

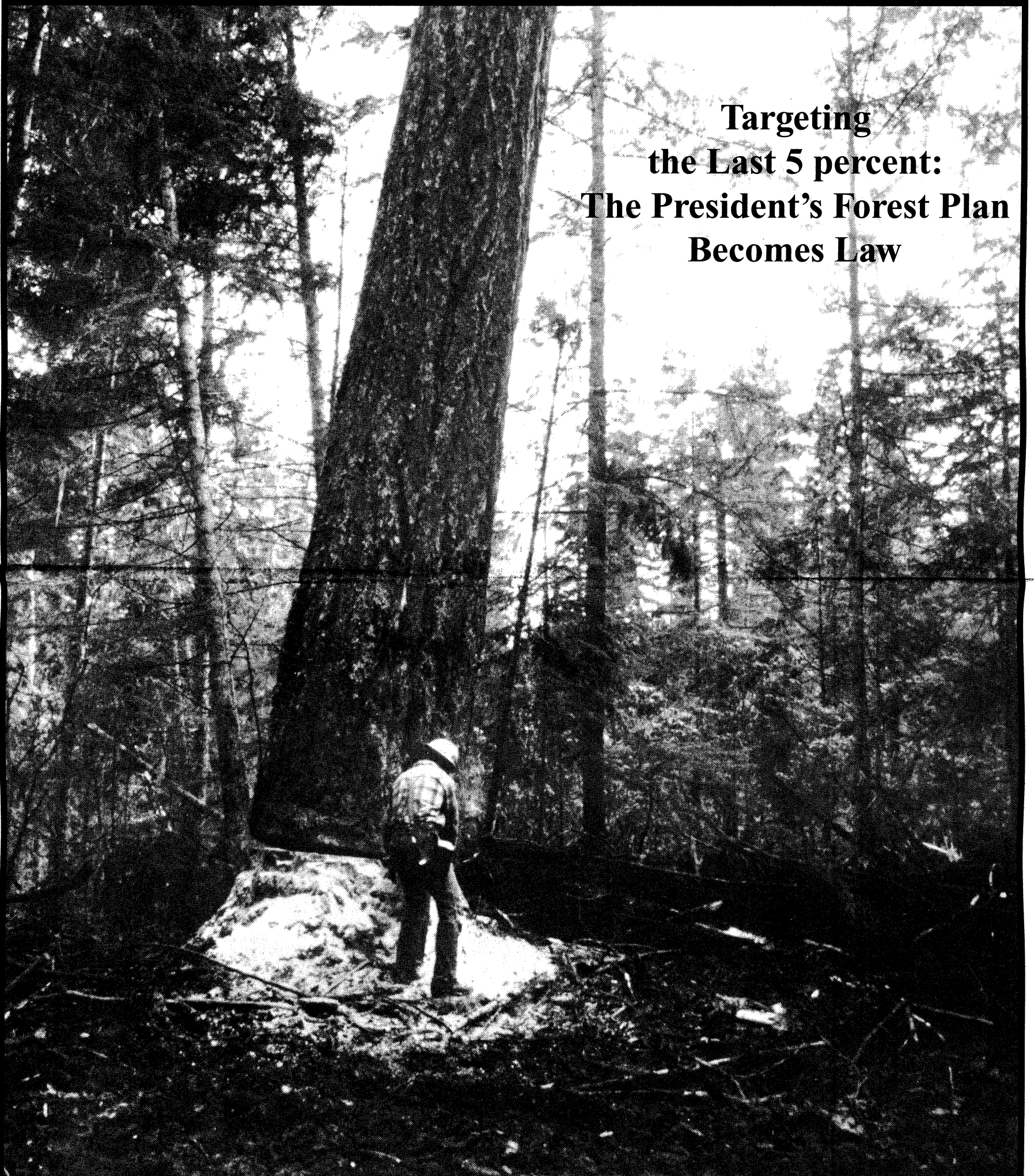
Protecting Forests, Defending Wildlife

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**Targeting
the Last 5 percent:
The President's Forest Plan
Becomes Law**

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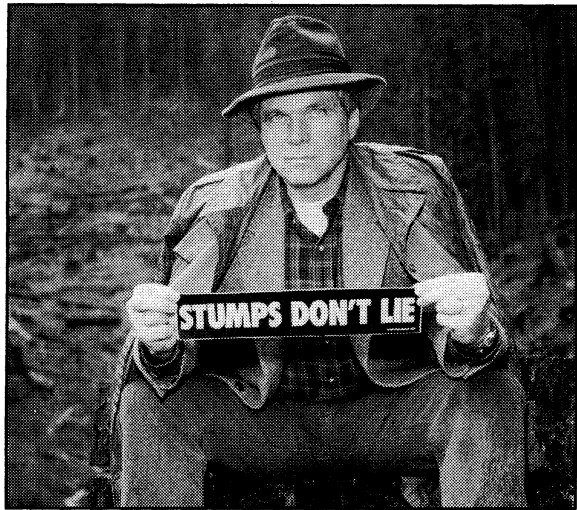
- **Analysis of the Court Decision**
- **Exclusive Interview with the Head of the Wise Use Movement**
- **From Economic Doom to Economic Bloom: Why Timber Industry Predictions Didn't Materialize**

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From the Executive Director



Timothy Hermach

Requiem for Democracy

Thursday, December 1, 1994 was a day of mourning for those Americans still conscious enough to recognize it. Our nation's great experiment in Democracy has been dealt a crushing blow. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was passed by--let's be frank--a bought-off, avaricious Congress pathetically acquiescent to the global resource aspirations of multi-national corporations.

The sovereignty of our nation, the sanctity of our laws, the covenant of representative government, secured at such great cost, were hawked so cheaply by our own Congress. If subordinating American laws--expressions of the will of the American people--to a secret international panel of trade experts is not a treasonous act, it comes precariously close.

We've moved a giant step closer toward one-world corporate government. Whatever hope indigenous peoples of the world had of keeping their embattled and shrinking lands, has just been shattered. They will be crushed as impediments to "free trade."

In Mexico, we are already seeing the fruits of the GATT's companion agreement, NAFTA. The collapse of the artificially inflated peso was hastened by the unrest in Mexico's southernmost state of Chiapas. But the reasons for the revolution have been lost amidst platitudes about global markets and free trade. "Trade" has not been free for the indigenous people of that region. For decades they have endured exploitation and repression at the hands of a corrupt and violent

regime. One of their few legal protections was Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, which granted land rights to peasants and indigenous communities. Shortly after NAFTA was approved by the U.S. Congress, Article 27 was struck from the Mexican constitution. What little these peasants had, is now lawfully available to their tormentors.

For all practical purposes, these trade agreements recognize only two entities: corporations and resources. And the former have now successfully eliminated the last legal and cultural restrictions to exploiting the latter.

There is virtually no place on the globe where you can escape it. Not in the jungles of Brazil or Madagascar, nor the frozen back-country of Alaska, not in Asia or Africa, and certainly not in Europe. Not even in Siberia where U.S., Korean and Japanese corporations are leveling millions of acres of the planet's last great boreal forests.

The new pagan idol is "free trade" and in Washington it is worshiped with a godless disregard for its effects on the disenfranchised and the environment. Bob Herbert, writing in **The New York Times**, observed correctly that GATT "will tear a large hole in the Federal budget. But this breach of the budget is not considered a major problem by Government leaders in Washington because the new GATT agreement will be a bonanza for big business, and that is something favored by Democrats and Republicans alike.

"When benefits for working people or the poor are involved, the budget deficit is seen as an insurmountable problem. There is no money for investments in ordinary Americans. But the specter of \$42 billion in lost tariff revenues over the next decade is met with a shrug by the movers and shakers in Congress and the White House. As long as it's for business--well, then, that's all right."

The broad, cross-party support for GATT should have signaled alarm to thinking Americans, coming as it does from a Congress that is unwilling to reform its own shameful campaign finance practices. About the only time in recent memory that the Congress has reached such non-partisan consensus has been on issues of tax "reform" under whose banner the Congress, over the past few decades, has transferred the bulk of the tax burden from corporations and the wealthy to the middle class.

Many environmental and public-safety laws will collide with provisions in GATT. One potentially disastrous consequence for America's forests, is the wide-scale importation of Siberian logs which may be contaminated with pests. By government estimates, the introduction of just two Russian insects, the Asian gypsy moth and the nun moth, could cause cumulative losses of up to \$58 billion. But the "free traders" will not be picking up the tab. A partnership of Oregon mill owners, the Global Forestry Management Group, has already leased 1 million acres of Russian forest land. While publicly playing down the threat of infestation, they are protecting themselves by forming a limited liability partnership. Under its provisions, only the partnership will be liable for damages; not the partners or their individually owned companies. If American conifer forests begin to die from imported insects or diseases, the limited partnership will dissolve and the American taxpayers will be left with an economic and ecological disaster.

Such are the hidden costs of "free trade." The precedent exists: mining companies have passed-on the cost of cleaning up their pollution using similar schemes.

Notably, the GATT agreement does not cover the single most damaging form of international commerce: the arms trade. Doubtless because the U.S. is, by far, the biggest profiteer from the death dollar. Despite Clinton's pre-election promise to slow arms sales (the U.S. was then providing about 40 percent of the world's munitions), we now provide a full 70 percent. Thus, the flow of arms will continue unabated, all buyers welcome, all sellers protected, and nations like Mexico prepared to suppress those who do not share the one-world corporate view.

It was a bad day for our nation, and a bad day for our planet. By the time I got home, I was pretty depressed. My wife asked me what was wrong. I told her the GATT had passed today and that corporations had successfully usurped the powers constitutionally vested in the people. She smiled with that bitter-sweet look of sadness and wisdom that is uniquely feminine. "Good news/bad news," she said.

"What possibly could be the good news?" I wondered.

"You only have one entity to reform," she said.

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Cry of the West

Waaaaaahhhhhh!

by Jon Margolis, columnist for the Chicago Tribune

Ah, the West, where the spaces are wide open and the skies are big, where they know when to hold 'em and when to fold 'em, where the handclasp is a little stronger and the smile dwells a little longer and where, above all, men are men.

Not really.

In fact, the real explanation behind all these stories from the West about armed militias, threats against federal agents and talk about secession is that Western men don't grow up.

Oh, they talk like tough guys, all right. "I have loaded guns and I won't hesitate to use them," was the threat made at a public meeting in Whitefish, Montana. "You will be faced with rioting, bloodshed, rebellion and conflict," a rancher in these parts warned a federal official.

In Catron County in New Mexico, a local ordinance requires each household to pack a rod. Until a few months ago, a downtown store sported a sign warning environmentalists that they might be shot.

Tough guys, no?

No.

The politics of the West are now best understood in terms which are not political but psychological. The West as an entity, and (with some exceptions) Western men as individuals are cases of arrested development. All this talk about frontier ethics, property rights, state sovereignty and "wise use" is merely a disguise for what the West and the Westerners are really saying:

"Waaaaaahhhhhh!"

The West is an overgrown brat that refuses to be weaned. Every time his federal mother has tried to remove him from the government treasury's breast, he screams.

"Sweetheart," says mother, "do you think we could charge you something close to the market rates for grazing all your little cowsies?"

"Waaaaaahhhhhh!"

"I really do think you're old enough to pay more than \$5 an acre for that mining land."

"Waaaaaahhhhhh!"

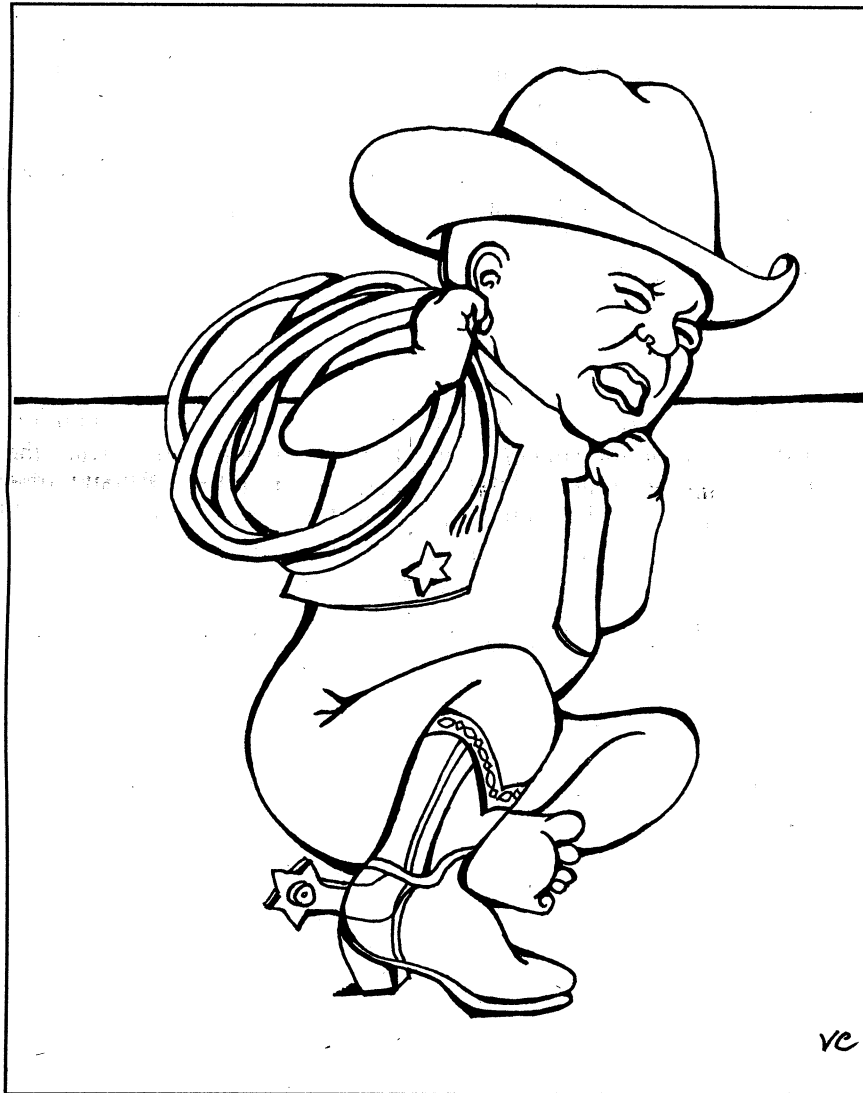
"Darling, since you're not using most of that water anyway, do you suppose you could leave a little for the fish?"

and got, government subsidies--dams to irrigate crops and to water lawns where nature never meant for lawns to grow, cheap range for grazing, roads through the public's land for access to the public's trees so they could be cut down for private profit.

Those protestations are only another part of the region's psychological disorder. That's how immature children disguise their inadequacies. They practice denial.

Western denial takes the form of claiming to be the fiercest individualists and the truest believers in free enterprise. Actually, the whole region is on the dole. Its economic system is America's only venture into state socialism, a uniquely American brand of socialism, which protects only the strong and wealthy. Half the cities of the West (it's a desert, folks) would be tiny villages were it not for federal water projects.

Last year taxpayers spent millions fighting forest fires, which threatened new homes Westerners had built at the edge of the woods in defiance of common sense. Suggestions about imposing some rational control over where such houses could be constructed had been assailed as interference with individual rights. But when the flames came, these same fierce individualists--in the great, childish, tradition of disdaining all responsibility but demanding all benefits--resorted to the age-old cry of the West"



"Waaaaaahhhhhh!"

And who can blame the West? Its ploy works. Every time tax-paying citizens, acting through their agents, the government, attempt to wean this overgrown suckling, it screams until it gets what it demands, unrestricted access to that comforting, enriching, federal nipple.

On which it became dependent long ago. Through the 1850s, about 90 percent of the Army was deployed in the West, according to John Unruh's classic study, "The Plains Across," protecting the hardy pioneers against American Indians, thirst and loneliness. The hardy pioneers not only accepted this help, they demanded it, just as they demanded food from the Army when supplies were low.

For all their protestations of independence and individuality, Westerners always insisted on,

"Waaaaaahhhhhh!"

And we put out their fires.

Now, in the face of mild, almost apologetic, requests that they grow up, Westerners threaten violence. "I hate to say this," said a rancher in a Bozeman saloon, "but the six-gun may still be the best friend we've got."

So it is. We are discussing here, remember, a case of arrested development.

With special thanks to Valerie Carrigan whose drawing eloquently captures the spirit of the whiny, subsidy-demanding West.

If we can't **keep** on *logging* public **100,000 jobs will be lost**, the earth

Why the timber industry's Gloom & Doom predictions failed to materialize.

The New Debunking the B

by Tim

***Unemployment is remarkably low,
and wages have actually risen--disproving the
thesis that loggers would become
burger flippers.***

Minneapolis Star Tribune
October 12, 1994

When next confronted with an environmental dilemma that pits the needs of people against the needs of other species, consider this general principle: Human beings are adaptable and ingenious; they can change, even though change sometimes brings pain. Nature is far more fragile. When a priceless wilderness area is at stake or another species' existence hangs in the balance, side with trees and lower animals, but offer understanding and help to the displaced people and communities.

Time and time again that principle has been proved generally sound. The latest evidence of its wisdom comes from Oregon--formerly a land dominated by log trucks and lumber mills, but now also a land of wines, high-tech factories and low unemployment...

Forced by courts and the Endangered Species Act to preserve the habitat of the northern spotted owl, federal forest-management agencies had dramatically curtailed timber production in Oregon national forests. The resulting pinch in logging and lumber milling was becoming painful. Predictions of economic catastrophe abounded...

Folks who supported the owl and sought to protect remaining old-growth forests argued that Oregon, with federal help, had been dangerously addicted to timber harvesting for a long time. With or without owls, the preservationists argued, Oregon soon was going to run out

of old-growth forests to harvest and would be forced to trim back its forest-related activities. Far better to make the transition now, they said, while preserving the treasure of plants and animals living in the remaining older forests.

Trees, owls and other critters generally carried the day, though strong efforts were made to ensure enough additional timberland to ease the transition...

Oregon has thrived in the first years of the transition as New York Times writer Timothy Egan reports (*see facing article*). [Its] downsized forest-products industry is thriving. Sony is moving in and Hewlett-Packard is expanding. Oregon vineyards are gaining international reputation for their wines. Despite pockets of poverty and stagnation, unemployment is remarkably low, and wages have actually risen--disproving the thesis that loggers would become burger flippers.

Oregon is on the move, and although not many Oregonians are likely to admit it, part of the credit should go to the spotted owl so many of them wanted to fricassee. Preserving the owl's habitat has helped Oregon into a needed economic transition, and demonstrated again how resilient and adaptable people are. An owl can't grow new habitat; a spawning salmon can't unsilt a stream, and a Douglas fir reduced to a stump is gone forever. But people, given proper help, can grow new lives.

***Economic calamity
has never looked
so good***

***The state's growing
economy has added
nearly 100,000 jobs--
the exact amount
the timber industry
said would be lost.***

***Displaced workers
are becoming auto
mechanics, accountants,
cabinetmakers, and
health care workers.***

***"I was brain-dead
at the mill, never thought
I'd do anything else. Now
it's like the world has
opened up."***

***"A lot of people
are afraid of change,"
said a third-generation
timber worker, "But I see a
real future here."***

By now, the timber communities of Oregon were supposed to be ghost towns. There was going to be an epidemic of foreclosures, a recession so crippling it would mean "we'll be up to our neck in owls and every millworker will be out of a job," as President Bush predicted two years ago while campaigning in the Northwest.

Politicians in both parties agreed. The villain was the northern spotted owl, an endangered bird fond of the same ancient national forests desired by loggers. When major restrictions on logging were ordered in 1991 to protect the bird, Michael Burrill spoke for many of his fellow Oregon timber mill owners when he said, "They just created Appalachia in the Northwest."

But economic calamity has never looked so good. Three years into a drastic curtailment of logging in federal forests, Oregon, the top timber-producing state, has posted some of its lowest unemployment numbers in a generation, just over 5 percent.

What was billed as an agonizing choice of jobs versus owls has proved to be neither, thus far. Oregon is still the nation's timber basket producing more than 5 billion board feet a year. (Ten thousand board feet are used to build the average house.)

But instead of using 300 year-old trees from public land to make two-by-fours, mills are relying on wood from tree farms, most of them belonging to private land owners. And the mills are getting more out of the timber, using parts that used to be discarded.

In the past five years, Oregon did lose 15,000 jobs in forest products. But it gained nearly 20,000 jobs in high technology. By early next 1995, for the first time in history, high technology will surpass timber as the leading source of jobs in the state.

Many parts of the state have

lands, the **economy** will *collapse*, will *stop* spinning and we'll all **die!**

ork Times conomic Hysteria

y Egan

**"These 100,000 job-loss figures
were just fallacious;
they came out of a political agenda."**

- Ed Whitelaw, Economist

reached what economists call full employment--a level of [unemployment of] about 5 percent that the experts say will not cause inflation and where people are usually unemployed by choice.

And there are signs of impending labor shortages, according to state economists. In the last year alone, the state's growing economy has added nearly 100,000 jobs--the exact amount the timber industry said would be lost with the restrictions.

Even the most timber-dependent counties in southern Oregon report rising property values and a net increase in jobs.

But some in the timber industry say the crash is yet to come. Many mills are using trees that should not have been cut because they are too small, said Chris West, a spokesman for the Northwest Forestry Association, an industry group based in Portland. "The small woodlot market blossomed more than anyone expected," West said. "But it's going to be short term."

Asked about the job-loss figure of 100,000, West said, "We don't think the hammer has hit yet."

As for the loggers and millworkers who have already lost their jobs, most of them did not become hamburger flippers, as predicted.

At Lane Community College in Springfield, the nation's largest center for training displaced woodworkers, nearly nine out of ten people going through the program have found new jobs at an average wage of \$9.02 an hour--about \$1 an hour less than the average timber industry wage. They are becoming auto mechanics, accountants, cabinetmakers and health care workers, to name just a few of the new jobs.

"So many people say this is the best thing to ever happen to them," said Jeff Wilson, a former millworker who is just finishing

his retraining program and plans to become a community service worker. "I was brain-dead at the mill, never thought I'd do anything else. Now, it's like the world has opened up."

The big question on retraining, one that President Clinton brought half the Cabinet to discuss at the Oregon timber summit in the spring of 1993, was what a timber worker could be retrained to do. It turned out to be a simple answer, said Patti Lake, who runs the retraining program.

"I'm so sick of the Paul Bunyan stereotype about these people," Lake said. "They come to us because they know there are better jobs than burger flipping. They're just people who graduated from high school and went to work in the mill or the woods. Now, they're becoming the accountant who does my taxes or the mechanic who fixes my car."

To be sure, there are pockets of poverty in the smaller, more remote timber towns of Oregon. The aid package promised by Clinton, \$1.2 billion over five years, has only begun to trickle in. Under the President's plan, the timber cut in national forests will be about one-fourth of what it was in the 1980's.

Places like Sweet Home and Oakridge have lost Main Street businesses as the mills have closed. Auctions of equipment used to haul and mill giant trees are common. But no county in Oregon has an unemployment rate higher than 7.8 percent, and in some rural counties, the rate is about 2 percent, compared with the national rate of 5.9 percent.

Also, few people seem to be leaving. During the last period of timber layoffs, from 1981 to 1987, Oregon lost population. Last year, the population grew by 40,000 people.

And as the number of logging jobs has fallen, the average wage has

risen. In 1989, they peak year for timber cutting, wage levels in Oregon were 88 percent of the national average. This year, they are 93 percent.

In 1991, Rep. Bob Smith, a Republican from the eastern part of the state, said the logging restrictions "will take us to the bottom of a black hole." And that year Rep. Peter DeFazio, a Democrat who represents the biggest timber-producing district in the nation, is south and western Oregon, sketched a picture of widespread devastation.

But in Lane County, in DeFazio's district, the unemployment rate is 4.8 percent. DeFazio, who still predicts some economic downturn, said he has been pleasantly surprised by some of the positive developments.

Springfield, the blue-collar neighbor of Eugene, has landed a new Sony Corp. factory where compact discs will be manufactured. It may employ 1,500 people within five years, at salaries that will start at better than \$30,000 a year. "It wasn't blind, dumb luck that helped us land Sony," said Mayor Bill Morrisette of Springfield. The company wanted a pristine place on the river, he said.

Using some money from Clinton's forest recovery package, the town offered Sony \$8 million in tax abatements and incentives. In return, Sony promised to pay people at least 10 percent above the national average. Now the factory is rising on farmland just miles from the woods that have been shut down to logging to protect the spotted owl.

"Owls versus jobs was just plain false," Morrisette said. "What we've got here is quality of life. And as long as we don't screw that up, we'll always be able to attract people and business."

And even though numerous timber mills have closed in Springfield because they could no longer get

the big trees, newer, leaner operations like Springfield Forest Products are hiring.

The Springfield mill, which was shut in 1989, was retooled to use small-dimension wood from tree farms. When it was opened by Georgia Pacific, it relied on old-growth timber from national forests. The mill now employs 450 people.

"A lot of people were afraid of change," said Scott Slaughter, the personnel manager, a third-generation timber worker. "But I see a real future here."

Ed Whitelaw, a professor of economics at the University of Oregon in Eugene, was one of a handful of economists who predicted that job losses would be minimal and that Oregon, because of its attractive scenery and low property costs, would thrive. "These 100,00 job-loss figures were just fallacious; they came out of a political agenda," Whitelaw said. "Yet when I would say this, I was dismissed as an Earth Firster or something."

Burrill, who owns a mill in Medford, was asked about his statement that saving the spotted owl would create Appalachia in the Northwest. "We've had an awful lot of new industry and that's surprised me," he said. He said people moving to southern Oregon from California aren't all retirees, as the stereotype has it.

"They are bringing jobs with them," he said. "Turns out there's a hell of a lot going on."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

10/23/94

All too frequently, sound environmental protection policies have been rebuffed by the contention that environmental protection is anathema to economic development. So long as the debate can be hemmed in by that false either-or dilemma, reflex will conquer reason.

But the evidence continues to mount that aggressive environmental protection enhances rather than limits economic development. Indeed, the absence of such policy and law can stifle economic expansion and job creation.

"Gold & Green," a study conducted by the Institute for Southern Studies of Durham, N.C., concludes that "the states that do the most to protect their natural resources also wind up with the strongest economies and best jobs for their citizens."

The study uses a dual rating basis; "Gold" standing for economic performance and "Green" for environmental conditions. The economic criteria include average income, job opportunities, business start-ups, and workplace injuries.

The environmental criteria include, among other things, toxic emissions, pesticide use, energy consumption, and spending for natural resource protection.

Spotlighted as exemplary proof of the economic-environmental connection is Oregon, a state whose economy has been under heavy environmental pressure, including the cessation of logging in large old-growth tracts as part of the spotted owl protection plan.

Oregon is described in the study as reaping the benefits of an environmentally friendly state. Oregon has long had statewide comprehensive land-use planning and a bottle-recycling law...

The concept demonstrated by the study is echoed by Stephen M. Meyer of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Meyer has studied economic performance for 20 years.

"If environmentalism does have negative economic effects," Meyer says, "they are so marginal and transient that they are completely lost in the white noise of much more powerful domestic and international economic issues."

Those in business and the legislature--and those political candidates currently on the [stump] with the same old dirge about the disastrous effects of environmental protection on the economy--need to get the message: Green is gold.

The states with the best environmental records also offer the best job opportunities.

Nine states rank among the top twelve on both the environmental and economic scales.

The states most dependent on mining and oil wells generally fair poorest, reflecting a political tradition that tolerates resource exploitation and poor working conditions.

"Plenty of policy makers still think they can boost economic development by sacrificing their natural resources."

"The states that do the most to protect their natural resources also wind up with the strongest economies and the best jobs for their citizens."

Another study disproves the "job

Gold an

by B

Scene one: To convince Mercedes-Benz to locate a factory in Alabama last year, state officials hand to automaker more than \$300 million in incentives, including free land, wage subsidies, and 25 years of income-tax exemptions. The package will cost Alabama at least \$153,000 per promised job.

Scene two: The same year, a judge declares Alabama's cash-starved school system unconstitutional because it fails to give children an adequate education. Schools get most of their money from property taxes, and Alabama's are the lowest in the nation, thanks to steadfast lobbying by large farm and timber landowners.

Scene three: Timber companies, encouraged by low taxes and lax regulations, slash more Alabama forests and begin the ecological madness of riverside chip mills. Pulverized trees are shipped to Mobile and then to Japan, where workers turn them into wood products for the Far East. Alabama loses jobs and its trees. "Witnessing the amount of active deforestation in Alabama was much worse than any experience I've had in the rainforests of Central America," says Daniel Dancer, a photographer who has documented the destruction.

These three scenes in one Southern state underscore what's wrong with the traditional approach to economic development. Instead of treasuring natural resources and using them to promote sustainable development, officials continue to discount their true value. The subsidy strategy benefits corporations, but imposes a huge cost on taxpayers, school kids, workers, and the environment.

Perhaps to mask the human and environmental cost of their policies, Alabama leaders keep the focus on "outsiders" (federal regulators, labor unions, foreigners), happy for the occasional bit of good news. "There's a great feeling of elation that the Mercedes facility is coming," says Barry Mason, dean of the College of Commerce at the University of Alabama. "Any time you can bring in good wages and steady employment, you're not talking about destroying the quality of life, but of enhancing it."

Such thinking is common--and dead wrong, according to the Rocky Mountain Institute. Working in

dozens of communities across the nation, the non-profit group identified three fallacies in the conventional approach to economic development: "(1) decisions are best when they're made by...the small group of old white men who have always made the decisions; (2) communities must sacrifice their environment in order to get jobs, and (3) in order to prosper, communities must recruit outside business."

The staff of the Institute--including economists and noted scientists like physicist Amory Lovins--aren't inclined to radical rhetoric. But they have little tolerance for habits of thinking that obstruct genuine problem-solving.

Sacrificing the environment for jobs is just stupid, says Michael Kinsley of the Institute. "When we use our resources and other assets faster than we renew them, we treat them as if they're income. That's lousy accounting...like a dairy farmer selling her cows to buy feed."

Green Growth

For too long, the South has been selling its future like Kinsley's farmer. Decades after the oil embargo and Club of Rome's report of suicidal growth rates, most Southern cities lag well behind their national counterparts on recycling programs, and reducing toxic chemicals is considered a threat to economic prosperity.

"There's been lots of talk, but not much done to either reduce those emissions or determine which are causing the most significant public health risks," says Alan Jones of the Tennessee Environmental Council.

Proponents of stricter protections for public health are constantly told they're jeopardizing jobs. "Corporations use economic blackmail as a club to keep people quiet," says Richard Grossman, co-author of *Fear at Work*. "It's a tactic to divide and intimidate, but it has no justification in fact."

What is the real connection between a healthy economy and healthy environment? Can a state with strong conservation standards provide good jobs and outperform the subsidy-based development strategy typified by Alabama?

versus the environment" myth.

Green

Hall

To find out, *Southern Exposure* and its publisher, the Institute for Southern Studies, collected two sets of indicators--one measuring job quality and economic vitality, the other measuring stress on the natural environment. The 20 economic indicators emphasize job opportunities, working conditions, protection for disabled or unemployed workers, and job creation. The 20 environmental measures focus on toxic emissions, recycling efforts, and state spending to protect natural resources.

We ranked the states based on each indicator, and produced an overall score for each state by adding up its individual ranks. Comparing the two lists reveals a remarkable correlation:

- Louisiana ranks dead last for jobs *and* for environmental quality. Eight other Southern states (along with Indiana, Oklahoma, and Ohio) rank among the worst 14 in both categories.

- Hawaii, Vermont, and New Hampshire rank among the top six on both lists. Six other states rank among the best 12 on each list: Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Massachusetts, and Maryland.

- New England and the Scandinavian-influenced states rank best on both sets of indicators; perhaps reflecting their progressive political heritage. Similarly, states that rank best on the bellwether indicator of infant mortality generally score high on both our lists.

- The states most dependent on mining and oil wells generally fair poorest on both lists, no doubt reflecting a political tradition that tolerates resource exploitation.

There are a number of important exceptions, but the overall picture is clear: The best stewards of the environment also offer workaday citizens the best opportunity for prosperity.

Our findings confirm earlier research by Dr. Stephen Meyer of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who tracked 20 years of economic performance by state. His conclusion: "States with stronger environmental standards tended to have higher growth in their gross state products, total employment, construction employment, and labor productivity than

states that ranked lower environmentally."

In 1993, Meyer updated his data and used our 1991-92 *Green Index* as a measure of each state's commitment to conservation. Again the numbers refute the myth that environmental protection harms job growth. "If environmentalism does have negative economic effects," he says, "they are so marginal and transient that they are completely lost in the white noise of much more powerful domestic and international economic influences."

In other words, a particular factory may be so marginal that the cost of environmental controls pushes it over the competitive edge, but the demand for safeguarding public health is not to blame. A facility this fragile is operating on borrowed time, forcing someone else (taxpayers, workers, downwind residents) to subsidize its true costs to the environment and public.

Identifying--and ending--hidden subsidies for pollution would dramatically advance sustainable development. "If we were forced to pay the cost of acid rain in Canada, or include the cost of Middle East defense in our utility bills, I think society would likely alter its energy choices," says Karen McCarthy, president of the National Conference of State Legislators.

Dr. Paul Templet of Louisiana State University has studied several hidden subsidies which states absorb of behalf of their polluting industries. In each case, the subsidies actually hurt the economy rather than create good jobs. For example, states that allow industry to spend below the national average on pollution-control equipment have the weakest economies.

As head of the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality from 1988 to 1991, Templet created a handy indicator for measuring the cost-versus-benefit of a polluting industry. His "Emissions-to-Jobs" ratio became a hot political potato, but he has since expanded his research and says the indicator offers an excellent barometer of a state's overall health. The ratio simply divides the toxic chemical emissions of a state's manufacturers by its number of manufacturing jobs. Vermont's 1991 ratio is 24; Louisiana's is 2,623.

Templet has found strong statistical correlations between the ratio, environmental subsidies, and such social indicators as poverty, unemployment, and income disparity. "The subsidies are generally paid by the public, and indicators of public welfare and environmental quality decline as the subsidies increase," he writes. "The state becomes poorer, more polluted, less diversified, subject to boom and bust economies, and more reliant on the very industries which are reaping the subsidies."

Fighting subsidies is an effective strategy for building alliances that can negotiate for environmental equity and alternative economic development. The harder step is building a new political culture that supports sustainable development through broad policies and specific projects.

Success requires inverting the three

development myths identified by the Rocky Mountain Institute: Sustainable programs must (1) engage ordinary people so they can become decision makers and teachers of future community leaders; (2) integrate respect for the environment with respect for basic human needs; and (3) recognize a community's natural and human assets as its core strength.

Fortunately, dozens of organizations are putting these principles into practice. Many are young and small, and their resources pale compared to the billions poured into promoting old-style economic development. But they hold great promise as examples for what local communities can do...Developing solutions that overcome false divisions with the goal of environmental *and* economic justice is slow work. But that's what sustainable development is all about.

Top 10 States

	Gold Rank	Green Rank
Vermont	3	1
Hawaii	1	4
New Hampshire	6	2
Minnesota	2	7
Wisconsin	9	6
Colorado	11	5
Oregon	8	9
Massachusetts	12	8
Connecticut	4	18
Maryland	10	12

Bottom 10 States

	Gold Rank	Green Rank
Arkansas	47	37
Indiana	38	47
Kentucky	45	40
South Carolina	44	42
Tennessee	41	48
Texas	40	49
Alabama	46	46
Mississippi	49	43
West Virginia	48	45
Louisiana	50	50

Alphabetical State Rankings

	Gold Rank	Green Rank		Gold Rank	Green Rank
Alabama	46	46	Montana	26	33
Alaska	13	31	Nebraska	16	25
Arizona	18	35	Nevada	28	17
Arkansas	47	37	New Hampshire	6	2
California	19	13	New Jersey	17	21
Colorado	11	5	New Mexico	39	28
Connecticut	4	19	New York	19	14
Delaware	5	24	North Carolina	32	36
Florida	36	20	North Dakota	34	19
Georgia	42	30	Ohio	37	38
Hawaii	1	4	Oklahoma	43	39
Idaho	22	15	Oregon	8	9
Illinois	29	34	Pennsylvania	21	23
Indiana	38	47	Rhode Island	24	11
Iowa	15	22	South Carolina	44	42
Kansas	23	44	South Dakota	35	10
Kentucky	45	40	Tennessee	41	48
Louisiana	50	50	Texas	40	49
Maine	31	3	Utah	14	32
Maryland	10	12	Vermont	3	1
Massachusetts	12	8	Virginia	27	26
Michigan	25	29	Washington	7	16
Minnesota	2	7	West Virginia	48	45
Mississippi	49	43	Wisconsin	9	6
Missouri	30	27	Wyoming	33	41

For a copy of the full report send \$10 to the Institute for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, North Carolina 27702 (919) 419-8311, fax (919) 419-8315 The report is free to Institute members.

It Ain't Over 'till the Spotted Owl Sings

NFC Executive Director Tim Hermach (2nd from left) and the legal team: (left to right) John Karpinski, Charley Carpenter, and Steve Truitt



photo by Elizabeth Feryl

by
Victor Rozek

A Comprehensive Look at the Dwyer Decision

It was on March 15, 1991, following an eight-day evidentiary hearing, that Judge William Dwyer issued the now-famous injunction against further timber sales in the federal forests of the Pacific Northwest. His decision triggered 45 months of juristic maneuvering which concluded when Dwyer breathed legal standing into the government's forest plan known as Option 9.

In the sixty-nine pages of Judge Dwyer's decision, the most painfully relevant paragraph is this: "[T]he court finds that the federal defendants have acted within the lawful scope of their discretion in adopting the 1994 forest plan. The question is not whether the court would write the same plan, but whether the agencies have acted within the bounds of the law. On the present record, the answer to that question is yes."

The case was a calculated gamble from the start, designed to coerce the government into obeying its own laws. In that, at least some environmentalists got what they asked for, but not what they wanted. That is, the law requires federal agencies to jump through certain hoops in developing a legal forest plan. They jumped, said the judge. They were not required to do so stylishly. Legally, the plan is not compelled to be wise, or fool-proof, or pleasing to any particular interest. In Dwyer's words, "It is not required that every conceivable impact be analyzed, or that action be deferred until all studies have been done that might be done."

Where Environmentalists Faltered

Though Dwyer ultimately ruled that the government complied with the letter of the law, he gave the plaintiffs a second chance to sway him. In an unexpected move, the judge requested that supplemental briefs be filed, answering questions plaintiffs failed to answer during the hearing. Dwyer's inquiry was simple and extraordinary in its implication: What do you want if you win, he asked, and if you should lose, what protection do you want against future eventualities?

Surely it was an odd request seeing as how the good jurist had just read forty-three pounds of briefs and listened to the arguments of no fewer than five environmental attorneys. Yet he still wasn't clear about what remedy we were seeking.

Perhaps if the environmental movement could have risen above its dysfunction and spoken with a single voice, the result would have been different. But we'll never know, because attorneys for the various environmental factions barely speak to each other at all. Professional

"The question is not whether the court would write the same plan, but whether the agencies have acted within the bounds of the law.

On the present record, the answer to that question is yes."

Judge William Dwyer

hubris, plagiarism, hurt feelings, strategic disagreements; the excuses are many and like navels, everybody has one. But the net result was that the plaintiffs, with the exception of the Native Forest Council, all condoned some level of logging in their response to Dwyer, while simultaneously maintaining that the forest plan was illegal.

Dwyer alluded to the confusion in his final decision. "Shortly before the 1994 plan was adopted," he wrote, "the injunction in this court barring additional Forest Service sales was modified by the granting of a motion, *unopposed by most of the parties*, to release twenty-four sales...After the plan was adopted, the injunction was vacated, *again with no opposition by most parties.*" (emphasis added)

It was precisely in response to that unfathomable strategy of granting timber sales and giving up

injunctions in return for absolutely zilch, that the Native Forest Council got involved in this litigation. The NFC, and other plaintiffs, challenged Option 9 on both substantive and procedural grounds. But such efforts may have been prejudiced by the prior de facto acceptance of Option 9--and the process that produced it--by the original plaintiffs as the basis for releasing timber sales.

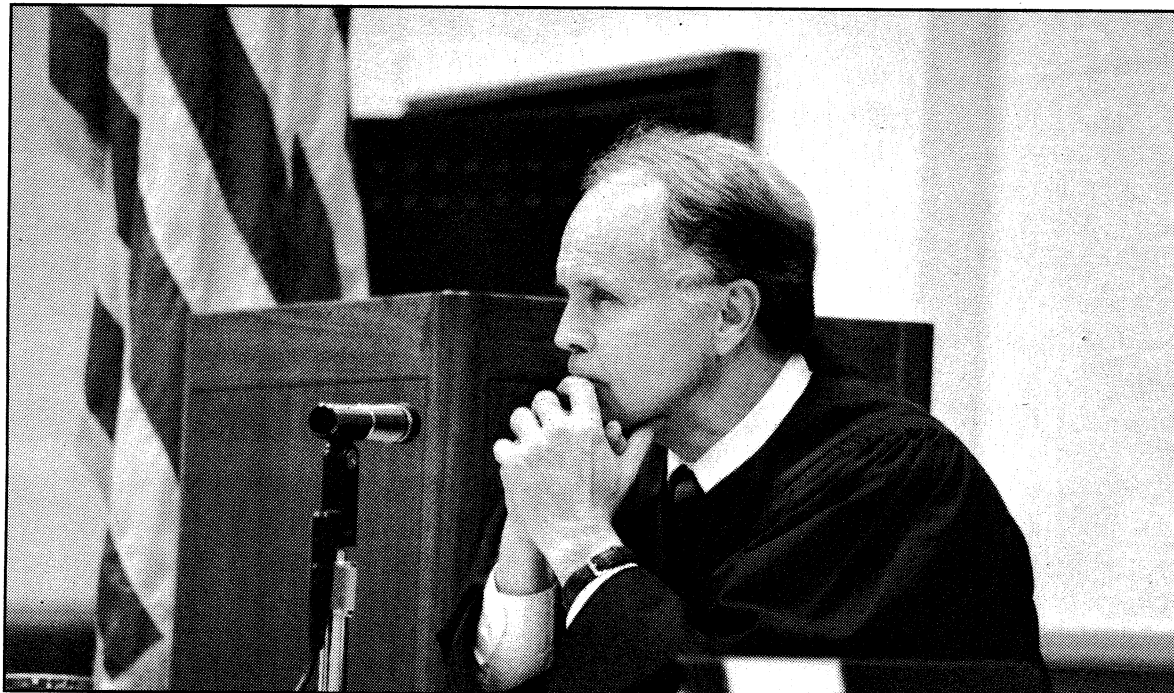
When the environmental plaintiffs responded to Dwyer by requesting a modified Option 1 (the least destructive of the options) as an acceptable forest plan, they put the judge in an untenable position. If effect, they were asking him to write a forest management plan which, legally, he could not do. And since Option 1 was produced by the same process as Option 9, it became impossible to condone one, while claiming the other was illegal.

Dwyer's Thinking

Both the timber industry and the greens contended that a full range of management options had not been lawfully considered. The NFC alleged that a Zero Cut option had been ignored, and that the government was legally obliged to give it honest consideration. But Dwyer saw Option 1 as the Zero Cut alternative. "Alternative 1 would protect 'essentially all existing old growth forests,'" he wrote. "It was fully considered." That Zero Cut extends beyond old-growth was either ignored or overlooked in the decision.

Dwyer also made quick work of the timber industry's contention that an option requiring more logging was not fully considered: "A non-reserve strategy was rejected for in-depth consideration because it rated low on biological criteria," he said. Elsewhere in his decision Dwyer wryly noted, "Diversity, of course, can exist only if individual species survive."

Throughout the text of his decision Dwyer repeatedly defended, and cited case law which supported, agency discretion and the congressional mandate for multiple use. It was clear he



Judge William Dwyer

photo by Elizabeth Feryl

Inside Option 9

For the moment, Option 9 is the law of the land. But just what is it, and how was it developed? Option 9 was produced by a small subset of over one hundred Forest Service and outside professionals--biologists, hydrologists, ecologists, silviculturists, economists and such--known as the Forest Ecosystem Management Assessment Team (FEMAT).

The team originally compiled 54 management options, which were pared down to 35, and eventually to ten. The consequences of the options on forest species were then appraised. In Judge Dwyer's words, "FEMAT assessed the predicted effects of the ten options on more than a thousand animal and plant species for the next century--an unparalleled effort."

The ten alternatives considered by the Clinton Administration varied in four ways: 1) the quantity and location of land placed in reserves, 2) activities permitted within reserves, 3) the delineation of areas outside of reserves, and 4) prescriptions for those areas.

The plans encompassed two Forest Service regions, 19 national forests, and seven BLM districts, totalling 24.5 million acres in three states. The acreage allocations in the planning area are divided as follows:

Late-successional reserves	7,430,800
Congressionally reserved areas	7,320,600
Administratively withdrawn areas	1,477,100
Riparian reserves	2,627,500
Adaptive management areas	1,521,800
Managed late-successional areas	102,200
Matrix	3,975,300
Total	24,455,300

The numbers, however, are misleading. By Forest Service and Wilderness Society estimates, we have approximately five million acres of late-successional old-growth left. Option 9 places approximately 60 percent of it in the matrix, lands on which a full range of logging is allowed. "Reserves," while expansive, are not inviolate and include clearcuts. Forested portions will fall victim to agency discretion. One cannot simultaneously protect and log. Late-successional reserves include both old-growth and cutover lands on which the Forest Service hopes to regrow ancient forest. Congressionally reserved areas refer to such areas as "national parks and monuments." Riparian reserves are designed to protect watersheds and aquatic species, but again are not inviolate. Adaptive management areas are experimentation zones designed, from a skeptic's perspective, to see how many different ways the Forest Service can get the cut out. Administratively withdrawn areas include "beauty strips" along the highways, and areas not presently scheduled for harvest. Managed late-successional areas are old-growth "designated for special measures (read logging) because of frequent fires."

Option 9 also includes an "aquatic conservation strategy," which identifies key watersheds where logging is restricted to preserve aquatic species. Finally, its provisions include a monitoring and evaluation process.

did not think the courts a suitable place to forge forest management policy. "When a statute authorizes an agency to issue legislative regulations," noted Dwyer. "Congress entrusts to the Secretary [of Agriculture or the Interior], rather than the courts, the primary responsibility for interpreting the statutory term." *Batterton v. Francis* Discretion would be the death of us.

In Dwyer's view, federal agencies were required to make a "good faith" effort, but were entitled to their own preferences and prejudices. "An agency's actions have been held 'not viable if the proof discloses that the agency proceeded to perform its environmental tasks with less than good faith objectivity' This does not, however, preclude the agency from choosing an option that it preferred from the beginning."

That same reasoning led Dwyer to reject environmentalists' claims that the basic premise underlying Option 9 was flawed. The government's strategy, greens argued, is to knowingly cause wildlife populations to decline. The Forest Service plans to log more old-growth in the hope that presently-cutover lands can be regrown with old-growth characteristics, thereby providing suitable wildlife habitat in the future. Environmentalists alleged that the government failed to adequately discuss and consider opposing scientific views that any further loss of habitat is unduly risky. Again, Dwyer sided with the government. "There is reputable scientific opinion supporting the Secretaries' view...A disagreement among scientists does not in itself make agency action arbitrary or capricious, nor is the government held to a 'degree of certainty that is ultimately illusory.'"

The reference to "certainty being illusory" suggests another green failing. At one point in the proceedings, Dwyer asked several environmental counsels what percentage guarantee of survival did they seek for the owl and related forest species? The proper answer, of course, would have been "the highest possible," with zero additional human-caused risk. But the attorneys hesitated, wanting to give Dwyer a specific number. In trying to handicap extinction, they inadvertently provided a baseline for acceptable risk. Once established, Dwyer sided with the principle of agency discretion, allowing the government to decide what was reasonable.

"Discretion" also played a part in the rejection of plaintiffs' economic arguments. The NFC offered studies by regional economists which suggested that the Northwest's economic stability depended far more on saving its old-growth forests, than cutting them down. Forests are a key component of quality of life which attracts new business and investment to the region. Dwyer seemed nearly convinced but, once again, deferred to the defendants. "The views of the plaintiffs' economists that the region would be better off economically by forgoing any more old-growth cut are persuasive but subject to debate; the Secretaries did not act unlawfully in declining to adopt them."

It Ain't Over

While consistently giving the government the benefit of the doubt, Dwyer did point out that the government admitted to "provid[ing] the highest sustainable timber levels from Forest Service and BLM lands of all the action alternatives that are likely to satisfy the requirements of existing statutes and policies." That being the case, Dwyer concluded that "any more logging sales than the plan contemplates would probably violate the laws."

Elsewhere in his decision, Dwyer reiterated: "New information may require that timber sales be ended or curtailed." He even seemed to caution the new Congress against stripping the plan of its funding; "A failure to monitor adequately, due to financial constraints, would call for reconsideration of the plan."

The Native Forest Council has been monitoring the first timber sales offered under Option 9, and has found numerous legal violations. Stepping through the small opening left by Dwyer, the NFC filed an appeal in the Ninth Circuit court. "The failure to successfully challenge Option 9," said Executive Director Tim Hermach, "was a failure of intent. Two of the three litigants were clear about what they wanted--business as usual. The third, the environmentalists, couldn't agree on the desired remedy."

On the surface, the plan has reasonable elements (*see sidebar*). But it is precisely the thing Dwyer seemed to defend most--agency discretion--that worries people familiar with the agency's record. There is simply no on-the-ground evidence that the Forest Service intends to do anything but get the cut out. Whether they call it sustained yield, or multiple use, or new forestry, or ecosystem management, the practical results have been a steady and deliberate erosion of America's native forest base. Claims of "protection" ring hollow when even the last 5 percent will not be spared.

Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas' recent memo ordering his forest supervisors into roadless areas punctuates that concern. To paraphrase the recent popular movie *Field of Dreams*: "If you give them discretion, they will cut."

Further, the government has taken steps to make appeals and litigation more difficult. First, it made the timber-sale appeals process nearly impossible to win by making individual violations of law irrelevant to the appeal. Forest supervisors were told they could ignore specific infractions identified in an appeal, and were to judge sales on the basis of their overall compliance with the indefinable concept of "ecosystem management."

Then, the Forest Service proposed to reorganize its district boundaries so that the Northwest region would no longer fall under Judge Dwyer's jurisdiction. Of course the Forest Service claims such a result would only be the unforeseen by-product of its attempts to re-invent itself. Yeah.

Congress presents perhaps an even greater threat both to the forests and the environmental laws that protect them. Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield's ascendancy to head the Senate Appropriations Committee gives new meaning to the term "privatization." The committee will continue to receive corporate sponsorship from the timber industry, which will seek a Hatfield or Slade Gorton-sponsored rider to mandate an increase in the allowable cut under Option 9.

That will put some environmentalists--perhaps even former plaintiffs--in the peculiar position of defending Option 9 for fear of getting something much worse. Ironically, the last line of defense against a sure congressional assault will be Bill Clinton's veto power. If that is a deflating thought, it is because Clinton, as a line of defense, has proven about as reliable as the Maginot line.

But the future is not all bleak. The NFC will



The other plaintiff

continue to seek a legal remedy for Option 9. We will continue to work for the passage of legislation that stops all waste, fraud, and abuse of public lands including logging of national forests. We know simply slowing the rate of logging will not work. Thirty million clearcut acres of public forest will testify to that. While federal land management agencies may have a legal right to discretion, they have abrogated their moral right to it.

For the past three years, government agencies and the timber industry they serve, have been on the defensive. That is unprecedented, and we should not forget to honor the visionary group of plaintiffs and their attorneys who first secured the injunction. The forests got a brief

rest and a new set of regulations which, though inadequate, are better than what we had before. The forest issue has gained strength, support, and visibility throughout the nation. Whether in the hardwood forests of Indiana, or the backwoods of Maine, in stands of Texas pine, or the Georgia bayou, the government knows someone is watching.

Movements, like sporting events, have their ebb and flow. One side scores, and then the other. It's not ideal, but who would have predicted even this progress ten years ago? If there is one thing we've learned, it is that saving the forests is a process, and not a project. No one, after all, assumed it was going to be easy.

A Clearcut by any Other Name



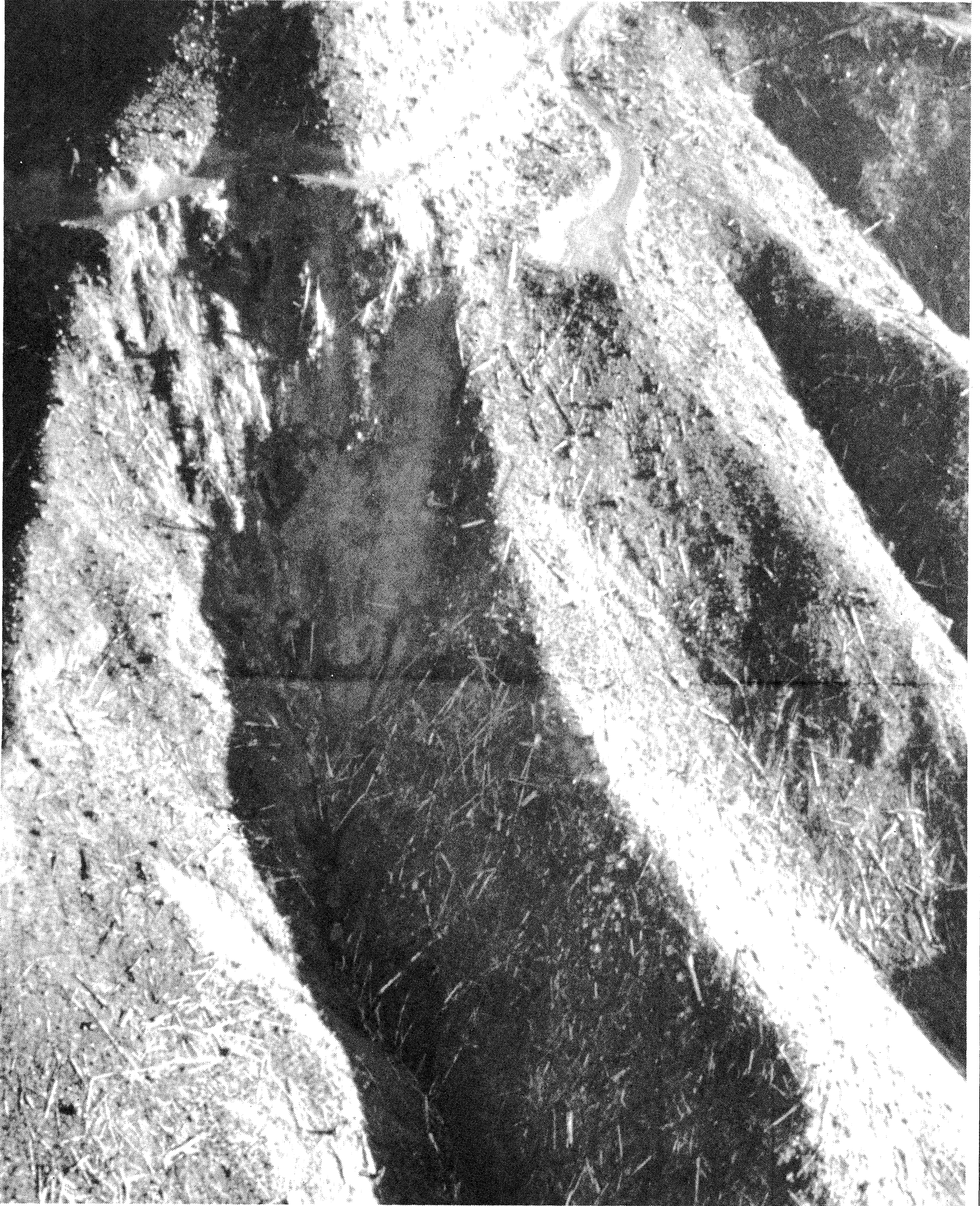
photo by Tryg-Sky/Lighthawk

100,000 Thank You's

*The Native Forest Council would like to express its heartfelt thanks and boundless gratitude to **Charley Carpenter and Steve Truitt**. These Washington D.C.-based attorneys have donated over \$100,000 in pro bono legal work in defense of the forests. Their commitment and generosity have made it possible to challenge the inadequacies of the Clinton forest plan, and force a measure of accountability on federal agencies accustomed to lawlessness.*

They Call It

Ecosystem Management.



We Call it

Devastation.

At the Forest Service, they create the euphemisms that obscure reality. So you'll accept them. Because they know that even the worst plans will succeed, If people don't resist.

Wise Use advocates are a bunch of greedy, nature-hating illiterates. That's a given. We all know that, don't we? Well, don't we! So why are they having so much success? Ever ask yourself...

Who Put the "Wise" in Wise Use?

by Victor Rozek

"I choose my friends for their good looks, my acquaintances for their good character, and my enemies for their intellect. A man cannot be too careful in the choice of his enemies." - Oscar Wilde

At age ten he would listen to The Lone Ranger broadcasts on the radio. He described the experience as "the most formative incident of my early life," but not for the reasons one would imagine. He had little use for the program's rudimentary plots and one-dimensional characters. What captivated his imagination were the "short dramatic musical vignettes that segued between action scenes." They were his introduction to classical music, to Wagner, Mendelssohn and Liszt, and some 60 other fragments of genius that served as musical punctuation to the scripted radio adventures.

Hearing the euphonious dabs of music made him eager to hear the whole. Intent on learning the names of the pieces and their composers, he wrote to George W. Trendle, producer of the Lone Ranger program, requesting a list of the musical bridges. Trendle wrote back that they were a "trade production secret."

The young boy was furious. But the manner in which he assuaged his fury would--more than 40 years later--have troubling implications for the environmental movement. For the next two years the boy haunted record stores "listening to one piece of music after another, occasionally being rewarded with a Lone Ranger background theme." Exhausting the material available in record stores, he called music professors at Juilliard and hummed bits of music over the phone asking for an identification. He wrote to music experts all over the country. By age 12 he had identified more than 40 Lone Ranger themes. "I learned a great deal about research and networking," he reflected.

His name is Ron Arnold. He is the co-founder/philosopher of the wise use movement, and employing the same tenacity, the same relentless devotion to research, he is kicking the stuffing out of the environmental movement.

Ask any environmentalist and he'll tell you that wise use is an anti-environmental movement. Arnold

disagrees. "Wise users have no less love for the environment than environmentalists, but their love is of a different kind, non-sacral, which sacralists in the environmental movement reject as not being a real kind of love. Such an attitude on their part is blind to our values, so blind that it cannot see them even as being values, and therefore can never cope with them."

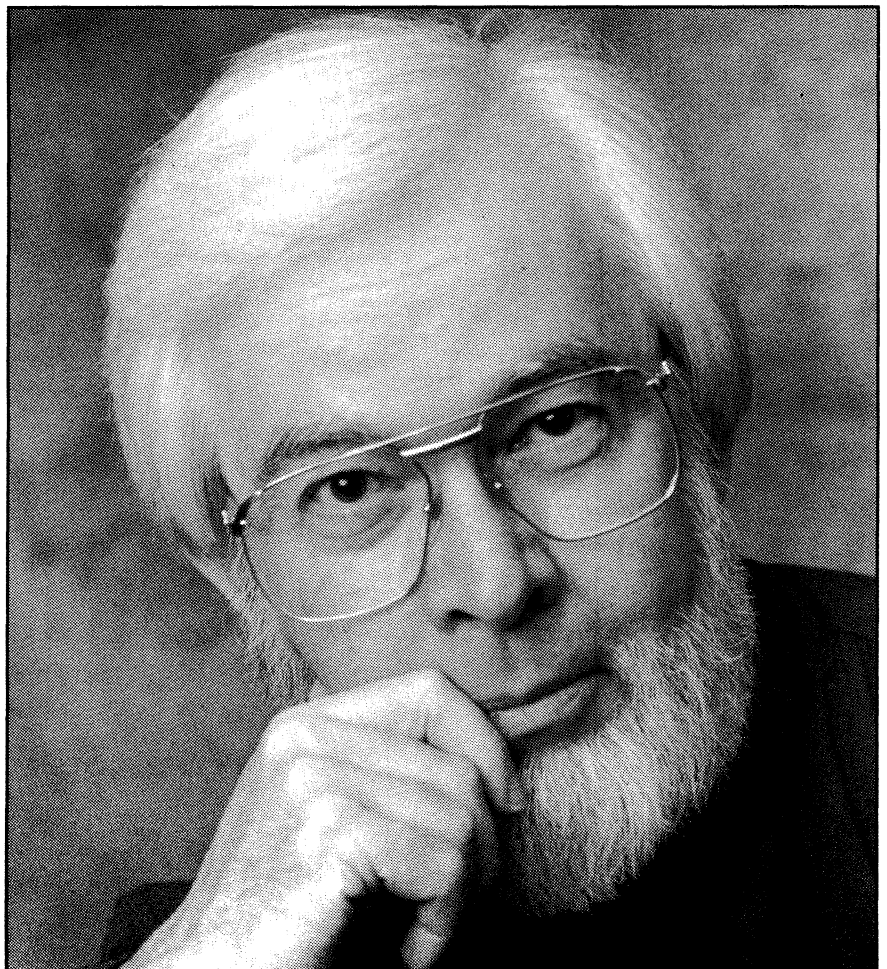
While some environmentalists doubtless consider nature sacred, many more simply consider it necessary--for reasons other than economic. They reject the anthropocentric view as both arrogant and limited, having observed that those who believe themselves to be separate, often act in ways harmful to the whole. Wise use, however, marching under the banner of individual rights, property rights, and jobs, champions economic development over non-economic values, resource extraction over restraint.

It is a movement comprised of a broad collection of interests whose personal oxen have been gored by environmental legislation or restrictions. For off-road vehicle manufacturers and users, and cattlemen grazing public lands; for small lumber mill owners, and multinational corporations pushing for unfettered access to the world's resources, the wise use movement

provides a common enemy--environmentalists, and a common goal--their political castration.

Arnold has ideologically led what Keith Schneider of **The New York Times** called the "powerful countermovement of scientists, city officials, business executives and landowners who began to ask questions about the methods and priorities of national environmental groups." Is he being successful? Most marquis environmental organizations reported six-figure membership drops and million-dollar budget deficits in 1994. Arguably, many factors contributed to the decline--the failures of the Clinton Administration, the timidity of the nationals and their inability to articulate a compelling vision, doom-overdose, and economic stresses. But while environmentalists were busy blaming outside factors for their dwindling support, they failed to grasp the depth of public resentment and the forces that organized it into a movement.

That a fraction of one percent of the population comprising the core wise use movement, can appear to represent a broad national constituency, attests to formidable grassroots organizing around a clear agenda. That over 70 percent of our nation's population identify themselves as environmentalists,



Ron Arnold

yet the movement attained but one notable accomplishment (the California Desert Protection Act) in two years of Democratic rule, attests to something quite different.

As wise use gained momentum, environmentalists reacted by vilifying Arnold and the wise use gospel, while ignoring their concerns. Dismissing wise users as reactionary crackpots and spurning their issues as self-serving or industry-inspired, proved to be a tactical mistake. There are some 1,500 diverse organizations huddling under the "wise use" umbrella, and if the recent electoral swing to the right is any indication, their concerns are being taken seriously. Takings, a wise use touchstone issue, conspicuously appears in the Republican's Contract With America.

Preparing to meet Arnold for dinner in Seattle I anticipated confronting an angry red-neck burdened with all the stereotypic implications of that office; a man of limited formal education, ignorant of the events that shaped the world, unable to grasp the complexities of economics, politics, and their relationship to the environment. "Dinner with the Dark Side," I quipped. I did not expect to like him. I was wrong on all counts except two: Arnold, in fact, has little formal education, and he is very angry.

And, like the child of 10 rebuffed by the radio show producer, he is systematically setting about conquering the object of his anger, intending to "put the environmental movement out of business by replacing it with a better alternative, the wise use movement."

My library was dukedom large enough

The lack of formal education will not impede his efforts. Arnold is highly intelligent and broadly read, with encyclopedic recall and a mind whose interests span all the "isms" and "ologies" of human invention. In our first ten minutes of conversation, which would eventually span five hours, he touched upon Chekhov, Shakespeare, and Ayn Rand with scholarly intimacy. And he was just warming up.

Contrary to uninformed belief, wise use did not spontaneously erupt like an angry blemish on the

chin of environmentalism. It was the product of Arnold's meticulous research into the dynamics of social movements. That research, Arnold claims, yielded the keys to destroying environmentalism. One of his axioms: *An activist movement can only be defeated by an activist movement.*

Ron Arnold was born in 1937 in Houston, Texas. Abandoned by his father shortly after birth, and unable to be cared for by an ailing mother, he was adopted by his maternal grandparents who raised him until he finished high school at the age of 16. He describes his grandparents as "old-generation Texas pioneer types," with distinctly contrasting beliefs. His father was a "flaming agnostic" who "taught me stubborn common sense and skepticism," said Arnold. His mother was a spiritualist "who took me to many seances, showing me the future and the gates of inner power."

By 13, he was engrossed in sober reading. "The first book that seriously influenced my thinking," he said, "was J.N.W. Sullivan's *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development*. Beethoven was my inspiration and my hero, a disciplined rebel." It's no accident that he chose the words "disciplined" and "rebel" to describe the object of his admiration. They are reflective of both his approach to dismantling environmentalism (highly disciplined) and his own view of the role he plays as dissenter from conventional environmental wisdom.

Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows

The research which led Arnold to the formation of the wise use movement, trolled through a bouillabaisse of disciplines, dredging up bits of this and dabs of that. Some of the more god-fearing, flag-waving, free-market-obsessed proponents of wise use will no doubt be surprised to learn that it has, among others, Marxist underpinnings.

Arnold's views on the workings of social movements were influenced first by Marx and Engels, then Western Marxist sociologist Max Weber and French sociologist Emile Durkheim who applied the methods of natural science to sociology. Freud and Jung contributed insights into human behavior.

Arnold recounts the evolution of his thinking: "Habermas' *Theory of Communicative Action* taught me the power of movements. "I got my first insights into the mechanism of movements from Ronald Inglehart's *The Silent Revolution*, which showed the usefulness of Abraham Maslow's needs hierarchy in explaining environmentalist behavior, and Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* in explaining the psychological roots of environmentalism in an historical context. Lewis Coser's *The Functions of Social Conflict* taught me that conflict can be a creative force rather than destructive, and how to use conflict in building a new society. Lewis Feuer's *Ideology and the Ideologist* taught me a non-Marxist critical method useful for analyzing the stages of movement evolution. Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man* taught me the evolutionary meaning of human action. Hugh Dalziel Duncan's *Symbols in Society* taught me the metalanguage of American society that helped me shape the mottoes, vocabulary and incendiary sound bites that have been so effective."

Arnold continues, "Then the 'Resource Mobilization' school of movement theory, summarized in *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*, steered me away from its establishment views of movements because there is no technology in them one can apply to actually building a movement. And finally, the cross-cultural movement analysis work of Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hine (*Lifeway Leap* in particular), which although obscure and neglected by the academic establishment, did contain structural and functional theoretical frameworks that worked well enough to reveal the weaknesses of the environmental movement and suggest the formation of the Wise Use Movement--perhaps not Cadillac elegant and accepted in academia, but Model T practical enough to get from Point A to Point B."

This is a highly abbreviated list. I include it so that the reader will understand that however distasteful Arnold's fare is to environmentalists, it was not hastily prepared.

Both issues and opponents are thoroughly investigated. Arnold has compiled extensive financial and demographic data on dozens of

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Author's note:

Our expectations create so much of our reality that where the two don't align is usually fertile ground for new learning. Thus, when my research into the wise use movement yielded unanticipated results, it offered a much different perspective on what environmentalists are fighting, why the battle is going poorly, and just possibly how to discover the difficult, enmity-clogged path that leads beyond pre-judgement.

He leaned across the table in response to one of my more impractical notions and said, "I never waste time doing what is not possible."

"By this declaration we absolutely and unconditionally reject and denounce the use of weapons or personal violence against our opponents or vandalism against their property."

Condemnation is also the simplistic by-product of clashing movements that substitutes heroes and villains for intelligent discourse.

environmental organizations. Like an industry-inspired boy scout, he is, above all, prepared and practical. At one point as we were arguing strategy, lobbing what-ifs at each other, he leaned across the table in response to one of my more impractical notions and said, "I never waste time doing what is not possible."

What's past is prologue

The source of Arnold's anger toward environmentalists goes back to his "former association with the Sierra Club" in the 1960s. He recounts an incident when a Club member on a hike "came across a setting of fell-and-bucked logs dislodged by a storm and lying in an Oregon Creek." The hiker photographed the scene and suggested submitting pictures and story to a local newspaper. Arnold, however, personally knew an official of the timber company and suggested contacting him to have the logs removed. "I was certain nobody in the company knew they had escaped from captivity."

Arnold claims his suggestion was overruled by Brock Evans, then Sierra Club Pacific Northwest lobbyist, now congressional lobbyist for National Audubon. Evans, according to Arnold, said: "Why should we give that company a chance? Demographers show that the environmental movement may have only a few years of high public popularity left. We have to win all the fights we can while the winning is good." Arnold saw this as a sign of "hypocrisy" and "moral bankruptcy" of a movement more interested in power than truth, self aggrandizement than environmental quality.

For his part, Evans told me he had no recollection of the incident, although he did recall commissioning a Montana forester to write a report on private forestry practices which Evans said "were horrible at the time. Blowouts," such as the one Arnold described, "occurred every year." After listening to the quote attributed to him, he said it sounded contrived and was not representative of a position he would take. Evans' recollection of Arnold was of a man who tried to sell the Club a slide show presentation of the Alpine lake wilderness. When it was suggested he donate his work like everyone else, Arnold left. "The next thing we knew, he was showing up as a speaker at logging conventions," said Evans.

My personal feeling, though I am hesitant to articulate it having

neither the credentials nor the desire to psychoanalyze people in print, is that the importance of the incident was rooted not in the disposition of wayward logs but in the disregard paid to Arnold. He is a proud man, sensitive to his own intellectual accomplishments, and intent on being respected. During our interview, Arnold told me no fewer than three times that he did not hold a college degree. If, in his experience with the Sierra Club, he felt scorned or disrespected, if his judgement was dismissed not for lack of content but for lack of a degree, Arnold is possessed of enough rage-fed industriousness to set about avenging the slight.

Keep a good tongue in your head.

While there are profound differences in the values and objectives of greens and browns, Arnold's views are less predictable than most environmentalists would imagine. When he is not tossing incendiary sound-bites at journalists, his ideas tend to be the thoughtful products of research and conviction, not rhetoric, and are therefore worthy of thoughtful reply.

On public lands: "The notion of public lands," Arnold contends, "is based on fiction. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Newhall v. Sanger* determined that public lands were 'lands belonging to the United States which are subject to sale or other disposal under general laws, and not reserved or held back for any special government or public purpose.'" Yet, points out Arnold, such lands virtually no longer exist. Further, "the general citizenry of the United States has no claim, right, title, interest, control, possession, or use of federal lands beyond the permission of the actual title holder, which, for legal purposes, is the cabinet officer in charge of the various factions of federal land."

On grazing permits: "The majority value of split-estate federal-private ranches with grazing permits belongs to the private rancher as confirmed by estate tax cases of the Internal Revenue Service."

On industry hiding behind phony, environmentally friendly-sounding grassroots organizations to advance its own agenda: "The wise use movement regards industry as a rightful stakeholder in the environmental debate, and the fact that its trade associations recruit citizen supporters to join industry supported organizations is not phony in any sense. The mere fact that a for-profit firm or cluster of firms recruits grassroots supporters does not mean the grassroots recruits are not sincere and dedicated."

On whether there should be limits to exploiting nature: "Of course there should be restrictions on using nature badly. But there should be no restrictions on using nature wisely. Now we can argue about what is wise and what is not. The universe did not come with a set of instructions, nor did our minds. We find ourselves in a world where we can learn, but only by trial and error. If we become so obsessed with stopping the errors through restrictions, there will be no trials and no learning."

Even on the charged issue of violence, a surprising answer: "We have written a declaration of non-violence which we ask wise use groups to sign and honor." Quoting from the two-page document, "By this declaration we absolutely and unconditionally reject and denounce the use of weapons or personal violence against our opponents or vandalism against their property. We absolutely and unconditionally accept the power of unarmed non-violent moral conviction as the only standard of behavior in confrontations between our two movements."

When I asked whether this was merely a cosmetic proclamation designed to shield wise use organizations from law suits, Arnold referred me to another section of the document. "In the event these positive actions fail, we agree and bind ourselves to mutually aid victims of relevant violence and vandalism as possible, to assist law enforcement agencies in prosecuting violators, and to seek civil sanctions against violators where appropriate."

Only a fraction of member groups have signed the declaration, however, and I know of no instance where greens who were victims of violence have been compensated, or their aggressors brought to justice with the help of the wise use movement. Still, the picture that emerges is far different from the demonic sketches in the environmental press.

To be sure, much of the criticism leveled against wise use is deserved--a pugnacious reflex against the movement's inflammatory sound-bite rhetoric, intimidation tactics, and outrageous proposals. (Privatization of national parks and opening them to logging, mining and other resource extraction, for one.) But condemnation is also the simplistic by-product of clashing movements that substitutes heroes and villains for intelligent discourse.

While vilification is neat and easy, it does nothing to raise our level of understanding or, for that matter,

our compassion. Knowing ones adversary is not only strategically advisable, but puts a human face to issues and ideologies. Both environmentalists and wise users have failed in that, content to lob verbal mortars at each other, at considerable cost to the environment and the economy.

While both sides tally their costs and mourn their losses, what if we could, just for a moment, see things with new eyes? Be courageous enough to give up the need to be "environmentally correct." Not abandoning our beliefs, but making room for all of human experience. Might we stumble upon the undiscovered continent of common ground? William Greider who writes so brilliantly and with such obvious passion about the imploding state of our democracy, said this: "What [democracy] requires is a spirit of mutual respect--people conversing critically with one another in an atmosphere of honesty and shared regard. The respect must extend even to hostile adversaries, since the democratic objective is not to destroy them but to reach eventual understanding. At its core, the idea of democracy is as simple as that--a society based on mutual respect"

Failing that, says Greider, "America has the potential to deteriorate into a rather brutish place, ruled by naked power and random social aggression."

Mindful that at present, common ground for wise use and environmentalism is a land without a compass, I listened to Arnold discuss several of his organization's current goals. The Bellevue, Washington-based Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise has a five-point agenda, two of which could offer a solid beachhead on that distant land if it is not immediately swamped by the high tide of hysteria.

First, the protection of property rights. "The real key to protecting property rights," Arnold explains, "is to give citizens the right to challenge the taking itself. As the law stands now, the government can take your property and you can only argue in court about the price it must pay you. We need the power to force the government to prove two things if it is legally to take your property: 1) the government must prove that YOUR property is necessary for the public use contemplated by the taking; and 2) the government must prove that the taking is in fact for public use, and not simply to fill the private agendas of pressure groups."

Substitute the word "benefit" for "use" since land (forestlands and

wetlands, for example) often benefit citizens most when left alone, and we have no argument. A true taking must be compensated and should not be capricious.

And this surprising goal; pollution control. Arnold explains that currently the government provides no incentives for industry to abandon polluting technologies. Rather, it issues mandates backed with fines for failure to comply. Arnold suggests "creating a data bank on the Information Superhighway available to all industries, listing pollution control technologies of three types: 1) known and proven; 2) in development and testing; and 3) new and untried. Instead of fines and penalties for productive industries with undesired water and/or air emissions, the Environmental Protection Agency should help those firms identify and locate pollution control technologies. EPA should reward industries commensurately for their willingness to innovate, with progressive tax credits as the incentive. The lowest credits would be awarded for adopting known and proven technology; higher credits for adopting newly developing technologies; and the highest credits for investing in the testing and development of untried but promising methods that prove successful--failed technologies would not be rewarded."

Arnold believes that such a system would "drive pollution control technology at a faster rate than command-and-control punishment." Likely true, providing the process was not open-ended and wholly dependent on voluntary compliance. Tax credits are certainly a more productive notion than the moronic, environmentally-backed pollution trade permits which allow polluting companies to sell and trade their "right" to pollute.

The larger question for environmentalists is whether it serves us to view business and industry only as the enemy? Paul Hawken correctly observed that business is the dominant force in the world today and if the environmental problems caused by business are to be solved, inescapably, business will have to make the investments and develop the technologies to solve them.

Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot that it do singe yourself.

At the end of the evening, after the restaurant had cleared and our insistent sparring eased into listening, I asked Arnold if *he* thought our two movements had any common ground. Arnold replied, "We all live upstream, and the highest ground that forms the

watershed of all streams should be where we meet--a place of the most serious mind, of the most scrupulous judgement. Both of us want a livable world, even though we may argue about what that means. We are all human, and love our world, our children, our future, though it may be in different ways. We have more in common than you might think. Structurally," Arnold continued, "we both represent social insurrections against an oppressive establishment which, although we come from totally divergent viewpoints, readily presents us with common enemies. We have much to teach each other. We have much to learn from the world we live in. Perhaps one day we may even envision and construct a society in which our disagreements can be peacefully resolved person to person. If we can find a path to mutual trust and mutual respect, one day the whole earth may become our common ground."

I looked quizzically at Arnold, and remembered something I once heard; that the origin of all war is based on the notion that I know what is best for you. Lao-tzu knew that "when armies are mobilized and issues joined, the man who is sorry over the fact will win." But what if both men were sorry?

I thought about the dysfunctions plaguing both our movements; the overstatements, the accusations, the blaming. And about righteousness and zealotry and political correctness. I thought about concerned, caring people marginalized as eco-Nazis and nature worshipers; about hard working rural people dismissed as timber beasts and land rapers. So small a step from neighbor, to evil-doer, to enemy. So seamless the escalation of disagreements to holy wars and final solutions. And I wondered how we can ever hope to make peace with the earth, while we picnic on each other.

So I looked at Arnold again. And yes, I still looked with suspicion. Yes, I still looked with skepticism. But though he stands for much of what I believe is wrong with the world, I also looked at him with hope, and admiration, and respect. And in that moment, the words of another man, much wiser than either of us could aspire to be, came unbidden to mind.

It was Abraham Lincoln, so loved and so vilified in his own time, who said: "Am I not destroying my enemies when I make friends of them?"

What if we could, just for a moment, see things with new eyes? Be courageous enough to give up the need to be "environmentally correct."

The origin of all war is based on the notion that I know what is best for you.

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So small a step from neighbor, to evil-doer, to enemy. So seamless the escalation of disagreements to holy wars and final solutions.

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

A Big Lie for the Big Wild

by *Howie Wolke*

The pines and firs of wild central Idaho whisper of a forgotten truth. The truth is that without big wilderness—more than we now have—all efforts to save our planet's environment will fail.

In temperate North America big wilderness survives most profoundly in the Greater Salmon-Selway Ecosystem (GSSE) of central Idaho, extreme western Montana, and northeast Oregon. Here is our greatest wildland complex, with 34 roadless wildlands greater than 100,000 acres (the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem has 23). The core Salmon-Selway Ecosystem has 24 such wildlands, including the biggest individual wildland in the U.S. south of Alaska. The 3.2-million acre Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness (RNR) is an unbroken roadless tract bigger than Connecticut and includes 2.3-million acres of designated wilderness, and 900,000 acres of vulnerable roadless wildlands. Sprawling north from the RNR into the adjacent Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness (our 7th largest wildland tract at 1.8-million acres), in the largest tract of primary forest (virgin, never been logged) in temperate North America. The Salmon-Selway is a rare stronghold for many deep-forest critters: lynx, marten, fisher, pileated woodpecker, boreal owl, northern goshawk, and more. It also supports our healthiest puma population, a small number of wolves, and probably even a few griz deep in the hidden recesses of the Selway-Bitterroot.

The GSSE is also a labyrinth of wild rivers: the Main and Middle Salmon, the dangerous Selway, the Lochsa, Clearwater, St. Joe, Boise, Kelly Creek, Big Creek, Moose Creek—all fine, free-flowing, primarily wilderness rivers in a world of barriers and boundaries.

The real beauty of the Salmon-Selway is its general lack of stereotypical alpine grandeur. Despite a few enclaves of classic rock-and-ice wilds like the Sawtooths, Pioneers, Bitterroots, and Bighorn Crags, most of the Salmon, Selway defies the idea that wilderness should resemble the Tetons, Alps, or Sierras. Nobody calls central Idaho "America's Switzerland."

Except for the Sawtooth sub-region, most of the core ecosystem is simply a remote and jumbled land of steep river and stream canyons, high ridges, lofty basins, and great expanses of conifers. Meadows, wetlands, cliffs, talus, low-elevation grasslands, brushfields, avalanche paths, aspen clones and blowdowns break up the Big Wild's big green. But even on the steepest, rockiest slopes, conifers define the landscape. It's a landscape that flirts with aridity in the south and becomes increasingly moist to the north and west. It is our last, great, unknown, untrammled region of wild country, rugged but classically non-alpine, evolving and alive. Habitat Wilderness.

Earlier I suggested that our movement had better re-embrace the fundamental truth that we need big wilderness. Unfortunately, re-embrace is the operative word because many conservationists are falling prey to the idea that the days of Big Wilderness designations are past, despite the recent enactment of the California Desert Protection Act. Too often we hear platitudes about "sustainable development" instead of a steady resolve to protect, restore, and connect. Even some conservation biologists are embracing buzzwords like "ecosystem management," based upon the misguided notion that political reality precludes implementing a system of big, interconnected wildland reserves with inviolate core wildernesses.

Many agency and industry biologists are now leading the anti-wilderness brigade. The flag they carry says "Ecosystem Management" (EM), and right now their major target is the northern Rockies, including the GSSE. Many Forest Service employees candidly admit

that they don't know what ecosystem management really is. But it sounds good. Implied in the phrase is the Forest Service claim that it can emulate natural processes with bulldozers and chainsaws. Based upon actual Forest Service management plans, it's clear that EM means more logging and road building, particularly in our remaining unprotected roadless wildlands. There are 15-million acres of these lands, just in the national forests of Idaho and Montana.

Hal Salwasser is a vocal member of the EM brigade, not a particularly important player in his own right, but emblematic of the Forest Service's new approach to public relations. Salwasser and cohorts are working to convince citizens that EM makes further wilderness designations unnecessary and superfluous. Salwasser does contract work for the Forest Service and teaches biology at the University of Montana. He and other agency *biopimps* tell us that land managers must promote "productivity and sustainability," that's all. And they ain't talkin' grizzlies and native biodiversity.

Promoted with a near religious zeal, EM is another desperate attempt to convince us that the Forest Service can now log sustainably without damaging habitat. What many conservationists do not understand is the strategic blunder of accepting the euphemism. Let's be blunt. EM isn't new; the Forest Service has been managing forest ecosystems abusively since 1906. We need ecosystem protection and restoration, not more logging and road building. In that context, some management is implied, yes, but it sure as hell isn't what the bureaucratic brigade of biopimps have in mind.

Unfortunately, the northern Rockies are now at the threshold of ecological disaster, in danger of losing their wild magic to become just another abused ordinary landscape. Referring to the infamous Cove-Mallard timber sales (deep in the Salmon-Selway and currently in litigation), Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas recently told the Cove-Mallard Coalition, "We're going in." He pointedly repeated this assertion for roadless areas throughout the northern Rockies. In fact, in a June 13, 1994 memo, Thomas instructed his Regional Foresters to specifically target roadless areas for timber sales and other development. The meat of the memo was this: "*However, unless these roadless areas are removed from the timber base through forest plan amendment, you should proceed in an orderly fashion to enter more such areas and manage them according to the applicable plans.*"

If all this Clintonian crap makes you long for the good old days of Reagan, Bush, and F. Dale Robertson when nobody mistook the enemy, you're not alone.

There's more. In Boise, the Forest Service and the BLM have initiated the Upper Columbia River Basin Project (UCRBP), the latest scam to publicly link logging with "forest health." UCRBP is led by Salwasser-clone Steve Mealey, the infamous "Butcher of the Boise" who, as Boise National Forest Supervisor, initiated a massive biopimping program of wildland salvage logging.

I have an acquaintance in the Forest Service who believed until now that the agency could be reformed. She recently told me that UCRBP was just another assault on roadless wildlands, cloaked as science and filled with bizarre logic and euphemisms. Get this: UCRBP points to a "carbon loading" problem in the northern Rockies and east-side Cascadia forests. The cure, of course, is to unload the carbon—at the mills in Darby and Grangeville, and at the docks of Port Angeles. No kidding.

Eventually, even the most vocal biopimps must, somehow, confront this truth: native ecosystems in the northern Rockies, and throughout the national forests,

are unraveling primarily due to habitat fragmentation, erosion, and general overdevelopment. In other words, logging, road building, and low-elevation subdivisions are the chief culprits. In many low and mid-elevation forests, overzealous fire suppression is another problem, sometimes creating abnormal stand conditions.

That is the real "forest health" crisis. But the agency's "cure" purports to treat the illness with more disease: more logging and road building which will only worsen the situation. The real solution is to protect and restore wilderness, and to encourage wildfire and other natural processes to resume. More fragmentation is the last thing these wildlands need. For throughout the national forests, wilderness-dependent and forest interior species decline. Logging and road building erosion fouls water and decimates fisheries, and biodiversity plummets as we create isolated habitat islands in seas of development. The island-habitat effect is as true for wilderness as it is for isolated stand of old growth: in isolated environments, species disappear.

That's what I meant by saying the northern Rockies are at a threshold. If the Forest Service implements Ecosystem Management, kiss this region good-bye. And that's their plan, to move inland from the butchered coastal forests to the last great temperate wilderness. It should be inconceivable that our government would assault wildlands adjacent to Yellowstone, Glacier, and the River of No Return, for big wilderness, with its infinitely complex processes, is the only environment in which we know that life can carry on and evolve over many millennia.

Deep in the Salmon-Selway's Big Wild, a puma screams atop a rocky knoll. For below her, and emerald river falls toward the Pacific. Across the canyon on the lowest south-facing slopes, clumps of Idaho Fescue nourish bighorn and elk during the long cloudy winters. And these critters nourish the puma. Above her outcrop, conifers sprawl upward to 9,000 foot ridges. Old growth ponderosa, open, sunlit, and fire-scarred, merges with the more continuous forest of Douglas fir, grand fir, western larch, and lodgepole pine. Higher still, Engelmann spruce and subalpine fir dominate a forest that's biologically similar to the expansive Canadian and Siberian taiga regions. Down canyon from the big cat, the forest burns—irregularly and often with many trees surviving—for it is August and lightning has ignited the landscape as it has through the ages. It burns in an irregular and unpredictable manner, shaping a forest of incredible complexity. In its wake, the Big Wild remains. A golden eagle circles above Queen Cat, peering through the trees to glimpse marten, fisher, owls, grouse, hares and more. In the emerald river an otter family rides the current, fat from salmon and trout. The wind fans the flames and more thunderheads build high above the soaring eagle.

I said that the Forest Service and its biopimps will fail at advancing the Big Lie of ecosystem management. They had better. What's at stake is life itself.

What you can do:

Write Congress and tell them to stop the Forest Service from developing roadless areas. Tell them to support the Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act, and other such legislation. Be vocal. Write letters to the editor and proudly display pro-wildland signs and bumper stickers. Contribute money to groups such as NFC and Alliance for the Wild Rockies who actively promote progressive proposals like NREPA and Zero Cut.

NATIVE FOREST COUNCIL QUOTED IN THE PRESS

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1994

117TH YEAR No. 190

Tim Hermach

Logging Must End on Public Lands

EUGENE, Ore.—In its editorial "Forest Maneuvers" [June 3] The Post proclaims that the Clinton forest plan for the national forests in the Pacific Northwest is "reasonable" and that environmental groups willing to embrace its mental provisions are "learning to compromise." The Post suggests that environmental hold-outs should join the groups

Taking Exception

collaborating with the Clinton administration to lift Judge Dwyer's injunction and let old-growth logging resume—in the same forests that have already been devastated by three decades of illegal overcutting.

exempt from logging. Healthy stands of ancient forest can be clearcut even in side so-called "reserves" because the plan provides the usual loopholes. Salvage logging, thinning, meadow and other logging euphemisms are to be used by the Clinton administration as they have been in the past. The Clinton plan's "salvage" provisions are the nonpartisan centerpiece. The Clinton administration found that the Forest Service, the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, there is no one to believe that our national forests are being managed for the benefit of the people. The Clinton administration's plan is a reward to those who have been cutting and destroying forest ecosystems.

Zero-cut option returns to forest debate

The end of all logging on federal land used to be a long shot, but it may not be an impossible idea

By PETER D. SLEETH 11:20 A.M.

Buried deep in the mound of legal briefs in U.S. District Court last week sat an option that makes the timber industry shiver with rage. Environmental activists like to call it zero cut.

As in zip. An end to logging on all national forests. While Judge Dwyer listened to environmentalists and the industry fight over the Clinton administration's Pacific Northwest, the zero-cut option remained largely a sidelight—a long shot in a horse race that no one seems to be winning.

The zero-cut option is an environmentalist's dream and maybe not impossible to obtain. It carries with it aspects that make much of the environmental community quiver with hope. For zero cut has a distinct cost—the loss of millions of acres of trees to build homes while charging the public fees for recreation on national forests.

Not satisfied with their victories in the owl forests, local environmentalists want to end it all. And zero cut is their rallying cry.

Both the Oregon Natural Resources Council in Portland and the Native Forest Council in Eugene are calling for some variation of a zero-cut policy. The timber industry does not take the call lightly.

Just a few years ago, the spotted owl, a bird whose existence was championed by environmentalists, was the focus of a federal logging ban in Oregon, Washington and California within the owl's range since 1991.

"Given today's environment, I think we have a chance to obtain zero cut," says Jim Geisinger, president of the Northwest Forestry Association, a leading trade group for the timber industry. "Most of us feel they're already there."

The call for zero cut is the essence of simplicity: No commercial harvesting of timber is the only rule. Unlike the Clinton administration's forest plan, which would allow some logging on federal forests west of the Cascade Mountains' crest, the environmentalists want an end to logging just in the Pacific Northwest but throughout the nation.

To do so, they would have to reverse the Organic Act of 1897 or simply halt timber harvesting through environmental restrictions so that the effect would be the same.

The act—passed as a compromise between timber and conservation interests—poured the legal foundation for multiple uses as diverse as sightseeing and logging. Lumber production became one of the most critical functions, providing millions of dollars to the federal government and the forest industry.

Changes come with lawsuits. All that changed for the timber industry in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when lawsuits against both the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management forced a shutdown of new timber sales in what became known as owl forests.

As mills closed and forest products companies laid off workers, President Clinton came forward with a new plan to protect the owl and other critters over 22.1 million acres while allowing some logging—about 25 percent of the historical norms of the 1980s.

Dwyer gave approval to that plan June 6, lifting an injunction on new timber sales. That, in turn, brought on more lawsuits by environmental groups. They saw holes in the plan they said were big enough to drive log trucks through.

ing 60 to 80 people producing finished goods with the same material. By what standard of "reason" should Americans tolerate such economic idiocy?

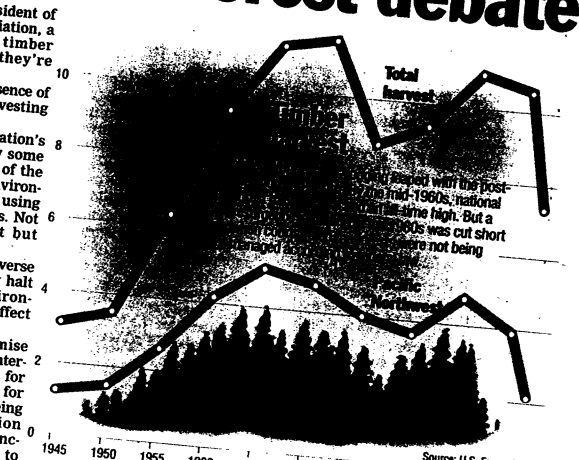
During the 1980s the Forest Service lost \$5.6 billion on public timber sales. American taxpayers have been subsidizing the destruction of their own national forests. But that doesn't even begin to account for the total cost to society of the timber industry's activities. The cost-benefit analysis is not simply ex-

accomplishment. Stop us before we're again.

Compromise is only acceptable when there is a common base of agreement. There is no agreement on the necessity or desirability of cutting the last of America's native forests.

Rather than concentrate on squeezing the last drops of blood out of the source turnip, the plan should address how forests, watersheds and fisheries will be restored and how we can return to biologically sustainable forestry practices on private lands.

has been written about the need for a management out of the "pro-



Last Thursday, their lawyers made their case against the plan before the judge. His answer is expected in 30 to 60 days.

Among the environmentalists' allegations before Dwyer: The government failed to consider the no-cut option as a reasonable alternative to a 97-year tradition of logging.

Surprisingly, the proposal has a broad constituency—the public. In a recent survey of 1,000 households nationwide by the nonprofit American Forests, support for an end to logging on federal forests drew a remarkable 44 percent of the respondents. Another 47 percent approved of continued logging, within 3.2 percent margin of error for the survey—a virtual tie.

Timber industry and public timber. Today, the timber industry has pressed to get log trucks through.

Judge lifts logging ban on some Northwest land

By Linda Kanamine USA TODAY

A federal judge cleared the way Monday for renewed logging on portions of Pacific Northwest forests that had been put off-limits to save the northern spotted owl.

U.S. District Judge William Dwyer in Seattle Monday lifted a 1991 injunction that virtually halted logging in the region. He said President Clinton's 1993 forest plan addresses concerns that prompted the ban.

But he postponed judgment on whether Clinton's plan meets its goal of protecting 400 species living in federal old-growth forests.

It's unclear what immediate effect the ruling will have.

Tim Hermach, of the environmental group Native Forest Council, says, "It means logging will resume. Chain saws and log trucks will run again."

But others are skeptical because the government must give 30 days notice before timber sales, and opponents expected to file objections.

The Oregon spotted owl is the focus of the ongoing logging ban. The ban was lifted in response to the Clinton administration's forest plan, which allows logging on some federal land.

Dwyer hears arguments from the timber industry and environmentalists. The timber industry wants to resume logging as soon as possible, while environmentalists want to see the plan's provisions for protecting old-growth forests.

Timothy G. Hermach, executive director of the Native Forest Council, says the ruling is a victory for the timber industry.

THE OREGONIAN, TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1994

Eugene group sues to keep logging ban

The Native Forest Council stands alone in an effort to keep the White House from enacting its Northwest old-growth plan

WASHINGTON — A lone Oregon conservation group filed suit Monday to extend a court order banning new logging and block President Clinton from implementing a new old-growth forest management plan.

But leaders of several national environmental groups said they wouldn't immediately object to the Clinton administration's request to lift the 3-year-old injunction and resume cutting across millions of acres of national forests.

Monday was the last day to file papers challenging removal of the injunction. A hearing on the motion is set for May 13.

The Clinton administration unveiled its final proposal last month to remove the court order protecting some of the nation's oldest forests and to resume logging in the region at about one-fourth the rate of the annual average in the 1980s.

The Native Forest Council based in Eugene filed papers in U.S. District Court in Seattle on Monday seeking to continue Judge William Dwyer's 1991 prohibition on logging in the centuries-old stands.

Tim Hermach, the council's executive director, said Clinton's forest protection plan—known as "Option 9"—doesn't do enough to save several fish and wildlife species from extinction.

"We emphasize again the irreplaceable nature of the harm that could follow premature lifting of the injunction. When ancient forests are gone, they are gone," the Native Forest Council said in its legal brief.

"If the northern spotted owl or any of the 32 other species this court order protects are pushed beyond their viability threshold, no amount of money, no attitudes will bring them back," the council said.

Hermach said Monday that he was "astonished, disappointed and outraged" that some of these larger national environmental groups are not joining the lawsuit.

Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas and Assistant Secretary for

WASHINGTON — A federal judge Monday lifted the 1991 injunction that virtually halted logging on millions of acres of Northwest forest land that is home to the threatened northern spotted owl.

U.S. District Judge William Dwyer ruled that President Clinton's Northwest forest-management plan addressed the concerns raised by the environmental lawsuit that prompted the logging ban.

But he scheduled a Sept. 12 hearing on lawsuits challenging Clinton's plan, noting that his order "does not constitute a ruling one way or the other on the legality of the new plan."

"I think what's most significant is we've finally done what two previous administrations couldn't do—put forth a forest-management plan for the Pacific Northwest that meets our obligations, is based on sound science and provides timber as well as old-growth protection," said Jim Lyons, assistant agriculture secretary for national resources and environment.

The spotted owl was declared a threatened species in 1980 under the Endangered Species Act. The owl nests primarily in Northwest old-growth forests.

"Obviously, we're pleased that we're going to have a chance to grow we can manage the forest on the ground again, as opposed to in the courts," Lyons said in Washington, D.C.

But some shrugged off the end of the injunction.

"The announcement today is almost irrelevant," said Jim Geisinger, president of the Northwest Forestry Association, an industry group based in Portland.

"Obviously we're pleased, but from a practical standpoint, there will be no timber sales between now and when oral arguments are held on the environmentalists' suit against the Clinton forest plan," he said.

"It's nice to see the injunction's been lifted, yet with all the new lawsuits... it may be a short reprieve," said spokesman David Ford of the Western Forest Industries Association for small timber operators.

Most of the environmental groups involved in the case perceived Dwyer's ruling as simply another procedural step. Twelve of the 13 plaintiffs that filed the original lawsuit did not oppose lifting the injunction.

"What we're looking forward to is the scheduled Judge Dwyer has set to give us an opportunity to show that the Clinton plan still has some very serious defects in it," said attorney Todd True of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, which represents most of the plaintiffs.

Two environmental groups argued against lifting the injunction—the Forest Conservation

The Seattle Times

Logging plan splintering the environmentalist front

'Compromise' is fighting word for some in the battle to save Northwest's old-growth forests

By ERIC PRYNE Staff reporter

WASHINGTON — Environmentalists presented a united front last week when they argued against the Clinton administration's forest plan.

But now, the front is splintering. Some environmentalists are willing to accept some logging because they suspect an all-or-nothing approach is more likely to produce nothing.

If the rift widens, it could complicate any resolution of the region's long-running forest fight, perhaps by altering its outcome.

The most recent evidence of discord surfaced last week, when environmentalists filed not one lawsuit in Seattle but two.

The 1991 injunction halted sales of timber from national forests and other federal lands in Western Oregon, Western Washington and Northern California. Most of the sales are managed by the U.S. Forest Service, though some are handled by the Bureau of Land Management, subject of a lawsuit on the issue filed in Portland.

Hermach of the Native Forest Council in Eugene. "It's not OK for us."

On one side are those, like Hermach, who oppose any logging of older federal forests. On the other are those willing to accept some logging because they suspect an all-or-nothing approach is more likely to produce nothing.

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Over time, the Clinton plan is expected to allow harvest of about 1 billion board feet annually from the region's national forests—about one-fourth the peak logging levels of the 1980s.

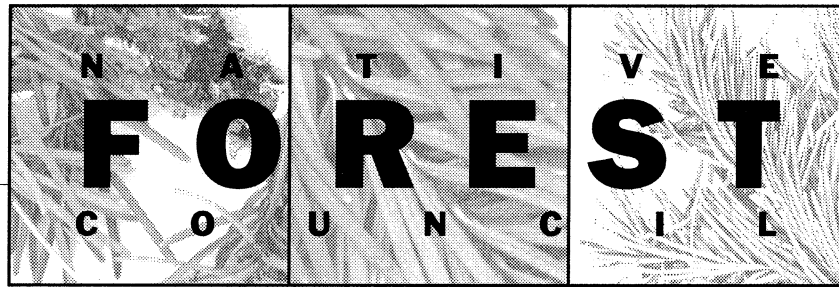
"We'll be lucky if they sell a couple hundred million board feet this year," Ford said from Portland.

"The gridlock will continue whether this injunction is lifted or not," he said. "It's going to take months and months, in fact years, before the forest plan is fully implemented."

It's OK for politicians to compromise. It's not OK for us.

TIM HERMACH Native Forest Council

PLEASE SEE Environmentalists ON A 6



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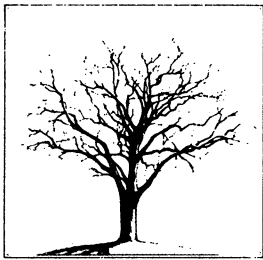
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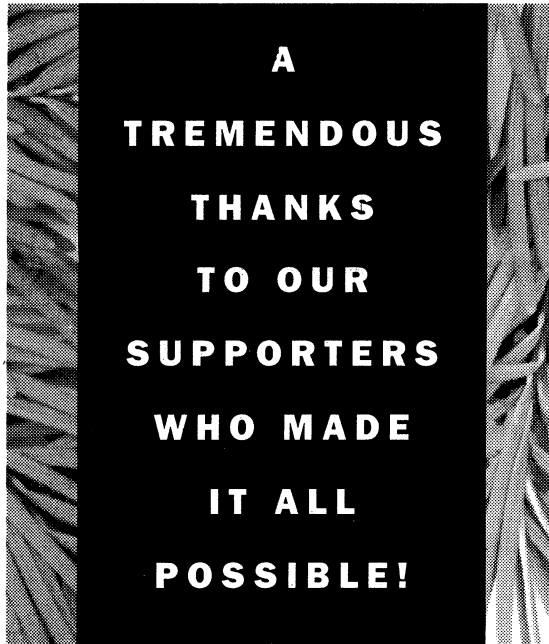
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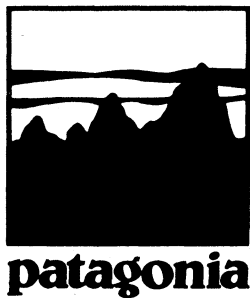
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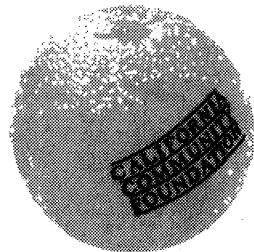
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Sharon Zirnite-Leeds
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In publishing lists, one runs the risk of inaccuracies. To the best of our knowledge, this computer list of 1994 donors is correct. We've honored any known requests for anonymity and hope you'll bring any oversight to our attention.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

USE OF FUNDS

SUMMARY OF SUPPORT, REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES	YEAR ENDED 12-31-94	YEAR ENDED 12-31-93
SUPPORT AND REVENUES		
<i>Support</i>		
Contributions	199,052	168,740
Grants	69,025	75,475
In-Kind Gifts	93,063	0
Total	361,140	244,215
Membership Dues	40,153	39,955
Other	2,363	5,000
Total	42,516	44,955
Total Support and Revenues	403,656	289,170
EXPENSES		
<i>Program Services</i>		
Environmental Education and Information	49,562	39,597
Publishing/Forest Voice	81,027	94,000
Litigation	128,938	0
Media Campaign	94,586	23,001
Grassroots Coalition/Conferences	39,866	18,000
Total Program Services	393,979	174,598
<i>Supporting Services</i>		
Managerial and General	24,647	19,007
Fundraising	38,861	20,761
Total Supporting Services	63,508	39,768
Total Expenses	457,487	214,366
Excess (Deficiency) of support and revenues over expenses	(53,831)	74,804
Fund Balance, Beginning of Year	111,898	103,103
Fund Balance, End of Year	55,067	111,898

A Letter of Discontent

Letter to the editor:

Please get the facts straight before you judge us guilty of selling Sugarloaf! It seems like *Forest Voice* wants to trash Headwaters and the other ten plaintiffs in the Seattle Audubon Society lawsuit no matter what the facts are. Here is a closer look at how the Sugarloaf Sale (and other Sec. 318 timber sales) actually got released for cutting.

Your last issue states that, "The reason logging has been allowed to resume [on the Sugarloaf Sale], before the legality of Option 9 has been determined, is that eleven of the twelve plaintiffs in the spotted owl suit did not actively oppose the lifting of the injunction that prevented commercial access to public forests.... The 1992 Dwyer injunction temporarily stopped the sale from proceeding, but the lifting of the injunction revived it." [*Forest Voice.*, Nov./Dec. 1994, pp. 4-5]

There are at least two inaccuracies here.

First, your sequence of events doesn't make sense. Sugarloaf and the other old Sec. 318 sales were "grandfathered in" and proclaimed legal in Clinton's April 1994 *Record of Decision* for Option 9 (p. 14). The later decision by the eleven plaintiffs in May (to sue again, not oppose the lifting of the old injunction, and give the attorneys and experts time to prepare the best case for a new injunction), occurred after Sugarloaf was already released and could not change its fate.

Second, the Dwyer injunctions never completely "prevented commercial access to public forests," and they excluded the Sec. 318 sales ever since 1992, when Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas declared Sec. 318 constitutional (reversing the 9th Circuit Court ruling that had prevailed from 9/90 to 2/92). The 1992 Dwyer injunction was granted after the Supreme Court ruling, and it therefore excluded Sugarloaf. In May, 1994, Dwyer could not have stopped Sugarloaf or any other Sec. 318 sale, even if the plaintiffs had asked for and won a continuation of the injunction.

It seems as if you want to blame us so much that you have gotten careless with the facts. Please look deep within and give thorough consideration to this possibility. The movement has been fractured too much already by unwarranted rumors without a basis in fact. Please admit your errors in blaming us for Sugarloaf, so that we can move forward and deal with the immense tasks facing us all.

Julie Norman and Robert Brothers
Headwaters
Ashland, Oregon

Editor replies:

First, it is important to honor the efforts of the initial plaintiffs and their attorneys in securing the original injunction. No other accomplishment gave the forest movement more hope or reason for optimism. But then, unaccountably, the plaintiffs began giving away what they, and the movement, had been able to achieve.

The issue is not one of chronology, but of challenging the failed strategy of eternal compromise with a system set up primarily to represent the interests of resource extractors.

The article does not specifically state that Sugarloaf was part of the enjoined lands, but rather that the lifting of the injunction "revived" the sale by sending the public, the administration and Congress the wrong message: That environmentalists approved of logging old-growth.

Subsequent events have shown--at great cost to the forests--that the appeasement strategy failed. The NFC urged the plaintiffs not to participate in the "deal of shame" (in which greens identified timber sales for release from injunction as a good will measure) knowing it would gain us nothing, and we were right. We said, don't give up the injunction because it is by no means certain we will get another one, and we were right there, too.

Rather than argue over the interpretation of a single sentence in an article about forest reserves, we should re-examine the failed strategy that has brought us to the point where environmental groups are funded not to fight Option 9, but to monitor its implementation.

About the Native Forest Council

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

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

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