. Adams said. They also found several signs, including one calling for people to "believe the truth," and a bouquet of flowers.

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Asides

New Owl Howl

How about holding the next timber summit in Flagstaff, Arizona? Many people don't know it, but that Southwestern state has a significant forest industry—or perhaps we should say *had*. We've discovered that now the *Mexican* spotted owl has been declared a protected species, like its northern cousin, and old-growth logging is being abruptly curbed in the Kaibab National Forest. As in the Northwest, the question of how much more cutting the public lands ought to take is a contentious one, but the economic effects in a state just regaining its financial balance are less subject to dispute.

The Washington Times THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

ALSTON CHASE

In search of the real

At the recent Northwest forest conference, President Clinton heard tragic stories of human suffering and ecological peril. He listened as tearful loggers explained that locking up forests to protect owls destroyed their way of life. He sat quietly as environmentalists argued that ecological health required saving all old-growth trees.

What the conference missed were voices of people like Jack Shipley and Dennis Martinez. Mr. Shipley is co-founder of the Applegate Partnership in Grants Pass, Ore. — a grass-roots coalition of loggers and conservationists aiming to restore both forest health and the local economy.

Mr. Martinez, a Pima Indian, is a consultant for the Intertribal Sinkyone Wilderness Council of the Coyote Valley Reservation in California. Working with 10 tribes and a gaggle of government agencies, he is helping establish an intertribal park dedicated to reviving plant diversity and finding new markets for traditional native uses of this resource.

But the forest conference did not hear these men. Mr. Shipley came as an observer but was not permitted to make a presentation. Mr. Martinez wasn't invited at all.

This was a missed opportunity. Both have ideas that might end the current impasse over owls and old growth. In their absence, polarities prevailed. The conference exemplified a national problem: environmental gridlock.

Alston Chase is a nationally syndicated columnist specializing in environmental issues.

It is a conflict concerning mutually exclusive values, between a dwindling rural society and an ascendent urban one. That is why compromise is so elusive.

Although bigger in scale, the owl controversy is like other conservation battles raging throughout the country. Environmentalists and resource users are joined in the most divisive social conflict of our time. They represent a cultural contest, a collision of visions.

Resource users like farmers and loggers dream of stewardship. Rural folk, they make their living from the land. Endorsing "wise use," they believe in nurturing nature for human benefit. They see the Earth as a garden, which, given tender, loving care, blooms indefinitely.

By contrast, most environmentalists share a biocentrist vision. College-educated urban professionals, many of whom fled cities to seek solace in rural areas, they view the Earth, not as a garden, but as a field of equally valuable creatures in which humans occupy one small place.

Hence these disputants disagree about nearly everything. To wise-use folks, nature is a pyramid with humans on top. It is imperfect, until "improved" by humans, and has only extrinsic value, but is infinitely fecund. To biocentrists, it is a web in which humanity is enmeshed. It is perfect and has intrinsic value, but its riches are limited. One side idealizes private enterprise and development, the other federal protection; one reveres domestic livestock, the other native wildlife. One believes forests can survive only if they are logged. The other insists people be kept away.

Although both are good people, each distrusts the other. Biocentrists see wise-users as crypto-fascists destroying nature. Stewards view biocentrists as socialists living in $250,000 wood homes who yearn to return to Pleistocene times.

Yet while both claim to champion the environment, neither does entirely. Stewards often put their pocketbooks first, while biocentrists place primacy on recreation. Both frequently ignore science. Stewards gloss over damage done by predator control, overgrazing and overlogging. Biocentrists are blind to devastation caused by too-abundant wildlife and "hands-off" preservation policies.

Thus their dispute is not really over the environment. It is a cultural conflict concerning absolute and mutually exclusive values, between a dwindling rural society and an ascendent urban one. That is why compromise is so elusive. If the issues were truly ecological and economic rather than moral, solutions would be quickly forthcoming.

conservationist

Ending this stalemate requires nurturing new solutions that harmonize these two visions. And this is what Messrs. Shipley and Martinez are trying to do.

Founded by Mr. Shipley last year, Applegate aims to revive both biodiversity and the rural way of life. Enlisting more than 20 scientists, it uses both logging and intentional fires to restore biodiversity to forests previously devastated by fire suppression and poor logging practices.

Similarly, the Sinkyone Project would restore original hardwood trees and culturally important plants by thinning and prescribed fire, then use this revived forest to sustain new indigenous industries, including logging and woodworking.

The projects thus represent a conservation vision that synthesizes its polarized competitors — embracing both the stewardship ideal of active management and the biocentrist principle of putting ecological health first. Nevertheless, many in government, industry and the environmental community view this strategy as a threat.

Middle-echelon bureaucrats fear the community-based approach would dilute Washington's authority. Loggers resist giving primacy to ecological values. And environmentalists reap greater fund-raising benefits by keeping politics polarized than by pursuing accommodation.

But eventually Mr. Shipley and Mr. Martinez will be heard. Great revolutions never start at the capitols of empire. They always begin in obscure places like Grants Pass and Coyote Valley.

San Antonio Express-News

A division of The Hearst Corporation

Tuesday, April 6, 1993

Corpus Christi Caller-Times

April 2, 1993

Environmental officials cite need for planning

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON – The Clinton administration said Thursday that it will seek to balance environmental and economic needs by careful planning, not crisis-to-crisis damage control.

"It is right to deal with crises involving individual species," Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt told the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. "But we should not manage our lands and resources so that we either consciously or unwittingly produce and then must react to an endless progression of crises."

The hearing was held as President Clinton prepared to attend a one-day conference in Portland, Ore., today on the Northwest's old-growth forests. The controversy could foreshadow administration policy on a variety of jobs vs. environmental disputes.

Carol Browner, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, testified the administration is trying to assess ecological risks the same way health risks are analyzed.

"All federal agencies need to join forces and form alliances to protect our most important turf, the natural ecosystems that sustain all forms of life on earth," she said.

By RITA BEAMISH Clinton-Environmentalists

WASHINGTON (AP) - Environmental activists who delight in their newfound access to the White House are taking a second look at how much good it does them and criticizing President Clinton for a breach of trust.

Environmental groups have unleashed a barrage of criticism since Clinton last week appeased Western senators by dropping his insistence that fees charged to miners and ranchers who use federal lands be increased as part of his budget.

``We're concerned about the strength of his commitment,'' Wilderness Society President Karin Sheldon said. ``It's unfortunate that in that first game of chicken, he blinked like he did.''

The administration promises to enact the higher fees in separate legislation, but environmentalists who have fought for years to get Congress to raise the fees viewed the budget as the best chance for quick enactment.

Environmentalists felt especially betrayed because they had mounted a substantial lobbying effort to help Clinton pass the budget plan.

While many were willing to view the shift on western lands as an aberration, and were optimistic about Clinton's overall environmental policies, ``people are a little shocked right now and wondering what to expect,'' said Reid Wilson of the Sierra Club.

National Wildlife Federation president Jay Hair called Clinton's shift on western lands tactics ``a breach of trust.'' Brock Evans of the National Audubon Society said, ``We're getting kind of fed up with Clinton.''

Administration officials played down the criticism, saying it was inevitable given the environmentalists' ambitious agenda.

``One would not expect to have a four-year honeymoon,'' said Kevin Sweeney, spokesman for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt.

He contended the criticism on the western lands decision was unfounded because Clinton will push for the fee increases in legislation and administrative action outside the budget process - something the critics say will be vastly more difficult to accomplish.

``The Bush administration needed a hearing aid on environmental issues. We hear them without shouting,'' said Vice President Al Gore's spokeswoman, Marla Romash.

But some conservationists worry the land fees decision bodes ill for another of their top priorities - saving the Northwest old-growth forests from loggers.

``After this retreat, how can they regain the high ground on the environment?'' said Liz Raisbeck, Audubon's senior vice president.

While pleased with key environmental job appointments in the new administration, the conservation groups have had other bones to pick with Clinton.

Many opposed his decision to abolish the congressionally established White House Council on Environmental Quality, which was charged with ensuring that government agencies prepare environmental impact reports for large projects.

Clinton established his own White House environmental office, but is asking Congress to give most of CEQ's functions to the Environmental Protection Agency, a move critics say diminishes the council's previous status.

Other critics were bothered by the decision to allow start up of a hazardous waste incinerator in Liverpool, Ohio. Before the inauguration, Gore had pledged to block the project pending a congressional probe of its licensing.

AP-NF-04-06-93

Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, Wednesday, March 31, 1993

Interior secretary still plans on mining reform

By NED MARTEL
States News Service

WASHINGTON—Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt doesn't think much of the notion that he has brought mining reform, grazing fee hikes and timber harvest overhaul to Washington in his political saddlebag.

"If I were to spend the next nine months in Guam, there will still be mining law reform," Babbitt told reporters who met with him last week.

Babbitt's remarks came just a few days before President Clinton's suggestion Tuesday that the pace of reforms should be dampened.

"It's all going to happen this year," Babbitt said last week. "I think that before I arrived, in a sense there was already a consensus in this town and around the country about the resources issues."

For years, lawmakers have hashed out and shot down federal legislation to compel change in how ranchers, miners and loggers pay for their use of western public lands, he said, adding that he does not need to usher in new proposals.

"I send no paper to Capitol Hill. They've got enough paper up there," Babbitt said. "We're beyond that now."

The secretary, whose agency oversees millions of acres of western rangeland, forests and mountain terrain, said industry and conservation groups are beginning to agree more in private than their public comments suggest.

"I talk to the American Mining Congress once a week. I talk to the environmental groups once a week," Babbitt said. "I'm talking to everybody and nobody is taking the position that there's not going to be mining law reform."

Deal-making will leave a lot of negotiators exhausted, he said. Land use proposals are inching toward agreement, however slowly, he said. "Everybody's got a different sort of formula. Now nobody's giving away their position publicly. You don't see their formula proposals in the newspaper."

Conservationists confirm they can get their opinions heard in Babbitt's bureaucracy more often than they could when Republicans Manuel Lujan and James Watt ran the department.

"We've had far more interaction and discussion since Jan. 20," said Nancy Green, the Wilderness Society's Bureau of Land Management program director.

Green said the president's target to get 12.5 percent royalties for hard-rock minerals is reasonable. She suggested that if the administration pursues lower federal land royalties, the difference could be made up through severance taxes on minerals taken from patented land in private hands.

Mining lobbyists say there is good reason to be cautious. "The accessibility has been great," said Jack Knebel, president of the American Mining Congress. "But I'm not sure as yet we have established a meaningful dialogue with respect to mining law."

Knebel noted a fundamental confusion in the Clinton administration about how revenue will be gathered from users of public lands.

"It's an incomplete situation because the administration doesn't have a well-founded rationale for the revenue numbers they anticipate can be raised by royalty."

President Clinton implored Babbitt "to be very sensitive to impact on the changes on the small guy," the interior secretary said.

NEW YORK STATE

Tribal Tax at Center of Dispute Among Onondaga Indians

Members of the Onondaga nation formed a blockade this week on Route 11, south of Syracuse, in protest of Indian-owned businesses that have not paid a tax to the Nation. Andrea Cooke, a tribal clan mother, stood by a barricade of wrecked automobiles effectively barring all access to businesses along the road. The dispute pits local business owners against the tribe's Council of Chiefs and their supporters.

Six Tribes Beat Deadline In MRS Siting Program

BY ED LANE

The Office of the U.S. Nuclear Waste Negotiator received six applications from Indian tribes for phase II funds to study nuclear waste storage just before the March 31 deadline, according to a list released by the office.

For the past two years, the office, under congressional mandate, has been seeking a state or sovereign Indian tribe voluntarily to agree to host a monitored retrievable storage (MRS) facility for spent nuclear fuel from commercial reactors. As part of this effort, the office has been awarding grants in a three-step process for interested parties to consider the issue.

Twenty groups applied for the first step of phase I grants of $100,000 to study the feasibility of an MRS and explain it to interested parties who would live near any proposed site.

But many of those groups have opted out of the process and only three Indian tribes—the Mescalero Apaches in New Mexico, the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians in Utah, and the Fort McDermitt Paiute Shoshone Tribe in Nevada—had applied for the $200,000 available under the second step, phase II-A, up to March 24.

But between March 24 and 31, the office received six more applications from Indian tribes before the congressional deadline for accepting applications for phase II-A expired.

The new phase II-A applicants are: Ponca Industrial Corp. in Texas; Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma; Prairie Island Indian Community in Minnesota; Ute Mountain Ute Tribe in Colorado; Miami Tribe of Oklahoma; and Northern Arapahoe Economic Development Commission in Wyoming.

The Mescaleros are the furthest along in the process, already having received $300,000 for various studies. The group requested an additional $300,000 for further community outreach and study but officials in the new Energy Department denied the request, according to Cathy Roche, spokeswoman for the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, which supports

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from page one)

Applicants Beat Deadline For MRS Funds

the voluntary process.

No one has applied for the third step, $2.8 million for a phase II-B grant, under which a site would be selected and characterized as a potential storage facility.

Any of the final six applications could be denied by DOE. And many industry and regulatory officials are concerned about the viability of the program because of the change in leadership at DOE.

Although the Office of the Nuclear Waste Negotiator, currently headed by David Leroy, is mandated by Congress to pursue an MRS for the next two years, Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary is reviewing the entire issue of storing civilian radioactive waste.

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Natural Resources Committee, has requested a General Accounting Office audit of the program to date and expects a report on the program later this summer.

The voluntary MRS was viewed by DOE as a way to store nuclear waste temporarily until a permanent repository is built, most likely at Yucca Mountain, Nev. But no state has allowed an individual county to pursue the proposed MRS and sovereign Indian tribes have not been readily able to convince local and state officials of the merits of such a plan.

Money for the program is funded through DOE from the Nuclear Waste Fund, a pool of money paid by utility ratepayers to build a storage site for nuclear waste.

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

ALASKA

FAIRBANKS — The deadline passed for public comment on the Air Force's plan to expand areas where its flight crews train in Alaska. Foes have warned of possible harm to the environment and to bald eagles and peregrine falcons.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON — Construction of the South Carolina Aquarium — first proposed in '92 — has been delayed again, Mayor Joseph Riley Jr. said. Groundbreaking for the $42 million facility on the Cooper River will be delayed until the National Parks Service is satisfied pollution won't be released into the harbor. ...

VIRGINIA

RESTON — Three parks closed by a 358,000-gallon diesel fuel spill have reopened, Fairfax County officials said. The March 28 spill sent fuel through more than 50 miles of waterways.

Oregonian April 6, 1993

Conservationists tribe seek timber harvest alternatives

■ California's Hoopa Valley Tribe and the World Wildlife Fund try to create jobs outside of logging old-growth forests

By THAAI WALKER
San Francisco Chronicle

SAN FRANCISCO — In an unprecedented arrangement, the Hoopa Valley Tribe has accepted an offer from a national conservation organization to work together on a plan that can satisfy both the tribe's desperate need for jobs and its reverence for wildlife that has been threatened by logging on the Northern California reservation.

Representatives of the Hoopa Tribe and the World Wildlife Fund said Monday that they hoped their partnership might provide a model for balancing environmental concerns and job creation. President Clinton held a timber summit meeting in Portland last week in an attempt to find such a solution on a national scale.

"Hoopa is a microcosm of all the problems and challenges throughout Washington, Oregon and Northern California," said World Wildlife Fund President Kathryn Fuller at the conference at the Pacific Energy Center.

"This is an important testing and proving ground to see if we can preserve and meet the biological, economical and cultural needs of the tribe."

Pacific Gas and Electric Company Co. also will be involved in the conservation efforts.

The partnership is especially significant because the Hoopas, like many tribes, have traditionally prided themselves on their self-reliance. This marks the first time the tribe has ever reached outside its own group for help, said Duane Sherman, vice chairman of the Hoopa Valley Tribe.

"Indians in general are very proud people, but we reached a point where we needed that outside help," Sherman said.

The tribe, which derives its main source of employment and income from timber harvesting, is in a dire situation because of government restrictions on the logging of old-growth forests — the predominant type of forest on the 89,000-acre reservation situated between the Redwood National Park and the Trinity Alps Wilderness Area. About 70 percent of tribal members are unemployed as a result, Sherman said.

But just as important as jobs to the tribe is the preservation of various endangered wildlife species that inhabit the reservation, such as the bald eagle, peregrine falcon and more than 40 pair of northern spotted owls.

Often, these animals have a cultural significance to the Hoopas. The spotted owl, for instance, is an indicator of death and bad times.

"Indians have always been one with the land," Sherman said. "(The Hoopas) have lived there for 10,000 years. We're hoping to find ways to create more jobs out of this but we also want to maintain the biological diversity of our environment and we don't want to destroy it. We've been there too long to do that."

SIPI Accused Of Misspending $1.2 Million

Interior Department Inspector General's Office Handled Audit

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A federal audit accuses Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute officials of misspending $1.2 million in salaries, but the officials contend initiatives such as a two-week shutdown saved more.

The recently released report from the Interior Department's Office of Inspector General said that from 1987 to 1991 the school paid instructors full salaries, even though no classes were offered during the summer.

Auditors also said classes have been held for as few as four students, and that SIPI's failure to abide by minimum teacher-student ratios cost taxpayers $104,000 during the period of the audit.

SIPI in 1992 went to a trimester system with a summer session.

The institute also shut down for two weeks, which school officials said saved $1.6 million.

The audit recommended SIPI furlough instructors during the summer if the instructors "cannot be justified based on enrollment."

SIPI President Carolyn Elgin, in a written response, said SIPI is no different from other educational institutions in that it has large classes in the lower divisions and smaller, specialized upper-division classes that must be offered regardless of enrollment.

Carolyn Elgin
President disputes charges

SIPI is the nation's only technical-vocational school for Indians.

Elgin also disputed the audit's conclusion that instructors' work is finished at the end of the school year and that they should be furloughed then.

The audit was a follow-up to a report published in June 1987 that detailed bad accounting and management practices at SIPI that led to the loss of thousands of dollars of equipment. The latest report said most of those problems have been corrected.

But the auditors said 97 of the 98 projectors missing in the 1987 audit remained unaccounted for. The projectors are worth $16,771, the audit said.

Pacific Daily News April 7, 1993

Take threat 'seriously'

■ **Proposed cuts:** $120 million cut in aid would complement bill to 'apply immigration laws of the U.S.', California Republican says

By FLOYD WHALEY
Daily News Staff

Recently introduced bills in the U.S. House to cut $120 million in federal aid to the Northern Marianas and strip the islands of local immigration control should be taken seriously, area congressional representatives said yesterday.

"I look at every piece of legislation as a serious matter, especially when it affects the Northern Marianas and an economy like this that is fragile," said the Commonwealth's Washington Del. Juan Babauta. "We should not take this lightly."

Guam Del. Robert Underwood said of the bills: "These measures are pretty drastic. I think the (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) government has to come up clearly and quickly with a plan that makes sense."

Rep. Elton Gallegly, R-Calif., introduced on April 1 a bill to "apply the immigration laws of the United States" to the commonwealth and another to "terminate annual direct grant assistance."

Upon introduction of the bills, Gallegly noted that CNMI has developed enough economically to sustain itself with local re-

See THREAT, Page 4

CNMI

Threat

Continued from Page 1

sources and has abused its immigration policies, according to testimony in the Congressional Record.

On March 18, House Democrats slammed the CNMI for abusing immigration controls and ignoring federal auditing measures. At a subcommittee hearing, Rep. George Miller, chairman of the Natural Resources Committee, said he could not support continued federal capital improvement project funding for the CNMI.

According to Underwood, who is on the subcommittee on insular and international affairs, the Gallegly bills likely are an effort by House Republicans to join in pressuring the CNMI.

"I would assume the bills are meant to send a direct message and to make it clear that there is concern on this matter and not just from one party," Underwood said.

The bills are unlikely to pass because they have no co-sponsors and are introduced by a member of the minority party without Democratic support, Underwood said.

"But it is going to dramatize and draw attention to the whole issue in a more substantive and direct way," Underwood said.

"When you introduce a bill, it really focuses on that, rather than making the issue tangential."

Rep. Babauta also agreed that there is a message in the legislation.

"It's just another indication of the very strong signals they are giving the Northern Marianas," he said. "The Congress is now reaching a point where they are saying that, 'If you don't begin to address these issues in a serious way then Congress is going to exercise the authority that they have under the covenant.'"

Babauta said the retention of federal funding and local immigration control are vital to the Northern Marianas, and that Congress should give the commonwealth five or six years to effect reforms before taking action.

"Gov. Manglona: Congress Doesn't Understand CNMI"
"Economists: Proposed Laws Would Devastate Economy"
(Pacific Daily News - 4/7/93)

Deseret News

CUP OVERSIGHT

New panel will wield environmental clout

Commission will get $13.7 million a year to protect Utah wildlife and foliage.

By Matthew S. Brown
Deseret News staff writer

The Bureau of Reclamation has a bad reputation among environmentalists, who accuse it of having a "build first and worry later" approach toward building dams that wreak havoc on the landscape and wildlife.

But when President Clinton appoints the Utah Reclamation Mitigation and Conservation Commission next month and Congress later arms it with a multi-million-dollar budget, environmentalists will hold considerable clout over the bureau and other water developers.

Under the recent Central Utah Project Completion Act, Congress has mandated Clinton to create the commission by the end of April. Its initial funding should be in place by October. Members of the commission will roam Utah, protecting fish and foliage from federal reclamation projects, primarily the CUP.

Nominations for the powerful five-member panel are pouring into the offices of Utah's congressional delegation and Gov. Mike Leavitt, who will make recommendations to the president.

Former Rep. Wayne Owens, Division of Wildlife Resources Director Tim Provan and a host of other fishermen and wildlife leaders are among the names mentioned as candidates for the commission.

"We've received quite a few nominations," said LaVarr Webb, Leavitt's deputy for policy.

The only consensus choice appears to be Provan, who likely will fill the seat that requires someone from a Utah fish and wildlife agency. Another certain bet is Don Christiansen, Central Utah Water Conservancy District general manager and the logical candidate to represent the district.

The three remaining seats are open, with the caveat that nominees must be environment and wildlife advocates and have the credentials to prove it.

Neither Utah's congressional delegation nor the state's environmental and wildlife interests are unified in their choices. The Utah Outdoor Interest Coordinating Council, arguably the most influential local wildlife group backing the CUP, has recommended Owens for the House post, former Sen. Ted Moss as the Senate nominee, and three Utahns who are well-known in wildlife and environmental circles for the governor to choose from.

National environmental orga-

Please see **CUP** *on A*

How the 5 members will be selected

The Utah Reclamation Mitigation and Conservation Commission was created under the Central Utah Project Completion Act to "conserve, mitigate and enhance fish, wildlife and recreation resources affected by the development and operation of federal reclamation projects in Utah."

By mid-April, President Clinton will appoint the five-member commission based on recommendations from:

- Speaker of the House, one seat.
- Senate majority leader, one seat.
- Gov. Mike Leavitt, two seats — one from the Division of Wildlife Resources and another from Utah's environmental community.
- Central Utah Water Conservancy District, one seat.

Annual funding, 1994-2001, for the commission will come from:

- Federal government, $5 million.
- Western Area Power Administration, $5 million.
- State of Utah, $3 million.
- Central Utah Water Conservancy District, $750,000

CUP

Continued from A1

nizations, such as the Grand Canyon Trust, have endorsed the council's nominees. But several local fishing groups, some of which belong to the council, and the Nature Study Society and the Utah Wilderness Association have submitted competing names of fishery and wetlands experts.

Republican Sens. Orrin Hatch and Bob Bennett plan to make a joint nomination, but they haven't picked anyone yet.

Meanwhile, Utah's House members are divided. Rep. Karen Shepherd, D-Utah, backs the Owens nomination and Rep. Bill Orton, D-Utah, is expected to do the same, but his aides say he hasn't made up his mind. Republican Rep. Jim Hansen has his own ideas. His staff said he wants a negotiator who will represent the needs of developers as well as environmentalists. Hansen will nominate either Bob Valentine, a former state Wildlife Board chairman, or Don Nebeker, a former U.S. Forest Service official.

While there is disagreement over its makeup, there has been no complaint about the commission itself.

While hammering out the CUP completion act, environmentalists accused the bureau of ignoring the environmental impact of its construction projects. They pointed to dams along the Colorado River and ambitious water-exchange proposals that would have dried up streams and killed fish in the Uintah Basin. To keep the environmentalists on board, the commission was created to keep the bureau in check.

Federal law directs the commission to protect and enhance the environmental, recreational and wildlife resources affected not just by the CUP but all federal reclamation projects throughout Utah. The commission won't necessarily kill projects but will ensure that developers follow federal environmental compliance guidelines and check to see that damage to the environment is minimized.

It also will be given substantial resources to do its job. For the next eight years, the commission will receive $13.7 million in annual contributions from federal and state sources.

The CUP act gives the commission a 20-year life, after which it will either be reauthorized or dissolved. If the commission is dissolved, unspent money will be turned over to state wildlife officials.

"In one fell swoop, this could be the biggest boost for outdoor recreation and wildlife in the history of the state," Webb said.

Wildlife won't be the only beneficiary. CUP supporters note the commission's projects will be constructed by local contractors and will spur economic development in rural Utah, where most of the money will be spent.

But observers worry that the lack of unity over who should sit on the commission is sending a mixed message to congressional and national groups monitoring local support for the commission and the CUP's other unprecedented environmental mandates.

Consensus among water development and environmental interests is what pushed the CUP act through Congress last year, and local supporters fear any sign of that coalition breaking down could doom CUP funding.

"This (the creation of the commission) is a major reason why there was support for the CUP bill," said Jeff Appel, a council attorney.

"Owens Nominated to Environmental Committee" (Central Utah Project) (Deseret News - 4/1/93)

Save endangered species

New Orleans

The Endangered Species Act celebrates its 20th birthday this year. Since it was enacted in 1973, it has become one of the nation's premiere environmental laws.

This year it is also up for reauthorization in Congress, which means it can be subjected to substantive amendments that will either weaken or strengthen its role in species protection.

It is critical that we seize the moment to make the law more efficient and effective. Most scientists agree that the world is undergoing its first genuinely catastrophic extinction. Harvard entomologist Edward Wilson predicts that we could lose one quarter of the species on Earth within the next 50 years.

Since the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, we have lost 480 plants and animals on this continent alone. Today, there are over 700 species in imminent danger of extinction in the United States and thousands worldwide.

This is doubly alarming because, unlike in the past, when extinctions were primarily caused by hunting and killing of the animals, now almost all extinctions are due to loss of habitat. Their loss is our loss of vital functioning ecosystems. If one quarter of the species on Earth cannot survive the loss, what kind of world are we leaving ourselves as humans?

The Endangered Species Act gives us our best opportunity to preserve biological diversity and protect vital ecosystems. However, several amendments should be made to strengthen its capabilities.

First, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service needs more funding to evaluate the status of 3,500 candidate species and design recovery plans for those that are endangered. Only about half of the listed threatened and endangered species in the United States have recovery plans.

In addition, we should encourage the listing of multiple species within a habitat to make the process more efficient. Finally, we should set deadlines for recovery plans and stick to them.

Rep. Gerry Studds, D-Mass., is introducing a bill that makes sound ecological and economic sense and satisfies all the provisions mentioned above. It is supported by the environmental community as a whole.

Write to your senator and representatives today and ask them to support the Studds bill in 1993. Our natural heritage is at stake.

Sarah Jaynes

"Natives OK Extension of Federal Hunting Pact" (Alaska)
(Anchorage Daily News - 4/6/93)

"Monumental Task...Bob Stanton Heads the National Capital Region of the National Park Service"
(Dallas Morning News - 4/3/93)

"Quake Rumor Shakes Up County" (USGS)
(Columbian - 4/4/93)

"Wildlife Crime Opening Replica at Shedd Aquarium" (FWS)
"Silent Witness" (Wildlife Forensic Exhibit) (FWS)
Chicago, Il. - March 1993

"Weighing the Hit List of Endangered Species" (Forest Conference)
(Miami Herald Editorial - 4/2/93)

"Another View" (Public Lands/User Fees)
(Star Free Press/St. Petersburg Times Editorial - 3/11/93)

"Budget Would Boost Natural Gas"
(New Orleans Times-Picayune - 4/6/93)

PERSPECTIVE

Alaska Needs Exploration Licensing to Rejuvenate Industry

James M. Davis, senior vice president of exploration for Arco Alaska Inc., spoke recently to the Juneau Chamber of Commerce about a bill supported by Arco in the state Legislature that could speed oil exploration in Alaska.

Excerpts from his speech follow.

We at Arco are still very concerned about the slow pace of oil exploration in Alaska and the trend toward overseas investment by the oil industry.

Our future and Alaska's future depend on sustained oil exploration and development. Given that fact, it should be disturbing that Arco is the only company now drilling a significant number of exploratory wells.

We find it troubling. We're having a very difficult time finding partners. Often we've proceeded alone.

Legislators and state officials are also worried about the exodus of companies from Alaska. Last year they asked us to suggest ways the state could increase the level of exploration activity.

We believe exploration licensing is the answer. It's a leasing method used worldwide, but it has never been used here.

We think it will attract new investors by cutting as much as a decade from the time required to find and develop a new Alaska oil field.

Over the last year and a half, we've announced discoveries in Cook Inlet, in the eastern Beaufort Sea and in the Colville High to the west of the Kuparuk oil field on the North Slope.

A delineation well completed last fall confirmed our Sunfish discovery in Cook Inlet. I can't tell you the size of our discovery. We won't know that until we drill another two or three delineation wells. But we do know there's enough oil to require one or two new production platforms.

And there is plenty of follow-up opportunity to explore south and west of the Sunfish discovery on leases purchased with our partner, Phillips, at the state's recent Cook Inlet lease sale. Arco and Phillips acquired 128,000 acres at that sale and paid bonuses totaling $66 million.

Even so, the sale said a lot about overall industry interest in Alaska. Few other companies participated or offered serious bids on acreage adjacent to a known discovery.

Our Kuvlum discovery, announced last fall, is the largest ever made in federal waters off Alaska. Kuvlum could contain more than a billion barrels of recoverable oil. A lot more.

And yet, this well almost wasn't drilled. Last winter, we had to search the world for partners.

The leases, owned by other companies, were about to expire, and the drilling rig was about to be decommissioned. Fortunately, we were able to farm in the prospect, find partners and discover oil.

We are also active onshore. This winter we are using five rigs to drill seven wells on the North Slope.

We expect to spend close to $900 million on Alaska exploration over the next five years. That's a huge investment. But it's not enough to do all that needs to be done.

Exploration licensing will attract industry investment and speed the scope and pace of exploration by cutting the time required to acquire land for exploration.

In Alaska, it can take 10 years to acquire the acreage necessary to drill a single well. Add another decade to develop new discoveries and the time separating identification of an oil prospect, and actual oil production grows to 20 years.

Compare this with other countries where companies can negotiate a land position in one or two years and begin serious exploration immediately.

Exploration licensing, as we envision it, would not replace the existing state lease sale program. The process would work like this.

First, a company identifies an area of interest and proposes that the state issue an exploration license in exchange for a work commitment of specified dollar value.

The state then invites counterproposals from other companies. After testing industry interest, state officials decide whether it's in the state's best interest to award an exploration license, seek bonus bids on the area at a traditional lease sale or withhold the land from oil and gas development.

If the state opts to issue a license, it must also decide the size of the license area, the lease terms and the minimum amount of money that must be spent.

Next, an oral auction is held. This gives competing companies an opportunity to acquire the acreage and ensures that the state gets a maximum work commitment.

The winning company must post a bond equal to the value of the work proposed. The bond protects the state's interest, guarantees that the work is done and keeps the bidding fair.

The present state lease sale system will continue, allowing the state to seek bonus bids on its most sought-after acreage.

That said, it's interesting to note that bonus bids have not been a major source of state revenue in recent years.

Between 1986 and 1992 revenue from lease sales averaged only $13 million a year. That represents less than 1% of the income derived from taxes and royalties on oil production.

Others have suggested that the program be limited to the state's interior basins. We believe that would be a serious mistake, because it is in Cook Inlet and on the North Slope that the program has the potential to do the greatest good.

Look at Cook Inlet. For years this area has been considered fully explored. Lease sales attracted little interest. Sunfish was the first offshore oil discovery in this region in 25 years.

Time is crucial. One government report estimates that without new production from new discoveries, the Trans-Alaska Pipeline [System (TAPS)] could shut down by the year 2010.

As time passes, and as tariffs and per-barrel production costs increase, North Slope exploration will become less and less attractive.

TAPS and Alaska's North Slope oil fields can remain economic well into the next century, but only if there's another major oil strike north of the Brooks Range.

That's why exploration licensing should be an option on the North Slope today.

If Montana gets the mine, Wyoming gets the shaft, opponents say

Associated Press

CODY, Wyo. — Initial studies on a proposed gold mine in Montana indicate several Wyoming towns would be strained by the development and yet receive few new tax revenues.

Crown Butte Mines Inc. wants to built a $107 million gold, silver and copper mine near Cooke City, Mont., just two miles northeast of Yellowstone National Park. Effects of the mine are expected to spill over into Park County and the towns of Powell and Cody, Wyo., where many of the workers would probably live.

But studies show the project would generate only $180,000 a year from sales and property taxes in Wyoming. In contrast, Gary Beach, administrator of the Industrial Siting Division, said if the mine were in Wyoming, the state would receive about $1.6 million a year in severance ad valorem taxes.

Two preliminary state studies, one by industrial siting and the other by the Univeraity of Wyoming, show up to 405 workers will migrate to Park County during the peak of the mine's two-year construction and 210 workers will live there permanently during its 15-year operating life.

The univeraity study estimated the mine would pump $9 million into the county's economy. But neither study calculates the cost of new service demands on schools, health care, law enforcement, roads and other areas.

"Montana is getting the mine, and Cody and Powell are getting the shaft," said Louisa Willcox, director of the Greater Yellowstone Coalition.

Paul Hoffman of the Cody Country Chamber of Commerce said Crown Butte has hinted it may provide financial help to Park County even though the company is under no legal obligation to do so.

But Jack Winninger, chairman of the Park County Commission, said Crown Butte has sidestepped direct questions on upfront money for schools.

"They haven't mentioned how, but I've heard that they . . . might be considering it," he said. "Whenever I mention it, it's always kind of on deaf ears."

Company spokesman Mark Whitehead said Crown Butte is trying to determine the exact economic impacts before talking about upfront money.

Still, Wyoming officials note the state would have little power over the mine. The state will have a say in the preparation of an environmental impact statement and also must approve construction of a power line from Cody to the mine.

But overall, "They're up in Montana and we're down here and we can't touch them," state economist Vanessa Forselius said.

If they were in Wyoming, Park County would get impact assistance money returned from the state sales tax to reduce negative effects. And Forselius noted the state could also require in industrial siting permits some sort of direct mitigation from the company.

The Washington Times THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

Gore to receive RFK book award

Vice President Al Gore will receive this year's Robert F. Kennedy Memorial book award for his account of the world's environmental problems.

The group, sponsor of annual book and journalism awards, will give Mr. Gore a bust of Mr. Kennedy and $2,000 for "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit."

"This powerful book is an eloquent early warning to us all to think and to act anew if civilization is going to escape self-destruction," said Arthur Schlesinger Jr., chairman of the group's book awards committee.

Paul McEnroe and Allen Short of the Minneapolis Star Tribune will receive the grand prize for print journalism for "Licensed to Abuse," a series that revealed Minnesota state officials allowed criminals to become foster parents.

The write stuff

So the Clinton White House isn't to blame after all for boxing up and sending to storage thousands of unprocessed resumes. The Republicans did it, too, as this column reported back in January, and it appears the Clinton folks followed their example.

Ed Rogers, who oversaw the White House transition after President Bush's victory, wrote in a recent Washington Monthly that when he first took over, "we were mired in 12,000 resumes. I felt like I was trying to take a sip of water from a fire hydrant. There was barely enough time and staff to shovel the resumes into huge crates and ship them off to a storage bin officially known as Central Resume Management, where I presume they remain to this day, let alone read them.

"Which leads me," Mr. Rogers said, "to offer some friendly advice to Democratic job seekers: There are lots of ways people get jobs in the White House, but one of them isn't by sending in your resume."

Gorbachevs to visit foundation's new home

SAN FRANCISCO — Mikhail Gorbachev plans to be on hand when his nonprofit foundation moves to new headquarters at a closed U.S. Army base.

The former Soviet president and his wife, Raisa, will visit the Presidio on April 16 to inaugurate two buildings the Gorbachev Foundation USA will lease, said Jim Garrison, the foundation's executive director.

An interim lease allows the foundation to use the buildings until 1995, when the National Park Service could decide to move them out. The base is being converted to peacetime uses.

The Moscow-based foundation wants to bring together international scholars to analyze events in the former Soviet Union and to encourage democratic change throughout the world.

During his California visit, Mr. Gorbachev will speak at Foothill College and the De Anza College campus in Cupertino, college officials said.

POLITICS & POLICY

Want Some Tough Budget Cuts? OK, Pick Up an Ax and Try These

By DAVID WESSEL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – So you think President Clinton and the Democrats in Congress aren't tough enough on spending?

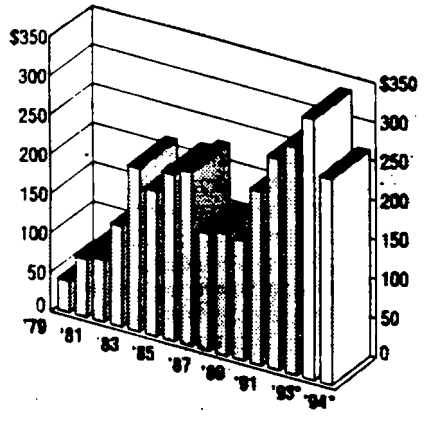
You aren't alone. Half of those responding to the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll say Mr. Clinton's plan to narrow the federal deficit, further details of which are to be issued today, relies too much on tax increases and too little on spending cuts.

In this era of corporate cost-cutting, many business executives think President Clinton is protecting a bloated government while putting the deficit-cutting burden on the taxpayer. "Did he cut spending enough? No way," says J. Peter Grace, W.R. Grace & Co.'s chairman, whom Ronald Reagan recruited to ferret out government waste.

Let's see if you can do better. It won't be easy: Fire every single federal employee – from Mr. Clinton to the receptionist at the local Federal Bureau of Investigation office – and you're still in the red. And remember that even Mr. Reagan, that fervent foe of big government, didn't manage to make it any smaller.

The Size of the Problem

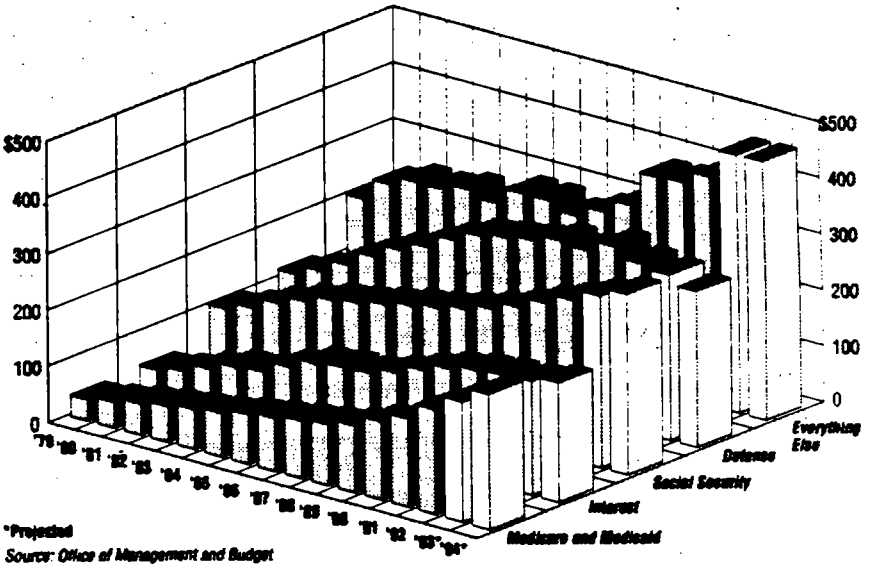
Total Federal government budget deficit in billions of dollars; fiscal year data that HAVE NOT been adjusted for inflation



*Assumes enactment of President Clinton's budget
Source: Office of Management and Budget

How Government Spending Has Grown

Fiscal-year outlays in billions of dollars that HAVE NOT been adjusted for inflation



*Projected
Source: Office of Management and Budget

All you have to do is shrink the annual deficit to $200 billion by the last year of Mr Clinton's term, not go all the way to a balanced budget. After all, that is as much as he proposes.

To start with, cancel every spending increase the president proposes, including the economic stimulus that Senate Republicans have stymied. Then cancel each of his tax increases and fees. You are now facing a deficit of about $265 billion, assuming you accept all the spending cuts that Mr. Clinton backs. So you now have to cut spending by about $65 billion.

What about all that waste that Mr. Grace's famous commission identified in 1983 as the painless cure for the deficit? "Two thousand, four hundred and seventy-eight suggestions. Would have saved $424.4 billion over three years," Mr. Grace says without even checking his notes.

Actually, Mr. Reagan's budget experts counted only 2,160 unduplicated suggestions, of which 1,497 had been carried out before Mr. Reagan left town. No one can say for sure how much was saved, but the General Accounting Office and Congressional Budget Office figured that the savings from the entire report would have been about a third of Mr. Grace's estimate. Most big-ticket suggestions weren't adopted. Many of them didn't call for streamlining government, but changing policies – like raising $5 billion by taxing some of the poor on benefits they receive.

Still a Lot of Waste

Still, the government wastes plenty. Mr. Clinton, recognizing the political importance of tightening the government's belt before raising taxes, aims to squeeze out $6 billion by doing away with 100,000 jobs and slicing travel, consultants and supplies. Perhaps he could do more. House Republicans say he should aim for $15 billion.

The self-styled congressional Porkbusters' Coalition is calling for rescinding 747 examples of what it deems wasteful spending approved last year – including $400,000 to investigate the cause of the "algal bloom crisis" in Maui and $1.7 million for a visitors' center at the Abraham Lincoln memorial in Springfield, Ill., that the National Park Service says isn't necessary.

Cutting such programs clearly would help Mr. Clinton convince Americans of the need for sacrifice, but it wouldn't save enough to get you even close to the goal. "Although there is plenty of pork and other waste in the federal budget, reducing that waste wouldn't reduce spending sufficiently," say former Reagan adviser William Niskanen and economist Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute, a libertarian think-tank. "Major reductions in the main federal spending programs are necessary."

Before you get to work, a few observations:

– No balanced-budget amendments; they may force spending cuts, but they don't help decide what to cut.

– Saving $500 million is nothing to sneeze at, but you need to find 130 such savings to meet the goal.

– Slicing spending across-the-board by a few percentage points sounds appealing, but it won't suffice; the gap is too big.

– And a few facts: Of the $1.5 trillion Mr. Clinton wants to spend in fiscal 1994, which begins Oct. 1, about $212 billion will go for interest payments that must be made. Another $278 billion will go for defense. That's a lot of money. But bear in mind that the military budget left by President Bush, measured against the size of the economy, is smaller than any since the end of World War II. And by the end of his term, Mr. Clinton's plans to chop another 20% off, adjusted for inflation. Given instabilities in nuclear-armed Russia, it may be imprudent to chop much further.

Four Very Big Chunks

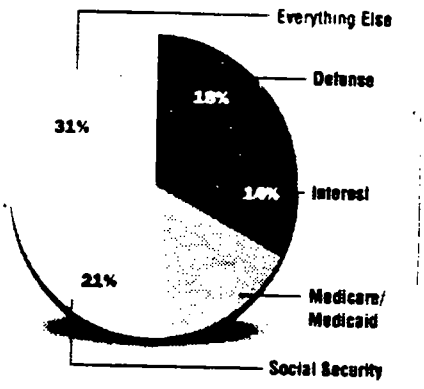
So you'll probably want to concentrate on the remaining two-thirds of the budget. Cut it into four pieces: Medicare and Medicaid for the elderly and the poor ($240 billion); Social Security ($321 billion); other federal benefits from peanut subsidies to bureaucrats' pensions ($192 billion); and everything else ($270 billion in all).

Start with Medicare and Medicaid. "It is essentially health-care costs that are responsible for the deficit," says Barry Bosworth, a Brookings Institution economist. Mr. Clinton already has proposed squeezing hospitals and doctors to save $17 billion a year by the last year of his term. You could squeeze harder, but private employers already complain, with some justification, that this would simply push more of the nation's health-care tab onto them.

House Republicans found another $6 billion a year, but it isn't exactly a spending cut. Their scheme: Make the elderly, particularly the well-off, pay more. Noting the soaring inflation in health costs, Reagan administration budget director David Stockman wrote recently that "perhaps Hillary Clinton will fix this. . . . But until that silver bullet is discovered, there is no way to save meaningful budget dollars . . . except to impose higher costs on middle- and upper-income beneficiaries."

Where the Money Goes

President Clinton's fiscal '94 budget



Perhaps you should turn to other big items. Mr. Clinton came up with only $2 billion a year in farm-subsidy cuts. Chopping subsidies paid to corn, wheat, rice and cotton farmers could save $3 billion more a year, the CBO says; cutting back various subsidies to help farmers export could save another $1 billion. But be forewarned: Congress wouldn't even accept Mr. Clinton's modest farm-subsidy cuts.

Move on to government retirees, who get a better deal on retirement than many private-sector employees, in part because other aspects of working for the government tend to be less generous. The CBO estimates that as much as $4 billion a year could be saved by treating government pensions more like private pensions. While you're at it, save another $2 billion by ending disability benefits for the 1.2 million veterans who aren't severely disabled.

Pause to take stock. Squeeze $5 billion more from streamlining the bureaucracy than Mr. Clinton projects, add to that all the farm-subsidy, government-retiree and

veterans' cuts and even the GOP's $6 billion Medicare "cut." You're still only at $23 billion.

Take on the Granddaddy?

That brings us to Social Security, the granddaddy of all federal benefit programs. In a sense, Social Security isn't the problem. Payroll taxes paid by today's workers more than cover the benefits paid to today's elderly, and Social Security costs won't grow terribly rapidly until the baby boomers begin retiring. But Social Security could be part of the solution. Paying a cost-of-living adjustment that is two percentage points less than the inflation rate for each of the next five years could save $25 billion a year by the final year of Mr. Clinton's term.

Be braver than Mr. Clinton and go for it, even though it would hurt the poorest of the elderly. But be prepared for a harsh reaction. "Somewhere on the tombstone of a deceased congressman, you'll see the epitaph: He touched Social Security," says comedian Mark Russell.

You've now sliced $48 billion off the deficit, but you still haven't matched Mr. Clinton. So turn to the "everything else" category, which includes feeding the seals at the National Zoo, buying pencils for the Internal Revenue Service and paying cancer researchers and Head Start teachers.

"I'd take some of the oldies but goodies," says Daniel Mitchell of the conservative Heritage Foundation. "Why can't we look at the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Small Business Administration, the National Endowment for the Arts, Amtrak?"

You could. GOP Sen. Hank Brown of Colorado would eliminate the Amtrak subsidies (less than $1 billion). The senior Republican on the House Budget Committee, John Kasich of Ohio, would wipe out the Legal Services Corp. ($400 million), which provides lawyers to the poor, and the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration ($200 million). Economic columnist Robert Samuelson suggests saving $1 billion a year by ending federal spending on the arts and humanities. Cut back on National Institutes of Health research grants to get another $1 billion. Kill the Small Business Administration to save $5 billion. Take a hint from the Cato Institute and save another $1 billion by ending U.S. contributions to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. (Sorry, Boris).

But you're still roughly $7 billion shy of the mark. "Big-ticket items are the place you'd have to go – and those would be controversial," says budget director Leon Panetta. He ought to know. As a California congressman, he criticized the space station and the supercollider, the gigantic Texas atom-smasher. As budget director, he has managed only to limit funding for them. You can do better. Cancel the supercollider, and save maybe $8 billion that would have been spent over the next decade. Cancel the space station and save another $30 billion. Tinker with the accounting rules to book enough of the savings in 1997 to get you home.

Congratulations: You got the fiscal 1997 it to $200 billion without raising taxes. You'll never get re-elected, and you may need to move to Switzerland to escape the angry old folks, lobbyists and other interest groups. And, of course, you haven't eliminated the deficit.

The $65 Billion Solution

Accept every spending cut President Clinton proposed, but cancel his proposals to increase spending or raise taxes or fees, and you start with a $265 billion deficit for fiscal 1997, which begins Oct. 1, 1996. Here's one way to get the deficit down to $200 billion:

$25 billion	Cut the Social Security cost-of-living adjustment to 2 percentage points less than inflation.
$8 billion	Kill the space station and the superconducting supercollider.
$6 billion	Charge the elderly more for their Medicare insurance.
$6 billion	Reduce farm subsidies more than Clinton.
$5 billion	Squeeze the bureaucracy harder than Clinton.
$5 billion	Kill the Small Business Administration.
$4 billion	Treat cost-of-living adjustments for military and civilian government retirees more like private employers do.
$2 billion	End disability benefits to slightly disabled veterans.
$1 billion	End federal aid to arts and humanities (including PBS).
$1 billion	End U.S. contributions to the World Bank and IMF.
$1 billion	Eliminate subsidies for Amtrak.
$400 million	Wipe out federal legal aid programs.
$200 million	Kill the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration.
$64.6 billion	Total savings, which yield a deficit of $200.4 billion, which is close enough to $200 billion for government work.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993

White House Trying to Trim Blocked Jobs Bill, Aides Say

By GWEN IFILL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 7 — Acknowledging that it has failed to win over any of the Senate Republicans who are blocking President Clinton's $19.5 billion economic stimulus plan, the White House is working on significantly scaling it back, senior Administration officials said today.

While no decision has been made on how much the plan could be cut, several proposals have been recommended to the White House, from a Republican suggestion to halve the size of the plan and eliminate spending on community development, to a Democratic plan to delay putting it into effect.

Senator John B. Breaux of Louisiana, one of a group of conservative Democrats whose support is crucial to the President's budget, sent a compromise to the White House today that would trim the spending package by 25 percent and delay its implementation of another part of it.

The Administration aides conceded that Mr. Clinton's chances of peeling off the three Republican votes he needs to end a nine-day filibuster in the Senate grew dimmer today. They said the White House had concluded that the plan Mr. Clinton has presented the Senate will have to be significantly changed if it is to survive.

"We are having direct discussions with the Republican senators who have a particular interest in this jobs program that has a direct impact on their state," said Thomas F. McLarty 3d, the White House chief of staff. He added that the compromises the White House suggested "might have more success with some than others."

Chances dim for ending a filibuster.

George Stephanopoulos, the White House communications director, said it was not necessarily inconsistent for the President to step up his attacks on the Republicans blocking the plan while backing away from the package he originally proposed.

"He's going to fight for as much of this program as he can get," Mr. Stephanopoulos said of the President's actions. "At the same time, if adjustments are needed to allow for a debate and vote on the President's package, he is willing to consider those adjustments."

The White House has targeted three Republican Senators — Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York, James M. Jeffords of Vermont and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania — for special wooing. But there was no sign that any were willing to give ground.

"I will listen to anything," Senator D'Amato said today. But he added, "I certainly can't go along with the package, nor will I, as it is."

Senator Jeffords, a moderate, said that there had been much "moaning and groaning" before the Republicans reached their current state of consensus and that the White House would have to demonstrate its interest in "genuine stimulus and job creation" before he considers breaking ranks.

But he also said his standards for what can be defined as genuine remains high. He said he would support spending for unemployment compensation, highway construction, summer jobs and child immunization, but not at the level Mr. Clinton recommended.

"I've told them I'm going to hold the President to his own goals," Mr. Jeffords said. "And for deficit matters, that's that you don't spend something unless you cut something to get some revenue for it."

The $19.5 billion job stimulus bill is made up of about $4 billion for the extension of unemployment benefits, $2 billion for education grants, $6 billion in spending for highways and public improvements and $2 billion for summer jobs. The Republicans have been especially critical of $2.5 billion in proposed community development block grant spending, which they say would pay for some pork barrel projects.

Another $3.2 billion of the package is money that has been authorized — but never spent — for improving roads and airports.

"We may not get 100 percent of everything we're trying to do in every area," Mr. Clinton said today, "but I do think the American people will see that the focus of all of this is to guarantee a healthy economy and a growing jobs market to try to turn this around."

Even as work began on cutting back the program, the President stepped up his attacks on the Republicans who are blocking it. He used a routine bill-signing ceremony to liken the economic recovery to "a fire starving for oxygen," and emphasized those parts of the package that would provide summer jobs and promote highway construction.

"In my view, the message of the last election was to break the gridlock and grow the economy because Americans are tired of a system that doesn't work and a recovery that doesn't produce new jobs," Mr. Clinton said at a bill-signing ceremony. "We know what works. We'll only be able to reduce the deficit and increase investment in the long term if we guarantee the strength of the recovery by building jobs in the short run."

Criticism From Moynihan

Members of the President's own party have also been critical, signaling that the President cannot afford to sell his program on oratory alone. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York said in an interview that the Administration badly misjudged both the mood of the Senate and the mood of the country when it tried to push the job-stimulus package intact. "They sent up a bill filled with dogs," he said.

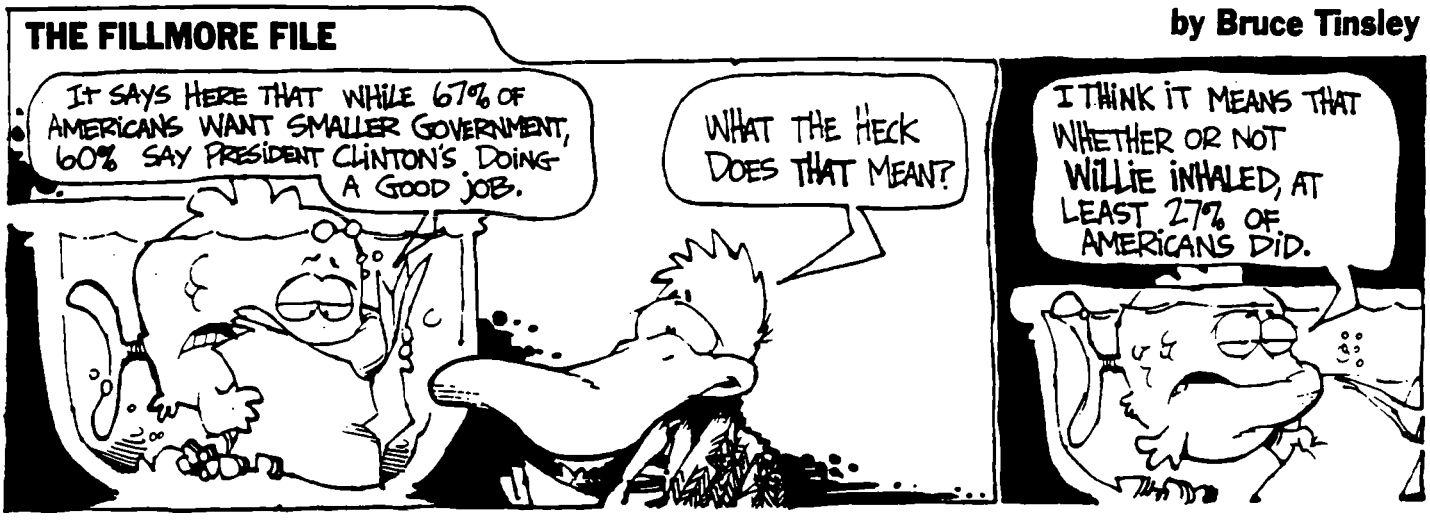
Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who has been managing the bill on the Senate floor, chastised his colleagues for pre-empting Mr. Clinton's negotiating opportunities.

"I don't think we ought to be rushing out with options of our own and taking away from the President his flexibility, his running room, his options," the Senator Byrd said in an interview today. "I think he ought to be allowed to decide what about his package ought to be negotiated, what should be negotiated."

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

DONALD DEVINE



A revolt of the yokels?

At the very zenith of conservative popularity under Ronald Reagan in 1984, 49 percent of Americans said they favored a smaller national government with fewer services, as opposed to 43 percent who wanted larger government and more services. Today, with Bill Clinton riding at the height of his popularity — at a 60 percent job approval — 67 percent tell the Washington Post-ABC News pollsters they want smaller government and fewer services.

Running on a collision course are the data reported in the accompanying Table: under President Clinton's Budget, the percentage of total national wealth consumed by Washington's spending will not only reverse the relative restraint under President Reagan but will shoot up to one-quarter of gross domestic product in only 10 years. So, as the people are turning away from it, the national welfare state will become ever bigger, against their will. When this sinks in, it is a prescription for social chaos.

Even Mr. Reagan's attempts to trim the welfare state had minimal effect. While it is true nondefense federal spending did go down from 17.9 to 16.4 percent of gross domestic product (and total spending and taxes down 1 percent), it all grew back and more, under his successor. Moreover, while the Table shows that regulation was reduced substantially under Mr. Reagan, it shot up under his successor to cost more than a half-trillion dollars. Considering spending, regulation and taxes — including Social Security — government is booming and, with Mr. Clinton promising more and the Boomers aging, it will metastasize. With flat earnings, tempers must burst, probably under the succeeding so-called Busters generation. The future is more intrusive national bureaucracy and increasing public resistance.

In all this, there is an interesting glimmer of light out in the country. While large majorities of the population find the nation on the "wrong track," 68 percent in polls find things going well in their local community. Race relations are found to be bad in the country to 68 percent; but 75 percent say they are good in their own area. The national environment is thought in poor or only fair condition for the country as a whole by 71 percent, while 53 percent say it is good or excellent in their own community.

Of course, much of the negative perception of the nation comes from the media. But this corrosive reporting eats upon Democrats and Republicans alike and dooms any long-term, positive view of the national government. If that were not enough, Congress will take care of

see **DEVINE**, *page G4*

Donald Devine, former director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, is a columnist, adjunct scholar at the Heritage Foundation, and a Washington political and management consultant.

TAX, SPEND, REGULATE

Percentage of gross domestic product spent and taxed by the federal government and number of pages of regulations in the Federal Register

Year	Spending	Taxes	Regulations
1950	16%	15%	
1960	18	18	
1970	20	20	
1980	23	20	87,012
1990	22	19	53,841
2000 (est.)	24	19	67,716*
2003 (est.)	25	19	

Source: "Budget Baselines, Historical Data, and Alternatives for the Future," Office of Management and Budget, January 1993; "The Economic and Budget Outlook: Fiscal Years 1994-1998," Congressional Budget Office, January 1993; and Clyde Wayne Crews Jr. "Ten Thousand Commandments," Regulatory Perspective, Citizens for a Sound Economy, February 1993.

The Washington Times

DEVINE

From page G1

the rest. No president since the advent of national television has served out two terms except Ronald Reagan. By contrast, local activities need not take the same adversarial turn. Although the media must have someone to kick around, Washington will always be available to serve that function.

There is evidence the states are beginning to say they will not take it any more from the national government. In 1991, the Democratic-dominated National Governor's Association, without dissent — including then-Gov. Bill Clinton — requested a reprieve from putting the new Medicaid mandates for children and elderly from the that year's budget reconciliation. Of course, this followed a 1989 letter from 48 governors, including guess who, asking Congress not to impose more mandates, so this does not mean Washington — or Mr. Clinton — will refrain. In 1991 alone, seven new programs were added to Medicaid by Congress with a first-year cost — always the lowest — of $5 billion. The complaint was raised again last month by the NGA to President Clinton.

In turn, localities are chafing under state and federal mandates. This year, 120 mayors from 49 states signed a letter to Congress requesting relief from environmental mandates they said were imposed for two decades "without carefully examining their impacts on personal incomes, property rights, the economy, productivity or national competitiveness ... before scientifically justified, [and with] no standards for evaluating costs."

Indeed, there is a revolt brewing at the local level over environmental restrictions and it has discovered a remarkable loophole. The National Environmental Policy Act tried to extend the command and control reach of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) by encouraging the creation of local land management agencies that were to create land use plans in cooperation with EPA. If they created them, the EPA was required "to cooperate" with the locals even in the creation of "joint environmental impact statements." While the idea was to have EPA allies impose additional restrictions and controls through the plans, local governments — primarily in the West — have been using them to protect property rights and jobs from the EPA and to demand "joint" control over impact statements. Naturally, the national EPA is trying to "correct" the regulations to keep these yokels out of their hair — and the locals do not like it at all.

Some of this dissatisfaction has reached Congress. Senate freshmen Republicans, led by Judd Gregg of New Hampshire and Bob Bennett of Utah, are introducing legislation to require that Congress fund all future mandates on the states. While their chance of success is slight, they have been the first to respond to the emerging local disaffection. Heritage Foundation analyst Robert Moffit has proposed salvaging an aspect of American federalism intended by the Founders but nullified by the progressives' 17th Amendment, requiring direct election of senators rather than selection by state legislatures. Mr. Moffit suggests that legislatures officially invite senators to the state capitol to explain why they vote to mandate (and do other bad things). How could a senator refuse? Alabama has already passed such a bill. And why not expand this to local governments for congressmen and state legislators?

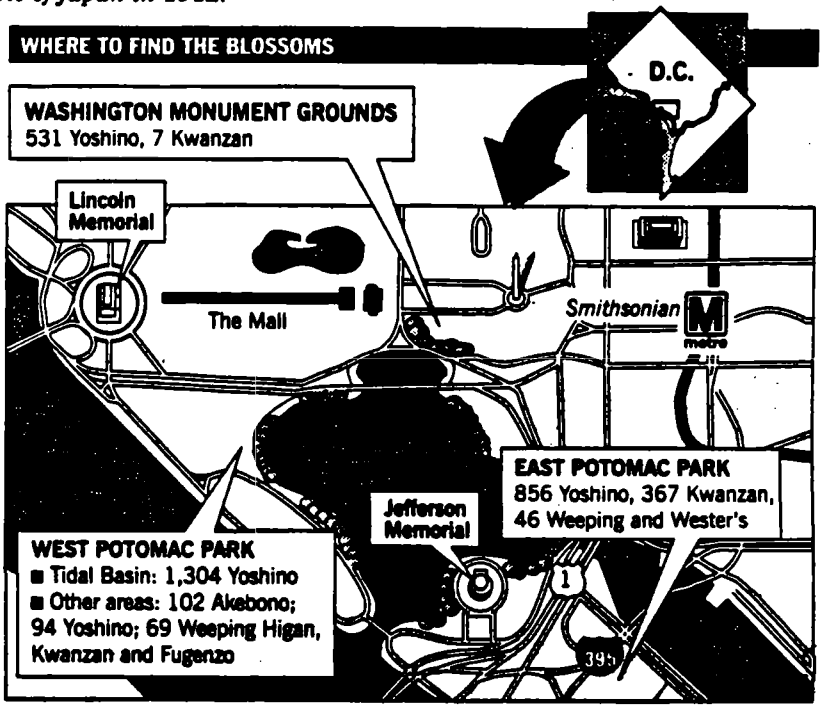
With the growing abyss between popular desire for less national government and Washington's increasing taste for spending, taxes, regulations and mandates, one can confidently predict more such inventive reins on national actions by state and local governments. Wait until the new automobile emission standards — for the whole engine, rather than just the tailpipe, which will quadruple the test-failure rate — hits the urban population like the owls hit the loggers. Or rationing health care. These will make the interlocking seat-belt and catastrophic health-care reactions look like Clinton-type facilitating sessions, and speed the inevitable revolt of the yokels.

A GUIDE TO THE CHERRY BLOSSOM SPECTACULAR

More than 3,300 cherry trees of various types grow around the Tidal Basin, in East Potomac Park and West Potomac Park, and on the Washington Monument grounds. They include 208 trees remaining from the 3,000 given by the people of Japan in 1912.

CHERRY BLOSSOMS around the Tidal Basin and in West Potomac Park have finally begun blooming. National Park Service officials expect them to peak by this afternoon, if the warm temperatures and sunshine continue. Tomorrow should be an ideal day to view the blossoms, with more warm temperatures expected. The blossoms are likely to disappear if it rains over the weekend. For a daily update on the status of the blossoms throughout the time the trees are in bloom, call Post Haste at (202) 334-9000, code 5800.

WHERE TO FIND THE BLOSSOMS



TYPES OF BLOSSOMS

KWANZAN: True double flower (also known as Kanzan and Sekiyama) in deep pink, fading with age, with about 30 petals in tight clusters. Kwanzans bloom about seven to 10 days after the Yoshinos. Looks like a ruffled petticoat.

AKEBONO: Produces a single, pale pink flower that fades to white.

YOSHINO: Single white to pink flowers. They encircle the Tidal Basin and spill north onto the Washington Monument grounds.

SARGENT: Single, pink to deep pink on slender pedicels.

WEEPING HIGAN: Partly double-flowered, dark pink to white. Blooms in spring, about a week before the Yoshinos and again, sparsely, in the fall.

FUGENZO: Double flower (about 30 petals), deep rose to light pink, opening late in the season.

SOURCE: National Park Service

BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

NEWS SUMMARY

U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

Wednesday, April 7, 1993 A65

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

THE SUN

LIGHT · FOR · ALL

J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor
BARRY RASCOVAR, Editorial Page Director

JOHN S. CARROLL, Editor
KATHRYN CHRISTENSEN, Managing Editor

Timber-r-r-r! ! !

After taking on the job as logjam-breaker in the explosive battle between environmentalists and loggers in the Pacific Northwest, President Clinton must have considered his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin last weekend as easy as breaking a match-stick. Instead of dealing with a foreign leader whose agenda coincides with his, Mr. Clinton had to begin fashioning a Northwest compromise that he knew in advance would work only if it satisfies none of the voters he so loves to woo.

Ever since a federal judge ordered an end in 1991 to logging in a Maryland-sized forest area that is home to the endangered northern spotted owl, Washington, Oregon and northern California have been a battleground. More than 20,000 lumber industry workers have lost their jobs. Small logging towns have been devastated as local mills shut down. Confronted with shrill anger and frustration, environmentalists have responded by saying that gross overcutting had depleted forest resources beyond renewal limits and had endangered another vital industry — salmon fishing.

At the Clinton timber summit in Portland Friday, the mantra heard on all sides was "eco-system management." It had the advantage of a two-word ambiguity that let environmentalists take comfort in "eco-system" and the lumber industry (and its workers) in "management." This was sufficient to give Mr. Clinton the leeway to declare a 60-day cease fire while his administration goes in search of amelioration.

There are indeed some options available, though each one has a downside. Elimination of the tax break for the export of unprocessed logs, for example, would hurt industry giants like Weyerhaeuser and private landowners who profit from short domestic supply but would open up a more lucrative source of timber for mill owners and their workers. A forest and watershed restoration program would provide for jobs for displaced workers, many of whom wonder just what they can be retrained for. Guaranteed federal timber sales from unimpacted forests also could relieve some unemployment pain, but would annoy the spotted owl lobby.

Whatever the president concocts, he deserves credit for grabbing the nettle instead of letting it sting indefinitely. Rep. Al Swift, a Washington state Democrat, put it well: "President Clinton's visit indicates a willingness to engage very directly in what is a no-win situation politically. The Bush administration treated this like a vial of nitro-glycerin, which in fact it is."

POLITICS & POLICY

CAPITAL JOURNAL
By Gerald F. Seib

Clinton Cave-in On Grazing Fees Is Lesson on West

THE CLINTON administration last week buckled in to Western miners and ranchers, who were howling that the Clinton economic plan was about to take a big piece from their hides. Now the White House is trying to show that it hasn't been thoroughly trampled in this sagebrush rebellion.

But that's a tough case to make. And therein lie some important lessons about the U.S. West, as well as the practical limits on President Clinton's ability to be a real "agent of change."

To understand this saga, look through the eyes of Oklahoma Rep. Mike Synar. He has argued that one way to cut the federal deficit would be to charge more to ranchers who pay below-market fees to graze cattle on federal land and miners who take minerals from beneath federal soil without paying a penny of royalties. So he was pleased when President Clinton proposed raising grazing fees and charging mining royalties – and steamed when the administration gave in to pressure from Western senators and dropped those plans.

Now, in rapid order, the congressman has heard from Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, budget director Leon Panetta, White House chief of staff Mack McLarty (twice), and White House legislative director Howard Paster (three times). They are calling to insist they made only a tactical retreat to get President Clinton's broad budget outline passed and will fight for changes later.

Rep. Synar is encouraged. But in reality, it's likely to be harder to extract higher payments from ranchers and miners when their interests are debated separately rather than as a part of an overall package of "shared sacrifice." The struggle over the West will continue.

WESTERNERS LIKE to profess disdain for the federal government and proclaim that they want it to leave them alone. But in truth, many of these Westerners' livelihoods depend on federal programs. And many of these programs were established long ago to accomplish goals that time has passed by.

By the quirks of history, the federal government owns much of the land in the West: a third of all Montana and two-thirds of Utah, for instance. To settle these lands, the government once decided to give away the right to graze cattle and open mines.

So in 1872 Congress passed a law that allowed miners to extract minerals such as gold, zinc and silver on federal lands without paying any royalties. Miners could stake a claim, acquire mining rights for a small fee and and keep the rights by simply showing they had done $100 of work annually to develop the claim.

Amazingly, that 120-year-old law still basically governs mining on millions of acres of federal lands. And critics such as Democratic Sen. Dale Bumpers of Arkansas complain that it is used not just by hardy independent miners but by big British and Canadian companies to spirit minerals off public lands without any benefit to the federal treasury. The Clinton administration thinks miners should be charged a 12.5% royalty on the minerals; Sen. Bumpers thinks that is too high and proposes 8%.

THE BASIC LAW setting grazing fees was passed in 1934, and was supplemented by a 1978 act creating a formula to establish the fees. The problem today is that some estimates say the fair market value of grazing rights is two to five times higher than what the federal government charges. Those estimates are hotly disputed by Western senators who complain that they don't fully take into account that ranchers have to invest to build roads and extract water on federal lands.

There's no doubt that the issue is complex; the conservative Heritage Foundation, usually the enemy of federal subsidies large and small, studied the grazing-fee issue last year and concluded fees shouldn't be raised. But even some Westerners acknowledge some alterations make sense. "I and others who have worked on issues of mining and grazing recognize some need for adjustment and change," said Idaho Republican Sen. Larry Craig recently.

If Mr. Clinton wanted radical change, he might stop being the West's biggest landlord by simply selling some land to ranchers and miners outright. But the administration's best hope is simply that, Western interests, in celebrating their victory last week, shot themselves in the foot by calling so much attention to the grazing and mining issues that they have actually fueled the sentiment for changes down the line.

The money involved isn't enormous, but the deeper lesson may be. By so quickly buckling to the pressure from the Western senators, the administration underscored that Mr. Clinton is a president who didn't win a huge public mandate in the election and doesn't enjoy a working majority in the Senate. Having few votes to spare in Congress, the sight of Mr. Clinton dodging stampedes from the West, or the East, or wherever, may become fairly common.

Denver Post April 6, 1993

Higher land use, water fees sought

Clinton move sets off scramble

By Adriel Bettelheim
Denver Post Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's decision to drop higher mining and grazing fees from his 1994 budget is making administration officials scramble to find other ways to generate returns from natural resources in the West.

One proposal being considered by the Interior Department would levy new surcharges on large agricultural users of federal water by tightening a 1982 reclamation law, according to sources familiar with the budget.

Another measure would impose higher fees on recreational users of federal lands, including an annual "passport charge" on Bureau of Land Management and National Park Service land.

Both steps were contemplated when Clinton first unveiled his broad economic plan in February. But they have gained more prominence since Clinton struck a pact with conservative western Democratic senators, including Colorado's Ben Nighthorse Campbell, last week to drop measures that would restructure mining and grazing fees and eliminate longtime subsidies to those industries.

With Clinton's revised budget due out Thursday, administration officials are making last-minute changes to make up for the revenues they thought would come from the higher user fees. Most will show up later this week in the budget of Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, who oversees most of the public lands in western states.

The Clinton administration originally estimated it could raise about $48 million over four years by raising grazing fees and $471 million by charging royalties for gold, silver and other minerals mined from public lands.

But faced with possible western Democratic defections as the Senate votes on an economic-stimulus package, Clinton has decided to turn to other sources in a search of more revenues. Administration officials have said they still hope to revise mining and grazing fees later this year outside of the federal budget process.

The elimination of the mining and grazing fees "won't have that much immediate impact on a $9 billion (Interior Department) budget," said agency spokesman Bob Walker. "But we'll have to wait until Thursday" to see what changes occur, he added.

Sources said the Interior Department may heed a recommendation from the General Accounting Office and close a loophole in a 1982 water reclamation act that has been criticized for favoring large agriculture interests.

The act permits large farms and ranches to reorganize into smaller landholdings and still receive federally subsidized irrigation water. The General Accounting Office in December estimated that tightening the law by levying surcharges could generate an additional $2 million in revennes a year from a single large farming operation.

Kathleen Hartnett, an official with the National Cattlemen's Association, said the proposal has failed several times in Congress because it discriminates against some agricultural operations that may be run by several families.

"It often doesn't reflect the real way agriculture operations are structured," Hartnett said. "Ultimately, it shows less sensitivity to the agricultural water user."

The Interior Department also is expected to collect annual access fees from people who visit national parks or stay at federal campgrounds. According to some estimates, the fees ultimately could raise up to $80 million a year, which would go toward maintenance and improvements to public lands.

The annual fee was first proposed under the Bush administration, which didn't act on the idea.

White House budget officials have told the Interior Department to collect at least $145 million more through higher recreation fees over the next five years.

ADDITIONAL STORIES:

"Public Lands--President Will Not Use Budget to Rewrite Land-Use Laws"
"Bill Forges Pack for Land Users" - "Stimulus Spending"
(Congressional Quarterly - 4/3/93)

Stories from Public Lands News - 4/1/93

"Federal-State Gnatcatcher Compromise"
Western Water - "Clinton Backs Away from Higher Public Land Charges"
(Western Resources Wrap-Up/Helene Monberg - 4/1/93)

Logjam in Reassignment of Gulf Leases Looms at MMS

By Nick Snow
Oil Daily Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The oil and gas industry must find new ways to provide financial guarantees as more independent producers replace major oil companies in the Gulf of Mexico, members of the National Ocean Industries Association members were told Tuesday.

Otherwise, producers will face an increasing logjam as the U.S. Minerals Management Service (MMS) tries to process applications to reassign leases from majors to independents one lease at a time, panelists said.

Federal oil and gas leases in the Gulf are being reassigned as major oil companies direct more of their exploration and production spending toward more-promising, less-explored areas overseas.

As independent producers try to pick up the Gulf leases, MMS is requiring that they guarantee their ability not only to operate the lease but also to pay for removing platforms and sealing wells once production winds down.

Estimates of the number of leases involved varied during the NOIA meeting's panel.

Kurt Nelson, marine division vice president for McDermott Marine Construction Co. in Morgan City, La., said that of 700 reassignment applications, "500 are dead for all intents and purposes, and 200 are in negotiation."

Of the 200 that continue to be negotiated, Nelson said that at least 100 will require some kind of additional financial support because the independent producers involved do not appear to have the support required.

But S. Scott Sewell, a private consultant who directed MMS during the last two years of the Bush administration, said from the audience that the number of leases caught in this reassignment logjam may be closer to 1,000.

"MMS is reacting, not overreacting," Sewell said.

"It is attempting to reassign these leases one at a time. But it is having to investigate and determine the financial strength of each new lessee without additional staff and resources.

"People who are trained as petroleum engineers are being asked to make financial assessments," he said.

Other panelists predicted that the independents will wield increasing influence as exploration and production in the Gulf moves into deeper waters.

"The deep-water Gulf may be the

(Continued on page 3)

Logjam...

(Continued from 2)

only U.S. basin that's not mature," said Randy Stewart, group vice president of Kerr-McGee Corp. in Oklahoma City.

He said the region remains a vital production area despite low unit rates of about 12 b/d per well, compared with 1,000 b/d per well in the North Sea and 2,000 b/d per well in the Persian Gulf.

Nevertheless, Stewart said he expects activity in the Gulf of Mexico to remain high if natural gas prices stabilize at $2/Mcf.

"There will be a growing role for independents as well as for majors who act like independents by being more efficient and economical," he said. "But the majors will continue to occupy an important spot because exploring the deep-water Gulf is almost as expensive as working in the North Sea, since it is a frontier."

Dale W. Bossert, exploration and production vice president for Union Pacific Resources Co. in Fort Worth, said he expects almost 2,000 Gulf of Mexico leases presently held by the majors to become available to independents as they expire in the next five years.

NOIA Report: Battle Looms over Water

OPA Insurance Studied

Washington—The Oil Pollution Act of 1990 requires offshore lessees to establish and maintain financial responsibility of $150-million, and the Minerals Management Service is trying to determine how best to implement the regulation without limiting the availability of insurance.The financial responsibility requirements in OPA 90 replaced provisions in the OCS Lands Act that set the limit at $35-million.

"We need to get input from as many sources as possible," John Mirabella, chief of the MMS's engineering and standards branch, said at the annual business meeting of the National Oceans Industries Assn."It won't be an easy rule to write to meet the mandate of the law and allow insurance to be obtained."

Mirabella said there are many questions related to the law that ultimately will have to be answered by the courts or Congress, including whether claimants have direct access to the insurer or the grantor of financial responsibility, and whether individual claimants are each entitled to up to $150-million. NOIA has raised concerns related to unlimited liability on removal costs, administration and oversight of a self-insurance provision, and the regulation of gas facilities and small producers.

Insurers have expressed "reservations about their ability to issue policies," under the act, Mirabella said. While the MMS cannot change the financial requirements set by Congress, it may be able to provide enough flexibility to allow insurers to offer coverage, he said.

Gulf of Mexico is Focus

Washington—The oil industry expects to do legal battle with environmentalists over the right of offshore producers to release produced water into the Gulf of Mexico, and is already in court trying to force the Environmental Protection Agency to revise its produced water toxicity guidelines.

"Environmentalists want us to reinject produced waters and we think there is a suit in the offing," Brian Shannon, principal environmental engineer, Arco Exploration & Production Technology, told the annual meeting of the National Oceans Industry Assn. "They have argued that produced water reinjection is a viable option."

But Shannon said such a requirement could bring an end to production of smaller wells in the Gulf. "If a find is big enough, the economists will let you do certain things," he said. "If you start putting in lots of costs, companies will leave production sitting there."

Meanwhile, the American Petroleum Institute has taken EPA to court over its produced water limits, which Shannon said most operators in the Gulf cannot meet, and thus becomes a de facto requirement for reinjection.

At particular issue is a water dilution table, which "a majority of operators can't comply with," Shannon said. "If you have to test with that table, you couldn't pass so everybody would be in violation." An API suit to force EPA to revise the toxicity limits is pending in the Fifth U.S. Circuit in New Orleans.

Shannon said a change in the dilution table needs to be made soon because producers have to run a test of toxicity levels at least once before the end of the year. "The clock is ticking," he said.

The Washington Times

Clinton names three to government posts

President Clinton has chosen William White, a commercial litigation lawyer, to be deputy secretary of energy, the White House announced yesterday.

Mr. White, whose nomination must be confirmed by the Senate, has worked since 1979 as a litigator with the law firm of Susman Godfrey, specializing in finance, oil and gas and antitrust matters.

Mr. Clinton also nominated Lorraine Green, personnel director for the District of Colombia, to serve as deputy director of the Office of Personnel Management.

He also chose Allen Stayman, a staff member with the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, to be deputy assistant secretary for territorial and international affairs at the Department of the Interior.

Resumes in storage, Clinton aides confirm

President Clinton's press secretary denies the White House "lost" tens of thousands of resumes, but the administration was never accused of that. Other aides confirm that the unprocessed resumes were put in storage. Spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers did not address The Washington Times' report, which said the resumes were hidden to cover up a backlog caused by an inadequate computer system.

■ Page A1

Clinton Administration's Roster Grows

From News Services

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He also chose **Allen Stayman**, a staff member with the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, to be deputy assistant secretary for territorial and international affairs at the Interior Department.

■ On Monday, Clinton announced plans to nominate two more assistant secretaries at the Defense Department and an administrator at the Labor Department.

Lt. Gen. Emmett Paige Jr. will be nominated to become assistant secretary for command, control and communications and **Deborah Lee** as assistant secretary for reserve affairs.

Maria Echaveste will be administrator of the wage and hour division at the Labor Department.

Paige, a retired, decorated Army officer, is president and chief operating officer of the OAO Corp., an aerospace and information services company in Greenbelt.

Lee has worked on the staff of the House Armed Services Committee since 1983. Echaveste, an attorney, has served as associate director of the White House personnel office since Clinton took office, and was national Latino coordinator for the Clinton-Gore campaign.

■ In a separate announcement Clinton also approved the designation of **Tony E. Gallegos** as interim chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Gallegos is a member of the commission.

And yesterday, **James Lee Witt**, former head of the Office of Emergency Services for Arkansas, was sworn in as director of the much-criticized Federal Emergency Management Agency.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A Lighter Shade of Green

Clinton's healing tone at the forest parley

LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

'I cannot repeal the laws of change': *Conferring with Gore at the Portland conference*

Bill Clinton and Al Gore spent plenty of time during the 1992 campaign talking about the need to avoid what they called "false choices" between saving jobs and protecting the environment. But the choices, as they saw at last week's forest conference in Portland, Ore., are all too real. At issue was the fate of a single threatened bird, the northern spotted owl, and 8.3 million acres of forest that federal experts say is the owl's last habitat. At issue on the other side, in a five-year legal and political controversy that seems to have no solution, was the future of an industry that is fabled throughout the Northwest. "I'm here today because I'm scared," said Buzz Eades, a sixth-generation logger. "I represent thousands and thousands of timber workers just like me . . . modern Paul Bunyans who are hiding in their cars while their wife buys groceries with food stamps." "We have cut our way from the Atlantic to the Pacific," said Bill Arthur of the Sierra Club's Seattle office. "The timber frontier is over."

Trapped between these diametrically opposing forces, Clinton did his best to project hope for a mutually acceptable compromise. "How hard would it be to get everyone to agree how much [forest] to put aside?" he asked one discussion group in Portland. "Very hard," a participant answered. At another point, Clinton predicted that the outcome "won't make anyone completely happy." "I cannot repeal the laws of change," he said. "We'll do what we can. [But] I don't pretend any of this is easy." In fact, the timber industry's economic problems go far beyond the spotted owl—and, in fact, the Endangered Species Act gives Clinton and Congress precious little leeway to protect endangered jobs. But the daylong conference was never intended to produce a settlement: it was a peace parley whose main goal was to ventilate the issues and educate the public. In the end, Clinton ordered his cabinet to bring him a plan to end the stalemate within 60 days. It wasn't action, but it created a mood of reasonableness. "We thought we lost the election," said Luke Popovich, a timber-industry lobbyist. "But he doesn't think we're a bunch of greedy animals. He really wants to solve the problem."

Environmentalists, who in recent years have all but shut down logging on federal lands through lawsuits and administrative appeals, seemed less satisfied. They argue that 90 percent of all "old growth" forests have already been cut, and they see no good reason to cede any part of the remaining 10 percent. Although environmental groups worked hard to elect the Clinton-Gore ticket, some activists fear that Clinton's penchant for consensus will lead to further harm. "If they want to cut the baby in half the answer is no," said Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. Kerr, whose take-no-prisoners rhetoric almost got him excluded from the conference, seemed to reflect the doubts about the administration. "I'm going to remain optimistic for now," he said. But, he added, "how green this administration is is still to be determined."

One reason for their caution was the news from Washington last week. In a decision with big implications for the West, Clinton temporarily dropped his proposal to impose new fees for mineral and grazing rights on federally owned lands. This proposal had been contained in the administration's economic plan, which now faces tough going in the Senate; Clinton needs the support of Westerners like Sen. Max Baucus of Montana and Rep. Tom Foley of Washington, the speaker of the House. White House officials said the reversal was only tactical and

FRITZ HOFFMANN—JB PICTURES

On the vanishing frontier: *Logger*

that the proposal would be presented to Congress separately at a later date. But that will probably make it more vulnerable to attack by ranchers and mining companies, and some in the environmental movement sensed strategic damage in the administration's "tactical" retreat. Tim Hermach of the Native Forest Council complained of Clinton's pattern of "boldly advancing on issues, only to turn tail and run every time he gets pressure from Congress and the special-interest groups."

Still, most participants in the conference seemed to feel that it had done much to heal the bitterness that has marked the Northwest timber controversy. Loggers and their supporters, gathering for a "Family Forest Summit," did their best to stifle the "fry-the-spotted-owl" jokes that have antagonized the greens, and one millworker, Mike Oswald, said, "There's no reason to be angry—let's be polite." Eco-radicals like Earth First! marched in downtown Portland, and some 50,000 attended a rock festival that starred Neil Young, Kenny Loggins and Carole King. "I am tremendously cheered and encouraged, and I didn't expect to be," said Karin Sheldon of the Wilderness Society. "We are beginning finally to look at solutions." Russell Dondero, a political scientist at Pacific University, thought "people are so fascinated with the idea of being included that they're mesmerized," which was another way of saying that Clinton's brand of touchy-feely politics was working once again. The question now is what happens when the mood evaporates—and whether Clinton will still be seen as having done the right thing.

TOM MORGANTHAU *with* ELEANOR CLIFT *and* PATRICIA KING *in Portland and* MARY HAGER *in Washington*

Beyond Owls Versus Loggers

BY GREGG EASTERBROOK

It's beyond dispute that many old-growth timberlands must be exempt from logging to preserve the northern spotted owl. Beyond that, practically everything you've heard on the owl-versus-logger issue is wrong. Let's consider a few contrarian propositions about the controversy:

■ **Loggers are green, too.** If any resource is endlessly renewable, it is the tree. Ecology-oriented policy ought to encourage consumers to substitute wood for materials derived from nonrenewable ores and chemicals. Instead, per capita wood use has been declining, partly because wood prices have risen with the spread of environment-friendly logging practices, such as planting more trees than are cut. For all the recent blather about "sustainable development," anti-logging sentiment is forcing workers and customers out of one of the few industries that is in every sense sustainable.

■ **American forests are not in decline.** The tall-tree forests of the Pacific Northwest have been hurt in recent decades, though many millions of acres remain. By every other measure American forests are thriving. According to forestry expert Roger Sedjo of the nonpartisan Resources for the Future, U.S. forest cover reached its nadir about 1920. "Sometime around the early 1940s," Sedjo has written, "forest growth nationally came into balance with harvests, and since that time growth has exceeded harvest." Vermont, for example, was about 35 percent forested a century ago; today it is about 76 percent forest. Through the postwar era the forested portion of the United States has steadily risen, not gone down.

ERIC RISBERG—AP

Forced out: *A logger and his son in Portland, Ore., last week*

■ **Ancient forests are renewable.** Most of what environmentalists call "ancient" Northwest forests are around 200 years old. Age per se is not what makes them right for owls; it's the tallness of the trees, which comes with time. Two hundred years is a long span by human standards but the wink of an eye to nature. As long as forests are allowed to recover, they can be "ancient" again relatively quickly.

■ **Logging is good for the greenhouse effect.** If global warming is coming, government policy ought to encourage logging. Young trees withdraw carbon dioxide, the primary greenhouse gas, from the air much more rapidly than do mature trees.

Within greenhouse science there's something called the "missing carbon" problem: human activity puts about 7 billion tons of carbon into the air each year, but tests find only about half of it there. Where does the other half go? Increasingly researchers suspect it is pulled from the atmosphere by young trees growing quickly under modern forestry practices. So an environmentalist who says the greenhouse effect is an emergency and also that logging is a disaster isn't shooting straight.

■ **'Industrial' forests are very much alive.** The "second growth" forests run by big lumber companies don't have the haunting, Middle Earth esthetic quality of tall-tree forests, mainly because trees are cut before reaching full height. And industrial foresters are given to comments like, "It took us a lot of R&D to find a tree that will perform in the wild," as James Rochelle, Weyerhaeuser's manager of environmental forestry research, says.

But it's a fallacy that managed forests are dead zones. They brim with life. Climax species like spotted owls cannot thrive in second-growth forests, but browsing species such as elk love them. Some studies show that young "industrial" forests have greater biological diversity than old-growth stands.

■ **High-intensity forestry is good for owls.** An ideal solution may be to encourage more intense, managed forestry on private lands. This would protect lumber jobs and permit higher production of sustainable timber, while reducing the need to log Forest Service lands, which could then increasingly be set aside as areas for strict preservation. In this sort of compromise, high-tech forestry and pure preservation would both be boosted. They are not incompatible; they can be allies.

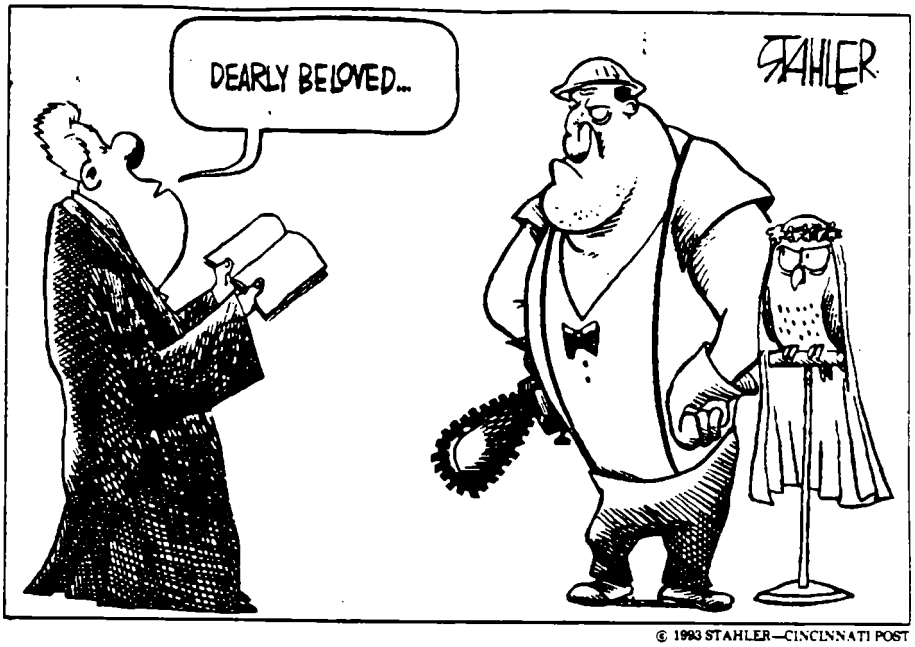
PERSPECTIVES

Overheard

"What kind of started out as a love affair quite frankly now is feeling more like date rape."

JAY HAIR, *president of the National Wildlife Federation, on the environmental community's relationship with Bill Clinton*

. . .



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TIME, APRIL 12, 1993

Politics Trumps Ecology

To protect his budget, Clinton retreats on land use, then talks trees

"WHAT KIND OF STARTED OUT AS A LOVE AFFAIR quite frankly now is feeling more like a date rape," said Jay Hair of the National Wildlife Federation. The environmental honeymoon ended Tuesday when Clinton accommodated several Western Senators key to the passage of his budget package: he deleted provisions raising the minimal rates farmers and miners pay to use federal lands. Environmentalists see the discounts as a guarantee of despoilment and Clinton's act as political cowardice. They were still nervous days later when he chaired a Portland, Oregon, "forest conference" on logging and the spotted owl, topics viewed by some as mutually exclusive. At the impassioned gathering, which featured concerned conservationists and unemployed lumberjacks. Administration aides chatted of legislation that would protect the owl under the Endangered Species Act but also allow some logging to resume. That might not delight Hair and his colleagues, but it would be an improvement on the week's beginning.■

Thank You... MR. PRESIDENT

ROLL CALL Monday, April 5, 1993

Our thanks to you — on behalf of the people who live and work in the Pacific Northwest — for convening the Forest Conference in Portland, Oregon on April 2nd.

We are confident that you and the other leaders tackling this pressing problem can find a workable solution that will break the current gridlock and preserve our economy, our communities, and our forests and wildlife.

As you well know, the problem is severe:

Our local and national economies are being severely damaged by current court restrictions on timber harvesting.

- Tens of thousands have been thrown out of work;
- Hundreds of mills have been closed;
- Funding for schools, roads, and essential public services has been slashed;
- Lumber prices have skyrocketed;
- New housing starts throughout the country have fallen;

With scientific management, forests can be harvested, and both wildlife and our economy can thrive.

- Forest growth exceeds harvest in every region of the country — by an average of 34%.
- The net amount of forest land in the U.S. has remained virtually unchanged in the last 60 years, despite enormous economic and urban growth.
- Professional foresters replant 2.6 billion seedlings annually...5-10 seedlings for every tree they take.

We pledge to work with you to preserve old growth values, to walk lightly upon the land, and to work for a responsible solution.

Support
AMERICA'S
Economy
Housing
Jobs
& Wildlife

Sponsored by the Northwest Forest Resource Council
1500 S.W. First Avenue, Suite 770
Portland, Oregon 97201

Note: Additional stories are available on the Forest Conference from Washington & Oregon papers.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Friday, April 2, 1993

Perot blames spotted owl for industry woes

By Joel Connelly
P.-I. National Correspondent

Ross Perot marched into the Northwest's forest debate yesterday, blaming the northern spotted owl for "destroying a whole industry."

"You can't have a whole area devastated because of this exotic concern over a handful of birds," Perot said. "If people get hungry enough, they'll be looking to these birds for food."

Perot also called for the public to reject President Clinton's economic revitalization plan, for which he had expressed qualified support when Clinton unveiled the package in February.

THE FOREST CONFERENCE

■ **See, hear it:** Environment-economy balance sought; conference on TV and radio. **Page A8**

"The smartest thing for the American people is just say 'no.' Get your act together, Washington, D.C.," Perot added. He said the economic stimulus plan would create "little one-time bubble jobs."

Perot is scheduled to barnstorm through four Western states this weekend. He used a telephone briefing with a group of reporters yesterday to take the gloves off with Clinton and take rhetorical aim at the reclusive owl the survival of which has caused federal courts to halt planned clearcuts.

"You could send Air Force One out there and take those birds and fly 'em to an exotic place a whole lot cheaper than devastating a whole industry," Perot said.

The Texas billionaire's comments on owls brought an immediate rejoinder from a University of Oregon economics professor who studies job creation and job loss in the Northwest.

"On this topic, Perot is not

See PEROT, Page A4

just irrelevant; he's silly," Ed Whitelaw said. He said the recession of the early 1980s and industry automation cost far more timber jobs than any plan for preserving owls and forests under consideration.

Perot will find himself competing for attention with Clinton when he visits Washington, Oregon, Montana and Utah this weekend. He will speak at 7:30 p.m. Saturday at the University of Washington's Hec Edmundson Pavilion.

Clinton will convene a forest conference in Portland today and hold a summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Vancouver, B.C., tomorrow and Sunday.

While Clinton is making policy, Perot is certain to be talking about a wide range of topics at rallies designed to sign up members for his United We Stand organization.

The once and possible future presidential candidate offered opinions on a range of topics yesterday.

■ **Free trade:** Perot denounced the pending North American Free Trade Agreement, but he sidestepped a question on whether Congress should reject the free trade pact with Mexico.

"When we have a minimum wage of $4.25 an hour, and they have a minimum wage of 58 cents an hour, how do we keep jobs here?" he asked.

■ **Congress:** Perot discounted efforts by freshmen members of Congress to toughen campaign finance laws, cut legislative payrolls and restrict activities of lobbyists.

"If you try to change the system, you get put in an isolation booth," he said. "It takes a great person to sit there and not become corrupted by the system that exists."

Asking Congress to reform itself, Perot said, "is like getting a bunch of alcoholics to clean out the liquor."

■ **Clinton:** Perot dismissed Clinton's economic package as "the biggest tax increase in the history of the country."

"Our obligation as an organization is to make the American people understand that this plan dramatically increases spending, increases taxes, while somewhere out there beyond the great divide there will be savings."

While saying that budget cuts generally aren't deep enough, however, Perot also charged that the budget would "slash the Department of Defense too much at a critical time."

While Perot was criticizing Clinton, the president was returning the favor in Annapolis, Md.

Clinton used an appearance before newspaper editors to rebuke Perot for criticizing his chief of staff and declining to endorse the economic plan.

Clinton wondered aloud why Perot, who ran on a deficit-reducing platform, has not endorsed the Clinton five-year, $496 billion, deficit-reduction plan.

"I'd be more interested in why — economic program, which is 85 percent what Ross Perot recommended in the campaign — except we raise taxes less on the middle class, more on the wealthy and don't have unspecified health care savings — hasn't been endorsed, since it's almost identical to the one he ran on," Clinton said.

In the Northwest, Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., used an interview to provide a free-trader's response to Perot's assertion that Mexico's low minimum wage will bleed jobs away from the United States.

"Wages are only one, and not necessarily the most important, component in manufacturing and exports," Gorton said. "Mexico's tariffs on U.S. goods average four to five times as high as America's tariffs on Mexican goods. This agreement will bring about equality.

"Of course, this agreement will result in more imports from Mexico, but the real point is it means more exports to Mexico," he said. "Our trade surplus with them will increase."

Rep. Maria Cantwell, D-Wash., said nobody has tried to put her in an isolation booth for joining fellow freshmen seeking to end various perks.

Although emphatic about the owl, Perot was vague on such forest-related topics as proposals to ban the export of raw logs from private lands or to amend the Endangered Species Act.

Perot was also not specific when asked whether the Northwest's remaining old-growth forests should be logged to assure survival of the timber industry.

"The interesting thing is we're sending pulpwood to Asia, and they're sending paper over here," he said. "That's got to be the dumbest thing in the world."

Asked if that puts him in the anti-export camp, Perot said: "There's a simple answer. We ought to be making the paper here. Study and figure out how to do it."

David Ortman, Northwest representative for Friends of the Earth, saw a glimmer of hope in the remarks — and a chance to borrow a phrase Perot often uses to describe the federal deficit.

"Log exports are the crazy aunt in the attic that nobody wants to talk about," Ortman said. "We'd welcome an effort by Mr. Perot to stop exports."

Acid Test for Clinton

PRESIDENT Clinton is getting a lesson in the art of compromise, Capitol Hill style, and it could be a politically costly one.

The inability of the White House and the Democratic majority in the United States Senate to push through the president's $16.3 billion job-producing bill over a Republican filibuster, as of April 6, slows the momentum of the Clinton agenda and projects an image of futility that does not bode well for other, pressing Democratic initiatives.

The Democrats would have liked to start the Easter recess – already delayed – with the jobs legislation and several related bills wrapped up. But the 16-senator Democratic majority was recognized at the outset as a possible stumbling block.

At last count, it actually appeared that one dissident Democrat – Sen. Richard C. Shelby of Alabama – could keep his party from getting the two-thirds vote it needed.

The jobs-stimulus bill is at the heart of Clinton's agenda for maneuvering the nation out of its economic doldrums. Having planted his flag on this structure, the president might now appear to have put too much emphasis on the omnibus program. He appears to have given the Republicans a large political target to shoot at in anticipation of coming elections.

Within one week, Clinton has lost some of the luster with which he moved into the White House. It began with his withdrawal of plans to insert into the federal budget new higher fees for private use of public resources in the West. Environmentalists were highly displeased; and the president was given little or no thanks from the beneficiaries for making the change. A promise to at least raise some fees administratively did little to soothe critics.

To make appearances worse, Clinton had to hastily remove a debt-limit provision from the economic package and have it passed by Congress. It provides the federal government $225 billion in borrowing power through Sept. 30. The action made it possible to keep the government's credit rating from falling and to assure that Social Security checks would be sent out.

If the deadlock in the Senate continues, the Senate is expected to at least approve some $4 billion in continuing benefits to Americans who have been unemployed for long periods.

There is, of course, much remaining approbation for Clinton – at least for his effort to move quickly to meet the nation's needs. But it also is very likely that the apparent failure to recognize and take countermeasures to avert what appears to have been a political defeat will not raise the president's popularity ratings.

LOS ANGELES TIMES WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

As California Goes, So Goes Bill Clinton

This is his state to win or lose—in votes, high-tech vision, economic recovery, defense conversion.

BY CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

SAN FRANCISCO—Young Bill Clinton has again taken Horace Greeley's advice and headed West. He started last week doing something unusual for an American presidency: naming a Cabinet secretary as his viceroy to a particular state, California. He ended it presiding at the forest summit in Oregon.

Behind White House doors lies the plot to the "Go West!" choreography. Clinton wants eight years in the White House, a key aide allows, not four. To win two terms, the incumbent Democrat needs to seal the electoral base that won him the presidency in 1992. That means California, as well as the Northwest states, Oregon and Washington. The birth of a second Clinton term begins, in other words, with the "lock" his people see him now enjoying on West Coast political sentiment.

To keep that "lock," the Clinton forces are moving on three fronts:

• *The California governor's race.* Clinton wants a popular governor from his party in Sacramento come 1996. His people have someone very much in mind for that role.

State Treasurer Kathleen Brown is viewed by the Clinton team as the clear front-runner to challenge incumbent Republican Pete Wilson. Her edge on State Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi is considered a healthy sign that Democrats can regain the governorship they lost more than a decade ago. As far as the Clinton team is concerned, the appealing, no-nonsense daughter of former Gov. Pat Brown, and sister of former Gov. Jerry Brown, can keep her out-front status all the way to Sacramento.

"Things look very, very good" for Brown, the Clinton insider said. "It's not for us to get in her way."

• *Convert the California economy to peacetime.* Within a month of taking office, President Clinton traveled to the Silicon Valley to hype his high-tech initiative. Neither the time nor the geography were accidental.

California is hurting. Its jobless rate stands at 9.4% and threatens to get worse. Last week, two defense installations temporarily removed from the 1993 base-closing list were tacked back on the list.

To retain the faith of California voters, Clinton needs to show that there is tangible movement behind all the bold talk of "economic conversion." This is where his high-tech initiative comes into play.

Leon Panetta, Clinton's budget director, admits the challenge and the stakes of the effort.

"California is where everything is coming home to roost." Defense contract cutbacks, base closings, state budget deficits, Panetta warns, are just part of the problem. The more daunting challenge is to find the new markets, successful enterprises and careers to replace what California had, but lost in the defense sector.

Panetta speaks soberly of a California economy "struggling to find out where the future is." To win reelection, Clinton will need to appear part of the solution to that puzzle by 1996, not part of the problem. It's no wonder that his trade negotiator, Mickey Kantor; his chief economic adviser, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and his budget director are Californians.

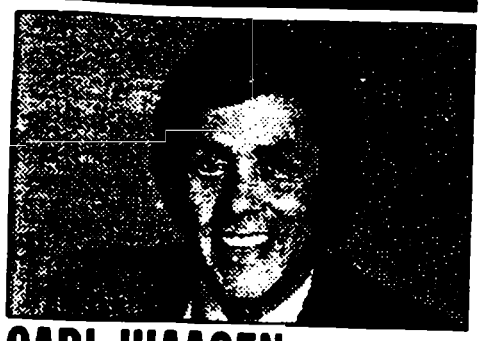
• *Prepare for the worst.* Later this month, Californians mark the anniversary of last year's Los Angeles riots. With the federal trial of the four police officers involved in the Rodney King episode headed for the jury, no one can predict either the verdict or the reaction on the streets.

By naming Commerce Secretary Ron Brown as his man in California, Clinton has positioned himself as a proactive chief executive. George Bush never looked more disconnected, more remote from his country than when he traveled, Gulliver-like, to L.A. after last spring's mayhem. As an African-American with strong contacts with a wide spectrum of political figures, Brown brings an added bonus in goodwill to the task of Clinton's man in California should things get hot.

Clinton is the other asset. He carried California handily last November. The latest Los Angeles Times poll shows his approval/disapproval ratio at 51% to 29%, making him the most popular elected official in the state.

Based on his travels, appointments and policies, Clinton intends to dance with the one that brung him. Having lost his first re-election bid as governor of Arkansas, the self-styled "California President" is taking no chances on a similar horror befalling him in 1996.

Christopher Matthews is a syndicated columnist based in Washington.



CARL HIAASEN

Lehtinen stands on Indian side of water war

The private fires that made Dexter Lehtinen such a volatile U.S. attorney might make a hero of him yet.

The controversial former prosecutor is representing South Florida's Miccosukee tribe in the complex, maddening battle to clean up the water in the Everglades.

Indians have a grave stake in what so far has been a political squabble among thick-headed white men. Polluted farm runoff drains from the Everglades Agricultural Area into the Miccosukee lands that straddle the Tamiami Trail in West Dade. A stretch of water on the northern edge of the reservation contains the highest concentration of phosphorus sampled by biologists.

As tribal chairman Billy Cypress explained to reporter Lori Rozsa: "Do you expect your neighbor to drink your garbage? We would not do that to anyone. We don't want it done to us."

Lehtinen, too, has a personal interest in the water war. It was he, as U.S. attorney, who filed the historic lawsuit that charged the state of Florida with poisoning Everglades National Park by failing to enforce pollution laws. As a result of the suit, water managers devised a plan that ostensibly would make sugar growers, citrus farmers and cattle ranchers clean their waste before dumping it.

Spoiling for a fight

Some filtration ponds have been dug, but Big Sugar has also counter-attacked with a hail of lawsuits that are delaying the most urgent aspects of the cleanup. Each day, more water carrying pesticides and fertilizers is pumped into the watershed that quenches the Gold Coast, Florida Bay and the Keys.

For Lehtinen, the Everglades is unfinished business. He grew up hunting and fishing there, and seems genuinely passionate about preserving it. He's also a famously impatient fellow, which is probably what the cause needs.

Involving the Miccosukees is clever legal strategy. Lehtinen could ask the Environmental Protection Agency to grant the tribe the same negotiating status as the state of Florida. The Seminoles, farther north in the Big Cypress, have already asked for an equal say in the new Everglades water policy.

With the tribes' unique sovereign status, they could impose water quality standards higher than those being required by the state. In the extraordinary event that this happened, everyone in South Florida would benefit. If the water flowing downstream to the Indian reservations is made clean, the water flowing to our aquifer would be cleaner, too.

The forgotten ones

In the five years since Lehtinen filed his Everglades lawsuit, the state of Florida has negotiated with everybody except those who actually live in the Everglades. The Indians seemed doomed to remain invisible.

It's typical that Tallahassee was more concerned about regulating tribal bingo than regulating water quality. Meanwhile, mercury levels rose so high that it became risky to eat the fish south of Lake Okeechobee.

Don't forget how the Seminoles and Miccosukees got to the Everglades in the first place. Our big-hearted government stole their ranch lands and farms in North Florida and ordered the Indians to move. Settling a swamp wasn't their idea, but it was better than the bloody alternative.

Now, having adapted over the years to a new way of subsistence, the tribes discover that the white man is inexorably ruining the only natural resource left to them: water.

To Seminoles and Miccosukees, the water is a sacred thing. Seeing it destroyed causes a profound spiritual sadness. What bittersweet irony if these people — banished against their will to a formidable wilderness — eventually end up saving the place for all of us.

Mar 29, 1993 • Oil & Gas Journal

LETTERS

Tribal operators

On p. 25 of your Feb. 1 issue you state that the Southern Ute tribe through its Red Willow Production Co. is the first Indian tribe to operate its own oil and gas wells.

The Jicarilla Apache tribe through its Jicarilla Energy Co. has been operating its own oil and gas wells since 1980. I believe the Fort Peck tribe had done the same thing some time after that.

The Southern Ute tribe in 1993 would be third tribe to do this.

Thurman Velarde
Jicarilla Apache tribe
Dulce, N.M.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

400 Protest Effort To Expand by Tribe

NORTH STONINGTON, Conn., April 6 (AP) — About 400 residents gathered on Monday night to protest the Mashantucket Pequot tribe's efforts to expand its reservation.

The residents, who met at the North Stonington Elementary School, contended that the tribe's plans would hurt surrounding towns by robbing them of taxable land.

Last week the tribe bought the 1,214-acre Lake of Isles Boy Scout camp, 1,012 acres of which is in North Stonington, and an additional 120 acres. They have said they plan to add the Lake of Isles land to the reservation.

Land added to the reservation is tax-exempt and beyond the control of local zoning regulations. Those opposing the annexation argue that towns cannot afford to lose taxes or watch their borders shrink to accommodate reservation expansion.

Organizers also pointed out that the Federal law that allows tribes to annex land is outdated and should not be applied to the Mashantuckets, which they say are no longer impoverished and thus need no legislative protection.

Ledyard, North Stonington and Preston have jointly hired a Washington law firm to oppose the tribe's attempts to add acreage

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Arizona Republic April 6, 1993

Blackfoot Tribe sues to force Montana to open gaming talks

The Associated Press

GREAT FALLS, Mont. — The Blackfoot Tribe has filed suit asking a federal judge to order the state of Montana to negotiate a reservation gambling pact within 60 days or submit to mediation.

The suit, served on state officials Wednesday, seeks an injunction preventing the state from enforcing various policies that exclude the tribe from controlling gambling on the reservation; require state taxing authority of reservation gambling beyond that needed to recover the costs of regulation; and restrict the types of gambling on the reservation already authorized by state law.

Gambling on six of the seven Indian reservations in Montana was restricted in June 1992 when former U.S. Attorney Doris Poppler interpreted a 1988 federal law as prohibiting any Class III gambling devices such as video poker and keno.

When Poppler issued her order, only the Assiniboine and Sioux tribes on the Fort Peck Reservation had a compact with the state.

Since then, the Crow Indians south of Billings and the Northern Cheyenne in the southeastern portion of the state have negotiated agreements, Sandholm said, adding that tribes at Fort Belknap and Rocky Boy's reservations are negotiating pacts.

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."
—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
USA TODAY
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

Peter S. Prichard
Editor
Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the Editorial Page
Thomas Curley
President and Publisher

Today's debate is on **LEGALIZED GAMBLING** and whether states should encourage its spread.

Don't bet the farm on legalized gambling

OUR VIEW **States that chase after gambling revenues find there are no easy profits or quick fixes.**

The USA's gold rush is on.

In Texas, Tigua Indians plan a $70 million casino complex. Louisiana just became the fifth state to permit riverboat casino gambling, joining Iowa, Illinois, Mississippi and Missouri. In Chicago, leaders are fighting for state approval of a $2 billion casino plan.

In a scramble for cash and jobs — and prodded in many cases by opening of casinos on Indian reservations — states are hoping to mine casinos for revenue.

The evidence — not to mention the increasing competition — suggests many will find fool's gold instead. Casinos are multiplying so fast that the only way to fill them is to create new gamblers, and that means trouble.

In Nevada and New Jersey in 1991, casino gamblers lost $8.4 billion. Add in Indian reservations, where the casinos are supplanting bingo games, and the figure jumps to $9.1 billion.

Estimates of the number of gambling addicts now reach as high as 8 million — a doubling in a decade. Yet profits sometimes prove illusory.

Fort Madison, Iowa, for instance, borrowed $2.6 million to build a dock and ticket center for the Emerald Lady riverboat. A year later, the Lady and three other Iowa boats sailed away to Mississippi, a suitor who had promised more.

In Colorado, a 1990 referendum allowed casino gambling in such Old West sites as Central City and Cripple Creek. Casinos brought new jobs and revenue to restore crumbling historic buildings.

But the towns also got more than they gambled on. Big operators swooped in, devouring many of the smaller Mom and Pop stores.

Too often, local residents learn what Atlantic City found out long ago: If there's a windfall from gambling, people outside the community reap most of it. The community gets some new cash and new problems with crime and traffic.

Gambling may be right for some communities. Las Vegas certainly wouldn't want to kick the habit.

But with such high odds, other states and communities should beware. Betting your future on craps and roulette is a risky venture.

Let anyone take a chance

OPPOSING VIEW **To argue against new ventures in legalized gambling is elitism of the worst sort.**

It's absurd to say that not every community can expect to profit from having legal gambling. That's like saying not every community can expect to benefit from legal grocery stores. I don't know of any communities where people don't buy groceries. People have to eat. And people have to gamble, too. If you don't believe me, ask anybody in the insurance business.

By Jeff Riggenbach, a San Francisco writer and broadcaster.

If there's a casino in every town, not every one of them is going to lure in big tourist bucks. But even with a casino in every town, that doesn't mean any builder of a new casino is going to go broke. If you've got a new angle, a new way to attract and hold customers, you can enter a highly competitive field and make a killing anyway.

If gambling were legalized all over the USA, the result would be intense competition within the gaming industry, all to the benefit of the consumer. In an effort to lure customers, casino owners would offer cushier travel and accommodation packages, better odds and new and more exciting games. Perhaps we'd even see the latest "virtual reality" technology make its way into the casinos.

To argue that localities should refrain from legalizing gambling because gambling can't be the golden goose for everybody is to argue that the man who invents a better mousetrap should be forced out of business at gunpoint in order to protect the people who make their living selling the old, inferior mousetraps. This is elitism of the worst kind.

The only way to find out how many casinos can prosper at the same time, and which ones will prosper most, is by getting government out of the way of those who want to operate gaming establishments. Let a thousand casinos bloom — or a hundred thousand, or a million. Those that survive will be the ones that please the most people, not the most politicians and bureaucrats.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993 · USA TODAY

NEW YORK

ROME — About 400 Oneida Indians and supporters lobbied at the state Capitol in Albany for Gov. Cuomo to let the Oneidas open a casino next to their reservation here. Oneida officials say it would creat 2,000 jobs.

NORTH DAKOTA

HANKINSON — The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux tribe says it will build a casino near here, provided it still owns any land in North Dakota. A '75 U.S. Supreme Court ruling may have stripped the tribe of its lands here, meaning a casino could be subjected to state taxes.

WYOMING

CHEYENNE — A rule restricting water use through April 30 by some irrigators above the Seminoe Reservoir has been issued by state Engineer Jeff Fassett. The water will be collected in various reservoirs for use by farmers in eastern Wyoming and western Nebraska whose water rights predate the North Platte River reservoirs.

"GREEN HIGH": California may be strapped for cash, but it sure is green after all the rain ends 6-year drought. Weeds never looked so good. 11A.

ARIZONA

TUCSON — 8,000 University of Arizona students can't flush toilets, shower or use sinks in a water crisis affecting every residence hall. A monitoring device that lets city water into university tanks failed Monday, and water levels dropped drastically. ...

Help Sought in Snaring Park Poachers

A ranger group is asking Congress for more staff and training to protect wildlife and other resources from poachers.

The National Park Rangers Eastern Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police has sent to members of Congress, the administration, and conservation groups information packets about the urgency of rooting out poachers who are stealing wildlife, plants and other resources.

"We need your help, as we are growing increasingly frustrated with our inability to adequately protect our resources, especially wildlife," said a letter from the lodge. "Our visitor protection workloads are increasing, yet our budget and staffing continue to decrease. The [natural] resource is why most of us joined the NPS and why we are staying on through these difficult times."

The police group is asking Congress for, among other things, 50 criminal investigator rangers equipped with the latest "anti-poaching technology and whose sole purpose will be natural resource investigations," according to the the letter.

Bob Martin, vice president of the eastern lodge and a district ranger at Shenandoah National Park, has also set up a non-profit fund to collect donations for training programs. With the National Park Rangers Resource Protection Fund, he hopes to raise at least $50,000 to put on a nationwide training course for rangers.

"Rangers are wearing so many different hats," Martin said, "that we end up doing much more in the visitor management area and search and rescue areas and we can't get out and take care of why the park was created in the beginning."

Shenandoah is one of five parks nationwide with the highest poaching rates, according to the National Park Service. In 1990, there were 133 incidents there. The number of incidents may be much higher because of the staff's inability to patrol remote areas, the report said.

Black bears are frequently hunted by poachers in Shenandoah for their gall bladders. The bladders can fetch thousands of dollars in Asian countries, where they are used for medicinal purposes, park officials said.

In 1990, poachers hunted more than 100 different species of wildlife in parks. Black bears, grizzly brown bears, polar bears, wolves, moose, bobcat, mountain lion, bighorn sheep, bison, caribou, seals and sea otters are among the animals hunted.

Meg Walker

Rangers Eye Better Retirement

Law Enforcement Duty in the Parks Could Pay Off in Annuities

By Meg Walker
Federal Times Staff Writer

National Park Service rangers could receive better retirement benefits now given to law enforcement officers.

Park service officials are reviewing ranger positions to see if any can be recommended for law enforcement retirement benefits.

George Morris, chief of labor and employee relations for the park service, said he hoped by the end of the year the agency would be able to grant certain law enforcement officers in the park service improved retirement benefits.

The Office of Personnel Management will review the agency's recommendations and make the final decision.

File Photo

Park rangers are heartened by their agency's review of their law enforcement duties.

Employees with law enforcement retirement benefits are entitled to retire with full benefits at age 50 with 20 years of service. Their annuities are calculated using a forumula in which the government pays 2½ percent of the average of the employee's three highest salaries.

If they cannot qualify for law enforcement retirement, rangers typically take normal retirement at age 55 with 30 years of service and benefits based on approximately 2 percent of the high-three salary average.

The park service review is heartening to the 1,500 law enforcement rangers nationwide who have been fighting for years to get improved retirement benefits for past service. If OPM approves the agency's recommendations, rangers would not have to go through a cumbersome review process in the future to try and qualify for the benefit.

"I'm encouraged by that," said Chris Cruz, president-elect of the National Park Rangers Western Lodge Fraternal Order of Police. "They are making good progress in trying to help the ranger of the future."

But the agency's review will not help rangers with their current battle to get OPM to recognize past law enforcement service. In 1989, about 600 filed claims with OPM seeking to prove their past service qualified them for law enforcement retirement.

Almost all of them are still waiting for decisions.

"This is going to have to get settled somehow," said Jim Tucker, a law enforcement ranger at Yosemite National Park, Calif., who filed for the benefit. "I think I meet the definition of a federal law enforcement officer. We had four burglars here two nights ago, and a guy carrying a concealed weapon. That all happened on my shift."

To meet OPM's standard for law enforcement, an employee must spend more than half the time on the job "investigating, apprehending or detaining" individuals suspected or convicted of criminal activity.

OPM has reviewed only 40 of the applications for law enforcement retirement, said an official in OPM's disability and special entitlements division. About a dozen of those applicants had some years of service that meet OPM's standard, but not enough to qualify for law enforcement retirement benefits.

To qualify, those employees must have 20 years of service that meet OPM's law enforcement standard.

The review process is slow, the official said, because the applications must be approved by the National Park Service and the Interior Department before being submitted to OPM. "This is going to keep us busy for a long time, but we are trying," the official said.

Some rangers feel they might have an easier time proving their qualifications as law enforcement officers because of a policy statement issued by former park service Director James Ridenour as he left office.

The statement says law enforcement is an "essential tool" in the park service mission.

"Every individual delegated law enforcement authority is, by the very nature of the duty, being asked to go in harm's way and to periodically place his or her life in jeopardy," the statement reads.

Though the statement doesn't specifically say rangers should get law enforcement retirement benefits, some rangers say it is a strong indication some of them are entitled to the benefit. "That document is very important to us," said Cruz, a Yosemite ranger. "We've been looking for a statement from our agency for a long time. It's opening the door."

Anchorage Daily News Monday, April 5, 1993

Finders keepers? Maybe not, if it falls under endangered species law

The Associated Press

JUNEAU – A 300-pound whale skull found near Admiralty Island has put its finder in the middle of a legal controversy over the proper interpretation of the Endangered Species Act.

Melba Sherer, a Native, says federal officials at first told her she could keep the skull when she and her husband brought it back to Juneau aboard their fishing boat.

But when they approached federal officials for permission to take the skull out of state, they received a citation for violating the Endangered Species Act.

And as a Native, Sherer is allowed to hunt some endangered species, such as whale, for subsistence use.

She and her husband, Rowa Sherer, have painted the skull with Native symbols and say they plan to use the skull for ceremonial purposes and to display.

But the National Marine Fisheries Services says that doesn't fit into their definition of subsistence use.

Robert Babson, an attorney with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Juneau, said the Alaska Native exemption for the taking of endangered species is confined to subsistence purposes only.

"If an animal has been taken for subsistence purposes, once that is satisfied then the hard parts can be used," Babson said.

The Sherers' attorney, Joe Johnson of Alaska Legal Services Corp. in Anchorage, said federal authorities are being cooperative, but they've reach no agreement over the skull's fate.

"Basically the National Marine Fisheries Services people are trying to be accommodating, unfortunately they have what I see as an incorrect interpretation of the Endangered Species Act," Johnson said.

"The act itself doesn't define subsistence, nor is there a definition of subsistence in regulation," said Johnson, who spent more than seven years successfully defending Alaska Natives in a recent marine mammal court case involving sea otters.

Johnson said the Alaska Native exemption allows Natives to take inedible byproducts of endangered species to make handicrafts and clothing.

"They (NOAA) take the view that any use of dead animal parts is not a subsistence use. It seems bizarre that you can go out and shoot a live one and use it, but not use a dead animal part. It seems to me they would be interested in having you use a dead one," Johnson said.

Anchorage Daily News Monday, April 5, 1993

Alaskans rely on wildlife

The Associated Press

Figures released by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game indicate Alaskans are relying on hunting to provide much of the meat eaten in the state.

Hunters killed more than 20,000 deer, 9,000 caribou and 7,000 moose in the 12 months ending June 30, 1992.

Bison, elk, mountain goats, musk ox and sheep were also harvested.

Altogether, the wildlife harvest yielded more than a half million pounds of meat, Fish and Game said in a press release.

Fish and Game director Dave Kelleyhouse said the total value of the meat taken was at least $27 million. He based that figure on market prices for the different types of meat taken.

License and tag fees also generated about $5 million to fund wildlife management programs in the state.

"VA. Fish Kills Attributed to Acid Snow—Increased Pollution is Plaguing Streams" (Washington Post B4 - 4/7/93)

"Moose Program Cut Back for Adirondacks" (NY State Issue) (NY Times - 4/7/93)

"Protection Sought for Trout in Umpqua" (Oregonian - 4/2/93)

"Taking Stock of Wild Fish" (Seattle Times - 4/3/93)

"Singel Defends His Ecology Record" (Wetlands/Pa.) (Philadelphia Inquirer - 4/7/93)

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Gould did what he does so well, this time for environmentalists

f humans evolved from apes, why are apes still around?

This, said Stephen Jay Gould, is the type of nonsensical question he gets asked all the time.

LETTER FROM . . .

Rex Springston

Gould, an authority on evolution and the bane of creationists, provided the answer:

Evolution, in almost all cases, is not the slow transformation of one species — say an ape, to another, a man — with incremental changes along the way.

Evolution involves branching, he said, with creatures splitting from the main limb. The ape branch went one way, the man branch the other.

Gould said his views are frequently misrepresented — most often by creationists, racists and football fans. (Gould likes baseball.)

Gould spoke last weekend during a Washington conference of people backing the Endangered Species Act.

His audience was composed mostly of environmentalists. Gould, a Harvard biologist, paleontologist, historian and writer, had just written Congress in support of the act.

He was received with deafening applause.

But then Gould did what he does so perversely well. He told his listeners things they didn't expect to hear, and backed his views with evidence.

In fact, Gould didn't even look the way the crowd expected. He is middle-aged, short, a little pudgy and wears glasses.

"*That's* Stephen Jay Gould?" muttered one zoologist. Nevertheless, she let slip that Gould was "one of my heroes."

In his essays in Natural History magazine, and in his books, Gould makes intricate and literate arguments about how the natural world works.

This is a guy who once demonstrated, using the laws of probability, that the greatest sports feat of all time is Joe DiMaggio's 56-game hitting streak. Other accomplishments were to be expected — give enough guys enough at-bats and some will hit .400.

Gould once examined how science, particularly the theory of evolution, had been perverted to racist ends. Another time, he wrote about mankind's needs for "creation myths." Among those myths, he argued, were Adam and Eve, the notion that baseball was born in the United States, and that life begins at any particular point in the reproductive cycle.

With Gould, no belief is sacrosanct.

Which bring us back to his talk before the environmentalists. In a speech that touched on evolution, extinction, Tennyson and Shelley, Gould took a few good-natured jabs at those who revere him.

Green-leaning folks often say our planet is fragile, Gould noted, and they say we must act as stewards of the natural world.

Not so, he said.

"Both of these ideas are rooted in the old sin of pride and an exaggerated sense of human importance."

The Earth has been around 4½ billion years, and it apparently survived a collision with a dinosaur-killing asteroid and was thousands of times more powerful than all the world's current bombs combined.

The planet, in other words, is pretty tough.

Consider global warming. Even under the worst scenario, the Earth would be cooler than it has been many times in the past, Gould said.

We humans may destroy ourselves, he said, but the Earth will survive — as will bacteria, insects, mites and other tough life forms.

Still, he acknowledged, people have a "legitimate parochial interest" in ensuring that they, their children and their culture survive.

Gould suggested that our guiding principle in dealing with the Earth should be what Christians call the Golden Rule, but was also was expressed by Plato and Confucius:

We should treat the planet as we would like to be treated.

"If we treat her right, she'll keep us around," Gould said. "If we scratch her, she'll bleed, kick us out, bandage up and go on about her business. We ought to make a deal now while she is still willing to sign the papers."

Rex Springston, a highly evolved environmental writer, roams Virginia from his base in Richmond.

> *"These ideas are rooted in the old sin of pride and an exaggerated sense of human importance."*
>
> **STEPHEN JAY GOULD**
> ON THE NOTION THAT THE EARTH IS FRAGILE

Loved to Death

How the Fight to Save Endangered Species Can Backfire

SOCIETY

ENVIRONMENT

KILLED BY KINDNESS

JOHN CANCALOSI

We nearly wiped out the beasts of the field. Then we tried to save them. Now greed, corruption and stupidity are finishing the job that bullets began.

BY SHARON BEGLEY

Han-Han was beautiful, the "most perfect" panda that wildlife biologist George Schaller had ever seen. With luminous fur and paws so clumsy-looking they had no business peeling bamboo as delicately as a finicky dieter peels celery, she sat for hours in the forest, her rounded back snuggled against a log, her seat cradled in the soft humus. With big black eye patches and a "rolling sailor's gait," Han-Han evoked in the humans who admired her "a desire to hug and protect," says Schaller. The humans failed her, badly.

. . .

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

THE FEDERAL PAGE

The New Regime will resume Thursday.

Synar May Push 'Stop' on EPA Elevator

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration's legislation to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet-level status may be skidding off the fast track.

Angered that the administration changed its position on charging higher fees for mining, logging and grazing on federal land, a key House subcommittee chairman is threatening to stall action on the measure unless the White House supports increased fees.

The posturing by Rep. Mike Synar (D-Okla.), chairman of the environment, energy and natural resources subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, who supports the EPA bill, represents a kind of welcome-to-the-ways-of-Washington lesson for the White House on the price of angering friends in Congress.

Asked about the possibility that no action would be taken until the administration can push through separate proposals to raise public land grazing and mining fees, Synar said: "The EPA bill is coming through my subcommittee, and I'm very busy. I have a lot of outstanding investigations that could take a lot of time."

Synar's staff had told some environmentalists that the subcommittee would not proceed with the EPA bill until the White House supports the resource fee increases in legislation separate from the budget package.

Synar and other House Democrats were angered last week when the White House, under pressure from western Democrats in the Senate, pulled the plug on budget proposals that would have required higher grazing fees for cattlemen who use public lands, imposed a first-time royalty fee on miners who take gold and other hard-rock minerals from federal lands, and eliminated timber sales in national forests that do not turn a profit.

The decision infuriated the leaders of major environmental groups who have long pushed for reforms of federal natural resource policies, including higher fees for industries that get timber, forage and minerals from public land. The White House, stung by the criticism, insisted it had not abandoned its support for the changes, only the legislative means to achieve them.

Some environmentalists suspected that Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.), who led the group of western senators, had cut a deal with the White House: The administration would drop the resource fees in exchange for quick approval of the EPA bill by the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee that Baucus chairs. The panel approved the EPA bill last Friday, three days after the White House pulled the plug on the mining, grazing and timber issues in the budget.

But a senior EPA official said no such deal ever existed, that Synar had been assured there was none, and that the EPA Cabinet legislation was now firmly on track. "As far as we are concerned, things are moving" toward a May markup in the House, said the official, who asked not to be named.

The Senate is expected to take up the EPA bill after the Easter recess.

House Democrats who support the higher mining and grazing fees were particularly angry that the White House had pulled the rug out from under some of their western colleagues who risked alienating powerful political forces back home by supporting the original budget that called for higher resource fees.

"They [western Democrats] took the hard vote and then got screwed," one House staff worker said.

As a result, House Natural Resources Committee Chairman George Miller (D-Calif.) has said his panel now will take no action on mining law revision and possibly other legislation until the Senate acts first, thereby pressuring the White House to drum up Senate votes for the resource fee hikes.

"He's sending a message that the administration has to deliver," the House aide said.

Unions Offer Advice, Cautions For Gore's 'Performance Review'

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

CLINTON SEEKS END TO FILIBUSTER

President Clinton attacked the motives of Senate Republicans for the filibuster that is delaying the job-training portion of his economic stimulus package, accusing them of thwarting "majority rule." A20

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1993

* * *

OPEC's oil output fell sharply in March, estimates indicate. But crude futures prices declined yesterday.

(Articles on Pages A2 and C12)

* * *

Chevron Forms Joint Venture to Develop Two Vast Oil Discoveries in Kazakhstan

By PAULINE YOSHIHASHI
And NATALIA A. FEDUSCHAK
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Chevron Corp. and the republic of Kazakhstan signed documents forming a joint venture to develop the huge Tengiz and Korolev oil fields, in which the partners are expected to invest some $20 billion over the next 40 years.

The 50-50 joint venture will develop one of the biggest oil field discoveries of the past two decades, and could well be one of the most important developments in Chevron's history. The San Francisco oil company will collect 20% of the project's income with Kazakhstan collecting the remaining 80%.

In Kazakhstan's capital, Chevron's chairman and chief executive, Kenneth Derr, and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev yesterday signed the memorandum marking one of the largest ventures ever by a U.S. corporation and a former Soviet republic.

The agreement is a milestone for both partners. The partnership will double Chevron's world-wide oil reserves from three billion barrels at the end of 1992. The agreement also is a vote of confidence for oil-rich but cash-poor Kazakhstan, proving that it can work with foreign companies to provide lucrative terms for investment.

The joint venture, called Tengizchevroil, is between Chevron Overseas Petroleum Inc. and the Kazakh production association, Tengizneftegaz. The Tengiz and Korolev fields are in western Kazakhstan, where the partners will explore for oil in a 1,560-square-mile area.

Tengizchevroil is expected to recover six billion to nine billion barrels of oil over the life of the project in the Tengiz field, which has estimated reserves of six billion to 20 billion barrels of oil. Discovered in 1979, Tengiz is said to be twice the size of Alaska's Prudhoe Bay, a big producing field.

The Tengiz and Korolev reservoirs together also hold tens of trillions of cubic meters of natural gas, which the partners also will export. The venture will employ about 3,600 people initially, more than 90% of whom will be from Kazakhstan, and the partners will spend about $1.5 billion to $1.8 billion for development over the next three to five years.

The signing caps more than five years of delicate negotiations by Chevron. Its interest in Tengiz began in 1987, when the Soviet Union still existed and Mikhail Gorbachev was in charge. As a member of a U.S. trade consortium, Chevron began to look for investment opportunities in the Soviet Union and quickly zeroed in on the oil fields of western Kazakhstan.

Chevron had the foresight to include the Kazakhs in its negotiations with Moscow, so when the Soviet Union collapsed, the talks continued with a new set of partners. A preliminary agreement was signed last May, laying out obligations and outstanding issues. The original start-up date for the venture, Jan. 1, was changed to April because such issues as taxation weren't resolved as quickly as expected.

Other important issues, such as transportation, still must be addressed. David O'Reilly, Chevron's vice president for strategic planning, said the company is considering several proposals for transporting the oil, including participation in an Oman-led pipeline consortium.

Chevron's stock rose $1 today to close at $84.50 in composite New York Stock Exchange trading.

NEWS SUMMARY
U.S. Department of the Interior • Office of Communications

Monday, April 5, 1993 A63

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, April 5, 1993

NATIONAL

The Owls vs. Jobs Debate Enters Its Hardest Phase

'Timber Summit' is only first step in solving Northwest's problems

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PORTLAND, ORE.

PRESIDENT Clinton got everybody involved in the fight over federal forests in the Pacific Northwest around the same table and talking to each other. That was the easy part.

Now come the more difficult tasks: keeping the dialogue going, finding short-term help for thousands of timber workers impacted by legal gridlock that has tied up millions of acres, and pushing through a longer-range legislative solution that will protect dwindling species like the northern spotted owl and salmon while assuring some measure of economic stability for timber towns in the region.

At the forest conference here Friday, most participants from environmental groups, the wood-products industry, affected communities, and scientific disciplines expressed gratitude that Mr. Clinton and his team of senior officials had listened hard, asked probing questions, and were willing to take the high-visibility political risk of grappling with a problem that has been years in the making.

"I was skeptical, but I'm very, very pleased," said Phyllis Shrauger, mayor of Hoquiam, Wash., who told how her small town on the Olympic peninsula recently lost more than 600 jobs when a pulp and paper mill shut down.

Rick Brown, a forest ecologist with the National Wildlife Federation, told the president: "This kind of high-level involvement by an administration is a breath of fresh air for me."

All sides were cheered by Clinton's announcement that he was ordering the Cabinet to assemble within 60 days "a plan to end this stalemate," which he said must be based on five principles:

- Never forgetting the human and economic dimension of environmental problems.
- Protecting the long-term health of forests and wildlife that he described as "a gift from God."
- Proceeding on the basis of decisions that are "scientifically sound, ecologically credible, and legally responsible."
- Assuring a "predictable and sustainable level of timber sales."
- And making government agencies work together.

At the conference, also known as the "timber summit," government and academic experts described the impact of logging and other development on hundreds of species.

"The northern spotted owl and the marbled murrelet [another threatened bird in the Northwest] are perhaps only the tip of the iceberg," said Charles Meslow, director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service's cooperative-research unit. "At least 480 other species may be following in their wake."

Industry officials, environmentalists, and scientists now agree that forests must be managed with regard to entire ecosystems – not just on the basis of individual species. But agreement on the concept and actually achieving it are two very different things, experts warn.

"That approach is not going to be simple ... it is not going to be cheap," said Jack Ward Thomas, a US Forest Service biologist.

"The complexity of those systems is beyond imagination," said Jerry Franklin, a University of Washington forest ecologist. "We probably can grow spotted-owl habitat. But it's unlikely we are going to know anytime soon how to grow old-growth forests."

In recent years, environmentalists have had the upper hand. Under existing laws such as the National Forest Management Act, it has been fairly easy to block the sale of timber from federal forest parcels by filing appeals.

But the result of the appeals process – along with other issues affecting the industry, such as log exports and automation – has been very hard on some communities.

"We are moving into a process that looks a lot like what happened in the inner cities," said Robert Lee, a University of Washington sociologist. "We are seeing the collapse of families, disintegration of families, disintegration of communities, homelessness, stranded elderly people, people whose lives are in disarray from substance abuse."

Despite talk of compromise, positions have not changed much. Environmentalists, especially, seem to be digging in.

"The timber crisis is a moral issue," said Thomas Murphy, a Roman Catholic archbishop in Seattle. "A culture, a way of life ... is dying."

While voices have been lowered and there is much talk of "seeking common ground" through compromise, positions have not changed much. Environmentalists, especially, seem to be digging in.

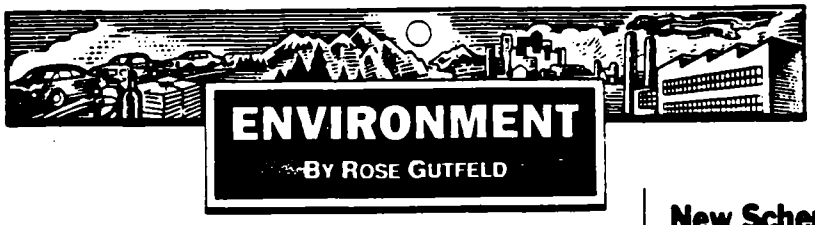
"When so little of the virgin forest is left, ... environmentalists are not in a position to compromise," said Andy Kerr, conservation director for the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "The forest has been compromised all it can."

Environmentalists are pushing for a system of old-growth "forest reserves"; a permanent end to logging in such forests, of which only 10 percent remain, they claim; a total ban on log exports, which account for one-fourth of all trees cut down in the Northwest; and emphasis on developing manufacturing businesses that would "add value" to harvested wood fiber instead of shipping it out of the region as raw logs or chips.

Timber officials and grass-roots workers in the industry are prepared for a new era. But they want to see the Clinton team get the court injunctions against timber sales lifted, then design and win congressional approval of legislation that would assure a predictable supply.

"I hope in 60 days we have something Congress can work with to break this terrible gridlock," said Mike Draper, executive secretary of the Western Council of Industrial Workers, which represents the interests of some 30,000 loggers and millworkers.

"All of us are going to have to take some risks and make some changes," said Rich Nafziger, the coordinator of Washington's state timber policy.



Saving the Everglades Makes Babbitt's Agenda

FLORIDA'S Everglades National Park is getting much-needed federal attention, thanks to a high-level phone call.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt said a call in February from Carol Browner, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency and a Florida native, prompted him to take a closer look at the Everglades. He traveled to Tallahassee, where he met with the Everglades Coalition, an organization consisting of 28 state and national groups. "I came back absolutely appalled," he says. "The Everglades is a dying ecosystem . . . headed for complete collapse."

Now Mr. Babbitt plans to convene a group of federal officials to work with the state to develop a restoration plan. An initial step will be to get Congress to approve close to $1 million for the Army Corps of Engineers to do preliminary technical work.

What's needed, Mr. Babbitt says, is a "reverse engineering job" to restore the link between the Everglades and Lake Okeechobee, a connection severed years ago because of a flood-prevention project and the clearing of land for agriculture. As a result, the Everglades is "drying up," he says, with the reduced water flow damaged by phosphate runoff.

Steven Parcells, chairman of the Everglades Coalition, also says the increased salinity of Florida Bay, caused by the drop in fresh water flowing through the Everglades, has resulted in "a massive" loss of sea grass needed to sustain shrimp and other creatures early in their lives. He says that the natural timing of water flows must be restored, as well as water quality and quantity. Florida has sought to restore the timing by negotiating with some water districts to make water releases correspond with rainfall, but plans are still being put in place.

Prospects for U.S. Park In California Improve

HOPES BLOSSOM anew for legislation that would create new parkland in the Southern California desert.

Interior Secretary Babbitt calls desert protection a top legislative priority and says he is inclined to support the position of California's senators on the issue. One of the senators, Dianne Feinstein, has introduced the California Desert Protection Act, which would create a new national park out of 1.5 million acres in the East Mojave Desert near Los Angeles. The area is currently managed as a national scenic area, and the Bureau of Land Management allows limited mining and grazing on much of it. Such activities would be prohibited if it becomes a park.

Also under the bill, two national monuments, Death Valley and Joshua Tree, would be expanded and redesignated as parks. An additional four million acres largely managed as wilderness study areas would be officially designated wilderness.

Similar legislation has failed in the past, and passage isn't a sure thing this year. Opposition is expected from groups representing miners, grazers, hunters and off-road vehicle users, all of whom would face limits on their activities. The National Rifle Association is pushing to allow hunting to continue in a portion of the East Mojave. The group says hunting could be permitted in areas that wouldn't conflict with other park visitors.

Proponents are heartened that the White House and both California senators back the park push for the first time. "We finally may have a realistic hope that protection for the desert is going to happen," says the Wilderness Society's Nancy Green, who predicts "a tough fight."

New Schemes Are Tried To Assist Woodpecker

THE ENDANGERED red-cockaded woodpecker may benefit from innovative credit-trading schemes in Southeastern states.

The federal Fish & Wildlife Service and the private Environmental Defense Fund are each working on plans to create incentives for landowners to manage properties in ways that would help sustain the species, which has been protected from development since 1973.

Ralph Costa, the bird's recovery coordinator at the service, says landowners could earn "marketable transferable endangered species certificates" by allowing a pair to breed and then sending the fledglings to live on federal lands. An economic value would be determined and attached to the certificate, which could then be sold or traded with other landowners. A credit would enable a property owner to cut trees or take other action that would destroy bird habitat.

Mr. Costa says the ability to buy credits might appeal, for example, to a landowner facing a sudden need for cash because of a family emergency. Without such a credit, the landowner would be barred from any action that results in a net loss of birds. The project could involve 13 states stretching from Virginia to Texas.

Michael Bean, chairman of the EDF's wildlife program, has talked to some landowners about creating a pilot project in the Carolinas in which landowners could earn credits by managing land in ways that help the bird. "Existing mechanisms for protection that are exclusively sticks to punish or deter landowners from doing bad things need to be supplemented by carrots to reward them for good things," he says.

Mr. Bean says that like the Northern spotted owl, the woodpecker is dependent on old-growth forests. The birds live in cavities they excavate in old long-leaf pines softened by fungal rot. Modern timber practices, he says, typically rely on shorter rotation cycles than are needed for trees to get old enough.

San Antonio Express-News

Friday, April 2, 1993

War of words over aquifer hits Congress

Endangered Species Act called 'best thing' for S.A.

By Gary Martin
Express-News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt on Thursday said the Endangered Species Act "is the best thing that ever happened to San Antonio" because it will force the city to develop alternative sources of drinking water.

Babbitt said alternative sources to the Edwards aquifer would attract industry and jobs to San Antonio, which would make the city "vastly better off."

His comments were made to the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which is considering measures to broaden the protection of resources and species.

Babbitt said the lack of a groundwater management plan for the Edwards by San Antonio and other users was threatening to deplete the resource and endanger several species found in aquifer-fed springs in

See WOLFF/5A

Continued from 1A

Comal and Hays counties — most notably a one-inch fish called the snail darter.

The secretary applauded the lawsuit filed by the Sierra Club and the Guadalupe-Blanco River Authority, which represents users below the springs, for using the act to force San Antonio to develop a plan.

"I think you should celebrate the day the plaintiffs invoked the Endangered Species Act. It's the best thing that ever happened to San Antonio," he said.

With a groundwater plan in place, Babbitt said: "Ultimately, the city will be vastly better off."

San Antonio Mayor Nelson Wolff disagreed: "I think the secretary was incorrect in his analysis."

Wolff said enforcement of pumping limits on the aquifer to protect endangered species would cost the city billions of dollars. He said the lack of water would force industries out of Bexar County and cost the region thousands of jobs.

In January, Senior U.S. District Judge Lucius Bunton III sided with the Sierra Club and gave the state Legislature until May 31 to develop a management plan for the aquifer. If the deadline is not met, Bunton said, the federal government could impose pumping limits to protect the re-

Wolff said pumping limits being explored would mean a 60 percent reduction in the city's current use, and he decried alternative sources as being too costly and damaging.

"The Endangered Species Act is being used to harm the environment," Wolff told the committee, explaining that alternative sources of water would mean dams, reservoirs and thousands of displaced homeowners and farmers whose property would be needed to store water to meet San Antonio's water needs.

Wolff charged that the GBRA and water users below the springs were trying to "grab as much as they can" of a resource at the expense of the nation's ninth largest city, "a poor city where the majority of the population is made up of minorities."

GBRA manages water use in the Guadalupe and Blanco river drainages. The springs account for a large portion of the flows in those rivers.

John Specht, general manager for GBRA, said San Antonio has known about the water crisis since 1956, when a severe drought dried up the springs in New Braunfels and San Marcos for more than five months.

"The risk of overpumpage became obvi-

Wolff, Babbitt engage in war of words over aquifer

> *"I think you should celebrate the day the plaintiffs invoked the Endangered Species Act. It's the best thing that ever happened to San Antonio."*
>
> — Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

ous immediately following the drought of the 1950s, yet nothing was done to limit the pumping," Specht told the committee.

Since then, pumping on the aquifer has doubled. He said the annual 200,000 acre feet of water pumped from the Edwards is "woefully inadequate" to supply the regions' needs during a time of drought.

Wolff countered that the drought in 1956 would only occur in a 300-year time frame.

The mayor defended the city's dependency on the 180-mile long aquifer, saying that an effort to develop an alternative source of water, Applewhite reservoir, was defeated at the polls by a campaign led by the Sierra Club.

U.S. Rep. Greg Laughlin, D-West Columbia, charged that San Antonio still enjoys some of the lowest water rates of urban and rural communities, although it is the only large Texas city without an alternative source of drinking water.

When Wolff responded that San Antonio was "a poor city," Laughlin noted that communities he represents in Gonzales, Victoria and other counties "on down to the coast" are similar economically and demographically, yet pay much more for water coming from the Guadalupe River below the aquifer-fed springs.

U.S. Rep. Jack Fields, R-Humble, said San Antonio faces economic catastrophe because the Endangered Species Act "places the needs of a fish ahead of the needs of the 1½ million men and women of San Antonio."

Fields is a candidate in the May 1 special election for the U.S. Senate seat vacated by Lloyd Bentsen, who now is Treasury secretary. Fields has made the same arguments about the Endangered Species Act in his campaign commercials.

He has filed legislation that would exclude sole-source aquifers from regulation by the Endangered Species Act, although Democratic members of the committee said the bill will unlikely be heard by the committee.

Specht did not refer to Fields by name when he told the committee that he feared the water issue in South Texas was becoming "a political football."

And Babbitt rebutted Fields' argument that the act threatens people in Bexar County.

"At the core that is really not an endangered species issue. What it is not is people-vs-the fountain darter; it's people versus people," Babbitt said.

"It's people on top of the aquifer, who are pumping, versus people downstream," he said, noting that the people in "San Marcos and New Braunfels have considerable investment" in the springs.

Babbitt said the real issue is about the lack of a water plan by San Antonio and Bexar County.

Wolff and Specht agreed with Babbitt that the issue should be resolved on the state and local level and not in the federal courts or in Congress.

In contrast to the South Texas water battle, Babbitt praised local, state and federal efforts in Austin to intersperse development and protection of 43 threatened species on 600,000 acres of habitat.

The Coastland Times
Manteo, NC
April 1, 1993
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Mackays Island NWF Awarded Wetland Conservation Grant

Additions to 10 national wildlife refuges and grants for 21 projects to protect and improve wetlands in Canada, Mexico and the United States, including a Currituck project, have been approved by the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission, Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbit announced last week.

Mackay Island National Wildlife Refuge, consisting of 1,109 acres, has been awarded an North American Wetlands Conservation Fund grant in the amount of $350,000.

"These projects will help restore critical watersheds or ecosystems in North America," Secretary Babbitt said, as he opened his first meeting as chairman on March 9. "Migratory birds are extraordinary indicators of the condition of the lands we live on. We must do a better job of protecting them and the wetlands and tropical forests upon which they depend."

The Cabinet-level commission approved expansion of 10 refuges by 17,331 acres and expenditures of $10,740,000 from the North American Wetlands Conservation Fund grants to public and private agencies to restore, enhance and acquire some 70,000 acres of important migratory bird habitat on the North American continent.

Babbitt noted that the projects to improve wetlands on private lands and national wildlife refuges will have multiple benefits including local economic stimulus and increasing long-term projects for birdwatchin fishing and other wildlife-orien recreation.

The Coastland Times
Manteo, NC
April 1, 1993
Page A-1

County Officials Brief New Secretary On Jetty Project

Howes Feels 'Educated' About Inlet

Jonathan B. Howes, North Carolina's new Secretary of Environment, Health and Natural Resources, received an afternoon briefing on the Oregon Inlet jetties project Tuesday at the Wanchese Seafood Industrial Park.

"We are trying to help the secretary understand the jetties project," said Harry Schiffman, chairman of the Oregon Inlet and Waterways Commission.

"This is educational for me," stated Sec. Howes. "This will help me in my work with Gov. Jim Hunt and Secretary (of the Interior Bruce) Babbitt."

The first part of the four-part informal presentation was given by Schiffman. His slide presentation covered all aspects of Oregon Inlet, its history, importance, and use of resources in the surrounding waters.

Nina Green, administrator of the Wanchese Seafood Industrial Park, gave a brief overview of the Seafood Park and its tie to Oregon Inlet. "We need the jetties at Oregon Inlet if we are to attract seafood industries at the park," she concluded. The Seafood Park, completed in 1981, has only 40% of leasable space rented.

"Oregon Inlet is one of the largest, feared and complicated inlets in the world," stated Carl Miller in his presentation of the Army Corps of Engineer study done at the inlet before and after the terminal groin was built.

"The Halloween Storm and the January 1992 storm almost filled up the inlet, without the jetties the inlet could fill up again," Miller said.

Oregon Inlet has a history of closing up due to bad storms. Recently, the cost of dredging the inlet has become so expensive the Corps has scheduled dredging to start in the summer months and be completed in the fall to overlap the cost into the next fiscal year, which starts in October for the federal agency.

The final part of the presentation was given by Michael Street, a North Carolina Division of Marine Fisheries scientist. He stated, "By the time the jetties are built fish stocks would be replenished and fishing will be done under far more stringent rules."

Street also acknowledged the jetties would provide an excellent fishing area for recreational fishing. Shiffman said, "Pedestrian walkways were part of the design."

Howes, and members of his staff, had questions throughout all four parts of the presentations. Afterwards, they were scheduled to take a tour of the inlet and terminal groin.

A tour of Buxton Woods and the wild horses at Corolla were on the agenda for Wednesday.

Howes' state department enforces water and air pollution regulations, plans coastal development, oversees marine fisheries, operates state parks, and other concerns related to environment, health and natural resources.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, April 5, 1993

Timber Decisions

"I CANNOT repeal the laws of change."

With these words, President Clinton on Friday summed up the most significant force affecting the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest, spotted owls notwithstanding. Opening additional old-growth forests to logging is not the answer to helping the region cope with economic change.

The drama being played out in the Northwest is similar in many ways to the one played out on the world stage in developing countries: Tensions arise in the attempt to balance environmental responsibility in exploiting natural resources with the legitimate need for economic growth.

In the Northwest, about 10 percent of the original old-growth forests remain, mostly on federal land. In the 1980s, even this was subject to intense logging; old-growth trees on private lands had been harvested. Although much of the private land has been replanted, the timber will not be ready to harvest for up to 20 years, and in any case do not replace an old-growth ecosystem.

In the Pacific Northwest, 132 sawmills have closed since 1990, at a cost of nearly 13,000 jobs. The industry attributes this to the recession and court injunctions preventing the government from opening more land. But other trends suggest a longer-term decline in timber-related jobs in the region: mechanization, exports of raw logs, and the growth of the Southeast's timber industry.

The Northwest should get help to deal with the changes. This can be accomplished through policies that reinforce sustainable forest management, directed aid, job training, and the growth of other industries. During the 1980s, for example, the region picked up 250,000 jobs in other sectors.

The old-growth forests are harder to replace. Moreover, they support not only endangered species such as the northern spotted owl, but waterways vital to salmon, another economically important resource for the region.

Better to adjust now and maintain this natural and economic resource than to continue whittling away at it, only to lose the forest, as well as the timber jobs, later.

THE WASHINGTON POST

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

INSIDE

Chopping Through

■ President Clinton, after hearing a day's testimony, promised his administration will produce a "balanced" solution to the Pacific Northwest forest policy standoff in 60 days.

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Clinton Pledges 'Balanced' Solution To Forest Policy Crisis in 2 Months

By Tom Kenworthy and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

PORTLAND, Ore., April 2—President Clinton, after listening all day to intensely personal stories about the human costs of the bitter forest policy standoff in the Pacific Northwest, today promised that his administration would produce a "balanced and comprehensive and long-term" solution within 60 days.

At the forest conference, convened by the administration to hear from regional interests affected by the crisis, Clinton said he would direct an interagency group to adhere to a set of broad principles in crafting a solution that would protect forests and restore some certainty to a forest-products industry hobbled by court prohibitions on logging in habitat used by the threatened northern spotted owl.

He said the solution must be scientifically credible, must produce a stable and predictable timber harvest without degrading forest health and would offer long-term protection to forests, wildlife and waterways.

REUTER

Clinton and Vice President Gore compare policy notes at opening of forest meeting in Portland, Ore., where administration heard from regional interests.

The new policy "must never forget the human and economic dimensions of these problems," Clinton said. He indicated that his administration would permit some logging of old-growth forests, but in areas where logging is inappropriate federal policy would offer workers "new economic opportunities."

"This conference has established the dialogue," Clinton said in closing the eight-hour session. "It's got to continue."

Accompanied by Vice President Gore, several Cabinet members and four dozen representatives from virtually every group affected by the Northwest's forest crisis, Clinton opened the daylong conference by telling the audience of several hundred: "Together we can move beyond confrontation to build a consensus on a balanced policy to preserve jobs and to protect our environment."

The conference at the Oregon Convention Center marks the federal government's most ambitious attempt to resolve the region's conflict between logging and preserving habitat for jeopardized wildlife such as the threatened northern spotted owl and for the salmon runs that symbolically define the Northwest. For the past two years, because of litigation over the owl and the government's forest management techniques—as well as Washington's inability to craft a solution—new timber sales on millions of acres of federal land have been barred.

The announcement of a "balanced" solution that would take account of the economic needs of the timber industry and the ecological needs of the region's forests is likely to prove troubling to the administration's allies in the environmental community. Most major national conservation groups, which have made protection of the ancient forests a major campaign, believe that talk of "balance" means continued destruction of the dwindling resource.

"Balance means saving the 10 percent [of ancient forests] we have left," said conference participant Bill Arthur, northwest regional director of the Sierra Club. "We have cut our way west from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We are at the edge of the Pacific Ocean and the timber frontier is over."

Outlining their position at a news conference on Thursday, national environmental leaders said they oppose any continued cutting in remaining old-growth forests, even with "new forestry" techniques. What remains, they said, should be absolutely off-limits in protected reserves, and forests outside old-growth areas, including those on the east side of the Cascades, must be managed for sustainability.

Although he appeared sympathetic to the plight of the thousands of loggers who have lost their jobs because of logging restrictions, Clinton also delivered a gentle lecture on the need to adapt to new economic conditions.

"I cannot repeal the laws of change," Clinton said, noting that in every region of the nation, not just the Northwest, the average 18-year-old will change the kind of work he or she does seven or eight times in a lifetime. He cited as an analogy defense workers across the country who are losing their jobs because of reductions in military spending.

The government's obligation, said Clinton, is to help people "work through this process in a human way. . . . I don't pretend any of this is easy."

Much as Clinton used his Little Rock, Ark., economic summit in December to educate the public about the tough fiscal choices needed to reduce the federal deficit, he and his senior officials are seeking to use the forest conference as a kind of national teach-in on a regional problem whose intricacies are little understood outside the Northwest.

Often portrayed as a conflict between threatened spotted owls and threatened timber workers, the region's forest crisis is actually far more complex. It involves intricate biological systems, a once-thriving fishing industry, wrenching structural changes in the forest-products industry, and substantial exports of raw logs overseas.

The conference opened with the human side of the dilemma on display. Sixth-generation logger Buzz Eades said, "Mr. President, I'm here today because I am scared. I am afraid of the future that faces my family. I represent thousands and thousands of timber workers just like me . . . modern Paul Bunyans who are hiding in the car while their wife buys groceries with food stamps."

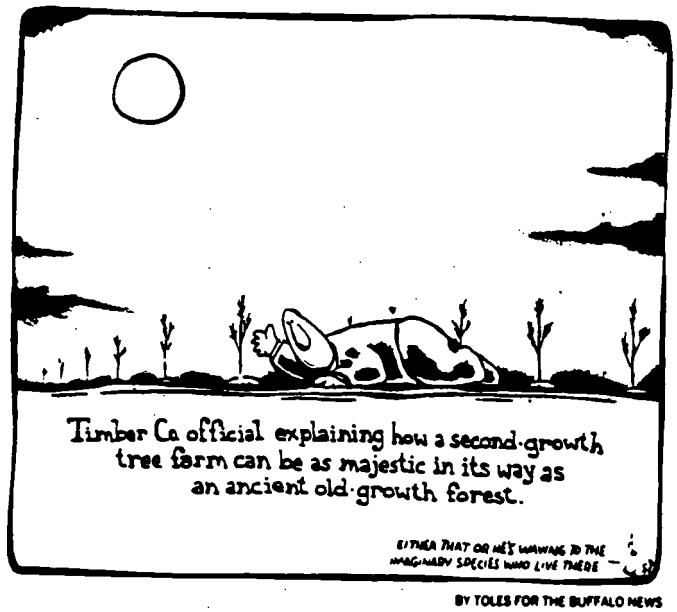
Mike Draper, executive director of the Western Council of Industrial Workers, said, "I have seen families destroyed, towns bulldozed, the very fabric of rural communities torn by a long period of government inaction and contradiction. We don't ask that people be placed above wildlife. We only ask that you remember, people count too."

But salmon fishermen also had poignant tales and drew a different lesson: Their way of life can only be sustained by reducing timber harvests that degrade streams and threaten fish.

The conference was divided into three panels, outlining the effects of the crisis on workers and others in the region, discussing the ecological and economic condition of the forests, and outlining potential solutions.

Clinton and Gore often directed comments and questions to the four dozen witnesses as they all sat around a huge conference table with the audience arrayed behind them. Scientists offered charts and graphs; timber executives charts of data on timber harvests, labor leaders pictures of families without jobs.

THE WASHINGTON POST SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993



The Washington Times SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

Clinton tries to keep a lot in the air

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PORTLAND, Ore. — President Clinton should be delighted he decided to make his living juggling words instead of swords.

Right now he is juggling so many initiatives — a hallmark of his political career — some high-priority items seem destined to fall because there is not enough of Mr. Clinton to keep them all aloft.

Just yesterday, his frustrated rage at 43 Republican senators distracted energy from his concern over dusky-foot woodrats in Northwest forests as well as today's landmark summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

It remains to be seen which crashes first: Will those "43 votes for paralysis" derail his $16.3 billion stimulus; must he temper his pledge to do something big for Russia; will Oregon lumberjacks realize they overinflated expectations on the basis of his promise to compromise disputes that seem irreconcilable?

"The process we begin today will not be easy. Its outcome cannot possibly make everyone happy. Perhaps it won't make anyone completely happy," Mr. Clinton said at yesterday's Forest Conference.

As he did for the Economic Summit and Monday's Health Care Task Force meeting in Washington Mr. Clinton chose for the Forest Conference his favorite forum — town-meeting style seminars that seem like New Age versions of 1960s teach-ins.

They showed up, they talked — and they left with no guarantees that the confab will produce any change. But yesterday's Forest Conference actually turned into a '60s "happening" illustrated in part by:

- About 75,000 self-styled tree huggers held a free concert downtown that Kenny Loggins compared to Woodstock, right down to the mud. Neither Bonnie Raitt nor Mr. Clinton showed up.
- Hours later the same soggy turf

Supporters gather in Waterfront Park in Portland, Ore., during a timber industry rally. President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore were in the city for a Forest Conference en route to a meeting with the Russian president. AP

was the stage for protests from timber people who convoyed truckloads of logs to dramatize their case.

• The Oregonian newspaper sold 14 pages of political advertising.

• Audubon Society activists committed news of the highest order by portraying the Clinton administration as the forest villain and mounted a protest of its self-proclaimed leading environmentalist, Vice President Al Gore.

"Clinton, Gore, cut no more," the concert crowd chanted in a litany led by Brock Evans, a National Audubon Society vice president.

Jay D. Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation, sounded no happier in calling the situation a social dilemma the administration views as an economic problem.

"What kind of started out like a love affair, quite frankly now is feeling more like date rape, and we are unhappy about that," Mr. Hair said of his expectations from Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore.

"The real test will come when Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and their aides and Cabinet members take what they hear at the conference, blend it with expert opinions from elsewhere and produce a unified administration policy," the Portland Oregonian editorialized after an interview with Mr. Clinton.

Suggestions the transcript is geared to support any position the president might care to take brought grins but not agreement to the lips of his chief spokesman, George Stephanopoulos.

"He doesn't believe the views are irreconcilable," Mr. Stephanopoulos argued, saying that what he hears "deeply" affects his decisions.

"They talk to each other and they learn," he added in explaining the purpose of the sessions. Marla Romash, who is Mr. Gore's press secretary and a pivotal figure in setting up the conference, said that is a goal.

"This also gives the opposing sides a place to come together to hear what each other have to say," she said.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt said such conferences demonstrate Mr. Clinton is serious about problem-solving: "At last, by his commitment and his presence, the president has promised we're going to break the gridlock."

Mr. Clinton promised only to "let all agencies know that when this meeting is over, they can expect the federal government to have a position, not five or six positions."

Mr. Clinton deemed the conference valuable, however, just because it was held, not for what it did or did not achieve. "It's so important that the people here today are meeting in a conference room, not a courtroom," he said.

POLITICS & POLICY

Environmentalists Appear to Score In Timber Battle

By CHARLES MCCOY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PORTLAND, Ore.—President Clinton's timber meeting appears to have nudged the advantage toward environmentalists in the fight over forest policy.

Mr. Clinton, joined by Vice President Albert Gore and a team of top administration officials, spent Friday here listening to timber workers and environmentalists argue their cases for logging or forest and wildlife protection.

Afterward, the president announced his administration would unveil a comprehensive forest plan within 60 days, designed to balance environmental and economic interests and "break the logjam" over timber policy. "We will move, we will move," Mr. Clinton vowed.

Though it's unclear which direction the timber policy will take, the meeting left the impression the administration plans to propose many things environmentalists have sought: widespread protection for the remnants of the ancient forests, rules that promote gentler logging practices on other public timber lands, and no undermining of current environmental laws.

'The Laws of Change'

And though President Clinton offered sympathy to timber workers and made it clear the government would push for retraining programs and other aid, he said: "I can't repeal the laws of change."

To some degree, the meeting was a rehash of the accusations that have been made since 1990, when the federal government declared the spotted owl threatened and the courts began putting millions of acres of Northwestern forests off limits to logging.

Nadine Bailey, wife of a lumberjack, talked of staggering unemployment in Trinity County, Calif., where spotted owl protections have shut down much of the logging. Andy Kerr, a leading environmental activist, complained about illegal practices by federal timber agencies that he said have led to the plunder of the nation's last old-growth forests.

Such timber company leaders as Dan Tomaschesk of Sierra Pacific Industries assert they have revised their logging practices and claim they can cut trees without harming the forests. And they predicted that the industry would suffer economic calamity if logging restrictions aren't lifted.

After the summit, however, environmentalists and timber interests alike professed some optimism — a tribute to Mr. Clinton's mastery of the town meeting format and his gift for leaving almost all parties to a dispute feeling they'll get something they want.

Beneath the hopeful talk, however, was skepticism. Moments after the summit, California Gov. Pete Wilson proclaimed that "unless you change environmental laws, you're just going to have continued endless litigation."

Potential Battle Zone

One potential battle zone concerns ecosystems management — an emerging conservation theory that calls for preserving intact sufficient habitat to assure the well-being of all species dependent on that type of habitat.

Participants used the term throughout the one-day summit, as if it were a magic solution that would allow some cutting without destroying whole ecosystems. But no one knows how it would work in the forest, and combatants have sharply different notions of what it means.

"I hear ecosystem management, I hear 'ecosystem,' " said Mr. Kerr, conservation director for the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "The industry hears ecosystem management, they hear 'management.' To them that means cutting lots of trees."

Indeed, Jack Ward Thomas, the Forest Service biologist who has headed up much of the government's research on spotted owls, urges caution on the ecosystems-management front.

"There may be only 100 people in the world today that are geared up for really thinking about what ecosystem management means in terms of the forests," he said. "It's not going to be easy, and it's not going to be cheap."

USA TODAY · MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

TIMBER: Lobbying begins, labor leaders meet following "forest summit" in Portland, Ore., where Clinton hinted at scaling back logging in old-growth forests. 6A.

BATTLE OVER SPOTTED OWL

After forest summit, mobilization

Compromise sought between foresters, environmentalists

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

PORTLAND, Ore. — President Clinton's promise of "a balanced policy" by June 1 to resolve the Pacific Northwest's forest impasse has touched off an intensive campaign.

Following Clinton's "forest summit" last Friday, 200 Tacoma, Wash., activists went door-to-door placing 50,000 placards on doorknobs with the message: "So many trees, so little ancient forest. Save what's left."

Today labor leaders meet to "begin crafting our ideas" for the administration, said Mike Draper of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters Western Council of Industrial Workers. "We'll be talking to them about compromise, about keeping a viable wood industry."

Meanwhile, the timber industry emerged from the summit optimistic that Clinton will find a way to save the endangered spotted owl while minimizing damage to the fragile Northwest economy.

"They could have easily just made statements about how difficult and intractable this is," said Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest and Paper Association. "Instead, they said this thing is going to get solved."

Yet, even as the frenetic lobbying begins, Clinton already has hinted at what the final resolution might entail.

The president seems headed for a plan that would scale back, but not eliminate, logging in old-growth forests. He also seems interested in retraining programs for jobless timber workers.

"Where sound management policies can preserve the health of forest lands, (timber) sales should go forward," Clinton said at the end of the conference. "Where this requirement cannot be met, we need to do our best to offer new economic opportunities for year-round, high-wage, high-skill jobs."

He said the plan must "protect the long-term health of our forests, our wildlife and our waterways" and be "scientifically sound, ecologically credible and legally responsible."

The goal, Clinton added, is to "produce a predictable and sustainable level of timber sales and non-timber resources that will not degrade or destroy our forest environment."

Likely to be included in the plan are cuts in export subsidies, which environmentalists blame for lumber shortages.

Nearly one-fourth of logs harvested in the region — mostly from private lands — are shipped to Japan and other Pacific Rim countries, bolstered by about $100 million in annual federal subsidies and tax breaks.

Clinton also seems to support direct economic assistance to hard-hit, timber-dependent towns with rising unemployment and poverty from loss of mills, plants and other timber-related jobs. One suggestion: Put displaced workers back in the forests, restoring damaged lands and watersheds.

For seven hours, the president and his team heard speakers talk emotionally about the ongoing fray over the Northwest's oldest forests.

"I'm here today because I'm scared," said sixth-generation logger Buzz Eades. "I represent thousands of timber workers just like me ... — modern Paul Bunyans who are hiding in the car while their wives buys groceries with food stamps. My three grandchildren deserve as much consideration as we're lavishing on the spotted owl."

About 3,200 breeding pairs of spotted owls nest

in western forests of Washington, Oregon and northern California. Scientists call them an indicator species, a gauge of overall forest health. The Fish and Wildlife Service has declared 6.8 million acres of federal forests as critical to owl survival.

In the past three years, federal courts have banned logging in national forests west of the Cascade Mountains — though not on private land — until the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management present a plan to protect the habitat. Economists told Clinton the harvest there last year was the lowest in 20 years for an industry that employs 116,000 in the three states.

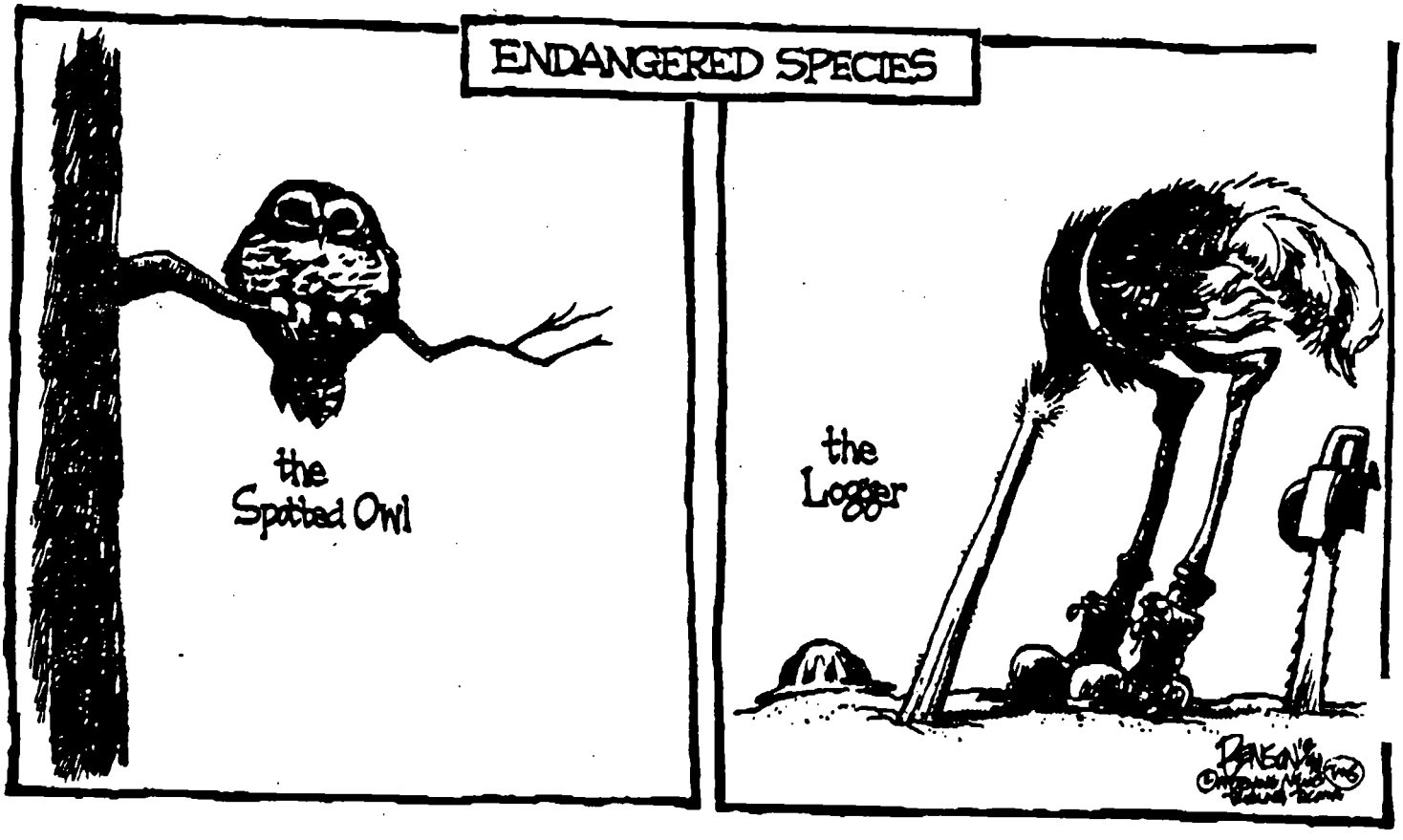
"We're at a point where we need to decide what values we want from federal forests," said Julie Stangell, former Forest Service worker now an independent forester from Eugene, Ore. "Do we set them aside to just look at them, or do we manage them to get products that we all need and use?"

By Eric Risberg, AP

IN PORTLAND, ORE.: Zach Pauls, 9, and his father, Jack, join in the timber support rally Friday at Waterfront Park. Several thousand people attended the rally in conjunction with the forest summit.

Oregonian April 2, 1993

Oregonian April 2, 1993



The Washington Times APRIL 3, 1993

Oregon summit fails to break logjam in forest

By Ann McFeatters
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

PORTLAND, Ore. — It's a weekend of dicey dilemmas for President Clinton, who tried fruitlessly yesterday to settle a bitter environmental dispute and flies to Canada today for a summit to save Russia.

Seven hours of talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on his chances of creating a free-market economy may seem to Mr. Clinton like eating his beloved doughnuts after yesterday.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The "forest conference" yesterday must have seemed like the movie "Groundhog Day" — repeating the same day over and over — as dozens of loggers, environmentalists, scientists and community activists lobbied Mr. Clinton to save either their jobs or their trees.

Mr. Clinton has promised that both can be done but has never said how, and no two agencies of the federal government agree. Mr. Clinton repeatedly has said his ultimate decision will probably anger everyone.

Mr. Clinton concluded the long day with a promise to have his Cabinet come up with a recommendation in 60 days to "break the paralysis" and craft a "balanced" long-term policy.

He said he wants federal agencies to stop fighting and to set sustainable goals for the amount of timber cut on federal lands. He urged parties to stay in the conference room and out of the courtroom.

"We can't possibly do any worse than to stay in the framework we're in now," he said. "Too many people are being hurt."

Loggers say their livelihoods will disappear if the government does not act to lift a 2-year-old court order stopping logging in old-growth public forests to protect the endangered northern spotted owl. Environmentalists say the nation's best wildlife habitat and the "most spectacular" forests on earth will be lost if the ban is not upheld.

The acrimonious dispute will take the wisdom of Solomon to settle, and the more Mr. Clinton heard, the more complex and distant a solution seemed.

At one point he asked how hard it would be to get a consensus around the table on how much prime forest to set aside for logging. The participants, who had been almost fawning to Mr. Clinton all day, laughed. "Impossible," said Dan Tomascheski, a vice president with Sierra Pacific Industries.

The timber harvest of 1992 was the lowest in two decades, and the industry's unemployment has soared.

Having tried to insist that second-growth forests are an answer despite the lower quality of wood there than on the 6 million acres of untouched forests on public land, Mr. Clinton said, "I don't pretend that any of this is easy, . . . but we'll do what we can."

The long-awaited Portland forest summit, which fulfilled a Clinton campaign promise, is supposed to lead to a solution to a two-year standoff that has devastated communities throughout the Northwest.

One environmentalist begged Mr. Clinton to remember that Americans no longer hunt bison and no longer kill whales and that industries died but were replaced.

But Mr. Clinton was obviously touched by stories of children whose newly unemployed parents house them in tents and beg them not to tell so social workers won't take them away. Local mayors told him that up to 90 percent of their children qualify for free or reduced-price school lunches.

Vice President Al Gore, who has sided against the loggers, said that if primeval forests are destroyed, future generations will never know them. And he warned that tampering with the ecosystem is costly.

Loggers, Owls and Clinton

President Clinton had no ready solutions at the Oregon forest conference, but he suggested that the age of big timber was ending. Page 6.

CLINTON STEPS INTO TIMBER FIGHT

At the end of his one-day forest conference in Oregon, President Clinton left an impression that the public forests of the Pacific Northwest will not be reopened to large-scale logging. 6

Clinton Under Crossfire At Logging Conference

By TIMOTHY EGAN
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., April 2 — President Clinton and nearly a third of his Cabinet huddled around a wooden table here today to hear about old trees, diminishing salmon and a logger named Buzz.

The President's one-day forest conference, designed to solve an extraordinary regional conflict that has drawn the highest levels of government into its fray, left an impression that the public forests of the Pacific Northwest will not be reopened to large-scale logging. The forest have been off-limits to logging under court injunctions on behalf of rare fish and wildlife species, threatening the jobs of thousands of timber workers.

At the end of the day, Mr. Clinton said he would ask his Cabinet to bring him, within 60 days, a proposal to end the stalemate in the Federal forests. He said that whatever solution the Cabinet came up with would have to assure the long-term health of the forests and the long-term economic stability of timber communities.

And while he suggested that the Government would try quickly to get some timber to small mills suffering from shortages of logs, he said much of what is causing the turmoil was a result of historical forces affecting other parts of the nation's economy: increased productivity with fewer workers.

"I cannot repeal the laws of change," said Mr. Clinton, hinting that the age of big timber in the Northwest may be drawing to an end.

As loggers marched outside with signs asking Mr. Clinton to help their families, the President heard impassioned pleas to save marbled murrlets, coho salmon, the spotted owls and other creatures that are dependent on some of the nation's last stands of old-growth forests.

With today's conference, which fulfills a campaign promise, Mr. Clinton has put the full power of the Presidency into what has seemed to be an intractable dispute. He has also exposed the cracks and tension within the Democratic Party between labor and environmental interests.

The conference opened after 60,000 people gathered in the rain in support of the ancient forests Thursday night.

Today, thousands of loggers, who were given the day off from their mills, gathered here to appeal to Mr. Clinton to remove some of the environmental restrictions that have hurt their livelihood.

Seated with Vice President Al Gore, four Cabinet members and two-dozen invited guests for a series of round-table discussions at which the President heard a mix of obscure forestry talk and heart-breaking family tales. A historian said Northwesterners were "a people possessed by nature," and the feud over what to do with much of that nature was now tearing the region apart.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Seattle, Thomas J. Murphy, brought religion to an issue usually dominated by talk of board feet and spotted owl habits. "There are moral values in preserving forests," said Archbishop Murphy. "The timber crisis is a moral issue."

He heard about Zane Grey, the early 20th-century outdoor writer, who used to catch big fish in Deer Creek, a stream north of Seattle now denuded by erosion from logging. And he heard loggers compared with the trailblazers who came here 150 years ago in the first year of the Oregon Trail. At times, the wheels of history could nearly be heard grinding in the background as the panelists talked.

"I cut trees for a living, just like my father and my grandfather did before me," said Buzz Eades, a logger from Redding, Calif. "I like to think that some of the trees that started life when my grandfather was cutting are old growth today. Mr. President, you are going to be old growth some day, too." His last remark brought laughter from the President.

The President's move exposes the cracks in his party.

Logging Killing Salmon

Mr. Eades said some of his friends, "modern Paul Bunyans," as he called them, are on food stamps because they cannot log.

But much of that same logging is killing what was once a great salmon fishing industry, employing 60,000 people in the Northwest, said Nat Bingham, a commerical fisherman.

"If we don't do something now to protect salmon habitat we will be listing species under the Endangered Species Act that will make the owl restrictions pale by comparison," Mr. Bingham said.

Some of the nation's environmental leaders, who are angered over Mr. Clinton's decision earlier this week to delay reforms in how Western lands are used, put the President on notice here that they will not retreat on the forest issue.

"In the last two months, I have spent more time inside White House than I have in the last 12 years," Jay Hair, President of the National Wildlife Federation told reporters before the conference began. "But what started out as a love affair is now looking like it may turn out to be more like date rape."

Labor Looks for a Favor

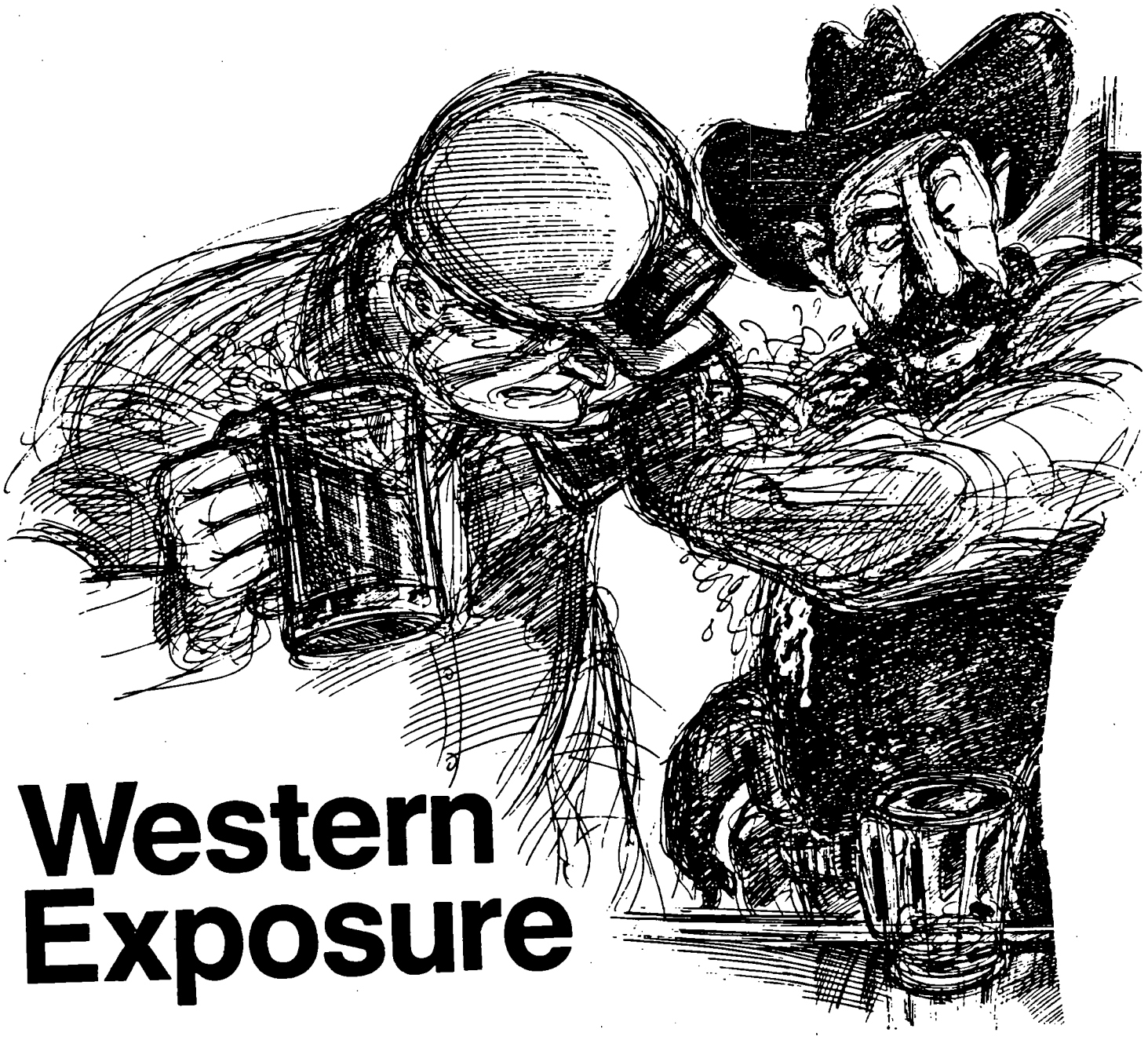
But labor leaders, who heavily supported Mr. Clinton here last, also hinted that the President owed them a favor.

"Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, you campaigned on the pledge to put people first," said Mike Draper, leader of the Western Council of Industrial Workers, which represents mill workers.

White House officials says what comes out of this conference will set the stage for future clashes around the country.

"This is critical to the political future of the West," said Representative Peter DeFazio, Democrat of Oregon. "Democrats are more at risk than anybody else. We have a tradition of standing up for the environment and for working people."

White House aides say Mr. Clinton he is not likely to propose changes the Endangered Species Act or the National Forest Management Act.



Western Exposure

Clinton the Conservationist

He takes a licking on Federal land controls and seeks a peace in the Northwest's old forests.

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

WASHINGTON

FOR reasons that nobody in the White House can fully explain, President Clinton has trouble with trees. When Mr. Clinton was a young governor in Arkansas in the late 1970's, his proposal to end clear-cutting in the state's forests attracted such disdain it contributed to his only defeat for re-election.

Last week, on the way to a forest conference to help

Victor Juhasz

Thinks Twice

decide the fate of the last great stands of timber in the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Clinton stumbled again. Days before arriving for the meeting in Portland, Ore., the White House announced that the President had cut a deal with Western Democratic senators. The compromise with the senators, who had threatened to oppose Mr. Clinton's budget, derailed a bid to roll back destructive land-use practices in the West that had been subsidized for a century by the Government.

The announcement was seen by environmentalists as a betrayal. Some House members felt upstaged because they had already voted on the land-use package and hadn't been consulted about changes. The most vocal protest came from Representative George Miller, Democrat of California and chairman of the House Natural Resources Committee, who is the national environmental movement's most influential ally on Capitol Hill. "It shows exceptionally poor political judgment," said Mr. Miller. "It was the imperative of deficit reduction and shared sacrifice that would have allowed the necessary changes to be made. They have given away the advantage they had to get the policy changes enacted."

But as the week ended, it became clear that the issue

was far from dead. While the White House clearly had suffered a setback, it landed upright in a position in which it has found itself with increasing regularity: compromise. Faced with the reality that everyone's an environmentalist until change comes to the backyard, Mr. Clinton blinked but persisted, though on a less ambitious course.

He gained commitments from the Western Democrats to support administrative and legislative proposals that would improve the management of Western lands. Though the steps would not be nearly as drastic as those proposed by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, they would begin to halt Government-subsidized grazing, mining, and logging that leaves scars on the land. And he used the forest conference that he had organized in Portland to shore up his credentials as a conservationist and to tell timber interests, in effect, that they would have to change with the times.

But there was no question that the criticism had stung. The White House worked hard to make nice to bruised Congressional egos and to convince the press that it had not sold out. "The environmentalists and their friends in Congress say you can't win unless somebody else loses big time," said a White House aide. "And there are some in business who still think environmental protection is nonsense. That is not the way environmental policy is being shaped by Bill Clinton. After years of arguing this issue from the poles on the right and the left, and getting nowhere, we're trying to move the debate closer to the center."

It is a message that even Mr. Clinton's two closest advisers on environmental policy — Vice President Al Gore Jr. and Interior Secretary Babbitt — may have had trouble grasping. Although both Mr. Gore and Mr. Babbitt have talked about marrying economic and environmental goals, their first actions as members of the new Administration suggested a strict conservationist agenda. In December, even before he took office, Mr. Gore promised to block the opening of a hazardous waste incinerator in Ohio. But three weeks ago, the White House overruled him and cleared the $160 million plant for commercial operation this month.

United in Portland

For his part, Mr. Babbitt, the former chairman of one of the country's most influential environmental groups, had been riding the Western range for weeks touting a plan to protect public lands by requiring miners, loggers and ranchers to pay much more for Government-owned resources. After being warned by Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat from Montana, that regional loyalties supplanted party politics on such issues, Mr. Clinton easily compromised.

Mr. Clinton's decisions on the incinerator and land-use policy embarrassed Mr. Gore and Mr. Babbitt. But if there was any lingering discord, it was not visible in Portland on Friday. Flanked by the Vice President, the Interior Secretary and several other Cabinet members, President Clinton listened intently for hours to loggers and environmentalists and suggested that the age of big timber was ending.

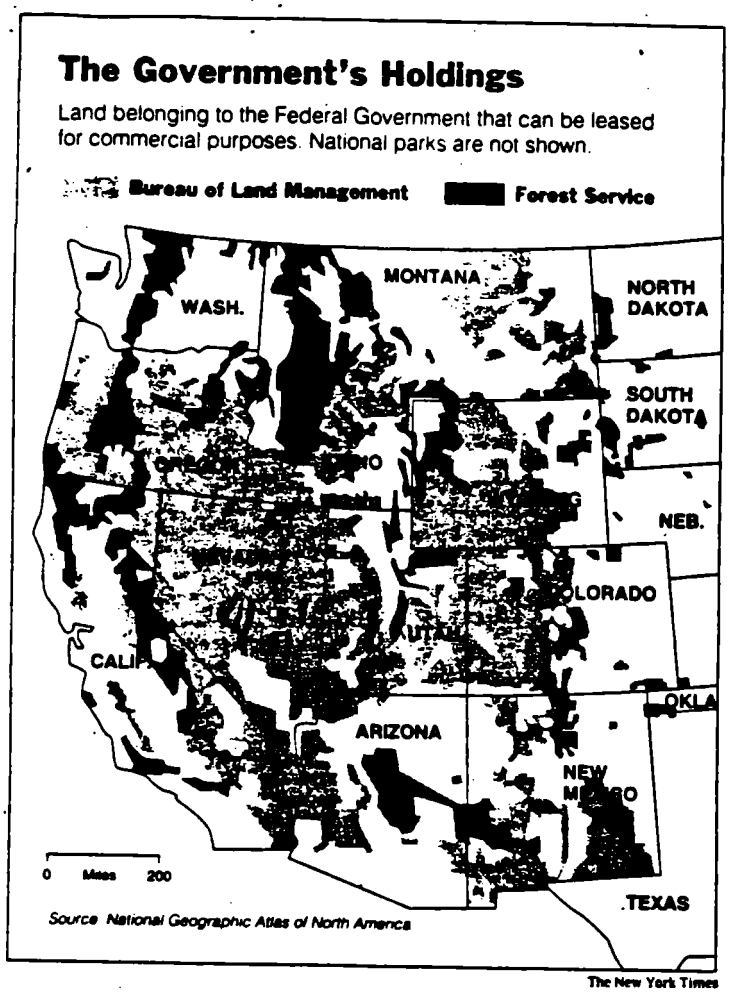
Though nothing was decided in Portland, the week had tested Mr. Clinton's campaign promise to make economic and environmental concerns compatible, and had produced some lessons. Mr. Clinton signaled to business executives that it is he, not Mr. Babbitt or Mr. Gore, who commands the environmental agenda. And he signaled to environmentalists that their concerns were important enough to put near the top of his domestic priorities. Finally, said White House aides, Mr. Clinton, following the pattern he had established with daylong sessions on the economy and health care, was trying to broker a new approach to environmental policy-making through consensus.

Mr. Babbitt, who had been shot out of the saddle, rallied to his boss's defense. "Bill Clinton promised change and there will be change," he said last week.

The question is how much change and whether it will make any difference. As with Mr. Clinton's other daring early proposals, such as ending restrictions on Haitian immigration or opening the military to homosexuals, the President had promised much more on the environment than he was capable of quickly delivering.

In February, Mr. Clinton announced a proposal championed by Mr. Babbitt to radically change a century of practices that promoted development of the West at

Continued on page 3



Thinking Twice on The Environment

Continued from page 1

Government expense. Mr. Clinton billed the plan as an effort to raise revenue and reduce the deficit, though the extra revenue would amount to less than $1 billion over five years. The real importance of the plan, tucked into the Clinton budget package, was to manage millions of acres of Government land more carefully.

The Administration proposed to more than triple the grazing fees, now $1.86 a month for a cow and her calf, on 280 million acres. Interior Department officials said the intention, in addition to providing revenue, was to dissuade ranchers from abusing the land. The White House wanted to raise the price of timber from national forests and end the practice of offering it below the market price. And Mr. Clinton proposed royalties on gold, silver and other minerals that had been mined on Federal land under a law that had remained virtually unchanged since 1872.

The plan was hailed by environmentalists as a breakthrough in ending a century of Government-sanctioned destruction. But across the West, well-organized, influential groups of landowners, ranchers, loggers and miners raised a fuss and found supporters in senators from Mr. Clinton's own party.

The most powerful of those lawmakers is Senator Baucus, who is the new chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. Like two Democrats before him, Georgia's Senator Sam Nunn, who opposed homosexuals in the military, and Louisiana's Senator John Breaux, who had questions about Mr. Clinton's budget, Mr. Baucus found an opportunity to both solidify his support at home and to alert the White House that he was a player to be reckoned with .

With Mr. Babbitt, a former governor of Arizona, just getting his feet under him at the Interior Department, and without a single specialist in Western resource issues in the White House, the Administration was unprepared for Mr. Baucus's attack. After all, Mr. Baucus enjoyed the dependable if unenthusiastic support of national environmental groups in Washington. The Montana lawmaker had battled to prevent development of oil wells in Alaska and protect endangered species.

But Mr. Baucus also has deep roots in a way of life dependent on the land — and an abiding interest in being reelected. His family owns one of Montana's largest ranches. Last year Mr. Baucus sponsored legislation to cut a million acres of Federal forest in his home state, and he has consistently opposed increases in grazing fees and protected mining companies.

Western Heft

Thus, Mr. Clinton's environmental intent became tempered by regional politics. Led by Mr. Baucus, a group of Western Democrats trooped down to the White House in late March after the House had voted on the plan, and negotiated a new deal with the President and Thomas F. McLarty, the chief of staff. According to White House aides who were close to the negotiations, Mr. Baucus made it plain that he had enough support in the Senate to scuttle Mr. Clinton's entire budget package, the centerpiece of his young Presidency.

Mr. Baucus demanded that the White House drop the fee increases from the budget plan. He also asked for an adjustment to the energy tax that Mr. Clinton had proposed to reduce its effect on farmers and industries in the West. According to a White House aide, Mr. Baucus then promised to support the Administration's effort to change some of the exploitive land-use practices in the West by seeking smaller fee increases through legislation and administrative efforts.

On Monday , the White House agreed to the demands. But before Mr. McLarty and other White House officials could explain the changes to members of the House or the press, Mr. Baucus sent a press release to Montana newspapers.

Trying to make the best of diminished possibilities, Mr. Babbitt said he would hold public hearings after which the Department of the Interior would establish grazing fees without legislation and would encourage better grazing practices by tying the fee levels to the quality of range management. Fees would be highest for ranchers who caused the most damage. And Mr. Babbitt said the President would support legislation sponsored by Mr. Clinton's friend from Arkansas, Senator Dale Bumpers, to amend the mining law to require royalties and to establish measures for cleaning up mining wastes.

"The politics of this was not handled in the best of fashion," said Representative Mike Synar, a Democrat from Oklahoma and chairman of the House Government Operations subcommittee on environment, energy and natural resources. "But we're going to get to the same place, just in a different manner. The fees on grazing, timber and mining are going up."

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, April 5, 1993

US RESOURCE ISSUES

Dust-Up in the West

LAST week President Clinton felt the ire of Western senators and representatives who stake their tenure in office on federal subsidies for their constituents in the form of very low fees, or no fees, for cattle grazing, mineral mining, timber cutting, and water rights on public lands.

Earlier, Mr. Clinton and Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt had announced a change: The fees were going up, and the charges would be reflected in the federal budget. Western members of Congress quickly expressed their wrath, and the higher fees were removed from the budget.

Sen. Max Baucus (D) of Montana described the Western lawmakers' at least temporary victory as "just teamwork, basically."

But Sen. Ben Campbell (D) of Colorado was more blunt, indicating that some Western members of Congress might not have approved a federal budget with the Clinton-Babbitt public lands provisions in it.

The president and Mr. Babbitt will manage some face-saving moves. The interior secretary can raise some fees and establish some standards through administrative action. Environmentalists may be partially placated.

But what of the damage to the president's image? Environmentalists and others are likely to see the public lands retreat as a sign of uncertainty, if not weakness. And many Americans might wonder whether the president will waver on other tough choices – for example, a possible slowdown of the pace of work on the costly Supercollider project. The project is backed by powerful House and Senate members from Louisiana and Texas, and by Clinton's secretary of the Treasury, former United States Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

The president, of course, can't please everyone.

But to maintain the obvious esteem many Americans have for him, he will have to prove his worthiness for the office every day.

Denver Post April 2, 1993

Environmental champ Udall offers support for President Clinton

By J. Sebastian Sirisi
Denver Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration, under fire from environmentalists for backing down on higher mining and grazing fees, got some support from a longtime environmental champion last night.

Stewart Udall, who served as U.S. secretary of the interior during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, told a Denver audience he has high hopes for "the Clinton-Babbitt era."

Udall, the Arizonan known as one of the key thinkers in the environmental revolution that began in the '70s, added he was hopeful that current Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt could be "one of the great ones" to hold that office.

Other environmentalists had harsher words for the Clinton administration this week, saying the president gave in quickly on mining and grazing fee hikes rather than risk losing Western votes on his budget proposal. The White House struck a compromise with Western Democrats to remove the fee increases from the budget Congress will adopt this year.

For the most part, Udall used his speech to a crowd of more than 600 at the University of Denver's College of Law last night to rally support for preserving the Earth.

"The environment has been neglected for too long and must be restored to a mainstream concern of American life," he said.

Speaking on the occasion of DU Law School's first annual John Carver Jr. lecture in natural resources and environmental law, Udall, tanned and looking fit at 72, took little credit for himself for the environmental advances during Kennedy's New Frontier era.

Rather, he extended tribute to his undersecretary, Carver, DU law professor emeritus — for whom the lectureship is named and who was on stage with Udall last night.

Carver, Udall said, "was there" during the largest expansion of the U.S. National Parks system in history.

Udall also paid homage to environmentalists, formerly "conservationists," running from Henry Thoreau and Teddy Roosevelt to Robert Frost and Rachel Carson.

Rocky Mountain News April 2, 1993

Reform of mining law isn't dead, Udall says

Former Interior chief sees Clinton withdrawal of royalties, grazing fees from budget as tactical

By Gary Gerhardt
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall said Thursday that President Clinton's dropping of mining royalties and increases in grazing fees from his budget is simply a tactical move and no reason for alarm.

"The most important thing for the president in these opening months is to get his economic program accepted, and while I think it was rather clumsy and appeared to be cowardly to give in the minute a few senators spoke up, conservationists may find the most important battles are still down the road," Udall said.

After meeting with a group of western senators this week, Clinton backed off his call for Congress to enact higher grazing and mining fees as part of his budget blueprint, saying his administration will seek the revenue increases through separate legislation and administrative actions.

Udall, who served as Interior Secretary under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, lives in Santa Fe and works with the Mineral Policy Center in Washington, D.C., which is trying to reform the 1872 mining bill that still dictates mining laws in the West.

In Denver to speak at the University of Denver Law School, Udall said in an interview, "It's actually funny to think the president is willing to drop a mining royalty enactment on public land from his budget when, in fact, there isn't even a law requiring such royalties be paid.

"I don't blame conservation organizations for being alarmed, but they may find the most important battles are down the road, and the first will be in May when the mining reform bill is up before the House.

"If it passes, it will have royalty provisions in it, and then the president's concession would have some meaning."

Udall said ranchers, miners, lumberjacks and other traditional "barons" are no longer in control.

He said the Wise Use Movement, a loose association of mining, livestock and timber industries, is a "last gasp effort" of the old regime to hold on, even though it lost its political clout when it lost the last election.

"When I was Interior secretary, we passed the Wilderness bill and the Wild and Scenic Rivers bill, and I remember (the late Rep.) Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.) telling me that his constituency was the cattle and mining industry of western Colorado and he'd vote against anything that would hurt them," Udall said.

"Well, it sort of breaks my heart today to see Colorado lagging so far behind in wilderness designation, but it's still part of Aspinall's legacy."

The Denver Post
APR 1 1993

Clinton's grazing, mining switch emboldens lobbyists

By Charles Green
and David Hess
Knight-Ridder News Service

WASHINGTON — What was that sound in Washington yesterday?

Lobbyists breathing a sigh of relief that President Clinton will — as one put it — "do the dance."

Translation: Clinton is a dealmaker, despite his campaign persona as a populist out to change the tired, old ways of Washington.

What stirred Washington's juices was the news that Clinton had backed away from his proposal to charge royalties on silver, gold and other metals now mined on federal lands at virtually no charge. Under pressure from Western-state senators, Clinton agreed Tuesday to drop the proposal from his budget plan and consider it later in the year in different legislation.

The move was seen across the city as an important signal that Clinton might be vulnerable to pressure in coming weeks over such issues as health care, taxes, spending, abortion, and gays in the military.

The White House denied that anything had happened.

"One of the things you learn through consulting with Congress is better ways to do things, and this is an appropriate accommodation," said White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos. The Clinton aide insisted the president had not backed away from his policy.

But others had different interpretations. "The guy's a deal-cutter. He's a regular politician. Anybody who thinks different is crazy," said one veteran lobbyist.

Lobbyist Donald Evans asked if Clinton's shift would encourage interest groups to press harder for their agendas, said, "Absolutely. It's a clear indication to me that they're willing to compromise."

"It shows that the more things change, the more things remain the same," said Michael Johnson, a lobbyist and former aide to House Republican Leader Robert Michel.

"There is a predictable pattern to the way decisions are made in government and that pattern involves compromise and shifts and reprogrammings and decision-makers who are able to do a real nice minuet. That is what government is all about."

The move by Clinton highlighted the difficult choices presidents inevitably face in balancing politics and principles.

If he stuck by his vow to charge mining royalties, he risked defections from Western-state senators that could prevent passage of his 1994 budget plan. A loss on such a high-profile vote would be a major embarrassment and weaken his effectiveness.

"They have to make the railroads run on time. They can't have headlines saying 'Gridlock reigns supreme again,'" said Stan Collender, a budget analyst with Price Waterhouse.

On the other hand, by bowing to pressure on the issue, Clinton undercut his own appeal to Congress to hold firm against special interests looking to escape the sacrifices needed to reduce the federal budget deficit.

Clinton is expected to make a similar appeal when he unveils his health reform plan in May, saying Congress will have to withstand interest group pressures to keep the package from unraveling.

"WE DON'T TAKE KINDLY TO PEOPLE MOVING INTO THESE PARTS, MISTER"
U.S. GOVT. WESTERN LANDS
PROPOSED REGULATIONS
U.S.
MINING AND GRAZING INTERESTS
SENATE ALLIES
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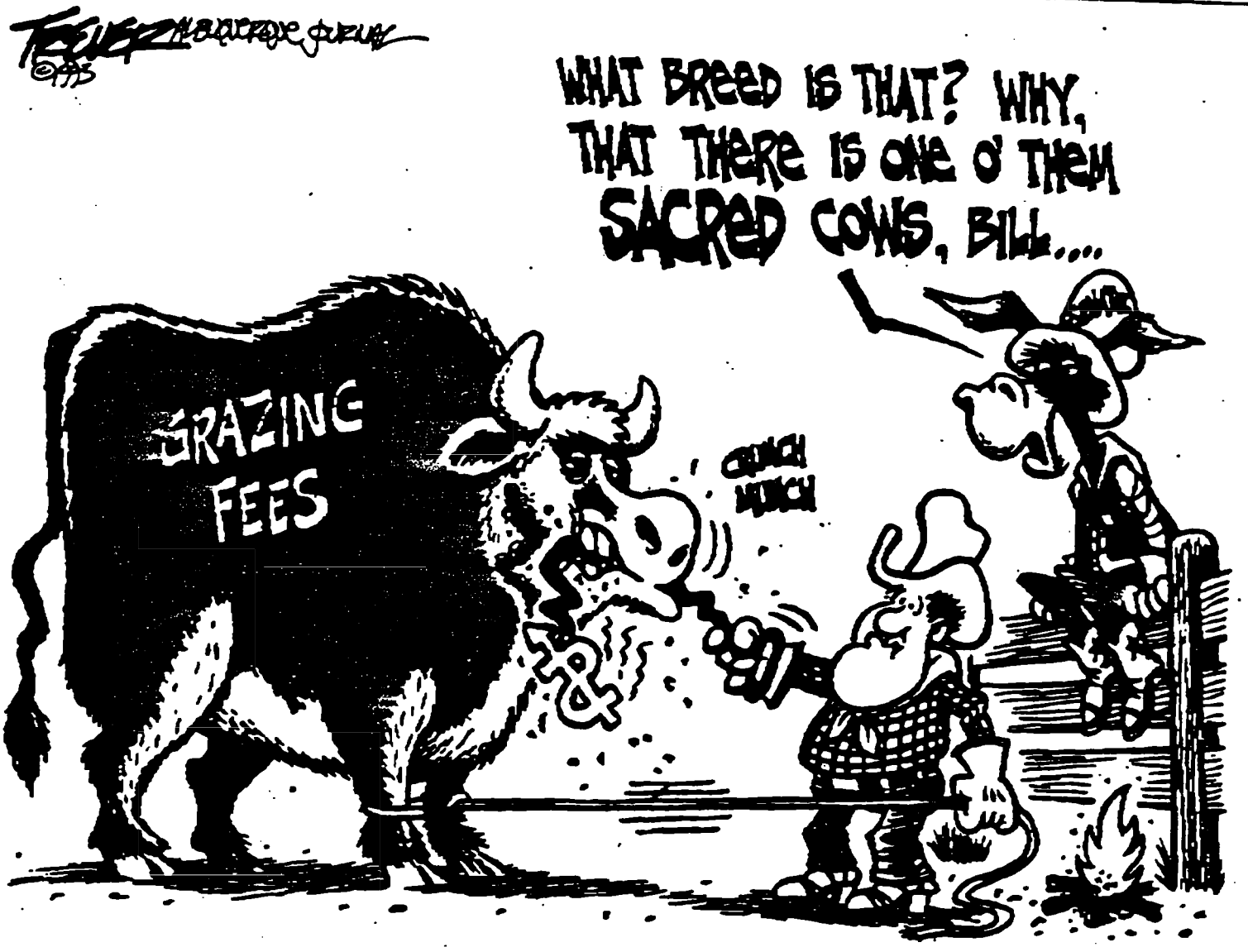
April 1, 1993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WHAT BREED IS THAT? WHY, THAT THERE IS ONE O' THEM SACRED COWS, BILL....
GRAZING FEES
CHUCH MUNCH

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1993

Clinton Rides In, and Back Out

The Clinton Revolution will be back in a moment; first, let's get this budget thing settled. A month ago the President proposed a sweeping change in Federal land management, including higher grazing fees and mining royalties, but last week the bull took him by the horns: Western senators warned that the land proposal might cost him their support of his economic plan, and Mr. Clinton backed down. A spokesman for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, who had hailed the land plan, insisted "It is not a retreat," but a Wilderness Society official put it a bit differently: "I don't think I've ever seen a white flag get put up so fast."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

Single-Minded President

White House Lacks Strength in Congress To Push More Than One Issue at a Time

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 2 — The retreats and delays that are coming to exemplify the Clinton Administration's pursuit of its legislative agenda are rooted in one underlying fact: the White House is only strong enough to fight one battle at a time in Congress.

News Analysis

For the moment, that battle is over President Clinton's economic plan. Everything else — even promises made dozens of times in the Presidential campaign and afterward — is tied for second.

The main reason is in the arithmetic. The Democratic majorities are not so big that just a few defections do not mean trouble. Sometimes even Democratic unity is not enough, as today's deadlock in the Senate over passage of the President's stimulus package shows. The 43 Republicans are filibustering and preventing a vote on the $16.3 billion spending bill that Mr. Clinton says will spur the economy. [Page 10.]

Fear of Abandonment

The Clinton Administration used the latest unemployment figures released today as ammunition in urging passage of the spending package, even though many analysts said they were reassured that the economic recovery was intact. The Labor Department reported that the number of payroll jobs fell slightly in March and that the nation's unemployment rate remained at 7 percent. [Page 7.]

After being starved for power for 12 Republican years, groups that supported Mr. Clinton distrust this single-mindedness. They are besieging the Administration to put their fights first.

When they have to wait, they fear their concerns are being abandoned. This week environmentalists were outraged when the Administration retreated on its plan to change land-use

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

White House Forced to Be Single-Minded

Continued From Page 1

practices by raising grazing rights fees and imposing mining royalties.

Those who want an overhaul of campaign-finance law see the indefinite delay on that issue as a wasted opportunity. Even advocates of anti-crime legislation or the North American Free Trade Agreement or homosexuals in the military wonder if the Administration's decision to delay action on their causes will hurt their chances.

The risk is that where the Administration sees strategic maneuvers others will see political cowardice.

Advocates of abortion rights, for example, watch the Administration sidestep other fights and wonder just how hard it will battle to repeal the ban on Federal financing of abortions for poor women. At the very least, such unease leads to more and more demands for quick action on favored issues.

And opponents of the Administration on various issues may become braver. "We were all concerned about his ability to say, 'No,' " Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, the deputy Republican leader, said today at a breakfast with reporters.

But to the Administration, those risks are nothing compared with the risk of failing to obtain the economic package. As Leon E. Panetta, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, said, "Our No. 1 agenda here is keeping the focus on the economic plan."

That concentration echoes on Capitol Hill. "The primary purpose of this Congress is to address the economy, and the other issue is health care," said Representative David E. Bonior of Michigan, the House Democratic whip. "We're not going to get sidetracked by other issues."

Clinton's Role Defined

And Mr. Clinton's influence is crucial. Without his pressure, said Representative George Miller, Democrat of California, "We're not to be trusted in terms of staying focused."

So if higher grazing fees or mining royalties threaten its passage, out they go. If the trade pact with Mexico and Canada looks like a distraction, it can be shoved back on the schedule, as the irritating issue of campaign financing has already been.

When Mr. Clinton was elected in November, and his party maintained control of both houses of Congress, the Democrats saw long-awaited opportunities on issues Republican Administration had kept off the table. But 57 Democrats in the Senate are not enough to break a filibuster without Republican help.

Senator Richard C. Shelby of Alabama usually votes with Republicans, so that leaves 56. And when several Western Democrats threatened to desert over mining and grazing charges, the Administration abandoned the fight for now.

The House, with 255 Democrats, provides only a slightly bigger margin of safety.

Lesson From History

History plays a part. Mr. Panetta and others in the Administration acknowledge that they have learned a lesson from the Carter Administration, which began with 292 Democrats in the House and 61 in the Senate but which was judged a failure because of its scattered demands on Congress.

"The shadow of Carter haunts everyone," the budget director said. "There were so many different issues that they were working on and they took so many missteps at the start that they never were able to get their act together."

More recent history matters, too. The Clinton campaign succeeded when it concentrated, and especially when it concentrated on the economy. "They get very nervous about getting off that focus," said Representative Sam Gejdenson, Democrat of Connecticut, who is in charge of campaign-finance bills in the House.

Representative Miller, who heads the Natural Resources Committee and is a critic of the decision on mining and grazing, agreed. He said he knew that the Administration was working behind the scenes to prepare bills on other difficult issues, but that the message it wanted understood by the public was "do only one thing at a time."

in Congress

A Matter of Scale

Mr. Miller said that while he disagreed, he understood the White House's thinking on putting the success of the budget package ahead of quick change in grazing and mineral charges. "On their radar screen, one was an aircraft carrier and the other was a rowboat."

Now the focus is the economy. Later this year it will be health care, although perhaps only in extended hearings, not floor action.

There will be time to deal with other tough issues, from the ban on homosexuals in the armed forces to abortion to campaign finance to mining laws. But supporters behind all of these measures may find themselves competing for attention and a prime place on the calendar.

SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1993

The Washington Times

The week's quotes

"What started out as a love affair [between environmentalists and Mr. Clinton] is starting to seem more like date rape." — National Wildlife Federation President Jay Hair, on the junking of promises to end below-cost timber sales and grazing fees.

"They may have thrown me in the briar patch." — Sen. Richard Shelby, Alabama Democrat, on the administration's reaction to his opposition to the budget plan.

"The people have spoken. That's enough message for me." — civil rights activist James H. Meredith after running last in a field of eight in an election for a Mississippi congressional seat.

"Nobody ever gave power away easily or politely or with a smile. It's sort of unhuman to do that, isn't it? There is a tension here." — Rep. Karen Shepherd, Utah Democrat, a first-term House reformer speaking about the resistance of the chamber's leadership.

THE POWER OF THE OLD WEST

President Clinton's retreat on raising grazing fees and mining royalties illustrates that the political might of the Old West has not faded into the sunset just yet. 22

West That Is No More

Turns Back Land-Use Fees

By DIRK JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

DENVER, April 3 — Except at rodeos and in country music bars, the cowboy hat has become a rare sight in the American West. The typical Westerner today is an urbanite, usually no more likely to know the difference between an Angus and a Hereford than the average New Yorker.

In the economy of the New West, which is tied more closely to computers than to cattle, the number of ranchers who work public lands in 11 Western states has dropped to about 30,000. Even in the West, far more people belong to the Sierra Club than to the Cattlemen's Association.

But President Clinton's retreat on grazing-fee increases, as well as on royalties on the minerals mined from public lands, illustrates that the political might of the Old West has not faded into the sunset just yet. And it vividly demonstrates how the Senate, with two members for each state, gives less-populous states disproportionate influence. The support of Western Democrats is essential for passage of Mr. Clinton's economic program in the Senate.

Environmentalists complained bitterly that Mr. Clinton's move signaled a lack of resolve in confronting entrenched economic interests, especially in light of the relatively small number of ranchers and miners on public land. All of the public-land ranchers in Colorado, for example, would not have enough votes to elect a City Council representative in Denver.

A Cowboy's Symbolic Power

But the philosophical battle over public land, like the storied heritage of the cowboys, cannot easily be reduced to pure economics or numbers.

"It's remarkable that such a small minority could wield such influence," said Patricia Limerick, a historian at the University of Colorado. "But to understand what's at work here, you have to enter the fuzzy world of the imagined West, the tangled collection of cultural values, the symbolic power of the cowboy and the miner, and what we think we owe to our founders."

To be sure, it was not symbolism but economic pain that the Western senators emphasized when they objected to Mr. Clinton's proposal to raise grazing fees by 56 percent over five years on the 280 million acres of public range and establish a 12.5 percent royalty on minerals. They say the increases would not only eliminate jobs in mining and ranching, but would also harm the small towns that depend on ranchers and miners for their trade.

But if it were a matter of rural economics alone, say a small-town widget factory that was seeking protection, it is unlikely that so many Westerners, far removed from the old ways of the region, would care as deeply. But to Americans, cowboys are not just widget-makers.

"It isn't the normal way that people get ahold of politicians, through campaign contributions or big voter turnout," said Richard Lamm, the former Governor of Colorado, who lives in Denver. "You'll get a call from a family that has been on the land for 100 years. They pioneered it. I remember their grandfather telling stories of how they got through the blizzard of 1888. And then they tell you that if a new law goes through, they're going to

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Jose R. Lopez / The New York Times

Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado has emerged as a champion of miners and ranchers, depicting environmentalists as "trust-fund babies who hike in thousand-dollar equipment" and who look down on the "blue-collar people on Federal lands trying to make $25,000 a year."

go under. Well, I don't care how hardened you are, it's difficult not to be moved by that."

'Trust-Fund Babies'

The debate has also been colored by perceptions of class. Most Westerners see ranchers and miners as blue-collar people working hard to survive. And they tend to view the environmentalists who call for restricting use of public land as privileged people with little understanding of the labor involved.

"The environmentalists have not been very good at getting their message across," Ms. Limerick said. "If there is anything more smug than white, middle-class environmentalists, then I don't know what it is."

Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado has emerged as a champion of miners and ranchers, depicting many of the environmentalists as "trust-fund babies who come out to hike in thousand-dollar equipment," and who look condescendingly on the "blue-collar people on Federal lands trying to make $25,000 a year."

While the miners and ranchers on public lands cast themselves as the legacy of the rugged West, environmentalists depict these industries as remnants of an old, inequitable power structure that uses politicians tied to the status quo to get their way.

Far From Status Quo

In this battle of image and public relations, ranchers and miners could scarcely have cast a more appealing leader than Senator Campbell, an American Indian who wears a pony tail and a bolo tie, a former Olympic judo champion and a jewelry maker who rides a Harley [illegible] motorcycle.

"I'm not exactly the status quo," he said with a deep chuckle.

Neither could Mr. Campbell be considered much of a conservative, with his record in support of minorities, unions and abortion rights.

On behalf of Western senators, Mr. Campbell wrote to President Clinton in February and warned of hardship in rural areas that the public lands proposal would cause. Mr. Clinton met twice with the senators and arranged for his chief of staff, Thomas F. McLarty 3d, to meet with them on two other occasions. Finally the President granted their request to delete the public lands provisions from his budget proposals.

Next Move on Fees

Mr. Clinton has vowed to press ahead with fee increases. His spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, has described the President's retreat as a "change in process, not policy." The issue will now go to Congress on its own, not as part of the budget package.

Environmentalists have pressed for ranchers to pay a higher fee that reflects fair market value. Ranchers now pay $1.86 a month for the equivalent of one cow and her calf, which is as much as 90 percent cheaper than leasing private land.

The mining industry pays no royalty for the minerals it takes, which critics say amounts to a giveaway of Federal bounty. But mining industry officials say the searching for gold, silver and copper is so expensive that royalties would cause mass layoffs.

In an interview, Senator Campbell conceded that some increase in grazing and mining fees was inevitable. "We're all going to have to share the burden in reducing the Federal deficit," he said. "But the initial proposal would have been devastating."

An alternative proposal on Federal lands, which the President had requested, is now being drafted by the Westerners, at Mr. Clinton's request, but it would be far less reaching the President's proposal.

Ms. Limerick, the historian whose work has debunked much of the mythology of the Old West, said American still yearned to celebrate the vanishing life of Western ranching.

"In economic terms, it probably doesn't make much sense to help save these ranchers," she said. "It would be more efficient to raise all the cattle in feed lots.

"But as a nation, we may come to the conclusion this this is a cultural resource, a way of life that we want to preserve, like Yellowstone, as dramatic and glorious as any scenic attraction."

CONGRESSIONAL CHRONICLE

RICHARD E. COHEN

HOW THE WEST WAS WON (FOR A PRICE)

Democrats may have finally exorcised the memory of Jimmy Carter's legislative stubbornness. Pragmatism prevailed over principle on March 30, when the White House announced that President Clinton had agreed to drop his support for controversial new Interior Department fees that were to have been included in his economic plan.

Clinton and his advisers have been adept at building a party consensus for the President's budget proposal. But their willingness to cut a deal with western Democratic Senators, who had pressed him to drop the proposed fees, poses both pitfalls and opportunities.

The agreement need not become a sellout if Clinton follows through on his plan to seek separate legislative and administrative action to increase the fees. But, having made this concession, Clinton now must ensure that he has not encouraged wholesale tampering with his budget principles.

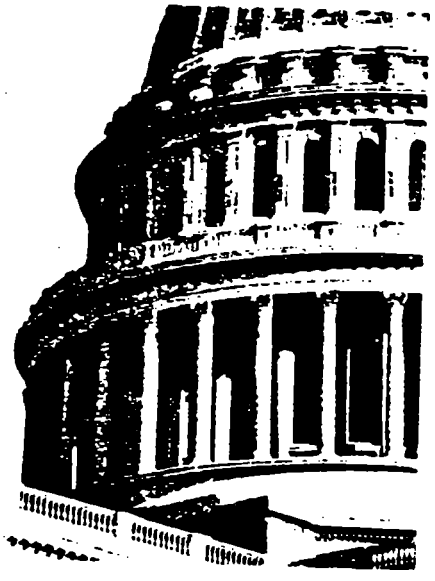
Western Senators from both parties had lined up to oppose the President's plan to increase fees for grazing, mining, logging and other activities on federally owned lands. Although Senate leaders were able to avoid an outright rebellion, many Democrats didn't hide their displeasure.

Jeff Bingaman of New Mexico called the proposed increases in grazing fees and mineral royalties "unacceptable" and "unrealistic." The fees would put many people out of work and would force western businesses to pay more than their "fair share" of Clinton's program, according to Harry M. Reid of Nevada.

Perhaps the bluntest reaction came from J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, who warned that the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, which he chairs, "will not approve" the proposed fees. He described the plan's contents as "the cluster bomb issues in the West."

The prime targets of western opposition were proposals for a 33 per cent annual increase in ranchers' grazing fees during the next five years, plus a new 12.5 per cent royalty for the production of hard-rock minerals on federal lands. Clinton's initial public lands package, which also included increased recreational fees and a surcharge for federal water irrigation, would have raised a total of $1.1 billion by fiscal 1998.

Conservationists and other advocates argue that existing fees are so low that the



federal government in effect is subsidizing the private use of public lands. Officials from the East and Midwest also complain that land-use policy is among the many reasons that the flow of federal funds tilts toward the West. *(See NJ, 3/27/93, p. 783.)*

Western lawmakers take these issues very seriously. More-modest proposals to increase grazing and mining fees have generated angry debates and close votes in the House and Senate in recent years; none of the proposals has been approved.

Some lawmakers with close ties to Clinton and his team—including Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., and House Natural Resources Committee chairman George Miller, D-Calif.—have been leading advocates of fee increases. But opposition has been especially intense in the Senate, where a half-dozen western Democrats from lightly populated states carry considerable clout.

As Senate debate on the public lands budget unfolded, it became clear that Clinton would have to give ground. But the specifics remained ambiguous. Bingaman offered a nonbinding amendment saying that grazing and royalty fees should be set at levels that reflect "the economic realities of the industry, rather than at an amount that meets arbitrary revenue targets." On March 23, the Senate passed his proposal on a virtually party-line vote, 54-45.

Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, the ranking Republican on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, ridiculed Bingaman's proposal as "nothing but a cover" for the Democrats' reputation. He filed an amendment to kill the grazing and royalty fees by cutting $750 million from the $1.1 billion revenue package. His plan was defeated, 40-59.

The first sign that the Administration would back down came after a grilling by Johnston at an Energy Committee hearing on March 16, when Interior Secretary Bruce E. Babbitt responded, "I think you can hear me edging away" from the mining royalty. Meanwhile, the western Democrats met with Clinton and raised the specter of job loss in their region.

When the White House gave up the fight two weeks later, Bingaman and other Democratic Senators pledged to work with Babbitt on overhauling the antiquated 1872 federal mining law. That may comfort some environmentalists who were disappointed by Clinton's cave-in on the budget fight. But legislation to change the mining law will have to originate in the western-dominated Energy Committee. Environmentalists may get more satisfaction on grazing fees: Office of Management and Budget director Leon E. Panetta has said that grazing fees will be increased by administrative action.

The westerners' persistence on the issue illustrates the fragility of the party support structure that the President is counting on to pass his program. But the lawmakers' patience in negotiating—and Clinton's eventual response—help explain why more than 95 per cent of Senate and House Democrats have remained loyal in voting for a budget plan that is virtually identical to Clinton's.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the clash over the proposed Interior Department fees—which account for only a minuscule share of Clinton's budget—has been the contrast with Carter's handling of a similar problem. Following Carter's futile and politically maladroit plan to cancel federal water projects that were chiefly in the West, Republicans helped to foment a "Sagebrush Rebellion" that became part of their rallying cry in 1980. During last year's campaign, Clinton assured western audiences that he would not repeat Carter's error.

The influence of rural interests has waned in some western states as population has moved to the cities. But the quick political response by Clinton and his Senate allies suggests that the new team is taking nothing for granted. ■

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993 The Washington Times

IKE SUGG

Specious claims of species statute?

It has become all too obvious. Some people are more interested in saving the Endangered Species Act (ESA) than they are in saving endangered species.

This tendency was highlighted here last week when the Endangered Species Coalition (a consortium of some 60-plus environmental lobbies) convened to celebrate "Twenty Years of the Endangered Species Act." Had the ESA's track record been an even modestly successful one, the Coalition would be celebrating at least the 20th species saved by the Act.

However, only six species have "recovered" and been "delisted" under the ESA. This is hardly cause for celebration. Indeed, given that there are more than 770 species listed domestically, such dismal results should be embarrassing. Be that as it may, the Coalition claims that "the Act does what it sets out to do: conserve endangered species." While it is true that the ESA's goal is to "conserve" such species, the assertion that it has been successful is demonstrably false.

The ESA states: " 'Conserve,' 'conserving,' and 'conservation' mean to use, and the use of all methods and procedures which are necessary to bring any endangered species or threatened species to the point at which the measures provided pursuant to this Act are no longer necessary." In plain terms, the ESA's objective is to "recover" listed species. According to the ESA, recovery would "result in a determination, in accordance with the provisions of this section, that the species be removed from the list."

One question, then, is: How many species have been removed from the list? As of July 1991, only 16 species had been delisted — four by "recovery," five through "original data errors," and seven via "extinction." The data errors mean that those species should never have been listed in the first place; extinction means, well, anything but recovery. Most importantly, the six species officially delisted on the basis of recovery should not have been removed on that basis. In other words, the ESA has been a complete and utter failure.

These six species are widely touted as ESA "success stories:" the Palua dove, the Palau fantail flycatcher, the Palau owl, the Rydberg milk-vetch, the American alligator, and the California gray whale. Yet, in reality none of these species should be considered success stories attributable to the ESA.

Take, for instance, the three avian species native to Palau, a U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 400 miles east of the Philippines. Even the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (FWS), the Interior Department agency primarily responsible for implementing and administering the ESA, notes that the Palau species' decline was first documented in 1945 after the island, "the scene of some of the heaviest South Pacific fighting," had been ravaged by war. The ESA did not become law until 1973. In a rarely mentioned report to the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in 1989, the General Accounting Office stated that "although officially designated as recovered, the three Palau species owe their 'recovery' more to the discovery of additional birds than to successful recovery efforts."

The attribution of what are more properly described as "original data errors" to successful "recovery" efforts is striking. The Rydberg milk-vetch, a plant endemic to Utah, is just another striking another example. According to the National Wilderness Institute, the group most responsible for compiling this type data on the ESA, the plant was found in only two locations when it was listed in 1978. Since then, NWI has found, "surveys have discovered additional populations of this species, which currently numbers more than 300,000 individuals."

Such after-the-fact "discoveries" seem to be the rule rather than the exception. Countless listed species have been found to be much more numerous than originally claimed. Such was the case with the first major catalyst for scrutiny of the ESA, the Tennessee snail darter, as well as with the most recent impetus for ESA reform: the northern spotted owl. Apparently, that was also the case with the American alligator, the fifth "success story." Even the National Wildlife Federation (a member of the Coalition) has admitted that the saga of the American alligator "is familiar, gratifying — and mostly wrong. It now appears that the animal never should have been placed on the Endangered Species list."

The real clincher, however, is the California gray whale. Pronounced "fully recovered" on Dec. 30, 1992, the whale might best be seen as a sacrificial lamb. That's not to say the whale is not more abundant now than it was at its zenith in the mid-19th century. It is. But the ESA's purported role in the whale's recovery is more red herring than real. As one report found, "the recovery of the whale was attributed in part to protection by the Mexican government of the animals' calving and wintering grounds in Baja California." Moreover, a spokesman for the National Marine Fisheries Service, the agency responsible for marine species under the ESA, admitted that "we think taking off the whale will allow the act to continue." Pointing to the brouhaha over the spotted owl, the spokesman made it clear that NMFS is more concerned about the continued survival of the ESA than it is about that of species.

This, of course, is not the way it's supposed to be; politics is supposed to take a back seat to biology. According to the strictures of the ESA, species are to be listed and delisted "solely on the basis of the best available scientific andcommercial information . . . without reference to possible economic or other impacts of such determination." That includes negative impacts on the Act itself, such as the growing recognition that the ESA is all pain and no gain.

Ike Sugg is the Walker Fellow in Environmental Studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

The Sacramento Bee
APRIL 2, 1993 PG. B-1

Governor backs off new rules for Delta

Asks state to end effort; growers voice approval

By Jim Mayer
Bee Staff Writer

Gov. Pete Wilson on Thursday abandoned the state's attempt to enact emergency environmental protections for the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, claiming the federal Endangered Species Act had overpowered the state effort.

In a letter, Wilson urged the State Water Resources Control Board to set aside interim water-quality standards for the Delta that the board was considering. Instead, Wilson asked the board to pursue long-term revisions in existing standards.

Wilson said requirements imposed by federal wildlife agencies on the state's largest water suppliers to prevent extinction of the Delta smelt and winter run of chinook salmon made the interim standards "moot" and "irrelevant."

Wilson – in the letter and a Washington, D.C., press conference – blasted the federal law and urged its reform.

"It is a blunt instrument that can't be used to achieve a judicious balancing of the needs of endangered species and of California's endangered economy," Wilson wrote the board.

Just a year ago, Wilson had asked the board to cre-

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Delta: Wilson under pressure from the agricultural lobby

Continued from page B1

ate operating rules for the water projects that divert water from the estuary where Central Valley streams converge and flow to the sea. The rules were intended to stop the dramatic decline of fish and wildlife while a panel appointed by the governor agreed on a long-term solution to the state's water crisis.

Wilson has been under intense pressure from the agricultural lobby, which claimed the board's proposed interim standards would have further diminished water supplies for San Joaquin Valley growers who already are leaving thousands of acres fallow.

The lobby cautiously praised the governor's decision to stop what it portrayed as poorly designed standards that might not have helped fish.

"I will admit we smiled and felt good for a day," said Jason Peltier, general manager of the Central Valley Project Water Association. "Against a backdrop of two years of continuing losses, that is not much to say."

But the decision angered conservationists, who believed Wilson had wanted to broker a compromise.

"This is a sham," declared David Fullerton, who represents the Sierra Club on the governor's Bay-Delta Oversight Council. "The governor is trying to put the blame on the federal government to improve his re-election campaign."

Similarly, the state's urban water officials expressed concern that derailing the board's interim standards would thwart long-term solutions.

"My first reaction was that it was a bad April Fool's joke," said Mike Gage, chairman of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. "To throw out (the standards) now only serves to throw us back into the dismal days of discontent over water."

Lyle Hoag, executive director of California Urban Water Agencies, said the governor's decision will have little immediate impact on city water supplies in the state – mostly because the protections for endangered fish are more stringent than many of those considered by the state board.

"But the interim decision was important from the standpoint of moving ahead," Hoag said. "The urban water folks are disappointed."

The governor's letter is in the form of a request.

Walt Pettit, executive officer of the water board, said it was unknown what the board's response would be.

> 'My first reaction was that it was a bad April Fool's joke. To throw out (the standards) now only serves to throw us back into the dismal days of discontent over water.'
>
> – Mike Gage, chairman of Metropolitan Water District of Southern California

While the board was acting on the governor's request in drafting the interim standards, it has the authority to set standards on its own. The five-person, gubernatorially appointed board has two vacancies. Even before the governor's letter there was doubt whether the three remaining members supported the plan.

The standards would have limited the giant pumps of the State Water Project and federal Central Valley Project, put a fee on all water users to pay for restoration efforts, and required dams to release more fresh water for fish.

Wilson said those requirements paled by comparison to pumping restrictions imposed to save salmon and fresh-water releases that wildlife officials say may be necessary to nurse smelt and other fisheries back to health.

The governor consistently has argued that the federal government should not get involved in California's water wars. Wilson reiterated that concern and said only the state board could balance the state's competing water interests.

Critics, however, said Wilson was abandoning his own water policy in order to shift the blame to the federal government.

"We need more leadership than that if we are to solve California's water problems," the Sierra Club's Fullerton said. "If we don't have leadership, you can't blame the federal government for stepping in to save us from ourselves."

Michael Doyle of the Bee Washington Bureau contributed to this report.

LOS ANGELES TIMES MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

NEWS ANALYSIS

Politics Once Again Dry Up Water Reform

■ Policy: When Gov. Wilson changed course on protecting the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, he was following his predecessors in sidestepping the issue.

By DEAN E. MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Gov. Pete Wilson's decision last week to drop his proposed temporary protections for the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta provides a startling reminder of how politically volatile—and perhaps insoluble—California's complex water problems remain.

Wilson is the fourth consecutive governor to talk, in varying degrees, about addressing the state's water quandary—and the fourth in 25 years to throw up his arms in despair. Not since former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown pushed through construction of the massive State Water Project in the early 1960s has a governor achieved a major victory in the water arena.

"The problem is no one really wants to compromise on these things," said San Francisco author Marc Reisner, who has written extensively about the history of California water and is a longtime critic of water practices in the state. "Everyone wants it their way. I don't see any movement toward consensus. When push comes to shove, everyone retreats to their bunker."

By abruptly directing the State Water Resources Control Board on Thursday to shift its attention to long-term environmental protections in the delta—a process that will take several years to complete—the governor has effectively delayed any new state water initiative until after next year's gubernatorial election.

Los Angeles Times

Delta pumping plant near Tracy is part of massive State Water Project, pushed through in early '60s.

In doing so, Wilson joins Ronald Reagan, Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. and George Deukmejian as governors who were unable to deliver on pledges to divvy up the state's water in a way acceptable to cities, farmers and environmentalists. If Wilson seeks a second term and is reelected, he will get another chance, but the task will be no easier if the past is prologue.

"The minute they get to the tough decisions, they

Please see WATER, B4

WATER: Reform Is Volatile Policy Issue

Continued from B1

want to put it past their next election," said Rep. George Miller (D-Martinez), a congressional leader on water issues whose political career spans the four governorships. "We're now down to the tough decisions."

Although the specifics of the squabbles have changed over the years, the fundamental water dilemma facing California's political leadership has remained remarkably constant since the state's environmental movement came of age in the 1970s.

Simply put, California's growing cities need more water, its entrenched agricultural interests have been unwilling to give up any, and the increasingly powerful environmental lobby—as well as courts and the federal government—have demanded a greater share for fish and wildlife.

"It is a difficult issue to deal with," said David Kennedy, Wilson's director of the state Department of Water Resources; he also held the post under Deukmejian. "Pat Brown's consensus [on building the State Water Project] was just 51% of the votes. . . . I remember people saying: 'If only we had a drought [to force a crisis] we could get these problems solved,' but that didn't turn out to be right, now did it?"

The focus of the debate has historically turned to the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, a maze of islands and waterways at the mouth of the two rivers that has long been the weak link of California's water delivery system. The delta receives rain and snow runoff from the Sierra and has become the source of two-thirds of the state's drinking water and most irrigation water for Central Valley farms.

Since the 1960s, state officials have floated the idea of building a canal around the delta that would deliver water directly to state and federal pumps in the rolling hills southwest of Stockton.

Voters blocked the canal in 1982. During the Deukmejian years, the proposal was modified and became a through-delta channel—derisively known as Duke's Ditch—and was never built.

The canal proposals have been dogged by shifting alliances and political jockeying, with all three major players in the delta controversy—cities, farms and environmentalists—at times supporting and at times opposing the plan of the day. In the end, no proposals has gotten beyond the drawing board.

In the meantime, the delta's environmental condition worsened, with fish counts in decline and state and federal biologists insisting that the ecosystem is in deepening trouble. Finally, the federal government intervened by listing two fish species—the winter-run salmon and the delta smelt—as threatened under the Endangered Species Act, setting the stage for Wilson's announcement last week.

Wilson blamed his decision to abandon the state board's interim delta standards—known as Decision 1630—on the federal intervention, claiming that Washington had preempted California's water policy by imposing restrictions on delta pumping to protect the threatened fish.

The federal requirements have provided new protections for the delta, but officials from the National Marine Fisheries Service and the U.S. Department of Fish and Game—which are charged with protecting the two threatened fish—say most of the requirements for this year were included in the interim standards.

"This is real political," said Wayne White, field supervisor in Sacramento for the Department of Fish and Game. "They are trying to hang this on us, as I see it. . . . But we aren't requiring anything more than what is in Decision 1630, except when there is extra water that would flow out of the delta anyway. It is out of the realm of biology at this point."

Many environmentalists and others say Wilson's motivation in backing away from the interim standards was a political one, having little or nothing to do with his water policy. Farmers throughout the Central Valley opposed the temporary protections as another threat to their water supplies. According to this theory, Wilson, with his eye on reelection, decided to forgo a costly battle over water and instead shore up his political base in the agricultural community.

"This allows him to avoid the more difficult problem of coming out with a plan of action that is going to work," said author Robert Gottlieb, a critic of past water policy who teaches environmental policy at UCLA. "This isn't a plan of action, this is calling your political chips."

Such speculation angers Kennedy, the state Department of Water Resources director, who insists that Californians' attention should be focused on federal efforts to control state water policy, not on Wilson's political fortunes. Invoking the Endangered Species Act in the delta, he said, is the most significant development in the state's water picture in years, but, he complained, "it is playing second fiddle to people's perception of political intrigue."

Santa Barbara News-Press, Wednesday, March 31, 1993

J.J. Smith-Moore/LATS

The canary and the gnatcatcher

By Lou Cannon

LOS ANGELES — During his tenure as governor of Arizona and afterward as an advocate for conservationist causes, Bruce Babbitt earned a reputation as a thinking man's environmentalist who understands the value of compromise.

Babbitt, now the U.S. Secretary of Interior, has ratified that reputation with a decision to declare the California coastal gnatcatcher a "threatened" species. His decision is a useful compromise between environmentalists who wanted to declare the tiny songbird "endangered," and developers who wanted no protection at all.

Outside of Southern California, the gnatcatcher lacks the fame of the national bird, the bald eagle, or the now-famous northern spotted owl. But for the majority of Americans who live in or near cities, the coastal gnatcatcher is a useful symbol of what is happening to precious wildlife in an industrialized society plagued by overdevelopment and sprawling growth.

The gnatcatcher is a thrush-like bird only four inches in length. It makes a noise comparable to a mewing kitten, eats aphids and small beetles rather than gnats and lives in sage scrub that was once common vegetation along 200 miles of coastline stretching from northwest of Los Angeles to the Mexican border. Less than a half century ago the bird was commonplace, but it is now so rare that only 2,500 pairs are believed to exist, two-thirds of these in San Diego County.

Environmentalists have frequently compared the gnatcatcher to the canary in the coal mine. When the canary stops singing, miners know they are in danger. "It's a measure of what's happening," Joel Reynolds of the Natural Resources Defense Council attorney observed in 1991. "Some 50 rare or endangered plants and other species depend on coastal sage scrub for survival. As the gnatcatcher goes, so goes the entire ecosystem."

Any casual motorist who drives the interstate between Los Angeles and San Diego can notice big changes. As recently as two decades ago this was a drive through scenic open space. Now, except for Camp Pendleton, the freeway is surrounded by hillside homes and office buildings. It is the gnatcatcher's sad fate to inhabit much of the dwindling area, some 400,000 acres, with the most picturesque views and the best potential for profitable development.

When Pete Wilson was elected governor of California in 1991, he was thrust in the middle of the gnatcatcher controversy. Developers, including contributors to the Wil-

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SANTA BARBARA NEWS-PRESS
April 1, 1993

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son campaign, wanted to continue the building binge along the coast. They warned of the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs if the gnatcatcher were protected.

But Wilson valued his reputation as an environmental-minded Republican. He spent much of his first two years in office tiptoeing between developers and conservationists and creating an innovative program called the Natural Communities Planning program. It is designed to set aside huge tracts of coastal sage scrub while permitting controlled development outside these preserves.

The idea has attracted national attention because it promises to save significant areas of scenic land in urban areas with many species of potentially threatened plants and wildlife. An unusual alliance of local government officials, conservationists and enlightened developers lined up to support the program. They have spent the last year and a half identifying areas to be set aside as preserves.

Enter Bruce Babbitt, environmentalist and politician. He knows he faces a difficult battle in persuading Congress to renew the Endangered Species Act, which is under attack throughout the West for its limitations on development, timber-cutting and mining. The act is particularly burdensome in California, which has a population of 32 million, the highest unemployment rate of any industrial state and myriad endangered species.

Babbitt seized on the opportunity presented by the National Communities Conservation Planning program and walked the middle ground. Acknowledging that there were "risks" in his action, he opted for the first time in the 20-year history of the Endangered Species Act to allow some development while protecting a species.

In essence, his action transferred to the Wilson administration and local governments in Southern California the job of creating and policing preserves that would save the gnatcatcher and other species. Babbitt warned that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service would reserve the right to declare the experiment a failure but added, "that's not going to happen because we all understand that the consequences for failure are unthinkable."

The canary has now alerted the miners. It remains to be seen whether the bird itself can also be saved.

Lou Cannon, who lives in Summerland, is a columnist for the Washington Post Writer's Group.

April 1, 1993 LA TIMES

CAPITOL JOURNAL

GEORGE SKELTON

Roundabout Fix to the Broken Delta

SACRAMENTO

The delta smelt is a tiny, shy fish. But it may have a monstrous impact on the water supply for two out of three Californians.

Although only finger-size, the smelt has become a club for environmentalists to bludgeon water regulators—and the entire state—into making amends for a quarter-century of head-in-the-sand avoidance of severe fish depletion in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

For San Joaquin Valley farmers terrified of endangered-species acts, the smelt is a symbol of silliness. "It's disturbing to take a little three-inch fish that most people never have seen, never even have heard of, and devote this kind of water to. It puts an awful lot of jobs at stake," says Bob L. Vice, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation.

The environmentalists' view is typified by Dale Sweetnam, project leader for the State Fish and Game Department's delta smelt study: "This is not about just the delta smelt against the water users of California. It's about all species in the estuary. And since they all are declining, something is wrong."

As Gov. Pete Wilson observed a year ago in trying to chart a politically safe course between farmers, environmentalists and urban dwellers, "Any program must begin by recognizing a disturbing truth: The delta is broken."

And the delta is California's main plumbing fixture.

□

A broken delta is what all three competing interests in the state's perpetual water wars finally are opening their eyes to.

The translucent smelt especially caught farmers' eyes when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service last month declared it a threatened species. That action ultimately will result in reduced water deliveries for farms and cities.

Eyes also have been opened by a handful of other events in recent months, including:

- The enactment of landmark federal legislation diverting huge amounts of water from agriculture to the environment.
- The drafting by the State Water Resources Control Board of a plan to sharply reduce delta water exports. But agriculture is fighting ferociously, the governor is listening, his Administration is split between water and wildlife advocates, the plan is on hold and environmentalists are nervous.
- The shutdown of delta pumps for 12 days in February to protect endangered young winter-run salmon from being sucked into oblivion.

□

In truth, the delta smelt is not a compelling symbol for environmentalism. It certainly is not in a league with the bald eagle, whooping crane, winter-run salmon or charming (although unfortunately named) gnatcatcher.

"It's actually a very pretty fish," insists biologist Sweetnam. But he is one of the few people who would know. Certainly the grunion-looking critter is not all that photogenic.

The smelt also is not an important forage fish for larger game species, such as the popular striped bass. "What striped bass prefer to eat is their own young," says Peter Moyle, a UC Davis fisheries professor and tenacious champion of the smelt.

People don't eat delta smelt either.

So the smelt is undistinguished. But it is not insignificant, because what is good for the smelt is good for other troubled fish. And there are a lot in trouble. Striped bass have declined by 75% since the State Water Project began operating about 30 years ago. Winter-run salmon are down by more than 90%; spring-run by 80% and fall-run by 50%.

□

The problems are simple to see, even if the solutions politically are not.

More than half the water flowing into the delta is diverted south. But that in itself is not the major problem. The killer is the diversion system—the massive pumps that reverse river flows, disorienting young fish and either devouring them or exiling survivors to aqueducts and reservoirs where they cannot reproduce.

To protect fish, the pumps are being run at greatly reduced capacity at a time of flood threat, when 150,000 acre-feet of water per day tumble into San Francisco Bay and out the Golden Gate.

The solution increasingly being talked about—although in whispers and never using the P-word—is another proposed Peripheral Canal. This would transfer water by bypassing the delta and the pumps altogether. It would make sense for environmentalists—if they could be guaranteed sufficient delta water flows—because fish would be protected. Farmers and urban interests—if they could compromise with environmentalists—would be assured a steady water stream.

Voters, especially farmers and environmentalists distrustful of each other, overwhelmingly rejected this concept in 1982. But many in the Capitol are thinking it probably is the only way to fix the broken delta.

PHOENIX GAZETTE APRIL 2, 1993

Land swap rumor worries park neighbors

By Chuck Hawley
Staff writer

SCOTTSDALE — Rumblings in the east are neither earthquake nor thunderstorm.

Rather, they are the groundswell of opposition by those who sense a threat to the McDowell Mountain Regional Park.

Unless government officials say exactly what their plans are — and quickly — the rumbling will change to the pitch of a mother mountain lion's defensive yowl.

The 21,000-acre preserve, on the eastern slope of the McDowell Mountains, sits north of the town of Fountain Hills. At the park's northeast corner is the tiny, unincorporated community of Rio Verde.

Residents in both areas cherish the park and its open space.

The perceived threat comes from Scottsdale, or perhaps the federal Bureau of Land Management, or maybe the park's owner, Maricopa County.

Triggering the outcry is Scottsdale's need to shed Planet Ranch, a non-productive "water ranch" straddling the Bill Williams River at the western edge of the state.

While the city wants to dump the Planet Ranch albatross, the U.S. officials want to acquire it as a desert riparian area — a rare water habitat in the desert supporting a wide range of wildlife, including bald eagles.

What's the connection between the McDowell Mountains and Planet Ranch?

The potential for land to be swapped.

Federal and local officials say it's too soon to say if park lands will change hands, but local folk think otherwise.

Jack Fraser, a Fountain Hills resident, bluntly raises the point: "If anybody tells you (that) the BLM and Scottsdale are not looking to acquire land in the park to effect this swap, I think they're fibbing."

The park doesn't belong to Scottsdale or the federal government; it belongs to Maricopa County.

Ron Ross is a member of the Maricopa County Parks Commission and chairman of the commission's subcommittee to look at possible land swaps involving the park.

Asked if the subcommittee's position would allow for any trade, Ross said: "No, sir.

"We will recommend the commission

See SWAP, Page 3

From Page 1

deny any request for a land exchange. Although we're concerned about preservation of the (McDowell) mountains, we think giving up portions of our park to potential private development is inappropriate."

Asked if the board might consider changing the shape of the park by shedding foothills land for the higher peaks — effectively "moving" the park uphill — Ross was equally adamant.

"We're not giving away anything," he said. "The answer is no.

"The park is not for sale, and it's not to be given away. That's our policy."

Ross said the committee's findings, to be read to the Parks Commission at its April 13 meeting, oppose any trade.

"Development Threatens Treasures of Privately Owned McDowells" (BLM)
(Phoenix Gazette - 4/2/93)

45

Anchorage Daily News Friday, March 26, 1993

Fine display at Earthquake Park

I visit your fair city once or twice a year on business and enjoy seeing the local sights. This past week I again visited the Earthquake Park area, expecting to see the ever-fading and dilapidated display that has been there for so many years. Much to my amazement, there is now a beautiful display that tells so many wonderful things about the area.

The information is very readable and informative, and the graphics are colorful. The moose looks like it is going to walk right out of the picture. I am sure that the tourist industry will make this a stopping point on bus tours; the school district may even consider bringing its classes to this location.

But my main question is this: Who or what is MMS? From the sign, this is a federal agency which apparently was the angel that put this display together for the city. They are to be complimented, and the entire city of Anchorage is indebted to them for their efforts. If your city has a beautification award — MMS should get it. A job well done!

— Ben Rhodes
Seattle

☐ EDITOR'S NOTE: "MMS" is the Minerals Management Service, under the U.S. Department of the Interior.

March 24, 1993

Rocky Mountain News

FEDERAL FORUM

The Department of the Interior's Minerals Management Service last week announced that the state of Colorado received $41,703,028.12 as its 1992 share of revenues associated with mineral leases on federal public lands within its borders. The money represents the state's share of bonuses, rents and royalties. Through its Royalty Management Program, MMS is responsible for collecting, accounting for, auditing and disbursing revenues associated with mineral leases on federal and Indian lands.

Acting MMS director Carolita Kallaur said, "A state is entitled to a share of the mineral revenues collected from federal lands located within that state's boundaries. For the majority of federal lands, states and the federal government share the revenues: 50% to the state, 40% to the Reclamation Fund for water projects, and 10% to the U.S. Treasury." She added, "One exception, Alaska, gets a 90% share, as prescribed by the Alaska Statehood Act."

Disbursements are made to states on a monthly basis, as revenues are collected. A total of $472,288,726.80 was distributed to 35 states in 1992 as their share of revenues collected by MMS.

"Clinton: Magnet for Tourism—Activist Administration Draws Business to D.C. Hotels, Restaurants—Tourists Flocking Back to D.C."
(W.Post Business - 4/5/93)

"Hey Prez! Computers Offer New Line to Clinton"
(NY Times A1 - 4/5/93)

"Holocaust Memories" (Museum)
(Washington Post A1 - 4/5/93)

USA TODAY • MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

MONTANA

GREAT FALLS — The Rocky Boys Tribal Council has formed the nation's first Native American Jaycee chapter.

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993
The Washington Times

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

John McCaslin

Counting crybabies

Whenever there's a major rally in Washington, the National Park Service is charged with estimating crowd size. It goes to great heights to do so, counting heads from rooftops, the tops of monuments, even helicopters. No one does it better or takes it as seriously. Yet every time the park service releases its estimates, rally organizers cry foul, claiming *not enough* bodies were counted. Sometimes, it's the other way around. Opposing groups of those rallying will say the park service counted *too many* bodies. This happens whenever pro-life and pro-choice groups clash on the Mall.

Now, it's about to happen again. In fact, it's already begun. To ensure that history has an accurate head count of homosexuals who will march in Washington April 25, organizers have begun selling multicolored wristbands numbered sequentially. The idea, they say, was prompted by skepticism over the park service's estimate at a similar homosexual rally in 1987. Obviously expecting this year's count to be off the mark as well, organizers say the wristbands will provide numbers to supplement the park service's estimate.

But here's where it gets fishy. You can order the "commemorative wristbands" ahead of time for $6 ($5 for each wristband, $1 for shipping), or you can wait and buy them at the march. And there's no limit to the number you can purchase. Buy one, buy two, buy 11. Buy some for your friends who can't make it to the march. This will really help to swell the numbers.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

Earthquake Strikes California

PARKFIELD, Calif., April 4 (AP) — A moderate earthquake shook Central California on Saturday evening, but no damage or injuries were reported. The quake, measuring 4.4 on the Richter scale of ground motion, struck about 9:21 P.M., said Pat Jorgenson, a spokeswoman for the United States Geological Survey in Menlo Park, Calif. Ms. Jorgenson said the quake was centered about five miles northwest of Parkfield.

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993
The Washington Times

MARYLAND

Two more tremors hit Columbia

Two more tremors rocked Columbia yesterday afternoon, but government officials said the quakes were small and difficult to measure because East Coast earthquake-monitoring systems were shut down.

Two tremors struck the Allview and Clements Crossing sections of Columbia about 2 p.m., Howard County police said. At least nine other tremors have hit the area since March 10.

Howard County received 25 to 30 calls about the tremors, but there were no damage reports.

USA TODAY • MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

WYOMING

FORT WASHAKIE — Proposed reforms in the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the topic of a hearing today by a congressional subcommittee. A goal should be more tribal say in what services are provided, GOP U.S. Rep. Craig Thomas says.

WASHINGTON

TACOMA — Puyallup Indian tribal leader Charles Conway, 52, faces an extradition hearing Tuesday after a routine traffic stop showed he escaped from an Oregon prison in '72. Conway heads a program that helps tribal members pay for heat and electricity.

THE WASHINGTON POST SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

The Fight for Brandy Station Battlefield

Preservationists Clash With Developers, Town Officials Over Va. Site

By Christopher Sullivan
Associated Press

BRANDY STATION, Va.—Gingerly unfolding a yellowing page of Harper's Weekly, B.B. Mitchell III explains the furious battle scene it depicts, and shows off a large print of the same martial carnage on his living room wall.

Stirrup-to-stirrup, saber-to-saber, cavalrymen in Union blue and Confederate gray go at each other in the pictures: It's the Battle of Brandy Station, June 9, 1863.

If Mitchell had stood then where he stands now as he describes it, he'd breathe the smoke of rebel Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's cannon fire. He might glimpse a young Union officer named George Armstrong Custer or, watching from a distant hill, Robert E. Lee himself. For 14 hours, 17,000 men on horseback and 3,000 on foot clashed all around.

"Right there," Mitchell said, gesturing out his window.

He and others worry that fading magazine sketches and artist's renderings may be the only reminders of the battle if a developer proceeds with plans to turn much of the acreage into a "planned community," a subdivision-industrial park complex called Elkwood Downs.

"Once you've destroyed the integrity of what happened here," Mitchell said, "for all practical purposes, except looking in a book, you cannot see where men died fighting for a belief."

"Brandy Station was the largest cavalry engagement ever fought in the Western Hemisphere."

— historian James I. Robertson Jr.

Many Civil War battlefields have been saved, of course—among them, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Antietam and Manassas, where Congress reluctantly paid $200,000 an acre to stop a shopping mall in 1988.

But far more are like the paved-over sites of the Siege of Atlanta or, like Brandy Station, unnoticed.

Of 10,000 places where the war was fought, only about 435 are considered of special significance, said Grae Baxter, president of the Civil War Trust, a nonprofit preservation funding group. Of those 435 sites, she said, 85 percent remain in private hands, vulnerable to development.

"Development is moving out these same routes as the war," she said.

Today, a weathered roadside marker is one of few indications that lines of horsemen charged here; not one acre of the sweeping battlefield about 1½ hours from Washington has been officially set aside. And yet the rolling panorama remains mostly farmland, little changed since 1863.

"Brandy Station was the largest cavalry engagement ever fought in the Western Hemisphere," said historian James I. Robertson Jr., in defending a national landmark eligibility designation placed on the battlefield in 1991 and, in an unprecedented move, rescinded last year.

An early clash in Lee's campaign toward Gettysburg a month later, the battle marked the first time federal mounted troops proved them-

See BRANDY STATION, F14, Col. 1

Brandy Station Battlefield Sparks Preservation Fight

BRANDY STATION, From F1

selves against the vaunted Confederate cavalry, scholars said.

The battle's scope, consequences and 1,441 casualties, Robertson said, "gave it a patriotic and sacred importance that transcends simple remembrance and economic greed."

The uncivil war that has broken out around Brandy Station pits the increasingly well-armed national preservation movement against the developer, local officials pushing industrial growth and property owners who fear the price of honoring history will be paid from their wallets.

Although the warring factions are making tentative moves toward a truce, their statements reflect a hard, underlying reality: Large-scale historic preservation, especially saving the 350 most significant Civil War sites that remain unmarked, has become harder than ever, sometimes unaffordable.

Today's Battle of Brandy Station turns on two issues: How much of the fighting ground should remain untouched, and who pays?

The developer, Lee Sammis Associates Inc. of Irvine, Calif., insists it is being a good new neighbor.

It agreed to set aside 248 acres in its 1,475-acre corporate park, where 6.2 million square feet of warehouse-office-industrial space are to be built.

On the remainder of Elkwood Downs's 3,800 acres, the company said it hopes to build up to 2,700 houses, a golf course and an equestrian area.

"We're not anti-history," said Michael Armm, who runs Sammis's local office from a building that was the home of Civil War Gen. A.P. Hill.

Armm noted self-imposed building height restrictions and extensive landscaping plans.

"We're not out here to pave the entire battlefield, as these letters say that they send out to get support," he said, referring to appeals for help that Mitchell's Brandy Station Foundation has circulated through Civil War societies and publications.

About six years ago, Sammis began quietly buying these farm fields, and he says he has invested about $25 million so far.

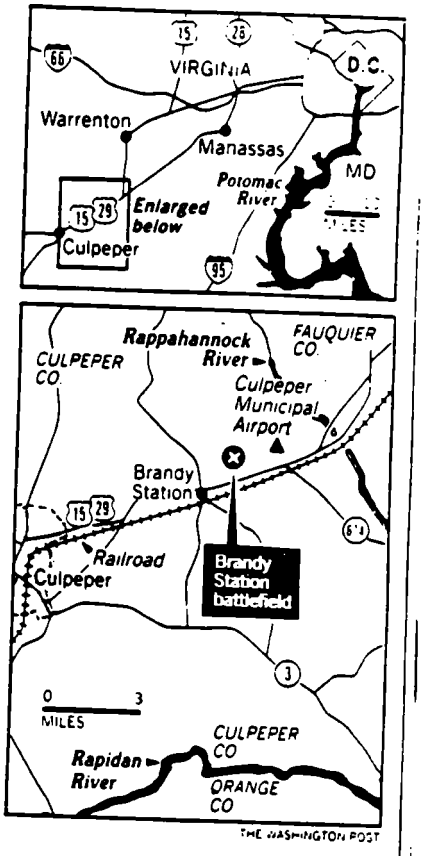
Local officials want more jobs in rural Culpeper County, where four people in 10 commute outside to work. And so few were surprised when county commissioners approved Sammis's bid to rezone its 1,475 acres from agricultural to light-industrial zoning.

Mitchell and other preservationists are fighting the rezoning in court, but also opened battle on another front: They persuaded the state Department of Historic Resources to issue a Virginia Landmark designation for the battlefield in 1989. And in 1991 came a federal declaration: eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.

As preservationists exulted, many local property owners, worried that their land within the designated 14,000-acre historic area could lose value, mobilized into a group called Citizens for Land Rights.

By the busload, said Citizens leader Sue Hansohn, "We went down to Richmond and we lobbied like hell."

Legislators quickly ordered the state landmark designation reconsidered, and possibly scaled back or dropped.



The battle then moved to Washington, where last September the preservationists absorbed another defeat as National Register eligibility was rescinded.

The Brandy Station Foundation contends it was pulled back because some senators had threatened to block legislation authorizing the sale of commemorative coins that could raise millions of private dollars for battlefield preservation.

The National Park Service has identified four "engagement areas" at Brandy Station as most crucial in the battle that swept along at a gallop.

Not all of that acreage is Sam-

See BRANDY STATION, F15, Col. 1

Battlefield Targeted by Developers

BRANDY STATION, From F14

mis's, but one spot that is may best show why emotions run so high: It's the field where 108 out of 300 men were lost in a breakneck charge of the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry against 16 Confederate cannons dug in around a church.

If true courage means following duty to death, these troopers displayed it, said Clark B. Hall, who is writing a history of the battle.

"If there is a place where the word 'hallowed' can be applied, it is that piece of ground," Hall said.

The battery site and some acreage near the church would be preserved by Sammis's historic easements.

But the field itself, lying closest to a county airport, represents the heart of Elkwood Downs's proposed corporate park.

Signs in the stubbly field now read: "Industrial-Commercial Site Available."

"That piece of hallowed ground would be obliterated by this developer's plans," Hall said.

Preservationists want Sammis to move that part of his development into a neighboring woods. "We would pay him for it," but cannot afford his price, Hall said.

Sammis counters that the preservationists have a "no-growth agenda" encouraged by a local environmental group. In one rancorous meeting, he said, preservationists told him they wanted all of his land. "Of course, with no intention of paying anything for it," he said.

He charged that there was a too cozy relationship between the preservationists and Interior Department regulators, including Jerry Rogers, the keeper of the National Register of Historic Places.

Rogers denied it, saying that would violate "my duty to the public, and to my personal ethics."

Clearly, someone needed to step in the middle, and the Civil War Trust seems to be taking that role.

Baxter has been meeting with all sides and hopes to use trust money to buy battlefield land once a compromise is worked out.

The talks may help forge a truce that will let future generations stand where heroes stood and, as Baxter puts it, "re-imagine."

Robert E. Lee, looking over the fields near Brandy Station, noted that they remained green and beautiful "notwithstanding the ravages of war. What a beautiful world God . . . has given us. What a shame that men endowed with reason and knowledge of right should mar His gifts."

APRIL 4, 1993

The Washington Times

Senator explains tribal gaming

Indian tribes say their new casinos have proved to be an economic boon, sharply reducing unemployment and financing sorely needed improvements in reservation housing, education and health.

"Indian tribes see gaming as a way to achieve self-sufficiency and to further develop their resources," Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Colorado Democrat, the only American Indian in the Senate, said in testimony Friday before the House Natural Resources subcommittee on native American affairs.

Some governors contend the law permitting the games encroaches on states' rights and the wishes of citizens to ban gambling.

About 170 Indian tribes offer bingo and related games while 59 operate casinos offering slot machines, blackjack and roulette.

APRIL 3, 1993

The Washington Times

Battles over Brandy Station

Well, here we go again with Brady Station ("Brady Station battle set over development," Life, March 27). The last time we went through this at Manassas, it cost American taxpayers about $18 million.

Theres nothing wrong with remembering the human sacrifice of big, bloody Civil War battles. But, taking control of someone else's property and forcing its preservation "in its original state" at public cost is not the only way to bestow remembrance. There are other ways: Another good, illustrated book could be written. A comprehensive, accurate reenactment of the whole two-week span of action at the site could be produced, filmed and videotaped — at the expense of B.B. Mitchell III and other interested parties. A museum with artifacts, sound and photographs could be erected, with 24-hour-a-day, seven-days-a-week operation and free parking, on one acre purchased from the title holder at his selling price.

After these things are done, the owner can then proceed with the use of his property in his own way.

QUINN FINTA
Arlington

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THE WASHINGTON POST SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1993

FEARLESS TRAVELER

By James T. Yenckel
Washington Post Staff Writer

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Back-Country Byways

The Bureau of Land Management oversees 270 million acres of public land in the West and in Alaska, and it is trying to increase tourism on much of it. Toward this goal, it has designated more than 50 back-country roads that enable travelers, says spokeswoman Jennifer E. Callan, "to get off the beaten track and see some of the most spectacular scenery, magnificent wildlife and important archaeological and historic sites in the West."

Fifteen of the roads are highlighted in a free, magazine-sized guide called "Family Adventures" distributed by the federal agency. Among the routes is a 133-mile segment of the original route of "The Historic Pony Express Trail" through central Utah. Though the drive through rolling range land is rated as "easy," the road is gravel and the guide recommends taking two days to cover it.

The trail begins at Stagecoach Inn State Park south of Salt Lake City, and along the way travelers will see several restored or reconstructed structures used by the Pony Express during its brief but exciting life from 1860 to 1861. At Lookout Pass at Mile 25, the view for hundreds of miles "is unchanged in 130 years," says the guide. A BLM campground with 14 sites is located at Mile 41.

As a part of its roads program, the bureau on April 24 will dedicate a 42-mile paved stretch of historic U.S. Route 66 in Arizona as an official National Back Country Byway. Once a major east-west artery, the highway was bypassed years ago by the interstate network. The latest byway covers a winding section of old Route 66 through the Black Mountains that was abandoned in 1953.

Among its other tourist-oriented projects, the bureau also is distributing a guide to 17 of the top "Back Country Hikeways & Bikeways" on federal land. Among them is a 26-mile spring wildflower ramble by bicycle in the Sawtooth Mountain area of central Idaho near Sun Valley. The round-trip route into Quigley Canyon covers dirt roads and off-road-vehicle trails, passing through what the guide calls "a lush mixture of aspen, Douglas fir and sagebrush."

Much of the land overseen by the bureau is dotted with important historic and prehistoric sites, including ghost towns, abandoned pioneer ranches, cliff dwellings and archaeological digs. The bureau is trying to promote more visitor interest in these culture sites with a project called "Adventures in the Past."

One important site is Pompey's Pillar near Missoula, Mont., where you can see the signature of William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He scratched his name in a sandstone outcropping in 1806 during the historic transcontinental trek. A brochure lists the addresses and phone numbers of bureau offices in 11 Western states where information about other sites can be obtained.

Meanwhile, the bureau is investing what Callan calls "a fair amount of money" in information centers to enhance visitor appreciation of bureau lands. One of the newest is the National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center in Baker, Ore., which opened last year to commemorate this year's 150th anniversary of the Oregon Trail. A look at life in a wagon train is among the exhibits in the free museum.

Copies of the bureau's guides and brochures—"Family Adventures," "Back Country Hikeways & Bikeways," "Adventures in the Past" and "The BLM National Recreation Guide"—can be obtained by writing the Bureau of Land Management, 1849 C St. NW, Room 5600, Washington, D.C. 20240.

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APRIL 3, 1993

The Washington Times

Park performers

The National Park Service is looking for volunteer entertainers to perform in the 1993 White House Visitor Music Program, held July 6 to Sept. 4 on the Ellipse, south of the White House. Groups will perform for visitors waiting to tour the White House. To apply, call 202/755-7798 or write to President's Park, 1100 Ohio Drive SW, Washington, D.C. 20242.

PARADE MAGAZINE • APRIL 4, 1993

Cut your own tree for Christmas. The Bureau of Land Management in the Department of the Interior grants permits to cut evergreens for a nominal fee on land administered by the bureau in 12 Western states. For more information, write: Bureau of Land Management, Dept. P, Room 5600, 1849 C St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240; or write to the nearest BLM office if you live in one of those 12 states. ■

Jack Anderson

Indians, Governors Clash over Casinos
By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON=
Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) - Indian tribes told a House panel Friday that their that their new casinos have proved an economic boon, sharply reducing unemployment and financing sorely needed improvements in reservation housing, education and health.

But some governors contended that the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which authorized the establishment of casinos on reservations, encroached on states rights and the wishes of citizens to ban gambling.

``Indian tribes see gaming as a way to achieve self-sufficiency and to further develop their resources...,'' said Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., the only Native American in the Senate, in testimony to the House Natural Resources subcommittee on native American affairs.

``Tribes in Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Iowa and other states have used gaming revenues for construction of new homes, repairs, senior citizen housing, scholarships, new school facilities, health care programs, new medical facilities and for long-term economic investments,'' said E. F. Brown, assistant secretary of the Interior for Indian affairs.

But Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, chairman of the National Governors' Association, testified: ``I believe that the basic public policy and culture of a state is a fundamental issue for the citizens of a state to decide ...''

``We believe that native Americans should have every opportunity for economic development,'' Romer said. ``But we are also very concerned at the prospects for casino gambling spreading throughout our states.''

At present some 170 Indian tribes offer bingo and related games while 59 operate casinos offering slot machines, blackjack and roulette.

Tribal officials from Montana, California, New Mexico, Minnesota and Wisconsin paid tribute to what they said was the economic potential of gaming on Indian lands.

Richard G. Hill, chairman of Wisconsin's Oneida, said that because of gaming, ``the Oneida tribe has become the seventh largest employer in the Green Bay area.''

But another governor, Bruce Sundland of Rhode Island, said that opposition to the plans of the Narragansett Tribe to build a $40 million casino on its lands has become Rhode Island's most explosive political issue.

Sundland said he wants the law amended to make clear that the state can forbid casino gambling on tribal land.

Gov. Joan Finney of Kansas took the opposite stand.

``In every forum available, we who support the native American peoples must seize the opportunity to translate gaming debates into discussions of economic security ...,'' she said. ``... Gaming is a far better solution than operating hazardous waste dumps.''

Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., the subcommittee chairman, said the panel is ``committed to keeping an open mind to the problems of the states and our hearts open to the economic plight of Indian tribes.''

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Pork Carry-Out

Polls show that support for the Clinton economic program fades the more people learn the details. While 81% of Americans say they know the Clinton budget will raise taxes, a Wirthlin Group poll found that only 45% know the plan would raise federal spending by $250 billion. Once aware of the spending increases, 68% say they're less likely to support it. That number might be even higher if they knew the details of the President's $16.2 billion "stimulus" package.

The list below, taken from the National Conference of Mayors "Ready to Go" book of more than 4,000 public works projects, gives a sense of exactly where much of the money would be going. While the "Ready to Go" projects aren't specifically included in the stimulus package, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros told Congress in February it is the list the administration will work from in dispensing the $2.5 billion earmarked in the bill for community development.

Auburn, Ala.	construct new gym	13 jobs	$460,000
Huntsville, Ala.	indoor baseball field	53 jobs	$1,081,500
Birmingham, Ala.	picnic shelter repair	5 jobs	$150,000
Jonesboro, Ark.	baseball and soccer park	60 jobs	$5,300,000
Phoenix, Ariz.	renovate theater	75 jobs	$3,500,000
Highland, Calif.	grafitti abatement	4 jobs	$100,000
Modesto, Calif.	build three bike paths	0 jobs	$1,337,400
Navato, Calif.	physically challenged fitness center	0 jobs	$250,000
Riverside, Calif.	boathouse restoration	41 jobs	$200,000
San Francisco, Calif.	fund the "art ark"	40 jobs	$1,200,000
San Leandro, Calif.	civic center expansion	75 jobs	$12,800,000
Denver, Colo.	build a media center	55 jobs	$1,000,000
Bridgeport, Conn.	theater restoration	20 jobs	$1,000,000
Hartford, Conn.	building facade improvement	80 jobs	$3,652,000
Manchester, Conn.	build an ice-skating warming hut	5 jobs	$30,000
West Haven, Conn.	construct a casino building	20 jobs	$1,000,000
Key West, Fla.	parking garage	25 jobs	$3,500,000
Atlanta, Ga.	repair historic wall around cemetery	0 jobs	$2,500,000
Atlanta, Ga.	replace gym	0 jobs	$4,500,000
Elk Grove Village, Ill.	pump house demolition	8 jobs	$15,000
Evanston, Ill.	resurface tennis courts	5 jobs	$28,000
Shawnee, Kan.	period-type street lighting	40 jobs	$750,000
Portland, Maine	ten projects	0 jobs	$9,865,000
Brookline, Mass.	renovate Coolidge library	15 jobs	$275,000
Worcester, Mass.	sidewalk repairs at various locations	12 jobs	$1,000,000
Detroit, Mich.	purchase four bus wash racks	3 jobs	$480,000
Minneapolis, Minn.	convert brewery to industrial park	60 jobs	$5,000,000
Las Vegas, Nev.	art center	4 jobs	$1,000,000
Camden, N.J.	park rangers	20 jobs	$100,000
Newark, N.J.	performing arts center	600 jobs	$15,000,000
Elmira, N.Y.	sports and recreation building	12 jobs	$756,000
White Plains, N.Y.	pool	5 jobs	$35,000
Columbus, Ohio	parking lot development	4 jobs	$300,000
Columbus, Ohio	movie theater	33 jobs	$2,700,000
Eugene, Ore.	research for bike path	30 jobs	$800,000
Caguas, Puerto Rico	build alpine slide	100 jobs	$2,500,000
Guayana, Puerto Rico	improve art center	15 jobs	$200,000
Guayanilla, Puerto Rico	two trollies	3 jobs	$150,000
Rio Grande, Puerto Rico	three trollies	6 jobs	$135,000
San Juan, Puerto Rico	traffic safety center for children	25 jobs	$1,200,000
E. Providence, R.I.	carousel renovations	25 jobs	$400,000
Midland, Texas	three swimming pools	0 jobs	$1,000,000
Sandy City, Utah	culinary master plan	150 jobs	$75,000
Seattle, Wash.	10,000 trees	288 jobs	$5,090,000
Wheeling, W.Va.	playground renovation	20 jobs	$142,000
Janesville, Wis.	land acquisition for Ice Age Trail	0 jobs	$35,000

THE WASHINGTON POST SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1993

THE FEDERAL DIARY

Democrats Are Squirming

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton budget that Congress will fine-tune after its spring break has given a headache to politicians who depend on the goodwill of the federal-military family. It is causing real problems for congressional Democrats who used the 12 years of the Reagan and Bush administrations to build reputations as the civil servant's friend.

President Clinton's plan to trim cost-of-living adjustments for retirees and to freeze and then slow the growth of pay raises is an obvious concern to those affected. But many also say they will bite the bullet—and pay higher taxes too—if it trims the deficit.

Many workers are not so tolerant of the president's plan to whack long-promised survivor benefits. The plan has enraged many—from the youngest worker to the oldest retiree—because it hits not them but the people they married, and their children.

Dubbed the "Widows and Orphans Act" by opponents, the plan would cut lifetime benefits by 10 percent for everyone who is married to a federal worker who dies after Sept. 30.

Federal workers and spouses view the cut as a breach of faith and an anti-family cost-cutter dreamed up by a bunch of thoughtless (or cruel) policy wonks who are either singles or DINKs (double income, no kids) devoid of a sense of fairness.

Current law allows a retiree to provide a lifetime survivor benefit for a spouse by taking a reduced pension. Longtime retirees, as well as those retiring in the future, now face the prospect of leaving their surviving spouses with less than they had contemplated. Or the government had promised.

Democrats who voted for the budget (most Democrats did; most Republicans didn't) say they will fight to have the offending portions removed before it becomes law. Some have been explaining to angry constituents that it was important to get the budget rolling (and not let pesky Republicans derail it) but that the bad parts will be cut out. Still, it is causing some strains:

Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), a staunch backer of the president, felt the need to blast the White House for "sticking it to federal workers" with a pay freeze while giving away government mining interests to fat-cat "Western interests." If he plans to "pander" to the anti-environmentalists, she said, Clinton ought to find funds to reschedule the 2.2 percent pay raise for federal workers.

The office of Sen. Charles S. Robb (D-Va.) spent a lot of last week explaining to angry callers that he voted for the budget "to keep all items on the table" but opposes the part that would cut survivor benefits.

Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.) said he voted against a Republican amendment to restore the federal-military raise because it "was a hollow amendment . . . with no real substance." Sarbanes supports the raise.

The budget has put Mikulski, Robb and Sarbanes, longtime supporters of federal-military personnel, in a bind.

In the meantime, Rep. Albert R. Wynn (D-Md.) apparently has decided that although Clinton may be his leader, his district—which has the biggest concentration of federal workers—sees it another way. For details on his plan, and reader reaction to the budget, check this space tomorrow.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1993

FAMILY TREES

As timber industry suffers, a family of loggers waits for the ax to fall

By David Foster
ASSOCIATED PRESS

FORKS, Wash. Joe Gaydeski's wandering days are long gone, faded like the wild woods he used to roam.

After 93 years of hard use, his legs are weak and his eyes are dim. But shout a few questions his way, and Joe will talk for hours about the grand old days in one of the world's great forests.

There were trees so tall they poked the clouds. Rivers so thick with salmon you could hardly see water. And loggers — oh, the loggers! — big men with big saws, bucking up logs the size of silos.

"The stories I could tell, you wouldn't believe," Joe says.

Believe him. Joe Gaydeski was born into a land that lived up to the tallest of tales. He worked as a timber cruiser, counting trees from the redwoods of California to the spruce of Alaska.

Wherever he went, the loggers weren't far behind.

They came from the cut-over woods of Maine and the Great Lakes, migrating as a nation hungry for timber chased the forest across the continent. Here, in the Pacific Northwest, they found the tallest, fattest trees they'd ever seen. Here, they thought, they could never exhaust nature's bounty.

Not that they didn't try.

After a century of cutting, a fraction of the Northwest's old-growth forest remains — some studies say as little as 10 percent. Loggers must compete with those who value the forest for other amenities: its wildlife, its beauty, its contribution to the ecological balance.

The result is a more complicated place, where conflict grows as tangled as the trees.

As President Clinton convened a Northwest forest conference in Portland, Ore., last week, he urged bitter rivals in the jobs-vs.-environment feud to "move beyond confrontation" and work with him to find the elusive compromise. But the division is deep, and a look at Northwest history as witnessed by three generations of Gaydeskis shows the forest crisis is as much about a dying culture as it is about vanishing trees and spotted owls.

AP photos

Three generations of Forks, Wash., loggers: 93-year-old Joe Gaydeski (center), his nephew Lawrence (left) and his grandnephew Larry.

When Joe Gaydeski was young, this was the frontier, a straight-ahead place where God grew timber for men to take. Two generations later, Joe's grandnephew Larry may be the last Gaydeski to earn a living cutting trees.

Lauded as folk heroes, vilified as nature-rapers, loggers always have loomed larger than life. Now families such as the Gaydeskis wonder: Is there room for them in a world that seems to shrink ever smaller?

■■■

The Gaydeski clan arrived on the Olympic Peninsula in 1897. They were farmers escaping Nebraska's droughts, and here they found relief by the bucketful.

As much as 200 inches of rain falls annually on the peninsula's western hills, nursing a rain forest where ferns grow tall as a man and moss drips from the limbs of tall evergreen trees.

When Joe Gaydeski was young, Forks was too remote for commercial logging. Trees were considered a nuisance by homesteaders chopping, burning and cursing the forest to clear a few stump-studded fields.

By 1925, though, railroads were pushing around the peninsula, and Joe went to work in the woods.

Logging camps sprouted, and valleys echoed with the ring of axes and the crash of timber. It was an era of purpose and power, a sweaty, swaggering time when loggers toiled all week, then hit town to drink and brawl.

Given the dangers they faced, a little rowdiness was overlooked. In 1925 alone, 100 loggers died on the Olympic Peninsula and in the hills to the south.

Wood was even cheaper than a logger's life. As a cruiser, Joe was told not to count trees less than 2½ feet in diameter — good timber by modern standards.

"They didn't put any value on the wood," Joe says. "When you have so much of everything, you forget there could be a shortage."

■■■

Like his uncle, Lawrence Gaydeski saw plenty of big timber. He also saw big changes in the woods.

Lawrence started logging the summer after high school, in 1948.

"I hated it with a passion," he says. "The old-timers would tell me, 'Hang in there, kid. In six or eight years you'll get used to it.' "

And he did. Now 62, he has callused hands and blackened fingernails that tell of a life of hard labor: 25 years logging, then 10 years run-

see LOGS, *page D2*

LOGS

From page D1

ning a sawmill on the family homestead.

Timber afforded Lawrence a decent living, but over the years he chafed at the growing restrictions on federal lands holding most of the Northwest's old-growth trees. He watched Congress repeatedly remove lands from timber production to meet public demand for wilderness, parks and wildlife refuges.

Lawrence took the changes personally.

He is proud to have performed a tough, dangerous job that society wanted done. But now he turns on the news and sees loggers portrayed as monsters scalping the land. Are loggers any more villainous, he asks bitterly, than Sierra Clubbers living in houses built of wood?

He holds up a carton of milk. "The public has lost sight of the fact that to drink a glass of milk, someone had to smell cow manure. And to make that carton, someone had to cut a tree."

In 1982, Lawrence got so angry he ran for public office. Elected a Clallam County commissioner, he's now midway through his third term.

His position gives him a platform to champion the logger's cause, but not much power. Federal land-use decisions are made in Congress, not in Forks.

So there was little he could do in June 1990, when federal officials declared the northern spotted owl a threatened species, saying the bird might become extinct if its old-growth habitat was not protected.

That decision, and later court rulings supporting it, have hog-tied the Northwest timber industry. On the Olympic National Forest, annual timber harvests plunged to just 14 percent of their 1970s peak.

Mr. Clinton promises to seek an owl-protection plan that won't drive loggers to extinction. But Lawrence Gaydeski says there's little room left — in the woods or his heart — for more compromise.

"We've compromised for years," he says. "Now we're fighting for the survival of our heritage and culture."

■■■

It's 7 a.m. on the mountain. A cold rain is blowing sideways, and Larry Gaydeski, chain saw in hand, is not thinking about politics.

It is a dangerous morning to be cutting trees — the tops of the 100-foot hemlocks are swaying in the wind — but Larry bends to his work.

Hemlock after hemlock crashes down, falling precisely where he wants. But then one tree catches another as it falls. The second tree's top snaps off and drops toward Larry like a spear.

He sees it coming and steps casually out of the way. "Just another of the day's hazards," he says.

His escapes aren't always so clean. A knotted scar reminds him of the time he fell and his chain saw gouged a hole in his arm. Eleven stitches in his left hand show where he once blocked a saw from ripping into his face.

But at 39, after 21 years in the woods, he is alive, and that is something. Logging accidents have killed more Forks men than Larry cares to dwell on.

Because of spotted owl restrictions, he seldom works in old growth anymore. This spring, he's cutting a 70-year-old stand of trees 18 to 32 inches in diameter — timber that Uncle Joe wouldn't even have counted in his day.

But Larry is lucky to be working at all. Last year he was unemployed nearly three months, and he's better off than most. An estimated 70 percent of the loggers who once worked in Forks are unemployed, have moved away or have taken other jobs.

Larry talks of quitting, too. "I'm getting too old," he says. Then again, he says, there are worse jobs:

"You know what scares me? The thought of driving through traffic, sitting behind a desk in some office building and punching buttons on a computer. I'd go buggy."

His heroes are the Old West cowboys: rugged individuals who rode tall and owned their own minds, if not much else. That describes what Larry likes about a logger's life, too.

Or it did, anyway. While logging still offers enough toil and danger to satisfy the cowboy in anyone, the glory has faded, he says.

He has three sons, not one a likely logger. Steven, 15, wants to be a fisheries biologist; Michael, 13, an architect; Joseph, 11, a veterinarian.

Family tradition aside, Larry approves.

"I don't want any of my kids to be loggers," he says. "When you get old, there are no benefits, no insurance. All you've got to show for it is aches and pains."

■■■

As long as the rain grows trees, logging will be part of the Northwest. But its swagger is gone, and towns like Forks — the self-proclaimed "Logging Capital of the World" — mourn the loss.

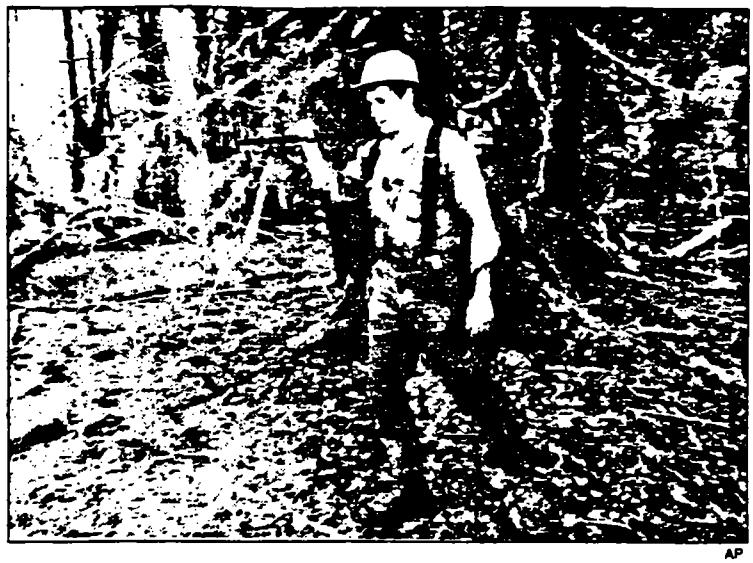
During a centurylong boom, an army of loggers mined the wild forest of its ancient giants. In the future, a lesser contingent will tend a tamer land, growing smaller trees as a crop with a harvest every 70 to 100 years.

How much of the remnant old-growth should be converted to such tree farms? How much preserved? That's where the debate spins, as society ponders what to make of a diminished thing.

Perhaps old Joe Gaydeski's clouded eyes are a blessing. He can look back to simpler days, undistracted by the quarrels of a less abundant world.

Listen now; Joe's spinning more yarns. Of the compass man who couldn't find his way back to camp. Of loggers' hygiene: "When it got too slippery to stand up in your shoes, you knew it was time to wash your socks."

He'd go on all day, but his visitor is restless. So Joe Gaydeski grows quiet at last, his head slowly nodding, his memories drifting down some long-lost trail beneath the trees.



AP

Larry Gaydeski totes his chain saw through the Pacific Northwest woods.

Turn-of-the-century loggers pose with their prize, an ancient western red cedar felled with axes near Port Angeles on the Olympic Peninsula.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Sunday, April 4, 1993

Report from the forest conference

As Clinton shows, compromise

By Gary Blonston
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

PORTLAND, Ore. — Bill Clinton has staked his presidency on a fundamental, if occasionally forgotten, principle of American government:

Democracy at its best sometimes is a process of wearing people down — dulling the edges of disagreement and ultimately finding middle ground where majorities can stand, comfortable if not always enthusiastic.

As Clinton showed Friday at his Northwest forest conference — urging candor and reason, rewarding it with empathy and praise — this president can be adept at that part of the democratic process.

He'd better be.

He was elected by a country with a pent-up appetite for action, not just to resolve national issues such as health care and deficit reduction, but also to settle innumerable regional fights such as the one over jobs versus preserving old forests.

Like the timber conflict, many of these disputes involve issues that have been ignored or sidestepped by the federal government at least as long as the live-and-let-live Reagan and Bush years.

As Clinton and his administration set out to respond, they have studiously crafted formats to fit his favorite kind of solution — compromise, not as a fallback position but as a positive goal.

What he and his administrative team do in these big, unwieldy, day-long meetings on forest lands or the economy or health care is neither pretty nor especially dramatic.

Often it is tedious, repetitive and densely technical, sometimes blatantly, narrowly political. Clinton's conferences and summits occasionally strike his critics as faint-hearted alternatives to straightforward presidential decision-making.

But they do create a setting where people who disagree can talk rather than shout and, in the process, do some of Clinton's work for him. He says he learns from these exchanges, but the real learning might have more to do with the people whose agreement he seeks.

At the start of the forest meeting, he told the warring sides: "Respect each other's concerns, each other's experience and each other's views. Together we can move beyond confrontation and reach consensus."

And within the hour he was hearing his words come back from people such as Nadine Bailey, a California timber worker's wife who told the President, "We can solve this problem if we continue doing what we're doing here today — find a solution that involves the local people."

Logger Buzz Eades, seated next to Clinton, said at one point that he was not always convinced by biological science or economic science in the dispute between trees and jobs, but told the President, "I'm full of hope because I believe I'm sitting beside a man who believes in people science."

Eades could be right in more ways than one. Clinton was praised by almost everyone who spoke at the meeting for providing the unprecedented opportunity — the honor of a lifetime, one man said — of attending his forest conference. Clinton is sharply aware of the effect he and his meetings can have on the participants and the broader public.

As the President told the Portland Oregonian newspaper the day before the forest conference: "The prospect that [these meetings] might actually be used as a method of governing ... is quite exhilarating. I believe that the economic summit that we had in Little Rock ... helped a lot, not only in development of the economic plan but in building support for it."

There is a down side, as Clinton acknowledged when he said, "It's

is goal

sort of a high-risk thing because people have their hopes vested in it, and we don't want to dash those hopes."

That's a reasonable fear. The problems are chillingly complex.

To people outside the Northwest, the controversy over ancient forests and their most famous symbol, the northern spotted owl, might seem of limited, regional consequence.

But almost no conflict is strictly local anymore. For instance, decisions on how much old-growth forest will affect housing costs nationwide.

There still are plenty of skeptics among timber people and environmentalists alike about the government's ability to act under any president.

"It's such a big bureaucracy to change," says Larry Blem, an Oregon timber manager. "... If Clinton has that ability and power, I'd like to see him do that. But I don't think he does."

In the end, that will be the test. After all the compromise and consensus-building, it still will be up to Clinton to make good, in substantive ways, on the rhetoric of hope.

As Clinton said: "The process we begin today will not be easy. Its outcome can't make everyone happy."

Then he laughed a little as he said, "Perhaps it won't make anyone happy." He didn't laugh long.

The Philadelphia Inquirer Sunday, April 4, 1993

Timber industry hopeful after session

A cabinet proposal is due in two months. Anything is better than continued gridlock, some said.

By Scott Sonner
ASSOCIATED PRESS

PORTLAND, Ore. — Labor leaders and the timber industry joined conservationists yesterday in welcoming President Clinton's pledge to take action within two months on the impasse over logging in the Pacific Northwest.

The support of industry was noteworthy in that Clinton and Vice President Gore frequently sounded environmental themes during their Northwest forest conference Friday.

"I saw a lot of inaction in the last administration. I don't see that here," said Mike Draper, executive secretary of the Western Council of Industrial Workers in Portland.

"They could have easily just made statements about how difficult and intractable this is. Instead, they said this thing is going to get solved," added Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest and Paper Association.

Clinton ordered his cabinet on Friday to report back in 60 days with a plan to "end this stalemate" over loggers, spotted owls and old-growth forests.

"Too many people are being hurt and too many resources are being threatened," the President said.

Chris West, vice president of the industry's Northwest Forestry Association in Portland, said he agreed with Clinton's statement that "the worst thing we can do is nothing."

"Continued gridlock will kill us," West said. "I think his administration is viewed as 'green,' but he was elected on jobs and the economy. The real test will be what comes back in 60 days."

Friday's six-hour roundtable discussions involving Clinton, Gore, four cabinet members, environmentalists, scientists, timber workers and industry officials were a capsulized version of the conflict that has raged in the region for half a decade.

Conservationists want to protect the threatened owl and other species dependent on the centuries-old forests of Oregon, Washington and Northern California.

Industry and labor want some relief from a federal court order that for two years has banned logging across millions of acres because government plans were found in violation of environmental laws.

Any proposed solution from the administration likely will be referred to Congress, which has been unable to forge a compromise on its own.

Clinton opened the day voicing concerns about unemployed workers, but also the long-term impacts of logging.

"If we destroy our old-growth forest, we'll lose jobs in salmon fishing and tourism and, eventually, in the timber industry as well," he said. "We'll destroy recreational opportunities in hunting and fishing for all, and eventually make our communities less attractive."

Clinton likened the downturn in timber jobs to changes in agriculture during the 1980s and the more recent cutbacks in the defense industry.

"I cannot repeal the laws of change," he said.

That fit the view of conservationists, who say the timber industry is in the midst of a decade-old transition that was eliminating jobs long before the northern spotted owl was declared a threatened species in 1990. They say more jobs have been lost to automation of saw mills than to owl protection.

And Gore challenged those who blamed soaring lumber prices on logging cutbacks to protect the owl, and pressed an executive of the timber giant Weyerhaeuser Co. to explain the significance of a tax break the company gets while exporting about one of every four logs it cuts in the Northwest.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1993

Timber in Turmoil

Reuters

Loggers and conservationists tried to sway President Clinton with personal tales of an eroding way of life and the loss of the Northwest's ancient forests at a conference in Portland, Ore., Friday. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore presided at the affair, called to try to help resolve the conflict between logging and endangered species, including the spotted owl. "I cannot repeal the laws of change," the President said. Among those demonstrating in Portland before the conference began were Margie Mitchell, garbed as a tree; Steve Foster, left, and Sharon Genasci.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER Saturday, April 3, 1993

Loggers, environmentalists give Clinton their views on forests' fate

The President seeks to heal the rift over nature and economics in the Northwest. It won't be easy, he said.

By Robert S. Boyd
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

PORTLAND, Ore. — President Clinton set out to heal the deep grievances between environmentalists and timber workers as the two sides clashed yesterday during a daylong conference on the future of ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest.

With Vice President Gore at his side, Clinton and five members of his cabinet spent five hours listening to people on both sides of the long and bitter dispute.

"The process we begin today will not be easy," the President said. "Its outcome cannot possibly make everyone happy. Perhaps it won't make anyone completely happy. But the worst thing we can do is nothing."

On one side, Mike Draper, a carpenters union leader, appealed for permission to continue logging in federal forests or "the next endangered species will be the timber family."

"We don't ask that people be placed above the environment," Draper said. "We ask you to remember that people count too."

On the other side, Bill Arthur, director of the Sierra Club's Seattle office, argued that logging is destroying the few remaining stands of 200-year-old trees.

"We no longer hunt buffalo. We don't kill whales. We can't sacrifice the last 10 percent of old growth

See **FORESTS** on A4

U.S. companies are looking overseas for wood products. **A4.**

Grievances over forests are aired

FORESTS from A1

forest," Arthur declared.

Both Clinton and Gore insisted that a middle ground could be found, making it unnecessary to choose between jobs and the environment.

"A healthy economy and a healthy environment are not at odds with each other, they are essential to each other," the President said..

Gore said this was a battle that "no one won and many lost — their jobs, their way of life, the wilderness they grew up to love."

Clinton stopped in Portland to carry out a campaign promise to mediate the timber controversy.

For the environmentalists, the threatened status of the northern spotted owl, of which 3,000 pairs remain, symbolizes the stress put on the old-growth forests by timber clear-cutting begun by white settlers 150 years ago.

But those in the timber industry see the owl as a threat to their existence. In 1990, courts blocked timber sales on federal lands in the owl's habitat — western Oregon and Washington and northern California — until the government comes up with a solution to save the species.

Timber communities have watched mills shut and tens of thousands of people lose their jobs.

During the conference, Clinton and Gore sat at a long wooden table, along with the secretaries of labor, commerce, agriculture and interior and the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, who has cabinet rank.

Witnesses on both sides praised and thanked Clinton for listening and for trying to find a solution. They spoke seriously, passionately and sometimes eloquently of their distress.

The first witness, Roman Catholic Archbishop Thomas Murphy of Seattle, described his torn feelings as he drove through an ancient forest threatened by logging and then met a jobless timber worker living with his family in a pickup truck.

"The timber crisis is a moral issue," he said. "Our Judeo-Christian tradition values all God's creation — the forest and the workers."

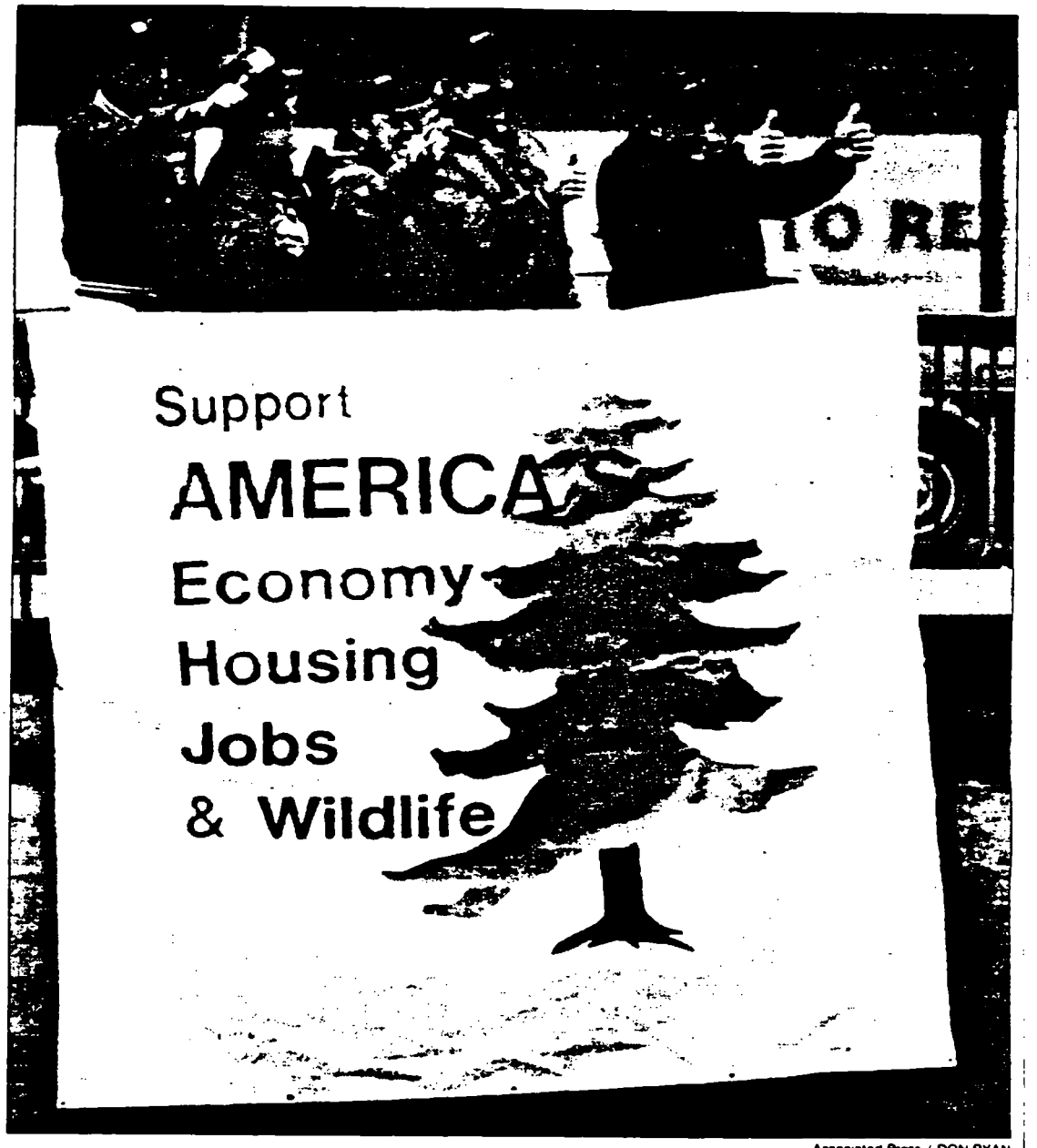
"I'm here today because I'm scared," said Buzz Eades, a burly logger whose family has worked in the woods for almost 200 years. He said timber workers respect the forest but face "a fearful future as modern Paul Bunyans hiding in the car while their wives buy groceries with food stamps."

Clinton and Gore listened patiently throughout the day, occasionally asking questions and encouraging bashful witnesses to speak up.

The President said previous administrations failed to solve the forest problem because of a lack of leadership from the White House and unresolved disputes between a half-dozen federal agencies involved.

"If we commit today to move forward together," he said, "we can arrive at a balanced solution and put the stalemate behind us."

This article contains information from Reuters.



Associated Press / DON RYAN

Demonstrating in support of the timber industry, employees of Smurfit Paper Mill in Newberg, Ore., hang a banner over a highway in Portland. President Clinton held the forest conference there yesterday.

Letter-writer joins the President

By Jeff Barnard
ASSOCIATED PRESS

PORTLAND, Ore. — An 11-year-old girl who put President Clinton on the spot over the spotted owl says her family is happier since he called a meeting to address the impasse over logging in the Northwest forests.

"It can't get much worse," Elizabeth Bailey said. "It has to get better."

Elizabeth's parents lost their logging company in Hayfork, Calif., as lawsuits to protect habitat for the northern spotted owl choked off timber harvests in old-growth national forests.

After she wrote a letter to Loggers World magazine, Elizabeth was invited to the White House in February for a television show in which children asked the President questions.

When her turn came, Elizabeth told Clinton her father had lost his job in the wrangling over the spotted owl and wondered what the President intended to do about it. Clinton responded by inviting her to his forest conference, held yesterday.

She took him up on it.

Elizabeth's mother, Nadine, now works for grass-roots timber organizations. Her father, Walter, has a job hooting for spotted owls and tracing them to their nests to be sure that the logging company he now works for does not harm any of them.

"I'm just worried my parents won't have a job," Elizabeth said in an interview. "Most people like their jobs and don't want to be retrained."

Elizabeth Bailey, 11, is worried about logging industry jobs.

THE WASHINGTON POST SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

When the Fir Flies

Battling for Media Attention at the Tree Summit

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore., April 2—Half of Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young was here. So was Carole King. And Kenny Loggins. Bonnie Raitt, alas, called in sick.

"Ancient rock stars for ancient forests," quipped one wag as a "Rally and Celebration for Ancient Forest Protection" got underway here on the banks of the Willamette River Thursday night, on the eve of the Clinton administration's conference to end the war over the northern spotted owl and management of the Pacific Northwest's old-growth forests.

Maybe Clinton can find the "common ground" in this prolonged dispute, as he promised during the presidential campaign, but there was little sign of peace this week as environmentalists and members of the timber industry faced off in a battle for the media's attention. With some 500 journalists in town to cover the one-day conference, the spin cycle was almost enough to dry up this waterlogged city.

In the days running up to the conference, reporters could spend their mornings inspecting clear-cuts (areas where trees have been completely removed) from fixed-wing aircraft provided by LightHawk—which calls itself the Environmental Air Force and believes that if enough people see the destruction from the air the logging will stop. In the afternoon, they could view "managed forests" from helicopters provided by the Oregon Forest Resources Institute and manned by representatives of the timber industry arguing that "we're not running out of trees out here."

For the weak of stomach—"humiliated again," said John Balzar of the Los Angeles Times after he lost

See FORESTS, C10, Col. 1

When the Fir Flies

FORESTS, From C1

his breakfast on one turbulent flight—there were ground tours of the majestic groves of Douglas fir. Or a rally and press conference held by commercial and sport fishermen demanding less logging to protect the region's once-magnificent salmon runs. Or interviews with logging families who face a barren future because of the court injunctions that have halted new timber sales in the forests and put thousands out of work.

By sheer weight alone, the environmental community seemed to have the upper hand in the spin battle. The city was crawling with greens as almost the entire Washington, D.C., environmental industry transplanted itself to the West Coast with all the paraphernalia of a modern political campaign.

Most of the heavies were here from the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, the National Wildlife Federation, the National Audubon Society and others. And they were savvy enough to grab Friday headlines with a blistering attack on Clinton for abandoning his budgetary promise to make loggers, miners and cattle ranchers pay more for using federal lands.

National Wildlife Federation President Jay D. Hair won the sound bite derby by saying the budding romance between the conservation community and the pro-environmental Clinton administration was threatening to become "date rape." Hair's rhetorical stroke set off the customary teeth-gnashing among rival groups whose united front here only barely concealed their normal mode of jockeying among themselves for attention and headlines.

Several thousand timber workers and their families, meanwhile, staged a rain-drenched rally today, smack in the middle of the conference when most of the press contingent was stuck inside the Oregon Convention Center listening to round-table discussions about the plight of the forests and the people who make their living in the woods.

"I speak on behalf of Tia, a young mother living homeless and jobless with three children in a tent community in Oregon," labor leader Mike Draper told Clinton today. "Tia lost her mill job in Dillard, Oregon, due to this gridlock," said Draper, holding up her photo. "Separated from her husband, she has since gone from job to job, looking for steady work to support her family. These are the faces behind the statistics."

As poignant as their stories of lost jobs, broken families and devastated communities are, the loggers were up against tough competition in the star-studded concert Thursday night. More than 50,000 people—the largest rally in Portland's history, organizers claimed—braved periodic downpours to listen to King, Loggins, David Crosby, Neil Young, Nancy Wilson of Heart, U Krew and Phish donate their musical talents to the cause of ancient forest protection. Across the river, the politically incorrect could take in an unrelated Guns N'Roses concert at the Memorial Coliseum.

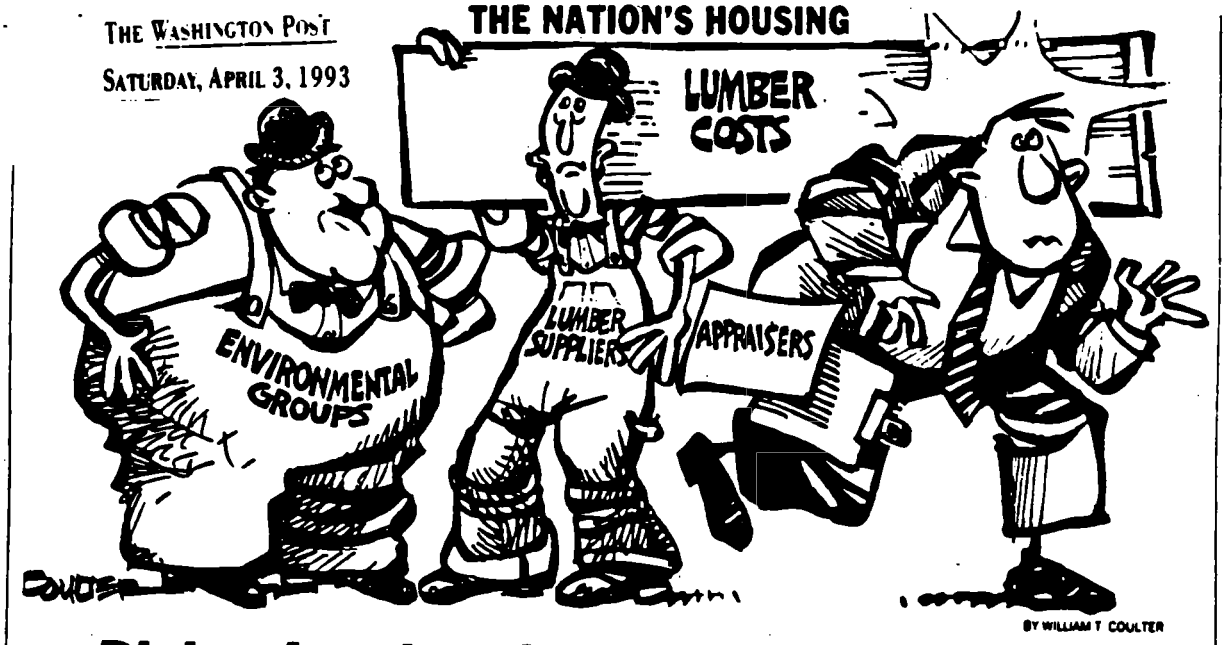
Crosby and King wrote new songs for the rally. No mean feat, said Crosby, "considering that there's only a few of my brain cells still holding hands." King's was called "Welfare Timber," and is unlikely to be available soon on CD.

Taking questions in her trailer, the singer said she feared that efforts to protect the Northwest's ancient forests would increase logging pressure on forests to the east, in the northern Rockies, where she has supported the establishment of a huge, multi-state wilderness area. "I'm really concerned the northern Rockies will be the sacrifice zone, it's the likely scenario," she said.

After the show, the greens retired to the Ron Paul Charcuterie for what was billed as a "gourmet adventure that will celebrate the bounty and diversity of the Pacific Northwest's ancient forests, rivers, oceans and valleys."

The menu included smoked sturgeon, gravlax of local salmon cured with fresh dill, Umpqua mussels and Columbia River caviar with blini and creme fraiche. Host Ron Paul called the culinary display "the aesthetic part of the [ancient forest] equation."

THE WASHINGTON POST
SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993



Rising Lumber Costs Skew Appraisals

By Kenneth R. Harney

Huge jumps in lumber costs for new houses nationwide during the past four months are beginning to disrupt the appraisal process, one of the most important steps in buying and financing a home.

Required by mortgage lenders to base valuations on comparable homes that already have sold, appraisers say they are unable to deliver appraisals at the price levels subdivision builders need to make money selling newly completed houses.

Town homes and detached models built in March carry lumber costs that can be $5,000 to $10,000 or more than identical units sold in January. But appraisers often can't—or won't—reflect those additional costs in their valuations for lenders. The net result has been that builders either must swallow the difference—holding prices steady while reducing their own profit margins—or ask their home buyer customers to foot the bill through higher down payments or prices.

The appraisal problem has become so severe that the Department of Veterans Affairs decided in late March to take the unprecedented step of urging appraisers across the country to "be flexible" in their valuations, and to "consider" the effects of the recent run-ups in lumber prices.

From last October to March, the cost of framing lumber for new home building doubled—from $249 per 1,000 board-feet to as high as $506. Lumber suppliers and builders blame environmental restrictions on timber harvesting—particularly Endangered Species Act protections for spotted owls in California and the Northwest—as key contributors to the price explosion. Environmental groups counter that excessive exporting of timber and fast-growing domestic demand are the culprits.

Whatever the causes, the price jumps have had dramatic effects on new home construction at every level of the market, especially in the first-home sector. In the Atlanta area, for example, Homeland Communities builds subdivision town homes and single-family detached houses priced in the $50,000 to $120,000 range. According to vice president Neil Hughes, the costs of lumber the firm uses to build its homes have risen by $4,000 to $7,000 per unit, depending on the model and size. The increases have affected nearly every use of interior and exterior wood, he said, including trusses, the framing package, siding and cornice package, deck, batterboard and interior trims.

"It's the identical home, but if I want to make a reasonable profit on it I've got to raise the price by $5,000," Hughes said. "But appraisers won't give us $5,000 [in higher valuation] because they see that the only comparables they've got are the units that closed a couple of months ago for a lower price."

Customers "are being blown away" by the situation, Hughes said. When a house priced at $105,000 is appraised at $100,000, the mortgage lender will only apply its underwriting ratios to the appraised amount, not the builder's price.

A 90 percent loan-to-value ratio on a $105,000 house permits a maximum mortgage of $94,500. If the same house appraises for only $100,000, however, the maximum mortgage drops to $90,000. The $4,500 additional "is a deal breaker," Hughes said. Buyers simply don't have the money. If the builder doesn't lower the price, the customers usually walk—an experience Hughes's firm has faced increasingly when it refuses to bear the full burden of the increased lumber costs.

The problem, say real estate appraisers in their own defense, is essentially a Catch-22. If they follow the underwriting standards required by most institutional lenders, they must look to the most recent completed sales of similar units in the subdivision as their guide to current market value. If they try to add on higher component costs dollar-for-dollar—with no closed sales to back them up—they could leave lenders exposed to future losses. Short-term fluctuations in the costs of

See HARNEY, E4, Col. 1

THE NATION'S HOUSING

HARNEY, From E3

materials—even as large as the recent run-ups in lumber prices—can't be given special weight, appraisers argue, because the same materials prices could drop again, just as fast.

"I truly sympathize with the builders," said Ken Nicholson, an appraiser specializing in new subdivisions in the Kansas City metropolitan area. "They need higher appraisals to reflect their higher costs. But I tell them, look, your argument isn't with me. My instructions are to look at closed sales, and that's what I have to do."

Officials at the National Association of Home Builders say the problem won't go away until the Clinton administration takes positive steps to increase timber harvests.

Kent Colton, executive vice president of the group, wants the White House to remove current import duties on Canadian lumber, allow greater harvesting of dead or dying trees on U.S. Forest Service tracts, and to allow "moderate" harvesting in forests where endangered species restrictions currently prevent logging operations.

Builders received one bit of good news in late March, when Veterans Affairs said it would instruct all appraisers active in VA-approved new home subdivisions to give "consideration" to pending but unclosed sales contracts on newly completed homes that reflect higher lumber costs.

"We want to be helpful in this situation, and we think our rules permit it," said Keith Pedigo, director of the VA's home loan guaranty service. In other words, if a builder has a $108,000 pending sales contract on a unit that sold for $100,000 before the lumber price explosion, a VA appraiser may well be able to appraise it at or near the $108,000 contract level.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

THE WASHINGTON POST

Hill Facing New Fight Over Flood Insurance

Coastal Development Also to Be an Issue

By Ann Mariano
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congress is gearing up for another battle over flood insurance and coastal development that could have a major impact on the Washington area, with its hundreds of miles of waterfront land along the Potomac and other rivers, the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean.

. . .

"A house on the beach is on the beach courtesy of the taxpayer," said Beth Milleman, executive director of the Coastal Alliance, a national group of coastal conservationists that is based in Washington.

Milleman said a 1988 Interior Department study found that "for every developed coastal acre in the U.S., there are $50,000 in taxpayer subsidies at work." The subsidies come from about 50 federal programs providing funding for coastal development and redevelopment, she said.

. . .

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

The Message of the Trees

It happens every time scientists take a really close look at a patch of tropical forest. They find an extraordinary abundance of life forms — including species that no one even realized existed.

The latest such findings were announced recently by a team of American and Brazilian botanists who studied a 2½-acre plot in the rapidly disappearing Atlantic Coastal Forest of Brazil. The team, led by Dr. W. Wayt Thomas of the New York Botanical Garden, identified an astonishing 450 different species of trees in that one small plot, the greatest diversity of trees yet found anywhere in the world. A similar plot in a forest in the continental United States might contain no more than 10 different species.

At least 13 of the species identified in Brazil were new to scientists. By the time they finish studying it, the new plot may yield some 40 new tree species.

In a similar surprise a decade ago, entomologists fired insecticides into some treetops in the Panamanian forest and found 163 different species of beetles living exclusively in the canopies of a single tree species. That astonishing number forced a great increase in their estimates of the number of bug species in the world.

These isolated, intense studies of the rain forests send a humbling message. Scientists have barely begun cataloguing the biological riches of the earth. They have very little time before the habitats they seek to study disappear under the ax or the plow.

White House keeping secrets about forest task force

By Carol Bradley
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — Suddenly, it's the biggest mystery confounding the Pacific Northwest since "Twin Peaks" fans wondered who killed Laura Palmer.

What, exactly, are these interagency task forces charged with drafting a solution to the ancient forest dilemma?

And who is Kathleen McGinty, the coordinator behind it all?

Last week, the Clinton administration staged a nationally televised Forest Conference where 50 environmentalists, timber industry representatives and workers were able to tell the president their worries and hopes about old-growth forests.

Now comes the hard part, and the White House is divulging few details.

Nobody's talking about the three task forces that are supposed to be hammering out proposals addressing old-growth logging, aid to communities hard hit by plummeting harvest levels, and long-term forest policy.

Outside political circles, the woman overseeing the project — Office of Environmental Policy chief McGinty — is about as visible as a participant in the Federal Witness Protection Program.

A few names have managed to leak out. Jack Ward Thomas, the U.S. Forest Service's chief research biologist, project leader for range and wildlife habitat research, and a key player in previous old-growth studies, is said to be leading the science-minded task force. He's set up shop in Portland, Ore., for the duration of the two-month project.

"I don't think there's any (deliberate) secrecy or any ulterior motives" in the administration's tight-lipped stance, Thomas said. "I think it's just a matter of getting things organized." For the moment, he said, he's compiling technical background information.

Charles Meslow, director of the Fish and Wildlife Service's Cooperative Research Unit in Corvallis, Ore., and professor of wildlife ecology at Oregon State University, also is said to be a task force appointee, as is Jim Sedell, a Forest Service fishery biologist. Both participated in the Forest Conference. Neither could be reached for immediate comment.

For the moment, spokesmen for Vice President Al Gore aren't telling the public anything. They're accepting faxed requests for interviews with McGinty. So far she hasn't granted any.

About McGinty, this much is known: A Columbia Law School graduate, she's served as Gore's environmental adviser since 1990 and was the Senate's top staff adviser at last year's U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil. She also was an official member of the U.S. delegation to the Antarctica Environmental Protocol Treaty negotiations.

At 29, she makes even yuppie seem ancient.

But despite her relative inexperience on the old-growth issue, lawmakers and lobbyists praise McGinty's ability to grasp salient points quickly.

"She's very impressive," Rep. Mike Kopetski, D-Ore., said. "The delegation members had a bit of skepticism because she's new to the issue and rather young, (but) she's really picked up on the issues quickly."

"I think she's got a learning curve, but everyone who comes to this issue has a learning curve," said Fran Hunt, the National Wildlife Federation's forestry specialist. "I think she's gone up that curve very rapidly."

The Idaho Statesman Sunday April 11, 1993

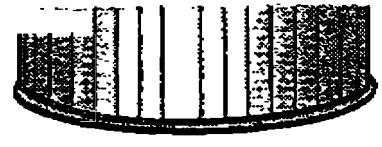
er, the VA paid $44,930 to move the woman back to the Richmond VA medical center where she had worked.

Doesn't compute

The Department of Education was losing about $800,000 a day in only one eye), said the Department of Transportation's inspector general.

Job bank

Businesses in Seattle that said



caught stealing from public housing projects are their own

general reported. Doing so, however, triggered a HUD incentive program that awards contractors for finishing projects for less than the agency's original estimated costs. The result: The contractor received $255,913 in federal bonuses.

No problem

Federal grants designed specifically to eliminate drug problems have been given to public housing projects with few or no drug-related crimes, said the Housing and Urban Development Department's inspector

The Owl and the Lumberjack: Can Clinton Break the Logjam?

Oregon Conference Tests Ability to Reconcile Economic, Ecological Needs

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore.—When President Clinton and Vice President Gore walk into the Oregon Convention Center today to negotiate an end to the prolonged stalemate over the northern spotted owl and management of the Pacific Northwest's forests, they will come face to face with a political and environmental tar baby.

Promised by Clinton during his presidential campaign, the forest conference—it was rhetorically downgraded from a "summit"—represents the sternest test to date of the president's belief that economic growth and environmental protection are not incompatible. "I will try to be fair to the people whose livelihoods depend on this and fair to the environment that we are all obligated to maintain," Clinton said at his news conference last week.

But the crisis confronting the majestic forests of Douglas fir, hemlock and cedar in the coastal forests of the Northwest is so profound and complex, and the animosities that surround it so intense and long-standing, that crafting a solution that all parties deem fair is enormously difficult. Washington is littered with the wreckage of previous attempts to satisfy loggers and environmentalists, Congress and the executive branch and the courts.

Even so, the one-day conference opens here riding a surge of optimism. Clinton, Gore and several Cabinet officers—including Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Environmental Protection Agency administrator Carol M. Browner—are scheduled to meet with about 50 representatives of various regional groups affected by the forest crisis.

Although one conservation official predicted that the series of three roundtable discussions would turn into a gabfest "like the Geraldo show," many are more hopeful. "We have very, very high expectations," said Barry Cullen, senior vice president of the American Forest and Paper Association. Larry Tuttle, Oregon regional director for the Wilderness Society, agreed: "Something is going to happen out of this."

For the timber and forest products industries, almost any solution would adequate second-growth volume for the industry.

Secretary Babbitt, above, seeks an end to a decade of government "neglect" and "stonewalling." Judge Dwyer, below, has previously accused agencies of "deliberate and systematic refusal ... to comply with the laws."

What remains is largely on the 28 million acres of federal lands managed by the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service. On Forest Service and BLM land, logging was accelerated in the 1980s, spurred on by the supply gap on private lands, pro-industry federal officials and a congressional delegation from the region that frequently dictated high levels of harvest. In the last three years of the decade, a record 20 billion board feet was harvested from federal lands in Oregon and Washington.

Land management practices by the federal government have come under increasingly sharp attack by federal judges, many of them Republican appointees, presiding over a spate of lawsuits. The judges, in often stinging terms, have found agencies like the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Managment and the Fish and Wildlife Service in violation of several federal laws governing environmental protection, forest management and endangered species.

U.S. District Judge William L. Dwyer, for instance, accused the Forest Service and Fish and Wildlife Service in one opinion of a "deliberate and systematic refusal . . . to comply with the laws protecting wildlife."

That view appears to be shared by the Clinton administration. "There hasn't been an administration policy in a decade," said Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, "other than passivity, neglect, stonewalling and obstinance."

With new timber sales on federal lands in the northwest barred by the courts, the administration and the industry are anxious for a solution by this summer before some mills simply run out of supply. "We have to have a solution in place by near the end of the summer, or the economic dislocation that will occur here in the Pacific Northwest will be so severe that it will take years to rebuild," said Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. "People are going to be out of logs."

Two overriding questions must be decided at the meeting here: How many millions of acres should be put off limits to logging in conservation reserves to protect the owl and other imperiled species; and how should the

Washington Post 2 April 1993

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

cial predicted that the series of three roundtable discussions would turn into a gabfest "like the Geraldo show," many are more hopeful. "We have very, very high expectations," said Barry Cullen, senior vice president of the American Forest and Paper Association. Larry Tuttle, Oregon regional director for the Wilderness Society, agreed: "Something is going to happen out of this."

For the timber and forest products industries, almost any solution would be better than the status quo. Years of litigation over the threatened owl and its habitat, combined with Washington's policy impasse, have effectively left forest policy in the hands of federal judges who have repeatedly found the government's practices in violation of numerous environmental laws. [Related story on the Federal Page.] In the past two years the courts have blocked new timber sales on millions of acres of federal land in the northwest until the government comes up with better plans to manage the forests in ways that will protect the owl and other jeopardized species.

The owl injunctions have exacerbated structural problems of an already troubled industry where employment has been declining because of mechanization of mills and the annual export of more than 3 billion board feet of raw logs, primarily to Japan.

The forest products industry says that 132 sawmills have closed since 1990, throwing almost 13,000 people out of work. During the same period, according to the industry, federal timber sales declined by more than half, contributing to a supply crisis that it says is driving up lumber prices and slowing the nation's recovery from recession. Environmentalists argue that less than 10 percent of the nation's timber needs is supplied by federal lands in the northwest, and that timber lost to owl protection can be made up by curbing exports and better management of private lands.

For all the angry rhetoric over the spotted owl, the reclusive bird that was listed as a threatened species three years ago is really a surrogate for the larger arguments over what is to become of the remaining areas of towering old growth forests that once blanketed the northwest.

Estimates and definitions of what constitute old growth forest or ancient forest are imprecise. But it is generally accepted that only about 10 percent of the region's original 25 million acres of old growth forest—characterized by stands of trees more than 150 to 250 years old—remains. There is a larger reservoir of habitat that is suitable for the spotted owl, not all of it old growth, of about 7 million acres.

Owl or no owl, a mounting body of scientific evidence has concluded that the entire old growth ecosystem of the Northwest is under severe strain from human activity, posing threats to the survival many species including numerous runs of salmon and steelhead that have enormous symbolic and economic importance to the Northwest.

Forests in the region are "unraveling," Forest Service biologist Barry R. Noon testified before a government panel last year. "There is very

strong and convincing empirical evidence that . . . the forest systems in Western Oregon are in decline."

"On numerous federal lands," a panel of scientists dubbed the "Gang of Four" concluded in a 1991 report, "many watersheds and riparian zones and much of the fish habitat have been degraded."

"I think we are approaching a critical point," said Jack Ward Thomas, a Forest Service biologist and Gang of Four member involved in numerous owl studies. "When you are down to 10 percent, then you begin to worry about the integrity of an old growth system."

Industries that rely on the forest for wood products disagree. "We should improve forestry practices, no doubt about it, but I don't see the forest as unraveling," said Denny Scott, an official with the carpenters' union.

The principal culprit in the decline, according to many scientists, is the fragmentation and degradation of wildlife habitat that comes with intensive logging. "Much of the late successional/old growth forest is extremely fragmented," the Gang of Four concluded. The reserve areas set aside under current forest plans "will perpetuate this fragmentation," they said.

Very little old growth timber remains on private lands in the Northwest, which were largely stripped of first-growth logs by the 1950s. Though replanted, much of that private land is still a decade or two away from being able to provide

near the end of the summer, of the economic dislocation that will occur here in the Pacific Northwest will be so severe that it will take years to rebuild," said Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. "People are going to be out of logs."

Two overriding questions must be decided at the meeting here: How many millions of acres should be put off limits to logging in conservation reserves to protect the owl and other imperiled species; and how should the remaining public forestland in the Northwest be managed?

"We want to go in and bargain hard and maximize [timber] volumes within the context of good environmental practices," said Scott, an economist with the carpenters' union, who along with industry officials believes the main issue is a timber supply crisis that is devastating local economies and driving up lumber prices. "We think you can do that if you don't hold out science for science's sake as some kind of religion."

Environmentalists who have made preservation of ancient forest a national crusade disagree, and say the lumber jobs dependent on old growth forests are going to disappear soon in any case. Better to lose them now and preserve the remnants of the forest, they say, then lose both a few years down the road.

"Ultimately we believe the only possible way to bring a resolution of this issue is to stick to science and accurately assess the economic realities of the region and move ahead with forest management that is long term and scientifically based," countered Fran Hunt, a forest resource specialist with the National Wildlife Federation. "The reality is that anybody whose job depends on logging ancient forest has a dead-end job."

Much of the groundwork for making the difficult decisions awaiting the Clinton administration has already been done.

What remain are the political decisions, not just on timber volume and owl reserves, but a host of subsidiary questions [see box].

Said Rep. Peter A. DeFazio (D-Ore.), whose district will be the most heavily affected by the negotiations: "It's when you get to the details—how much old growth to set aside, what kind of management changes, what do you do for rural communities—that's where we are going to have the knock down-drag outs."

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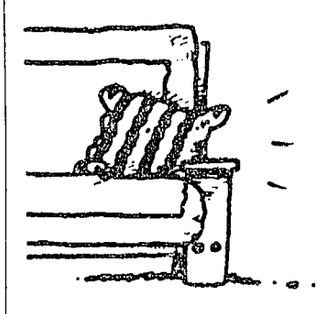

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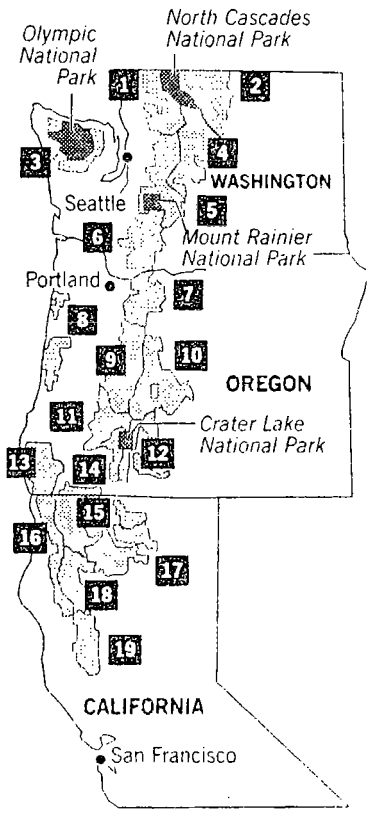
OLD-GROWTH CORRIDOR

Among the areas affected by today's forest conference are the two to three million acres of old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest — those containing stands of trees more than 150 years old. The administration hopes to negotiate an agreement between environmentalists and timber interests in the region, which extends from Washington state to Northern California.



National forests containing habitat of the threatened northern spotted owl:

1. Mt. Baker
2. Okanogan
3. Olympic
4. Wenatchee
5. Snoqualmie
6. Gifford-Pinchot
7. Mt. Hood
8. Siuslaw
9. Willamette
10. Deschutes
11. Umpqua
12. Winema
13. Siskiyou
14. Rogue River
15. Klamath
16. Six Rivers
17. Shasta
18. Trinity
19. Mendocino

BY BRAD WYE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Host of Other Issues Await Negotiators

Fish Protection, Job Retraining on Table

In addition to the larger questions of how much forest should be reserved for the spotted owl and other species and how much timber should be cut from federal lands, a host of other issues face negotiators at the forest conference. They include:

- **Fish.** For the event, Trout Unlimited executive director Charles Gauvin had buttons made up reading "It's the fish, stupid." The message underscores the views of many conservationists that the focus on the owl is misplaced, and that any agreement that doesn't address the decline of the region's salmon and other fish species will be hollow. "We're talking about a pretty vast area, and all of it is watershed" critical to fish, said Gauvin. Because fishing pumps tens of millions of dollars into the local economy, Gauvin and others will make the argument that protecting forest habitat, restoring streams and removing logging roads makes good economic sense.
- **East side forests.** The national forests on the east side of the Cascade mountain range do not have spotted owls, but many are important to populations of fish that migrate inland from the sea. Environmentalists say the problems of migratory fish cannot be solved without new management of the east side forests. But the Clinton administration is likely to bow to the wishes of House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and others that the east side issue be deferred to another day. "You do have to draw the line somewhere," said Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. "The summit of the Cascades is a defensible boundary."
- **Transition assistance.** Aid to timber workers displaced by greater protection for the forests is an integral part of the agenda and could include retraining funds and new work opportunities in forest restoration. Also important is the question of aid to local communities that are dependent on the 25-percent share of federal timber receipts they receive, money that is provided to schools because so much of the land base is federal and not taxable.
- **Log exports.** Environmentalists say whatever national shortage of lumber exists could be made up by restrictions on log exports, which run about 3 billion board feet of year and cost jobs in the mills. But the industry says this is specialty wood: knot-free logs that the Japanese demand for interior construction that is not comparable to framing lumber used domestically. Restricting exports also raises tricky questions of private property rights.
- **Sufficiency language.** The forest-products industry wants stability of supplies, including a guarantee that once a forest compromise is reached, subsequent decisions about individual timber sales will not be subject to appeals and lawsuits. Sometimes called "sufficiency language," such a guarantee would say that the forest agreement is sufficient to meet the requirements of other laws such as the National Forest Management Act. Environmentalists oppose sufficiency language.

—Tom Kenworthy

Clinton may open t'mber summit

In Portland in early April

Times staff and Associated Press

The Clinton administration's promised Pacific Northwest forest summit, expected to be announced next week, is likely to be held in Portland in early April, according to both administration and congressional sources.

An aide to an Oregon lawmaker said the forest summit may be held April 2, the day before the international summit meeting between President Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin begins in Vancouver, B.C.

The forest summit was offered by Clinton during the presidential campaign as a way to begin resolving the issue.

The format should be similar to one used for an economic summit in Little Rock, in which experts gathered at a round table to offered their views to the new administration

But congressional aides say Northwest lawmakers want Clin-.

Please see **TIMBER** on A 7

NW timber summit likely in early April

TIMBER

continued from Page 1

ton .to write specific legislative proposals from information gathered during the forest summit.

And there are indications Clinton will do just that, perhaps naming an interagency task force to formulate the plan, said the aides and environmental activists.

Vice President Al Gore may head the summit, although Clinton himself is expected to attend, aides said.

Policies that would likely grow out of the summit "hopefully will bring some degree of finality to the ongoing crisis we face with our whole timber management program," said U.S. Rep. Mike Kreidler of the new 9th Congressional District in Puyallup.

"I certainly hope that rather than protecting individual species, we start looking at entire ecosystems," Kreidler said. "Then we'd be able to define the parameters where you can have good timber management."

An official at the Bureau of Land Management in Oregon said Portland had been assumed as the site for some time. "We'd be surprised if it wasn't, he said."

Reps. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., and Jolene Unsoeld, D-Wash., are among the lawmakers urging Clinton to turn the summit input into a formal legislative proposal.

"Peter's position all along has been that the administration should develop a comprehensive solution and present it to Congress. He'd like to have the president himself say, 'this is my proposal,'" said Jeff Steir, DeFazio's timber expert.

Unsoeld also "feels strongly they (the administration) should take the lead and Congress should not dictate how it goes," said her press secretary, Doug Levy.

"We've had an impasse for several years in Congress. The administration should put something forward," he said.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is among those who has emphasized that his department, the Department of Agriculture, BLM, Forest Service and Fish and Wildlife Service must be unified in their approach to the forest issue.

Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest and Paper Association, said he expects Clinton eventually will send a legislative plan to Congress.

Mike Draper, executive secretary of the Western Council of Industrial Workers based in Portland, said his meetings on Capitol Hill last week convinced him the summit could begin "a process that will end this gridlock."

"There is a genuine mood from everybody I talk to that there is some optimism that hasn't been there for a couple of years," the labor leader said.

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AND BILL CLINTON IS UP TO THAT TASK.

I HAVE KNOWN PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON FOR ALMOST 20 YEARS AND WHEN IT CAME TO DIFFICULT FORESTRY QUESTIONS IN ARKANSAS, HE DIDN'T JUST STICK HIS FINGER IN THE WIND AND MERELY FOLLOW THE CROWD.

BILL CLINTON COULD HAVE IGNORED THE NEEDS OF WORKERS & BUSINESSES BASED HIS APPROACH TO SCIENCE-BASED FOREST MANAGEMENT IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE RISING TIDE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THIS COUNTRY.

IF HE HAD TURNED HIS BACK TO ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN HIS HOME STATE OF ARKANSAS, HE COULD HAVE EASILY AVOIDED SOME OF THE CRITICISM HE RECEIVED FROM THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNITY DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY SEASON LAST YEAR.

BUT BILL CLINTON FOSTERED A ~~CENTRIST~~ BALANCED FORESTRY POLICY IN ARKANSAS THAT RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OUACHITA AND OZARK NATIONAL FORESTS AND THE INDUSTRY ITSELF TO THE ECONOMIC WELL BEING OF OUR STATE.

AS A THIRD-GENERATION LUMBERMAN, WHOSE FAMILY HAS MADE SOUND FORESTRY A WAY OF LIFE FOR ALMOST 90 YEARS, AND AS CLINTON'S APPOINTED CHAIRMAN OF THE ARKANSAS FORESTRY COMMISSION, I AM GRATIFIED BY HIS BALANCED APPROACH TO THIS SOMETIMES CONTENTIOUS ISSUE.

CAN RESIDENTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST DRAW ANY CONCLUSIONS FROM BILL CLINTON'S RECORD ON FORESTRY AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS?

AND DOES HIS PAST PROVIDE A ROAD MAP AS TO HOW HE WILL VIEW THE UPCOMING FOREST SUMMIT IN PORTLAND, APRIL 2?

AND FINALLY WILL THE OUTCOME OF THIS HISTORIC MEETING REFLECT THE PRESIDENT'S JOINT CONCERN FOR THE FOREST ENVIRONMENT AND THE OVERALL ECONOMY OF THE REGION?

I BELIEVE THE ANSWER TO ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS IS AFFIRMATIVE.

BY NO MEANS WAS THE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRY TOTALLY ENAMORED WITH EVERY DECISION THAT BILL CLINTON MADE AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS. I AM CERTAIN THIS SAME INDUSTRY NATIONWIDE WILL NOT BE CHEERING EVERY POLICY PROMULGATED BY HIS ADMINISTRATION.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRY REMAINS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVERALL ECONOMY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS, AS IT IS A VITAL INDUSTRY NATIONWIDE. BILL CLINTON COULD HAVE TOTALLY EMBRACED THE AGENDA OF ARKANSAS ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS TO THE DETRIMENT OF OUR INDUSTRY AND MY FAMILY. HE CHOSE BALANCE AND SENSITIVITY TO BOTH ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS INSTEAD.

I AM CONVINCED THAT BILL CLINTON'S APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF FORESTRY AND HIS RESPECT FOR THE THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN WORKERS WHO PROVIDE THE LUMBER, PACKAGING AND PAPER WE USE EVERY DAY WILL BE PART OF HIS DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON THE FUTURE OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST FORESTS.

LET US NOT FORGET THAT IT WAS THE ECONOMY AND THE LINGERING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NATION'S BASIC FISCAL HEALTH THAT PROPELLED BILL CLINTON FROM THE STATE HOUSE IN LITTLE ROCK TO THE WHITE

HOUSE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

THAT FACT IS NOT LOST ON THE PRESIDENT AND IT IS CERTAIN THAT HE WILL CAREFULLY BALANCE PEOPLE CONCERNS WITH THE NEED TO PROTECT THREATENED AND ENDANGERED WILDLIFE.

MY PREDICTION IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT BILL CLINTON AS GOVERNOR ATTENDED SEVERAL OUACHITA TIMBER PURCHASERS GROUP MEETINGS, WHERE HE EXHIBITED A GENUINE CONCERN FOR THE PERSONAL FUTURES OF EVERY MEMBER AND THE HUNDREDS OF WORKERS EMPLOYED BY ARKANSAS FOREST PRODUCTS COMPANIES.

LAST FALL, BILL CLINTON VISITED A GROUP OF DISPLACED TIMBER WORKERS IN EUGENE, OREGON AND EXPRESSED SIMILAR EMPATHY FOR THE STRUGGLE AS THEY TRIED TO FIND A WAY TO JUST MAKE ENDS MEET.

THAT MEETING AND THE VISITS TO OUR FAMILY BUSINESS IN RUSSELLVILLE AND OTHERS THROUGHOUT ARKANSAS WILL BE IN THE BACK OF BILL CLINTON'S MIND WHEN HE CONVENES THE FOREST SUMMIT (CONF) IN PORTLAND NEXT MONTH.

THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRY, ORGANIZED LABOR AND COMMUNITY LEADERS SHOULD CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT BILL CLINTON HAS A SINCERE INTEREST IN THE PLIGHT OF OLD-GROWTH FORESTS, THREATENED SPECIES, AND ECOSYSTEMS.

CONSIDERATION FOR THESE VALUES WILL NATURALLY BE PART OF THE OVERALL CONGRESSIONAL PACKAGE THAT EMERGES FROM THIS LANDMARK CONFERENCE.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNITY LIKEWISE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO EXPECT THAT BILL CLINTON WILL INSIST ON EQUAL CONSIDERATION OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE FOREST INDUSTRY TO THE REGION, THE NEED TO PROTECT JOBS AND PUT PEOPLE BACK TO WORK, AND THE

SAFEGUARDING OF RURAL COMMUNITIES.

WHEN BILL CLINTON SAID HE WANTED TO GET THIS ISSUE OUT OF THE COURTS AND PUT IT BACK BEFORE CONGRESS AND THE APPROPRIATE ADMINISTRATION AGENCIES, HE SHOULD BE TAKEN AT HIS WORD.

IF THE INTEREST GROUPS ON EITHER SIDE ULTIMATELY ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THIS PACKAGE BECAUSE IT DOES NOT MIRROR THEIR POLITICAL WISH LIST, I SINCERELY DOUBT THAT BILL CLINTON WOULD BE MOVED BY THEIR WHINING.

BUT IF THE FOREST SUMMIT (CONF) PRODUCES A BALANCED AND EQUITABLE CONGRESSIONAL PACKAGE THAT PROTECTS THE NORTHERN SPOTTED OWL, OLD GROWTH FORESTS AS WELL AS SAFEGUARDING JOBS AND COMMUNITIES, BILL CLINTON WILL BE PLEASED, REGARDLESS OF THE SPECIAL INTEREST CARPING. MOREOVER, HE WILL HAVE MY SUPPORT.

THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT BILL CLINTON IS A LEADER, WHO IS NOT AFRAID OF CONTROVERSY AND CRITICISM. HE IS MORE THAN WILLING TO CAST THE EXTREMISTS ON EITHER SIDE OF A DEBATE TO THE SIDELINES AS HE WORKS IN GOOD FAITH WITH THOSE WHO WANT TO SOLVE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

THE BILL CLINTON I KNOW REFUSES TO TAKE THE EASY WAY OUT. HE WILL NOT MERELY FOLLOW THE POLITICAL TIDES. INSTEAD, THE PRESIDENT WILL USE THE WEIGHT OF HIS OFFICE TO ENSURE THAT ALL ARE PROTECTED AND NONE ARE LEFT BEHIND.

THAT'S WHY HE WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

AND THAT'S WHY I EXPECT NOTHING LESS, APRIL 2.

# # # # # # #

LAW OFFICES OF
SARAH WAYNE SMYTH
320 West Bay Drive, Suite 118
Olympia, WA 98502
(206) 352-0866
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TELECOPY TRANSMITTAL RECORD

Date: March 28, 1993

To: Office of Environmental Policy,
ATTN: Katy McGuinty and Lee Langstaff

From: THE LAW OFFICES OF SARAH WAYNE SMYTH

Number of pages, including cover: 9

RE: Forest Conference in Portland, OR. on April 2, 1993

Document(s) transmitted: Special section of the Sunday Olympia dated March 28, 1993 re: Forests for the Future. A Primer for President Clinton's Upcoming Forest Conference.

Transmitting to telecopy #: (202)395-3874

Transmitting from telecopy #: (206) 352-9595

Message: Dear Lee: Enclosed please find the newspaper article by John Dodge at The Olympian regarding the upcoming Forest Conference with an emphasis on possible SOLUTIONS. You may find it helpful in putting together your briefing books.

I also wanted to thank you again for the wonderful opportunity to speak with you about this crisis in the Pacific Northwest and the social injustices which continue while the preservationists tie up solutions in the courts threatening the much needed housing-led economic recovery.

If I can be of any further assistance to the White House in finding solutions to a problem that is tearing apart the good and honest pioneering families of the Northwest, please do not hesitate to give me a call. Thank you very much.

If this transmission is unclear or you do not receive all pages, please call (206) 352-0866 immediately.

***** IMPORTANT - CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION *****

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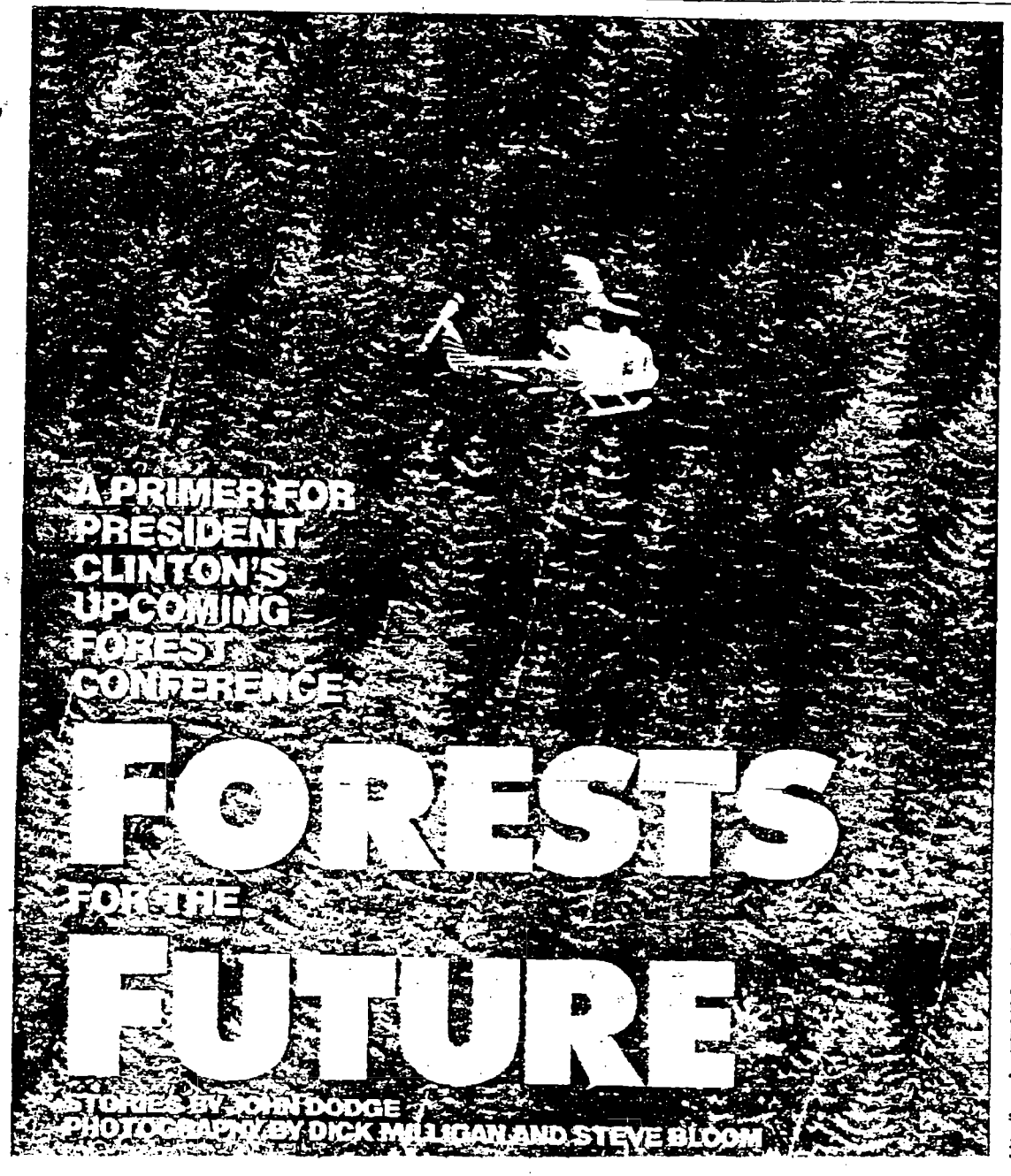

A PRIMER FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S UPCOMING FOREST CONFERENCE

FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE

STORIES BY JOHN DODGE
PHOTOGRAPHY BY DICK MULLIGAN AND STEVE BLOOM

The past: Spotted owls, log exports, clearcuts, jobs. Eac represents battles in the war over Pacific Northwest timber

After four years of conflict and casualties in the region's national forests, President Clinton will call the warring factio – and those in the line of fire – to the peace table for a forest conference.

The aim: compromise, settlements, solutions. The battle flags around which the war weary have rallied are numero

The spotted owl

After the northern spotted owl was listed as an endangered species in 1990, old-growth timber in the national forests of the Pacific Northwest was labeled off-limits.

The result has been a 60 percent drop in the timber harvest from the region's national forests since 1988. Federal timber was about 10 percent of the state total harvest last year, compared to 19 percent six years ago.

What happened? It took the Forest Service more than 15 years to prepare management plans for their forests that balanced logging with the environment. Meanwhile, Congress kept setting unrealistic harvest levels each year.

The timber industry has been slow to admit that the harvests they covet off the national forests cannot be sustained indefinitely. Environmentalists have been unbending in their push for a complete harvest ban in old-growth forests.

One thing is certain: The owl is not to blame. It was simply the canary in the mine, used to measure the health of the ancient forest ecosystem.

"We didn't manage our forests very well," says Dave Frederick, state supervisor of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. "If it wouldn't have been the owl, it would have been one of 20 other species."

Old-growth forests

As much as 90 percent of old-growth forest is gone. But about 1.5 million acres of the 2.8 million acres of ancient forest in the state is preserved in national parks and wilderness areas.

Environmentalists want to preserve all there is, plus set aside some second-growth forests to grow old – a total of 5 million to 8 million acres in the Pacific Northwest.

Without radical action, hundreds of species and an entire ecosystem defined by low-elevation, temperate rain forests will be all but lost, forest activists say.

The timber industry says identify a finite amount of additional ancient forest to preserve, then selectively harvest in the rest.

"What most people miss in the debate is this: We harvest wood products because they are valuable and needed," says Northwest Independent Forest Manufacturers President Gus Kuehne.

The timber industry

The timber industry has taken some hard hits lately.

Former Gov. Booth Gardner's timber team estimated 15,000 to 18,000 direct and indirect timber industry jobs have been lost

IN THIS SECTION:

THE FOREST CONFERENC
The players and the issues . . . Page

CREATING THE SOLUTIO

▲ CAPITOL FOREST
IT'S THE NEW FORESTRY: Helicopt logging will allow for a thinning of the forest with optimum results . . . Page

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MANAGING THE FOREST: The solution to timber vs. environment m be selective harvesting . . . Page

▲ OLYMPIC NATIONAL FOREST
REPAPING THE DAMAGE: Logging created landslides – now the Forest Service tackles the problem . . . Page

▲ SKOOKUM LUMBER MILL
FINDING THEIR NICHE: While other mills have folded, this one has becom a success . . . Page

A 30-year-old tree dangles like a stick from a helicopter deep in the Capitol Forest.

imminent danger.

The Seattle accounting firm Moss Adams estimates that Washington and Oregon could lose nearly $2 billion in annual revenues because of federal forest set-asides and other forestry rules to protect plants and animals.

On the other hand, the industry was downsizing long before the owl came along.

About 25,000 timber jobs were eliminated in Washington and Oregon between 1979 and 1988, even though lumber and plywood production increased 12 percent. Mill modernization played a big role, some shifting of investment to the Southeast United States and overseas played a role, too.

Despite the turmoil, the industry has a bright future. Intense management of forests designated to produce timber could mean more older trees in Western Washington and a supply of logs that would shrink by less than 5 percent during the next 100 years, according to a 1991-92 timber supply study by the University of Washington College of Forest Resources.

In this state it accounts for 55,000 direct jobs, 220,000 indirect jobs, $2 billion in annual wages and $5 billion in goods and services, says Jack Creighton, chief executive of Weyerhaeuser.

Private lands

Private timberland owners have a big stake in the conference, too. They own more than 55 percent of the forestland in the state. They have enough second growth timber to build 2.5 million homes tied up in spotted owl protection zones.

The industry wants to keep clearcutting Douglas fir in Western Washington. The tree doesn't like shade and it's the most economical way to harvest, they argue.

Yet public pressure is mounting for a new brand of forestry on private land to protect fish and wildlife. New state forestry regulations are moving in that direction, calling for smaller clearcuts and more trees for wildlife.

"I don't expect industrial timberlands to be recreational meccas, or places where most endangered species live," comments Jim Pissot, state director of the National Audubon Society. "But their forestry practices should protect rivers and fish and soil."

Log exports

Raw log exports from private lands are another sticky wicket. The practice is already banned on state and federal lands.

About 40 percent of the timber harvested in the state in 1989 was exported overseas as raw logs, according to the state Department of Natural Resources.

The industry will fight any attempt to restrict log exports off of private land. Tampering with the private flow of wood runs counter to free trade, said Bill Jacobs, a spokesman for industrial timberland owners.

Small mill owners and environmentalists form an unholy alliance on this issue. They insist those logs should be processed at home to create jobs and keep mills operating.

"We definitely need a package of carrots and sticks to limit log exports off private land," says U.S. Rep. Jolene Unsoeld, D-Wash. A halt to the corporate tax break on raw log exports could be on the table.

The future: Look for a reaffirmation that the day has come to manage our national forests with the future, overall health of the ecosystem in mind. That inevitably translates into fewer clearcuts, less timber harvesting — a gentler hand on the landscape.

Expect some risk-taking, some experimental forestry in areas environmental groups would just as soon keep off-limits. A flow of wood, albeit more like a trickle than a flood, is desperately needed immediately to soften the loss of jobs and businesses in timber-dependent communities.

Anticipate a movement away from managing imperiled fish and wildlife on a species-by-species basis, replaced by a more holistic approach to preserving watersheds, river basins and other ecosystems. "Ecosystem management has got to be an integral part of the solution," Unsoeld insists.

FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE

A SPECIAL REPORT

WASHINGTON LEGISLATORS REPORT CARD

Here are the thumbnail sketches of forest issue positions held by members of the Washington congressional delegation.

Grades for knowledge and effort were offered by public and private groups involved in the ancient forest-timber supply debate. Only incumbents with a congressional track record were graded.

☐ SEN. SLADE GORTON

R-Wash., 1981

- **Issues:** Hopes the conference is the beginning of a solution, but will not support something that does not balance competing interests.
- **Legislation:** Has sponsored unsuccessful bills to set harvest levels on Pacific Northwest national forests close to historic levels and double the timber volume proposed in failed Democratic bills.
- **Knowledge:** C
- **Effort:** C-

☐ SEN. PATTY MURRAY

D-Wash., 1993

- **Issues:** Did not respond.

☐ REP. MARIA CANTWELL

D-1st Dist., 1993

- **Issues:** Did not respond.

☐ REP. NORM DICKS

D-6th Dist., 1977

- **Issues:** Balance need for timber supply with protection of ancient forests; federal aid package for displaced timber workers and timber-dependent communities.
- **Legislation:** Co-sponsored bill to create Olympic Experimental Forest. Secured $1 million for 1993 watershed restoration work on Olympic National Forest.
- **Knowledge:** B+
- **Effort:** B

☐ REP. JENNIFER DUNN

R-8th Dist., 1993

- **Issues:** Foster long-term investment in private forestland; balance federal forest policies with social and economic needs of the Pacific Northwest.

☐ REP. TOM FOLEY

THE FOREST CONFERENCE: THE PLAYERS AND THE ISSUES

	Environmental groups	Organized labor	Independent mill owners	Timber-dependent communities	Industrial timber companies	Summing up the issues
	JIM PISSOT, state director, National Audubon Society	**MIKE DRAPER**, executive secretary of the Portland-based Western Council of Industrial Workers, AFL-CIO	**GUS KUEHNE**, president, Northwest Independent Forest Manufacturers	**DOROTHY DUNCAN**, Clallam County Commissioner	**WILLIAM C. JACOBS**, executive director of the Washington Forest Protection Association	
WILDLIFE PROTECTION	Environmentalists are firmly opposed to any effort to weaken the federal Endangered Species Act. "Blaming the Endangered Species Act for timber job losses is completely a red herring. We will not support tampering with environmental laws."	Doesn't think the Endangered Species Act belongs on the table. Wildlife protection would be improved through changes in logging practices.	Threatened and endangered species can be protected by increasing the harvest rotation to 150-200 years and ceasing most clearcutting on federal land. Not much interest in trying to dilute the Endangered Species Act. "I don't think Congress wants to attack it," said Sarah Smyth, general counsel for Delson Lumber Co. of Olympia.	Looking for a prescription for healthy forests that provides wildlife habitat and jobs. "It needs to be a credible, scientific solution," Duncan said. Elected officials from timber-dependent counties do not have a set position on whether the Endangered Species Act should be amended.	Will lobby to get their second-growth forests removed from spotted owl protection zones. Front to new state forestry rules that require private timberland owners to do more to protect fish and wildlife.	Fish, wildlife and water quality will receive higher priority in the region's federal forests in the decades ahead. Look for a move toward "ecosystem management," rather than the species-by-species approach that has caused so much turmoil.
LOG EXPORTS	Want to remove tax subsidy that encourages log exports by private timber companies. Lobbying for a package of incentives and penalties that would send more raw logs to Pacific Northwest mills, rather than overseas. "One of the biggest obscenities is watching log trucks rush by rustling mills to busy export docks."	Support President Clinton's opposition to log export bans from private timberland. But big labor hopes a log export debate doesn't bog down the conference.	Since independent mill owners rely on public and private timber, log exports rob them of raw materials. Looking for a mechanism to encourage small timberland owners to sell their timber to domestic mills.	Commissioners in counties from which wood products flow are split over the log export debate, said Bill Vogler, assistant executive director of the Washington State Association of Counties. "Emotionally and politically, a log export ban may be attractive, but it could lead to shifts in the industry we haven't even considered," Vogler said.	Private landowners large and small will fight any attempt to restrict log exports from private land. Log exports are a big moneymaker for companies such as Weyerhaeuser, which exported 750 million board-feet in 1991, or 25 percent of all raw log exports.	A dramatic harvest level reduction on the national forests would put pressure on the Clinton administration to form a package of carrots and sticks to try to divert some of the log export volume to domestic mills that rely on public timber. Private landowners will resist it.
CIENT FORESTS	Will oppose any harvesting in old-growth forests, as well as second-growth forests that are identified as owl habitat conservation areas. Scoff at "high-yield forestry," which calls for longer growing rotations to grow old-growth and allow some harvest of existing old-growth. "It's too late – it would have been a	Expect any solution to include some harvesting of national forest land currently off-limits and identified as suitable owl habitat. "I recognize there will be some more land set aside. But don't tie it all up."	Argue that 80 percent of the old-growth in the state is already sequestered away in national parks and wilderness areas. Wants to harvest old-growth while growing new old-growth at the same time.	Do not support setting aside millions of acres of old-growth and second-growth for owl habitat. Want to see the state's 260,000-acre experimental forest on the Olympic Peninsula expanded to include federal lands. The idea: Try new forestry techniques, such as selective harvesting.	Private lands are just about devoid of old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest. But larger set-asides on public land makes the industry more dependent on private timber supplies.	Pick a number. It is unlikely to be a complete old-growth lockup sought by some environmental groups. But proponents of widespread, selective harvesting of old-growth on national forests will be disappointed, too.

VOICES IN THE WOODS

RON YATES

'I couldn't make a living falling trees'

He spent 27 years in the woods many of them cutting down old-growth trees. But his days in the woods are over.

Today, he is a 47-year-old college student, hoping to secure a spot in Centralia College's nursing program next fall.

Ron Yates is one of more than 15,000 people directly or indirectly employed by the timber industry to lose their job in this state in the past three years, according to the governor's timber team.

"I saw it coming about four years ago," Yates recalled. "I got so that I'd be out of work two to three months, work one month, wait a long time, and maybe work a little more. I just couldn't make a living falling trees."

He sat down with his wife and three young boys and made a tough decision. He would return to college to start a second career.

Residents of the tiny town of Vader in south Lewis County, the Yates are living on about $1,000 a month, cutting corners where they can.

"We don't go to the movies or eat out, and we have pitched our tent in the garage for our vacations. The kids have been pretty good about it. They understand things will get better."

Yates has been back in school for two years. Poised to enter nursing school he is worried about state budget cuts forcing the college to trim teachers and enrollment in the program.

During hard economic times, it makes no sense to lock up all the timber in the national forests, he said. If he could have five minutes with the president, he would urge him to free up some of the timber sales that are now off-limits to protect the northern spotted owl.

"There's nothing in this area to take the place of all the lost timber industry jobs," he said.

In his prime, Yates earned $25 an hour as a logger. He

☐ **REP. TOM FOLEY**
D-5th Dist., 1968
- **Issues:** Did not respond.
- **Legislation:** As Speaker of the House, Foley does not co-sponsor legislation, but is directly involved in with fellow Democrats on delegation positions.
- **Knowledge:** C
- **Effort:** D+

☐ **REP. JAY INSLEE**
D-4th Dist., 1993
- **Issues:** Did not respond.

☐ **REP. MIKE KREIDLER**
D-9th Dist., 1993
- **Issues:** Protect ecosystems not just individual species; extend unemployment benefits, education and retraining for displaced timber workers; find new source of timber, such as imports from Russia.

☐ **REP. JIM McDERMOTT**
D-7th Dist., 1989
- **Issues:** Preserve ancient forests; extend unemployment benefits to displaced workers.
- **Legislation:** Supported bill to restrict log exports from state land.
- **Knowledge:** C
- **Effort:** C-

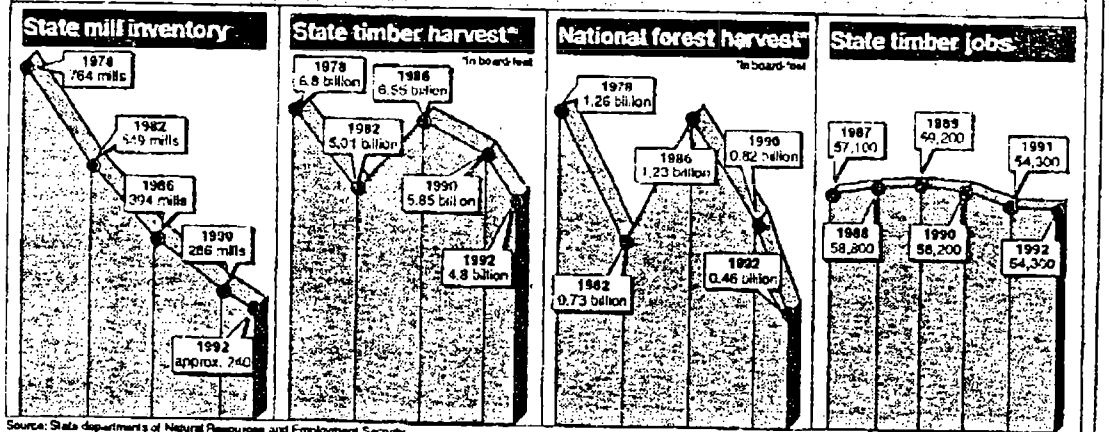
☐ **REP. AL SWIFT**
D-2nd Dist., 1979
- **Issues:** Aid to timber-dependent families and communities. Allow some harvesting on federal forests. Protect significant stands of old-growth.
- **Legislation:** Supported permanent ban on raw-log exports from public land and formation of 250,000-acre Olympic Experimental Forest.
- **Knowledge:** C+
- **Effort:** C-

☐ **REP. JOLENE UNSOELD**
D-3rd Dist., 1989
- **Issues:** Change in forest management; better agency coordination; incentives for small timberland owners; aid to timber-dependent communities.
- **Legislation:** Sponsored formation of Olympic Experimental Forest to demonstrate methods for harvesting and wildlife habitat to co-exist.
- **Knowledge:** B-
- **Effort:** B

ANGLE	...bilizing and growth. "It's too late – it would have been a good idea 50 years ago."		...techniques, such as selective harvesting.		
FEDERAL AID	Believe that federal government should provide funds to retrain displaced timber workers, diversify community economies and, just as important, help restore national forest hillsides and streams ravaged by past clearcutting and road building.	Ending the gridlock will require funneling federal funds to the Pacific Northwest for job retraining and assistance programs for timber-dependent communities. Want displaced workers to have access to high-wage, high-skill jobs. "All government agencies have got to work together. No more interagency bickering and jealousies."	Will urge Clinton to spend federal time and money on saving mill manufacturing jobs. Smyth dubbed money to fund job retraining and forest restoration projects "federal guilt money." Don't retrain – retool, she said.	Hope to see a Clinton plan that takes decision-making out of the courts and puts it back in the hands of forest land managers. Want to see some federal timber released for harvest soon, while the final solution is shaped. "In our county we are losing businesses and people are losing their homes. We have suffered from a lack of discussions."	Not a burning issue with private timber industry, but does take exception with those who suggest much of the economic misery caused by reduced harvests on public land can be softened through job retraining and forest restoration projects.	Here's one where there is a fairly strong consensus. Any legislation sent through Congress will need to include money for job retraining, forest restoration and "makeup" money to communities forced to wean themselves from complete dependence on the timber economy
HARVEST LEVELS	Don't set harvest levels, then try to manage the land to meet them. "We should be designing our harvest volumes based on what the forests can produce after environmental protection is in place."	The council, which represents 30,000 loggers and millworkers in Washington, Oregon and California, has supported legislation by Rep. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., that would set harvest levels on national forests in the region at slightly more than 50 percent of pre-owl levels.	Hang their hat on "high-quality forestry," which requires growing trees for longer harvest rotations on national forests, increased commercial thinning and reduced clearcutting. Kuehne figures high-quality forestry could restore the annual harvest on the Olympic National Forest to 75 percent of its pre-owl level, or seven to 10 times higher than U.S. Forest Service estimates.	Acknowledge that harvest levels on the Olympic National Forest will never be the same. Hope to offset reduced volume with increased processing and manufacturing of the timber that is cut.	Acknowledge that private land will be called on to produce more timber in the years ahead because of reduced volume from public land. "We support an increased supply of timber from federal lands, but nobody believes it will go back to what it used to be," Jacobs said.	Another area where consensus appears to be forming on an approach, if not an actual harvest level. Rather than setting an annual harvest level for each forest, then cutting it regardless of the consequences, look for the harvest volume to be the end product of managing the forests for multiple use. Also look for "New Forestry," which means fewer clearcuts and creation of uneven-aged stands.

Signs of the time in Washington state

Timber harvests, timber jobs and operating mills are all on the decline. Some of the turndown in the industry is tied to reduced harvesting on public lands to protect the northern spotted owl. But mill closures were mounting long before the owl became an issue.



Source: State departments of Natural Resources and Employment Security

Wendi Dunlap and John Dodge The Olympian

JEAN STAM
'We don't have to cut more old trees'

Tired of confrontation, Jean Stam is in search of the perfect forest.

It is a place where logging is profitable and wildlife is comfortable. It is not a mythical place. The 42-year old Olympia woman spends about 30 hours a week seeking out foresters who believe in environmentally sensitive logging.

"There seems to be two entrenched positions – those who want to take the last stick and those who say don't take any sticks at all," she said. "Nobody's looking at alternatives."

Don't be mistaken. Stam is a dyed-in-the-wool environmentalist. She is active in the Black Hills Audubon Society and recently formed a new, nonprofit group, the Forest Land Management Committee. "Our one big bias is: Stay out of old-growth forests," she said. "There's enough other wood. We don't have to cut any more old trees."

A tenet in what many call "New Forestry" is the practice of selective harvesting. Here's how Stam defines it:

"You cut out what nature would selectively harvest and leave the stronger trees. Just like a litter of pigs – you don't leave the runts."

Clearcutting is a dirty word in the "New Forestry" dictionary. But Stam realizes it will be an uphill battle to eliminate it on lots of private land and state-owned forestland.

"As a private person, I can't tell a private timberland owner what to do," she said. "But I can try to suck them in with us."

A big part of Stam's bid for converts is to take them on field trips. She recently organized one to Fort Lewis, where timber harvesting on 40,000 acres rarely involves clearcutting.

"I'd like to see the state use this approach on the Capitol Forest," Stam said of the 90,000-acre state forest. "Right now they are clearcutting. The entire forest will be cut over by 2070."

FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE

A SPECIAL REPORT

Forests taking a fall

Northwest forests

Debated forests

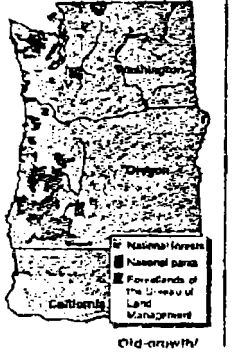
What's in a phrase?

Environmental groups favor the phrase "ancient forests" with the image of something majestic, stately and spiritual.

The timber industry uses the phrase "old-growth forests," suggesting something in a state of decay or beyond its prime.

Either way, ancient or old-growth forests feature multiple tree species with a multiple-layered canopy, a number of big trees _ usually at least 200 years old on the west side of the Cascade Mountains _ snags and woody debris on the forest floor.

This chart shows the estimated amount of these forests remaining in the Pacific Northwest. Less than 2 million acres remain in the region.



Old-growth/

▶ OLYMPIC NATIONAL FOREST

REPAIRING THE DAMAGE

Logging created landslides — now the Forest Service is tackling the problem

Clinging to the hillside like mountain goats, a crew of young men lay straw and coconut-fiber matting secured with willow stacks over a barren stretch of ground where mighty old-growth trees once towered.

Once the landslide area is stabilized, the workers will reseed it and replant it with trees and native vegetation. Hundreds of years from now, it may look like it did before it was logged.

This scene high above the Skokomish River west of Hood Canal represents a small but significant step forward in the healing process for the wounded Olympic National Forest. Decades of aggressive timber harvesting and road building on the national forest have left a legacy of scars where triage is just now being performed.

Forest Service soil scientist Lisa Lewis began taking an inventory of unstable slopes and landslides on the Hood Canal Ranger District in 1987. So far, she has identified 5,000 places where erosion has taken a toll in areas ranging in size from one-eighth of an acre to five acres.

She estimates there are 15,600 landslides scattered throughout the 251,000-acre district.

About 90 percent of the erosion problems are linked to roads. And two-thirds affect fish habitat and water quality in streams.

"When I first started working on the district, it seemed the problem was so overwhelming, it wasn't getting addressed," she said.

Slowly, but surely, Lewis has changed all that. She has parlayed tenacity and creativity into a can-do work program.

"It can be depressing and frustrating," she said. "But it's very rewarding to see the progress we've made."

At a glance

- **Timber sales on the Olympic Peninsula** (board-feet):
  1987: 255 million 1990: 111 million
  1988: 210 million 1991: 76 million
  1989: 31 million 1992: 9 million
- **Restoration work on the forest in 1992:** Removed 85,300 cubic yards of potential sediment from unstable roads and log landings; stabilized 452 acres of eroding hillsides; and removed 38 miles of roads no longer needed.

Crews work to stabilize a landslide area high above Hood Canal on the Olympic National Forest.

Steve Bloom, The Olympian

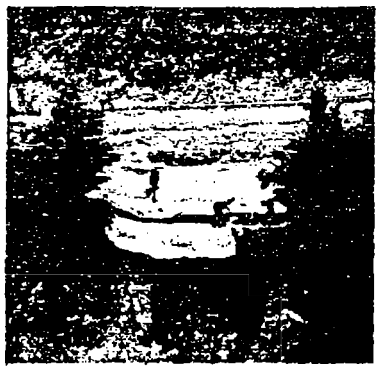
forest that rings the Olympic National Park, about 25 percent of the watersheds are at risk from soil erosion, flooding, loss of wildlife habitat or degraded water quality.

Watershed restoration work is projected to cost as much as $100 million.

"We can't put back a 300-year-old tree, but we can stabilize those areas that need it over the next 10 years," noted Dave Frederick, state supervisor of the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service.

Restoration work could employ as many as 850 people, or about 25 percent of the timber industry work force expected to lose their jobs because of reduced harvest levels on the forest, Forest Service supervisor Ron Humphrey said.

But, industry officials note, federal



Olympic National Forest

- **The problem:** Logging and road building triggered thousands of landslides in the Olympic National Forest.
- **The solution:**

VOICES IN THE WOODS

RON HUMPHREY

'I want to be part of the change'

The Olympic National Forest that Ron Humphrey supervises for the U.S. Forest Service is not the one people are accustomed to.

Timber harvesting has dwindled to a trickle of logs. Road-building has ground to a halt. The name of the game these days is restoration and recovery. That's OK with Humphrey, who has spent 28 of his 30 years with the Forest Service.

"There is a major shift from multiple uses with a heavy emphasis on timber to ecosystem management," he said. "We're still trying to figure out what it means."

What it means can be defined in part by new goals on the forest, which include protecting watersheds and scenic vistas, eliminating most clearcutting and trying to avoid listing more species on the threatened and endangered list.

Timber harvesting will continue on the Olympic forest, but probably at a rate of no more than 20 million board-feet per year, compared to 250 million or more before, Humphrey said.

"It's very doubtful that we will be harvesting significant amounts of old-growth off this forest," he said. "Most people I talk to on the Olympic Peninsula understand that we are moving out of the old growth."

As with many Forest Service employees, Humphrey is tired of the confrontation and controversy surrounding past timber harvest rates on the Olympic and other national forests in the region. He views the upcoming forest conference President Clinton is convening in Portland on April 2 as a chance for a fresh start.

"I don't want to point fingers at what we were doing because I was part of it," Humphrey said of past timber harvest rates

forest	(in acres)
Washington	
Mount Baker - Snoqualmie	585,700
Olympic	189,500
Gifford Pinchot	341,900
Wasington total:	1,117,100
Oregon	
Mount Hood	378,500
Willamette	605,000
Siuslaw	133,700
Umpqua	306,300
Rogue River	150,100
Siskiyou	32,400
Oregon total:	1,562,000
California	
Klamath	319,400
Six Rivers	205,700
Shasta-Trinity	273,200
California total:	798,300
Regional total:	3,477,100

Robin Murphy/The Olympian; Garrett News Service

YOUR ISSUES: WHAT READERS WANT DISCUSSED

A sampling of what South Sound readers say should be on the table at a forest conference:

"The logging industry is greatly over-expanded and must inevitably adjust. Until a few years ago, there were a dozen sawmills and plywood plants in Olympia. Then huge piles of logs appeared in the port, bound for Japan at prices beyond that which local processors could afford. Today, only two remain."

Lyle Klotz / Olympia

"Harvesting lumber such as thinning and blowdown timber can be done in critical wildlife areas. That would balance."

Russell Sawtell / Olympia

"Stop clearcutting our trees. It's ugly."

Allison King, 7 / Olympia

"Permanent protection for old-growth. Make sure environmental laws drive management decisions. Restore damaged slopes, diversify timber town economies and provide training and assistance for displaced workers."

Elsa Bruton and David Edwards / Olympia

"I think the public needs to have explained how 'sustained yield' programs work and why they work. They also need to know that young trees produce more oxygen than old trees. They need to know that the spotted owl has nested in second-growth and third-growth forests."

Doris Jackson / Shelton

"Loggers are not alone in having lost a job because of changing times. Save our timber and rehabilitate the loggers. Do not ship . . . overseas. Processing here will give jobs here."

Betty Osmundson / Olympia

at a time, you can get so much done with very little money."

In 1993, the Olympic National Forest received $1 million from Congress to begin restoration work. Environmental groups, including the Black Hills Audubon Society, helped lobby for the money.

"In a time of conflict over the management of our national forests, it's great to find an issue that everyone can support," Audubon member Nigel Blakley said.

Across the entire, 632,000-acre

"The jobs that are being lost are not being replaced by comparable wage jobs," said Sarah Smyth, legal counsel to Delson Lumber Co. in Olympia. For instance, she said, millworkers at the company's sawmill near Shelton earn $25,000-$40,000 a year, including benefits.

The repair work on the Olympic National Forest has other values. A concerted effort today to correct the scars from past logging could help avoid future listing of plants, animals and fish on the federal endangered species list.

Logging and road building left thousands of scars like this on steep slopes of the federal forest.

slopes with grasses, plants and trees.

- **The cost:** Roughly $100 million.
- **The benefit:** Healthier forests and streams for fish, wildlife and human recreation.

change."

D. WAYNE SMYTH
'Who better to supply the nation'

In an industry dominated by big timber companies, D. Wayne Smyth is a survivor.

The 59-year-old Olympia native has worked in the sawmill business for more than 40 years, much of it as president of Delson Lumber Co. The old Delson mill on the Olympia waterfront was dismantled in 1990, the last of the old-growth mills that once dotted Budd Inlet's shores.

But Smyth is not done yet. Ever since 1975, much of his time, energy and money has been devoted to his Skookum Lumber mill in the Kamilche Valley near Shelton.

It may be a cliche, but this is a man with sawdust in his veins.

While some small mill owners moaned and groaned about the decline in old-growth supplies for their mills, Smyth made the switch to second-growth way before the rest of the pack.

"We haven't cut old-growth since 1972," he said.

He and his management team meet two to three hours a day, plotting their next capital improvement or specialty project to maintain a market niche.

"I love the challenge, and it's never been as challenging as today. We've got to be willing to try anything. The key is the willingness to take a chance."

Another key is stay active politically. Smyth and his daughter, Olympia attorney Sarah Smyth, are constantly lobbying Congress on behalf of the needs of small, independent mill owners who don't own their timber.

For mills like Skookum Lumber to stay in business, preservation of old-growth forests must not spill over to second-growth forests, Smyth said.

A strong national economic recovery depends upon a strong housing market, Smyth said in a recent letter to Vice President Gore. And a strong housing market requires a steady supply of timber.

"We also must recognize the importance of our forest products industry to the nation as a whole," the letter continued. "Who better to supply the nation's demand for wood and paper products."

▶ SKOOKUM LUMBER MILL

FINDING THEIR NICHE

While other mills have folded, this one has become a success by moving ahead

A first time visitor to the Skookum Lumber mill in the Kamilche Valley near Shelton is struck with an obvious image.

This is a busy place.

While dozens of sawmills have shut down or scaled back production for lack of wood, Skookum Lumber is living up to its name, which means "big, powerful or strong" in the Chinook jargon used by 18th century traders in the Pacific Northwest.

What's the secret to Skookum's success? The answer offers a glimpse at what it will take for independent mill owners to survive in light of reduced timber supplies from the region's federal forests.

Skookum Lumber owner D. Wayne Smyth and his son, plant engineer Tucker Smyth, talked about some of the things they do to distance Skookum from the pack.

- **Key No. 1:** Mill timber that is somewhat immune from shrinking supplies: Second-growth cedar — not old-growth — is the staple at Skookum.

"Anybody still debating the old-growth issue is behind the curve," Tucker said.

Processing second-growth timber has other advantages, too, Tucker noted. "A lot of customers don't want to side their home with old-growth cedar," he said, referring to concerns about harvesting in the region's ancient forests.

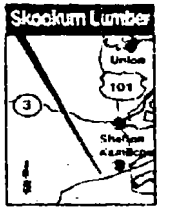
Skookum seized on western red cedar because it was the first species to be banned from export off public lands more than 10 years ago, Wayne said.

Much of its raw material is purchased within 100 miles of the mill from large private timber companies such as Simpson Timber Co. and Weyerhaeuser Co.

- **Key No. 2:** Fill a specialty market with a value-added product. The old days of producing rough dimensional lumber doesn't pack it anymore. "You have to find a market niche so you're not competing against the big timber companies," Wayne said.

Stacks of exterior cedar siding dwarf Tucker Smyth at the family's mill in the Kamilche Valley.

Dick Milligan/The Olympian



- **The problem:** Independent mills are going out of business.
- **The solution:** Survivors must seek new markets, add more value to their finished product.
- **The cost:** Requires millions of dollars in mill investments.
- **The benefit:** Retains thousands of well-paying timber jobs.

Skookum's bread and butter is exterior cedar siding cut to a variety of widths and lengths. The mill also produces cedar paneling, fencing and decking.

Markets for the product include Australia, Germany and the entire United States.

Five years ago, the Smyths added huge drying kilns to the mill's equipment. Drying the finished product adds value to it. It also means more jobs at the mill, which employs 150 people, compared with 37 some 10 years ago. The job increases were accomplished without consuming more raw materials. That's the definition of value-added in a nutshell.

- **Key No. 3:** Stay flexible.

"You've got to be willing to try anything," Wayne said. For instance, the mill is about to try its luck at processing second-growth alder, which is a species that once was treated like a weed.

Other changes in the works will center on reducing wood waste at the front end of the mill where the logs are cut into milling sizes.

The Smyths' biggest fear is that public and private second-growth forests will be set aside to protect threatened and endangered species such as the northern spotted owl and marbled murrelet.

"This is a very serious issue for our small company and could have a dramatic effect on our ability to survive," Wayne said in a March 18 letter to Vice President Al Gore.

VOICES IN THE WOODS

DAVE FREDERICK

'We can manage the ecosystem'

Dave Frederick knows just how hard it can be sticking up for fish and wildlife.

From his position as state supervisor of the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, he has watched politics overrule good science on more than one occasion during the battle over spotted owl habitat and timber jobs.

In 1987, his agency under the Reagan administration ruled that the owl didn't belong on the federal Endangered Species Act list, despite advice to the contrary from Fish & Wildlife's own biologists. A federal judge sided with the biologists, eventually leading to a listing of the owl.

"You need to remember that our director is a political appointee," said Frederick, 44. "And the administration at the time wanted to rape, pillage and burn. None of our scientists agreed with it. It's a good thing we had environmental groups acting as watchdogs."

As his comments show, Frederick is blunt with his words and quick to defend the 60 people who work for Fish & Wildlife in this state, trying to conserve and restore wildlife habitat of all shapes and sizes.

"The next time someone tells me a federal bureaucrat doesn't work hard enough, I'll lay 'em on their butt," he said.

These days, much of the rancor from the owl wars has disappeared from Frederick's voice. He believes his agency and the U.S. Forest Service, which manages the national forests where much of the old-growth owl habitat remains, are about to forge a new spirit of cooperation.

"I'm real happy right now," he mused. "I think the days of division are over. Together, we can manage the ecosystem. Divided, we fail."

JOSEPH PAVEL

'We need to put

▶ CAPITOL FOREST

IT'S THE NEW FORESTRY

Helicopter logging will allow for a thinning of the forest with optimum results

A cold wind scrapes across the ridgeline above Larch Canyon as Brian Reynolds steadies his helicopter to survey the scene below.

The helicopter offers a panoramic view of this canyon in the heart of the state-owned Capitol Forest near Olympia. It is thick with Douglas fir trees planted in 1960.

Not for long. For the first time, the state Department of Natural Resources has crafted a timber sale that includes helicopter logging in the forest it bought 100 years ago.

The goal in this 567-acre timber sale is to thin the forest so the trees left standing can become more vigorous, state forester Mark Mauren said. It's called a commercial thinning. The thinning also makes the forest more inhabitable for wildlife.

Helicopters come in handy because they can lift the trees felled by loggers and carry them to the log landing. The alternative — dragging the trees out by cable — would have knocked down and damaged the standing trees, Mauren said.

"This is a piece of new forestry," DNR supervisor Kaveen Cottingham said. "The ground is too steep to do regular logging."

More and more public and private timberland owners are turning to helicopter logging in environmentally sensitive areas, Reynolds noted. It is a useful tool in selective harvesting, and it reduces the amount of road construction required to harvest timber.

It's also dangerous work, said Reynolds, owner of the Tumwater-based Northwest Helicopters Inc. Pilots must hover at treetop level, then carefully hoist 4,000-pound loads where one false move could yank their aircraft out of the air.

At a glance

- The bulk of the 90,000-acre forest was purchased by the state in the 1930s for 50 cents per acre.
- Timber harvest revenue is about $12.6 million a year and rising as timber prices continue to climb.
- About 1,300 acres are harvested each year.
- Average harvest unit is 45 acres, spread throughout the forest to provide diversity of wildlife cover and reduce impact on water quality.

Northwest Helicopters is one of only two helicopter logging companies in the state, Reynolds said. The work spreads three crews between Alaska and Northern California.

Using helicopters is expensive. It is two to four times as costly as traditional harvest methods. But in this era of high timber prices, it is easier to justify the additional expense, especially if it does less damage in the forest, Mauren said.

Three loggers and six chokersetters support the helicopter during logging. Reynolds said his nine employees are all timber workers who have lost jobs elsewhere in the industry.

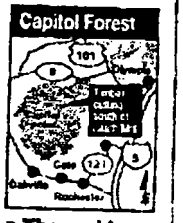
The timber extracted from Larch Canyon should total about 4 million board-feet, which is about 9 percent of the annual harvest volume sold off Capitol Forest.

Tumwater Lumber Co. is purchasing the wood for processing at its Tumwater mill.

Commercial thinning is a high priority for timberland owners these days, in part because millions of acres of public and private forests are tied up in habitat conservation areas to protect the northern spotted owl.

Helicopters are being used for the first time in a commercial logging operation in Capitol Forest.

Dick Milligan The Olympian



- **The problem:** 30-year-old timber stands are choked with too many trees.
- **The solution:** Selectively harvest using helicopters.
- **The cost:** About $180-$300 per 1,000 board-feet of timber.
- **The benefit:** Improved wildlife habitat, larger, more valuable trees 30 years after the thinning.

In the next 10 years, more than 20 percent of the 90,000-acre Capitol Forest is slated for commercial thinning.

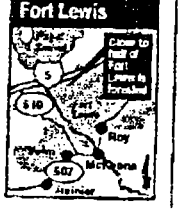
The Larch Canyon forest and other mature stands in Capitol Forest are scheduled for harvest at 60 years of age. For each acre harvested, about 12 trees will be left to grow under the current management plan.

Some activists are calling on the Department of Natural Resources to stretch out the harvest rotation to grow older trees, eliminate clearcutting and produce uneven age stands of timber. Benefactors would range from fish and wildlife to people seeking recreation.

The management plan for Capitol Forest is evolving, Cottingham said. Gone are the days where the goal was to produce revenue for Thurston and Grays Harbor counties and other trust accounts.

"I think we can manage every inch of our ground for the non-timber resources and still produce a steady supply of timber," Mauren said.

▶ FORT LEWIS MILITARY RESERVATION



FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE

A SPECIAL REPORT

A CHRONOLOGY: THE BATTLE OVER OLD-GROWTH

Here are some of the key events in the battle over old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest:

Oct. 28, 1980: U.S. Forest Service issues directive to protect northern spotted owl habitat in Washington and Oregon national forests.

October 1984: Congress sets 1987 national forest harvest level in Washington and Oregon at 5.08 billion board-feet, 700 million board-feet higher than Forest Service recommendation.

Aug. 4, 1987: Twenty-nine environmental groups file petition to list the owl as an endangered species. U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service denies the listing in December.

Nov. 17, 1988: Federal Judge Thomas Zilly remands listing decision back to Fish & Wildlife, calling original ruling "arbitrary and capricious."

March 24, 1989: Federal Judge William Dwyer takes first legal action to halt national forest timber sales in spotted owl habitat.

April 2, 1990: An interagency scientific committee recommends protection of large habitat conservation areas for spotted owls, including 60 percent of Olympic National Forest.

June 22, 1990: Fish & Wildlife lists owl as a threatened species under the federal Endangered Species Act.

Summer 1990: Congress establishes over legislation to protect owls or set harvest limits. Political gridlock continues through 1992.

February 1991: Sparked by a rash of spotted owl killings, the National Audubon Society and timber industry groups offer rewards for arrest and conviction of persons responsible.

May 6, 1991: Fish & Wildlife announces plan to designate 1.1 million acres of public and private lands as critical habitat for the owl. The timber industry claims it will cost 98,000 jobs.

May 23, 1991: About 2,500 timber workers and their families rally in Olympia on the same day Dwyer halts 171 timber harvest sales in Washington, Oregon and Northern California.

June 4, 1991: The Aryan Nation, a militant white-supremacist group, seeks support of displaced loggers, a tactic timber industry officials label as "repugnant."

Jan. 9, 1992: Fish & Wildlife revises critical habitat for the owl to 6.9 million acres, eliminating nonfederal lands.

May 14, 1992: Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan announces two different owl recovery plans. One is consistent with the Endangered Species

ourselves in a leadership role'

Joseph Pavel's memory of a day 11 years ago is as clear as a blue sky.

He was working on a Simpson Timber Co. logging crew that in a single day harvested enough old-growth logs to fill 28 log trucks.

"We set a record for the most logs harvested in a day," Pavel said with a touch of whimsical pride. The scene was the Skokomish River drainage in the Olympic National Forest, high above the Skokomish Indian Reservation that has been Pavel's home since he was 12.

Yes, the tribe and the timber industry have some longtime links.

"Just about all the old-timers on the reservation were loggers," Pavel recalled. "The Skoks are known for their logging skills. A lot of us have worked for the Forest Service and Simpson."

Logging is all but shut down in the thousands of acres of national forest land around the Skokomish River. The fragmented old-growth stands that remain are included in habitat areas for the northern spotted owl.

Pavel, who is 36 and vice chairman of Skokomish Tribal Council, wants to make something clear about the tribe's position about managing national forest lands.

First: The streams and rivers that are home to spawning salmon must be protected, and in some cases, rehabilitated from the effects of past logging.

But Pavel also noted that the tribe is not out to put the brakes on future logging on the Olympic National Forest.

"The tribe is not a conservation or environmental group," he said. "We realize these are public resources."

Pavel supports the new focus on restoration work in the watersheds above the reservation. He would like to see tribal members working on the projects, something the Forest Service supports, too.

Other tribal members view the work to heal the scars in the Olympic forest watersheds as the white man's problem.

"We need to put ourselves in a leadership role and make our people available," Pavel said.

Stately Douglas fir trees frame the sky in a carefully managed timber stand at Fort Lewis.

Steve Bloom The Olympian

Clearcuts are ugly, disliked by the public.

■ **The solution:** Selective harvesting, creation of uneven aged timber stands.

■ **The cost:** Increased harvest costs, lost revenue from leaving standing trees.

■ **The benefit:** More diverse forests, fewer tree plantations.

MANAGING THE FOREST

The solution to timber vs. environment problem may be selective harvesting

New Forestry is old hat at the Fort Lewis Military Reservation.

For nearly 35 years, foresters managing the 48,000 acres of forestland on the U.S. Army base have steered clear of clearcut harvesting.

They selectively harvest trees in a forest stand every 10 years, often allowing Mother Nature to reseed the open areas.

Over time, this practice creates a forest of trees of various ages and species, a far cry from the uniform tree stands that are cut and replanted every 50 years or so on private and some public lands.

What's happening in the woods at Fort Lewis offers a glimpse into forestry practices that many believe will be commonplace in Pacific Northwest national forests in the years ahead.

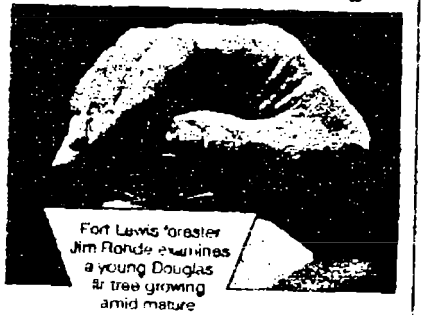
This type of forestry takes time," Fort Lewis forester Jim Rohde said during a recent tour. "We're managing a forest. We're not managing trees."

The Army mission at Fort Lewis – training soldiers – makes it easier, rather than harder, to manage forestlands on the military base. For instance:

■ The forest cover is desirable for training purposes. A checkerboard of clearcuts and young tree plantations have little value for troop maneuvers.

■ The Army doesn't have shareholders as do timber companies such as Weyerhaeuser, or state mandates such as the Department of Natural Resources requirement that land be managed to turn a timber profit.

Steve Bloom The Olympian



Fort Lewis forester Jim Rohde examines a young Douglas fir tree growing amid mature second-growth.

"I don't like to talk about what other agencies are doing with their land," Rohde said. "But the timber industry ... it's going to take some slowing down."

Foresters, land managers and curious citizens have been traveling more frequently to Fort Lewis for forest tours.

"In the past two years, we've given more tours than we did in the previous 15 years," Rohde said.

Most of the attention is generated by those looking for solutions to the jobs vs. environment controversy raging in the woods of the Pacific Northwest.

Olympia forest activist Jean Stam praised Fort Lewis for its approach to forestland management. She would like to see lumber from Fort Lewis marked in the lumber yard so consumers would know they were buying wood from sustainable forest.

Some familiar with Fort Lewis forestry, including state Department of Natural Resources forester Tom Poch, are less impressed.

"Their objectives are drastically different than ours," the Capitol Forest supervisor said.

The fort's forestry program has helped deflate the myth that Douglas fir needs complete open skies overhead to receive enough sunlight to grow. Rohde walked through stands featuring a new generation of fir well established underneath older trees.

"We're striving for a diversity of density, blending a variety of uses," Rohde said.

Wildlife are benefiting from the land management scheme, said Dave Clouse, Fort Lewis fish and wildlife biologist. Working closely with the foresters, Clouse makes sure lots of woody debris, snags and scattered brush is present in the woods.

"We feel that you can accelerate spotted owl habitat through management," he said.

Fort Lewis forestry is labor intensive, but the program is making money – about $1 million per year on an annual sale of 8 million to 10 million board-feet.

"We're trying to look 50, 100, 200 years down the road," Clouse said. "We're not afraid of change. I'm sure we will be changing in the future, too."

[illegible] proposed by the Bush administration offers less protection and is roundly derided the "final extinction plan" by environmentalists.

May 29, 1992: Pavel issues injunction halting any additional Forest Service timber sales in owl habitat.

June 4, 1992: Forest Service Chief Dale Robertson unfolds new "ecological approach" to national forest management, promises to reduce clear-cutting by 70 percent.

July 1992: 37 loggers arrested near Parks for trying to illegally harvest blown-down timber on the Olympic National Forest.

Fall 1992: In Northwest campaign stops, President Bush says, "It is time to make people more important than owls." Meanwhile, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton says if elected, he will cut a "timber summit" in an effort to resolve the crisis.

March 19, 1993: Clinton announces plans to convene a timber summit in Portland, Ore.

Old-growth dependent species

Northern spotted owl

■ Medium-sized owl with dark brown coloring and whitish spots found from southern British Columbia to Northern California.

■ Lives in old-growth and mature forests, feeding on small mammals.

■ Listed as threatened by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Used as an indicator species for the biological health of old-growth forest ecosystems of the Pacific Coast.

■ Population estimated at 4,000 pairs, including 700 in Washington. Since 1985, population has declined about 7.5 percent per year due to loss of habitat.

Marbled murrelet

■ Rarely observed seabird that lives at sea but nests inland from Alaska to central California.

■ Listed as threatened by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

■ Often uses old-growth trees for nest platforms anywhere from 15 miles to 40 miles from shore. Five nest trees have been discovered in Washington.

■ Major reason for threatened listing is loss of habitat.

Source: Washington Department of Wildlife

Robin Murphy The Olympian
Gannett News Service