

Protecting Public Forestlands

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The Plan: Submitted, Flawed, Legally Challenged!



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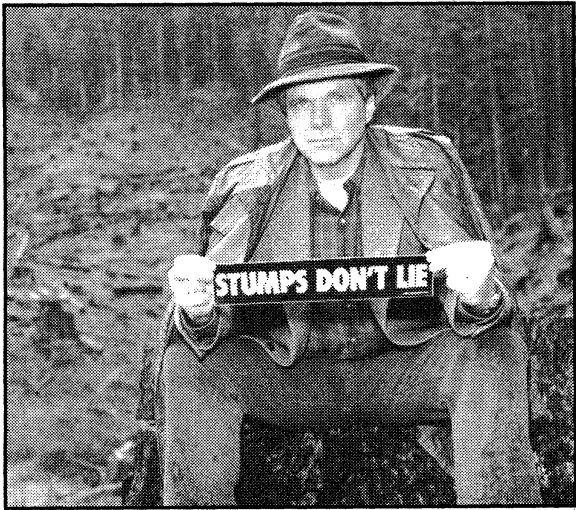
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From the Executive Director



Timothy Hermach

What Price Cooption?

"I can't tell you how wonderful it is to walk down the hall in the White House or a government agency and be greeted by your first name," an Audubon Society lobbyist comments. John Adams, head of the Natural Resources Defense Council, breakfasts with the Vice-President. His absorption into the body politic so complete that he brags about "[breaking] the back of environmental opposition to NAFTA."

He is not alone. The leaders of Conservation International, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, the World Wildlife Fund, as well as the Natural Resources Defense Council sided with the administration and became palanquin bearers for NAFTA--arguably the single largest legislated environmental disaster of the decade.

Mark Dowie writes about these and other lapses of environmental focus in the April 18, 1994 edition of *The Nation*. The blurring of vision, he argues, comes from the euphoria of having placed the Dynamic Duo in the White House, and believing that the infatuation is mutual and extends beyond platitudinous exertions.

But chasing the access-to-power carrot, which the administration so successfully dangled in front of environmentalists, has proven strategically unsuccessful. At every turn, from mining and grazing reform to the Everglades, from NAFTA to the Northwest forests, the appearance of chumminess allowed the administration to present environmental defeats as green-endorsed victories. Often, as with the selling of NAFTA, the environmental endorsement represented a minority view, but the administration was quick to characterize it as unqualified support for its policies.

The net result is a crisis of leadership within the environmental community. Many grassroots organizations no longer feel they can trust the nationals to represent their interests. We are frankly tired of having "our backs broken" by the likes of NRDC and others who make backroom deals which result in a net loss in native forests, and then claim each successive loss as a victory.

Dowie concludes that grassroots environmentalists may have to pack their bags, head to Washington to lobby--not Congress or the administration--but the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Sierra Club.

The grassroots, of course, have been "lobbying" the nationals indirectly for years; promoting a bolder vision born of ground-zero intimacy with the abuses visited on the land. But such efforts

have been glacially slow to produce results and, in some cases, manifest resistance from resentful nationals that view the grassroots as provincial gadflies, passing rhetorical gas at the administration's negotiating table.

Of late, the grassroots have turned to the Pew Charitable Trusts foundation for leadership. Current hopes hinge on the funding of a major forest campaign that was to be developed and endorsed by a coalition of grassroots and national organizations.

But the news is discouraging. After months of effort to form a national forest coalition, the alliance lost much of its credibility when it became clear that the more moderate members had no intention of abiding by their pledge to oppose "logging of all remaining old growth, roadless areas, and critical watersheds nationwide."

Many of these same organizations not only did not oppose the Montana Wilderness Act--which fails to protect 90 percent of the remaining old-growth roadless areas in that state--but officially endorsed it.

A case in point is the Sierra Club's endorsement which directly contradicts the Club's new forest policy adopted by its own Board of Directors in November of 1993. That policy states that the Sierra Club "supports the immediate halt of all logging in remaining old growth and roadless areas." Under any circumstances, it would be a challenge to reconcile that policy with the release of 3-plus million acres of Montana's roadless forestland to clearcutting and other development as allowed under the Williams Bill.

If that wasn't bad enough, the eleven plaintiffs in the Spotted Owl suit including The Wilderness Society, and National Audubon Society, spurred on by attorneys from Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, agreed to support the lifting of the injunction which protected 11 million acres of public land from logging. The door is now open to new timber sales, with no guarantee that another injunction can be successfully levied.

This was political capitulation of the foulest sort, and sends a terrible signal to Judge Dwyer, the

administration, and the American public. By voluntarily lifting the injunction, environmentalists appear to be blessing Option 9, which will not only continue devastating our forests, but which the administration says will become the template for public forest management throughout the nation.

What is needed is a coalition of courageous groups and individuals with shared vision, goals, and objectives. People who can trust each other and work together. People who can openly, proudly advocate an end to logging on public lands, without disguising their intent, or compromising principle for the illusion of political access. We are in the process of finding out who qualifies to join this new coalition.

The Native Forest Council will build a hard-core working coalition; lean, mean and focused on success. And we will define success as securing net gains for the forests, not incremental losses. Zero-cut, plus restoration.

We have already begun to provide a vision for the movement and to organize the grassroots around it. The *Statement to the Administration on the Clinton Forest Plan by a National Coalition of Grassroots Activists*, published in the last issue of the *Forest Voice*, now has nearly 200 endorsing organizations from 50 states, representing some 6 million members.

From the beginning, the NFC believed that a successful coalition would include the American public. Lobbying and political access, we felt, were games played in the other guy's ballpark. When we must engage in such pursuits, we should hire the best professional representation available. Regardless, environmentalists could never out-spend industry, and as Dowie wryly observes; "a lobby without PAC clout behind it is like a loan applicant with only a part-time job." The only realistic option for environmentalists is to lead a populist movement. Politicians respond to only two things: money, which we don't have; and votes, which we can secure through relentless education. Lois Gibbs, founder of Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, travels the country telling communities that although industry has the money, we have the power that money can't buy! It's time we began to use it.

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

Biological Reality and the Politics of Fear

by *Howie Wolke*

Consider this: 90 percent of the original Pacific slope native forest is gone. Over 98 percent of the primary native forest in the Great Lakes region is also gone; in New England, the Appalachians, and the deep South only a tiny fraction of 1 percent of the primary native forest remains uncut. In the U.S. south of Alaska, only in the Rocky Mountains does over half of the virgin forest remain intact. And it's going fast.

Over two thirds of the national forest system has been roaded, logged and otherwise "developed". Entire river systems are dying or dead. Well over half of the Northwest's native salmon stocks are extinct. Entire North American

Over two million acres of Forest Service and BLM de-facto wilderness is liquidated each year.

biomes, like the oak-prairie savannah, have been obliterated. And human population in the U.S. explodes toward 300 million and beyond.

Over two million acres of Forest Service and BLM de-facto wilderness is liquidated each year. Nearly a million acres of new clearcuts annually blight the public forests. Road building on public forests proceeds at the rate of roughly 5,000 miles per year, and the Forest Service already presides over a 375,000 mile road network, excluding state, county, and federal roads that cross its domain.

Fragmentation of native forests and the associated conversion of forests to tree farms, is liquidating native biological diversity. Spotted owls, marbled murrelets, northern goshawks, fishers, martens, pileated woodpeckers, bull trout, salmon, slugs, grubs, bugs, fungi, and too many other life forms to note are disappearing due to abusive forestry 1990s' style. Ecosystems are collapsing, and even in the wildest regions of the coterminous states, the ability of native habitats to support large, wide-ranging carnivores, is rapidly diminishing. In fact, the world's top conservation biologists argue that our dwindling wildlands and nature reserves are already too small and fragmented to foster conditions that result in the evolution of new species, at least for many terrestrial vertebrates. We ain't talking owls here, we're talking survival.

Since North America was settled by humans, at least 500 species have become extinct. Since the Endangered Species Act was enacted in 1973, seven listed species have gone extinct, and according to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 34 other known species have bit the eternal dust while awaiting listing. But some experts estimate that total to be well over 100 species.

Six hundred and fifty-one native species in the U.S. are listed as Threatened or Endangered (as of April, 1992), and at least 3,500 additional species and subspecies are "candidates" for

that dubious list. Yet some authorities suggest that over half of North America's species are now at risk, and that barring radical global change in the way humans reproduce and behave, half of the Earth's biota will be extinct by the end of the next century. Today, the World Wildlife Fund estimates that globally, extinctions are occurring at the rate of about 17 species per hour! Human-generated habitat destruction is almost always the culprit.

In this context, further degradation of native forests and other natural habitats becomes an unthinkable horror. Biological reality cannot be ignored. Compromise becomes a tool of the radically insane.

Despite biological reality, critics of the New Conservation Movement chide groups like the Native Forest Council for being out of touch with (gasp!) Political Reality. Work only within the established parameters of the debate, they say. Avoid uncharted territory, don't appear "radical" and, above all, compromise because only compromisers can succeed in the political arena.

Time for a little history. In 1978 and 1979 the Forest Service conducted its second national roadless area review (RARE II). The edict emanating from The Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club (the Sierra Club's Doug Scott was the unofficial lead strategist), was simple: Don't pressure the Carter Administration; compromise, submit moderate proposals and avoid

651 native species in the U.S. are listed as Threatened or Endangered, and at least 3,500 additional species are candidates for listing.

heated adversarial debate with the Forest Service. As a result, they told the grassroots, the peanut people would do us right. It is important to note that the timber industry and its allies took extreme positions, refused to compromise, were rude, emotional, and occasionally threatened wilderness advocates with violence. The final score was this: Of the 80 million roadless acres, only 62 million were inventoried. Conservationists proposed a little over 30 million acres for wilderness designation, and the government recommended only 15 million acres for protection.

Even worse, most of the recommended acreage was classic rock and ice. RARE II was the grandiose defeat of modern wildland conservation, and to a great extent, the million acre-plus juggernaut of annual Forest Service wilderness destruction is the price we're paying for Doug Scott and company's pathetic edict.

If this all sounds hauntingly familiar, it should. The recent tactical appeasements at the Forest Summit by the D.C.-based nationals and by some regional groups, and more recently SCLDF's deal with the Clinton gang to lift the

Dwyer injunction on a number of old-growth timber sales, are tactical duplications of the RARE II disaster. The obvious lesson: Those who refuse to learn from past mistakes, are doomed to repeat them.

A little more history. In the early 1950s when Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society began to promote a Congressional Wilderness System, those with few guts and limited vision called him a radical and suggested that he was out of touch with Political Reality. Their whines continued even when Hubert Humphry

Quite simply, the job of wildland conservation must be to change Political Reality.

introduced the first of over 50 national wilderness bills. By 1964 when the Wilderness Act was enacted, Zahniser and his cohorts had changed Political Reality. The basic hard work of organizing, educating, lobbying, and refusing to compromise basic principles did the job. History is replete with individuals and groups who created new political realities because the existing reality was unacceptable. Martin Luther King was one. He didn't temper his advocacy of equality because of unsympathetic Congressional committee members. He didn't advocate partial equality. Nor did he worry about alienating his opponents. He went to work and changed history.

In fact, sudden profound socio-political changes recur throughout history. The near global demise of slavery is a good example. It is particularly baffling that despite recent unexpected events such as the massive demise of Soviet Communism, that some conservationists--particularly those within or with ties to the Washington conservation establishment--still cling to the perception that the bounds of today's political reality must determine the future.

Quite simply, the job of wildland conservation must be to CHANGE POLITICAL REALITY so that the ecological principles of conservation biology (protect, restore, and connect), and rescuing the global environment in general, become the guiding principles under which our socio-economic system is organized. That's a tall order, yes, but no alternatives remain. Maintaining the illusion of effective strategic appeasement creates consequences--as I have described earlier--too horrible to contemplate. The Native Forest Council is one of the outfits in the New Conservation Movement with the guts to face the monumental task. Fortunately, the ranks of the New Conservation Movement are growing and soon, the echoing whines of those who cannot see beyond the sorry Political Reality of the day will fade into the inaudible oblivion of all those who refused to make a difference.

The Center for Public Integrity Slams the Forest Service for...

"Sleeping with the Industry"

An independent study shows that little has changed within the Forest Service under the Clinton Administration.

The Center for Public Integrity (CPI), an independent, non-profit, nonpartisan, organization conducted a year-long investigation looking for evidence of integrity in the Forest Service, and found little.

CPI is not an advocacy organization or an environmental group. During the past three and a half years, it has produced fourteen studies about public service and ethic-related issues. On April 7, 1994 CPI released *Sleeping With the Industry: The U.S. Forest Service and Timber Interests*. Charles Lewis, chairman and executive director of CPI describes the report as "the first in-depth look at the Forest Service under the Clinton Administration, and its relationship today to Congress and the private sector."

Lewis began the announcement press conference with the following observations: "Most Americans probably have a vague image of Smokey the Bear and friendly forest rangers with their wide-brim hats. But we soon discovered--and it's no secret--that for years the Forest Service has been one of the most troubled agencies in the federal government. Indeed, from the General Accounting Office to the conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation, not to mention numerous stories in the news media, the Forest Service has been sharply criticized for incompetence, corruption, and political manipulation.

"We found an agency with unusually close ties to industry--frankly just about as close a relationship between government and business interests as I have seen." Lewis continued, "The agency spends on average 70 percent of its annual total resource management budget on timber operations, and only five percent on fish, wildlife, soil, and water preservation.

"From our investigations and interviews, apparently this federal agency exists substantially as a supplier of trees to timber companies. Why, with huge federal budget deficits each year, did the U.S. pay over \$5 billion in subsidies to the timber industry in the Eighties? Why do we have 360,000 miles of roads cut through national

forest land, enough to circle the entire planet fourteen times? Exactly who is being serviced here?"

Lewis went on to discuss the public's hopes for meaningful change after years of policies that so drastically depleted our nation's forests and threatened their diversity at the cost of billions of taxpayer dollars.

"Unfortunately," said Lewis, "despite a few encouraging signs, the Forest Service has not dramatically changed under the Clinton Administration. The long-evident institutional incestuousness between the industry, Congress, and the agency, continues today.

"Not unlike the Interior Department's grazing fees controversy, the fiscal and environmental resolve of the Forest Service under the Clinton Administration has wilted under pressure from business. Specifically, at the beginning of the Clinton Presidency, it was announced that the Forest Service would gradually eliminate below-cost timber sales. However, it is now clear that the Forest Service is continuing this dubious multi-billion dollar concession to industry."

Lewis concluded his introduction by quoting Charles Turner, a former U.S. Attorney in Oregon who has prosecuted several cases involving theft of timber from federal lands. "Anybody who thinks the Forest Service is the protector of the public domain," Turner said, "is sadly mistaken."

Below are highlights from the CPI report:

- The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, assessed the agency in 1986. It found that "Forest Service bureaucrats serve the goals of special interest groups--in this case the timber industry--and not those of the public, taxpayers, or conservationists."
- The Forest Service has lost all

credibility with Congress and the public; the agency is considered a "laughingstock," according to one congressional aide.

- The White House is failing to reform the agency.
- The misleading budget process, which fosters unaccountability by the Forest Service to the American people, as well as agency collusion

logging on the fragile and ailing forests on the east side of Washington and Oregon. (Foley's home state is Washington.)

- Foley has accepted more Big Timber money than nearly any other House member.
- The Forest Service has allowed its reforestation contractors to hire and then mistreat illegal aliens, feeding them dog food for sustenance, forcing them into squalid living conditions, and ignoring their medical problems.
- Forest Service employees are punished with career-ending reprisals for merely questioning timber policies.
- The agency has skirted environmental laws by opening protected forests to salvage logging, more appropriately called "loophole logging," even after alleged industry-sponsored arson has burned old-growth stands.
- The Forest Service asked some of its employees to fabricate environmental statistics, to allow for higher timber-cutting levels.
- Timber industry and trade association executives can pick up the phone, call Forest Service management, complain about policies they see as detrimental to their interests, and have those policies modified.

The report concluded that as a result of the agency's incestuous relationship with the timber industry, "ancient old-growth trees are sheared like suburban shrubbery, unnecessary roads are built through virgin forests, and endangered wildlife are forsaken. Abuses on the forest floor are irreparable. As one source told the Center, 'You can't grow an old-growth forest.'"

Coming as it did just one week before the Clinton Administration released its final plan for Northwest forests, the report serves as a powerful reminder of the corrupt influence of timber money on the management of public forests. That the Clinton forest plan will once again allow logging to resume in ancient forests against both scientific and economic evidence to the contrary, supports the conclusions reached by The Center for Public Integrity.

For a copy of the full report send \$10 to: CPI, 1634 I St. Suite 902 Washington, D.C. 20006

From 1991 to 1994 Big Timber poured \$3,047,934 into the House of Representatives

From 1987 to 1994 Timber Industry PACs passed another \$2,547,176 to the Senate

with the industry, continues unreformed into the mid-Nineties.

- The Congress' legislative agenda is substantially set by timber interests.
- The Forest Service is at war with itself and nature.
- The agency mistreats and muzzles its own employees, routinely breaks the law, places its own budget over its mission to care for the land, and in general sleeps with the industry.
- The Clinton Administration is unwilling to stand up to powerful timber-state politicians like Senators Max Baucus (D-MT), Ted Stevens (R-AK), and House Speaker Thomas Foley (D-WA) who accept large amounts of money from Big Timber.
- From 1991 to 1994 timber industry political action committee (PAC) contributions to members of the House of Representatives totaled \$3,047,934.
- From 1987 to 1994 timber industry PACs poured \$2,547,176 into the U.S. Senate.
- In addition, Georgia Pacific Corp., Louisiana-Pacific Corp., and International Paper Co. gave a total of \$182,720 in "soft money" contributions to political parties in the last three years.
- House Speak Foley twisted arms in the Clinton administration to exclude any discussion during the forest summit of decreasing

Public Lands Entitlements: America's biggest welfare program

The Corporate Welfare Kings
by James P. Donahue
Edited from *The Washington Post*
National Weekly Edition
March 21-27, 1994

The current vogue of welfare reform in Washington is curiously narrow. After all, "ending welfare as we know it" means cutting off not only the proverbial unwed mothers, but also those indolent corporations that have grown fat feeding at the public trough. This year, taxpayers will spend \$51 billion in direct subsidies to business and lose another \$53.3 billion in tax breaks for corporations, according to the Office of

This year, taxpayers will spend \$51 billion in direct subsidies to business

Management and Budget and the Joint Committee on taxation.

The most costly form of corporate welfare in 1994 will be subsidies for agribusiness, costing an estimated \$29.2 billion. By contrast, the federal government will spend \$25 billion on food stamps and \$15 billion for Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

The problem is that corporate welfare has created a culture of dependency that has encouraged certain industries to live off the taxpayers. Year after year, these companies receive subsidies or handouts from the federal government and never learn to fend for themselves. And, unlike the vast majority of poor people who receive public assistance, most corporate welfare recipients are not particularly needy.

One federal bureaucracy that has been especially indulgent of freeloaders is the Bureau of Land Management. The BLM rents out public lands to ranchers for cattle grazing. In 1992, the BLM's annual grazing fee was \$1.92 per animal. But private landowners charge their grazing customers, on average, \$9.26 per animal. The low grazing fees amount to a food stamp program for livestock belonging to wealthy ranchers. In 1992, the government's below-market rates cost the taxpayer an estimated \$55 million in revenue. A typical beneficiary of this subsidy is J.R. Simplot of Grandview, Idaho. He paid the government \$87,430 for the privilege to graze cattle on public land. If the government had billed Simplot at free-market prices, he would have had to pay \$410,524.

And it's not as if Simplot is going to suffer without public assistance. He is on the Forbes' 400 list of richest Americans with an estimated net worth of just over \$500 million.

The government's failure to charge reasonable fees for mining minerals on publicly owned land is another form of corporate welfare. Other countries, such as Australia and Canada, do not coddle their mining companies, charging up to 12 percent in rents and royalties for extracting minerals on public lands. In contrast, the U.S. Interior Department charges no rent or royalties and allows companies to mine government land for virtually nothing. The House Committee on Natural Resources reported last November that in 1988 the government had transferred 20 land titles to private companies in exchange for less than \$4,500. The land, according to the General Accounting Office, was worth [up] to \$48 million.

Perhaps the biggest beneficiary is the American Barrick Resources Corp., based in Toronto. Since 1987 the company has extracted \$8.75 billion (yes, billion) worth of gold from a site in northern Nevada that is the property of the American people. According to the Natural Resources Committee, the federal government is now

Taxpayers will lose another \$53.3 billion in tax breaks for corporations

preparing to sell the land to American Barrick for all of \$15,000. Oh yes, the founder of the company paid himself \$32 million in 1992.

Deadbeat corporations also take advantage of the taxpayers. For example, forestry companies that signed contracts to purchase government timber at a set price in the mid-1980s and then defaulted, owe the U.S. Treasury \$135.6 million. The corporations claim that they are justified in breaching the contracts because of falling lumber prices. But there's no reason taxpayers should have to protect companies in pursuit of profits from normal business risks.

The "two years and out" proposal for individual welfare recipients should be linked with a similar time limit on corporate welfare payments. More generally, we need to expand what we mean by welfare reform. It's time to take the corporate welfare Cadillac off the road.

Administration Backpedals on Public Lands Reform

When the Clinton Administration rode into Washington, it promised the citizenry that it would clean up the West. A long history of government-subsidized welfare ranching, welfare mining and welfare logging had, in many places, strained the ecological fiber of public lands beyond the breaking point. The administration, we were assured, would take bold

Each compromise twists the notion of reform into a pretzel of capitulation.

steps to rest the West. Those assurances stood firm until the first opposition shots were fired.

After announcing comprehensive plans to increase grazing fees, halt below-cost timber sales, and reform outdated mining laws, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt buckled last April under pressure from Western congressional delegations representing private users of public resources.

Ensuing months produced a series of compromises, each twisting the notion of reform into a pretzel of capitulation. Option 9, the administration's forest plan, is one such pretzel. It purports to treat the effects of over-logging with a chainsaw; releasing 40 percent of the last remaining ancient forests to the saw, and failing to inviolately protect any of the rest. Paradoxically, the plan is embraced by Babbitt who, as late as March of this year, acknowledged before the National Academy of Sciences that "for the past 10 or 15 years the agencies of the United States government had essentially been denying responsibility for the consequences of the over-cutting and destruction of the forests in the Pacific Northwest." Perhaps Babbitt views Option 9 as the official admission.

Range reform suffered similar contortions. D.C.-based columnist Larry Swisher, writing about Babbitt's suggested grazing policy, said: "the Clinton administration has basically stomped the reform out of its proposed range reforms."

Under Babbitt's draft plan, grazing fees will double over three years--still only 40 percent of private forage rates--but discounts will be given to ranchers who practice "good stewardship." Nancy Green, range program director for the Wilderness Society comments, "Most of us obey the laws because we're supposed to, not because we get paid extra money."

The net effect of the policy, Swisher writes, is that "the interests of 20,000 ranchers...prevailed over those of most Americans." He further observes that the proposal places "substantial control in the hands of traditional Western industries and weakens new national environmental standards for the vast federal domain in the West." Swisher concludes: "The plan's national standards basically restate existing policy and law without any specific instructions, including protection for clean water, endangered species and healthy ecosystems."

Mining reform will likely meet the same fate even though the House and Senate approved different versions of a reform bill. Both versions are weak, and companies like Canadian-based American Barrick Resources (see *Public Lands Entitlements*) that extract billions in gold from American public lands can afford to finance persistent opposition to the implementation of reforms at the regulatory agency level. The Clinton

"The Clinton administration has basically stomped the reform out of its proposed range reforms."

administration's record of capitulation invites refusal to comply with the law.

Meanwhile, the strongest champion of mining and grazing reform within the administration was silenced by Babbitt. Jim Baca, head of the Bureau of Land Management for less than a year, was sacrificed to placate conservative Western politicians. Baca's firing was a major blow to the reform hopes of an agency responsible for more public land than the Forest Service, and one whose management standards have been exceedingly low. Babbitt claimed the firing resulted from a difference in management styles, but the plain-spoken Baca countered that his dismissal "came about because those Western elected officials are worried about fund-raising from those traditional extractive industries."

The net result of this backpedaling is that public lands reform will be little more than cosmetic. The wasteful liquidation of public resources will continue, subsidized by taxpayer dollars, with an incalculable cost to the land.

- W V Rozek

The NFC Responds to the Administration's Final Forest Plan



Pat McLelland/The Oregonian

On April 14, 1994 the Clinton Administration submitted the final forest management proposal to Judge William Dwyer of the United States District Court in Seattle. The plan, known as Option 9, retains many of the same flaws evident in the original draft circulated prior to the comment period. In spite of the volumes of scientific evidence that suggest the ecological fabric of Northwest forests has been strained beyond the breaking point, the plan nonetheless:

- Allows 30 percent of the remaining ancient forest to be logged.
- Does not provide for the long-term viability and distribution across the landscape of 800 of the 1,100 species studied.
- Assumes critical owl habitat can be logged now because "new" ancient forest will be grown in the future.
- Permits salvage, forest health, thinning, and other forms of logging at Forest Service discretion in areas supposedly set aside as reserves.
- Completely ignores the issue of timber exports.
- Completely ignores alternative fiber sources.
- Completely ignores conservation and reclamation.

An independent economic analysis (see facing page) revealed a pro-

timber bias in the development of the plan. Ed Whitelaw, a respected Northwest Economist and participant in the Forest Summit, concluded that the plan "abandons the goal of sustainability," and "ignores the region's most powerful economic trends" which are dependent upon the region's quality of life.

In spite of the inadequacy of the proposed plan, the eleven remaining plaintiffs in the spotted owl suit agreed to a motion by the Forest Service to dissolve the injunction which bans logging over 11 million acres in three states. It was a move that many in the environmental movement found unfathomable. The lifting of the injunction would allow timber sales to proceed in old-growth forests without a legal review of Option 9.

On May 2, 1994 the Native Forest Council filed a memorandum of *Amicus Curiae* in opposition to the defendants' motion to dissolve the injunction. Below are excerpts from the memorandum filed with the court:

"Two years ago, this Court entered an injunction in order to preserve certain critical habitat for a number of endangered species from imminent destruction pending the formulation by defendants (*the Forest Service and the Administration*) and approval by the Court of a new forest management policy. After some false starts, a policy has now been adopted. It remains to be seen, however, if this policy remedies the problems that led to the injunction or whether the new

policy was lawfully formulated. "Yet, even though the Court has had no opportunity to assess whether the terms of its injunction have been fully met, defendants now seek through their motion to have this Court abruptly dissolve the injunction. The motion--a barely restrained hymn of self-congratulation--reflects a single erroneous premise: the government decides, not the Court, if the government has satisfied the Court's order. This not only sheds the movants' usual burden, but is a singularly ill-conceived approach for these defendants who have repeatedly flouted the law."

The Native Forest Council goes on to request that the Court maintain its injunction "until it completes the meticulous examination of the Record of Decision (ROD) (*Option 9*) plainly contemplated by the Court's prior orders."

The legality, not the existence of the plan is at issue. The memorandum notes: "this is not the first time defendants have proclaimed victory in their efforts to draft a policy to manage northern spotted owl habitat in a manner that at long last complies with the law...recounting representations about past plans that later proved incorrect. As we have noted, this is the third ROD addressing the spotted owl habitat in five and a half years. Nor is this the first time that defendants have sought relief from this injunction. Most recently, defendants sought a modification of the injunction to allow twenty-four timber sales to go forward. Defendants represented, and the Court noted that defendants would 'not seek the release of any other timber sales covered by the injunction until the legality of the forthcoming ROD is decided.'"

The NFC argued that the Forest Service and the Administration have not even attempted to meet this burden. No evidence was offered that Option 9 indeed complies with the environmental laws whose violation led to the original injunction.

The memorandum concludes: "If the northern spotted owl, or any of the other species this Court directed defendants to study, are pushed beyond their viability threshold, no amount of money, no heartfelt regrets, and no political platitudes, will bring them back. Just as this Court has twice before refused to gamble with the very survival of these species while defendants struggle to comply with the law, so now the status quo should be maintained for the few months required to ensure that all applicable laws have--at long, long last--been duly observed."

In a suspiciously coincidental development, Weyerhaeuser, one of the largest private forest-land owners in the United States, publicly endorsed Option 9 *just one day after the plaintiffs agreed to drop the injunction.*

"We support Option 9 and whatever means it takes to achieve it," said Jack Creighton, Weyerhaeuser's chief executive officer.

Weyerhaeuser appears to be the big winner under the proposed implementation of Option 9, and with this announcement publicly breaks ranks with the industry.

A representative of a coalition of smaller businesses dependent on federal timber accused Weyerhaeuser of selling out. "You're kidding. They said that publicly?" said Gus Kuehne, the vice president of the Western Forest Industries Association. "They want to free up private lands from restrictions and give away federal lands... They're trying to win brownie points with the Administration."

Kuehne's analysis appears to be accurate. Weyerhaeuser, a participant at the Forest Summit, was apparently able to negotiate concessions in return for the endorsement. First, any serious discussion of exports was effectively squashed, although limiting exports would provide the simplest solution to the supply shortage experienced by domestic mills. Since Weyerhaeuser exports some 25 percent of its timber, tabling the export issue is a valuable concession.

The implementation of Option 9 also provides Weyerhaeuser with a competitive edge. If the plan is enacted, many smaller competitors dependent on federal timber will be driven out of business. Since Weyerhaeuser has vast private land holdings, a restricted federal cut only serves to make its timber more valuable.

Further, Weyerhaeuser and several industry giants were granted exemptions from environmental laws that apply to other private timber-land owners. So while small growers must share the economic burden of complying with federal laws that protect endangered species, large tracts of Weyerhaeuser land are exempt from such mundane considerations.

This is truly a monument to the power of corporate influence; that the laws of the land can be selectively enforced to accommodate the affluent.

The rest of the timber industry is naturally not as enthusiastic about Option 9 as Weyerhaeuser. On May 11, 1994 the industry filed two suits in Washington DC against the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management. The industry strategy is to block the implementation of the Clinton plan, and throw the issue back to Congress where its stable of timber-captive politicians can override existing laws and, once again, offer up the public's forests to full, relentless exploitation.

Economic Analysis Shows Administration's Forest Management Options are Flawed

A respected Northwest economist and participant at the Clinton forest summit, released a study of the administration's *Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement on Management of Habitat for Late-Successional and Old-Growth Forest Related Species Within the Range of the Northern spotted Owl* (FSEIS), and found its premises and conclusions severely flawed. Ed Whitelaw president of ECO Northwest and professor of economics at the University of Oregon, studied the ten management alternatives for Northwest forests and concluded that the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior "cannot reach an unbiased, well-informed decision if they rely on the FSEIS."

Whitelaw's analysis revealed a pro-timber bias underlying the management options which fails to assign value to standing forests, or to understand the evolving social and economic trends in the Northwest. Whitelaw's findings show that the FSEIS:

- Abandons the goal of sustainability.
- Ignores the region's most powerful economic trends.
- Glorifies the economic effects of timber harvests.
- Closes its eyes to the economic benefits of protecting old-growth ecosystems.
- Misunderstands the fundamental mechanisms of economic

development at the urban and regional level in the Pacific Northwest.

"In effect," says Whitelaw, "the FSEIS concludes that the federal forests can have a positive economic impact only if they produce more stumps, dirty streams, and dead salmon."

The real economic value of the forests, according to Whitelaw, is that they contribute to the quality of life in the Northwest which is a major economic draw to the region. "By looking so intently at the number of trees to be harvested," says Whitelaw, "the FSEIS fails to see the economically more important forest."

He cites a recent survey in which Oregonians were asked to choose which is more important to economic growth in Oregon? Relaxing environmental regulations to make it easier for companies to do business; or maintaining a quality environment to attract people and companies to Oregon? Overwhelmingly, Oregonians recognized the value of a quality environment. Seventy-five percent voted to maintain a quality environment, while only 16 percent wanted to relax regulations.

Whitelaw also debunks the myth that an increase in the timber supply will lead to greater stability in timber-dependent communities. He, in fact, reaches the opposite conclusion, and sites several economists and sociologists to support his

conclusion: "A careful reading of history shows that foresters have taken interest in 'community stability' as a symbol for inspiring a political cause, regardless of whether this cause was expanding government ownership, eliminating destructive competition among producers, or promoting increased timber harvest on public lands...There is no evidence foresters have stabilized employment or income in timber-dependent towns...Education, especially literacy, is far more important than timber supply in providing rural people with the means to guide economic and community change."

Whitelaw argues that the focus on lost timber jobs is narrow and misleading. Under Option 9, for example, an estimated 4,900 timber-related jobs would be lost, while under the more restrictive Option 1, an estimated 11,300 timber jobs would be eliminated. But according to Whitelaw, the degradation of the quality of life that would result from resumed cutting threatens up to 170,000 non-timber jobs.

Research indicates that one-third of the region's 7.5 million residents live here because of the area's quality of life; its natural resources, recreational opportunities, and environmental quality. Forty-five percent of those residents are employed. If salmon and spotted owls continue to decline throughout their range, and are viewed as indicator species for the region's aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems,

Whitelaw reasons that continued deterioration caused by logging will threaten a far greater number of higher wage jobs in other sectors.

Economic evidence further suggests that timber jobs are cyclical. In 1979 the industry employed 133,800 workers in the region. By 1989, before the emergence of the spotted owl, employment in wood products industry fell by 24,500 or 18 percent. Reductions in timber harvest, employment, and income are normal, Whitelaw argues, "simply because the land and the law could not accommodate past levels of harvest."

"In sum," concludes Whitelaw, "the issue is jobs-vs.-jobs, not jobs-vs.-the environment." The choice is whether to protect jobs that enhance and sustain a quality environment, or jobs that destroy it.

"By extracting timber from the region's forests faster than the available land can grow replacements, the timber industry and the region's timber-dependent communities must now live with the inevitable consequences."

If Option 9 is allowed to stand, the consequences will again be passed on to the public, and the quick fix will be applied at the further expense of the forests.

*For a copy of the analysis contact:
ECO Northwest
99 West Tenth, Suite 400
Eugene, OR 97401
(503) 687-0051*



Not the desert -- Massive clearcuts in Washington's Olympic National Forest

photo by Peter Morrison

The Power of One

Gather around, my children: a Fairy Tale by Vortic Kezor

Once upon a time

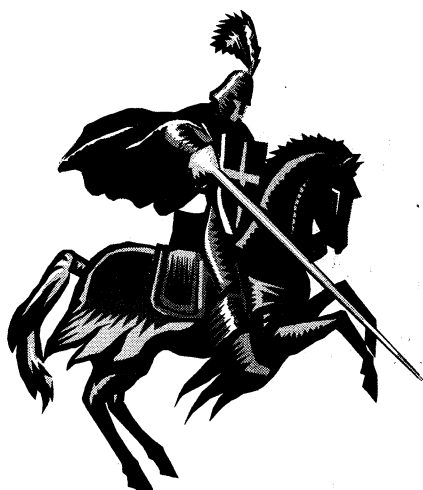
there was a young knight who roamed the wretched Kingdom of Darkansas flailing at injustice, wanting with all of his heart to do the Right Thing. But wanting to do the Right Thing, he found, was not enough to guarantee that the Right Thing would be done. To help the hapless peasants of the Red Neck he needed to retain his job as Overseer, but access to positions of authority, he soon discovered, were controlled by men of "True Power" Men of wealth. Lots of it.



"True Power"

After striving mightily to do the Right Thing for four long years, this knight was nonetheless banished from the inner circle by the men of "True Power" whom he had, alas, pissed off. Doing the Right Thing, you see, often conflicted with doing the Money-Making Thing, and no one in the kingdom was ever allowed to interfere with that.

So, our hero, we shall call him Lintnoc, went before the men of "True Power" and assumed the conciliatory position. Men of "True Power" always like that. Lintnoc promised to quit trying to diaper the Giant Chicken that was fouling the kingdom and to continue feeding the ravenous Bearmouser Beast that was stripping the trees from the kingdom's Oh-Dark mountains.



Lintnoc

The men of "True Power" approved of Lintnoc's new humility and spirit of cooperation. They thought they could work with young Lintnoc, and promised to restore him to his position as Overseer, if he agreed to tinker only with things that did not matter, and to never, ever, interfere with the Money-Making Thing again.

Lintnoc agreed and thus was restored as Overseer. He was very grateful, and soon the Giant Chicken was again spreading waste upon the land, and the Bearmouser Beast resumed eating trees across the kingdom much faster than the peasants could grow them. All was normal in Darkansas. The men of "True Power," too, were grateful, and from time to time would favor young Lintnoc with small displays of their potency. Once they even took some beans from his wife, Bil-leery, bought some cows, and through secret rites of alchemy turned them into a pot of gold, just like that! The whole kingdom was amazed at her good fortune.

The men of "True Power" were so pleased at how well Darkansas was being ruled that they decided it should be a model for the whole empire. Thus they resolved to make Lintnoc Emperor of all the kingdoms in the land. They sensed that their old champion, Jorge the Tush, was losing favor among a restless peasantry who saw their land mired in debt and their lives increasingly burdened while the men of "True Power" continued to flourish.

Lintnoc was very happy to leave Darkansas and he travelled to many kingdoms promising everything to everyone, as the men of "True Power" said he should. Once crowned, however, Lintnoc remembered his lesson from Darkansas and, fearing banishment, quickly abandoned his gushing promises and placed the entire land at the continued disposal of the men of "True Power." And thus he became known as Lintnoc the False.

In the Northwest quadrant of the empire was the Land of Many Trees. For decades it had been ruled by the dreaded Bearmouser Beast. But of late, the peasants had been angered that their land was left defiled by Bearmouser and others of its ilk, and had gone to the Wizard Bryer for help. They explained that the sacred laws of

the empire had been broken, that the forests were sick from over-eating, the waters were fouled, and many creatures were dying including the Rare Slotted Fowl. Their children, claimed the peasants, would be left with nothing if the jaws of the Bearmouser Beast were allowed to continue ravaging the land.



The Wizard Bryer

And lo, to the great surprise of the peasants, the Wizard Bryer agreed. The peasants were shocked because they knew the sacred laws rarely applied to the men of "True Power." Everyone pretended they did, but only the peasants were ever punished for breaking them. But the Wizard Bryer cast a magic spell on 11 million acres of the kingdom's forests, and try as they might, the Bearmouser Beast and all of its ilk, could not eat another tree.

Well, the men of "True Power" would not long stand for that. Interference with the Money-Making Thing was intolerable, and while they could always control the stupid peasants, the Wizard Bryer was another matter. Straightaway, they went to Lintnoc and threatened him with banishment if he did not smite the Wizard Bryer and return the Land of Many Trees to the Bearmousers. Lintnoc, as always, was eager to please, but the Wizard's magic was strong and even Emperor Lintnoc could not stand against it.

But there were other ways of smiting a Wizard. Lintnoc could always decree a new sacred law that made the old sacred laws invalid. But the peasants were getting wise to that trick, and there was no point in further pissing off the peasants, for they too had power, although they did not know it, and it was best to keep them amused and ignorant.

So Lintnoc decided to hold a great festival in the Land of Many Trees. Peasants like festivals, and he invited some of the more reason-

able ones to attend and listened gravely to their pleas. The less reasonable ones traveled for many miles to get there, but were made to stand outside in the rain. Lintnoc then instructed his wise men to go forth and find solutions to the problems plaguing the Land of Many Trees and, above all, to please the Wizard Bryer so that he would release the land from his spell.

And so they did. Locked in the tower, the wise men strained and strained, and tried and tried, but try as they might they could find no plan that would allow the forests to be eaten anew while still complying with the sacred laws. Being wise men, though, they brought forth not one but eight plans, in an effort to please the angry peasants, the Wizard Bryer, the Bearmouser Beast, and the men of "True Power."

It was an impossible task from the start, for the Bearmouser Beast claimed that it would die if not allowed to feed on the peasant's trees. And although it had made the same claim many times in many places, it still lived. The trees, however, did not. And when they were gone, the Beast moved on and the peasants suffered. But the men of "True Power" always sided with the Beast and cared little for the petty concerns of the peasants; and having stood by while the Beast consumed nine of every ten ancient trees they now saw no reason why it should not eat the rest.



The Bearmouser

When Lintnoc saw the plans he was not pleased, and locked the wise men in the tower anew ordering them to redouble their efforts to find a plan that would be more pleasing to the men of "True

Power.” And so they did. And being wise, they knew that the very next option had better be clever enough to give the men of “True Power” and their Beast exactly what they wanted without calling it that.

And that was the birth of the Option Called Nine and the daring notion of Sicosystem Management which would surely placate the Wizard Bryer. Under the clever decrees of Sicosystem Management the Bearmoussers and their ilk could continue eating the trees but instead of eating them for their own well being, they would eat them for the health of the forests! Eat, eat, eat, chomp, chomp, chomp, they would get those ailing forests healthy in no time. And who in the kingdom could object to healthy forests?



Rare Slotted Fowl

So Lintnoc met privately with the men of “True Power” and explained this to them, and asked them to show great public annoyance at this plan so that the peasants would think it was good. But, Lintnoc assured them, nothing would really change, and every tree would still be available for eating, except that they couldn’t call it eating anymore, it would now be called “Sicosystem Management.” The stupid peasants would like that.

The men of “True Power” were pleased, but wanted a sign from the peasants that proved they were indeed stupid and could be relied on to cooperate. Lintnoc sent emissaries to the peasants and they spoke of the coming glory of Sicosystem Management, but insisted that the Bearmouser Beast needed to be fed now, and that if the peasants could convince the Wizard Bryer to lift his spell just a teensy, weensy bit, the Bearmouser Beast could eat some of the remaining trees and be satisfied. In return, the great Lintnoc would promise never ever to support the passing of a new sacred law that would invalidate the old ones.

Well, the peasants thought that was a swell deal, and not only did they agree, but they personally chose the trees that would be fed to the Bearmouser. Some among the peasants said; “Let them eat hemp! The Beast but thinks it is addicted to trees, but there are other good

things for it to eat.” Alas, their cries were drowned out by the sounds of falling trees.

As more peasants started reading the Option Called Nine some of the more suspicious ones discovered that none of the trees were really protected at all. And they remembered Lintnoc’s other broken promises and concluded that the Wizard Bryer should keep his spell right where it was and they would trust the Wizard to do what the sacred laws and their Emperor could not.

But the reasonable peasants were so excited about meeting with the Emperor’s emissaries and the promises of Sicosystem Management, that they rushed to the Wizard Bryer and told him they didn’t need his spell anymore. Besides, they reminded their brothers and sisters, we are only weak peasants and afraid of incurring the wrath of men of “True Power.” The Wizard was confused for it was his desire to protect the peasants and their trees, and he asked them if that was what they truly wanted? They replied that this was a complicated problem, and although they might seek the Wizard’s help again, for now they would trust their forests to the Option Called Nine.

The Wizard just shook his head, feeling a sudden annoyance with peasants. How could peasants who tried to be so reasonable, be so stupid as well?

The suspicious peasants were stunned. They asked the reasonable peasants why they would do such a thing? The reasonable peasants said that they feared the great Lintnoc would pass a new sacred law and they would all be smited. But, replied the suspicious peasants, wasn’t that why you fed the Bearmouser Beast in the first place? Did the great Lintnoc not promise to oppose such laws? Yes, yes, he did. But no one really expected Lintnoc the False to keep his word this time either, so this was another attempt to gain his favor.

And that’s why peasants remain peasants.

The men of “True Power” were well pleased. The very next day after the peasants asked the Wizard Bryer to lift his spell, the Bearmouser Beast publicly proclaimed its support of the Option Called Nine. It seems that Beasts could read too, and getting access to the whole forest was about as good as it could hope for. In return for the Beast’s support, Lintnoc agreed to exempt it from the sacred laws that applied to all others. No one was particularly surprised, because that’s the way things had always worked anyway. And Lintnoc would allow Bearmouser not only to eat more of the

peasant’s trees, but to export them to other kingdoms as well. The peasants would be left jobless, but such is the lot of a peasant.

It was as if the shadow of Darkarkansas had spread across the entire empire. All was as it had been. The men of “True Power” and their Beast could once again feed at the Sacred Trough. But just when the men of “True Power” were about to start counting all of the new wealth that would be wrested from the peasants through the Sacred Trough, the most suspicious and most stubborn peasant of all, Mit Hismarch, went back to the Wizard Bryer and asked him to keep his spell in place.



*Mit Hismarch
(Conversing with a reasonable peasant)*

Hismarch thought a spell in the hand was worth two in the bush, and told the Wizard what everyone already knew: that the Option Called Nine would not save the forests, the Rare Slotted Fowl, or the Warbled Whirlett and surely this did not meet the spirit of the sacred laws and was not what the Wizard had in mind. The Wizard was pleased because one stubborn peasant was worth eleven reasonable ones.

Many throughout the empire rejoiced. For in every kingdom there were bands of stubborn peasants just like Hismarch, (well, not exactly like Hismarch) who had seen their forests eaten and the earth bleed. They had had their fill of empty promises from Lintnoc the False, and had broken ranks with the reasonable peasants who sought to appease him. For they

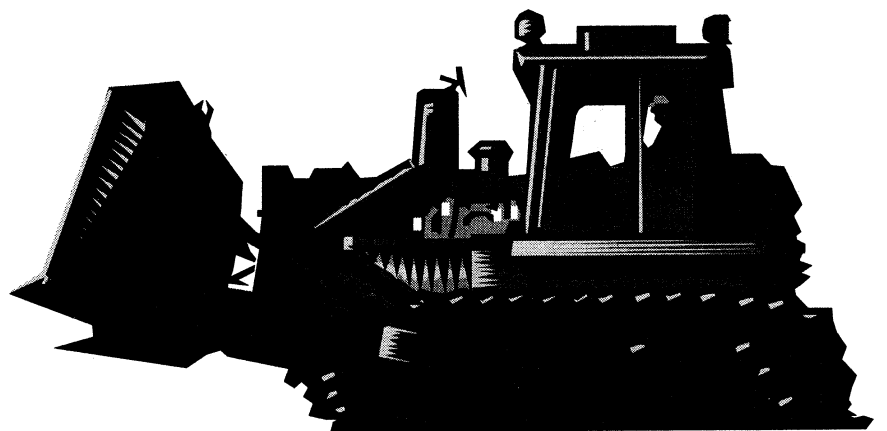
had seen many peasants and whole forests down in the River of Eternal Compromise, and swore that the last of the Creator’s towering forests would survive those deadly currents.

Alas, my children, the ending to this story is not yet written. The forces of darkness are strong, their greed as vast and unfathomable as the night sky. But even a single candle brings comfort to those huddled and frightened in the darkness.

You, my children, have seen the consequence of the Money-Making Thing on your lands and in your waters. Throughout the empire, men who seek “True Power” treat the land without respect for sacred laws or sacred limits. You know how the empire works: If you let them, they will take it all.

Find your voices. Shine in the darkness that surrounds us. Others will come and stand with you. Their numbers will grow and together your light will part the curtain of darkness. Over time, the forests and the people, the Beasts, the peasants, and the men of “True Power will be healed and will thrive.

What? Is it a moral you seek? The moral of the story is this: Sometimes it’s better to be stubborn than smart, or reasonable, or even rich. It’s always good to befriend a Wizard, and even if you’re a person of “True Power,” never underestimate the Power of One.



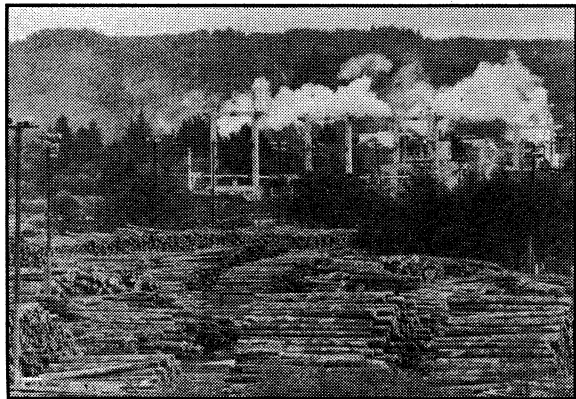
Sicosystem Management

A Congressman

The on-again, off-again defender of the forests, U.S. Representative Peter DeFazio, D-OR, is on-again urging the President to restrict log exports. So why won't the rest of the Northwest delegation give him the time of day?

Finally Speaks Out Against Log Exports

by Peter DeFazio



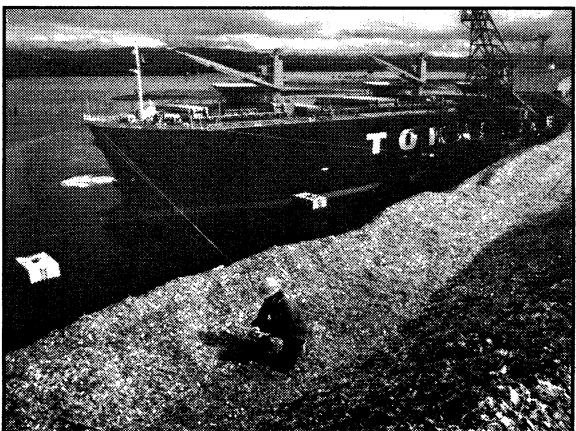
Export dock

Joel Davis



Ships loaded day and night, WA

Elizabeth Feryl



Forests exported as wood chips

Bill Ballenberg



Raw logs

Paul Carter

A remarkable confluence of events is making the case--my case--for restricting the export of logs from the Pacific Northwest.

On the one hand, new management plans for the region's federal forests almost certainly will put millions of acres of forest off-limits to logging and substantially reduce federal timber sale

Japan has steadfastly refused to eliminate trade barriers on U.S. wood products

levels. On the other hand, Japan's recent refusal to lower Japanese trade barriers against U.S. lumber, plywood, and paper products makes a mockery of the free trade agreements that the log export apologists use to defend their profits.

The Clinton administration has developed a Northwest forest plan that has satisfied very few Oregonians. But whatever you think of the administration's plan--known as "Option 9"--the indisputable fact is that almost no federal timber has been sold for the last two years and already-sold timber is nearly exhausted. In recent congressional hearings, Clinton administration officials admitted that it will be three years before the timber sale program allowable under the administration's new Northwest forest plan can be prepared and offered for sale.

Meanwhile, just under 2 billion board feet of logs were exported from Northwest ports to Asia last year, nearly one-quarter of all the timber harvested in the Northwest during that period. (That figure does not include minimally processed wood like pulp, chips, and cants which pushes that total to 10 billion board feet - Ed.) That's almost twice as much timber as the Clinton administration's new forest plan will supply. About three-quarters of those logs will wind up in one of Japan's 16,000 sawmills.

The Japanese government protects its less efficient wood products industry by maintaining a multitude of trade barriers against our finished

The President could use the authority he has under the Export Administration Act to restrict log exports

wood products. The most blatant barrier is a system to taxes on imported U.S. wood products that allows raw logs to enter Japan duty-free, while charging increasingly higher tariffs for lumber, plywood, and other value-added U.S. wood products.

Japanese trade negotiators have steadfastly refused to eliminate those barriers. The most recent insult came during recently completed world trade talks when Japan pointedly refused a U.S. offer to eliminate all tariffs on all wood products.

If the federal courts rule against the Clinton administration's forest plan, it is quite possible

that Congress may be forced to revisit this contentious issue. However, even if Congress and the administration decide to develop a new long-term plan for Northwest forest management, we will be faced with a very real and immediate short-term timber supply problem. There are four alternatives that could improve the short-term timber supply outlook, while the longer term issues are resolved.

The first would be for Congress to provide legal immunity for timber sales consistent with the Clinton plan. Besides precipitating a bloody battle in Congress, this approach probably wouldn't provide much short-term timber, since the Forest Service and BLM would require at least a year to prepare new sales consistent with the Clinton plan.

The second alternative would be to legislate an immediate higher cut on our federal forests. Most of the sales offered under this approach would be old forestry, old growth clearcut timber sales prepared to conform to the old forest plans. Neither Congress nor a majority of the American people are likely to support such a proposal.

The third course would be to import huge volumes of timber from Russia, Chile, and New

The absence of any member of the Oregon or Washington congressional delegation should tell you something about the power of the log export lobby

Zealand. That option carries with it the enormous risk of introducing devastating new plant pests and diseases. The Asian chestnut blight and Dutch elm disease are just two examples of past foreign pest infestations.

The last alternative would be for the president to use the authority he has under the Export Administration Act to restrict log exports from the Northwest.

I recently solicited signatures on a letter I wrote asking President Clinton to immediately restrict the export of logs from the Pacific Northwest. I was able to get only four Western members of Congress to sign my letter--Pat Williams of Montana, Larry LaRocco of Idaho, Dan Hamburg of Calif., and Bill Richardson of New Mexico.

The absence of any member of the Oregon or Washington congressional delegations should tell you something about the power of the log export lobby.

The Salem Statesman-Journal wrote a March 10 editorial on my efforts. The editorial made a very simple observation: "Oregonians and lawmakers can't have it both ways. We can't complain about unemployment in the timber industry and high lumber prices while we allow our logs to be sold as raw materials for other countries' mills."

The Statesman-Journal's editorial concluded by saying, "Since DeFazio's colleagues won't buy his solution, let them come up with their own." The clock is ticking.

Infested Log Imports

from Siberia

Further Threaten American Forests

by Peggy Bradley

In 1990, two containers of Siberian logs were shipped to San Francisco to be tested for use in Louisiana Pacific's area mills. The containers were detained as inspectors from the U.S. Department of Agriculture determined there were two types of pests on board. The logs were infected with nematodes (*worms*) and bark beetles, either of which could be devastating to Pacific Northwest forests.

Later that year, three Oregon Congressmen asked the Department of Agriculture to ban Siberian

The Risk Assessment found 175 known pests of the Siberian larch.

log imports until the risk of infestation could be assessed. The three representatives pointed out "The economic and environmental damage that could result from the introduction of something analogous to the chestnut blight or white pine blister rot is incalculable."

The congressmen had good reason to be concerned. There are many incidents of historical infestations throughout the world that have devastated native plant populations and have perhaps disrupted ecosystems forever. In the United States, five past infestations causing extensive devastation are: gypsy moth, chestnut blight, Dutch elm disease, Port Orford cedar root rot,

"The economic and environmental damage that could result...is incalculable."

and White pine blister rot. All but the gypsy moth were unknown as pests in their native habitats.

The gypsy moth was introduced in North America in the 1970s by a French etymologist who accidentally released a few from his experiments. As decades of natural resource managers watched in horror, the moth slowly emerged from infected forests and crawled over the landscape in ever increasing numbers. The insect now

occurs over 200,000 square miles of Northeast forests and the larvae can feed on over 500 species of native vegetation. During outbreaks they defoliate all hardwoods

In 1981, gypsy moths defoliated over 12 million acres.

and shrub species in their path. In 1981, gypsy moths defoliated over 12 million acres.

Chestnut blight, a fungus, has been responsible for eliminating the chestnut tree from American forests. An estimated 8 million trees have been killed. The chestnut was one of America's faster-growing hardwood trees, reaching a height of 120 feet and a diameter of 5 feet. It provided lumber, nuts and shade, and its wood was used for a variety of products from construction materials to musical instruments.

Dutch elm disease, also caused by a fungus, was introduced to North America on unpeeled veneer logs from Europe in the 1930s. Elm is a hardwood which in 1938 accounted for 16 billion board feet of

The worst case impact of just one insect was 58 billion dollars.

timber. It was also used throughout American cities as a shade tree. By 1930, an estimated 77 million elms had been planted in urban areas and by 1977 an estimated 60 percent was lost to the disease.

Port Orford cedar root rot was first discovered in 1923 and is thought to be Asian in origin. Port Orford is found in a very limited range on a 40 mile strip of coastline near Coos Bay, Oregon. It was a prized wood in Japan, and brought five times the price of prime Douglas fir. The root rot has virtually destroyed the Port Orford nursery stock and much of the ornamental landscaping in the Pacific Northwest. It threatens Port Orford's continued existence in its native range. Native soil now poisoned by root rot can not support the precious tree.

White Pine blister rot is thought to

be European in origin and is believed to have been introduced through imported nursery stock. It has already killed 80 to 95 percent of the Western white pine, sugar pine, and Eastern white pine. The destruction now affects the endangered grizzly bear which depends upon white bark pine nuts.

So it was instructive when the two containers of Siberian logs in San Francisco were found infested with two insects. By the end of 1991, the Department of Agriculture had banned log imports from Russia until a Risk Assessment was performed.

The Pest Risk Assessment of the Importation of Larch from Siberia and the Soviet Far East was an extensive report from a team of 45 scientists. It found 175 known pests of the Siberian larch but evaluated the potential risks of just 36.

"It's often the risk you don't analyze that gets you."

The assessment clearly demonstrates that the risk of significant impacts to the North American forests is great. A best case impact of one insect alone was 24.9 million dollars in damage and the worst was 58 billion dollars (USDA, 1991). Since each insect loss was calculated independently, the cumulative effects could be worse.

Beyond economic consequences, other possible impacts include; deforestation, wildlife habitat destruction, increased fire hazard, and reduced biodiversity. Although the risk assessment was for larch, the importers wish to also import pine, spruce and fir from

An organism of little consequence in Siberia may be disastrous once introduced to America.

Siberia. None of the potential risks from pests from these three species have been evaluated.

Further, as one of the assessment team scientists pointed out, "It's often the risk you don't analyze

that gets you." The risk assessment team warned, "It is quite possible that an insect or disease organism that is of little consequence in Siberia and the Soviet Far East, or an undiscovered organism, may be disastrous once it is introduced to America."

The Department of Agriculture, under pressure from the timber industry, is considering several ill-advised proposals; among them, using methyl bromide to fumigate imported logs. Methyl bromide is

The USDA, under pressure from the timber industry, is considering several ill-advised proposals.

known to damage ozone 50 to 80 times the amount of CFC-11. Using methyl bromide would put the timber industry in direct conflict with the EPA which is currently spending \$240 million to help foreign countries reduce their use of ozone-depleting CFCs. As part of its domestic policy, the EPA announced its intent to outlaw methyl bromide.

To express concerns, write Chief, Regulatory Analysis and Development, PPD, APHIS, USDA, Room 804, Federal Building, 6505 Belcrest Road, Hyattsville, MD 20782.

Editor's Note: The history of industrial forestry is one in which the externalized costs of logging have always been passed on to the public: the cost of increased flooding, decimated fisheries, polluted water, destroyed wildlife habitat, and lost recreation opportunities. The infestation of America's forests by imported pests could have unimaginable consequences, with a potential for grand-scale mortality. It is our hope that, for once, the timber industry will take the long view, and not rush to level Siberia's forests only to infect and further destroy America's forests. Without an expression of public concern, it is a hope likely to be trampled in the stampede to seize Siberia's natural resources.

Peggy Bradley is an Environmental Engineer in Corvallis, Oregon.

Solutions to the G

Hemp Straw Kenaf

Ancient solutions 1

*Alternate
fiber sources
preserve jobs,
forests, and
taxpayers'
money*

*"Recycled"
paper may
still contain
as much as
90 percent
virgin wood
pulp*

Long before there were chain saws, pulp mills, and dioxin-poisoned rivers, there was paper. Early craftsmen produced paper sheet by sheet from hemp, straw, and other common plants. Carl Sagan, in his book *Dragons of Eden*, refers to hemp as the first crop ever cultivated by human beings 12,000 years ago, although paper would not appear until the time of Christ.

In 75 AD, a Chinese monk began using hemp fiber to produce the world's first sheets of paper. At the height of the Roman Empire, hemp fabric was used on all ships and provided cover for theaters and other public places. In fact the word *canvas* comes from the Latin word for hemp--*cannabis*.

During the Middle Ages, hemp was cultivated throughout the world for its medicinal uses. In colonial times, it was one of the most valuable crops grown. The British prized it so highly that they imposed a law requiring all colonists to devote 10 percent of their tillable land to growing hemp. The plant's strong fibers were used for making rope, sails, and rigging for British ships.

Hemp is the earth's most prolific plant, producing more biomass than any other vegetation. Its range is immense; it can grow virtually anywhere with no help from fertilizers or pesticides. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, hemp produces 4.1 times more paper per land area than trees.

The ease with which hemp can be processed to pulp makes it an ideal paper source. It breaks down faster than wood and requires no chemical assistance, which means that hemp mills do not stink and pollute as traditional pulp mills do.

Historically, the biggest environmental concern in paper manufacturing involves the bleaching process. Chlorine derivatives in bleach produce cancer-causing dioxins. These toxic pollutants often show up in public waterways which service pulp plants. But paper made from straw and hemp requires no chlorine. Instead,

hydrogen peroxide is used which breaks down naturally and produces no toxic by-products.

A Portland, Oregon-based company, Tree Free ECO Paper, imports paper made of 50 percent hemp and 50 percent straw from its own mill in China. The manufacturing process produces no toxic sludge, and uses 90 percent less chemicals than any other commercial paper. Additionally, the paper is naturally acid free, which gives it a shelf life of 1,500 years--ten times that of wood-based paper.

The Recycling Myth

Hemp paper has some notable advantages over recycled stock. By EPA guidelines, a "recycled" sheet must contain only 10 percent reclaimed fiber. But that can include either post-industrial waste, or post-consumer waste. Post-industrial waste refers to the scraps, trimmings, and roll-ends normally left over in the manufacturing process. Companies have been "recycling," or more properly, reusing these scraps for 60 years. That such common industrial practice is now heralded as environmentally motivated is misleading. Paper with 90 percent virgin wood fiber and 10 percent post-industrial waste can still claim to be "recycled."

Post-consumer waste, on the other hand, includes magazines, newspaper and other paper products, and its use in the manufacturing process adheres more legitimately to the concept of recycling. However, most post-consumer waste must be de-inked before it can be re-pulped. Arguably, the de-inking process creates a bigger pollution problem than making paper from scratch.

According to Scott Paper Co., de-inking produces huge amounts of useless contaminated sludge. The manufacture of 100 tons of paper from virgin wood fiber, for example, produces five tons of sludge, some of which can be used for fertilizer. By contrast, 100 tons of paper from post consumer waste yields 40 tons of highly contaminated sludge which is disposed of in private landfills.

Several European nations have recognized the potential of hemp as a cash crop. The Dutch government invested \$20 million to help develop improved strains and better machinery. Last February, Britain's interior ministry joined other European Community Countries and legalized hemp cultivation for industrial applications.

The implication of hemp use for the world's forests is staggering. Consider that the harvesting of trees for paper pulp is a relatively modern phenomenon, commencing in the 1870s. Yet half of the world's primary forests are now gone, most logged in our own century in large part to feed insatiable pulp mills. Canada, a major paper manufacturer, produces about 3.5 million tons of paper annually. Each ton requires the cutting of 13 trees. If an alternate fiber source were used, 45.5 million trees would be left standing *each year*.

Where Did All the Hemp Go?

America's hostility toward hemp is also a relatively modern phenomenon. The plant that provided Americans with rope, fabric, paper, fuel, medicines, and jobs since Colonial times, fell victim to a minor incident during the Spanish-American War which unleashed the ire of the powerful publisher, William Randolph Hearst.

Hearst had vast land holdings in Mexico, including thousands of acres of paper-producing timber land. The seizure of those lands by Pancho Villa precipitated what would today be clearly seen as a hate campaign against Hispanics. Using the Mexican slang for hemp, "marijuana," Hearst, through his newspaper empire, characterized hemp as the drug that made those brown bandits rape, murder and plunder the lands of upstanding, white Americans.

Such was the climate of fear, that by 1937 a marijuana tax was passed by Congress that made hemp taxable at a rate equal to its selling price. While not making the plant strictly illegal, the tax did remove economic incentives for

Global Forest Crisis

The first draft of the Declaration of Independence was written on hemp paper

Kenaf and hemp are both annually renewable and have low water requirements

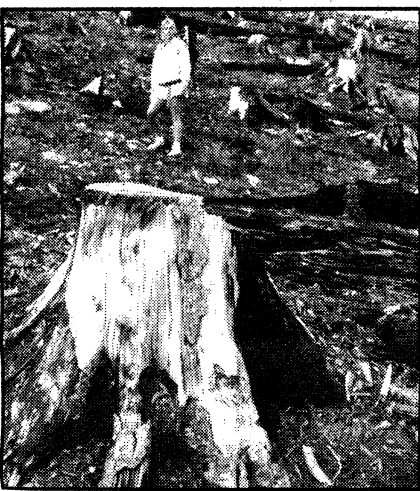
Combining hemp and straw produces chlorine-free, acid-free, and ink-free paper

Kenaf annually produces 6 to 10 tons of raw fiber per acre

today's deforestation



Ancient forest Elizabeth Feryl



Gifford Pinchot NF Elizabeth Feryl



Colorado Bruce Gordon



Weyerhaeuser clearcut Daniel Dancer

growers. Hearst's timber lands would increase in value as trees became the sole source of paper pulp.

Amazingly, records show that the American Medical Association testified against the tax, as did agents from industries dependent on hemp seed--second only to soybeans in nutritional value. But none could reverse the tide of public opinion which had been carefully manipulated by Hearst for many years.

Some researchers suspect that the DuPont Corporation, a major producer of chemicals used in the manufacture of paper made from wood pulp, also cheerfully contributed to the demise of the hemp industry. Regardless, the once-useful and environmentally friendly crop became the object of a national War on Drugs, its industrial applications widely unknown to modern Americans.

Can't Smoke It

Ironically, the hemp grown for paper production has virtually no psycho-active properties. Agricultural hemp contains only .09 percent THC, the substance of concern to drug enforcement agencies. Drug-quality plants contain 7 to 10 percent of the notorious chemical. The hemp stalk, which is the source of the pulp, contains no psycho-active elements at all. Clearly then, one can advocate for the use of hemp in American agriculture and paper production, without advocating the use of marijuana.

So What Is Kenaf?

Kenaf, a member of the hibiscus family related to cotton and okra, is also an ancient plant. It was cultivated in Egypt as far back as 4,000 B.C. The plant grows straight bamboo-like stalks to a height of 12-14 feet. Like hemp, it can be grown profitably even on marginal lands, hardy enough to require little or no fertilizer or pesticides and small amounts of water.

On average, kenaf yields seven to ten tons of raw fiber per acre--

about three to five times the amount derived from southern pine. But unlike pine which takes some 60 years to mature, kenaf grows to harvesting size in only 150 days. In some areas of the country, two rotations per year may be possible.

The United States Department of Agriculture, in typical lugubrious bureaucratic fashion, has been studying kenaf for 40 years. Its exertions have led it to probe the fiber qualities of 500 different plants. It chose kenaf as the most commercially viable alternative fiber source for paper production in the United States.

One reason for the USDA's optimism is kenaf's natural resistance to pests. Its tough outer fiber, called bast, makes the plant a chewing-challenge to insects. A recent article in *E* magazine, recounts the experience of a New Mexico farmer who recently began experimenting with kenaf. "Everything eats it, but nothing hurts it," he said.

As the world's forests disappear, alternative fiber sources can provide inexpensive, annually renewable, and environmentally benign resources for the production of paper, fabric, construction materials, and many other applications. There are increasing signs of interest from both governments and private industry faced with the paradox of growing demand and a shrinking resource base. The private citizen can, as always, help that interest peak and flower by voting with his/her pocketbook and supporting the visionary businesses listed below.

For Hemp products:

Tree Free Eco Paper
One World Trade Center
121 SW Salmon, Suite 1100
Portland, OR 97204
Toll Free 1-800-775-0225

For Kenaf products:

KP Products, Inc.
P.O. Box 20399
Albuquerque, NM 87154

New Directions

1929 Cramer's Lane #2
Easton, PA 18042
215-559-5513

Hemp can produce 4.1 times more paper per acre than trees
- USDA

Kenaf can yield 3 to 5 times more fiber per acre than southern pine
- USDA

40 percent of our nation's landfill waste is paper products

Half of the trees cut in the U.S. are used to make paper

In 105 AD Chinese monks used hemp fiber to produce the first paper

When environmental laws are actually enforced and allowed to perform their necessary functions, they tend to spawn a formidable backlash from those whose economic interests or behaviors conflict with the laws' objectives. Aggrieved coalitions form--often with industry backing--and lobby Congress, intent on killing the messenger.

Ironically, the degree to which Americans take for granted a tolerable environment is due in no small part to the persistent efforts of environmentalists. When such efforts fail, the prolonged neglect of environmental issues by both government and the marketplace, create crises whose solutions often inflict economic distress. Paradoxically, if enforced at pre-crisis stages, the benefits of our nation's

Italy and Germany to dump millions of used cars--many illegal to operate in Western Europe--on the Polish market. The city air is gray and choked with fumes. In a matter of minutes my eyes begin to burn, my throat is raspy, and I breathe reluctantly.

Coal is the primary heating fuel and the energy source for factories whose management is not obliged to weigh environmental or health effects. Smokestacks belch their noxious clouds incessantly. Environmental laws do not stand in their way.

The full consequence of unregulated automobile emissions and heavy industries is most dramatically seen in Krakow. Krakow is a fairy tale city, a living architectural museum. Tracing its history

activities unchecked. When scientific evidence and public demand become inescapable, polluters negotiate extensions and exemptions, lamenting financial hardship, loss of jobs, and declaring their inability to comply with legal mandates.

Industry does not have to win, it has only to delay. In Poland the cycle has become self-fulfilling: The longer the delay, the greater the emergency; and since the cost of emergency care is always greater than preventative care, more delays result.

Water

Nowa Huta does provide jobs, but not without cost. An alarming incidence of respiratory illness and cancer afflicts the population, with

Sweden, separated from Poland by the Baltic Sea, was so alarmed by the Wisla's pollution of the Baltic, that it offered Poland economic assistance to address the clean-up. While guarded progress has been made, the amount of money required to retrofit Poland's polluting industries and measurably cleanse the toxic waters, is beyond the scope of foreign aid.

Forests

For Americans struggling to save the last of their native forests, the

There is an area known throughout the country as "The Dead Zone."

doleful state of Poland's forests offers insight into the cost of inaction. According to Slawomir Trzaskowski, a manager in the General Directorate of Public Forests, Poland's forests are among the most threatened in Europe. Fully 80 percent of the trees in Polish forests are either dying, severely damaged, or in some depressed state of health.

The 1,600 industrial enterprises that are considered "the most burdensome to the environment" release 5.1 million tons of gaseous pollutants each year. Sulphur dioxide and carbon dioxide top the list. But, in a clear indication of nature's disregard of national boundaries, over half of the pollutants come from foreign sources. Thus, the forests--and the Polish people--suffer the annual effects of over 10 million tons of airborne industrial waste.

The most profoundly troubled regions are in the south and south-

The Cost of Neglect Lessons from the Eastern Block

by Victor Rozek

environmental policies are enjoyed by foes and proponents alike.

To fully appreciate the need for environmental laws, their timely enforcement, and the consequences of their neglect, nothing quite opens the eyes like visiting Eastern Europe. There, forty-five years of Communist domination have created a world that environmental detractors would admire and wish on the rest of us: a world without environmental regulation.

Poland is such a nation. Newly-freed from the yoke of its oppressor, it is vainly trying to remedy environmental problems caused by four decades of neglect. Poland's air, water, and forests--and inescapably its citizens who depend on

to 700 AD, it has withstood World Wars, invasions, and the myriad abuses imposed by time and the elements. But it cannot endure the corrosive breath of the air that surrounds it. Its churches and cathedrals, its great stone fortresses and ornate palaces are crumbling like dry, brittle bread from erosive levels of sulphur dioxide. Stone that has stood inviolate since the Middle Ages, is now plague-black and disintegrating, dissolved by a force no more tangible than dirty air. The same air Krakow's children breathe. The city is under attack from nearby coal-burning factories and power plants. For decades the complex known as Nowa Huta has operated unencumbered by environmental regulations, free of "unreasonable" air pollution standards, exempt from "costly" scrubbers, filtration systems, and pollution controls.

Fearing the loss of historic national treasures, Krakow officials--with financial assistance from the U.S.--have set up a number of air pollution monitoring stations around the city, and have made modest improvements in the operation of the Nowa Huta facility.

But, of course, monitoring is not the problem. The effects of the pollution are clearly evident on both health and infrastructure. Monitoring by itself will do nothing to change the status quo and for that reason it remains a favorite tactic of polluting industries. Here in Poland, as in the U.S., industry/government "studies" go on inconclusively for years while polluters continue their

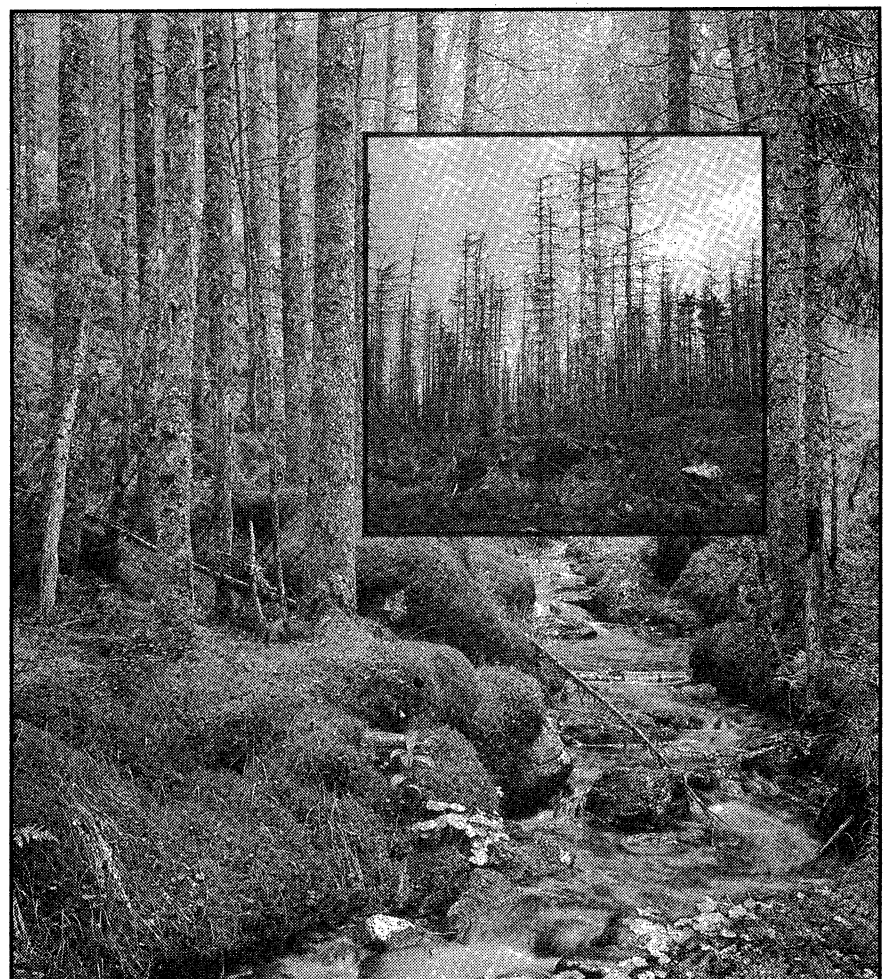
accompanying medical costs and productivity losses. Toxic particulates settle on the food supply and mix with the drinking water. The main water source for the city, the Wisla River, is so polluted by industrial waste that it is unfit to drink, and even when filtered tastes unpleasant. Walking near it is not an agreeable olfactory experience. What few species of fish survive cannot be consumed and often show cancerous growths. A story is even told of a man smoking on a bridge near a factory who tossed his cigarette into the water, igniting it.

The people that caused Love Canal thought it was much less of a problem than the people who lived there.

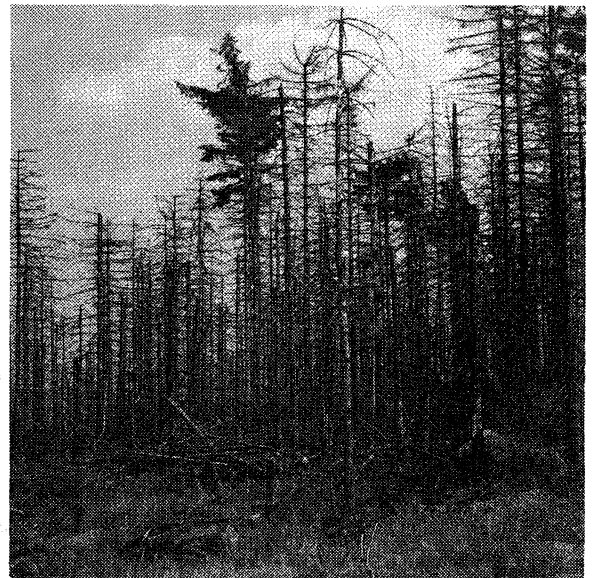
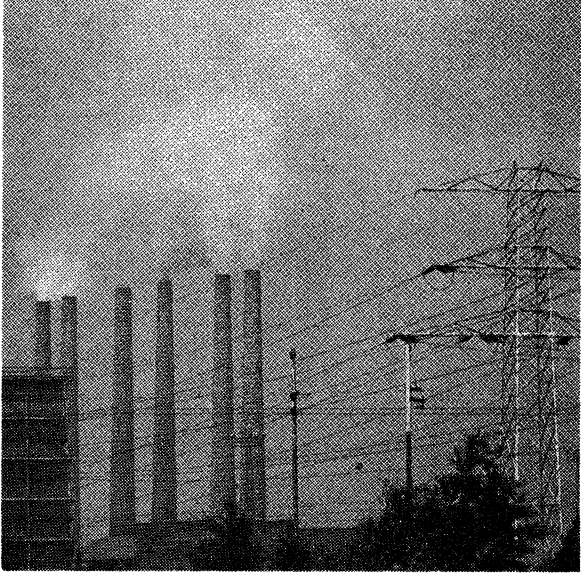
them--are paying the price for that neglect. For Americans, Poland offers a clear illustration that the full cost of recovery and restoration is directly proportional to the length of the neglect.

Air

For me, just landing in Warsaw was an education. Automobiles in Poland are not required to have catalytic converters and most still use leaded fuel. The lack of environmental standards allowed



The effects of acid rain on Polish forests



Coal-burning industries dump ten times the amount of sulphur dioxide that the land can assimilate.

west. In the Sudety Mountains and the western part of the Carpathians and Silesia, and in the Swietokrzyskie and Bieszczady Mountains, fires are dying at alarming rates. Spruce, believed to be less vulnerable to pollution, are dying at a rate exceeding the fir decline.

Near the confluence of the Czech, German, and Polish borders, there

A man smoking on a bridge near a factory tossed his cigarette into the water, igniting it.

is an area known throughout the country as "The Dead Zone." Trees of all ages perish at a 70 percent mortality rate in the upper subalpine forests of the Izerskie and Karkonosze Mountains. In spite of repeated efforts at reforestation, of the 32,000 acres experiencing severe mortality, 9,000 acres remain permanently deforested. The reintroduction of forests to this region has become impossible as a consequence of the pollutant levels in the air, soil, and water.

But, Trzaskowski notes, simply "registering the state of damage does not explain the mechanisms of the phenomena occurring in the forests." The symptoms of the industrial pollution in Poland's forests, according to Trzaskowski, are roughly equivalent to the AIDS epidemic in humans. Severe immune deficiency gives rise to what he calls, "an avalanche of

phenomena," including infestation by insects, bacteria and fungi. Thus weakened by pollution, the trees become facile victims of disease, wind, and fire which previously spared healthy stands. (A situation strikingly analogous to the ailing forests on the east side of the Cascades in the Pacific Northwest.)

"The consequence of this process," says Trzaskowski, "is the replacement of forest by grassland, which threatens to have unimaginable consequences including changes in micro-climates and the disruption of water supplies for local residents." Additionally, the forests that once provided some measure of filtration and cleansing of the noxious air, no longer provide that function leaving residents to cope with the full force of the pollution.

Trzaskowski concludes that although foresters can counteract the pollution's effects to some

Fully 80 percent of the trees in Polish forests are either dying, severely damaged, or in some depressed state of health.

degree, "the removal of the causes of the forest's death is beyond their capabilities." That is the purview of governmental policy and precisely the function of environmental laws; laws which many people in our own nation virulently oppose, with so little understand-

ing of the down-stream consequences of their opposition.

The Cost of Deferred Maintenance

Denial is part of the human condition. Lung cancer patients still smoke, and those who caused Love

Forty-five years of communist domination have created a world that environmental detractors would admire: a world without environmental regulation.

Canal thought it was much less of a problem than those who lived there. But environmental laws are not the enemy; no more than an owl can put a logger out of work. Neither would be necessary if humankind respected the boundaries of the natural world. In the absence of that respect we have set up guide-posts, warning bells, which remind us that we cannot have clean drinking water and allow industries to use public rivers as sewers; that we cannot have the benefits of standing forests and export the last ancient trees to Japan; and that--as Poland and indeed the timber communities of the Northwest discovered--the cost of deferred maintenance is much greater than the cost of moderate restraint.

Environmental laws pose difficult choices only when denial and neglect have inflated a problem beyond manageability, imposing

remedies requiring herculean costs and sacrifices. There would be no forest crisis in the Pacific Northwest today if industry had not--for decades--steadfastly denied overcutting, and if successive administrations had not deliberately neglected the problem.

Now, the cost of the denial and neglect has tripled. First, the public paid with its tax dollars to subsidize the cutting of the forests. The public now pays for the results of the excessive logging: increased flooding, damaged fisheries, polluted water supplies, lost recreational opportunities, loss of jobs, and welfare payments to logging communities. And it will also pay the substantial costs of restoring damaged forests, watersheds, and fisheries.

The cost of deferred maintenance is much greater than the cost of moderate restraint.

When applied and enforced before the crisis stage, environmental laws offer society a plain choice between responsibility and gratification. The selection of a sensible diet over binging is never cloudy in retrospect. As one activist eloquently put it: "Environmentalists may be hell to live with, but we make great ancestors."

What You Can Do!

*The question is not: How can I make a difference?
But: Do I like the difference I'm making?*

Join

Join the Native Forest Council. We are a national, non-profit grassroots organization providing solutions to the forest crisis that compromise neither forests nor people.

Contribute

Many people still do not know that logging is allowed on national forests. But only an informed and concerned public will be able to pressure Congress for meaningful protection of public lands. Help support the NFC's Media Campaign to Protect National Forests. The Native Forest Council is a non-profit, tax-deductible 501(c)(3) organization.

Write / Call to Oppose Option 9, Support a Zero Cut Solution

Write, call or fax administration officials and your congressional delegation today. Ask them to oppose Option 9 and to create an option that would ban logging and provide permanent protection for all remaining native forests nationwide. Let them know that sufficiency language, which would limit citizens' appeals, judicial review, and override existing environmental laws, will not be tolerated by the American public.

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Washington, DC 20500
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fax: (202) 456-2461

Vice President Gore
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fax: (202) 482-4576

For additional numbers call the congressional switchboard at (202) 224-3121.

About the Native Forest Council

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

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

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