# Forest Voice

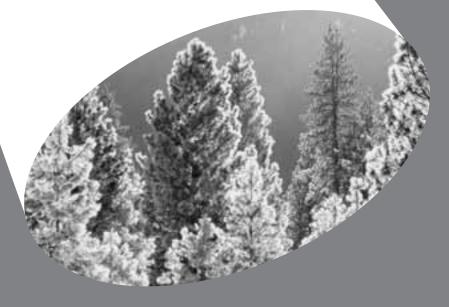
Winter

A Publication of the Native Forest Council

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# in the dark

Conservation:
 putting our
 issue back into
 the spotlight



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# Shedding Some Light

By Ed Dorsch

idwinter: a perfect time to ponder darkness and light. With solstice comes the longest night of the year and the return of longer days. Flickering candles and shining stars mark traditions of inner light and personal reflection. Recently, I found some insight into the darkness we face in today's world from an unexpected source: a work created sometime around 350 BC. In his myth of the cave, the Greek philosopher Plato offers wisdom that's as useful now as it ever was.

Our nation faces a new darkness today. Will we have the resolve to face it in the new year? Those of us committed to conservation also face the darkness of a growing political vacuum. With so many other stories in the headlines, will we be able to make the environment "important" again? We must, for those who would sell our nation's heritage to the highest bidder are already taking advantage of the fact that the nation is looking the other way. As Representative Nick J. Rahall II (D-WA) recently said, "Issues that normally would have attracted attention remain under the public's radar."

With the public's radar focused (as one might expect) on other issues, the Bush administration has already made decisions that will open more publicly-owned lands to destruction, punch more roads through our national forests and make it more difficult for citizens to block mining permits. U.S. Forest Service Chief Dale Bosworth is pushing one of the largest salvage logging operations to-date by excluding citizens from the decision making process, but a federal judge has blocked the sale as of our press date (*see story, p.3*).

Right now, Bush and Bosworth are reviewing and making sweeping changes to three crucial forest policies: the roadless rule, which protects 58.5 million acres of forest, a transportation policy that governs the management of more than 383,000 miles of forest roads (more than eight times the length of all the interstate highways in the U.S.) and regulations that govern how local officials write management plans for public lands.

Protection for national monuments has been rolled back, a rule mandating the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to protect new wetlands when others are lost has been reversed and plans to phase out snowmobiles in the Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks have been pushed back.

They stand to gain the most when we know the least. I'd like to think the *Forest Voice* serves as a beacon of truth to help fill the void left by the mainstream press. Since we published our first issue in 1989, the *Voice* has shed light on the destruction of America's public lands, literally going beyond the beauty strip to expose the clearcuts, open pit mines and scarred rangelands that are becoming more and more common on our public lands.

It's not always fun producing a Forest Voice. Frankly, sometimes I'd rather be enjoying the snow in Oregon's Cascade Mountains than looking through aerial photos of the latest scars carved into our nation's forests. But the truth doesn't always bring comfort and joy.

In his most famous (and longest) work, *The Republic*, Plato describes knowledge as light in his



Editor Ed Dorsch

allegory of the cave. In the imaginary cave Plato describes, prisoners are shackled so they can only face the wall away from the cave's entrance, and away from the light. Theirs is a world of shadow and darkness. Suppose one of them were freed, he asks. The prisoner might turn around and face the light, only to be blinded by its brilliance.

Only the most resolute of truth seekers would stand fast, rather than turning back to darkness. Eventually, the prisoner's eyes might adjust to the light, making it easier to grasp the new knowledge. And making it very difficult to return and share the news with the poor prisoners trapped back in the cave. Go into a dark movie theater after being outside on a bright sunny day, and I think you'll get a sense of what Plato was talking about.

More than 2,000 years later, Plato's message still offers much insight, but little comfort: The truth can hurt. It can be hard to adjust to the light of day. And, once you've seen the light, it can be difficult and frustrating to try to explain it to others. We've shown people pictures of clearcuts, only to have them say, "You must be mistaken. You're talking about private lands, right? Those can't be national forests." Others have accused us of doctoring those same photos, to make them uglier. Sadly, we don't need to.

They call us pessimists. Or Chicken Little. They don't understand how happy we'd be if the sky weren't really falling. In the business of conservation, we'd like nothing more than to be out of business. But there's still much work to be done.

With the darkest days of winter giving way to spring and summer, I'd like to make a resolution for the new year: Let's find new ways to bring light into the darkness. In 2002, let's shed some light on the truth, difficult as that may be, for the sake of ourselves and our planet.

#### **Forest Voice**

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#### 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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In 1894, New York State adopted the *Forever Wild* amendment, protecting its wilderness areas for more than 100 years.

The "Forever Wild" clause states "these lands may not be encumbered, traded, swapped, sold, or otherwise recovered from public ownership, care, and protection."

Native Forest Council is working to pass federal Forever Wild legislation, demanding protection for all the public lands in the United States from all forms of destruction: logging, mining, grazing, drilling, off road vehicles, land swaps, water diversion and all threats to our nation's natural heritage.

# **News and Views**

#### Groups Sue to Halt Drilling in Utah Canyon

Conservation groups are suing the Bush administration to halt development of 12 drilling leases in the Redrock Canyon area of Utah. The groups accuse the Department of the Interior of failing to complete required environmental analysis of the area in order to speed development and promote the President's energy plan. The ten-year leases, issued in September by the BLM, are in a largely undeveloped area of Utah that is currently under review by Congress to become designated wilderness. The suit also alleges a failure by the Interior to consult with local tribal leaders, archeologists and the public about the impacts of

**Interior Secretary on Trial for Contempt** 

development on cultural artifacts found in the area.

Interior Secretary Gayle Norton went to court December 10 to face contempt charges. A class action lawsuit brought by a conglomeration of Indian tribes alleges mismanagement of \$10 billion in tribal assets by the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Two years ago, after the Interior Department and BIA's systems were found to be faulty, U.S. District

Court Judge Royce Lamberth ordered the Interior Department to overhaul its accounting system and piece together how much the Indian beneficiaries were owed. Neither has been done. The system tracks \$500 million a year in royalties from 54 million acres of Indian land held in trust since 1887. Along with sloppy accounting, in early December a hacker hired by a court

investigator broke into the Department's system and easily accessed funds. The action caused Lamberth to order the Internet systems of the Interior Department to be shut down to protect the Indian trust fund. The systems have since been ordered reopened.

Plans to Build Airport Near Everglades Stopped

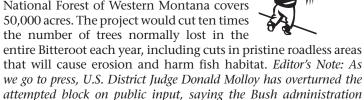
A plan to build a commercial airport at Florida's former Homestead Air Force Base near two of America's threatened national parks has been discontinued. The Miami-Dade County Commission dropped a lawsuit aimed at keeping the proposal alive. From its inception, the plan, which would have placed a commercial airport adjacent to Everglades National Park and Biscayne National Park, sparked heavy protests from citizens and environmental groups. Victory came after seven years of court battles over the county's efforts to obtain necessary state permits for the airport.

New Report: Reduced Logging Didn't Hurt Economy

"Worthwhile Harvest?," a series of stories in December's *Vancouver Columbian*, explains how the economic meltdown of the Pacific Northwest, which logging corporations claimed would happen as a result of forest protection, never happened. According to the report, the industry was putting itself out of business long before the contentious debates of the late 1980s, because trees were simply being cut faster than they could grow back. Employment in the industry had already shrunk dramatically before legal rulings reduced some logging in the Northwest.

Take a Number? Don't Bother: USFS Denies Public Input

Forest Service Chief Dale Bosworth has been working to block public input on the largest salvage timber sale ever. In December, Bosworth asked Undersecretary of Agriculture Mark Rey to make it off limits to citizen appeals. The proposed sale in the Bitteroot National Forest of Western Montana covers 50,000 acres. The project would cut ten times the number of trees normally lost in the



Ten Most Endangered Landscapes

and Forest Service tried to "circumvent the law."

Scenic America has released its list of the ten most endangered landscapes in America for 2001: The entire state of Oregon, Washington D.C., the Marsh Islands (GA), Red Rocks Scenic Road (AZ), Narragansett Bay (RI), Coyote Valley (CA), St. Croix Valley Scenic Corridor (MN/WI), Harpeth River Valley (TN), Lynville Mountain Landscape (VA) and Woodberry Watershed Forest (MD). For more information, visit www.scenic.org.

Climate Change May Be Abrupt, Say Scientists

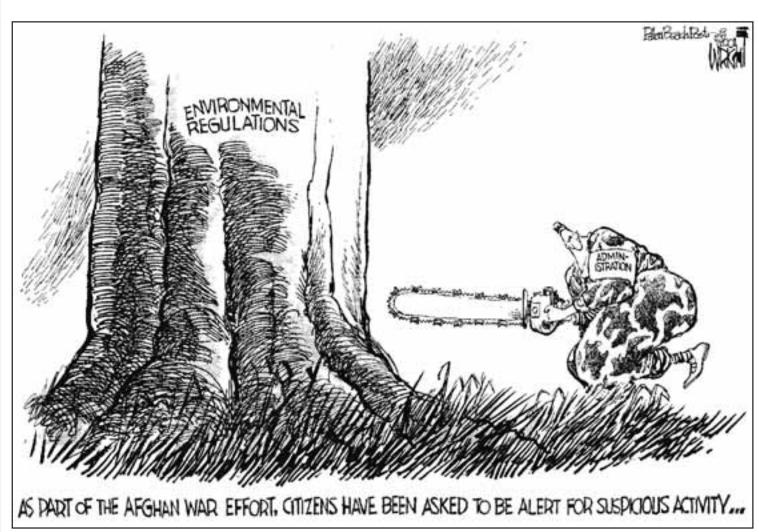
A December report released by the National Research Council, the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences, explains how changes in Earth's climate may happen more like a flipswitch than a dimmer: Enough pressure may cause abrupt and irreversible changes, rather than providing gradual warning signs. According to the report, changes in the environment, such as carbon dioxide emissions or logging, could act as a final push toward abrupt climate change.

Future of Arctic Refuge Looks Brighter—For Now

Throughout 2001, Congress seemed poised to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil drilling. But Alaska Senator (and primary drilling proponent) Frank Murkowski returned home at the end of the year without passing legislation to open the refuge. According to a December report in the Anchorage Daily News, Murkowski blames Jim Jeffords, the Vermont Senator who left the Republican Party to shift the balance of power in the Senate to the Democrats. But Jeffords, choice to switch parties didn't affect any votes on legislation to drill ANWR, according to the report. President Bush continues to push for drilling in ANWR and Vice President Cheney will be meeting with Murkowski and other drilling supporters in January to work on ways to promote opening ANWR.

#### **Forest Council Unveils New Website**

Check it out: the same website with a brand new look. We've completely redesigned www.forestcouncil.org.



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# A New Green Deal



The government helped launch the digital revolution by investing in technology. So why not do the same to create an energy-efficient economy?

eorge W. Bush has handed his opponents a golden political opportunity with his energy plan, and if they use it wisely they can block his anti-environmental agenda and perhaps even disable his presidency, much as Bill Clinton was undone during his first term by the health care issue. So far, environmentalists and Democrats have correctly pointed out that Bush's emphasis on drilling at any cost will increase pollution and reward his former colleagues in the oil business. But name-calling, no matter how accurate, will not be enough to win this fight.

White House strategists are betting that Americans' immediate economic concerns about electricity blackouts and rising gas prices will trump any unease they feel about the environmental consequences of the administration's energy plan. Bush's opponents can triumph, therefore, only if they put economics at the heart of their message. They must take the offensive and offer Americans a clear, compelling answer to a genuine challenge facing the nation: how to keep the economy strong without trashing the planet.

Toward that end, those who oppose Bush's plan should join in calling for a New Green Deal: a government-led, market-based plan that will solve the nation's energy problems while also yielding economic returns and addressing the most urgent environmental hazard of our time, global climate change. Such a deal would be green in both senses of the word: it would clean up the environment and make money for workers, businesses and communities. In essence, the New Green Deal would do for clean energy technologies what government and industry have already done so well for computer and Internet technologies: help launch their commercial take-off.

Under a New Green Deal, the government need not spend more money, only redirect current subsidies more intelligently. By championing energy efficiency and shifting government spending away from fossil and nuclear fuels to solar, wind and other renewable sources, the New Green Deal would foster the biggest jobs and business stimulus program of our time. Investments in energy efficiency yield two to ten times as many jobs per dollar invested as do investments in fossil fuels and nuclear power — not a minor consideration during an economic downturn.

The political advantages of a New Green Deal are nearly as great as its economic benefits. Since both business and labor stand to prosper from it, it should appeal across the political spectrum. Can anyone say the same for Bush's plan? Free-market rhetoric is all very well, but ultimately business leaders want results, and Bush's plan will do nothing to prevent electricity blackouts this summer in the economically crucial states of California and New York.

The new oil fields, power plants, gas pipelines and other supply sources that Bush advocates will take years to get up and running, even if he succeeds in slashing environmental regulations. But it would take only weeks to implement meaningful efficiency reforms. The city of San Francisco, for example, recently gave away 2,000 energy efficient light bulbs for free to anyone who turned in an old, inefficient bulb. The Pacific Gas & Electric company was asked to donate the bulbs, and citizens lined up around the block to participate.

By handing out bulbs to each of its 300,000 households, San Francisco could cut its residential power consumption by 4.5 percent. If the program were expanded to include, say, half of

California's 38 million people, the state would save roughly \$375 million worth of electricity at wholesale prices. Whether those 19 million light bulbs are bought by PG&E or the state government, at an average of \$10 apiece they would cost roughly half the value of the power saved, making for a 100 percent return on investment. Apply the same policy to big industrial users — subsidizing their replacement of old-fashioned lighting and electric motors with high-efficiency models — and the savings could soon multiply enough to prevent blackouts in the Golden State

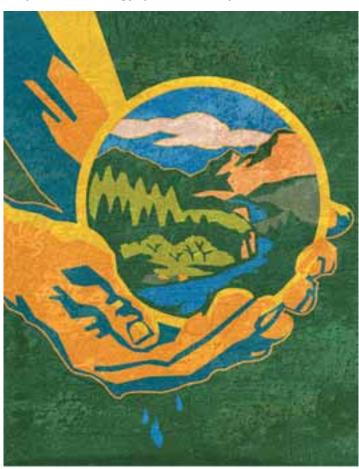
rice President Dick Cheney still believes that energy efficiency is about doing without, when it's really about doing more with less. It's odd that he remains confused, because the advantages of better efficiency are becoming increasingly well-known in corporate circles. As Joseph J. Romm, an assistant secretary of energy in the Clinton administration, documents in his book *Cool Companies*, Xerox, Compaq, 3M, Toyota, Shell and many other blue-chip firms have enjoyed returns of 25 percent and more from investments in better lighting and insulation, smarter motors and building design, even as they have cut their greenhouse gas emissions in half.

If the private sector can employ energy efficiency to make handsome profits for shareholders, shouldn't the public sector be doing the same for its shareholders, the taxpayers? A New Green Deal would encourage environmental retrofits of schools, hospitals, government offices and other public buildings. Destination Conservation, an environmental group headquartered in Edmonton, Alberta, has helped organize such retrofits at some 3,000 schools across Canada, typically cutting energy bills by 20 to 30 percent. The money saved is then plowed back into the schools: to reduce class size by hiring more teachers, for example, or buying new computers. The economics of saving energy (rather than producing more of it) are so attractive that the retrofitter often guarantees lower utility bills for the school or pays the difference.

Because government at all levels is responsible for approximately 17 percent of the United States' gross domestic product, changing its practices can not only save energy directly but drive market decisions that transform society as a whole. Last year, the federal government bought 189,000 new cars for official use. Under the New Green Deal, Washington would tell Detroit that from now on the cars have to be hybrid-electric or hydrogen fuel-cell cars. Detroit would doubtless scream and holler, but if Washington stood firm, Detroit would comply, and soon carmakers would be climbing the learning curve and offering the competitively priced green cars that consumers say they want.

We know this model of government pump-priming works; it's the reason so many of us have personal computers on our desks today. America's computer companies began learning to produce today's affordable systems during the 1960s, while benefitting from long-term subsidies and guaranteed markets under contract to the Pentagon and NASA. Thirty years later, the

The United States is poised for a great debate this summer as the Bush administration labors to pass its energy plan on Capitol Hill.



We must take the offensive and offer Americans a clear, compelling answer to a genuine challenge facing the nation: how to keep the economy strong without trashing the planet.

U.S. is still reaping the benefits: the digital revolution, despite its recent slowdown, has fueled one of the most extraordinary economic expansions in history.

Investing in energy efficiency makes sense on pure profit grounds, but the project gains extra urgency from the looming threat of global climate change. Already, the world's glaciers are melting and catastrophic storms like Hurricane Mitch are becoming stronger and more frequent. One of the world's leading insurance and banking companies, Munich Re, has projected that climate change will impose \$304 billion of additional direct costs on the global economy every year. The Bush administration's studied disregard for what is probably the most serious problem facing the human species is an act of appalling irresponsibility, but it opens the door to a potent counter-attack from opponents.

The climate challenge also illustrates why the New Green Deal must eventually be expanded to other nations as well. Already, China is the world's largest consumer of coal and second largest producer of greenhouse gases. But China would use 50 percent less coal if it installed the efficiency technologies now available on the world market. Under a globalized New Green Deal, governments in Europe, America and Japan could help China buy these technologies (rather than the coal-fired power plants we now subsidize through the World Bank), creating lots of jobs and profits for workers and companies back home.

First things first, however. The United States is poised for a great debate this summer as the Bush administration labors to pass its energy plan on Capitol Hill. A New Green Deal is unlikely to be embraced by such confirmed oil men as Bush and Cheney, but opponents can derail the administration's plan by offering an economically and environmentally superior alternative and daring members of Congress to vote against it before facing their constituents in the 2002 elections. Notwithstanding the White House's claims about an energy crisis threatening our standard of living, Americans tell pollsters that protecting the environment is more important than boosting the economy. But the truth is, we need not choose between the two.

Not the quickest calf in the pasture, George W. Bush seems to have forgotten that he is no longer governor of an oil-producing state but president of the entire nation. Opponents can show him the error of his ways by uniting behind a New Green Deal. What do you think?

One of the world's leading insurance and banking companies has projected that climate change will impose \$304 billion of additional direct costs on the global economy every year. The Bush administration has disregarded what is probably the most serious problem facing the human species — an appalling irresponsibility.

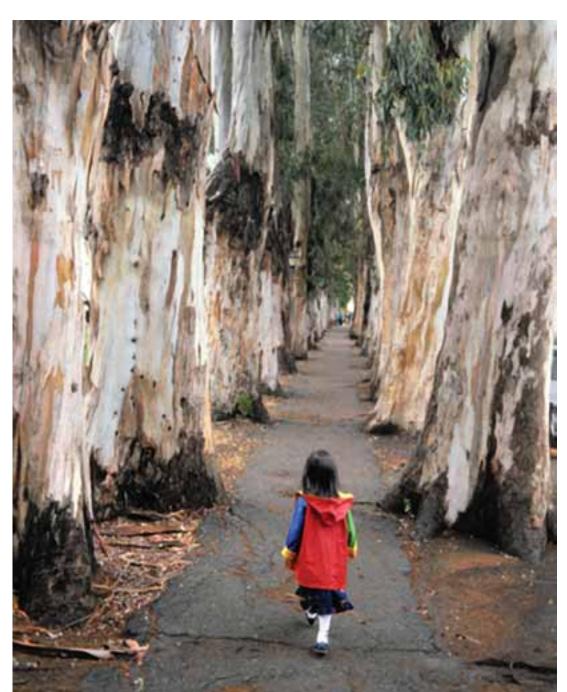


By championing energy efficiency and shifting government spending away from fossil and nuclear fuels to solar, wind and other renewable sources, the New Green Deal would foster the biggest jobs and business stimulus program of our time.

Mark Hertsgaard is the author of four books, including Earth Odyssey: Around the World In Search of Our Environmental Future, and a commentator on NPR's Living On Earth program.

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

-Theodore Roosevelt



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n a warm September day in 1998, Larry Auxter climbed Mt. Shasta with his nephew, Govinda. It was a gorgeous day, but nothing new for Auxter. The 48-year-old auto mechanic has climbed the summit 17 times over the past 20 years, never paying an extra fee to do so. This ascent, though, would prove to be one of his most difficult.

> At the summit, Auxter shared a drink of water and a friendly chat with a ranger. He also shared a confession: He hadn't paid for the pass required by the Forest Service Fee Demonstration program.

> "This is a second tax," says Auxter, "I already pay my taxes."

> What Auxter didn't know was that the ranger reported him to his supervisor. A few days later, he received a notice in the mail requesting payment. He promptly took the notice to the ranger station. An avid hiker and longtime resident of Mt. Shasta, Auxter was friendly with most of the Forest Service crew at the station. But he made no bones about when he planned to pay this fee: "When hell freezes over."

> Auxter knew the notice would soon become a citation. He pled not guilty and got to work on his case. "I figure I spent about \$1000 getting ready to fight this," he says.

Three days before his court date,

the Forest Service requested dismissal of his case "in the interest of justice." According to the San Francisco Examiner, "Had the trial been held as scheduled before U.S. Magistrate Craig Kellison, it would have been a test case for the Forest Service's controversial Recreational Fee Demonstration or Adventure Pass Program." Auxter was disappointed. He thinks he could have won his case. But the Forest Service decided the unpaid fine was worth less than the public relations hassle. Persecuting a citizen with a 24-year history in the community, who had served as both a planning commissioner and as director of the fire department, for hiking on publicly owned lands just isn't good press.

Auxter was unfazed by the ordeal, which only bolstered his resolve to fight Fee Demo. He even had a local shirt company print up T-shirts that read: I Didn't Pay.

In 2000, he made the climb again, this time to scatter his father's ashes. Again, he refused to pay. At the summit, Auxter asked a couple of rangers to take his picture. They agreed, and Auxter posed, taking off his jacket to reveal his I Didn't Pay shirt. "You're Larry, aren't you?" said one of them. "Well, we're going to have to write you up."

Auxter waited ten days, then went to the station to get his citation. But someone had already paid his fine. Who? "They said they couldn't recognize the guy," says Auxter. "Maybe they just passed the hat around the office."

Is he going to hike to the summit again? "I'm getting close to

Paying five dollars for a trail pass may seem harmless on the surface. But a careful look at history and who's pulling whose strings reveals a deliberate plan to turn recreation into a product — and turn public lands over to corporations.

50," he says, "My hips aren't enjoying it as much as they used to, and God has granted me the wisdom to take on other pursuits." But, like thousands across the country, Auxter will continue to fight Fee Demo.

Fee Demo was temporarily authorized in 1996, enabling federal agencies to charge fees for the use of public lands, above and beyond typical fees for campgrounds or parking. The plan was set to expire this year. However, following a decision made last October by the Interior Appropriations Committee to extend the program by another two years, the "Demo" in Fee Demo is almost gone.

Federal land managers are now poised to introduce an updated version of the program early this year. And agencies are drafting legislation to make the program permanent, according to Denny Bschor, who, at the time, was acting deputy chief of the Forest Service (currently, he is a regional forester).

So what's the problem with Fee Demo? Supporters of the plan claim it helps agencies improve facilities, puts a value on recreation and generates revenue.

Opponents note that the program taxes citizens twice for the same service, makes the outdoors less accessible to low income families, and charges citizens to enjoy publicly owned assets, even as federal agencies use tax dollars to subsidize more destructive activities. The federal logging program, for example, costs taxpayers at least \$1.7 billion per year.

More important, Fee Demo represents the first step in a deliberate attempt by the motorized recreation industry and others to change the way our public lands are managed. If they have their way, the forest of the future will be run by corporations for the "consumption" of "recreation products." And profits go to those who manage the land and sell motorized recreation equipment.

Fee Demo represents the first step in a deliberate attempt by the motorized recreation industry and others to change the way our public lands are managed. If they have their way, the forest of the future will be run by corporations for the "consumption" of "recreation products."

hat's the link between charging five dollars for a hike and the corporate forests they plan for the future? Understanding where Fee Demo fits into this plan requires a review of history and a fresh look at who's behind the fees in the forests.

Since the birth of our nation, America's public lands have been exploited to maximize the commodity value that could be extracted. Two hundred years later, in 1979, the "American Recreation Coalition" (ARC) came onto the scene. Unlike earlier profiteers who sought gas, coal, logs or minerals, ARC wanted to turn outdoor recreation and tourism into an extractive industry and profit handsomely in the process.

This coalition of some 120 corporations embraces the traditional extractors such as Chevron, Exxon and the American Petroleum Institute. To this cadre, ARC adds new interests such as Yamaha, the American Motorcyclists Association, the International Snowmobile Manufacturers Association, the Recreation Vehicle Industry Association and Disney. These new interests, not content to extract the resource wealth of the lands, seek to commodify nature itself for profit. Our mountains, rivers, deserts and woodlands have suddenly taken on new values as profiteers attempt to package, brand, market and ultimately sell America's great outdoors as value-added recreation products.

The Forest Service's first chief operating officer, Francis Pandolfi, said it best himself in 1999: "As federal agencies and others transition from providing outdoor recreation at no cost to the consumer to charging for access and services, we can expect to see many changes in the way we operate. Selling a product, even to an eager customer, is very different from giving it away." Pandolfi came to the Forest Service in 1997 directly from the American Recreation Coalition where he had served as chairman of their "Recreation Roundtable."

Following this model, outdoor recreation on public lands would cease to be characterized primarily as experiences of physical and spiritual "re-creation" and would instead, through conscious effort, be turned into branded products created for the purpose of being sold to paying customers.



Larry Auxter at the summit of Mt. Shasta

"Have we fully explored our gold mine of recreational opportunities in this country and managed it as if it were consumer product brands? How could it be done?"

-Former USFS Chief Operating Officer Francis Pandolfi.

1985-7

Reagan lays groundwork for public-private partnerships.

1993-6

Forest Service cuts recreation budgets by 60% in some districts.

1996

Congress grants four-year trial for Fee Demo Program.

1998

\$180.2 million generated from the program, 77% from parks. 1999

National day of action: Protests against fees across the nation. 2000

third state to pass legislation against the federal fees.

2001

2001

Oregon becomes Agencies increase Oct.: Congress enforcement in effort to show program works.

extends program to 2004, widens its scope.

It's much like the difference between romantic love and paid sex. Any prostitute could tell you that selling a product is very different than giving it away, but the Forest Service is not just any prostitute. For 100 years it has been mistress to the timber, mining and grazing industries and have given away America's collective wealth with wild abandon.

But attitudes have been changing, and with the rise of a strong environmental movement, Americans stopped tolerating the plunder of our nation's public lands. Suddenly the Forest Service could no longer hide behind its friendly Smokey Bear facade. The public began to demand better management of our national forests, and the Forest Service had no option but to change with the times.

It was under these circumstances that ARC and the recreation industry made the U.S. Forest Service and other land management agencies an offer they couldn't refuse. They offered a chance for land managers to get out of an abusive relationship with the extractors. They offered marriage, in the form of long-term, private/public partnerships.

The plan was simple, and Pandolfi explained it well when he said, "A product or brand could be defined as 'Hiking,' 'Fishing,' 'Camping,' 'Skiing,' and other activities. Thinking of outdoor recreation activities as products or brands suggests applying the principles of sound, private-sector marketing as an approach for meeting recreation demands and providing satisfying outdoor recreation products and services."

ARC's member corporations include more than just the manufacturers of motorized "wreckreational" toys. It consists of resort developers, ski area associations, National Park concessionaires, campground management providers and others. The deal they offered was simple. They would provide the expertise and capital required to turn America's great outdoors into a profitable business venture. Congress would, in turn, pass whatever legislation was necessary to allow the formation of those public/private partnerships necessary to permit this development. In return, federal land management agencies would provide these corporate special interests with the access to, and management control of, America's great outdoors.

There is a reason why it now costs \$5 to walk in a national forest or stop your car long enough to watch the sunset: to create the financial incentives necessary to implement the recreation industry's intended corporate takeover of nature and the Disneyfication of the wild.

The plan was inaugurated in 1985 with President Reagan's Commission on Americans Outdoors. ARC's president, Derrick Crandall, was more than just one of the commissioners. He controlled the process and established the agenda. This agenda was furthered by President George Bush, the man to whom Derrick Crandall presented ARC's coveted "Sheldon Coleman Great Outdoors Award" in 1990.

In 1993, ARC's Recreation Roundtable, on behalf of the chief executive officers of the Coleman Company, Yosemite Park and Curry Company, Kampgrounds of America, Walt Disney Attractions and 20 other "knights of industry" presented President Clinton with a slick 30-page document titled "Outdoor Recreation in America: An Agenda for the Clinton-Gore Administration." The report proposed many new and innovative government programs including the very Disney-esque: "Luring International Visitors to America's Great Outdoors." The cover letter under which that report was issued was signed by Richard Nunis, CEO, Walt Disney Attractions.

For the first few years, the recreation industry and the land management agencies enjoyed a happy marriage. The Army Corps of Engineers was so enamored that they referred to this as a "win-win-win" union: "The private developers win because of the excellent opportunities they will have to make a profit. The public wins because of the additional recreation opportunities made available to them, and the Corps and the Federal Government win because much needed public recreational facilities are provided at no cost to the government."

There was, however, one obstacle: federal law prohibiting fees for access or recreation on public lands, with some exceptions (such as national parks, campgrounds and visitor centers). A separate law permitted charging for the use of ski areas. With these restrictions, there was no way to turn outdoor recreation into the branded products that Pandolfi envisioned. Without profit, there was to be no marriage with industry. And without the financial backing and expertise of the private sector, federal land managers would literally be out of business.

Were it not for one specific Recreation Roundtable Agenda item given to Clinton/Gore in 1993, the entire marriage could have faltered. Fee Demo legislation saved the day for some, and may prove to forever change the way the public gets to interact with their public lands.

In 1996 Congress enacted, and President Clinton signed, legislation authorizing a new program called the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program. That same year, the U.S. Forest Service signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the American Recreation Coalition making ARC the official "Challenge Cost Share" partner for this program. With passage of that law,

## Paying to Play: Key Points and Perspectives on the Fee Demo Program

- The Recreation Fee Demonstration Program (Fee Demo) was authorized by a rider to the Omnibus Appropriations Act of 1996 (PL 104-134).
- Fee Demo was to be a three-year experiment "to demonstrate the feasibility of user-generated cost recovery for the operation and maintenance of recreation areas or sites" on public lands. It was extended through Sept. 30, 2001 by a rider to 1997's Interior Appropriations Bill, and extended until Sept. 30, 2004 by another rider.
- Bipartisan legislation, HR 786, was introduced in 1999 to terminate the US Forest Service's participation in Fee-Demo.
- More than 175 organizations oppose Fee Demo (for a complete list, visit www.freeourforests.org/opposition.htm).
- The program will lead to increased commercialization, privatization and motorization of America's public lands.
- Fee Demo represents regressive double-taxation: Americans are taxed to pay for the management of federal lands, and again if they recreate on them.
- Federal subsidies for mining, logging, grazing and drilling on publicly-owned lands far exceed the revenue generated by the Fee Demo program. The government should stop subsidizing the destruction of federal lands before it starts charging citizens to enjoy them.
- Fee Demo is a small, but important, part of a long-term partnership between the government and corporations to privatize facilities in our national parks and forests and increase motorized recreation on publicly owned lands.

Congress granted unprecedented new authority to charge and collect fees for a virtually limitless variety of public land recreation products, goods and services.

Fee Demo was implemented as only a "test," but has quickly become less of a demonstration and more of a permanent policy.

From now until the expiration of this "test," land management agencies, with the help of their private partners and the support of free-market policy advocates in Washington DC, will be doing everything in their power to encourage Congress to make the demonstration permanent. Bush has supported the user fee program and can be expected to actively encourage passage of any legislation that will more effectively commercialize, privatize or motorize recreational opportunities on America's public lands.

There is a reason why it now costs five dollars to walk on public lands or to stop your car long enough to watch the sunset. The reason is to create the financial incentives necessary to implement the recreation industry's intended corporate takeover of nature and the Disneyfication of the wild.

For those who believe the official propaganda that recreation user fees are about funding much needed maintenance of decaying infrastructure, think again. In the words of the Army Corps, here is the true reason for this program:

"The intent of the program is to encourage private development of public recreation facilities such as: marinas, hotel/motel/restaurant complexes, conference centers, RV camping areas, golf courses, theme parks, and entertainment areas with shops, etc." ■

Scott Silver is the executive director of Wild Wilderness. His background is in biochemistry. He lives in Bend, Oregon.

For more information about Fee Demo and what you can do to help: www.wildwilderness org

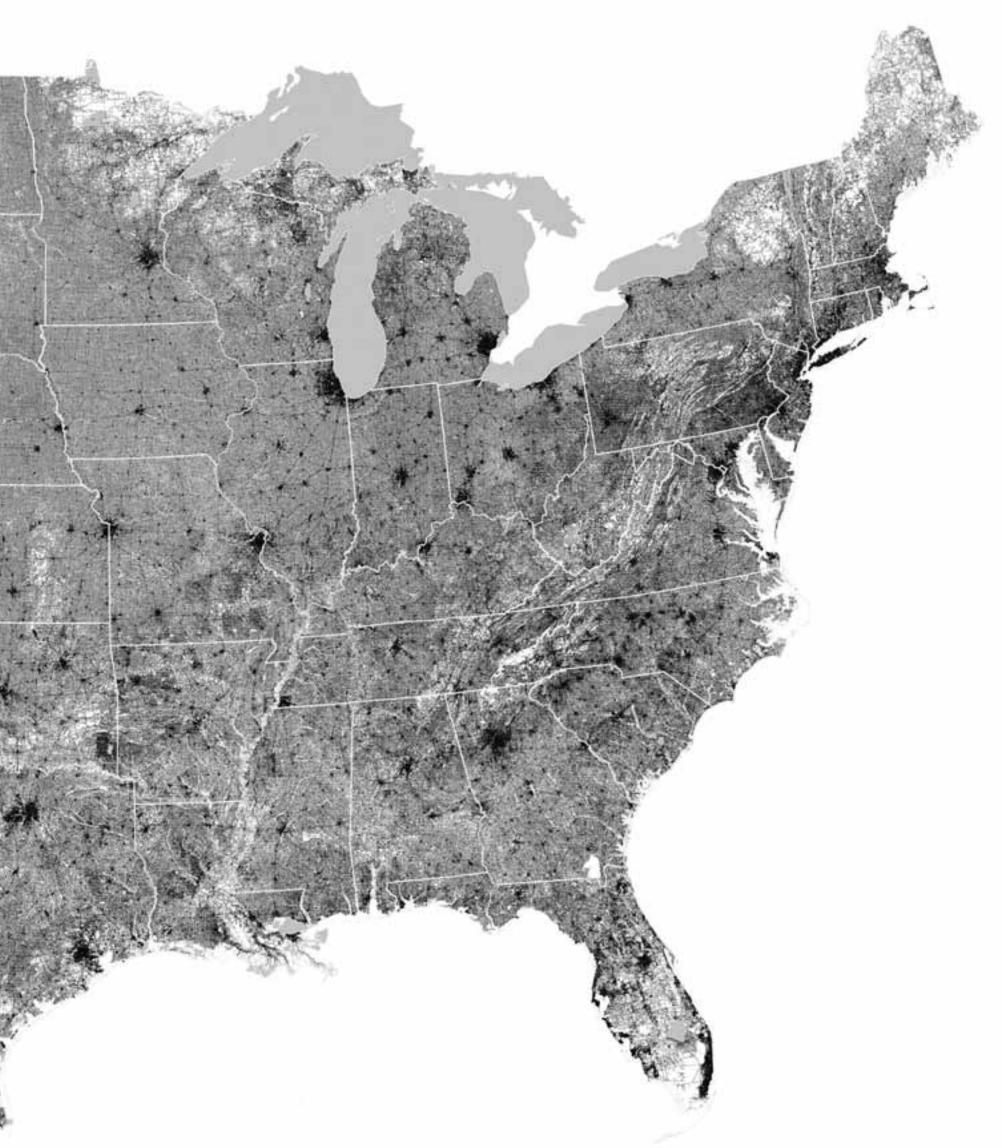


Cartoon by Rob Pudim courtesy of *High Country News*. Reprinted with permission.

# NOT ENOUG



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# Save What's Left

Native Forest Council www.forestcouncil.org

"Trees are an

ecological

machine that

work for us, but

we're giving them

up to pavement

and other

development."

Study Shows Value of Trees That's the value of a tree? How much is a living forest The Cost of Cutting: Trees Aren't All We Lose

worth? If you factor in climate control, replacement costs, carbon sequestering and other hard-to-measure assets, putting a dollar value on our natural resources is nearly impossible. Even tangible benefits, such as erosion and pollution control, oxygen production and cooling are difficult to measure.

Under current accounting practices, the Forest Service claims that other than timber sales, a tree is worth zero dollars, which seems inaccurate, if not dishonest. So how can we measure the worth of a tree? A recent study by American Forests takes a shot at putting a price tag on trees.

The study focuses on the largely urban Willamette and Lower Columbia regions of Oregon and Washington, examining the scope of tree loss and assigning dollar values to the services trees provide. Through the analysis of satellite data, the study found a general trend of expanding development and declining tree cover in the region. About two million acres of the thickest trees in the region have disappeared. The area experienced a decrease in the average tree cover by 22 percent during the 28-year span of the study, from 1972-2000.

According to the report, the loss of trees and the services they provide, such as absorbing runoff, shading homes and cleaning the air, costs millions annually. For the 80 percent of Oregon's population living in the region, the decline means an increase in costs previously, literally, absorbed by trees.

"Trees are an ecological machine that work for us, but we're giving them up to pavement and other development," said Gary Moll, vice president of American Forests, in an interview with The Oregonian.

The presence of trees and healthy soil reduce stormwater runoff by absorbing rainwater, reducing peak flows and decreasing total amount of runoff managed in urban areas. Communities that increase tree cover reduce the cost of building stormwater

	1972	2000	Loss/Gain 1972-2000
Stormwater Management Value	\$20.2 billion	\$22.6 billion	-\$2.4 billion total -\$140 million annually
Air Pollution Removal Value (annually)	\$741 million	\$419 million	-\$322 million
Energy Savings (annually)		\$1.8 million	
Avoided Carbon		137,670 tons	
Stored Carbon	131 million tons	73 million tons	-58 million tons

Loss of trees means decreased benefits for the Willamette Valley.

management systems. According to the study, the tree cover lost between 1972 and 2000 resulted in an estimated increase of 963 million cubic feet of stormwater flow during peak storm events. The cost to build storm water management systems to deal with the increased runoff costs an estimated \$2.4 billion. The remaining tree cover is valued at an estimated \$20.6 billion in stormwater management alone.

The report also states that the lost tree canopy would have removed toxins from the atmosphere (138 million pounds of sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, ozone and nitrogen dioxide) at a rate of \$322 million per year. This figure represents costs that would have been paid in areas such as health care if trees did not remove these pollutants. The vegetation lost during the span of the study would have stored 58 million tons of carbon and sequestered 157,000 tons of carbon per year. The region's trees currently store an estimated 73 million tons of carbon and sequester 563,000 tons annually. Trees also improve air quality by cooling urban areas, reducing pollutants that increase as temperature rise and by reducing residential energy use.

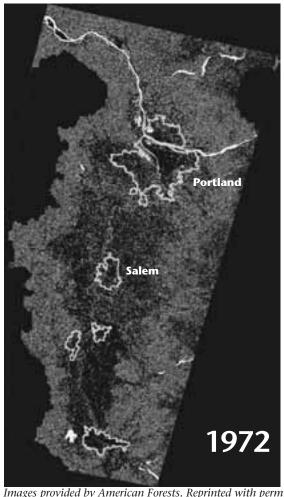
Trees in urban areas and around homes provide summer energy savings by cooling air and creating shade. The reduction of energy use results in lower pollutant emissions from energy producers, reducing carbon emissions by 138,000 tons per year. The study estimates the region's current direct residential summer energy savings as a result of tree shade at \$1.8 million annually.

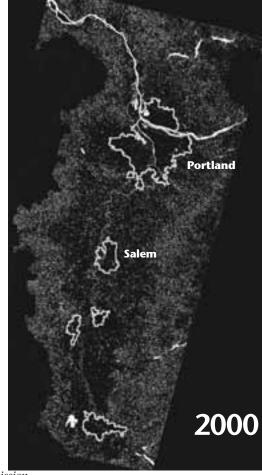
The ecological and economic value of natural landscapes cannot be separated or valued above one another. When a tree is large and healthy, the ecosystem that supports it must also be healthy. Clean air, adequate water and healthy soil are needed to support a tree. In turn, healthy trees provide many valuable benefits, such as reduction of storm water runoff, carbon sequestering and improvement of air quality, which transfer into economic benefits for people. ■

#### Willamette/Lower Columbia River Valley: Modeling Ecological Benefits Along a Trend Growth Line for Nearly 8 Million Acres

<b>Ecological Benefit</b>	Current 24% Canopy Cover	Model at 30% Canopy Cover	Model at 40% Canopy Cover
Stormwater Management one- time value	\$20.2 billion	\$22.5 billion	\$25.9 billion
Stormwater Management annually	\$140 million	\$256 million	\$343 million
Air Pollution Remocal Value annually	\$419 million	\$568 million	\$812 million
Total Carbon Stored (tons)	73 million	123 million	146 million
Carbon Sequestered Annually (tons)	1 564,000	900,000	1.2 million

#### Changing Landscape: The Willamette/Lower Columbia Region





Satellite images of forest cover in Oregon's Willamette Valley show a dramatic reduction of forest cover from 1972 to 2000. The darker satellite image indicates declining forest cover. Areas with reduced tree cover don't necessarily represent urban development, and may reflect agricultural development or cleared forest. This reduction in forest cover meant an increase of at least \$3 billion in costs for the region.

Willamette/Lower Columbia Regional Vegetation Change						
Acres with more than 50% tree cover	tree cover	o Acres with less than 20% tree cover				
1972						
3,702,459 (47%)	269,647 (3%)	3,949,428 (50%)				
2000 1,645,477 (21%)	298,914 (4%)	5,976,207 (75%)				
Loss/Gain 1972-2000 -55.6%	10.9%	51.3%				

Images provided by American Forests. Reprinted with permission.

# Subsidized Wildlife Killers

By Ed Dorsch

ative Forest Council is working to protect all publicly owned lands from all forms of destruction, including subsidized grazing. The problems caused by allowing cattle to forage on fragile public lands — habitat that was never meant to support such intense grazing — include erosion, plant destruction, denuded streams and others. To add insult to injury, large corporate cattle operations (today's beef industry is dominated by big business; the family ranch has gone the way of the covered wagon) give very little back to the taxpayers who own the grazing land, paying a fraction of what they would pay to use private land.

For anyone who cares about native wildlife, public lands grazing has other problems as well: Wildlife Services, formerly known as Animal Damage Control. Put simply, Wildlife Services (WS) kills predators for cattle and sheep ranchers, using an arsenal of deadly techniques: aerial gunning, poison, steel-jaw traps and denning (using poison or grappling hooks to kill pups in their den) to name a few.

Avid hunter? Not a fan of predators? The waste and ineffectiveness of this large government bureaucracy is enough to turn your stomach, even if some of their methods don't.

Managed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Wildlife Services was established in 1931. The agency was once called Animal Damage Control. Public relations consultants suggested the the more benign title, Wildlife Services, in part because conservationists refered to the program as "All the Dead Critters" and "Aid to Dependent Cowboys."

Today, WS operates in all 50 states and supports a staff of more than 1,100 federal workers. The agency conducts its research and development work at the National Wildlife Research Center in Ft. Collins, Colorado and at field stations around the



Aerial gunner pursuing coyotes. Use of helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft to kill coyotes and other animals causes the costs of extermination to far exceed the damage done by the animals. Photo copyright 2001 James Balog



Wildlife Services remove coyotes killed on public lands.
Photo by Dick Randall, former USDA Animal Damage Control trapper

country, where agents experiment on animals and develop new technologies and poisons.

So what's wrong with Wildlife Services? First, they waste millions in tax dollars to help a small minority of ranchers, usually wealthy corporate cattle operations. Second, the methods WS uses can hurt or kill people and pets. And finally, predator "control" simply fails to control predators.

According to Randall O' Toole, an economist with the Thoreau Institute, WS costs taxpayers at least \$36 million per year. The program creates incentives for overreporting predator problems, grazing on substandard lands and discourages ranchers from taking nonlethal precautions, such as penning livestock at night.

The tools WS uses to kill predators can't distinguish between predators and pets — or people. The M-44 device, a small cylinder baited with a scented bait, ejects a spray of lethal sodium cyanide powder, which can kill in minutes. Family dogs, birds and even people have been killed or hurt by these traps. WS fits livestock with collars filled with 1080 (sodium monoflouroacetate), one of the deadliest poisons on earth. The collars can accidentally break, and regulation of this lethal substance is sketchy at best.

Even if its methods worked, WS would have a hard time justifying its predator "control" methods. Killing predators has failed, time and again, to control overall populations. For example, when members of the pack die, coyotes compensate by having larger litters that have higher survival rates. The result: Predator killing programs often increase overall predator populations. Many nonlethal methods have proven more effective and less costly than lethal methods, leaving predators — and taxpayers — off the hook. ■

# Animal Damage "Control"

- WS began as ADC in 1886 as a program to advise people on how to control damaging birds. It began killing predators in 1914 and has continued to do so ever since. 
   WS wastes millions of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of the control of the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by taxpayer dollars by spending far more to keep the control of taxpayer dollars by taxpayer dollar
- WS is a branch of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- WS programs operate on both private and public lands. WS runs programs to control bird damage, primarily in the eastern U.S. and at airports, as well as programs to remove damaging non-predatory wildlife.
- The agency's mission is to prevent and control wildlife damage. Predator control programs in the western United States are intended to address problems of livestock loss, property damage and threats to human health and safety.
- Every year, WS kills tens of thousands of coyotes, and many bears, mountain lions, bobcats, wolves and other predators. The animals are shot, poisoned, gassed, snared and caught in leghold traps.
- WS kills animals for eating flowers and pet food, digging in gardens, frightening people, and other concerns that could easily be addressed by nonlethal methods.

- WS wastes millions of taxpayer dollars by spending far more to kill predators than the actual damage those predators cause. Scientific proof that ADC practices control livestock damage is markedly lacking.
- WS has survived and prospered despite numerous challenges since it was founded, primarily as a pet program of the powerful livestock industry.
- The total federal budget appropriation for WS in 1997 was \$27 million. In 1988, ADC received \$24,702,366 in federal funds, \$11,975,783 from non-federal cooperators, and \$1,043,534 from federal co-operators for a total budget of \$37,721,683.
- During the year 1988, ADC killed 105,066 predators. Thus, WS spent an average of \$173.08 on every animal killed, while each animal killed had averaged only \$22.23 in damages.
- Many methods WS uses endanger more than target predators. People and domestic pets have been hurt or killed by traps, such as the M-44, a device that sprays the victim with sodium cyanide, a lethal powder.

## For more info Predator Defense Institute www.predatordefense.org

Native Predators Killed by Wildlife Services in the Fiscal Year 1999:

Badgers: 601 Black Bears: 349 Bobcats: 2,435 Coyotes: 85,938 Foxes: 6,182 Mountain Lions: 359 Gray Wolves: 173

Total: 96,037 animals

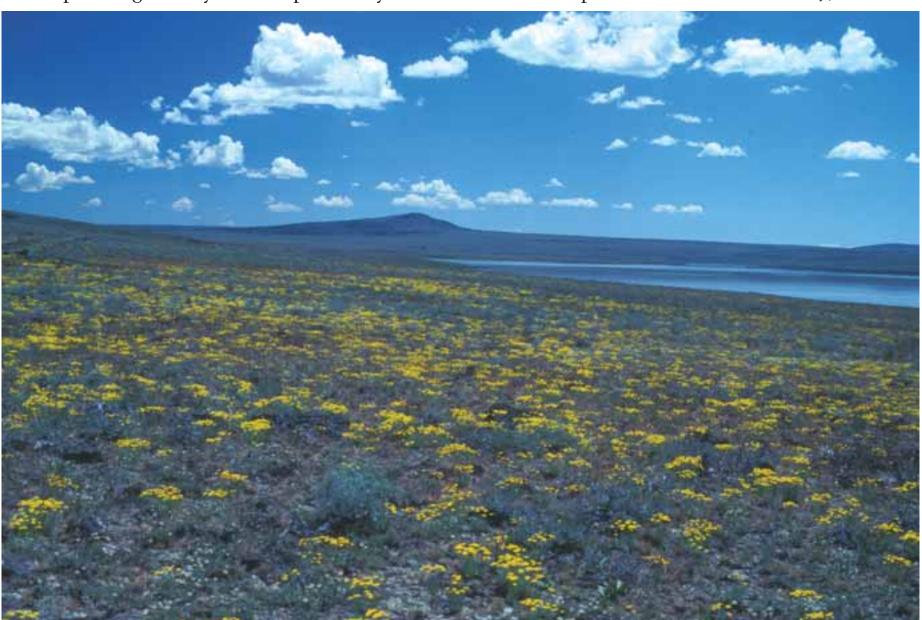
This summary does not include the many other species that are killed each year: beavers, pocket gophers, rabbits, marmots, muskrats, opossums, river otters, porcupines, prairie dogs, racoons, skunks, and dozens of bird and reptile species.

Wildlife Services (formerly Animal Damage Control) is a taxpayer-funded agency, but it serves the livestock industry and itself, not American taxpayers. Join us in the fight to stop the slaughter of native wildlife.

# Refuge On The Mend

As the largest area in the West to have banned livestock grazing, the Hart Mountain National Antelope Refuge is a symbol of possibility for North America's public lands

By Jessica Brittsan



**Above:** *Hart Mountain National Antelope Reserve. Typical sagebrush ground cover.* 

Created in 1936 by executive order of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this 275,000-acre strip of high desert is known for its antelope, isolation and undeveloped grandeur. Yet it is an ecosystem on the mend.

Photos courtesy of Predator Defense Institute. Printed with permission. ixty-five miles from the nearest town (Lakeview, population 2,625,) the ridge of Hart Mountain rises 3,000 feet from the surrounding plains. The mountain's eastern side tapers gracefully into the grasslands of the high desert. Lakes dot the valley to the west of Werner's Peak, Hart Mountain's highest point. Pronghorn antelope, sage grouse and mule deer forage the plains. Bighorn sheep meander the western cliffs and many species of birds seasonally migrate through the wetlands. The Hart Mountain National Antelope Refuge has no electricity and few paved roads.

Created in 1936 by executive order of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this 275,000-acre strip of high desert is known for its antelope, its isolation and its lack of development. Hart Mountain seems to exist in undisturbed harmony far away from people. Yet it is an ecosystem on the mend. A century of grazing and human interference has damaged the plant cover, soil, watershed and wildlife habitat. Thanks to a revolutionary management plan in the early 1990s, the land is beginning to heal.

The high desert ecosystem once grew waist-high grasses and wildlife flourished. The arid sagebrush and junipers now dominating much of the West are the result of a century of degradation caused by livestock grazing and fire suppression.

The slow restoration process began with the creation of the Hart Mountain Refuge. Although refuge managers limited hunting, they continued to treat the land as pasture for local ranchers, granting grazing permits for cattle and sheep. However, the 1989 appointment of a new refuge manager, Barry Reiswig, brought change.

Against formidable protests from the local community, Reiswig implemented a new management plan that banned grazing from the refuge in 1994. Due to severe drought, cattle were originally removed from the refuge in 1990 during the drafting process. The ban lasts 15 years, after which the policy will be re-evaluated.

The plan calls for ecosystem management rather than traditional species and habitat manipulation, drawing connections between habitat, plant diversity, nutrition and overall heath and numbers of animals. The plan looks at the refuge as a whole and allows species to exist in natural fluctuation cycles.

Since 1994, with the aid of controlled burning, vegetation has quickly returned to near natural states. Plants and trees are sprouting along stream banks, formerly eroded and bare, providing much needed shade for the refuge's previously ailing Lahonta cutthroat trout population. The antelope are healthy and numerous, and the sage grouse, once under consideration for the endangered species list, is making a comeback.

The pronghorn population at Hart Mountain migrates seasonally between Oregon and the Sheldon Wildlife Refuge in Nevada. Currently, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service estimates that 1,600-2,000 antelope seasonally inhabit Hart Mountain.

Other than the solace of isolation provided by undeveloped nature, the refuge is a living laboratory for scientists to study habitat regeneration and natural wildlife patterns. As the largest area in the West to have banned livestock grazing, Hart Mountain is a symbol of possibility for North America's public lands.

More information is available in our online version of Forest Voice at www.forestcouncil.org.

#### **Pronghorn Antelope**

North America's swiftest animal, the pronghorn antelope can run at speeds up to 65 m.p.h.. Some believe the pronghorn was once as plentiful as the bison in the West. But by the turn of the century, the pronghorn had been pushed to the brink of extinction by hunting.

The pronghorn is not a true member of the antelope family of Asia and Africa, and is only found in North America. Its horns have a single branch and shed the sheath once a year. They have brown coats with white underparts, two white throat stripes, a white rump and black horns. Standing about three feet tall at shoulder height, adults weigh about 100 pounds and can live up to 14 years.

Does commonly produce twins. In the first few weeks of life, a pronghorn fawn's only defense is its ability to lie perfectly still for several hours and blend in with its surroundings. Ground cover is essential for fawn survival. Does place fawns on the ground, where they lie camouflaged while the mother grazes. Each herd generally births all fawns within a

three-week period as a means to defend against predators, which are overwhelmed by the sheer numbers.

A pronghorn fawn lies still under cover of high desert fauna, its only defense against predators.



**New Beginnings** 

n much of rural Oregon, ranching is a way of life. Grazing cattle and sheep throughout the West, even on protected public lands, started when Europeans moved into the area. So, in 1994, when refuge manager Barry Reiswig decided to terminate grazing leases on the 275,000-acre Hart Mountain National Antelope Refuge, he caused quite a stir.

Reiswig became refuge manager in 1989 and immediately recognized a need for change. A century of grazing and fire suppression had transformed once bountiful grasslands into arid high desert barely able to support the antelope the refuge was established to protect. Despite loud protests from the local community, Reiswig instituted a new management plan to rehabilitate the refuge — including a 15-year ban on grazing.

Although grazing is allowed on seven out of every ten acres of publicly owned lands, it destroys the soil, vegetation and native species. The removal of the estimated 4,000 cattle seasonally grazing on the refuge made Hart Mountain the largest area in the United Sates to ban livestock grazing. Still surrounded by controversy, the management of Hart Mountain is emblematic of possibility for damaged ecosystems throughout the West.

When cattle were removed from Hart Mountain, sagebrush and junipers dominated the landscape and many original species of grasses and broader-leafed plants had been trampled and eaten. Some plant species were nearly pushed to extinction. "Cut banks" (steep, unvegetated stream banks) were common, causing increased erosion and warmer water temperatures.

Thinning certain plant species while allowing others to dominate and progress into late succession (a late stage in the life cycle of plants) alters the natural state of the land and threatens animal species by altering habitat and nutrition. On healthy lands, naturally occurring fires, access to water and wildlife grazing cause the region to exist in many different stages of succession.



#### **Welfare Ranchers**

The cowboy and the rancher are cultural icons of the West. Yet their function is no longer economically or environmentally sustainable. The tradition of grazing on public lands is costing taxpayers millions and causing irreparable damage.

- ☐ Grazing is allowed on seven out of ten acres of publicly owned lands, including wildlife refuges, Forest Service and BLM lands.
- ☐ In 1999, \$100 million in taxpayer subsidies went to public land grazing.
- ☐ Public land grazing produces just three percent of the nation's beef.
- ☐ A 1994 Forest Service biologist found grazing to be the main reason species are put on the endangered species list in the Southwest.
- ☐ The grazing industry accounts for less than 1/10 of one percent of all the jobs in the western states.
- ☐ Subsidies, meant to protect small family farmers, go to large corporate or wealthy ranchers. The top ten percent of grazing permit holders control 65 percent of all livestock.
- ☐ Ranchers are charged \$1.35 per cow each month to graze on public lands, while private lands generally charge \$11.10 per cow each month. Ranchers are not responsible for the costs of habitat rehabilitation or predator control, which the U.S. Department of Agriculture spends about \$14.6 million on yearly.

Grazing degrades our land at our expense with little return. While a hoof print may not be as dramatic as an oil spill, public land grazing is just as damaging. Grazing was originally thought to aid in the control of plant species and variety of succession. But now, grazing is known to nearly destroy the natural progression of

succession for entire species.

The National Wildlife Refuge System Administration Act of 1966 states that use of livestock grazing be permitted as long as it is found to be compatible with the purpose for which the refuge was established. Through the evaluation of the wildlife and vegetation health, Reiswig found the presence of cattle at Hart Mountain to be counterproductive.

"Cattle grazing, at the levels evaluated, was not determined to be compatible with the purpose for which Hart Mountain NAR was established," he wrote in the 1994 Comprehensive Management Plan. In July, Marvin Plenert, regional U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service director, agreed that the refuge was "dangerously overgrazed" and confirmed Reiswig's proposal to remove cattle for 15 years.

For members of the scientific and conservation community, like Brooks Fahy, biologist and director of the Predator Defense Institute, it was a welcome change. Fahy says that historically refuges have been managed like extended feedlots with a focus on extraction rather than on science.

Columbia Rive

OREGON

Wildlife management is more accurately described as management of habitat. In a region where biodiversity and access to water are vital for nutrition and survival, grazing is dangerous to native species, says Fahy. "Late succession plants shade out species [pronghorn] feed on and create a lack of cover for fawns."

The new Hart Mountain management plan called for burning 15 percent of the refuge. Lightning strikes historically ignited the grasslands of the West every 10 to 25 years, providing vital thinning of dominant species and preventing late-succession development. But elimination of grasses by cattle and the implementation of fire suppression limited the size and frequency of fires. In the areas burned so far, plant and cut banks quickly recovered.

The 1994 management plan lets nature run its course. This is something that Fahy calls revolutionary. "This is an opportunity to reverse the system and manage the refuge like is should be, for biodiversity," says Fahy. "Even if you don't visit, there is some comfort in knowing wild places like this exist."

The refuge has since come under new supervision and some fear that cattle may be brought back when the ban expires in 2009. Currently, an addendum to the current management plan is in the drafting process. It addresses a proposal to implement lethal predator control on the refuge, including aerial gunning of coyotes. This highly controversial addendum is again forcing the public and the Hart Mountain's management team to take a hard look at the purpose of a wildlife refuge.

Adult pronghorn antelope graze the Hart Mountain Reserve.



victory for

conservation.

Hart

Mountain

**National** 

Antelope

Reserve



# Enron Debacle Spotlights the Need for Repairing Campaign Finance Law

By Arianna Huffington

The energy giant bought clout and protection through lobbying and lavish donations

The opponents of campaign finance reform keep trying to convince us that it's a non-issue: a matter of inside-the-Beltway baseball that no one cares about except a few money-hating policy wonks.

Rep. Dick Armey derided it as "the lowest thing on the American radar screen," while Sen. Mitch "Money Is Free Speech" McConnell took time out from his busy fund-raising schedule to chastise the editors of *The New York Times* for "continuing to obsess" about an issue that has completely "dropped off the list" of the public's priorities. In other words, "No one cares, why should we?"

The answer is simple. So simple, in fact, it can be summed up in one word: Enron. Its chairman, Kenneth Lay, is the former 800-pound gorilla of Washington power brokers who is looking more and more like the spiritual offspring of Charles Ponzi.

Enron stands accused of, basically, cooking its books, fraudulently pumping up the company's value by concealing massive amounts of debt in an array of complex partnerships set up by Enron officers. Nudged into reluctant action by a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation, the company was forced to admit that it had over-reported profit by nearly \$600 million during the last four years. These disclosures caused Enron's stock to plummet from a high of \$90 to 26 cents, culminating on Sunday (editor's note: Huffingon is referring to 12.02.01) in the energy giant filing for Chapter 11 protection, the largest corporate bankruptcy in history.

And it gets uglier. Much uglier. While all these financial shenanigans were going on and the stock was flying artificially high, Lay, in his position as CPSO (Chief Pyramid Scheme Officer), cashed in stock and options worth \$150 million. And former Enron executive Jeff Skilling pocketed \$62 million before abruptly abandoning ship this past August.

Shareholders were not so lucky — I mean "market-savvy." Neither were some 20,000 current and former Enron employees whose retirement accounts evaporated as the company nosedived. It turns out that these employees were not given the same opportunity as Lay and Skilling to cash out while the cashing was good. The company froze the retirement fund, and employees could only watch helplessly as their nest eggs cracked and turned sunny side down.

But the little guys weren't the only ones taken in. Big-boy bankers Citigroup and J.P. Morgan lent Enron a total of \$1.6 billion, \$540 million of which is unsecured. Starved for a good laugh? Try asking your friendly neighborhood banker for an unsecured loan and watch his reaction.

So what was Enron's secret? It was the aura of power that glowed around the company and Kenneth Lay — a key shaper of the administration's energy policy, and an intimate FOG (Friend of George).

This aura doesn't come cheap. Enron and its executives doled out \$2.4 million to federal candidates in the 2000 election and were among George W.'s biggest donors. Lay and his wife alone have donated \$793,110 to the as GOP since W.'s dad was in office

Enron has also spent big bucks lobbying Congress and the White House: \$4 million in the past two years. The money has bought the company a bipartisan Who's Who of Washington insiders — including James Baker, Mack McLarty and Gore 2000 fund-raising director Johnny Hayes — to help push its corporate agenda.

If the congressional investigations into Enron's collapse slated to begin this month are to have any political impact, they need to focus on how much clout and protection the energy giant was able to buy through lobbying and donations.

Witness, for example, the unprecedented input Lay and Enron were given on the makeup of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC), the agency charged with regulating Enron's core business. Lay went so far as to brag to one potential nominee about his "friends at the White House." He also personally put the screws to FERC chair Curtis Hebert in an effort to change his views on electricity deregulation. Hebert didn't, and was soon the former chairman of FERC, replaced by an Enron ally.

The Enron debacle has exposed the dark side of capitalism — and the unseemly link between money and political influence. Let's hope it also sheds a light on the desperate need for fundamental campaign finance reform. Because trust in the fundamental decency of our political system is not a trivial, inside-the-Beltway issue. Just ask the scores of people who were being sold on the virtues of investing their golden years in Enron — right up until the stock crashed. ■

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# Staff Spotlight: Erica Langbecker

Outdoor enthusiast joins Native Forest Council Staff, teaches conservation

Erica Langbecker grew up in Woodland Park, Colorado, just northwest of Colorado Springs, in a 500-square-foot cabin surrounded by 40 acres. "My dad probably got me started on the whole conservation thing," she says. "He thought it was important to take care of what you had."

She also has strong memories of what can happen when people don't share that ethic of stewardship. Motorcycle riders trespassed on their property, leaving scars behind. Vandals stole the headstones from a Native American burial site on their land. And nearby neighbors kept a pile of garbage and junk out in the open. "Some people have this attitude," says Langbecker, "If it's not in my backyard, I don't need to see it anymore, so it's not a problem for me."

This November, Langbecker joined the Native Forest Council. A graduate of Colorado College, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in geology, she'll be working as a staff researcher and outreach coordinator. After taking some time to develop an educational presentation, Langbecker will hit the road to spread the word, teaching students and community groups about the forests, Native Forest Council and *Forever Wild* (see page 3).

An avid outdoor enthusiast, Langbecker went on her first hike with her father when she was five years old. "I was stubborn," she says, "I carried my own backpack and walked the whole five miles. We sang together to pass the time." They enjoyed many hikes together, often venturing off the beaten path. "Dad didn't believe in staying on the main road," she says, which was a mixed blessing. "I saw a lot of country that most people don't get to see, both the good and the bad."

Langbecker still enjoys hiking — and skiing, snowshoeing, rock climbing and mountain biking. She also works as an outdoor equipment representative, showing buyers and salespeople how to operate campstoves, backpacks and other outdoor gear. And she uses the opportunity to teach them about conservation.



Langbecker at Dead Horse Point State Park, Utah

"Each time I demo a product for a store, it's also a time to talk about the wilderness. 'You buy this backpack,' I tell them, 'but there's no place to go backpacking. That's a problem.' They need to have an awareness of why they have a job in the first place." Langbecker had read the *Forest Voice* for years, but hadn't visited our main office until a few months ago, when she was planning to move to Eugene.

"Native Forest Council is an amazing organization. It's strong. We're working to protect every acre of public land in the U.S., rather than picking around at the little bits. NFC is right for promoting *Zero Cut* and *Forever Wild*. Why go for less if you can ask for more? If you're going to go for something, just go for it. Don't mince your words."

"My dad probably got me started on the whole conservation thing," says Langbecker.
"He thought it was important to take care of what you had."

Editor's Note:

Why are you reading

Conservation and the

corporate funding of

political campaigns may

seem unrelated at first

blush. But the issue of

who controls politics is

National polls indicate

protect public lands.

destruction of these

most Americans want to

However, the subsidized

national assets continues.

We believe that, in part,

the undue influence of

leaders is to blame. As

long as money can buy

money, rather than the

will of the people.

elections, our democracy will be dominated by big

corporations on our

at the heart of the conservation issue.

about campaign funding in your Forest Voice?

# Solutions: Catch the Wind

A cross America's heartland, farmers and landowners are signing on to a new cash crop: wind power. Ten-story-tall turbines with 80-foot-long blades will be dotting farmland and cow pastures in record numbers in years to come. Wind power is making its way from the fringe to the mainstream.

The potential of wind energy has long been known but has, until recently, remained largely undeveloped outside California. New projects from North Dakota to Texas are increasing power generated from wind, while farmers and landowners are paid thousands for the use of their land. The potential for the region's clean, economical energy source has some calling it the Saudi Arabia of wind. Incentives attached to the 2002 Farm Bill, submitted by Senator Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, encourage farmers to pursue wind energy as a means of supplemental income and to provide the nation with much needed energy.

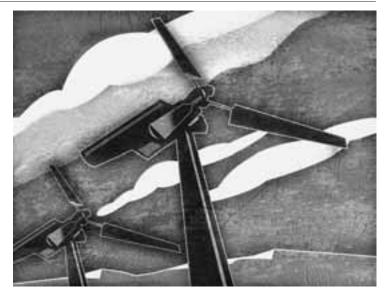
"The renewable energy potential of our nation's heartland is enormous," says American Wind Energy Association (AWEA) Executive Director Randal Swisher. "We believe that wind energy alone can provide six percent of U.S. electricity by the year 2020, or about three-quarters of what hydropower supplies today. Senator Harkin's proposals would begin to lay some of the necessary groundwork for that to happen."

The Farm Bill proposal hopes to revitalize rural economies by providing steady income through lease or royalties payments to farmers and other landowners. Landowners can expect an income of about \$2,000 annually from the placement of a single turbine on their land. Turbines occupy little land, allowing farmers to grow crops or graze cattle around them. For a 250-acre farm, the annual income from turbine placement is estimated at \$14,000 with no more than two to three acres removed. In west Texas, many farmers are welcoming wind turbines onto their land to replace revenues from declining oil wells.

The price of wind power has dropped from about 38 cents per kilowatt-hour in the 1980s to about four cents today, making it an environmentally friendly and economically feasible solution to the nations energy woes.

Most environmental experts agree that America cannot drill its way to energy independence. But in this time of national turmoil, innovations in wind power provide a feasible solution. According to the AWEA, wind energy with current technology, could supply about 20 percent of the nation's electricity — the amount currently supplied by nuclear power. And wind power generates energy without the creation of hazardous waste or providing possible terrorist targets. North Dakota alone has the potential to produce enough wind-generated power to meet one-third the nation's demand, according to the AWEA.

Wind energy systems do not generate air or water emissions and do not produce hazardous waste. They do not deplete natural resources or damage natural setting through resource extraction. As a pollution free, inexhaustible energy resource, wind energy represents a plausible solution to American energy needs and a great opportunity for America's farmers.



- ☐ Wind is now the world's fastest-growing energy source.
- ☐ U.S. wind-power capacity will increase by 50 percent this year.
- ☐ Wind is immune to wild price fluctuations, unlike natural gas.
- Over the past 20 years the cost of electricity from wind systems has dropped by more than 80 percent from 30 cents per kilowatt-hour in the early 1980s to four cents per kilowatt-hour produced at new, state-of-theart wind power plants.
- ☐ Turbines placed on farms can supplement income. One turbine on a quarter acre can pay \$2,000 in annual royalties, while farming continues.
- □ With current technology, wind energy could supply about 20 percent of the nation's electricity, or 600 billion kilowatt hours annually — the same amount as nuclear power.
- ☐ Because it mixes with other power sources in the grid, wind power is reliable even when the air turns calm.
- ☐ Federal research from the early 1990s concluded that 12 central states had wind potential to produce four times the amount of electricity consumed nationwide.
- Wind can power the economy without causing pollution, generating hazardous waste or depleting natural resources.

"We believe that wind energy alone can provide six percent of U.S. electricity by the year 2020, or about three-quarters of what hydropower supplies today."

## Hot Topics: Get involved and get these issues out of the dark

#### **Protect ANWR**

Senate Republicans again failed to pass energy legislation to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling. Since the energy plan passed the house in August, the GOP has tried numerous times to slip the bill through the Senate by attaching it to unrelated spending riders and other fast moving bills. In early December, the drilling amendment was attached to an unrelated railroad retirement bill. Thankfully, the amendment was removed before the bill passed. Contact your senator and thank them for stopping the bill thus far and remind them about the necessity of protecting one of America's last remaining wild places.

#### Contact your Senator

Find your Senator or Representative Congressional Staff Directory: http://csd.cq.com Congressional Switchboard: 202.224.3121

#### **Stop Fee Demo**

Recently Congress extended the Recreational Fee Demonstration program to 2004. The Program has been extended many times in attempt to make it permanent. Fee Demo is double taxation and restricts access to public land by low-income residents. Contact your congressperson to let them know you refuse to pay to have access to public land, to watch a sunset or hike a mountain. Contact Wild Wilderness for more information. (See article on page 7 for more info.)

#### Contact:

Wild Wilderness www.wildwilderness.org Scott Silver ssilver@wildwilderness.org

#### **Comment on New Energy Plan**

Senate Democrats unveiled a new energy bill the second week of December. The bill, presented as an alternative to the Republican bill that calls for boosting of traditional energy sources, requires tighter fuel requirements for automobiles, more use of renewable energy sources and cuts energy consumption by air conditioners and heat pumps, among other things. Debate on the bill is expected to begin in January. Let them know that the only way to secure our energy future is to make our vehicles and homes more efficient and to invest in the development of clean alternative energy sources.

#### **Contact your Senator**

Find your Senator or Representative Congressional Staff Directory: http://csd.cq.com Congressional Switchboard: 202.224.3121

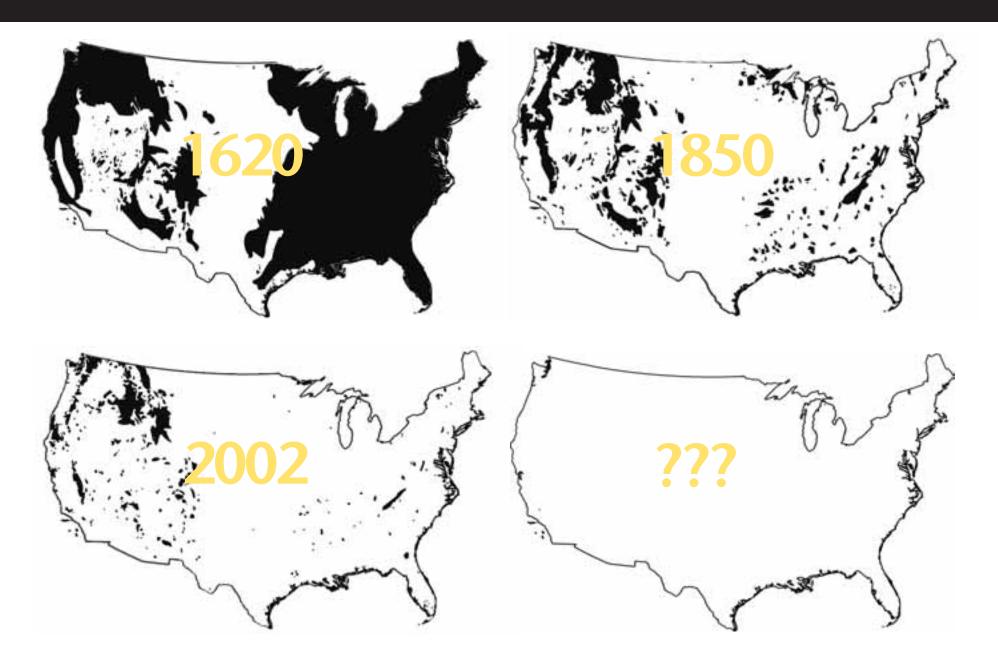
#### Help Stop a Dirty Land Exchange

A timber industry-orchestrated land swap is being conducted in the Umpqua National Forest in Oregon. The federal government is looking to exchange 625,000 acres of pristine forestland and Coho salmon habitat for over-logged timber industry-owned land. The exchange is being conducted without public input and off the public record. Get involved and help stop the swap. Contact Native Forest Council or Umpqua Watershed for more information.

#### Contact:

Native Forest Council www.forestcouncil.org Umpqua Watershed www.umpqua-watershed.org/landexchange.html

# 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 overgrazing. It's all happening right now on public lands.

#### Myth: Jobs vs. Environment

Signature:

Exp. date:

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, 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 (see page 3)*. 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 join or give a gift membership today.

\$35 Standard Member \$50 Supporter \$60 International Member \$100 Contributor \$500 Conservator	□ \$ Benefactor □ 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	I want to help get the work complimentary copy of NameAddressCity	the Forest Voice to:
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☐ My check is enclosed. ☐ Please bill my: VISA Master Card number:		Native Forest Council PO Box 2190 Eugene, OR 97402 info@forestcouncil.org www.forestcouncil.org	NameAddressCity	State Zip