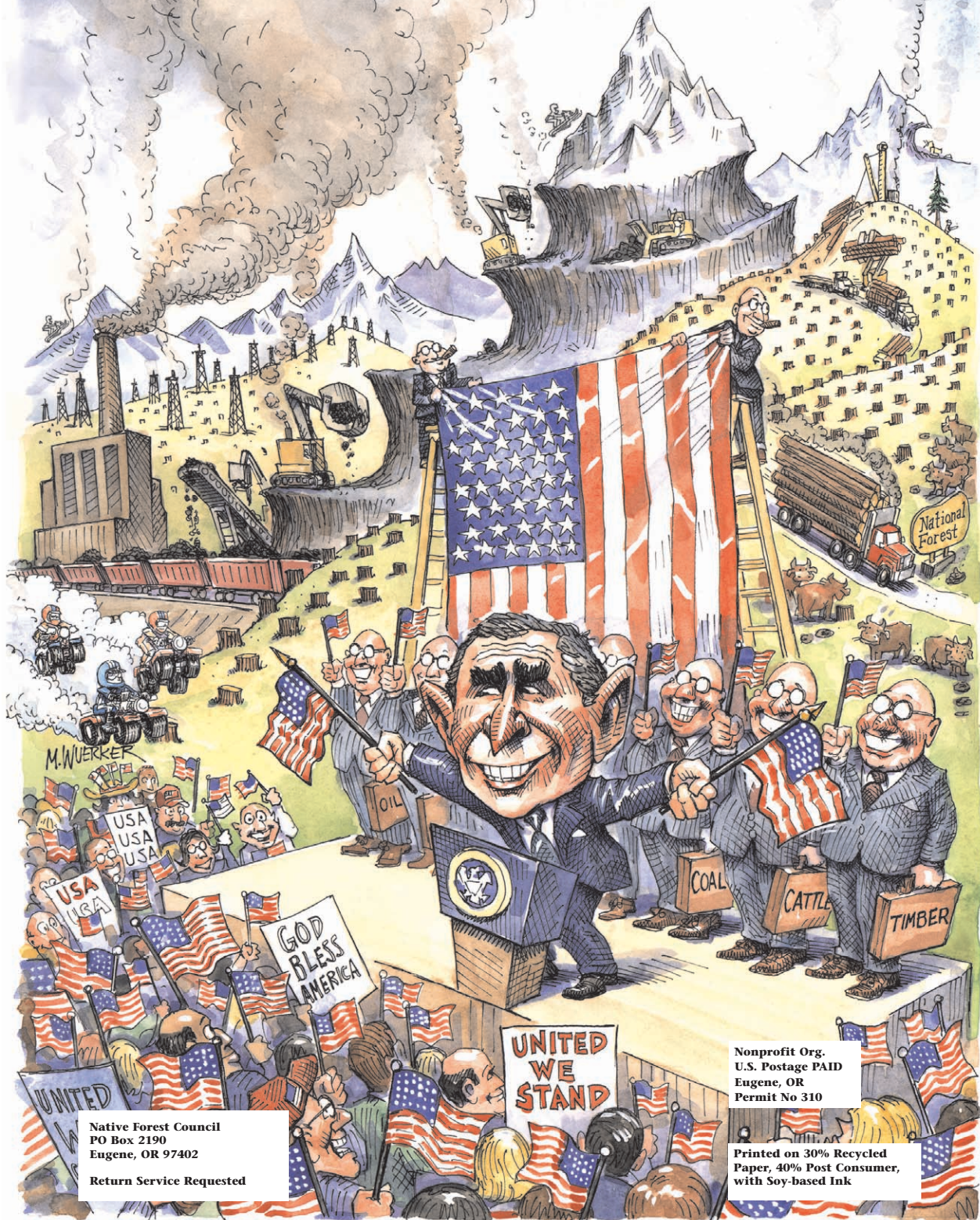


Forest Voice

Spring 2002

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Unilateral Support?

by Tim Hermach

"To announce that there must be no criticism of the president—or that we are to stand by the president right or wrong—is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is mortally treasonable to the American public." -Theodore Roosevelt

Since when did loving your country mean supporting every decision your President makes? Since September 11, for many. But doesn't democracy thrive when different opinions are openly debated and a balance of power brings the will of the people to Capitol Hill?

Since waging his "war on terrorism," President Bush has enjoyed tremendous public support (if you believe the polls). And any opposition is unapologetically squashed. A newspaper editor in Littleton, NH recently claimed he was fired for writing anti-Bush editorials and supporting a cartoonist who parodies the President. On November 11, VP wife Lynn Cheney and her *American Council of Trustees and Alumni* released a report that would make Joseph McCarthy proud, listing 117 examples from college campuses that they deemed anti-American. Even the Green Party pulled back its horns, canceling all advertising critical of the President.

Patriotism means caring about America, not blindly supporting leaders, regardless of what they do. It means asking questions, expressing disagreement and seeking out different points of view, not rallying behind one perspective simply because our nation faces threats. In the spirit of Teddy Roosevelt, democracy and national pride that includes pride in our natural resources, we'd like to respectfully (and patriotically) disagree with the President's anti-environmental agenda.

Over the past three months, the Bush administration has waged war not only on Afghanistan, but also on America's publicly owned lands. Whether Bush has been bolstered by the nation's attention on other issues, unflagging public support or the general fear that any opposition to the President means supporting the enemy ("You're either with us or against us"), his administration has stepped up the attack on conservation:

- 9.20.01 **Economic Problems an Excuse to Destroy Wetlands**
Administration orders Army Corps of Engineers to expedite all wetlands development permits in the name of "economic development."
- 10.12.01 **Mandate to Resist Freedom of Information Act**
Attorney General John Ashcroft tells federal agencies to resist Freedom of Information (FOIA) requests.
- 10.25.01 **Rollback on Mining Regulations**
Interior Secretary Gale Norton reverses environmental restrictions for public lands mining.



Patriotism means loving your country, believing in democracy and discussing issues openly, not blindly agreeing with your leaders.

- 12.10.01 **Ban Snowmobiles? Just Kidding!**
The National Park Service finally admits snowmobiles won't be banned in Yellowstone or the Grand Tetons.
- 12.14.01 **Roadless Rule Run Over**
Forest Service guts protection for roadless areas.
- 1.14.02 **Oil Drilling in National Park**
Oil exploration begins in Big Cypress National Preserve.
- 2.4.02 **Bush Budget a Stealth Attack on Environment**
President proposes budget that will cripple enforcement of the Clean Water Act, limit public input on cutting forests and make the Fee Demo Program permanent. A new emphasis on "charter forests" sounds good but means one thing: more cutting in our public forests.
- 2.18.02 **California Oil Drilling**
As of our press date, the Bush administration is fighting the state of California to open the southern California coast to offshore oil drilling.
- 3.6.02 **Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Gag Order**
U.S. Fish and Wildlife officials ordered employees to consult the public affairs office before answering questions about the ANWR.

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Submission Guidelines
We welcome unsolicited submissions that address issues relevant to public lands protection and support the Native Forest Council's mission. If you would like us to return your work, please include a SASE.

Cover Illustration
by Matt Wuerker

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They tried to cut a deal with the Forest Service—but ended up greenlighting the largest timber sale in the nation.

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Getting big money out of big politics has been a big challenge. The pros, cons and possibilities of campaign finance reform.

Native Forest Council

The Native Forest Council is a nonprofit, 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 need not be incompatible and that current public land management practices are devastating to both.

The mission of the Native Forest Council is to protect and preserve every acre of publicly owned land in the United States.

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News and Views



"Environmentalists" Broker America's Largest Timber Sale

In the summer of 2000, fires burned tens of thousands of acres in the Bitterroot National Forest in Montana and Idaho. The Forest Service moved quickly to orchestrate the largest salvage sale in history, which covered more than 46,000 acres of forest. Several of our conservation allies and organizations blocked the sale with a temporary court injunction, and a federal judge ordered both sides to enter mediation. This February, several beltway "environmentalists" joined the coalition, and the Bush administration struck a deal: 60 million board feet of timber sales on approximately 14,000 acres of land, and a carte blanche promise from the establishment groups to never challenge these sales, regardless of their environmental impact. Even with the "green" stamp of approval, the "new, improved" Bitterroot sale will still be one of the largest in Montana's history and the single largest timber sale in the United States (including Alaska) that is currently on the table, quadrupling the usual annual cut for the Bitterroot, including cutting in roadless areas. Players in the Bitterroot deal include the Wilderness Society, Earthjustice and others. See story p.12.


Bush: Open Timber Sales to Conservationists

In 1995, the Forest Service rejected a bid from the Northwest Ecosystem Alliance for a timber sale of 275 acres in the Okanogan National Forest, even though it was the highest bidder. But the Bush administration has proposed allowing conservationists and others to bid on timber sales. "If someone wants to pay us for not logging, we'll take it," said Mark Rey, Undersecretary of Agriculture for Natural Resources and the Environment. *Editor's Note:* While it might seem good on the surface, this approach is problematic on many levels. National forests already belong to the American people. Why should we have to buy them again? And, based on Bush's track record, it's hard not to be suspicious that it's all just a smokescreen. As we've seen in education, media and many other fronts, corporate America has learned that it's easy and effective to create nonprofit front groups with a green sheen but a covert mission to serve a different kind of green: dollars for big corporations.

Chief EPA Enforcer Quits Because of White House

Eric Schaeffer, the chief of the Environmental Protection Agency's civil enforcement office, resigned in February, citing Bush administration policies he said undermined the agency's work to enforce clean air laws. In his resignation letter, Schaeffer wrote that the White House "seems determined to weaken the rules we are trying to enforce." Schaeffer had been with the agency for twelve years.

Island Evacuation: Sign of Global Climate Change?




The Pacific island nation of Tuvalu has become the first country to be evacuated due to rising sea levels. The Tuvaluan government announced in November that its 11,000 citizens would abandon their homeland and relocate to New Zealand. The sea level rose by 20-30 centimeters (8-12 inches) during the twentieth century. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicts ocean levels will rise up to one meter during this century. Global warming, the climate change resulting from increased levels of carbon dioxide that come largely from burning fossil fuels, is expediting glacial melting and thermal expansion of the ocean.

Norton's Statement on ANWR Impact is Unrealistic

A March editorial in the *New York Times* disputed Interior Secretary Gale Norton's claim that "the impact will be limited to just 2,000 out of 1.9 million acres" of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge if it is developed for oil. Norton's definition of "impact" includes only surface acres directly covered, excluding roads, any space between oil rigs and any part of the miles of suspended pipeline that wouldn't actually touch the ground. According to writer Paul Krugman, "That picture is a fraud." Using the same accounting standards, he wrote, his work space would be just a few square inches of the floor in his office.

NSTA: Teacher Convention "Not an Open Forum"



As the *Voice* goes to press, Council President Tim Hermach, high school teacher and member John Borowski, along with others staff and supporters are preparing to attend a National Science Teachers Association (NSTA) national conference for the third year in a row. As a part of our ongoing national campaign to promote accurate environmental education in our schools, the Council has worked to organize instructors, provide alternative curriculum and educate teachers about where their "environmental" curriculum comes from (usually from the very corporations causing environmental problems). Most important, we offer an alternative voice. But the powers that be may silence that voice. In a letter to the Council, the NSTA explained that we are prohibited from making any adverse comments or distributing any literature criticizing any exhibitors—which, if it's anything like last year, will include industry greenwash group Project Learning Tree, greenhouse gas supporters The Greening Earth Society and Weyerhaeuser. In a follow-up letter, officials explained the event "is not an open forum venue." It should be an interesting time. Look for more in our next *Forest Voice*. See story p.11.

Charter Forests: A Clearcut Proposal

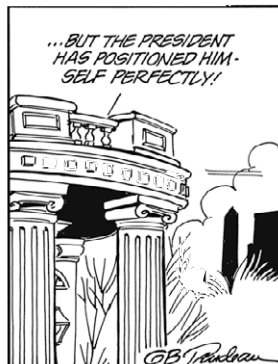
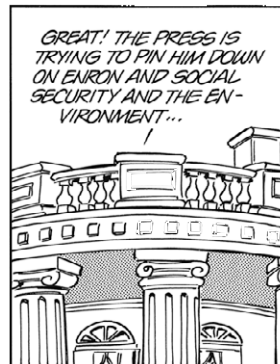
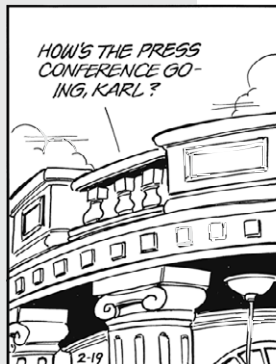
The latest threat to America's national forests is a deceptively subtle change in policy that seems benign on the surface, but could be one of the most crucial issues in the public lands debate. The Bush administration wants Congress to create a new category of federal land called "charter forests." The new classification would transfer management from the Forest Service to locally controlled "trusts," which would manage them for maximum economic output. Look for more about charter forests in the next edition of *Forest Voice*.

Proposed Oil Drilling in Roadless National Forest

A Forest Service proposal to open parts of California's third-largest national forest to oil exploration drew opposition from conservationists this March, as the Bush administration continued efforts to drill public lands and develop protected areas. The Forest Service has proposed opening up 140,000 roadless acres of the Los Padres National Forest to oil and gas leasing. Most of the area in the proposal is inside mountains, chaparral and grasslands that are currently roadless. The area is also home to more than 20 endangered species, including the California condor.

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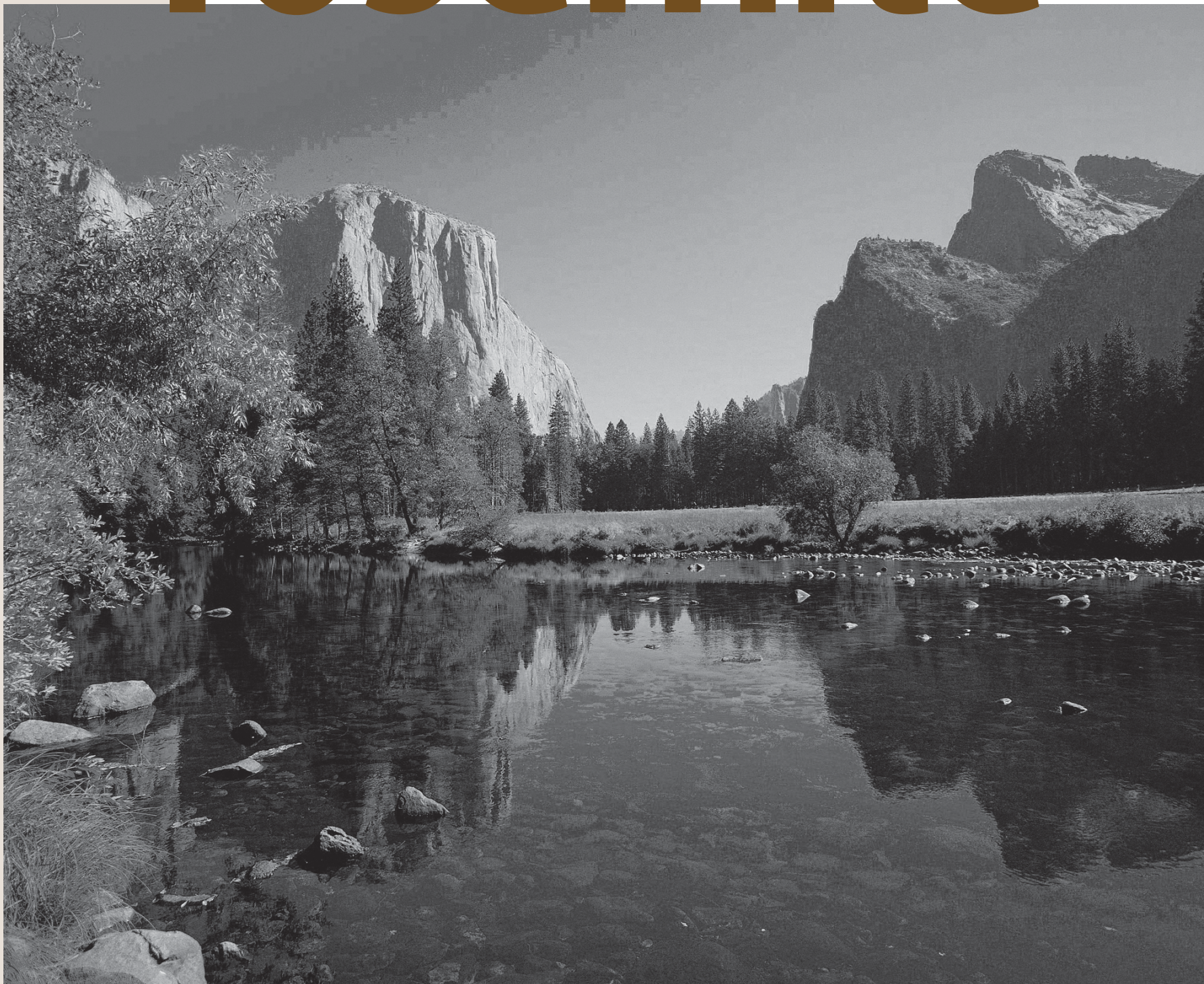
Visit www.forestcouncil.org for an expanded version of this *Forest Voice*. Learn more about the stories in this issue, read different viewpoints on controversial issues and see additional photographs of the topics we cover.



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No temple made with hands can compare with Yosemite

—John Muir



On the north side of the Yosemite Valley rises the sheer granite face of El Capitan (left). Local Native Americans call it "Shooting Star."

by Jessica Brittsan

Stand at the base of El Capitan or Half Dome in the valley of Yosemite National Park and you will be struck by not only their magnificent beauty but also their age. The high alpine meadows, groves of giant sequoias and sheer granite cliffs lining the valley were here long before you were and will survive long after. Perhaps the humbling quality of the granite cliffs is part of what has drawn people to Yosemite for thousands of years.

The last glaciers began to recede from the Sierra Nevada 10,000 years ago, revealing the narrow valleys, lakes and cliff faces they carved, exposing a wealth of resources and unique landscapes that would prove to be both a blessing and a curse.

Native American people began visiting the valley's floor between 6,000 and 8,000 years ago. The Miwok people are believed to have settled there about 3,500 years ago. They called the valley Ahwahnhee—Valley That Looks Like a Gaping Mouth. Living off the land, in harmony with their surroundings, the Miwok migrated seasonally throughout the region. Ahwahnhee was a place of spirituality and legend.

Sadly, the Miwok suffered the fate of many indigenous people in our nation. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought a flood of Europeans west and the Miwok were moved out of the area. The Mariposa Battalion, a group of miners who captured the Miwok chief, are believed to be the first white men to lay eyes on the valley. They followed the retreating Miwok through the mouth of the valley in 1851.

Tales of the valley's beauty soon made their way into San Francisco newspapers and explorers and settlers were drawn to the region. Mason Hutchings brought the first tourist expedition into the valley in 1855. Soon settlers moved herds of cattle and sheep onto the meadowlands and loggers discovered the groves of ancient sequoias. Luckily, at the same time the wealth of the area's resources was discovered by entrepreneurs, conservationists also recognized it.

Jessie Benton Fremont, I.W. Raymond, Fredrick Law Olmstead and Galen Clark recognized the devastation already taking place in the area and in 1864 petitioned President Lincoln to grant the land of the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees to the state of California. Yosemite became the nation's first state park and the world's first national park.

In 1868, famed naturalist John Muir visited the park for the first time. Enamored by what he saw, Muir dedicated the rest of his life to the protection of the park. Through volumes of his writing and exploration, he popularized the area. In 1890, Muir successfully petitioned Congress to expand the boundaries and create the National Park System. Ironically, this status of the valley, intended to protect it, may be leading to its peril by encouraging development to accommodate an ever-growing number of visitors.

Once the first roads were built in 1874, visitors began to visit the valley to witness for themselves the unique landscapes, fauna and wildlife. The management of the park then became the model upon which all others were based—if not because it was first then because it was the largest and had the most to lose. One million people visited Yosemite in 1954. By 1967 the number doubled. Currently more than four million people file through the park every year. Accommodating the cars, crowds and the waste they produce is an ongoing struggle.

Yosemite was one of the first locations in America where people recognized the value of natural places and the need for their protection. Management of the park has, since its inception, been cause for great controversy. Because of its popularity, wealth of resources and grandeur, Yosemite has always been faced with a struggle to find the balance between access and conservation. It is a struggle that continues today. ■

Jessica Brittsan (former managing editor of Forest Voice) is a freelance writer living in San Francisco.

The high alpine meadows, groves of giant sequoias and sheer granite cliffs lining the valley were here long before you were and will survive long after.

Lifeblood of the Valley

by Jessica Brittsan

It has been called the lifeblood of the Yosemite Valley. Originating at an elevation of 11,000 feet at the crest of the Sierra Nevada, the Merced River flows untamed until it reaches Lake McClure near the San Joaquin Valley of California. Its cool waters navigate the valley floor in the shadow of the massive granite spires of the Yosemite Valley. The management of the 81 miles of river flowing through Yosemite National Park, seven of which flow through the tourist-laden valley, is currently at the heart of a legal battle that could shape the way rivers and national parks are managed for years to come.

A suit filed in August 2000 alleges that the Merced River Management Plan, completed in June 2000, is illegal in its procedure, improper in environmental data collection and fails to recognize and protect the river's "outstandingly remarkable values" as required by the Wild and Scenic River Act. The Act requires federal agencies to "protect and enhance" the "outstandingly remarkable values" for which the river was recognized. The decade-late plan should have been completed in 1990, three years after the river was classified as wild and scenic. Overturning the Merced River Management Plan could derail the controversial Yosemite Valley Plan and influence the management of the other 160 rivers currently designated wild and scenic.

Friends of Yosemite Valley and Mariposans for Environmentally Responsible Growth filed the original suit against the National Parks Department. Fifty other groups, including the Native Forest Council, joined the suit when an *amicus brief* was filed.

This suit follows a 1999 lawsuit that halted the reconstruction of sections of Highway 140 damaged by a 1997 flood. The court ruled that a wild and scenic management plan must be in place before construction near the river could be completed. The court also ordered the river plan released before the Yosemite Valley Management plan to assure protection of the river. Groups are criticizing the river plan, completed in June 2000, for being hastily put together. They believe it makes allowances for parts of the Valley Plan, a reversal of the court-ordered relationship.

Development around the Merced River in the Yosemite Valley has been highly controversial for decades. The park service is ten years late in releasing a valley plan that finds a balance between recreation and preservation of this profitable and heavily traveled national park. The new plan allows for roads to be widened,



The Merced River.

accommodating a diesel busing system and building of parking lots on previously undeveloped land. While the park service says this will reduce congestion in the valley, it has caused environmental groups to call both plans development schemes masquerading as wilderness protection, with the focus on increasing profits rather than restoration.

Oral arguments in the Merced suit were presented in November 2001. The court is currently reviewing hundreds of pages of documents provided by both sides. Many groups have indicated a desire to file suit against the wider Valley Plan. ■

For more on how you can help the Native Forest Council fight the development of Yosemite Valley, visit www.forestcouncil.org.

The Native Forest Council and several other groups joined a suit against the National Parks Department. Overturning the Merced River Management Plan could derail the controversial Yosemite Valley Plan and influence the management of the other 160 rivers currently designated wild and scenic.

Unique Ecology

by Wendy Martin

Yosemite's beauty has inspired countless artists, writers, conservationists and visitors—even moved Presidents to action. Its stirring effects are not surprising, considering the beauty of the vast and majestic formations that are home to thousands of species. These species co-exist in an interconnected web of ecosystems that have amazed visitors since photographers such as Ansel Adams inspired their arrival.

Approximately 500 million years ago, the Sierra Nevada region lay buried beneath the sea. As dense layers of sediment on the sea bed were pushed above sea level, molten rock welled up from underneath and cooled slowly beneath layers of sediment to form granite. Erosion gnawed away at the overlying rock, eventually exposing most of the granite. Uplifts, water and then glaciers continued to form the Sierra Nevada, etching the majestic face of Yosemite into what we know and recognize today.

These formations that comprise what is now Yosemite National Park begin at 2,000 feet above the current sea level and extend to more than 13,000 feet, encompassing several different life zones. The lowest areas, located along the park's western boundaries, are in the foothill woodland zone of 2,000 to 3,000 feet. Although the most common trees in this zone are the

digger and ponderosa pines, oak and California buckeye can also be found in the area. Orange California poppies, purple and blue lupine, pink manzanita and many other wildflowers flood the ground with color in the spring.

Between 3,000 and 7,000 feet is the mixed-conifer forest zone, where many trees such as ponderosa and Jeffrey pines, Douglas fir, incense cedar, black oak and California dogwood live. This area is also home to the famous giant sequoia groves. The largest living things on Earth in total wood volume, giant sequoias often live for 1,000 to 3,000 years. The chemicals in their wood and bark provide such resistance to insects and fungi that in California's Sequoia National Park, piles of sawdust still remain in groves where the trees were cut for timber more than 100 years ago. Toppling remains the biggest cause of natural death for giant sequoias, which only grow naturally on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada.

Small, delicate wildflowers such as brodiae, pussy paws and larkspur decorate the mixed conifer area, as well as the western azalea, milkweed and cow parsnip.

The lodgepole pine-red fir belt zone, from 6,500 to 9,000 feet, overlaps the mixed conifer forest. In areas with thin soil, the lodgepole pine takes hold. The red fir dominates areas with the best soil and rainfall. This zone has exquisite wildflowers: paintbrush, larkspur, shooting star and monkey flower.

Above 9,000 feet, the forest thins, but still includes trees such as the mountain hemlock, western white and whitebark pines. Famous alpine wildflowers such as Dana's lupine, white heather, alpine penstemon and spreading phlox grow here.

Along with beautiful forests and spectacular scenery, Yosemite boasts a rich variety of wildlife. More than 220 species of birds have been found in Yosemite, including the golden eagle and the peregrine falcon. In 1986, after suffering from nearly 100 years of diminished populations due to hunting and disease, the California bighorn sheep was reintroduced into the area. Black bear, mule deer, coyote, gray fox, raccoon, gray and red squirrel, porcupine, five species of chipmunks and the Sierra chickaree also roam Yosemite. The grizzly bear and red-legged and foothill yellow-legged frogs have vanished forever from the park.

Yosemite is one of the most breathtaking places in the world, filled with majestic mountains, cliffs, waterfalls, forests and a variety of wildlife. Let's keep it that way. ■

Yosemite National Park



The Public Lands Series

With so many threats to our natural treasures and so many problems to solve, we feel it's equally important to celebrate and enjoy the splendor of our public lands. In every issue of the *Forest Voice*, we highlight a special part of public lands in the U.S. These aren't the only areas we believe should be protected. The Native Forest Council is fighting for total preservation of all 650 million acres of national forests, BLM lands, national parks and wildlife refuges.

Past Features:
Winter 2001-2
Hart Mt. Wildlife Refuge

Fall 2001
Lewis & Clark National Forest

Summer 2001
Jack Morrow Hills (BLM)

Spring 2001
Everglades National Park

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Bush and Global Warming

by Mark Hertsgaard



Like terrorism, global warming is an issue in which every nation has a stake. Already the Earth's glaciers are melting and catastrophic storms are becoming more severe and more frequent. Scientists expect four to eleven degrees of additional warming by 2100, bringing more violent weather, flooded coastlines and social havoc.

Old habits die hard, especially when it comes to U.S. foreign policy. On November 10, George W. Bush appeared before the United Nations General Assembly and, in a speech praised by the *New York Times* for its "plain-spoken eloquence," admonished his audience that the responsibility to fight terrorism is "binding on every nation with a place in this chamber." Bush apparently felt no need to practice what he preached about international responsibilities, though. On the same day—indeed, at the very moment—he was lecturing UN members, his own administration was shunning negotiations in Marrakech, Morocco, to finalize the Kyoto accord on global warming.

"How long can the administration turn its back on issues the rest of the world cares about—from global warming to trade in small arms—and expect broad support on issues like the war on terrorism?" asked Philip Clapp, president of the National Environmental Trust. Bush's double standard is all the more grating, considering that the United States is the leading source of the greenhouse gas emissions that cause global warming.

Like terrorism, global warming is an issue in which every nation has a stake. Already the Earth's glaciers are melting and catastrophic storms are becoming more severe and more frequent—this, after a mere one degree Fahrenheit increase in temperatures over the past century. Scientists expect four to eleven degrees of additional warming by 2100, bringing more violent weather, flooded coastlines and social havoc. New research released in Marrakech by the UN Environmental Program warns that global crop yields could fall 30 percent over the twenty-first century.

The Kyoto accord addresses this danger by ordering industrial nations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 5.2 percent by 2012, compared with 1990 levels—a very modest target, considering that scientists say global emissions must eventually be cut 60 percent. Last summer in Bonn, Germany, 178 nations signed the accord; the meeting in Marrakech, where US officials observed but did not participate, hammered out rules for implementation. "Other countries have chosen their path, and our answer is still no," said a Bush administration official.

Will Marrakech make much difference? The good news is that the world has put in place a binding framework requiring greenhouse gas reductions, and this framework will likely become law despite the U.S. boycott. To come into force, the accord must be ratified by 55 countries, including a group responsible for at least 55 percent of the industrial world's emissions. Forty

smaller nations have already ratified it, but with the United States holding out, the 55 percent standard can be reached only if the European Union, Russia and Japan all ratify. The EU has long been on board, and in Marrakech the Russians said they were finally satisfied. Japan's deputy chief cabinet secretary is pushing for a ratification vote in January, and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi has signaled his support. So Kyoto could become law as early as next spring (although the United States, because it didn't sign, won't be bound by it). A further bright spot: Delegates at Marrakech authorized

Wouldn't it be easier if the United States simply showed as much commitment to the battle against global warming as it demands from everyone else in the battle against terrorism?

\$410 million a year by 2005 for a "clean development mechanism" to subsidize the shift from carbon-based fuels in poor countries.

The bad news is that the Kyoto accord got so watered down in Marrakech that it may have

very little practical effect during the next ten years, when progress is most needed. The original accord relied heavily on emissions trading, a dubious mechanism that allows countries whose emissions are less than the maximum permitted, like Russia, to sell their excess to countries that are over their quota, like Japan. Now this loophole has been not only codified but expanded. The chief culprit is Russia, which has 120 million tons of emissions to trade and which also demanded twice as much credit as previously agreed on for the role its vast forests can play in absorbing carbon dioxide through photosynthesis. Meanwhile, two studies published in *Nature* this past July suggest that forests are not nearly as effective in neutralizing emissions as was thought.

Some environmentalists argue that these loopholes can be fixed later, that the emissions targets will be gradually tightened and eventually produce meaningful effects. And it's true that since carbon will now have a price in the marketplace, thanks to emissions trading, corporations, governments and individuals may make better choices about the products they produce and consume. U.S. firms might even obey the accord, despite Washington's stance, in order not to be left behind by foreign competitors. But wouldn't it be easier if the United States simply showed as much commitment to the battle against global warming as it demands from everyone else in the battle against terrorism? ■

Mark Hertsgaard is the author of four books, including *Earth Odyssey: Around the World In Search of Our Environmental Future*, and is a commentator on *National Public Radio's Living On Earth* program. This article originally appeared in the December 10, 2001 edition of *The Nation* magazine (reprinted with permission).

"A people without children would face a hopeless future. A country without trees is almost as hopeless."

-Theodore Roosevelt



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Native
Forest Council

Annual Report

2001

Growing Roots: NFC in 2001

In 2001, the seeds we planted in 2000 began to take root. Literally. As we go to press, we're planting new trees in our backyard! After renting our office for more than a decade, the Council board of directors approved its purchase through the Helen Johnson Fund. Like a family moving into a first home, moving from renter to owner has allowed us to make many changes we couldn't make before and has added to the stability of our home office, both emotionally and financially.

Like most nonprofits (and most Americans), we've had an unusually difficult year. September 11 brought sadness, confusion and anger. It also brought new dimensions to U.S. politics, new ideas about what it means to be an American and new challenges for nonprofit organizations.

As we begin the second quarter of 2002, let's hope that the resurgence in patriotism will be matched by pride in our publicly owned lands and a steadfast commitment to a democracy that invites many different opinions and encourages dissent. Our natural assets depend on it.

2001 in Review

Rapid Response to Rapid Changes

Native Forest Council is a lean grassroots organization, and our size and independence allow us to act quickly. Responding to changes in the political climate is what we do best. And 2001 was certainly a year of fast and dramatic changes for our nation. As George W. Bush took office, the new administration wasted no time starting its assault on our publicly owned lands: appointing anti-conservation cabinet members, gutting budgets of enforcement agencies, changing administrative rules and promoting anti-environmental legislation. It had one goal in mind: opening America's natural assets to big corporations.

Native Forest Council was there. To spread the word, bring subtle and complicated (and environmentally harmful) policies to light and work with major newspapers, magazines and television networks to make sure the American people knew what was really happening. We worked to mobilize grassroots response networks, sent out action alerts and kept our congressional allies informed. The Bush administration was a new challenge, but it was a challenge with a silver lining. A president so overtly opposed to conservation brought new attention to our issue and bolstered support for our mission.

Then came September 11. Like all Americans, we were shocked and saddened by the tragedy. Unlike many environmentalists, we welcomed the resurgence in patriotism. And also unlike so many others, we didn't equate this national pride with a refusal to question the Bush administration's policies.

We continued the fight using the same tools that we use best: litigation, legislation and education. The Council joined a coalition of groups working to oppose destructive development in Yosemite National Park (*story p.5*) and worked to save the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. We worked to promote sound environmental education in public schools, providing teachers with accurate information and exposing the deception of corporate-produced "environmental" education. Council members conducted a study of Oregon's rivers to document the effects of logging on drinking water. We worked to stop fraudulent land exchanges, including Oregon's Umpqua exchange. We helped build a national coalition to stop the Fee Demo Program charging citizens to use their publicly owned lands. It's been a dynamic year, and we're looking forward to the future. ■



Forest Council Staff: Top: (left to right) Researcher/Outreach Coordinator Erica Langbecker, IT Coordinator Peter Watkins, Intern Jenny Jackson, Administrative Assistant Debbie Shivers, Managing Editor Wendy Martin, Technical Performance Auditor William Blair. Bottom: Administrative Assistant Denise DeBerry, President Timothy Hermach, Editor/Vice President Ed Dorsch. Not Pictured: Administrative Director Deborah Ortuno, IT Assistant Adam Burns, Forester Roy Keene, Legal Consultant Rick Gorman, Assistant Webmaster Van Peterson.

2001 Highlights

- Major campaigns: Save the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge; Fight the Umpqua Land Exchange; Preserve roadless areas; Stop the Forest Service Fee Demo Program; *Honest Ed* campaign to promote accurate environmental education; *Forever Wild* legislation to save America's publicly owned lands.
- After more than a decade of renting office space, the Council financed an office purchase through the Helen Johnson Fund.
- Administrative Assistants Debbie Shivers and Denise DeBerry and Managing Editor Wendy Martin joined our team.
- President Tim Hermach was invited to join the Roster of Experts at the Institute for Public Accuracy, a national consortium of researchers and analysts.
- We redesigned our website: www.forestcouncil.org.
- The Council joined a coalition of groups suing to stop the destructive development plan for Yosemite National Park.
- In another lawsuit, we took a logging industry group to task for producing their own "Forest Voice."
- Our articles exposing corporate control of environmental education were printed in *Utne Reader*, *Liberal Slant*, *VegSource* and the *New York Times*.
- The Native Forest Council built coalitions with religious groups committed to the environment.
- The Council was cited as a source in many newspapers, magazines and television programs across the nation.
- We supported other like-minded grassroots groups with technical and logistic support to help their mission (and ours).

In Memory

Susan Cox and Helen Johnson

Dr. Susan Cox and Helen Johnson both passed away in the year 2000 and each chose the NFC as the recipient of a lifetime bequest. Nature lover, conservation advocate, hiker and backpacker, Dr. Susan Cox died of cancer on May 22, 2000. Born in Bristol, England, in 1942, Susan received a medical degree from Victoria University of Manchester, England, in 1965. After fellowships in London and Pennsylvania, she was an assistant Professor at the Medical College of Pennsylvania for four years.

She joined Kaiser Northwest Permanente as an obstetrician-gynecologist in 1977, where she worked until her retirement in 1996. She was a member of the American College of Obstetricians and the Oregon Obstetrician-Gynecological Society. According to Susan, however, her medical work was secondary to her environmental efforts. An avid outdoorswoman, she kayaked the Yukon River of Alaska and New Territories of Canada and hiked in Mexico, Chile, Nepal, Scotland and England.

Susan's friends and relatives will always remember her for her kindness, her caring, her generosity and her loving protection of the environment.

Helen Johnson was born in Calgary, Ontario, in 1920. She met her husband Harold "Happy" Johnson while working at a resort in Lake Louise. They moved to Seattle in 1946 and later opened the Homestead Nursery in Redmond, Washington.

Harold died in 1973, and Helen reluctantly sold the nursery five years later. In 1976, she worked to establish Redmond as a "Green Survival" city, a program to bring plants to public places throughout the community. She was a quiet and persistent activist who planted and nurtured the seeds of several important community projects that continue today. In 1979, Helen opened the doors of the Green Cycle Recycling Center, a service that collected and sold recycled glass, newspapers and cans, then used the money to buy trees for the community. The center continues working to encourage recycling and plant more trees in the community that Helen loved so dearly.

Helen later became interested in auras and alternative healing, working as a national coordinator for the Inner Peace Movement. She remained active until the last days of her life, writing letters and volunteering at the Puget Sound co-op. During her last years, Helen relinquished most of her material possessions, once telling a friend that "too many things hold you down and make you so stuck you cannot move." She fought in her quiet and willful way to live and die by herself, in her apartment, the master of her own home. It is a fight she ultimately won, when she passed away October 31, 2000 at the age of 80.

The memories of Helen Johnson and Dr. Susan Cox will live on in the lives they touched and the gifts they left behind, reminding us to be good



Helen Johnson



Susan Cox (right) with friends Phyllis and Helen at Trillium Lake in 1998.



The Colorado River flows through Canyonlands National Park, part of 650 million acres of publicly owned land that Native Forest Council is fighting to save.

In Focus: Moisha Blechman

by Wendy Martin

When she was eight, there were just two trees on Moisha Blechman's block in Cleveland, Ohio. "My idea of wealth," Blechman says, "was a person who had trees." Under those trees she was at home. It was her place. They gave her solace when she wasn't feeling well, which was much of her early childhood.

Blechman lived in the industrial flats near the Cuyahoga River—the only river ever to catch fire. It was this pollution, said Blechman's family doctor, that was making her chronically ill. So the family moved to a nearby suburb. The first thing Blechman did, before going inside her new home, was count the trees. There were so many that, though her family was rather poor, she felt they were wealthy. She regained her health, rose to the top of her class and began to excel at sports.

Now 68, Blechman lives in Central Park, again surrounded by trees. A former dancer and fashion designer, she is now a "full time environmentalist." Her husband Bob is a freelance artist and owns a graphic design company. "Bob is a hero. He supports my doing all of this environmental work," says Blechman.

Dedicated members of the Native Forest Council since 1995, the Blechmans hosted a reception for the Council at their home in 1998. "The Native Forest Council does a very good job," Blechman says. "They keep everybody informed on a lot of things. They do not have millions of dollars like the opposition, but they make their point nevertheless." She agrees 100 percent with the Council's uncompromising positions and Zero Cut policy. "Absolutely, no cut. I wouldn't compromise away another tree," she says firmly.

Blechman's commitment to conservation began with her childhood love of trees and has grown throughout her life. In



"My idea of wealth was a person who had trees."

Based in Colombia County, the group is part of a coalition of 13 organizations involved in a legal battle to stop the plant's construction. She and her group will fight until they win. After that, it's on to herbicides and pesticides. "You know, there's always a battle," she says.

Blechman explains her relentless fight against environmental destruction rather simply: "As a child, my health and my productivity were absolutely dependent on living with trees. Being connected to animals and the natural world is just who I am." ■

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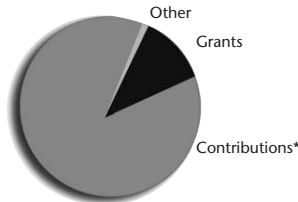
the 1970s, she joined the New York branch of the Sierra Club, and is now head of the chapter. As chairwoman, she revamped their newspaper, organized fundraising opportunities and was chair of their environmental film festival committee. One of her favorite projects was organizing the annual Christmas parties. Rather than just a social gathering, they were classy events where nothing went to waste. She prepared finger foods, vegetarian dishes, and used glasses instead of plastic—one year she washed all 150 of them the next day—so that there was nothing to throw away. For raffle gifts she arranged to give books on conservation or subscriptions to environmental journals. The parties, she explained, were beautiful, sustainable and educational—words that appear to frame her life's work.

Still an active member of the New York chapter, Blechman is now chair of the Sierra Club Climate Change Committee. However, her staunch advocacy for saving all of what's left of our forests, rivers and streams has earned her some animosity, not only from industry officials but also from the compromising politicians at the Sierra Club's national headquarters. She has faced down false accusations, intimidation and underhanded lobbying from those in higher places with ladylike and steadfast determination.

Last May, Blechman founded Citizens for a Healthy Environment, a small group dedicated to preventing the construction of a massive cement plant on a hill 300 feet above the Hudson River. "It's really an advocacy, educational organization, just like the Native Forest Council," she says.

2001 Financial Report

Funding Sources

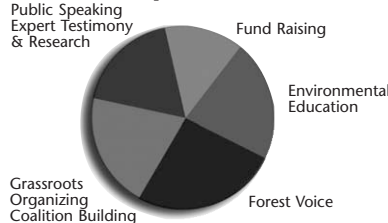


Funding Sources

Contributions*	88%
Grants	11%
Other	1%

* Contributions for 2001 were relatively higher than normal. Two lifetime bequests during 2001 have affected these percentages.

Expenses



Expenses

Environmental Education	22%
Forest Voice	26%
Grassroots Organizing, Coalition Building	20%
Public Speaking, Expert Testimony and Research	18%
Fund Raising	14%

In 2001, the costs of producing Forest Voice were reduced by 4%, grassroots organizing grew 6% and environmental education expenditures grew by 3%. A dramatic increase in the relative support from members reflects two lifetime bequests, but also demonstrates our continued efforts to remain a member-funded group.



"What a country chooses to save is what a country chooses to say about itself."

—Mollie H. Beattie, 1993-96 Director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

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Thanks to your support, we're continuing to lead the fight for your publicly owned lands.



Staff Spotlight: John Borowski

by Wendy Martin

Environmental science teacher gives students the facts, and works to educate children and the public about the environment and how to save what's left.

John Borowski circles a two-inch space on the blank chalkboard at North Salem High School in Salem, Oregon. "This whole chalkboard represents the native forest that we had when Christopher Columbus came to a new world." He points at the circle. "This is what we have left. Now you mean to tell me that those who destroyed these lands are responsible to say that we should negotiate this last little sliver?" The students look at him. They start to ask questions.

Borowski grew up in suburban Bloomfield, New Jersey. His mother was an artist and always encouraged him to see things, not just to look at them, and his father loved flowers and nature. His grandmother worked as a railroad car cleaner. She had a weakness for tuna and cod fishing, says Borowski. "After work she would take a three-hour train ride out to sea for some fishing. I have a family that fostered a real love of what's out there." Each summer his father would pack up the '56 Chevy and take the family to his grandmother's cabin in Maine. "I'd come back to New Jersey after three weeks of vacation and my friends would say, 'Oh no, John's gonna tell his country stories again.' They didn't believe it. 'You can't drink lake water,' they'd say. 'No one sees bears,' they'd say."

For the last 23 years, John Borowski has been teaching environmental science. He is also the environmental education coordinator for the Native Forest Council. "I fell in love with teaching," he says. "I realized that education's the ticket. It sounds so easy... But talk to everyday people, and you'll find that we are woefully ignorant."

In 1990 Borowski moved to Salem with his wife, Trish, and daughters, Jillian and Jenna. He earned his B.S. in environmental

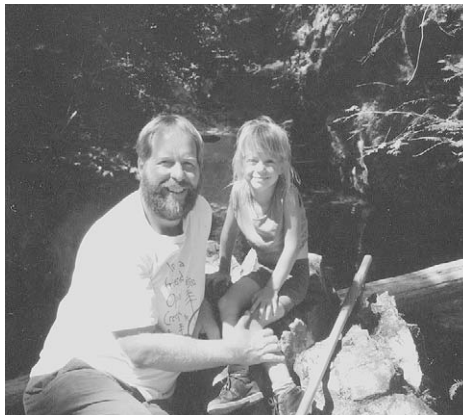
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biology from Bloomfield College, and later his M.S. in science education from Oregon State University. His writing has been published in the *New York Times*, *Oregonian*, *UTNE Reader* and other national publications. He has also made appearances on ABC and national radio programs to speak about corporate PR campaigns in our schools.

It struck Borowski how much children were separated from nature when he was 21 and a naturalist intern at the University of North Carolina. He taught kids from kindergarten through ninth grade, and realized that many of them felt nature was something irrelevant. A child came up to him once and said, "Uh, John, I'm really not into this nature stuff." He replied, "Well, it's nice to breathe the air and drink water. Regardless of what you're told, you are into nature. You are part of nature."

Borowski is currently leading the Native Forest Council's Children for an Honest Education Campaign, which attempts to expose corporate interests in public education. The program, which officially began this March, is reaching out to schools across the country. "Kids are being fed a lot of lies. That's what is making our job hard," says Borowski.

Helping children learn the facts and value the environment is Borowski's goal. He stresses that teaching is a job of citizenship and not advocacy: "Preaching is not teaching," he says. He makes a point not to express his personal opinions on issues, although it is evident that he is strongly committed to the environment. "You must make your own decisions," he says to his students. "All I ask is that you know all the data."



John Borowski and his daughter, Jenna, at Opal Creek in Oregon.

Borowski believes that environmental education should begin in kindergarten with the concept of a trade-off—comparing the benefits of cutting trees and extracting resources to what we lose by doing so. Middle school should be a time when students are given critical thinking questions to consider. In high school that critical thinking and knowledge should be combined to provide students with the ability to investigate and draw their own conclusions.

As a devout Christian, Borowski believes that God helps those who help themselves and that as elders, it is our responsibility to stop corporate-funded misinformation in our schools and lives. "Whatever happened to the concept of what you leave behind instead of what you take?" he asks. Our current economic standards assign worth only in terms of monetary value. "Why do we put a price on a two-by-four and yet we don't put a price on that tree standing up?" he asks.

"My own circle of environmental educators say I'm strident; they say I'm angry," Borowski says. When he was 15, his brother was diagnosed with melanoma cancer. In the hospital one day, Borowski went into the children's ward to make a phone call and was terrified. He saw kids with amputated legs, with skin grafts on their face, with bald heads from chemotherapy. Years later, a professor told him that approximately 70-90% of children's cancer was the result of environmental problems. "I'm not so angry that I'm seething to lash out, but I'm angry at this injustice. No child should be a pawn for profit. When corporations knowingly have the information, and they pawn our children's health, or the things they need for their health, you're damn right I'm angry."

This combination of anger and dedication make Borowski a fighting force in the environmental education movement. "Knowledge is power," he says. "Saving the environment is not going to happen through violence; it's going to happen through the power of knowledge." Back in the classroom, a student asks a question: "Mr. Borowski, we've been taught a mantra, over and over again: We must have balance. It seems to me the balance has been lost a long time ago." Borowski jumps up and down and cheers them on. "I love it when you think!" ■

The Honest Education Campaign

Although environmental education is becoming increasingly popular (it is now required as part of the curriculum in at least 31 states), corporate influence on curricula is growing. Chronically underfunded teachers who are ever pressed for time often unknowingly accept slick packets of corporate PR material disguised as lesson plans.

For the third year in a row, the Native Forest Council will attend a national convention sponsored by the National Science Teachers Association, one of the many industry front groups working to promote corporate interests in education. At the conference, industries and their front groups pass out materials to teachers—and ultimately to our children—that rationalize everything from deforestation to species extinction.

Last year, booths set up by industry groups and corporations outnumbered true environmental education presentations twenty to one. This March, John Borowski and other members of Native Forest Council will again offer an alternative to "environmental" education curriculum produced by the very corporations responsible for environmental problems. ■



Native Forest Council's booth at the National Science Teacher's Convention in 2000 was the lone voice for the forests amid corporate greenwash. From left to right: Council Regional Rep. Wayne Newton, Regional Rep. Robin Smith, member and teacher John Borowski and President Tim Hermach.

"No child should be a pawn for profit. When corporations knowingly have the information, and they pawn our children's health, or the things they need for their health, you're damn right I'm angry."

For more information on environmental education, including lesson plans, book reviews and a wealth of links to environmental organizations, please visit our website: www.forestcouncil.org.

Some other good resources for parents and teachers:

Living in the Environment, by G. Tyler Miller. The optimal "go to" book for lesson plans and organizational ideas. Packed with enlightening charts, graphs and other visual aids.

State of the World (series), by World Watch Institute. An excellent classroom reference, this series is the most widely accepted source of environmental data. It is well organized and footnoted.

Sell-Out in Montana

A Bitter Root To Swallow

by Jeffrey St. Clair and Alexander Cockburn

A tremendous victory. A kick in the ass of the timber industry. A huge step forward for native fish conservation. A win whose significance cannot be overstated. These are the chest-beating sound bites that have been broadcast by a cadre of environmentalists to support their settlement of a lawsuit against the Forest Service over plans to clearcut thousands of acres in Montana's Bitterroot National Forest, along the spine of the Continental Divide.

But it turns out that the deal is much less than it's cracked up to be by the green dealmakers. Indeed, the vaunted settlement, hatched with the Bush administration, will give a green light to one of the largest timber sales ever on public forest lands in the United States, in an area that is home to grizzlies, wolves and rare trout.

Here's the story.

In the summer of 2000, fires raced across the Bitterroot forests, charring trees, burning down houses, generating media hysteria and whetting the appetite of the big timber companies, who've come to learn that when there are fires, cheap timber sales soon follow. Of course, summer fires are nothing new for these Rocky Mountain forests. It's a fire-dependent ecosystem, the very forests themselves having evolved with fire. But the Bitterroot valley is no longer a wilderness landscape, and you can put part of the blame for that on John Denver, whose song "Wild Montana Skies" hit the airwaves in the '70s like a real estate ad for this once sleepy valley. "He was born in the Bitterroot Valley in the early morning rain / Wild geese over the water headin' north and home again." With these treacly lyrics, Denver launched a

The vaunted settlement, hatched with the Bush administration, will give a green light to one of the largest timber sales ever on public forest lands in the United States in an area that is home to grizzlies, wolves and rare trout.

land raid of rich back-to-the-landers, who now inhabit multi-million dollar hobby ranches at the edge of the wilderness. They like the view, but they don't like the rhythms of the ecology: they want fire suppression, predator control, and privacy from hikers. After the fires, the locals wanted the scorched forests logged, buying into timber industry hype that clearcutting reduces fire risk. In fact, just the reverse is the case. Logged-over forests produce more and bigger fires than natural forests. But the Forest Service was only too willing to comply. It quickly cobbled together what would be billed as the largest timber sale in US history, offering at a bargain rate more than 190 million board feet of timber from 46,000 acres of forest. But it overreached. Anxious to please its financial backers in big timber, the Bush administration issued an emergency ruling exempting the sale from any kind of administrative challenge or appeal. The Sierra Club and six other groups (Friends of the Bitterroot, The Ecology Center, American Wildlands, the Center for Biological Diversity, Pacific Rivers Council, and the Wilderness Society) quickly filed suit against the plan.

A huge victory was won in the courtroom of federal Judge Don Molloy, who excoriated the Forest Service for traducing numerous federal laws. A preliminary injunction against the

Dealing With The Devil

They tried to cut a deal with the Forest Service—but ended up greenlighting the largest timber sale in the nation. There are many sides to this story, and we asked members of the groups that brokered the deal to give their point of view. None could meet our deadline, but look for a different perspective on the Bitterroot in our next issue. We want the Forest Voice to be an open forum for different opinions, so feel free to send in yours. Our goal? To learn from our mistakes and save public lands.

-ed.



sale was handed down. The Forest Service took its appeal of the decision to the Ninth Circuit Court, which sent the case back to Judge Molloy asking him to rule quickly on whether some sales could proceed. In particular, the Forest Service wanted approval to log 15 timber sales, before this winter's snows melted. The judge ordered both sides to enter into a mediation process, overseen by federal Judge Michael Hogan. Hogan is a notorious right-winger and born-again Christian whose loathing of environmentalists is equaled only by his hatred of abortion providers.

It's important to note that Judge Molloy did not order the parties to agree to a settlement, but merely to attempt to reach a deal. He was prepared to make a final ruling in the case within a week. But the environmentalists were apparently itching to deal. In a revealing story in the *Missoulian*, Sherry Devlin quotes Sierra Club president Jennifer Ferenstein as saying the plaintiffs met on February 3 and faxed a settlement proposal to the Bush administration that included a concession that would allow areas to be logged within days. "The signal we gave is that we are willing to consider an option that put people out on the ground," Ferenstein said. "We can be flexible."

This new sense of "flexibility" came after the enviros were tweaked by Montana Senator Max Baucus, a conservative Democrat who is up for reelection in the fall. Baucus applauded Molloy for "knocking their heads together" and urged the enviros to agree to a settlement that would permit some logging this winter.

The Bush administration said that the enviro proposal was a good starting point for negotiations. The opposing sides convened for a two-day session in Missoula and the deal was hatched. It calls for 60 million board feet of timber sales and clearcutting on about 14,000 acres of land. The enviros signed away the right to challenge those sales, regardless of their environmental consequences.

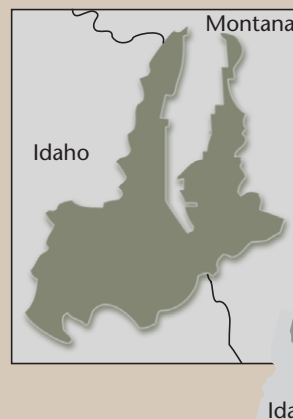
Then came the blizzard of self-serving press releases. "This is a great improvement for our wild forests, wildlife habitat, native fish, and, perhaps most importantly, public participation," crowed Ferenstein, president of the Sierra Club. "We have preserved the right of the public to appeal Forest Service decisions that would harm the national forests they enjoy and want to protect."

"Once we were finally able to sit down and talk, we made some real headway. It was the kind of productive discourse that would have been silenced had we not challenged the original Bitterroot plan," said Ferenstein. "The original Bitterroot plan was a transparent attempt by the Bush administration to increase commercial logging on our national forests, skirt public scrutiny and circumvent important environmental regulations."

As part of the Forest Service's "Burned Area Recovery Plan," 60 million board feet of trees will be cut from 14,000 acres—enough trees to fill 12,000 log trucks lined up end to end for more than 100 miles.

Environmentalists signed away the right to challenge those sales, regardless of their environmental consequences.

Bitterroot National Forest



- 307,000 acres burned in the Bitterroot N.F. during the summer of 2000.
- From 1990-1999, the Forest sold 83 million board feet. This sale will at least double this amount in 3 to 5 years.
- This is the largest timber sale in U.S. history.
- The bull trout, an endangered species, will be adversely affected by the "recovery" project, along with many other species.



Felled green pine at the Bear timber sale. After a week of denying that any green trees were being cut, the Forest Service admitted on March 1, 2002 that numerous large green ponderosa pines had been illegally cut in the Bear timber sale. Photo © Wild Rockies Earth First!, February 2002.

This effusion is a little bit much to take. Ferenstein is talking about a mediation session that put her face-to-face with the Prince of Darkness himself, Mark Rey, Rey, formerly the timber industry's top lobbyist, is now Undersecretary of Agriculture overseeing the Forest Service. Rey doesn't play nice and he's not given to gentle "discourses" with environmentalists, whom he considers to be the equivalent of domestic terrorists.

Others painted a different picture. One plaintiff spoke of the negotiating session as "grueling," "painful" and "torturous." These kinds of remarks make it sound like the plaintiffs were under the kind of duress that an East Timorese human rights organizer might have suffered in an interrogation by one of Suharto's henchmen. Such hollow posturing makes the redwood-sitting Julia Butterfly Hill seem like Nelson Mandela in comparison.

But, to be fair, apparently Ferenstein wasn't the dealmaker. She's merely the Katie Couric of the environmental movement, a perky face ushered forth to dispense the bad news. The real deal was apparently cut by the lawyers and The Wilderness Society's forest guru, Michael Anderson.

The chronology of events as detailed by Devlin's story makes it clear that the environmentalists had decided to sell out long before their grueling negotiations with Rey and his flacks in the Forest Service. If there was any arm-twisting going on, it must have been between the plaintiffs.

Some people never learn.

A few years ago we exposed the saga of Jon Roush, the former head of the Wilderness Society, who logged off a few acres of big ponderosa pines on his multi-million dollar ranch in the Bitterroot Valley. At first, Roush tried to lay the blame for the whole deal on his wife, who was divorcing him at the time. Then he sent us to his forester, who said that the logging was needed to improve "health" of the forest stands. At the time, "forest health" logging was viewed, even by ecologists at the Wilderness Society (perhaps the most cautious of mainstream environmental groups) as a PR gimmick designed by the timber industry, a kind of feel-good clearcutting. By and large, environmentalists—including some of the plaintiffs on the Bitterroot lawsuit—were appalled at Roush's hypocrisy. He resigned his position a few months later.

"This deal stinks so badly it makes me feel like never identifying myself as an environmentalist again," says Steve Kelly, a longtime forest activist in Montana.

But Roush's predations were puny compared to the all-out assault sanctioned by the Bitterroot plaintiffs. Instead, this deal reminds many forest veterans of the so-called Deal of Shame, the 1993 debacle in which environmentalists agreed to a request from the Clinton administration to give up an injunction blocking timber sales in ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest. The deal fractured the environmental movement, jumpstarted logging in the Northwest and set the tone for the Clinton administration's duplicitous environmental policies.

Revealingly, the Bitterroot deal involves many of the same players, most notably the environmental attorneys who signed off on the deals: Earthjustice (a.k.a. the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund) and the Western Environmental Law Clinic.

A scrutiny of the fine print of the Bitterroot settlement may reveal what was truly afoot. In part the settlement says: "(10) Nothing in this settlement shall be construed as an admission of fact or law by any party on the issue, including plaintiffs' claim that the Forest Service has violated the Appeals Reform Act. (11) This settlement resolves all claims that Plaintiffs have asserted or could have asserted in this litigation, except as provided in paragraph 12 below. (12) Plaintiffs retain the right to seek attorneys' fees under applicable law. (13) This agreement embodies the entire terms and conditions of the agreement between the parties."

In other words, it seems the only real victory in this case was the right of the enviros' attorneys to petition the court to have their legal fees reimbursed.

"This is another trees for fees deal," says Michael Donnelly, a forest organizer from Oregon. "It's no longer about what gets saved, it's about how they can get their expenses paid for and then spin it in the press. This is what happens when the environmental movement becomes bureaucratized, when it lives off of foundation grants and political pats-on-the-back. It's lost its spine and its moral purpose."

So 60 million board feet of clearcuts are sanctioned without regard to their damage to an already stressed ecosystem. The enviros involved have tried to downplay the damage these clearcuts will cause. But think of it this way: it will still represent one of the largest timber sales in Montana history. The sale volume is four times what the entire Bitterroot forest has been logging per year for the past decade or so. The amount of acreage that will be clearcut is 2,000 acres larger than the Charles C. Deam Wilderness on the Hoosier National Forest in Indiana.

"The fact is that the salvage sales released without appeal in the settlement will be the single largest timber sale in the United States, including Alaska, that is currently in play," says Bryan Bird, an ecologist with the Forest Conservation Council. "People on the ground in the Bitterroot have stated that several of the salvage units are in areas of low intensity burn and contain some



A cut green tree at the Big Pondy sale. On March 2, 2002, 24 hours after the Forest Service admitted that trees had been illegally cut in the Bitterroot National Forest, it closed the area to the public, threatening a trespassing fine of up to \$5,000 for an individual or \$10,000 for an organization, and/or imprisonment for up to six months. Photo © Wild Rockies Earth First!, March 2002.

rather healthy and large trees. I believe that these sales could have been stopped for sure on the procedural claims and possibly stopped on the substantive claims. But the public now believes that large-scale salvage logging is not a problem. We will face this for years, as fire is not going away and the USFS knows its last stronghold for the logging program is salvage and 'fuels reduction.'"

In theory (and its fundraising letters), the Sierra Club is a "zero cut" organization, meaning it opposes commercial logging on all national forest lands. The other plaintiffs on the suit are members of the Roadless Area coalition, meaning they oppose all logging in roadless areas, which are de facto wilderness lands. The Bitterroot settlement not only gives the green light to a blitzkrieg of new logging, but much of it will take place inside these roadless areas, the most sacrosanct and vulnerable lands in those mountains.

"This deal stinks so badly it makes me feel like never identifying myself as an environmentalist again," says Steve Kelly, a longtime forest activist in Montana. "There was no reason to throw in the towel; the fight had only started. If the enviros had really won, the timber industry would have sent out log truck convoys in protest. Instead, they're waiting in line for the clearcutting to begin."

Victory? Somebody should ask the grizzlies and bull trout. They won't be around long if these kinds of sell-outs continue to be hailed as triumphs on their behalf. ■



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Journalists Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair have published numerous books and essays and both are editors of CounterPunch, a bi-weekly newsletter that prints stories ignored by the corporate media. This article first appeared in CounterPunch.

Below: Large green ponderosa pines cut at the Elk Point Two timber sale under the guise of "Burned Area Recovery." Photo © Wild Rockies Earth First!, March 2002.

A Little Perspective

by Jenny Jackson



“I hope that we shall crush in its birth the aristocracy of our moneyed corporations which dare already to bid defiance to the laws of our country.”

-Thomas Jefferson, 1812

For a century after the American Revolution, corporations were kept on a short leash, governed by citizens, limited by charters and ruled by conditions of operation.

Corporate power has become so ubiquitous in American politics that it seems as if it's always been there: a pervasive, intransigent and a fact of life. It's hard to deny that money buys political influence. Too often, though, we forget that America hasn't always worked this way.

Citizens once controlled corporations. For a century after the American Revolution, corporations were kept on a short leash, governed by citizens, limited by charters and ruled by conditions of operation. In fact, this was one of the guiding precepts in the founding of our nation. Not only were colonists seeking sovereignty from the monarchy, they wanted freedom from the “remote tyranny” of the British Crown corporations, which were created explicitly to exploit U.S. colonies. States granted corporate charters to ease the financial burdens of building roads, bridges or other projects for citizens.

Still quite wary of corporate control after finally shrugging off the yoke of British corporations such as the Hudson's Bay Company, legislators were cautious about granting corporate charters. Few were conferred, and often after much debate. A charter was granted for a limited time and, unless it was renewed, the corporation dissolved. A corporation had to follow the conditions of its charter (which served only the public interest), and the charter could be revoked if the conditions weren't met or if the corporation exceeded its authority or caused public harm.

Throughout the nineteenth century, corporate charters were routinely revoked by citizens. It wasn't until 1886 that corporations were granted the rights of a “natural person.”

Charters were revoked routinely in the nineteenth century, and Thomas Jefferson recognized the necessity of this tight control, saying, “I hope that we shall crush in its birth the aristocracy of our moneyed corporations which dare already to bid defiance to the laws of our country.”

Over time, corporations accumulated money and power, persuading legislators to make charter laws more lax. They fought in the courts, taking the power of eminent domain, a worker's assumption of risk and the managerial prerogative. The tide was turning on citizen control of enterprise.

In 1886, the rules of engagement changed forever: Corporations became people. The Supreme Court ruled that a corporation was a “natural person,” protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, a measure that was supposed to defend freed slaves. Corporations were given status as legal citizens before African Americans, Native Americans and women.

A “natural person” is protected by the law and the Constitution, meaning protection by the police and the military as well. Often, this protection is used against human persons, those who attempt to halt the pollution of our waters and wholesale destruction of public lands. Citizens are charged with trespassing or vandalism, while corporations are free to do as they please under the protection of the law.

Corporations are also given First Amendment rights. This means their voice in politics and society is “equal” to that of another “natural person.” Corporations have vast financial resources and in our country, where expenditures have been defined as free speech, that allows for a voice much louder than the average citizen.

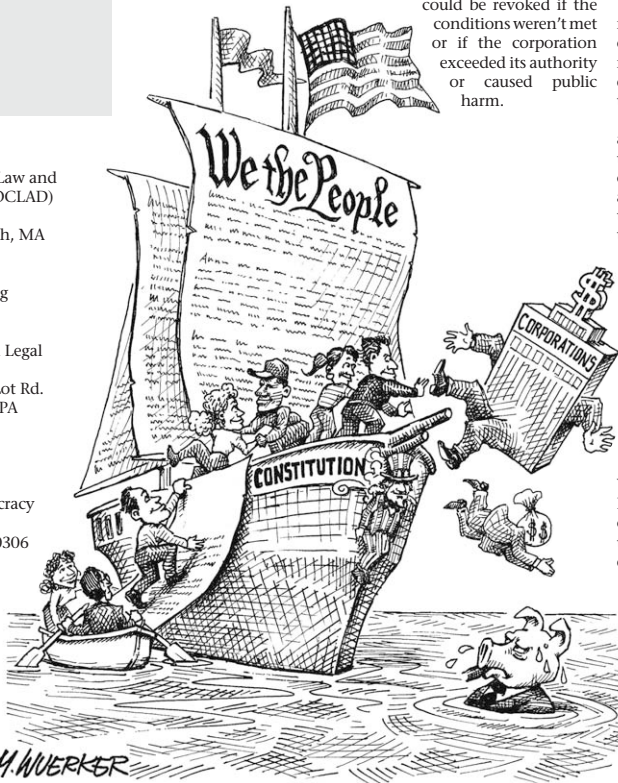
This purchase of democracy is a theft of our freedom. After all, rights are for people. Corporations have privileges, but only those privileges that we bestow upon them. In this context, corporations should be under our control, not the other way around. In 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote a warning to Congress: “The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than the democratic state itself. That in its essence is fascism: ownership of government by an individual, by a group or any controlling private power.”

Today, of the world's 100 largest economies, more than half are corporations. Even after the recent stock market meltdown, Bill Gates was worth \$60 billion or so. These virtual nation-states traverse the globe with impunity, enjoying all the rights of individuals, but they remain exempt from any of the responsibilities. As privatized central planning grows, free markets are stifled, and so is democracy. If we are to govern ourselves once again, we must revoke rights of personhood from the artifact of law known as the limited liability corporation. We must question the legitimacy of this entity's claim to power. If a corporation has asserted power beyond that allowed in its charter, it should be dissolved. There are still statutes in place to revoke corporate charters. It's time to assert our power and demand accountability.

Corporate control of democracy is not a given, but our unalienable rights should be. And most Americans agree. According to a recent issue of *Business Week* (hardly a “radical” journal), 72 percent of Americans believe corporations have too much power over our lives. Seventy-three percent believe CEOs are overpaid. Granted, reclaiming our democracy is a formidable task. But it's no more daunting than a bunch of colonists in the New World vanquishing Great Britain. ■

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Jenny Jackson is a freelance writer in Eugene, Oregon. She is currently completing her thesis on the corporate culture of Nike.



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2244 Lindsay Lot Rd.
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717.530.0931
www.celdf.org

Reclaim Democracy
PO Box 532
Boulder, CO 80306
303.402.0105
www.reclaim

Solutions: Election Reform?

by Jenny Jackson

The campaign finance reform bill (H.R. 2356) passed by the House on Valentine's Day is a valiant attempt to divide two age-old bedfellows: politicians and corporations. The Shays-Meehan bill may be well-intentioned, but there is no guarantee it will solve a problem perpetuated by the solution makers.

By a vote of 240-189, the House agreed to ban soft money contributions (unregulated, unlimited donations from corporations, unions and individuals to national political parties). Stricter disclosure requirements are also part of the bill, in an attempt to clean up and air out political fundraising activities. Also, limits on individual contributions would be raised. Think it's the perfect prescription to cure what ails our depraved democracy? You'd be underestimating the severity of the disease. Although Shays-Meehan seeks to curb some specific forms of bribery, money will find other ways to shape politics.

Where there's a law, there's a loophole

As the recent Enron debacle has shown us (only because the company's hemorrhaging stock brought it under public scrutiny), there's often more going on in politics than meets the eye, and new laws will merely divert the flow of ethical infractions from public attention rather than stanch the current entirely.

Where there's a law, there's a loophole. While Shays-Meehan will tighten federal rules, big corporations will likely shift their giving to the state level. Also, contributors would still be able to "bundle," evading contribution limits by combining many individual campaign checks. The bundler gets political clout, but the gifts are off the record.

Campaign finance reform affects only the actions of lobbyists, not their power. In fact, lobbying has grown as a lucrative industry since laws were enacted in the 1970s. All too often, regulations are symbolic, forcing transactions into the dark, while power structures remain.

Fox guarding the henhouse

The Shays-Meehan bill contains no provision for an independent regulation agency. Self-policing seems to be the law of the land with campaign finance, and once lobbying laws

are passed and the public's cries for reform are appeased, the government often lapses into a state of ethical apathy.

One example concerns House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, who requested large sums of money from lobbyists in exchange for congressional favors and access. Although DeLay violated campaign finance laws, he was never punished for his transgressions. Under the new bill, he would not be held accountable either.

Do as I say, not as I do

The greatest cause for skepticism is when the bill will take effect: not until Nov. 6, 2002—the day after Election Day. If legislators were serious, they would regulate their actions before securing another term in office.

Even Senator John McCain, the co-author of the Senate's version of the Shays-Meehan bill (and the most vociferous proponent of campaign finance reform), has fallen victim to what he claims to detest. He admitted to being "tainted" by donations from Global Crossing, a telecommunications firm. McCain has received more money from it than any other member of Congress. In the same month he received a large sum from the company for his presidential campaign, McCain approached the Federal Communications Commission about opening the market for laying undersea fiber-optic cable, a market that AT&T controls and Global Crossing wants into.

And McCain is our most solid bastion against overt corporate influence in democracy? Scary.

So if Shays-Meehan isn't the solution, what is? This question has plagued every Congressional session since 1911, and while attempted solutions have come in the form of legislation, the best answer may be found, as always, in a diligent public's scrutiny. Regulations only serve to alter the flow of money, making it more secretive, not less influential. Requiring prompt, full disclosure on the part of all contributors and legislators would allow voters to determine whose souls have been sold to which interests and at what price.

If government isn't capable of being responsible for its actions, the country's citizens must take the responsibility for their governance upon themselves. ■

Goodbye soft money; hello hard choices

by Arianna Huffington

As we await final approval of the first meaningful campaign finance reform bill since Watergate, I just can't shake this imagined scene from the future:

It's late spring. President Bush has just reluctantly signed the ban on soft money into law, and the supporters of reform have gathered for a victory celebration.

Savoring their historic achievement are the heroes of the bitter political battle: John McCain, Russ Feingold, Chris Shays and Marty Meehan. Glasses are raised. High-spirited toasts are made. To fighting the good fight. To the death of soft money. To restoring integrity to public life. Someone even raises a good-natured glass to uber anti-reformer Mitch McConnell.

Suddenly, the smile disappears from McCain's face. "All right," he says, echoing the famous final line in "The Candidate," "What do we do now?"

The thudding sound of reality collectively setting in fills the bar. The designated driver has sobered everyone up.

Because, as McCain told me after the historic House vote last month: "This bill will only thwart the special interests for so long. Twenty years from now, they will have figured out ways to get around it, and another couple of senators will be fighting to break the endless cycle of corruption and reform."

But even before the lobbyists and the lawyers start ferreting out the new loopholes like pigs snorting for truffles—and it will take them a lot less than 20 years—the ban on soft money is far from the end of the overwhelming influence of money on our campaigns. The fact is, soft money donations made up less than 20 percent of the nearly \$3 billion spent on the last round of federal elections, while hard money donations totaled roughly \$1.75 billion.

In the meantime, politicians from both parties are tripping over themselves in a desperate stampede to cash in before soft money goes the way of DDT, Dalkon Shields and the Pinto. The fundraisers are revving up their Rolodexes and putting out the call to fat-cat donors across the land: "Gentlemen, start your checkbooks!"

The next few months will see a Neroesque orgy of political fundraising. The juiciest morsel of bait in the Republican tackle box is Rudy Giuliani who, in a particularly distasteful example of cashing in on Sept. 11, this week headlined a fundraiser for House Republicans touted as a "Salute to America's Heroes." To paraphrase Todd Beamer: "Let's bankroll!"

So what, indeed, do we do next?

Well, we need to work on many fronts at once. We should immediately fortify the notoriously toothless Federal Election Commission with some real enforcement bite.

And we should demand that broadcasters—who, after all, are making massive profits using the public airwaves—offer political

candidates free TV time. In 1997, in an example of everything that's wrong with Washington, Congress simply gave away the digital spectrum to the broadcasters, a little gift now worth hundreds of billions of dollars. Asking them to help clean up our political system seems a small price to pay in return.

Ultimately, though, the only way to dramatically diminish the corrupting influence of special-interest money is by adopting the Clean Money, Clean Election model, which replaces the non-stop money-grab with full public financing of elections. Think of it: No hard money, no soft money, no endless dialing for dollars, no quid pro dough deals. Just candidates and elected officials beholden to no one but the voters.

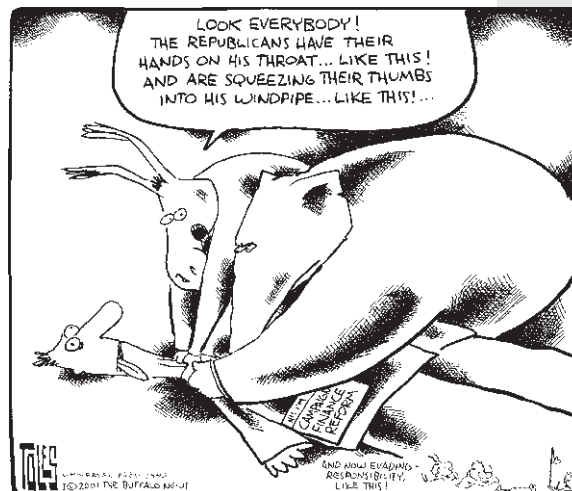
And this is no pie in the sky fantasy. Clean Money laws in states like Maine and Arizona have proven remarkably effective: reducing campaign spending, shrinking the influence of outside money and encouraging more, and better, people to run.

So McCain and company need to finish their celebratory drinks, pat each other on the back, settle the check and gird themselves to join the fight anew: The tougher battles for reform lie ahead. ■

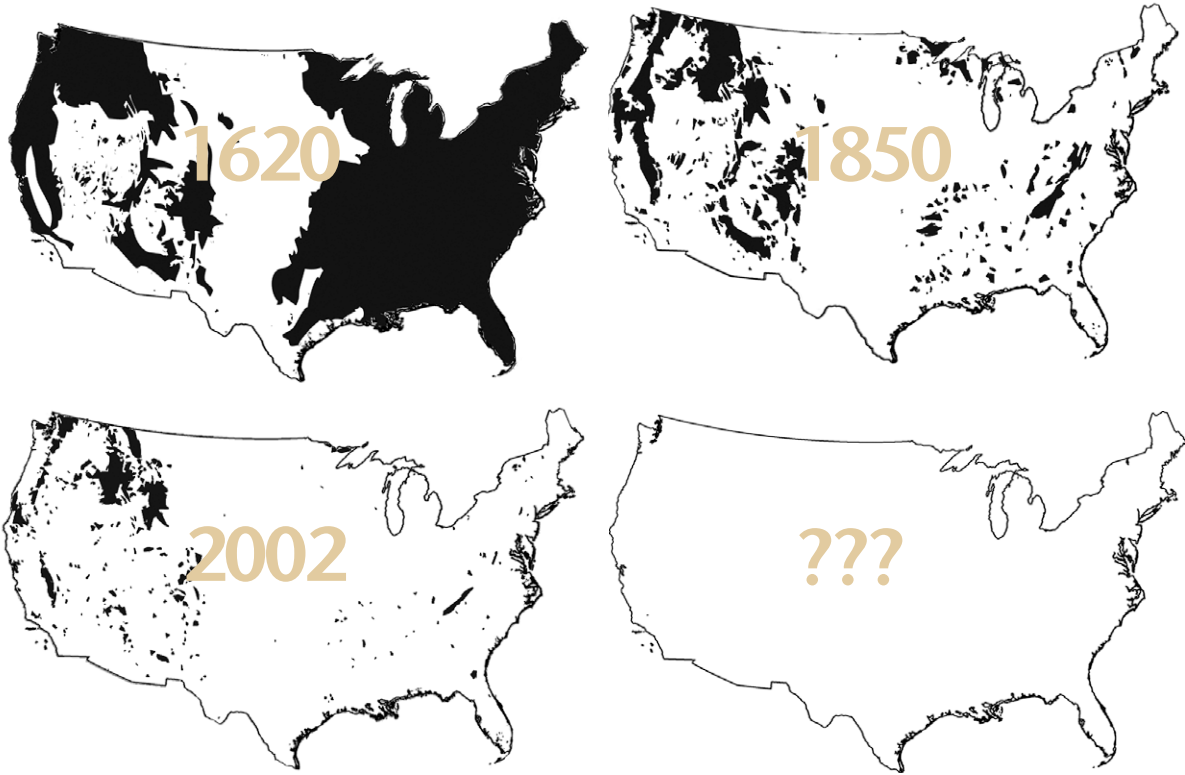
Arianna Huffington is a nationally syndicated columnist and author of *Greetings from the Lincoln Bedroom*.

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Our Disappearing Native Forests



Myth: Public Lands Are Protected

National forests, grasslands and parks. Wildlife refuges. Wilderness areas. You want them to be there for future generations to enjoy as much as you do. As our nation grew over the past century, visionary leaders set aside nearly 650 million acres of America's precious natural assets, so that our most pristine mountains, forests, rivers and streams could be preserved. But today, politicians and corrupt corporations are liquidating these assets—at a net loss to the American citizens. Your public lands are under siege: clearcut forests, oil drilling, mining and needless overgrazing. It's all happening right now on public lands.

Myth: Jobs vs. Environment

Public lands logging, mining, grazing and drilling are subsidized industries that operate at a net loss. The federal timber program costs taxpayers at least \$1.2 billion per year. Mining costs us \$3.5 billion per year. Grazing subsidies cost more than \$200 million per year. Through patents or land swaps, corporations can actually take our lands from us. But don't they create jobs? Very few. Recreation alone creates more jobs than all these extractive industries. Who benefits, then? Washington bureaucrats and their corporate masters. They destroy our resources. We pay for it.

Myth: Industry Needs Public Lands

Destroying public lands for raw materials is like melting the Statue of Liberty for scrap iron. These assets are worth more living than dead. Less than four percent of the wood and paper we use comes from national forests. Public lands grazing produces just three percent of the nation's beef and uses 60 times as much acreage as private lands grazing. Drilling for oil on public lands would supply our nation's energy needs for only a few months. If preserved, America's public lands will continue providing clean air, water and soil—life itself. For our children and grandchildren. And all future generations.

Myth: There's Nothing You Can Do

People united under a clear goal can beat the odds. Thanks to conviction and refusing to compromise, Americans won the fight for civil rights and women's suffrage. We banned DDT and took on Big Tobacco. Today, Native Forest Council is fighting to make the "impossible" possible: protection for all public lands, without exception or compromise. We call it *Forever Wild*. The Council was the first to demand total protection for America's forests, and now, for all public lands. Join today, and you'll be joining thousands of others fighting for America's heritage: our public lands. Please take a moment to fill out the membership form below and send it in.

Join Now

- \$35 Standard Member
- \$50 Supporter
- \$60 International Member
- \$100 Contributor
- \$500 Conservator
- \$ _____ Benefactor

Name _____
 Address _____
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- My check is enclosed.
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- Exp. date: _____ Signature: _____

- I'd like to make a monthly gift of \$ _____
- Bill my credit card
- Please deduct my monthly gift from my checking account. I'm sending a signed and voided check. I understand deductions may be stopped or adjusted at any time.

Planned Giving

Native Forest Council offers a wide variety of planned giving opportunities. Gifts of stock, real estate and other assets may offer tremendous tax savings for you and provide the Council with a greater net gift. If you are interested in planned giving or planning, contact Native Forest Council at 541.688.2600.

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I want to help get the word out. Please send a complimentary copy of the *Forest Voice* to:

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