

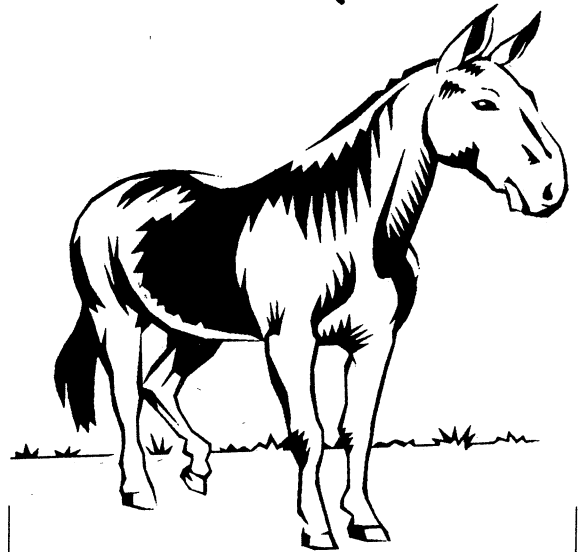
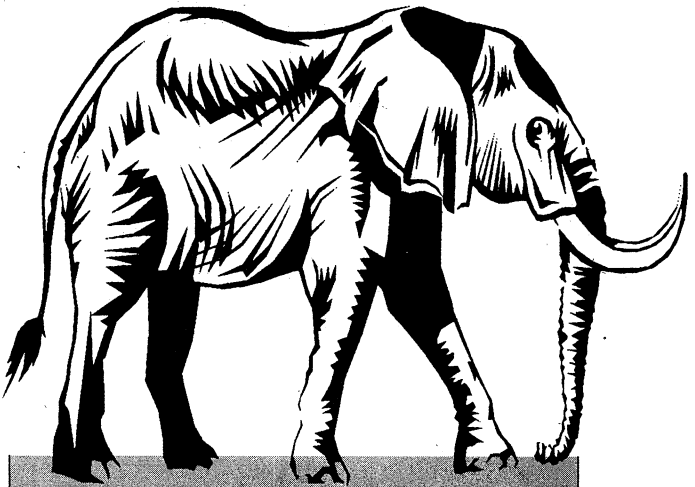
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# Forest Voice

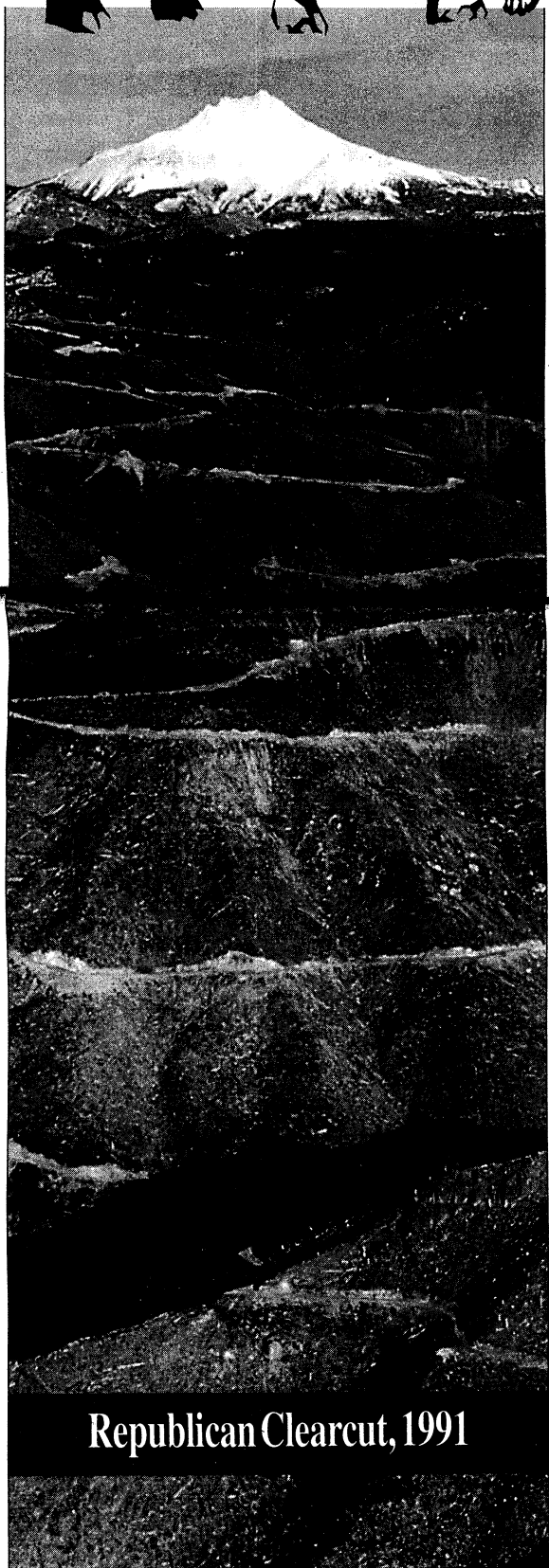
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Protecting Forests, Defending Wildlife

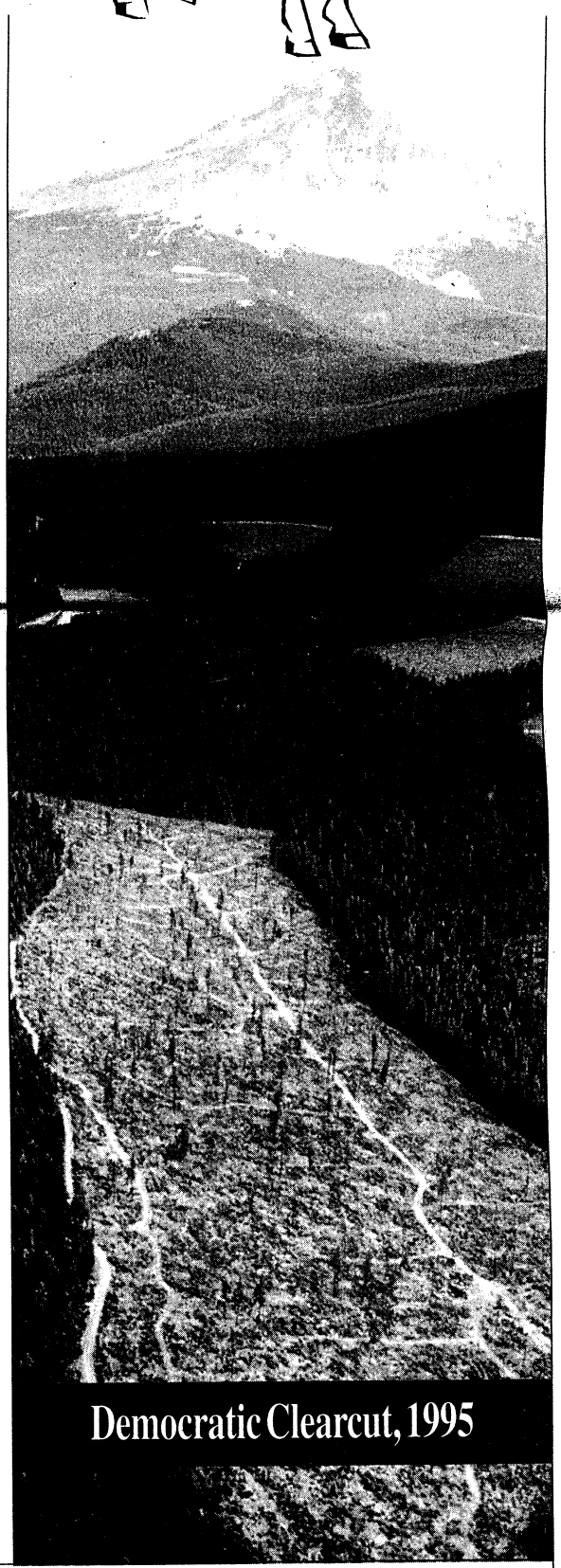
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## Does Voting Make a Difference?



Republican Clearcut, 1991



Democratic Clearcut, 1995

*Supporting  
Democrats or Republicans  
gets strikingly  
similar results.*

### In this issue:

*Excerpts from a new book by Barlett and Steele*

*The Nader campaign*

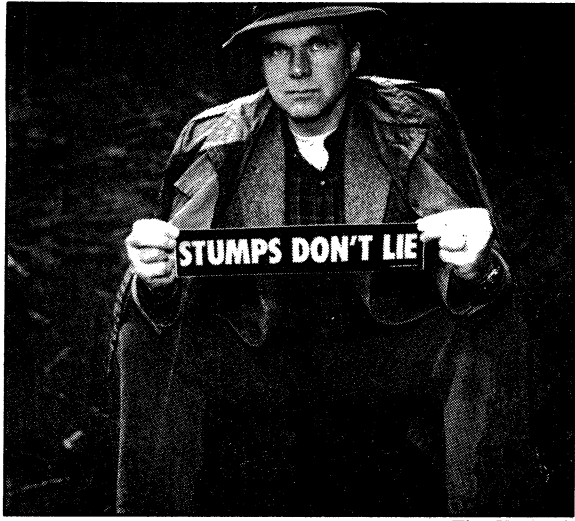
*The cost of election-year environmental swaps*

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# From the Executive Director



Tim Hermach

## The Virtual Presidency

Bill Clinton is an extraordinary mirror of our times: A virtual president, a facsimile of leadership you can never quite touch, a shifting vision just beyond the horizon. A man of deliberate and calculated charm, he gave the nation hope then snatched it away. Four years ago, "our emotional investment in Clinton [was] frightening," wrote one political observer. Now we know it was also misplaced.

It's our own fault. We hear lies and we call it politics. We see graft and we call it campaign financing. We witness a lack of compassion and we call it reform. We decry the abandonment of ethical principles but tolerate it in the name of compromise. We saw in Clinton what we wanted to see, but he consistently gave us what was really there.

Clinton's environmental record, seemingly so full of promise under the leadership of Gore, Babbitt, and Jack Ward Thomas, has been far more disastrous than that of his Republican predecessors. Readers of *Forest Voice* know the destructive designs of the "salvage logging" rider, a Clinton-endorsed measure that suspends environmental laws and precludes legal challenge, while freeing timber interests to cut the last of America's national forests in the name of forest health. But the Clinton administration is also responsible for:

- Opening wildlife refuges to hunting and fishing by presidential decree.

- Weakening the Safe Drinking Water Act by permitting increased levels of lead and arsenic in our drinking water.

- Subsidizing the poisoning of the Everglades by refusing to cut government support of the sugar industry.

- Disabling the Endangered Species Act by making it harder to list threatened or endangered species.

- Rescinding protection for dolphins and whales by signing the Panama Declaration.

- Caving in to the cattle industry after promising to raise grazing fees on public lands.

- Reversing the ban on the production and importation of PCBs.

- Allowing the continued use of methyl bromide, a highly toxic pesticide harmful to the Earth's ozone layer, targeted for elimination under the Montreal Protocol and the Rio accords.

And perhaps most egregious in the long term, is the passage of NAFTA and GATT. Along with selling out American workers and crushing third world subsistence agriculture and commerce, these trade agreements subordinate U.S. environmental laws to corporate global ambitions. Any environmental regulation or restriction can be challenged as a "restraint of free trade" and declared illegal by an international tribunal comprised of unidentified corporate representatives.

In the republic of fix and favor, Congress has been no help. "The difference between Congress now and fifteen years ago is the difference between chicken salad and chickenshit," said longtime Democratic fixture Robert Strauss. Both parties have become ideologically homogeneous and so slavishly devoted to corporate special interests, that differentiation between political factions is primarily rhetorical. Republican hopes for the environment were only marginally more outrageous and openly pandering to business interests than Clinton's policies.

As we approach another election, Clinton's surviving appeal is sustained by the paucity of his opponent. It is such a painful exertion for Bob Dole to summon on-camera enthusiasm for his bankrupt ideas, viewers intuitively understand

that his lack of passion reflects not age, but a lack of substance. Dole, after more than three decades in Congress, achieved nothing more notable than inserting small phrases in the tax code that assured the transfer of the tax burden from corporations and the rich to the middle class. It appears his principal qualification for leadership--his claim to the presidency--is his misfortune to have been wounded 50 years ago.

Breathtaking in their gullibility, most national environmental organizations are supporting Clinton for reelection. The rationale offered, is that it will be worse with Dole as president and a Republican-controlled Congress. Will it? Big money doesn't care one way or the other. That is made clear by the spending patterns of political action committees. An estimated \$600 million will be slid under the doors of both parties in almost equal proportions. Candidates on both sides of the aisle receive contributions from lobbyists who see no practical difference in party ideologies. When one convention ended, they simply moved their operations from San Diego to Chicago and continued greasing palms. Access is everything and party platforms are meaningless. Dole, himself, admitted he hadn't even bothered to read his own party's platform. Labels such as conservative and liberal, Republican and Democrat, are for the amusement of radio talk show hosts; pabulum for an innocent electorate.

Voting for either party is voting for the status quo and voting for the status quo is truly wasting your vote. Ross Perot became a political force precisely because 19 percent of the voters in the last election were so fed up they were willing to "waste" their votes on a candidate who could not possibly win. Depriving the Democrats and Republicans of power is a much more productive means of gaining their attention and support than playing the part of the eternal supplicant.

In this election we are fortunate to have an agreeable alternative to business as usual. He will be on the ballot in about half the states. Ralph Nader has been a tireless crusader for the common man, and is a candidate of unquestioned independence and integrity. A vote for Nader sends a message that environmentalists are ready to quit playing Charlie Brown to the Democrats Lucy. This time, when Clinton urges us to "kick the football, Charlie Brown," promising not to yank it away, we'll be playing another game--one that isn't already fixed.

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# Examining the Public Cost of Private Corporations



Erosion and stream damage are just two of the costs passed on to the public. photo by Joel Davis

In 1995, Dr. Janice Shields of the Center for Study of Responsive Law, released a report titled *Aid For Dependent Corporations*. It identifies 153 sources of federal business welfare from fiscal year 1995 totaling \$167.2 billion, or \$1,388 per individual taxpayer. The report details the precise nature of corporate subsidies, industry by industry. But a new study suggests that these figures vastly understate the enormity and social impacts of corporate welfare.

Ralph Estes is the author of a soon-to-be released book *Why Corporations Make Good People Do Bad Things*. In a recent article published in the academic journal *Advances in Public Interest Accounting*, Estes seeks to calculate the costs imposed by corporations on the larger society. While corporations carefully track internal costs, Estes argues that they purposely ignore the externalized costs of their production. In the fiercely contentious global business environment, being competitive often means being able to externalize more costs than a competitor. Thus, for example, a corporation logging public lands rather than its own, is able to externalize the costs of paying property taxes, of timber sale preparation, road building, fire fighting, insect infestation, and replanting. Estes calls the social costs imposed on the larger society "external diseconomies," which are, in effect, "coerced assessments" on consumers, employees, communities, and the environment.

Some of the more obvious externalized costs are air and water pollution, depleted natural resources, endless streams of toxic waste, chemicals in the food supply, destruction of forests and fisheries, and dangerous or polluting products. Less obvious are the costs to the U.S. economy of exploitative or unfair wages based on discriminatory practices and maltreatment of foreign labor; or the cost to families and to employees who contract cancer in the workplace; or the cost of corporate crime including fraud, income tax evasion, and the ubiquitous military contract overcharges. Estes notes that corporate fraud

involves staggering amounts. The 1991 Equity Funding fraud cost policyholders, shareholders, and insurance companies \$7.7 billion. That amount was described as more than the total losses from all street crimes in the United States for one year. The Savings and Loan scandal of the 1980s, by itself, cost taxpayers \$500 billion.

Estes consolidated prior and original research from government agencies, private research institutions, public news sources, and recognized

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***Estes concludes that the annual cost of corporate welfare, when fully-costed, is a staggering \$2.6 trillion in 1994 dollars.***

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experts. He then linked these disparate studies, extracted and totaled the numbers, and published the surprising results. Where no studies existed and information was unavailable--such as the cost of agricultural workers poisoned by carcinogenic chemicals--he offers no guess. Where estimates are necessary, they are on the conservative side. His intent is not to be precise so much as to provide an "indicator of magnitude."

Using figures drawn from Fortune magazine, U.S. News and World Report and Dollars and Sense, for example, he estimates the annual cost to the nation of corporate crime at \$165 billion. To calculate the cost to the U.S. economy of wage inequities based on sexual and racial discrimination--which, Estes reasons, constitute an involuntary subsidy--Estes uses data from the Statistical Abstract of the United States and the Economic Report of the President, and arrives at a figure of \$165 billion per year. He calculates that the social and medical costs of death from workplace-induced cancer is \$278 billion. The categories alone add up to \$608 billion in annual costs to society, and they are only three of 12 categories that Estes examines.

Estes concludes that the annual cost of corporate welfare, when fully-costed, is a staggering \$2.6 trillion in 1994 dollars. By comparison, Shield's direct subsidy figure of \$167 Billion is only a trifling 6 percent of Estes' estimated externalized costs.

The numbers are so great as to be rendered meaningless. A trillion dollars is a thousand billion. To put this figure in perspective, \$2.6 trillion is nearly twice the federal budget, eight times what the U.S. spends on education, and more than ten times the annual deficit. While a growing bipartisan effort seeks to reform welfare which, in some cases, punishes today's children for yesterday's budgetary excesses, one year of corporate subsidies would pay for one century of welfare.

Estes puts it this way: "As Washington and Wall Street reverberate with ominous estimates of the cost to business of government regulation, one can listen virtually in vain for consideration of the costs of *not* regulating...In the public debate, as decisions are made by taxpayers and their representatives that may affect corporations--decisions on corporate tax provisions, industrial policy, corporate welfare, regulations and penalties for their violation, investment tax credits, zoning exemptions, and tax abatements--no information has been available about the other side of the ledger: the aggregate costs to society of the corporate system."

Now there is.

Copies of Ralph Estes' article, *The Public Cost of Private Corporations*, can be obtained from American University Media Relations (202) 885-5950.

Estes' new book, *Why Corporations Make Good People Do Bad Things*, is scheduled for publication in January by Berrett-Koehler (415) 288-0260.

*Aid to Dependent Corporations* can be obtained from Essential Information, PO Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036, 202-387-8034.



# The NADER Campaign

*Can he win by losing?*

by Brett Campbell

***Progressive voters face a dilemma: voting for a man who seems to stand for everything they've ever wanted, or for a President whose only credential seems to be that he's not quite as odious as Bob Dole.***

***"Today, we have a corporate government run by one party with two heads wearing different makeup."***

Election 1996 doesn't offer voters much of a choice: Democrats who have been acting like Republicans for two years, or Republicans who posed as Democrats during their convention. Both seem to stand for making the poor poorer (the welfare "reform" bill), the rich richer (the telecommunications deregulation bill), and the world safer for multinational corporations. Despite widespread disillusionment with the two major parties, the most prominent alternative, the Reform Party, offers the incoherent antics of Ross Perot as a platform.

But in perhaps two dozen states, there will be another choice—a pro-consumer, pro-worker, anti-special interest candidate who knows more about public policy than Dole, Clinton, and Perot combined, a man who has spent his life working for the public interest. Running under the banner of several progressive parties in different states, consumer advocate Ralph Nader will appear on the presidential ballot in November. So progressive voters face a dilemma: voting for a man who seems to stand for everything they've ever wanted, or for a President whose only credential seems to be that he's not quite as odious as Bob Dole.

Nader achieved renown with his 1965 expose of dangerous autos, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. Auto makers responded by trying to discredit him, and when it was revealed that GM had hired a private detective to dig up dirt on him, Nader's reputation and clout blossomed. Over the next two decades, his Public Citizen organizations and Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) became the most effective consumer and public interest advocates in history, doing the grunt work that resulted in passage of seat belt and air bag laws, consumer safety standards, utility regulation reform, improving citizen access to government information, and much more. Along the way, Nader developed a reputation as a man of total commitment to the public interest (his 16-hour work days became legendary), unquestioned integrity, jealously guarded privacy and almost pathological frugality; one story had him buying a dozen identical pairs of cheap dress shoes in the 1950s and wearing them, one pair at a time, through the 1980s.

But when conservative and corporate forces consolidated control over the national government in the 1980s, Nader's Raiders found the going much tougher and even had to endure repeal of some of the measures (such as the 55-mph speed limit) they'd fought so hard to achieve.

Increasingly frustrated, Nader sought a way to put his enormous popularity—he regularly tops opinion polls of most admired Americans—to more direct effect. He entered the 1996 race last fall when the California Green party, which had achieved presidential ballot status in 1994, invited him to join its ticket this year. The prime instigators were civil rights and environmental leaders, including ecology icon David Brower. Nader accepted the offer, realizing he could use the race both to give him a platform to disseminate his views about corporate takeover of government, while the Green parties could use his candidacy to build grassroots support. According to John Nichols, writing in *The Progressive*, Nader hoped only to use his presence on the critical California ballot—a state Clinton must win if he is to be reelected—to force Clinton to move in a progressive direction. But then, the leader of the Maine Greens asked Nader to allow himself to be drafted by that party, and from there, the snowball began to gather momentum as third parties across the country beckoned. He's now on the ballot in 12 states and organizers are shooting for 20-25.

## ONE PARTY, TWO FACES

One reason Nader's running is to draw public attention to what he views as the complete hijacking of public policy by corporations concerned only with their profits.

"Today, we have a corporate government run by one party with two heads wearing different makeup," Nader said. "And there's nothing left to stop this orgy of the corporate takeover of government." Nader cites the effect of recent bipartisan policies: lower wages for working people; less opportunity for advancement for the poor; higher profits, stock prices, and income for corporations and their bosses; gutting of environmental, health and safety laws.

For years, progressives have looked to the Democratic Party to protect the public interest against the worst consequences of private greed. Then, in the 1980s, the Democratic Party turned to corporations as sources of finance and ideas. Nader attacks the President—whom he derides as George Ronald Clinton to highlight how closely his obeisance to corporate power resembles his predecessors—and the Democrats on practically every major issue:

- **The economy:** Clinton himself has compared his administration's fiscal policy to Eisenhower Republicans," aimed more to please Wall Street investors than Main Street workers.

- **Consumer policy:** none.

- **Environment:** accommodates corporate polluters and despoilers, especially the nuclear and timber industries.

- **Labor:** trade agreements like NAFTA and GATT mean declining wages and standards for American workers.

- **Regulatory policy:** laws and rules that reduce public control over monopoly and anti-consumer corporate actions.

- **Poverty:** a welfare reform that will throw a million children into poverty.

- **Foreign policy:** record subsidized arms exports that will kill thousands, refusal to challenge human rights records of countries that are profit sources for multinationals, and GATT rules that promote foreign child labor.

All this in spite of surveys that show most Americans favoring increased investment in job training, children, cutting military spending, protecting the environment, raising wages, and making corporations pay their fair share.

To Nader, the telecom bill exemplified corporate Democrats at their worst: the law will give away—for free—giant swaths of the public airwaves and permit even greater concentration of media ownership. That means higher prices, fewer choices and less access to information for consumers and the disappearance of alternative voices—and, not coincidentally, enormous profits for a few media mega-moguls. Many Congressional Democrats, recipients of campaign contributions from companies that would profit from the law, voted for it.

Nader blames the Democrats' lack of distinct identity for their 1994 loss of the Congress to the Republicans—voters lacked a populist alternative to corporate duopoly, so voted against incumbents, most of whom were Democrats. Even Republicans are frustrated that Clinton seems to be agreeing with them on so many issues. And



that's what prompted Nader to enter the Presidential race, to show the Democrats they can't take progressive votes for granted, and to provide what he calls "a voice, not an echo."

### POWER BACK TO THE PEOPLE

Nader's platform centers less upon substantive policy issues than upon changes in government process that will give ordinary citizens power over their government. (see sidebar: "The Concord Principles.") "We've got to turn a government controlled by corporations into a government controlled by people," he said.

Citing declining voter turnout, Nader believes that most people don't participate in politics because they feel—rightly—that their voices won't be heard above the bellow of big money. Now nearing 60, Nader worries that a whole generation of 20-somethings has dropped out of public life. "They have a feeling of powerlessness that's turned into apathy," he contends. "They haven't experienced Vietnam or the civil rights movement; they haven't been provoked or drafted, so they wallow in a kind of hopelessness." Nader, who grew up in the New England town-meeting tradition and who named his movement Public Citizen, wants to get those young Americans involved in civic democracy by giving them and others the power to have an impact.

Nader's belief in grassroots democracy extends to his campaign. He forswears the slick, expensive, top-down media campaigns that require candidates to solicit the support (and succumb to the influence) of big-money donors in the practice of legalized bribery that is our campaign finance system.

"I'm not campaigning in a conventional way," he insists. "I'm not raising or accepting any money. I'm not engaging in jet set gossip or personality profiling. I want to talk about the issues."

And talk he does. Few people in American public or private life know as much about public issues as Nader does. In fact, rather than oversimplifying his policy positions to media-friendly soundbites, he responds to questions with a detailed fax analyzing the subject in question. It's not the kind of strategy that uses applause lines at conventions or presses hot buttons in a 15-second nightly news feature. But it's a lot more honest. Yet if Nader isn't buying airtime—he's pledged to spend only \$5,000 out of his own pocket—how does he expect to get his message out?

First, through free media (like this story) that capitalizes on his long notoriety as one of the most admired Americans. And second, through grassroots efforts by the parties that sponsor his candidacy. In return, he lends them the credibility and prestige of his well-regarded name.

In fact, Nader's campaign reverses the usual formula: instead of organizing an effort to win the presidency, he's running for president not to win but to organize an effort.

Nader wants to use the 1996 campaign to mobilize activists who share his principles (whether from the Green Party, the new Labor Party, the leftist New Party, or the newly formed Alliance) to build up voter and volunteer lists and become a real, organized political force. If he draws more than 5% of the vote in November, the parties that support him will be eligible for public funds that will help them get their message out in the 2000 elections. At worst, he hopes to frighten Democrats into embracing progressive and populist

issues in order to avoid a challenge from the left in future elections. "I don't think the Democratic Party is capable of internal reform," he says. "It might be capable of external provocation."

### FACING CRITICISM

Despite his "it's-not-about-me" protestations, Nader has drawn some fire from even those who support his views. Many organizers believe that people power comes not from building movements around charismatic political figures like Jesse Jackson or Nader but instead from the slow, accretionary process of building up local community leaders. But grassroots organizing demands that citizens build power and confidence by achieving increasingly greater victories at progressively higher levels. And Nader believes that monied interests now so dominate the political system that citizens are excluded from the courts, the legislatures, and the regulatory agencies that make those victories possible. "Seventy percent of all money in politics is business money," he notes. "Civic advocates don't have a chance to have a chance." That leaves only the electoral process itself, and Nader is one of the few public interest advocates who have the name recognition to play that money-dominated game.

To encourage grassroots organizing, Nader is trying to put the onus, if not the focus, on the scattered Green parties themselves. "This is basically an opportunity for people who have longed to mobilize for a new political force to do so," Nader said. "To the extent that I help them by being on the ticket, to the extent I get a lot of free media, fine." But some activists are frustrated that their man won't travel the country; some say his campaign looks like another half-hearted run like those that have disappointed progressives before; his "campaign" operation is run by a draft committee that must by law maintain independence from the candidate. Nader's refusal to abide by the corrupt rules of the campaign game may stifle his message—most people won't know that he's running or what he stands for. But to him, that's secondary. "This is not about winning, but about building," he said. "We want to build a progressive political force that goes beyond the two-party duopoly."

The sharpest attacks on the Nader candidacy come from progressives who fret that a vote for Nader will be, in effect, a vote for Dole by depriving Clinton of progressive votes. With at least one Supreme Court seat and thousands of residential appointments at stake, not to mention the prospect of all three branches of government controlled by right-wing Republicans, doesn't the short term risk of electing Dole supersede the potential long-term benefit of helping build a progressive political force?

Nader doesn't buy it. "For a generation, we've been trapped every four years into a choice between the bad and the worse," Nader replies. "I'm not going to give my vote to a party that's increasingly remote from my beliefs just because another party is slightly more remote from my beliefs." Eventually, he says, leaving the Democrats unchallenged on the left just draws the party farther and farther to the right. Nader has said that Clinton has nothing to fear from him—if he wants to recapture progressives tempted by Nader, all he has to do is make another of his frequent turns, this time to the left. But that seems increasingly unlikely, given the advice and money Clinton's getting from the corporate wing of the Democratic party. And, critics charge, just as only an anti-communist like Richard Nixon could forge diplomatic relations with then-

***That's what prompted Nader to enter the Presidential race, to show the Democrats they can't take progressive votes for granted, and to provide what he calls "a voice, not an echo."***

***"We've got to turn a government controlled by corporations into a government controlled by people."***

***"I'm not going to give my vote to a party that's increasingly remote from my beliefs just because another party is slightly more remote from my beliefs."***

***"This is not about winning, but about building," he said. "We want to build a progressive political force that goes beyond the two-party duopoly."***

**Instead of voting for a party that will ignore you for four years, "you can vote strategically and leave behind a base for a new progressive party," Nader argues.**

**"What do you leave behind if you vote for Clinton? You don't even leave footprints in the sand."**

**The Concord Principles are a bit of a hodgepodge of high-minded concepts, angry complaints and nitty-gritty legislative ideas.**

**The American people should assume control over public assets that they already own, such as public lands and public airwaves.**

communist China, only a Democratic president could get away with harming such historically Democratic causes as the poor, the environment, and working-class people.

Nader says polls show him drawing votes equally from both parties, and that if Clinton continues to run well ahead of Dole, progressives can have their cake and eat it too—vote for Nader to show the Democrats they can't take progressives for granted, and still avoid a Dole victory. Instead of voting for a party that will ignore you for four years, "you can vote strategically and leave behind a base for a new progressive party," Nader argues. "What do you leave behind if you vote for Clinton? You don't even leave footprints in the sand."

Ralph Nader won't be our next President—even he concedes that. But if enough people vote for him in November, he will win by losing: a decent showing will mobilize people who are fed up with the major parties to begin organizing for the next election, not just at the national level but in local races as well. If that happens, November 6 won't be the end of a campaign, but the beginning.

Cyber-savvy citizens interested in the Nader campaign can check out its World Wide Web site at <http://www.rahul.net/cameron/nader> or call 1-888-NADER96.

## The Concord Principles: Tools of Democracy

Ralph Nader is running on a platform of principles compiled in 1992 that describe how citizens can regain control of their government. The Concord Principles are a bit of a hodgepodge of high-minded concepts, and legislative ideas. They lack the elegant expression of the Constitution or Declaration of Independence, and the specificity of, say, the tax code, but they do convey the essence of what a Nader presidency would seek. What follows is an unauthorized summary of the major Concord Principles.

- The American people should have the right to easily obtain important information from their government, communicate it to others via modern technology, and to band together in civic associations to improve society.
- The American people should assume control over public assets they already own, such as public lands and airwaves.
- The converging power of big business and big government have impaired the rights of citizens, requiring a retooling of our 18th-century civil rights to reflect the power realities of the 21st century.
- Taxpayers should have the right to challenge in court waste, fraud, and abuse of tax dollars in federal spending. They should be able to join democratically elected national taxpayer associations by means of a checkoff box on their federal tax forms. "Complex, mystifying jargon" in laws and forms should be clarified and simplified so that special interest "decoders" aren't needed to figure them out.
- Citizens should have free access to government information via computers in homes and libraries. They should receive information about taxpayer watchdog groups in inserts to their bills from insurance companies

banks, utility and phone companies, and other legal monopolies or taxpayer supported institutions.

- They should have an Audience Network controlled by television viewers, and viewers' rights organizations controlled by cable TV viewers.
- Consumers should have access to justice that's simple and cheap and available to all, not just special interests that can hire expensive lawyers.
- Whistleblowers and other conscientious objectors should have protective mechanisms built into public and private bureaucracies that shield them from retaliation and promote institutional accountability.
- Shareholders in corporations should be able to prevent abuses, such as mass layoffs and golden parachutes, by the corporate executives they hire.
- Workers should be able to control the assets in the pension funds they've invested in.
- Schools should teach students practical lessons in civic participation.

New tools of democracy should be made available, including:

- A binding None of the Above (NOTA) option in which voters may vote for NOTA and, if that option wins, the election will be rerun until a majority of voters find a human candidate they can live with.
- Term limits: 12 years and out.
- Public financing of elections through a taxpayer checkoff.
- Easier voter registration and ballot access rules
- State-level binding initiative, referendum and recall procedures and a non-binding federal referendum process.
- A repeal of the 1988 Congressional pay raises.



# A Baker's Dozen Good Reasons to Support an End to Logging on Public Lands

**1) PUBLIC LANDS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE:** Public lands belong to all Americans and to future generations. Our natural heritage should not be liquidated for the short-term profit of private corporations. Yet, more than 30 million acres of our public forests have already been razed by logging.

**2) NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF AMERICA'S NATIVE FORESTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN CUT:** Less than 5% of America's original forest cover remains, almost entirely on public lands. (National Geographic, Sept. 1990) Native forests play an important role in creating topsoil and minimizing erosion, abating floods, preventing droughts, and cleansing the air. Native forests moderate the climate and are a major source of medicines. The National Forest system also provides over half of this nation's remaining wildlife habitat. (Brown, Les, et. al. World Watch Institute, "State of the World", 1991)

**3) ONLY A FRACTION OF OUR TIMBER SUPPLY COMES FROM PUBLIC LANDS:** Only 12.3% of the United States' timber supply comes from our National Forests. ("Forest Resources of the United States, 1992" Powell, Faulkner, et. al. U.S. Forest Service General Technical Report RM-234, Sept. 1993)

**4) USING ALTERNATIVE FIBERS AND ELIMINATING WASTE COULD SAVE HALF OF ALL TREES CUT:** Half of the volume in our nation's landfills is reusable but otherwise wasted wood and paper. One out of every two trees cut in this country from private and public lands is squandered through inefficiency and lack of recycling. (Postel, Sandra and John C. Ryan, "Reforming Forestry" State of the World, 1991) Eliminating this waste would save four times the amount cut on all public forests. Despite the existence of alternative pulp fibers such as wheat straw, bamboo, hemp, and kenaf, about half of all trees cut in the US--and the world--each year are turned into paper products.

**5) DIRECT SUBSIDIES COST TAXPAYERS BILLIONS:** The public lands logging program operates at a net loss of nearly \$1 billion of taxpayer money each year. Taxpayers, not industry, pay for timber sale administration, logging road construction, replanting, restoration, and related costs. From 1980 to 1991, the U.S. Forest Service timber program operated at a net loss of \$7.3 billion (Hearing before the Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources Subcommittee, Committee on Governmental Operations; testimony of Congressional Research staff member Robert Wolf). And, that's just a small fraction of the total economic losses.

**6) INDIRECT SUBSIDIES ARE IGNORED AND PASSED ON TO THE PUBLIC:** The replacement cost of a forest that was hundreds or thousands of years old is incalculable. Ancillary damage to watersheds, community water supplies, fisheries, and to the tourism and recreation industries are also immeasurably large. As is the cost of aggravated flood damage caused by the logging of steep slopes and sensitive watersheds including: tainted water supplies, water damage, landslides, demolished buildings, buried or collapsed roads, and insurance losses. These are literally down-

stream costs and they are simply passed on to the public. Indirect subsidies are a form of coerced assessments, hidden taxes which support the taking of private profits at public expense.

**7) JOBS NEED NOT BE LOST:** If even a portion of the billions of dollars currently spent directly and indirectly subsidizing the logging of public lands were redirected into forest and watershed restoration, tens of thousands of people could be employed restoring our forests, our native biodiversity, and our rivers and streams rather than destroying them. Not one net job needs to be lost.

**8) AUTOMATION AND EXPORTS ARE THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF TIMBER INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT DECLINE:** Between 1979 and 1988, while logging levels increased, more than 26,000 timber jobs disappeared. In 1979 it took almost five workers to produce one million board feet of timber. By 1990, due to automation it took only three workers to produce the same amount (Washington and Oregon State Dept. of Employment, 1991). In the Southeast, new chip mills can consume 200 square miles of forests in three years, while employing as few as 4-12 workers per shift. In the Northwest, nearly half of all wood that is cut is exported raw or minimally processed (U.S. Commerce Dept.). In Washington State, the world leader in raw log exports, every million board feet shipped overseas takes 7 direct jobs and 14 indirect jobs with it. (WA Dept. of Employment Security, "Impacts on Employment of Timber Supply Declines", 1990)

**9) CITIES DEMAND WATERSHED PROTECTION:** Last winter, Oregon's capital, Salem, had its watershed so badly damaged by excessive logging that siltation rendered its water supply unusable by business and private consumers for a month. Water treatment facilities were unable to process the tons of mud and debris washing down from clearcut slopes. Likewise, the city of Portland has asked the Forest Service to stop logging its water source--the Bull Run watershed--out of concern for the region's rapid growth and the quality and quantity of the water available to support it. Among other concerns, the city did not wish to build an expensive water filtration plant to counter sedimentation from clearcutting. Portland even sponsored federal legislation to protect its watershed.

**10) DECLINING FISHERIES THREATEN SPECIES AND JOBS:** Logging threatens commercial and sports fishing by destroying fish habitat. The Columbia River system once boasted yearly migrations of 20 million salmon. The numbers are now down to less than two million. Sixty thousand jobs in the commercial fishing industry have been impacted. The sports fishing industry alone accounts for \$28 billion of annual economic benefit. Logging sedimentation smothers spawning beds, erosion and landslides destroy trout streams, and clearcuts raise the temperature of once-shaded streams.

**11) PRIVATE TIMBERLAND OWNERS BENEFIT FROM ELIMINATING GOVERNMENT-SUBSIDIZED COMPETITION:** Publicly-subsidized federal timber sales artificially lower wood prices and compete directly against the private sector. What private land

owner could sell 250-year old trees for under \$2.00 apiece as the Forest Service did in Alaska? Ending logging on public lands will only increase the value of private timberlands. This means that private owners will have incentives to grow more trees, and can make more profit while liquidating less of their inventory. The opportunity to realize higher returns may also provide an incentive for responsible ecological management of private timberlands.

**12) THE PUBLIC SUPPORTS AN END TO LOGGING OF NATIONAL FORESTS:** A nationwide poll conducted by the U.S. Forest Service found that 58% of Americans who expressed an opinion support ending all industrial resource extraction on public lands. ("Forest Service Values Poll Questions, Results and Analysis", Bruce Hammond, Section 3). Polls repeatedly show that Americans are strongly in favor of more, not less, environmental protection. A Republican poll conducted for Newt Gingrich found that the public prefers "more environmental regulations" over "cutting regulation" by a margin of 2-1. (1996 poll by Linda DeVall)

**13) THE FOREST IS WORTH MORE STANDING AND REPEATED LAWLESSNESS MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO TRUST MANAGEMENT AGENCIES:** In April of 1996 the Forest Service issued a report which predicts that, by the year 2000, recreation, hunting and fishing on National Forests will contribute over 30 times more to the national economy than the National Forest logging program. But public land management agencies have demonstrated an inability or unwillingness to obey environmental laws. In 1991, federal Judge William Dwyer, in a legal opinion, accused federal agencies of a "systematic and deliberate refusal" to comply with environmental laws. The agencies' willingness to ignore, and indeed encourage and cover-up timber theft is legendary and has been widely reported.

## THE TIME HAS COME

Even the timber industry is starting to accept that the public lands logging program is a dead horse. Plum Creek Timber Co. President Rick R. Holley acknowledged that logging would end soon on federal public lands, calling it "an acknowledgment of a trend." ("Timber Executive Says Federal Harvests May End", Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1/12/95) Even Senator Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, admitted on the Senate floor (4.25.96), "It looks as though the Sierra Club's position [Zero Cut] will be achieved by the year 2000: no timber production from national forests."

The facts are clear. Fiscal responsibility and ecological necessity mandate an end to public land logging. The Native Forest Council is working to introduce Zero Cut legislation in Congress. To support this effort please contact your representatives and:

*Native Forest Council*  
PO Box 2190, Eugene, OR 97402  
(541) 688-2600, fax 689-9835  
or  
Washington, DC District Office  
817 Silver Spring Ave.  
Silver Spring, MD 20910  
(301) 587-8061, fax 587-8063



Let's suppose, for a moment, that there was a country where the people in charge charted a course that eliminated millions of good jobs.

Suppose they gave away several million more jobs to people from other nations.

Finally, imagine that the people running this country implemented economic policies that enabled those at the very top to grow ever richer while most others grew poorer. You wouldn't want to live in such a place, would you?

Too bad.

You already do.

These are some of the consequences of failed U.S. government policies that have been building over the last three decades--the same policies that people in Washington today are intent on keeping or expanding.

Under them, 100 million Americans, mostly working families and individuals--blue-collar, white-collar and professional--are being treated as if they were expendable. What was once the world's largest, expanding middle class is now shrinking.

Most significant of all, the American dream of the last half-century--a dream rooted in a secure job, a home in the suburbs, a better life than your parents had and a still better life for your children--has been revoked for millions of people.

U.S. government policies consistently have failed to preserve that dream in the face of growing international competition, often favoring the very forces that shift jobs, money and influence abroad.

As a result, the United States is about to enter the 21st century much the same way it left the 19th century: With a two-class society -- a nation of have-mores and have-lesses.

There are, to be sure, some notable differences from a century ago. In the 1890s, most Americans were struggling to reach a middle-class lifestyle. By the 1990s, an overwhelming majority, having achieved it, were either losing it or struggling to hold on.

In the 1890s, government responded to the prodding of reform-minded citizens and began to slowly create a framework of rules to guide the economy, control the excesses of giant business trusts and their allies, and protect the interests of the average citizen.

By the 1990s, that framework was being dismantled.

One result: The income gap among Americans is widening, with the nation's richest 1 percent accumulating wealth not seen since the robber-baron era, and with the middle class contracting.

Who is responsible? In a word: Washington.

Or, more specifically, members of Congress and presidents of the last three decades, Democrats and Republicans alike.

Of course, other forces have pushed them--lobbyists, special-interest groups, executives of multinational corporations, bankers, economists, think-tank strategists, and the wheelers and dealers of Wall Street. These are some of the emerging winners in this changing America.

The losers? Working Americans who have been forced to live in fear--fear of losing their jobs,

# America: Who Stole The Dream

*From the new book by Philadelphia  
Inquirer investigative reporters*

**Donald L. Barlett  
and  
James B. Steele**

## About the Book and its Authors

Barlett and Steele are the Pulitzer Prize-winning authors of the 1992 bestseller, "America: What went Wrong." Their new book, "America: Who Stole The Dream," examines the economic struggles of middle class America.

It was originally a 10-part series which ran in September in the Philadelphia Inquirer, and will appear in expanded form as a softcover book under the same title this month. The publisher is Andrews and McMeel and the book will sell for \$9.95. It should be available in most bookstores by late October.

The series generated thousands of calls, letters and e-mail messages in Philadelphia and a similar response in other cities where the series was published by local papers. The product of more than two years of research and writing, Barlett and Steele show why most of middle class America is increasingly falling behind.

Three decades of public policies in trade, taxes, unemployment and retraining have changed the lives of tens of millions of middle class Americans--all for the worse. The result is our country is increasingly dividing into two economic classes--the few who have more and the many who have less.

For middle class Americans, their declining economic fortune is nothing less than a reversal of the American dream. Economists, politicians and the media portray the erosion of middle class incomes as the price America must pay for competing in a global economy, but Barlett and Steele show why this is not inevitable. It is the direct result of government policies which have worked against the interests of most Americans.

fear of being unable to pay for their children's education, fear of what will happen to their aging parents, fear of losing everything they've struggled to achieve.

The winners say if you're not a part of this new America, you have no one to blame but yourself.

They say the country is undergoing a massive structural change comparable to the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s, when Americans moved off the farms and into factories.

They say you have failed to retrain yourselves for the emerging new economy. That you don't have enough education. That you're not working smarter. That you failed to grasp the fact that companies aren't in the business of providing lifetime employment. And, they say, it's all inevitable anyway.

It is inevitable that factories and offices will close, that jobs will move overseas or be taken by newly arriving immigrants, that people's living standards will fall, that they may have to work two or three part-time jobs instead of one full-time job.

These things are inevitable, the winners say, because they are the product of a market economy, and thus beyond the control of ordinary human beings, and, most especially, beyond the control of government.

Don't believe it.

These things are the product of the interaction between market forces and government policies--laws and regulations enacted or not enacted, of people finding ways to turn government to their advantage.

The policies that are driving these changes range across the breadth of government--from international trade to immigration, from antitrust enforcement to deregulation, from lobbying laws to tax laws.

Take a glimpse into the new America of Michael Rothbaum and Darlene Speer. Rothbaum, a corporate executive, lives in an exclusive gated community called St. Andrews Country Club in Boca Raton, Fla. Set amid 718 acres of lakes and landscaped grounds, St. Andrews is typical of the luxury communities that many wealthy Americans now inhabit--self-contained enclaves sealed off from everyone else.

St. Andrews has its own 24-hour security patrol, shopping complex, sports pavilion, restaurants and two championship 18-hole golf courses where residents can play after paying a \$75,000 membership fee.

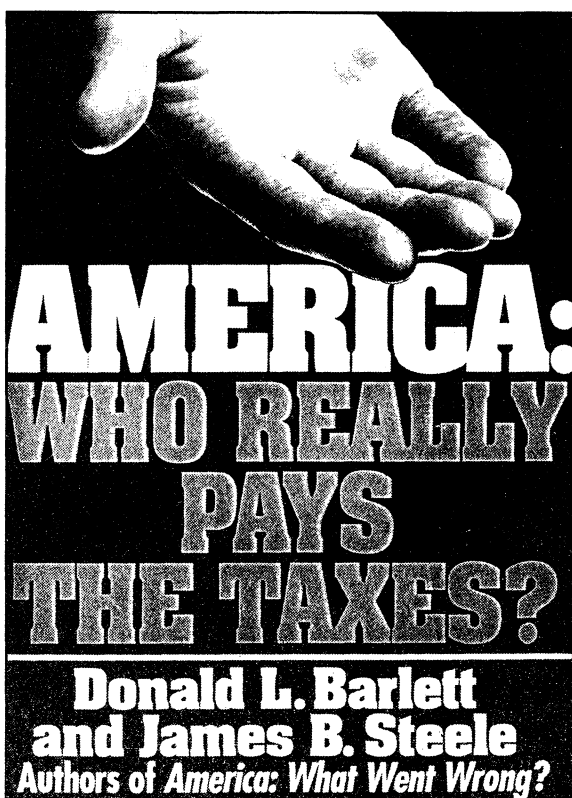
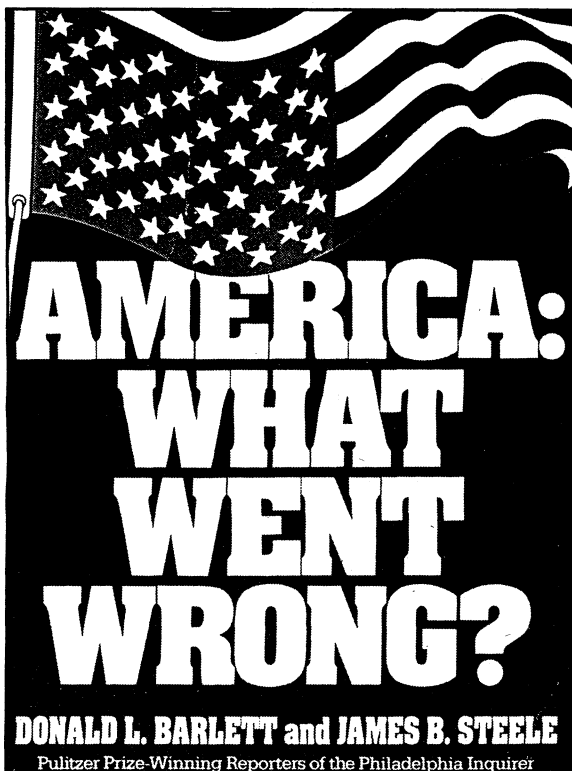
Rothbaum lives in a 5,000-square-foot home, with pool and spa. According to the Palm Beach County Assessor's office, the property is valued at \$636,000.

Darlene Speer, on the other hand, works two jobs. She's a full-time office worker and a part-time clerk at a video store in Marion, VA. She lives in a one-bedroom apartment in the mountains of southwestern Virginia.

Until 1992, Speer worked in the sewing department of Harwood Industries, a clothing manufacturer that was one of Marion's largest private employers. But that August, Harwood--of which Michael Rothbaum was president and an owner--announced it would close the department. It then moved all apparel production to Honduras and Costa Rica, where labor is much cheaper. The company said it was under pressure from retailers to cut costs.

*How did the most emulated society of the 20th century reach a point where average citizens talk quietly and matter-of-factly of revolution and bloodshed?*

**Other books  
by Barlett and Steele**



Not that Darlene Speer and her co-workers drove Harwood Industries to Central America with their bloated salaries. After 13 years, Speer was earning less than \$9 an hour.

But women in Honduras work for about 48 cents an hour.

Before leaving town, the company agreed to pay severance of about \$1,200 to each employee. The total for 120 women amounted to less than one-quarter of the value of Rothbaum's home.

On one side is America's elite, those families and individuals with incomes that begin at around \$182,000 and go up into the tens of millions of dollars--the top 1 percent of tax-filers in the United States. There are 1.1 million of them. Most are doing quite well, some spectacularly well. They, and the 9 percent below them, are society's have-mores.

The average income in the top 1-percent group, according to an IRS study of tax-return data, ballooned from \$147,700 in 1980 to \$464,800 in 1992--a jump of 215 percent. The top 1 percent saw their share of all income rise from 8 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1992.

Darlene Speer is one of the bottom 90-percenters, the 101.4 million families and individuals whose incomes range from minimum wage up to about \$65,000. The group's average income rose just 67 percent--from \$13,200 in 1980 to \$22,100 in 1992. In 1980, this group accounted for 68 percent of all income reported on tax returns. By 1992, the group's share had fallen to 61 percent. In dollars, that represented a loss in income of 10 percent.

For this new America--of lagging earnings, a widening gap in incomes and wealth, a falling standard of living and a bleak future--you can thank Washington and the special interests, who have set the nation's economic agenda for years to come.

On a more personal level, the grim statistics reinforce the feelings shared by many working people but seldom voiced beyond family and friends.

In [Philadelphia] Inquirer interviews conducted over the last two years with scores of white-collar, blue-collar and professional workers, the picture of the new America is decidedly down-beat. From Washington to Los Angeles, Chicago to Biloxi, the moods ranged from mild pessimism to hopelessness.

One after another, workers talked about how their standard of living is dropping, how there is little job security, how loyalty to a corporation counts for nothing, how it is impossible to set aside money for their children's education, and how the strain of both parents working is putting stress on families.

These are hard-working people, steeped in traditional American optimism and values, who once believed everything would turn out all right but now have doubts.

A number of those interviewed were bitter. These are not members of any right-wing militia or any hate group. They are ordinary people from a cross-section of society. They are factory workers and college graduates. They are Democrats and Republicans, although increasingly they are distancing themselves from both parties.

Consider the observations of three workers, who reflect a largely silent but growing sentiment. A factory worker in Kansas: "Are we just going to keep lowering our standard of living? When

that happens, nobody is going to have money to put food on the table. Then you are going to see a revolution, because people are not going to be able to feed their families."

A former teacher in Illinois: "The level of hostility and anger and frustration is astonishing." A factory worker in Pennsylvania: "There's going to be bloodshed before we get out of this."

How did the most emulated society of the 20th century reach a point where average citizens talk quietly and matter-of-factly of revolution and bloodshed?

It has come about gradually, the result of policies and decisions that have stacked the economic deck against middle America.

Pick a government policy, or a corporate business practice that is encouraged or abetted by a government policy, and it's likely to be working against the average American: Foreign trade and imports. Immigration. Taxes. Deregulation. Antitrust. Mergers and layoffs. Retraining.

The trade policies are ostensibly intended to create jobs for Americans making products for export. Instead, they've wiped out jobs and driven down wages.

That's because Washington policymakers have given foreign producers essentially unrestricted access to the world's richest consumer market--the United States--without insisting upon the

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beyond the control of government.  
Don't believe it.*

---

same access in return. Indeed, the government has actually subsidized foreign access to the American consumer. This, while our trading partners, like Japan, have maintained tight controls over their own markets.

Not surprisingly, imports have soared, far outstripping exports. In 1996, the United States will record its 21st consecutive merchandise trade deficit--a record unmatched by any other developed country. By year's end, cumulative trade deficits since 1976 will add up to \$1.9 trillion.

Because of all those imported products, 2.6 million manufacturing jobs in the United States have been wiped out since 1979. At the same time that trade policies were creating a surplus of laid-off manufacturing workers and managers, Washington rewrote immigration laws, leading to a record flow of immigrants, competing for a declining number of good jobs.

Tax policy over the last three decades has worked steadily against the middle class. Among the effects: America's largest and most powerful businesses now pay federal income tax at a fraction of the rate they once paid.

Consider this: If corporations paid federal income tax today at the effective rate paid in the 1950s, the Treasury would collect an extra \$250 billion a year--more than wiping out the federal deficit overnight.

*Our thanks to the authors for their permission to reprint this excerpt from: "America: Who Stole The Dream"*

# Dirty Dealing

by Jeffrey St. Clair  
and Alexander Cockburn



photo by Jim Hosmer

*Clinton declared that he was saving the region's old-growth forests by working out a deal whereby timber companies would desist from logging in ancient groves inhabited by marbled murrelets in exchange for permits to log equivalent volumes of timber on other national forest lands.*

*"I call this the Peace of Mind Act because parents will know that the fruits, grains and vegetables children eat are safe," Clinton pronounced. "Chemicals can go a long way in a small body."*

*Rather than confiscate his timberlands as a down-payment on his debt, he is now to be given fabulously valuable properties in the San Francisco Bay Area, such as Treasure Island or the Presidio.*

Three months ago, Al Gore approached the Sierra Club's new president, 23-year old Adam Werbach (who was recently quoted as saying, "I don't understand why people feel so passionately about trees"), reportedly to ask what actions the administration could take to secure the organization's public support. Werbach huddled with the Club's executive director Carl Pope, lobbyist Debbie Sease, and public lands director Bruce Hamilton to develop a pre-election wish-list for Gore's appraisal. Among the topics transmitted to the Vice President:

Yellowstone, Utah wilderness, old-growth timber sales, and the fate of the Headwaters redwood grove.

Using this same Sierra Club list as an itinerary, the administration embarked on a dizzying migration across the country, with Bill Clinton acting like the ecological equivalent of faith healer Benny Hinn. At every stop, an ecosystem on the brink of destruction was pronounced saved. A closer examination, however, reveals that belief in Clinton's curative powers requires an unqualified leap of faith.

## CLINTON'S DEALS

- In Yellowstone, be it recalled, Clinton announced that the oldest park in the nation had been saved from predations on its northern border by the Canadian mining giant, Noranda. In exchange for quitting its plan to gouge out a square mile hole in the Beartooth Mountains in search of flecks of gold, Clinton offered the company \$65 million worth of federal properties—probably real estate—elsewhere. The national press faithfully depicted Clinton as the savior of Yellowstone.

- On the eve of the Democratic Convention Clinton, framed by a clutch of children, signed into law the Food Quality Protection Act. "I call this the Peace of Mind Act because parents will know that the fruits, grains and vegetables children eat are safe," Clinton pronounced. "Chemicals can go a long way in a small body." The press hailed the new act as particularly praiseworthy for its successful annulment of the Delaney Clause, a law long-targeted by chemical manufacturers and portrayed as a piece of archaic legislation from the 1950s, ridiculed by all right-thinking scientists.

- The convention safely behind him, the President made his way to Beverly Hills, for a Barbara Streisand-anchored fundraiser, which featured an all-star line up of Hollywood green celebrities and netted the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign \$4 million bucks. The press treated the affair as a society event.

- From Los Angeles the intrepid president sped to the north rim of the Grand Canyon, there to announce that 1.8 million acres of federal

lands in Utah would now be designated a National Monument, supposedly saving them from being strip-mined for coal. TV news clips and subsequent new stories signaled this as an event as momentous in significance as the finest preservationist acts of Teddy Roosevelt.

- Then it was off to the Pacific Northwest for the White House team, boarding Greyhound One in Seattle and heading south down Interstate 5 to Portland. There, under the alpenglow of Mt. Hood, Clinton declared that he was saving the region's old-growth forests by working out a deal whereby timber companies would desist from logging in ancient groves inhabited by marbled murrelets in exchange for permits to log equivalent volumes of timber on other national forest lands in Washington and Oregon.

- Finally came a strong White House push for a deal whereby Clinton will be able to announce before the election that he has protected from destruction the Headwaters Grove in northern California, the last privately-owned stand of virgin redwoods in America. With the exception of the ever-vigilant **Business Week**, the national press raised no awkward questions about this impending pay-off to corporate raider Charles Hurwitz. Hurwitz was accused by the government of looting a savings and loan in Texas at a cost of \$1.6 billion to the taxpayer. Rather than confiscate his timberlands as a down-payment on his debt, he is now to be given fabulously valuable properties in the San Francisco Bay Area, such as Treasure Island or the Presidio.

In presidential campaigns the press bus rarely returns to the scene of the crime. So let us quickly review what Paul Harvey would call the Rest of the Story.

## HIDDEN COSTS AND DISASTROUS PRECEDENTS

1) As far as the salvation of Yellowstone is concerned, it's far from a done deal. It turns out that Noranda has veto power over any of the properties on federal lands offered in exchange for its mining claims near Yellowstone. Moreover, according to the agreement, the deal has to be finalized by December 31, 1996 or Noranda can back out of it. One of the White House's problems is that the feds cannot find enough land to Noranda's taste in Montana. If the search is to be extended outside the state, it will require congressional approval, which—given the secrecy and furtive speed with which the deal was hatched—is unlikely to happen soon, if ever. Indeed, Montana's Republican Senator Conrad Burns has already vowed to kill any such maneuver.

Second, the proposed exchange has blazed a green light to anyone holding mining claims on the circumference of Yellowstone or any other



***It turns out that Noranda has veto power over any of the properties on federal lands offered in exchange for its mining claims near Yellowstone.***

***...Line up the bulldozers in front of the park gates and wait for the White House to phone with a lucrative buy-out offer.***

***The president legitimized the issue of regulatory takings, requiring corporations to be paid not to violate federal laws.***

***The Food Quality Protection Act is perhaps the most outlandishly cynical of all of these pre-election grandstandings.***

***"If you want to save the frogs," the music mogul advised, "go protest at a French restaurant."***

national park: Line up the bulldozers in front of the park gates and wait for the White House to phone with a lucrative buy-out offer. The new incentive to take national parks hostage has already attracted the attention of a Wyoming company which, only days after the presidential ceremony, filed 175 mining claims along the ecologically pristine Rocky Mountain Front east of Glacier National Park.

But even if the deal finally goes through, claims of having saved Yellowstone are both preposterous and premature. Noranda's planned mining sites account to but a handful of more than 6,000 gold mining claims in the Yellowstone ecosystem alone, any one of which could pose an equal threat to the regions rivers, mountains, and trout. "After reading the Noranda agreement in detail, I don't know the answer to even one of my questions about this deal," says Jim Jensen, director of the Montana Environmental Information Center in Helena, a mining watchdog group. "But we do know some things. Bill Clinton got his picture taken and the press got duped into writing the greenwash headlines the White House wanted."

The Noranda fix is the consequence of an earlier collapse by Clinton in his first two years in the White House, when the Democrats controlled Congress. If he'd backed fellow Arkansan Senator Dale Bumpers' effort to overturn the 1872 Mining Act- which gives away mineral-rich public lands for as little as \$2.50 an acre, levies no royalties on the exhumed metals, and imposes no responsibilities to reclaim the land- Yellowstone could have been protected without these grotesque hand-outs. Most of the other mining claims could have also been turned aside.

Even as late as this summer there were other ways to stop Noranda: through a sober interpretation of existing federal environmental laws, such as the Clean Water Act and National Environmental Policy Act, federal regulators could have simply denied the company permits for the mine. But in the full ecstasy of his Republican conversion, Clinton ignored these powerful weapons, declaring that he wanted to protect Noranda's property rights. In this way Clinton succeeded where Bob Dole had tried and failed. The president legitimized the issue of regulatory takings, requiring corporations to be paid not to violate federal laws.

2) The Food Quality Protection Act is perhaps the most outlandishly cynical of all of these pre-election grandstandings. It does to public health and environmental protection laws what the Welfare Act did to the New Deal. Since 1958 the Delaney Clause had imposed an absolute ban on carcinogens in processed food, a law the food and

chemical companies have been trying to overthrow for almost 40 years. EPA director Carol Browner, a former Gore staffer, had her sights set on gutting Delaney since day one of the administration, calling the law unenforceable and an unnecessary economic impediment.

Now the deed has been done and rationalized, like the welfare bill, in the name of children. In the future, regulatory interdicts against carcinogens will be replaced by "cost benefit analyses" and "risk assessments," meaning that panels of food industry scientists will decide how many people should die of cancer each year to protect the all-important corporate bottom line. "This bill is the big lie," said Peter Montague of the Annapolis-based Environmental Research Foundation. "The administration, working with Monsanto and Dow, has destroyed the only law committed to pollution prevention. In its place, they've adopted the corporate friendly approach of pollution control and cancer management."

3) The Beverly Hills bash was hosted by Stephen Spielberg and David Geffen, both of whom are involved in a huge real estate speculation in Los Angeles: the Playa Vista development, which includes the giant Dreamworks studio, that will destroy the Ballona wetlands, one of the largest coastal marshes in southern California. Upon entering the estate for the Clinton fundraiser, Geffen was confronted by environmental protesters. He dismissed their pleas to forego development at Ballona in a crude manner. "If you want to save the frogs," the music mogul advised, "go protest at a French restaurant."

The tycoons have enlisted Al Gore in their cause. For the past five months, Gore has been making calls to key Sierra Club members and other LA greens urging them to support the real estate deal- the largest in the history of LA- as an environmentally friendly development.

4) More stardom was on hand in Arizona. There on the north rim of the Grand Canyon, Robert Redford introduced Clinton, calling his impending proclamation declaring the Escalante Canyon a National Monument a great act of spiritual and moral courage. As the president preened before the cameras, some environmentalists pinched themselves in amazement. Surely their position had long been that no less than 5.7 million acres should be designated as wilderness or national park. In fact, the southern Utah wilderness campaign had been lavishly funded to this end.

The final fallback position of the coal mining companies and ranchers had been introduced by Utah conservative Rep. James Hansen. His bill would have designated no more than 2 million



Swapping one clearcut for another does nothing to stop clearcutting

photo by Elizabeth Feryl

**Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt confessed later that afternoon that the designation of the Escalante Canyon was "mainly a name thing."**

**National Monument status (unlike park or wilderness status) does not preclude cattle grazing, off-road vehicle use, hunting and kindred activities.**

**"Clinton saved the old growth the way Reagan balanced the budget."**

**Clinton has accomplished what Gingrich and his band of nature-haters only dreamed of doing: he legitimized the concept of regulatory takings as defined by the radical right.**

**The government is now in the business of rewarding people for obeying the law. It has abandoned "the polluter pays" principle. Now, it pays the polluter.**

acres as wilderness. Redford and other environmentalists fought tigerishly and apparently with success earlier this year to beat back the two million acre deal.

There were a couple of tenacious press interrogators that day beside the Grand Canyon, though it appears their perceptive probings never saw print, drowned out by the wild cheers for Clinton from the leaders of the big environmental organizations, one of whom-Michael Maatz of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance-exclaimed that the national monument designation catapults Clinton "to the ranks of the greatest conservationists ever."

But Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt confessed later that afternoon that the designation of the Escalante Canyon was "mainly a name thing" and that National Monument status (unlike park or wilderness status) does not preclude cattle grazing, off-road vehicle use, hunting and kindred activities. When pressed, Babbitt also admitted that nothing in the proclamation prevented the coal mining companies from pressing forward with their claims, although he said he hoped they would be willing to work a Noranda-type deal elsewhere on public lands in Utah.

But there's a big problem here. The largest coal claim on the Kaiparowits Plateau is owned by the Andalex Company, a Dutch consortium. Andalex's coal reserves have an estimated value of nearly a trillion dollars. Babbitt blithely said that might seem like a staggering amount, but he was confident that the company could get land of equivalent value elsewhere in the state: "There's a lot of federal in Utah and there are a lot of minerals on those lands." A trillion dollars worth? At that rate a Dutch company could end up owning nearly half the federal land in the Beehive State. Moreover, the whole land swap scenario (in tandem with the administration's anemic energy policy) ignores one of the biggest threats to the Grand Canyon: the coal-fired power plants whose endless plumes of acidic smoke now make it nearly impossible to see across the mighty sandstone chasm.

In any event, if the Interior Department tries to offer up lands outside the state of Utah it will again require congressional approval. But the Utah delegation, like Montana's, is livid at the high-handed behavior of the White House. In a display of political cowardice that has become typical of this administration, Utah's lone Democrat, Rep. Bill Orton, received a Clinton call about the impending proclamation at 1:30 am the night before it happened.

The environmentalists have rationalized the proclamation by saying Clinton in his second term will come back and shift the designation from National Monument to wilderness or park and also include the missing 4 million acres. But Babbitt dashed those hopes by telling reporters that "this won't happen for generations."

5) Every time Clinton comes to Portland, Oregon he promises to save the old-growth forests, but more ancient trees always fall in his wake. Usually, a Clinton visit prompts at least a token demonstration from the timber industry. But this time the timber companies were ecstatic over the deal they had just brokered with the administration. In exchange for giving back their contracts to log ancient forests in nesting habitat of the marbled murrelet, the timber industry was given the rights to cut an equivalent amount of volume from less controversial tracts of forest. As a result, the timber companies get the logs they want without pesky contentions over the murrelet, and with the active support and encouragement of the White House. The timber will still be old growth, but because it will be on less

productive sites it will require perhaps twice as many acres of forest to be clearcut to get the "equivalent volume" promised the timber companies.

Clinton claimed to have saved the old-growth from the chainsaws, but he failed to mention the reason for their plight: a bill he signed into law last July called the salvage logging rider, which doomed old growth on the national forests and exempted the timber companies from compliance with federal environmental laws. This extraordinary duplicity prompted Michael Donnelly, an environmentalist from Salem, Oregon, to proclaim, "Clinton saved the old growth the way Reagan balanced the budget."

6) As exultant as the timber companies in Oregon is Maxxam's CEO Charles Hurwitz, owner of Headwaters, the last large tract of privately owed redwoods on the planet. On the eve of the splendid anti-Hurwitz demonstration in northern California mill town of Carlotta, the speculator holed up in a San Francisco office building with Senator Diane Feinstein and deputy Interior Security John Garamendi, who assured the corporate raider that a favorable deal would go forward after a tactful moratorium designed to deflate the protest in Carlotta. Indeed, Feinstein emerged from her meeting with Hurwitz to tell the protesters to stay at home. "Threats and intimidation and that kind of thing isn't going to solve this problem," Feinstein declared.

Nearly 8,000 people ignored Feinstein's advice, showing up in Carlotta to demand that all 60,000 acres of the Headwaters forest complex be taken into public ownership, more than 1,000 were arrested, including singers Bonnie Raitt, Don Henley and former Rep. Dan Hamburg.

It looks like the administration is prepared to offer Hurwitz the Presidio and a settlement of the claims pending against him for the looting of the United Savings of Texas. In exchange, Hurwitz would turn over only the core Headwaters grove and a small buffer area, probably no more than 5,200 acres out of a total 60,000. But Hurwitz, emboldened by the spinelessness of the Clinton crowd, is now asking for even more, including Treasure Island and hundreds of acres of state lands. He'll probably get what he wants-he always has. Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club certainly isn't ready to stand up to Hurwitz. Pope is ready to sign off on the Presidio and more federal properties: "We would be delighted to see some of those assets which are truly surplus traded for something as precious and wonderful as the Headwaters."

Most of this deal making shares a common feature: the right to loot high profile public assets is being exchanged for the right to loot other less visible public assets. But the right to pollute or destroy natural areas remains unchallenged. In fact, it is memorialized.

For environmentalists hungry for any kind of a win, these swaps seem, on the surface, attractive. But they have long-term impacts that are not fully known and may prove more costly than the problems they seek to remedy. Clinton has accomplished what Gingrich and his band of nature-haters only dreamed of doing: he legitimized the concept of regulatory takings as defined by the radical right. The government is now in the business of rewarding people for obeying the law. It has abandoned "the polluter pays" principle. Now, it pays the polluter.

*Our thanks to the authors for their permission to reprint this article.*

# It Made a Difference



The blockade at Warner Creek

by Krista Schumacher

It's quiet there now. The blockade is gone. All that remains on Forest Service road 2408, leading to the standing, charred trees of the 1991 Warner Creek fire, are stacks of rocks bulldozed to the side.

Remnants of yellow "caution" and orange "danger" tape litter the road. A dusty black hiking boot and a metal spoon are the only indicators of past human presence. The Forest Service has reclaimed this site, but the trees, once marked for cutting with blue spray paint, continue to stand. They remain watching over the fir, cedar, spruce and hemlock saplings below.

Since October 1991, when unknown arsonists torched 9,000 acres in Warner Creek (an area formerly reserved for recovery of the northern spotted owl), activists had been busy with community outreach—working information tables, walking neighborhoods, calling homes and leading hikes into the burned area. An arson fire in a Habitat Conservation Area should not be rewarded, they felt. Rather the area should be set aside as a living laboratory for the study of fire ecology and forest regeneration.

But on Sept. 6, 1995 U.S. district court judge Michael Hogan released the Warner Creek Fire Salvage Sale from an injunction, allowing it to be logged under the salvage rider. Despite the Forest Service's closure of road 2408, activists immediately constructed a barricade in protest.

They stayed the winter and into the following year, eleven months in all, enduring rain, snow, anger and ridicule. Activists manning the blockade were backed by an extensive community outreach effort. Supporters worked to educate the general public about Warner Creek, the salvage rider, and the larger issue of logging on national forest lands. Many Portland, Eugene and Washington businesses were convinced to donate supplies and food to the camp. Activists wrote letters to President Clinton. A video, "Born in Fire," documenting the Warner Creek legacy was produced. Meetings were held with politicians and Forest Service management. The sacrifice of the protesters captured the attention of Forest Service officials, the media and environmentalists around the country and, in the end, it made a difference.

"People felt that, no matter what, they would put their body where their mouth was," said Shannon Wilson, one of more than 100 protesters who at one time or another occupied Warner Creek. "They were willing to be arrested, to lock down, anything to show that they wouldn't let the area be logged. People felt there was nothing left to lose."

But such protests are often measures of last resort and seldom change outcomes. "Direct action is effective when it's used with other strategies, such as legal, political and educational," Wilson explained, "but outreach and education are the key." The combination worked to save Warner Creek.

In late August, 1996, the government announced it had reached an agreement with Thomas Creek Lumber (a company previously indicted for timber theft, that was awarded the Warner Creek sale) to return the contract and several other sales in exchange for a cash settlement of over \$450,000.

The efforts had paid off. Warner Creek would not be logged.

A week earlier, according to Lisa Wisniewski one of the last protesters manning the blockade, officials began visiting the camp, insisting on surveying the area and examining damage done to the logging road. Apparently the Forest Service did not want the pending agreement to be reached under the appearance of coercion from forest activists. Officials ended the nearly year-long blockade by arresting seven people and bulldozing the camp.

"In my opinion, the sheer amount of time spent there is what saved Warner Creek," says Wisniewski.

Shannon Wilson warns that the Warner Creek campaign was only the beginning. Some in Congress, predominantly from the Northwest, want to make the salvage rider permanent and national forest parcels are still being sold. "So many thousands of acres have been clearcut this year and thousands of others will be clearcut next year," he says. "The bigger picture is that we have got to end logging on public lands altogether."

## "BORN IN FIRE" AND OTHER RECOMMENDED VIEWING

***Born In Fire: The Warner Creek Story***  
Produced by the Cascadia Fire Ecology Education Project, Eugene, OR 97402. In-depth study of the effects of fire in the ancient forests of Warner Creek, Oregon, and the struggle to protect the area. Call the Native Forest Council. 541-688-2600

***Wilderness: The Last Stand***  
Produced by Miranda Smith Productions, Boulder, CO. 303-546-0880. Profiles the rugged and wild Northern Rockies, under siege by the Forest Service and logging companies.

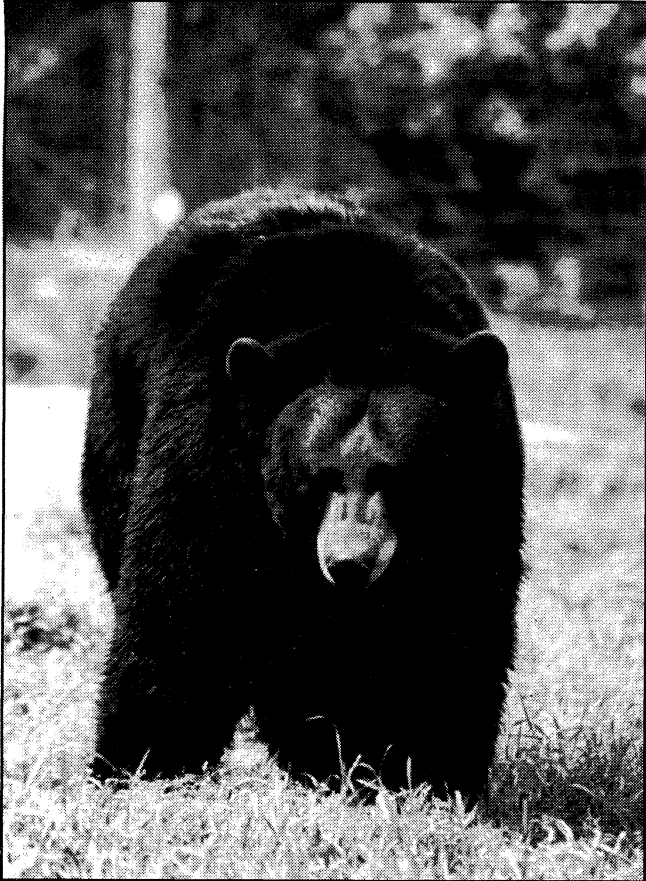
***Southbound***  
Produced by Doug Hawes Davis, the Ecology Center, Missoula, MT. 406-728-5733. Chronicles the chipping and export of recovering forests in the American Southeast by multinational timber companies

***Earth and the American Dream***  
An HBO production. A powerful and dramatic depiction of American history from an ecological perspective. This is a unique and extraordinary piece of filmmaking. Expensive and available only from HBO, but worth the cost and effort.

***Cove/Mallard: Defending the Big Wild***  
Produced by Cold Mountain/Cold Rivers, Missoula, MT. 406-728-0867. The largest tracts of virgin forest left in the lower 48 states are in Idaho, and the Big Wild is under attack by the United States Forest Service. The video documents activist's attempts to defend the Cove/Mallard roadless area.

***Save Headwaters Forest***  
Produced by Green TV, 1125 Hayes St. San Francisco, CA. Ancient Redwoods are still being cut! Will Headwaters Forest, the last large tract of privately-owned redwoods on earth, be cut to pay off a junk bond debt for convicted Wall St. swindler-turned-timber baron Charles Hurwitz?





© Focus on Photography and Design, Peter J. Slaney

## Brave and Mighty



photo courtesy of Dutcher Film Productions

by Victor Rozek

# HUNTERS

*“These dogs were animals the bear had never harmed, belonging to men it had never seen; men either too unskilled or too lazy to track an animal on their own, but eager to kill something big as long as it was helpless.”*

The dogs kept coming and the bear was getting tired. It could hear the barking, incessant and eager, running rage, tireless in pursuit. The bear was young, on its own for the first season. Confused, it stopped and turned, swinging its great head from side to side, testing the air. It had been running hard for more than half an hour, crashing through the forest thicket, lumbering over decaying logs. Its heart beat wildly, its legs heavy with exertion.

The dog pack raced excitedly after the bear whose scent it had picked up near a bait station. Attracted by the smell of human food, bears eagerly snatch the bait and are often shot while eating. This one had left behind an odor-trail easily followed by the dogs. Their yelping grew louder as the pack became more frantic sensing a confrontation, sensing a kill.

The dogs were trained to track bears for sport. Two of the dogs wore radio collars so that the pack could be easily trailed. Men followed with guns and a directional finder, walking leisurely, assured that their exertion and the bear's death would cause them minimal risk and discomfort.

The bear's breath came in rasping heaves. There was no question of outrunning the dogs, and nowhere to hide. Its only chance was to get out of reach of its pursuers. In the thicket, the bear could see the blur of darting fur. A moment later, the dogs burst into the open and the bear rose on its hind legs bellowing in defiance. The dogs slowed for an instant as if to measure the threat of the bear's resistance, then charged.

Quickly surrounding the bear, the pack nipped at the frightened animal, some attacking from the rear and the side while others taunted the bear, always careful to stay just out of reach of

its powerful paws. The bear turned repeatedly, trying to fight off its tormentors, but it was vastly outnumbered and too slow to catch the nimble dogs. Exhausted, the bear sought the safety of a nearby tree. Its instinct told it to climb, just as its instinct had drawn it to the bait station. It could not know that its impulses were being manipulated; that the programming nature intended to protect the bear, was being used to trap and kill it.

The bear charged its attackers, backing them off momentarily, then made for the tree, clawing at the lowest branches, yanking its exhausted body upward. The lead dog jumped for its leg just as it began climbing. The bear could feel the dog's teeth clamp onto its rear leg. It felt the dog yanking backwards, violently shaking its head in an effort to dislodge the bear and rip its flesh. The bear yowled but kept on climbing, lifting the dog off the ground still attached to its leg. Finally, the dog let go and fell to the ground, its mouth red with the bear's blood.

The bear climbed as high as it could and settled in the branches. The dogs circled the tree and continued barking. The bear watched them, tired beyond memory, frightened beyond terror, perhaps willing them to go away and knowing that they would not.

These dogs were animals the bear had never harmed, belonging to men it had never seen; men either too unskilled or too lazy to track an animal on their own, but eager to kill something big as long as it was helpless.

For the moment, the dogs were frustrated, but they had done their job. The bear now posed no threat and had no chance. The hunters would be there soon--men less capable but more dangerous than their pets.

Two hunters entered the small clearing, calming and praising their animals. Both were dressed in combat-style boots and military camouflage, as if stealth were needed to mask their approach. They carried rifles and sidearms that hung beneath protruding bellies.

It was hot and the men were tired, taking a moment to rest and wipe the sweat from their smudged foreheads. Looking up at the bear, they exchanged nervous banter in adrenaline-fed anticipation. But they were in no hurry. They wanted to savor the moment, taste this crowning achievement, celebrate the clever and courageous hunters they saw themselves to be.

One gathered the dogs to him, shouting over the din. The other, chambered a bullet in his rifle, grinned at his envious companion, and took aim at the helpless bear.

The bear felt the bullet rip through its flesh before it heard the shot, but it was the dreadful noise that frightened him. Then there was a second noise, but the bear almost didn't notice because the pain was so great. The first bullet entered the bear's chest, tearing the lungs like tissue paper, and lodged near the heart where shell fragments pulverized the chest cavity. The bear was trying to move further up the tree, away from the grinning source of the horrific pain, when the second bullet caught it in the neck.

The bear stopped, its body stretched full length against the tree, pawing vainly at its bleeding neck. It let out a final sound, part roar, part gurgling wail, then fell backwards toward the waiting hunters.

\* \* \*

## LOBBYING FOR CRUELTY

Trophy hunting isn't pretty. When coupled with baiting and high-tech hound pursuit, it's beyond contempt. One would hope that in these times of endangered species and dwindling wildlife populations, we would have evolved beyond the notion that slaughter is entertaining. Voters in ten states including Oregon apparently had. Two years ago Oregon passed Measure 18, a grassroots initiative which banned such cruel and unsportsmanlike practices used in the killing of bears and cougars.

Hunters and the gun lobby howled, well, like wounded bears. They spent a half-million dollars trying to defeat the measure, and failed. Now they're back. The National Rifle Association (NRA), whose monotonous obsession with bearing arms apparently does not extend to arming bears, and the Safari Club International, which boasts of "Grand Slam" events in which its members trot the globe killing majestic animals, joined forces with houndsmen, bear baiters, and a coven of in-state right-wing fundamentalists, spending an estimated \$1,000,000 to negate the will of the electorate.

In the fashion of the infamous "salvage logging" rider, Measure 34 seeks not only to reinstate bait and hound hunting, but to repeal dozens of other wildlife management laws its sponsors find bothersome. "All laws enacted after July 1, 1975 which purport to regulate or prescribe the times, places or manner in which wildlife can be taken..." (with the exception of laws enacted by the Legislative Assembly or rules adopted by the State Fish and Wildlife Commission), would be repealed. The laws the hunting lobby is targeting include laws passed through the initiative process--in other words, by a direct expression of the will of the people.

Such contempt for the democratic process is troubling, but high-minded citizens across the nation have successfully beat back special-interest challenges at the polls. At least ten other states including California, Colorado, and Pennsylvania have outlawed fish-in-the-

barrel hunting. (The NRA will be pleased to know that other forms of killing and gun use have not measurably been impacted.) Nor have animal populations exploded to dangerous levels, as opponents of Measure 18 implied with an alarmist television ad suggesting that if the slaughter were banned, rural children would become cougar snacks. As one Oregon newspaper wryly editorialized, "No great aggregation of bears or mountain lions have invaded the cities and towns of Oregon, and they are not expected to do so."

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***The tape shows a bear cub  
being ripped apart by dogs.  
It shows a treed cougar  
being shot in the face  
at close range,  
and a bear shot in the back  
as it feeds at a bait station with its  
head in a barrel.***

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## INSULT AND INJURY

Supporters of slob hunting have organized under the name "Don't Let the Wackos Get Away With the Lies This Time Committee." It is a revealing choice of names. Note the inference that people who are against cruelty are "wackos" and that, burdened with this unfounded concern for animals, they lie. Exactly what opponents of inhumane hunting practices allegedly lie about is not clear, but a recently released video tape taken, ironically, by an Oregon hunter who was later convicted of poaching bears and selling animal parts, helps put such accusations in perspective.

The tape shows a bear cub being ripped apart by dogs. It shows a treed cougar being shot in the face at close range, and a bear shot in the back as it feeds at a bait station with its head in a barrel. Labeling opponents of such repulsive slaughter as "wackos" does not change the nature of the act, but it exposes the nature of those who defend it.

Where the truth will be poached is in the advertising campaign in support of Measure 34. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been budgeted to ensure that a handful of Daniel Boone wanna-bees can hunt bears and cougars without conscience or restraint. But radio and television ads will not extol the virtues of shooting treed cougars in the face or of having dogs rip apart bear cubs. They will be couched in the need for "wise professional management" of our natural resources. It is interesting to note that in the sanitized lexicon of those who misuse the natural world, "to manage" invariably means "to kill". Forests are "managed" by cutting them down. Wildlife is "managed" by killing it.

Hunting, like so many other human demands on nature, is ascendingly harmful in proportion to its scale. In the United States, according to federal estimates, 16 million hunters take to the

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forests, fields and wetlands each year, wounding or slaying 200 million animals, including birds. In the process, they imperil dwindling populations of 450 endangered species and leave behind 5,800 tons of leadshot in our wetlands.

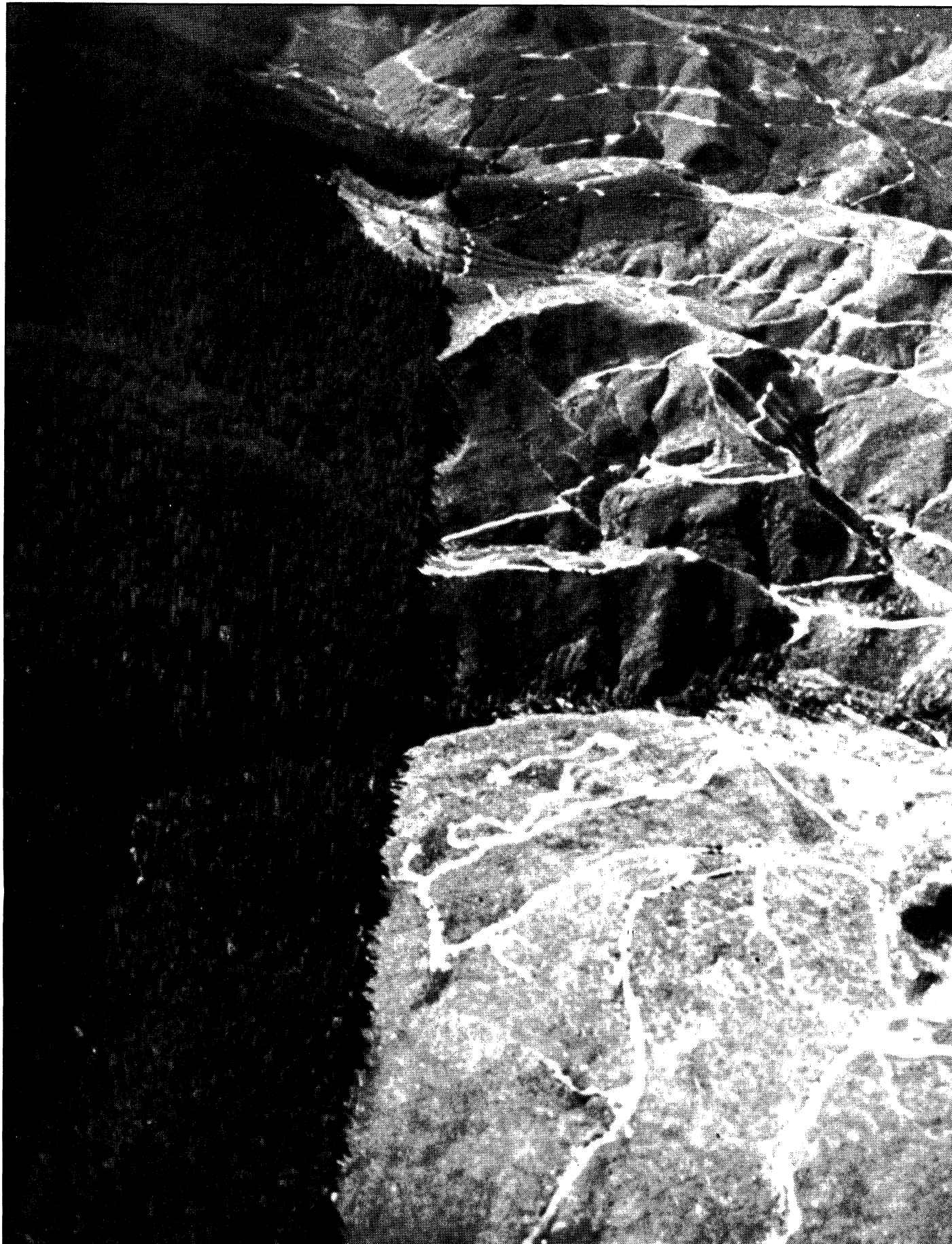
Hunting for food is one thing. Trophy hunting for sport, quite another. Killing helpless animals with the aid of radio-collared dogs and bait stations, can hardly be described as hunting at all. Measure 34 seeks to reinstate a most egregious form of this activity. Until permanent reform can be achieved, in Oregon, as in other states, opponents of cruel and inhumane hunting practices are counting on the supremacy of conscience over cash.



Cougars slaughtered as part of a government wildlife "management" program



# A Reason to Join



Near Mt. Rainier, WA

photo by Daniel Dancer

## 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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