



# ***T***TRANSITIONS

*Working for Sustainable Forests and Diversified Economies in the Pacific Northwest*

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## **“Republican Landslide” Idaho Politicians Assault America’s Forests**



*“Congressman” Helen Chenoweth-Hage (R-Idaho)*



*Senator Larry Craig (R-Idaho)*

*Road slump and clearcut, Clearwater NF, Idaho.*

# Idaho Politicians Assault America's Forests

By John Osborn, M.D.

On October 23, 1999, President Bill Clinton announced an initiative to "provide strong and lasting protection" for remaining roadless areas in the National Forests. Clinton has thus far excluded National Forests in Alaska, side-stepping the politically powerful Alaskan delegation. That leaves Idaho as the state containing the most roadless area — 9 million acres of priceless habitat for fish and wildlife, and world-class outdoor recreation opportunities. Not surprisingly, Idaho politicians are leading the fight in Congress to stop forest protection: in the House, Helen Chenoweth-Hage; in the Senate, Larry Craig.

The opposition of "Western Republicans" to forest protection is not new. Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, a Republican and close friend of President Teddy Roosevelt, recounts in his memoirs *Breaking New Ground* the many battles with Western Republicans over America's forests.

In 1897 after President Cleveland created 20 million acres of new National Forests (then called "forest reserves"), the Western Republicans attached a rider to a budget bill stripping the president of powers to establish new forest reserves. Just days before he handed over the White House to McKinley, Cleveland vetoed the bill and left the nation's government without a budget. The new budget bill passed by Congress and signed by McKinley contained the Pettigrew amendment (the 1897 "Organic Act" for the National Forests) — opening the forests to logging.

*Idaho politicians have continued to play a remarkably powerful role in American forests.*

In 1907 — at a time when several key Western Republicans faced prison sentences for land frauds — Idaho Senator Heyburn led the effort to take from President Roosevelt the power to create National Forests in six western states. The Western Republicans attached a rider to a budget bill. Roosevelt signed the bill — just minutes after he created 16 million acres of new National Forests in these six states: the "Midnight Forests."

Idaho politicians have continued to play a remarkably powerful role in American forests. Senator Craig's predecessor was James McClure. McClure, a self-described "Armenian rug trader," brilliantly brokered his power in the Senate to have taxpayers fund logging roads and timber programs in the National Forest. Working with Sen. Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), McClure succeeded in delaying desperately needed reductions in logging and road-building throughout the 1980s, laying waste to the public forests.

*64 percent of Idahoans favor protecting all of Idaho's remaining roadless areas.*

The Western Republicans' top-down political pressure to cut collided with bottom-up realities in the increasingly devastated forests. This collision also destroyed careers of Forest Service officials and resource specialists who stood in the way of the politics-driven timber program. Among them was John Mumma, the regional forester for the Northern Region (north Idaho and Montana).

## TRANSITIONS — Journal of The Lands Council

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John Mumma experienced first-hand the power of the Western Republicans when he was summoned to appear before Senator McClure, an encounter described by the *Spokesman-Review*:

Waiting inside McClure's two-story quarters were McClure and Idaho colleagues Sen. Steve Symms and Congressman Larry Craig, Montana Sen. Conrad Burns and several aids.

McClure attacked.

Mumma defended the heads of his 13 forests and said environmental laws made it impossible to hit the timber sale targets Congress expected when it set the agency's budget.

"We were under fire from the moment we got there," Mumma said, calling the "Republican gang bang" the worst meeting of his life.

"He lectured everyone in there like you wouldn't believe. He first intimidated, then put the guilt trip on. It was like watching the old dog teaching the new dogs how to chew out the bureaucrats, how to kick them in the groin and make them cower down to you when you make these demands."

In 1990 McClure retired from the Senate, walked through the revolving door between political and corporate power, and took his seat as a director of Boise Cascade Corporation. Boise Cascade has

actively worked to stop the presidential initiative to protect roadless areas.

In the early 1990s McClure's role in the Senate has been filled largely by Larry Craig. Senator Craig hired timber industry lobbyist Mark Rey to be legal counsel for the Senate subcommittee overseeing forests. Craig's 1997 proposed legislation for "reforming" National Forest management was almost entirely based on the work of an attorney representing corporate interests, Steve Quarrels.

In the House, "Congressman" Helen Chenoweth-Hage has chaired hearings relentlessly attacking Chief Forester Michael Dombeck and his supervisor, Jim Lyons, the Department of Agriculture official responsible for the Forest Service.

Idaho politically is the most Republican state in the Union. In a statewide poll this year by a polling firm used by Idaho Republican candidates, two-

thirds of Idahoans gave Larry Craig a favorable performance rating. Yet the same poll also showed that 64 percent of Idahoans favored protecting all of Idaho's remaining roadless areas.

A century ago Teddy Roosevelt counted on public support in Idaho and throughout the nation to reform corrupt public land agencies and expand the National Forest system. A century later — with Idaho's forests and politicians back in the national spotlight — popular support continues to transform the vision of forest protection into a reality on the American landscape.

*"We were under fire from the moment we got there," Mumma said, calling the "Republican gang bang" the worst meeting of his life.*





# President plants forest legacy

## Clinton says timber preservation plan affects only tiny fraction of harvest

Associated Press

REDDISH KNOB OVERLOOK, Va. — With the Shenandoah Valley's first tinges of fall color for a backdrop, President Clinton said Wednesday his sweeping plan to place 40 million acres of federal forestland off-limits to development would not harm the timber industry.

The remote, largely pristine parcels of land Clinton wants to preserve represent a mere fraction of federally owned forest, he said. Vast reaches of other federal timberland are already available for logging and other development, he said.

"It is very important to point out that we are not trying to turn our national forests into museums," Clinton said as he detailed a plan environmentalists call progressive and the timber industry has called reckless.

His program would prevent or restrict roadbuilding through the larger sections of currently roadless federal forest, most of it in the West.

Less than 5 percent of timber harvested in America comes from national forests, and of that amount just 5 percent comes from roadless areas, Clinton said.

"We can easily adjust our federal timber program to replace 5 percent of 5 percent," Clinton said to applause, "but we can never replace what we would destroy if we don't protect these 40 million acres."

Roads open forest areas to development, erosion and pollution. They also disrupt wildlife, plant life and natural systems. But roadless federal land also contains some of the most desirable timber owned by the Forest Service. Timber companies and their allies in Congress oppose any effort to close off future development.

The president took a few swipes at congressional Republicans, several of whom have already denounced the forest plan, for what he described as shortsighted views on the environment.

He threatened to veto the Interior Department spending bill, which controls funding for a host of environmental and preservation projects, if Republicans do not amend it to be more environmentally friendly.

"Issuing decrees from a mountaintop is not the way democracy is supposed to work," said Rep. Robert Goodlatte, R-Va., whose western Virginia district includes the majestic view of the Allegheny Mountains Clinton acclaimed as he detailed the forest program.

*The Spokesman-Review, October 24, 1999. Copyright 1999, The Spokesman-Review. Used with permission of The Spokesman-Review.*

### FORESTS — Affected land

Preliminary estimates of roadless areas within regional national forest affected by President Clinton's executive order:

#### Idaho

Boise, Caribou, Challis, Clearwater, Idaho Panhandle, Nez Perce, Payette, Salmon, Sawtooth, Targhee.

**9,449,400 acres**

#### Montana

Beaverhead/Deerlodge, Bitterroot, Custer, Flathead, Gallatin, Helena, Kootenai, Lewis and Clark, Lolo.

**6,031,635 acres**

#### Oregon

Deschutes, Fremont, Malheur, Mt. Hood, Ochoco, Rogue River, Siskiyou, Siuslaw, Umatilla, Umpqua, Wallowa-Whitman, Willamette, Winema.

**2,081,010 acres**

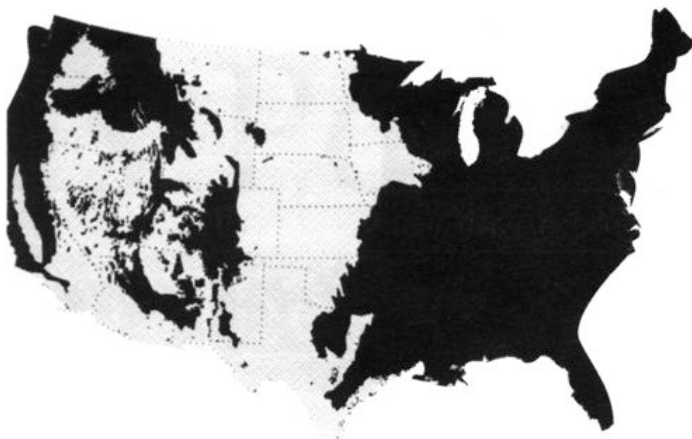
#### Washington

Colville, Gifford Pinchot, Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie, Okanogan, Olympic, Wenatchee.

**1,890,046 acres**

## America's Native Forests, Liquidated

**1620**



**2000**



# Poll finds strong support Clinton's forest-protection plan

By Dan Gallagher of the Associated Press

BOISE - A statewide poll concludes that 57 percent of Idaho citizens — with a majority in support of conservative politicians — also back the Clinton administration's proposal to preserve up to 60 million acres of roadless forest nationwide.

The mark jumps to almost two-thirds, 64 percent, when they were asked if they support protection of the remaining 8 million acres of roadless tracts in Idaho's national forests, said John McCarthy, Idaho Conservation League conservation director.

And in an unusual turn, the poll found two-thirds had a favorable rating for Republican U.S. Sen. Larry Craig, who has opposed such set-asides of federal ground. Presidential candidate George W. Bush was a two-to-one favorite among them.

"The level of support is solid and real, and contrary to what roadless area opponents have been saying, it's the majority view in Idaho," McCarthy said.

Polls about roadless views were conducted in 11 states with a good deal of wildlands within their borders. Montana had the lowest percentage of approval for the Clinton initiative, with 53 percent either strongly or somewhat supporting it. Idaho was second with 57 percent. The highest was Wisconsin with 83 percent.

Some 500 Idaho people were contacted last week by the Ridder/Braden Inc. polling firm of Denver. The margin of error was plus or minus 4.3 percent.

In the first question, the pollsters said half of the nation's national forests had been logged, mined or otherwise open to some commercial development. Eighteen percent of the land is permanently protected and 31 percent roadless but lacking that designation.

It goes on to say the roadless rating would allow recreation like camping and hunting or fishing, but ban development and off-road vehicles.

In Idaho, the level of support was highest among young people ages 18 to 34, with 79 percent in favor, and for women, 66 percent backed it.

***64 percent of Idaho citizens support protection of the remaining 8 million acres of roadless tracts in Idaho's national forests.***

***"The level of support is solid and real, and contrary to what roadless area opponents have been saying, it's the majority view in Idaho,"***  
***—John McCarthy,***  
***Idaho Conservation League***

***The poll found two-thirds had a favorable rating for Republican U.S. Sen. Larry Craig, who has opposed such set-asides of federal ground. Presidential candidate George W. Bush was a two-to-one favorite among them.***

participate in any motorized, off-road recreation such as all-terrain vehicle or snowmobiling on a regular basis, while 21 percent reported they do.

Craig spokesman Mike Tracy said he was not surprised about Idaho's approval of the senator or Bush, but questioned whether the questions about the forest use were leading.

Tracy said forest supervisors have told him they are concerned that some non-motorized recreation may, in fact, be banned in certain roadless areas.

"We all agree some areas are outstanding for protection. It really comes down to how much and the process getting there," he said.

Idaho officials have conflicted with the roadless initiative from the start. U.S. District Judge Edward Lodge in February sided with the Forest Service's motion to dismiss the lawsuit brought by Idaho Attorney General Al Lance, who sought access to federal documents and the extension of a public comment period which had expired.

Valley and Boise counties, the Boise Cascade Corp. wood-products company and Emmett rancher Brad Little on March 17 filed suit in federal court against the administration's program, saying Idaho is being kept in the dark about which areas would be roped off from resource use.

The Friends of the Clearwater group in Moscow praised the Idaho polling, and said Ridder/Braden was the firm Gov. Dirk Kempthorne has used for his counts.

Kempthorne spokesman Mark Snider said his office had not heard of Ridder/Braden, as did former Kempthorne campaign manager Jeff Malmen.

Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, March 31, 2000

# The battle over roads

## Strong opinion develops over Forest Service's building ban

By Sherry Devlin of the Missoulian

This is not the revolution, by Dale Bosworth's telling.

This — the Forest Service's proposal to prohibit road building in 43 million acres of national forest — is the logical next step in 30 years of evolutionary change, said Bosworth, who heads the agency's Northern Region.

The Forest Service has built 386,000 miles of roads in the national forests, mostly since World War II, mostly to provide access for logging trucks. Of 192 million acres of national forests, 51 million acres remain unroaded of which 8.5 million acres are in Alaska's Tongass National Forest.

"When you look across the whole United States, our entire land mass, there aren't that many places that don't have roads in them," Bosworth said. "Something like 2 percent of the total land area."

It makes sense, to Bosworth, to stop and decide — as a nation — whether or not to build roads into the last remaining roadless places. "The national public has a legitimate voice in that decision," he said.

The Forest Service has tried to resolve the roadless issue for 30 years, Bosworth said. First came RARE I — the Roadless Area Review and Evaluation. "I was a timber planner on the Lolo Forest," he said, "It was a big issue, and we weren't very successful at resolving it."

RARE I begat RARE II, which produced a lawsuit that derailed the effort. Then came the development and adoption of management plans for each of the national forests, "and one of the biggest issues that we dealt with was the management of roadless areas and whether they should be recommended for wilderness or be managed for roaded kinds of activities," Bosworth said. "It was hugely controversial."

It remains so today.

President Clinton's call — in a speech last October — for "appropriate long-term protection for most or all of the currently inventoried roadless areas" — provoked a wave of protests that only intensified in May when the Forest Service released its draft roadless area conservation proposal.

"A lot of people view this proposal as just one more nail in their coffin," Bosworth said. "Their view is now you're going to cut us out of the roadless areas, next you're not going to allow us in the roadless areas, and then we won't be allowed to participate in the active management of the national forests at all."

"And though I don't agree, even though I think the potential impacts are often overstated, I can understand the concerns. There are no guarantees, and that doesn't make people feel very good."

This week, as the Forest Service opens its doors to public comment on the proposed roadbuilding ban, the outcry will reach

its peak. The timber industry is organizing convoys of protesters to converge on Missoula late Wednesday afternoon, just before a four-hour, two-venue public hearing. Sawmills are closing so their workers can ride buses to the pre-hearing rally. Country singers will sing. There'll be barbecue enough for 3,000.

"What I can see is, we'll eventually be pushed out of the national forests," said

Loren Rose, the comptroller at Pyramid Mountain Lumber Co. in Seeley Lake. "Then all the pressure will be on private land, and it won't be sustainable. Then we'll go to other countries and cut and cut, until they finally say, 'You Americans are consumptive pigs and hypocrites. We are not going to rape our forests for your benefit anymore.' Who's in the driver's seat then?"

"People have had it with these ridiculous mandates from Washington, D.C.," said Cary Hegreberg, executive director of the Montana Wood Products Association.

"We intend, this week in Missoula, to make a large visible statement that the Forest Service cannot ignore. That enough is enough. That we stand ready to defend our rural values and traditional way of life."

"It's starting to feel like a revolution."

This is the Forest Service's proposal: To, prohibit road construction and reconstruction — including temporary roads — in 43 million acres of inventoried roadless areas.

All the standard exceptions would apply: If a road were needed to protect the public during a flood, fire or other catastrophe. If a road were needed as part of a Superfund cleanup, or to fulfill Indian tribe's treaty rights. Or if reconstruction were needed to prevent irreparable resource damage caused by the failure of an existing road.

The prohibition would be nationwide, excluding only the Tongass National Forest.

However, decisions about the management of roadless areas would be made at the local level — as each national forest revised its management plan. Timber cutting could continue in roadless areas, as long as it did not require new roads. Snowmobiling could continue. So could

the use of all-terrain vehicles.

As, proposed, "local managers would evaluate whether and how to protect roadless characteristics, in the context of multiple-use management, during forest and grassland plan revisions."

Bosworth, who oversees 13 national forests in Montana and north Idaho, believes the roadbuilding ban is needed. "It's a

***It makes sense to stop and decide — as a nation — whether or not to build roads into the last remaining roadless places. The national public has a legitimate voice in that decision.***

***The Forest Service has built 386,000 miles of roads in the national forests, mostly since World War II, mostly to provide access for logging trucks.***

***The Forest Service is already \$8.4 billion behind in maintaining its existing 386,000 miles of roads.***

*Continued on next page*

# Clinton's roadless plan may allow logging

## • Plan may also make allowance for motorized access

By Eric Barker of the Tribune

President Clinton's roadless initiative will prohibit road building in roadless areas but continue to allow logging and motorized access, according to sources familiar with a leaked version of a forthcoming document.

The Forest Service's Draft Environmental Impact Statement dealing with road building in roadless areas will be released today, a high-ranking agency official said.

The official, who declined to be named and refused to comment directly on the agency's preferred alternative, said the draft document addresses some of the big issues associated with roadless areas, but leaves others to be decided at the forest level.

"What we are proposing is a moderate and measured approach to address, at the national level, what we think are the most significant national issues and proposing to leave to local planning issues that are better resolved at that level."

For example, the official said the document does not propose sweeping regulations regarding access to road areas.

"What we are doing won't close a single mile of road and it won't block any existing access. I think this ought to go a long way toward quieting the din in terms of blocking public access to public lands."

However, the official would not confirm reports that while the document's preferred alternative prohibits road building in roadless areas, it does not prohibit logging in those areas.

The official did stress the document is in draft form and could be quite different when it becomes final later this fall.

"This proposal will change based on public input and participation."

Sources familiar with portions of the draft document leaked Monday confirmed they expect the preferred alternative to prohibit road building in inventoried roadless areas, without prohibiting logging.

They also said one alternative in the document, not chosen as the agency's preferred option, forbids logging. Another, aimed at restoring ecosystem health, allows logging only as a stewardship project.

Timber companies often use helicopters to get into areas where roads cannot be built, but it's a much more expensive method of timber harvest.

However, the helicopter logging is merely a smokescreen to cover what is essentially a reduction in logging, said Stefany Bales of the Intermountain Forestry Association.

Such methods of timber harvest are often prohibitively expensive.

"It's the Forest Service hiding the ball," she said. "You can theoretically say you can log but the reality of where you will be able to is a huge question."

She said prohibiting road building also eliminates an effective tool in forest

management. If that happen, she worries thousands of acres will be lost to wild fires, threatening the rest of the forest.

She cited forest fires in New Mexico, started as prescribe burns in land managed by the National Park Service, that now rage out of control and threaten private homes and the Los Alamos National Laboratory, a nuclear weapons facility.

"That is what we have to look forward to if we continue to disallow professional foresters from doing their job," said Bales. "The idea that keeping the foresters out of the forest will protect the forest is pure fantasy."

John McCarthy of the Idaho Conservation League said he is disappointed if reports are accurate and logging in roadless areas will still be allowed. But he is pleased at the overall direction the Forest Service is taking.

"It's really a step forward in the right direction where people want to go, but it's not all the way there," he said. "It's very encouraging they are doing something big."

McCarthy is worried helicopter logging in roadless areas could target old-growth trees to offset the high costs.

*Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, May 9, 2000*

*Continued from page 6*

question of land use, really," he said. "To me, it's a pretty straightforward question of whether or not roads should be built in the last pieces of unroaded land. Should we have roads in these areas?"

Roadless land has value, he said. It is a source of clean soil, water and air. It sustains a diversity of plant and animal communities, and provides habitat for threatened and endangered species, and for those species that need big undisturbed places.

Roadless areas, Bosworth said, are "reference landscapes" needed for research, study or interpretation. They are Indian sacred

sites and places for primitive dispersed recreation. They give the forested landscape character and scenic integrity.

Bosworth does not, however, believe that roadless areas are essential sources of raw material for the wood products industry. "The future of the timber industry in this part of the country is not going to depend on these roadless areas," he said. "In fact, the reason that a lot of these areas are roadless is because the timber values weren't high. We have roaded a lot of the

areas that are the best timber-growing country."

*Continued on next page*

***President Clinton's roadless initiative will prohibit road building in roadless areas but continue to allow logging and motorized access.***

***"It's starting to feel like a revolution." —Cary Hegreberg, executive director, Montana Wood Products Association.***



“There’s a reason why these areas are roadless,” he said. “They are difficult to build roads into. They’re expensive to build roads into. In a lot of cases, the timber growth potential isn’t high. They are the more marginal sites.”

Between 1993 and 1999, national forests in Montana relied on roadless areas for 4 million board feet of timber — or about 2 percent of the total federal cut. Between 2000 and 2004, those same forests planned to take about 3 million board feet of timber from roadless areas.

“We haven’t been roading and logging these areas in a real aggressive way,” Bosworth said. “We never intended to.”

When the Montana national forests adopted their management plans in the 1980s, most expected roaded areas to supply the bulk of their timber program. The Bitterroot National Forest’s 334-million-board-foot allowable sale quantity was predicated on a 294-million-board-foot cut in roaded areas. The Lolo National Forest’s 1.07 billion-board-foot ASQ took 705 million board feet from roaded areas. The Flathead National Forest expected 933 million board feet of its 1-billion-board-foot ASQ to come from roaded areas.

The future of the timber industry also is in roaded areas — albeit in watershed restoration, fire management and ecosystem repair, Bosworth said.

“They’ll be cutting a different type of material than they cut in the past,” he said, “but they’ll be working in the woods. Common sense tells me the only way that we can have healthy forests is through active management, which is going to include cutting some trees.”

“It just doesn’t make sense for the federal government to build new roads into these wild backcountry areas of Montana,” said John Gatchell, whose Montana Wilderness Association supports the roadbuilding ban. “They have done that and done that and done that for 40 years.”

In the last 50 years, the Forest Service built 32,900 miles of engineered roads on public land in Montana, he said. “Where would we build more roads? Into the top of the Swan Range to despoil one of the most beautiful

mountain ranges in the world? Into Blodgett Canyon? On Lolo Peak facing Missoula? Into the Great Burn?”

***“When you look across the whole United States, our entire land mass, there aren’t that many places that don’t have roads in them. Something like 2 percent of the total land area.” —Dale Bosworth, U.S. Forest Service, Supervisor—Northern Region***

***More than 96 percent of the inventoried roadless acreage is located in 12 Western states. Alaska is No. 1, with 12 million acres. Idaho is second, with 9.23 million acres. Montana is third, with 5.8 million acres of roadless national forest. Together, Montana and Idaho account for 27.7 percent of the inventoried roadless acreage in the nation.***

Bosworth knew his region would be at the center of the storm when the roadless initiative was announced. More than 96 percent of the inventoried roadless acreage is located in 12 Western states. Alaska is No. 1, with 12 million acres. Idaho is second, with 9.23 million acres. Montana is third, with 5.8 million acres of roadless national forest. Together, Montana and Idaho account for 27.7 percent of the inventoried roadless acreage in the nation.

“That’s why these places are attractive to people, because they are more wild,” he said. “Every time I go back East, I understand why people there would feel like these roadless areas out West are pretty important. They don’t have anything like this. The decisions have already been made, and they are — in most cases — irretrievable.”

Nationally, the roadless initiative drew considerable support during a preliminary round of comment-taking late last year. The Forest Service received 471,830 comments in support of a prohibition on roadbuilding in roadless areas, 87 percent of the total.

“You couldn’t get nine out of 10 people to agree on which topping to put on a pizza, but you have them agreeing to protection of our national forests,” said Matthew Koehler, whose Native Forest Network wants to end all commercial use of public land.

“Should these be national policies?” he asked. “Definitely. Policies governing the management of the Statue of Liberty shouldn’t be left to people in New York. That’s the whole concept of being a nation.”

But where will the prohibitions stop? asked Rose, at Pyramid Mountain Lumber. “Yes, a lot of these roadless lands deserve wilderness protection. That’s beyond question. But to have one policy developed by a handful of people in Washington, D.C., to cover every situation isn’t right. You can’t come up with something that big. It’s not fair to the American people, and it’s not fair to the land.”

***Roadless land has value, Bosworth said. It is a source of clean soil, water and air. It sustains a diversity of plant and animal communities, and provides habitat for threatened and endangered species, and for those species that need big undisturbed places.***

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Bosworth believes a national policy is needed so individual forests can move beyond the roadbuilding issue as forest management plans are revised in the decade ahead.

"To me, it makes a lot of sense," he said. "Our proposal says no new road construction, but it allows those other uses to be determined at the local planning level. There may be one area where you don't want to allow ATVs, and another where you do. The same with snowmobiles or timber harvesting. Those decisions should be made at the local level, with the involvement of local people.

"But from my perspective, it makes sense that the issue of whether or not to build roads into roadless areas is a matter of public policy as opposed to a forest planning question. For us to try to grind through forest plans once again with the roadless overshadowing everything else doesn't make sense. If we resolve the question of whether to build roads in these areas, then the question of how you're going to manage a roadless area can be dealt with at the local level."

No decision leaves a more lasting imprint on the land than does the decision to build a road, Bosworth said. "That's why it is so controversial. Roads fragment habitat. They increase erosion. They scar the land. People don't like the way they look or the way they feel. You can do things to minimize the effects, but there will still be effects."

And the Forest Service is already \$8.4 billion behind in maintaining its existing 386,000 miles of roads.

Rose and Hegreberg, though, use many of the same words when they talk about the continued decline of timber cutting on the national forests. "Five, six, seven years ago, 80 percent of the timber we processed at Pyramid came from public land and 20 percent from private," Rose said. "Now it's about 20 percent public and 80 percent from private land. The drop has been tremendous."

On national forests in western Montana timber harvests have decreased by 75 percent to 90 percent the past decade. "We've been crying wolf for a long time," Hegreberg said. "But now people are really starting to understand the gravity of the issue. They're putting it all

together. There is always a reason not to do something. There is always a reason not to harvest timber."

***"We'll eventually be pushed out of the national forests. Then all the pressure will be on private land, and it won't be sustainable. Then we'll go to other countries and cut and cut, until they finally say, 'You Americans are consumptive pigs and hypocrites. We are not going to rape our forests for your benefit anymore.' Who's in the driver's seat then?" —Loren Rose, comptroller at Pyramid Mountain Lumber Co. in Seeley Lake.***

***"There's a reason why these areas are roadless. They are difficult to build roads into. They're expensive to build roads into. In a lot of cases, the timber growth potential isn't high. They are the more marginal sites." —Dale Bosworth, U.S. Forest Service***

***"The future of the timber industry in this part of the country is not going to depend on these roadless areas. In fact, the reason that a lot of these areas are roadless is because the timber values weren't high. We have roaded a lot of the areas that are the best timber-growing country." —Dale Bosworth***

Rose doesn't buy — "not for a minute" — the contention that the roadbuilding ban is a Forest Service proposal. "I don't believe it's the agency," he said. "I believe it's Clinton's hand-picked people in Washington, D.C."

And those people don't know what it is like to live and work in Seeley Lake, he said. "We bid on a timber sale on the Salmon National Forest last year. The land had burned, and every tree was dead. It was a helicopter sale. No roads. No equipment on the ground. Ponderosa pine of a high quality."

Pyramid Mountain was the high bidder.

"Then four wilderness advocate groups from Montana appealed," Rose said. "The local Forest Service people in Salmon hadn't encountered anything like that before, so they asked their people in Ogden (Utah) for help. And the people in Ogden said, don't award the sale. And that was the decision."

The prohibition on roadbuilding in roadless areas isn't the problem, he said. Bosworth is correct in saying the short-term effects would be minimal.

"But this isn't the first 43 million acres, and it won't be the last," Rose said.

Rose bristles at the contention, in the Forest Service's draft environmental impact statement, that national forests are "used, enjoyed and valued by people everywhere, including those who live in nearby communities; those who visit them from cities, states and countries farther may; and those who never visit, but who benefit from the ecosystem services and passive values they provide."

"First of all, I don't know what ecosystem services means," he said. "And I don't agree with the implication that people in New York City who never leave the city benefit from some passive use. I don't know what values those are, and I wonder how much do they need. How much is enough? They don't even know how much they already have."

Reporter Sherry Devlin can be reached at 523-5268 or by e-mail at [sdevlin@missoulian.com](mailto:sdevlin@missoulian.com).

*Missoulian, Missoula, Montana, June 18, 2000*

# Forest Service halts roadless timber sales

1988

Associated Press

COEUR D'ALENE — The U.S. Forest Service on Thursday announced it is halting all timber sales in roadless lands in the Panhandle National Forests, pending resolution of appeals launched by a coalition of environmental groups.

As much as 54 million board feet of timber per year could be dropped from the Panhandle timber sale program because of the decision this week by Dale Robertson, Forest Service chief at Washington, D.C., the Panhandle Forests said in a news release.

Last fall, a coalition of 19 national, regional and local environmental groups, plus one individual, appealed the new long-term management plan, issued in September, for the Idaho Panhandle National Forests.

The 2.5-million-acre Panhandle forest are comprised of most of the St. Joe, Coeur d'Alene and Kaniksu forests.

The coalition requested that all timber sales planned for roadless portions of the forest be postponed at least until the appeals are resolved.

Under Robertson's decision, timber sale activities in roadless lands will be halted, except those now under contract; currently stayed as part of a prior appeal; or proposed but no final decision yet made.

"We are reviewing the chief's decision, but don't yet have all of the details," said Bill Morden, Panhandle supervisor. "We do know that we cannot proceed with any timber sales in unroaded areas until the appeal is resolved."

Morden said the forest is immediately removing from the market five timber sales, totaling 13.3 million board feet, that had been scheduled for fiscal year 1988.

The Forest Service's master plan for the Panhandle forests called for an average 280 million board feet to be offered for sale in each of the next 10 years.

*Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, April 15, 1988*

*Clearcuts across the Coeur d'Alene National Forest, one of the three Idaho Panhandle National Forests.*



© Trygve Steen



# Sabotage, contention in Idaho's Panhandle

The pot keeps boiling on the Panhandle National Forests in northern Idaho.

On Aug. 15, Forest Service associate chief George Leonard denied part of an appeal 19 conservation groups had filed against the Panhandle's management plan. That lifted a stay on timber sales in roadless areas that the groups had earlier won. Leonard said the forest's roadless area analysis and its allocation of those areas to mostly nonwilderness management was legally sufficient.

The decision did not surprise the appellants, but the grounds did — that the detailed analysis of roadless choices required by law and the courts will occur at the project (timber sale) level rather than in the forest plan.

"Apparently the Panhandle Plan is not a decision document for roadless areas, just for every other resource," said the groups' spokesman John Osborn. Jim Riley, a timber industry lobbyist, essentially agreed: "The decision just lengthens the dispute; avoids the issue."

Since Leonard's decision explicitly applies to the national forest system, not just these forests, conservation attorneys around the country are reviewing it.

On Aug. 20, Montana logger Bruce Vincent held his third pro-timber "solidarity celebration" of the summer, at a state park north of Coeur d'Alene. Rain and the fire situation kept the crowd to 500, half that predicted. But the big news was the keynote speaker — Forest Service Chief Dale Robertson, who appeared in a logging contractor's cap and encouraged the crowd to continue its efforts.

Conservationists were angry. "It's appropriate that he comes out to talk with all users," Osborn says. "But the chief of the Forest Service has no business keynoting a media event designed to bash conservationists. Especially after all the political interference we've had in forest decisions here." The interferers Osborn has in mind are Idaho's Republican members of Congress - Steve Symms, Larry Craig, and especially Jim McClure — all of whom spoke at the rally. Robertson did hold a private meeting with conservationists, and another with timber interests, before the rally.

Finally, that same week, \$10,000 worth of sabotage was discovered at three logging operations in the Selkirk Mountains

near the Idaho/Canada border. Two bulldozers, a yarder, a log loader, and a grader had windows and lights broken, tires slashed,

fuel lines cut, gearshifts damaged, and fuel tanks filled with dirt. A radio receiver was also taken. A note bearing a black cat symbol was found: "Beware. We never sleep. We never forget. SABOTAGE."

Bruce Vincent quickly blamed "radical environmentalists," and a Boundary County sheriff's deputy said the investigation would focus on such people. Since the black cat is an old Wobbly symbol (the early 20th-century radical union), and there has been much labor/management conflict in the Northwest timber industry this summer, others conjectured a labor link.

The equipment's owner, Lee Smith, was more judicious: "I don't know who did it. It's just disturbed people as far as I'm concerned. I wish they'd written me a letter instead. We're just wondering from day to day if we're going to make it anyway."

There has been next to no such activity on the Panhandle Forests to date; both Osborn and the Forest Service consider it an isolated event.

"It's a criminal act, irrelevant to the overall discussion of the forest's future," Osborn says. "We've worked very hard to avoid any glamorizing of such senseless behavior."

*High Country News, Paonia, Colorado, September 26, 1988*



*U.S. Forest Service chief Dale Robertson encourages timber workers at a Solidarity Celebration at Farragut State Park.*

***"The chief of the Forest Service has no business keynoting a media event designed to bash conservationists. Especially after all the political interference we've had in forest decisions here." The interferers Osborn has in mind are Idaho's Republican members of Congress - Steve Symms, Larry Craig, and especially Jim McClure — all of whom spoke at the rally.***

***The Forest Service decided that the detailed analysis of roadless choices required by law and the courts will occur at the project (timber sale) level rather than in the forest plan.***



# Flames fanned by timber leaders

1988–2000

Rich Landers, Outdoor Editor

In North Idaho, it's not always easy to distinguish between the good guys and the bad guys.

If there was anything refreshing about Aryan Nations members, it was that they were so clearly bad. They spawned uncommon unity among other North Idahoans.

But what about loggers and conservationists?

Neither group deserves all the criticism it gets, but the most recent timber-vs.-environment flap has been designed to unjustly put the black hat on the conservationist.

The controversy is over an appeal filed by the Inland Empire Public Lands Council (IEPLC) against the 10-year management plan prepared by the Idaho

Panhandle National Forests. In particular, the appeal attacked the plan's

*When we start trying to sort out who the bad guys are in North Idaho, the sleaziest of all appear to be timber industry leaders.*

arrogant goals to build roads and cut timber in North Idaho's few remaining roadless areas.

The Forest Service approved the plan despite overwhelming evidence that logging in these areas often would be excessively costly to the taxpayer, detrimental to recreational industries and devastating to water quality and wildlife.

The 1,000-page appeal, engineered by IEPLC director John Osborn, was the most thoroughly documented challenge ever presented against a national forest management plan. It was signed this winter by 19 groups representing sportsmen and conservationists, nearly half of which are based in Idaho.

In April, after reviewing the appeal, Forest Service chief Dale Robertson ordered a stay on logging in Panhandle forest roadless areas. These areas generally are clustered in the Upper North Fork of the Clearwater, the Upper Coeur d'Alene and the Upper Priest and Selkirk Mountain areas.

Not coincidentally, these areas are among Idaho's most important producers of native trout and elk.

"If there had been no validity to the appeal, the Forest Service wouldn't have granted the stay," said Ed Javorka, a former Forest Service employee and spokesman for the Kootenai Environmental Alliance in Coeur d'Alene.

They didn't force us to go to court or anything," he said. "That in itself gives credence to our complaints."

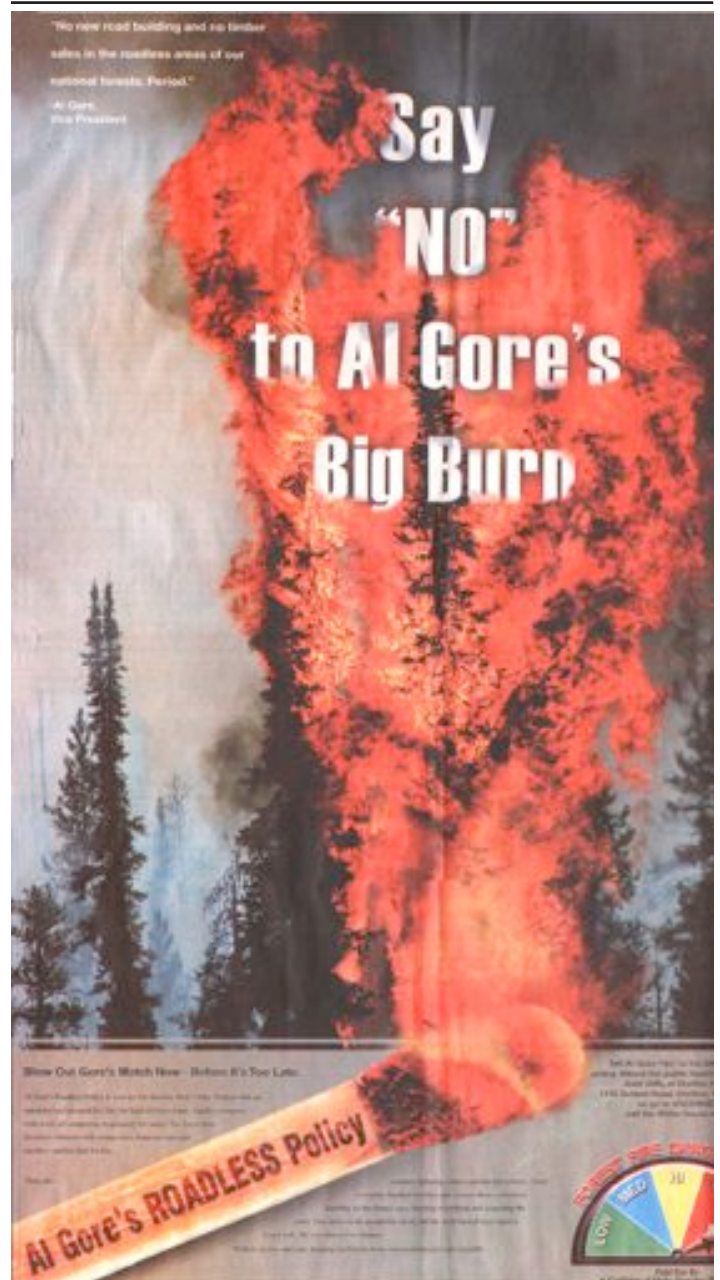
But from the radio talk shows in Bonners Ferry to the Statehouse soap box in Boise, conservationists are being attacked as anti-Idaho wackos.

• **Myth:** *That a standing tree is a wasted tree, and that preserving roadless areas "locks up" forest resources.*

Those who embrace this myth might also look at the Eiffel Tower and see only its scrap metal value.

We need trees to protect the visual assets that lure tourists to North Idaho; to prevent trout streams from running brown with mud; to provide thermal cover for wintering elk and mule deer.

12 TRANSITIONS Issue 2, 2000



Lewiston Tribune, June 20, 2000

If we had been more judicious in where we allowed roads to be built and trees to be cut, there would be no need for the restrictive fishing regulations enacted this year in the Coeur d'Alene, Pend Oreille and Priest Lake areas.

• **Myth:** *That blocking timber sales in Idaho's few remaining roadless areas is going to cost Idaho thousands of jobs.*

It should be pointed out that conservationists are in the process of releasing certain roadless area timber sales from the IEPLC appeal. Releases of these areas were negotiated at local levels before the blanket appeal was filed.

However, conservationists had no choice but to stop the rampant abuse of other roadless areas before it was too late. Their appeal will

*Continued on page 14*

# A timid forest industry hides behind a funny name

An advertisement that ran in this newspaper last week over the bashful pseudonym "A Coalition of Idaho Forestry Professionals" invites questions about the courage of some people's convictions.

It turns out that the ad, attacking the Clinton-Gore administration's roadless policies, was (not surprisingly) paid for by the Intermountain Forest Association, a coalition of 53 mills in Idaho and Montana, based at Coeur d'Alene.

Other newspapers ran the ad without any identification at all. All the newspapers where the ad ran, including this one, were also mighty bashful when it came to following normal policy and state law in asking for a candid identification of the people buying a political ad. (The ad has since reappeared with the actual name of the organization in it.)

The intriguing aspect of not using its name is why the Forest Association would think anonymity was necessary.

"Why let your affiliation get in the way of the message?" responded Stefany Bales of the IFA in an Idaho Spokesman-Review interview.

What does that mean? Apparently she means that fewer people would buy the message if they knew who paid for it.

That's a lower opinion of the timber industry than most of us would normally have. The timber powers that be, union and management, have a right to their beliefs. And it is hardly surprising

or wicked that that belief is in favor of what they perceive as their own economic interest. Most people understand that is the norm in politics and in human affairs generally. Indeed, most of the environmentalists involved in promoting more roadless areas do so, in part, because of their own enjoyment of the outdoors in its more roughhew state.

Moreover, the IFA ad hardly avoided the suspicion that it came from the forest products industry. It was obviously that industry's party line on the administration's alleged mistake on roadless policy. What did the timber cutters think — if they didn't use their name, we would think Smoky Bear placed the ad?

Stefany Bales has it backward. If the organization had said bluntly what it thinks and placed its name in big black letters — tall and proud — it would have enhanced its message as that of people who believe they are right and have nothing to hide.

By hunkering down and trying to conceal its identity, the organization looks

like it is so unsure of the rectitude of its message that it doesn't dare own up to its own actual authorship.

There is a lesson in this: If you're proud of what you believe, don't be a shrinking violet. Gladly let everybody know the answer to the question, "Says who?" — (This editorial written by Tribune Editorial Page Editor **Bill Hall!**)

*The intriguing aspect of not using its name is why the Forest Association would think anonymity was necessary.*

*"Why let your affiliation get in the way of the message?" — IFA spokesperson*

Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, June 28, 2000



The Spokesman-Review, August, 1990. Copyright 1990. The Spokesman-Review. Used with permission of The Spokesman-Review.

# Idaho's Panhandle Lives With a Deadly Legacy

## Reckless Logging, Toxic Mining Wastes, '100-Year' Floods

In a single day of flooding in 1996, the raging Coeur d'Alene River carried a million pounds of lead into Idaho's Lake Coeur d'Alene. The lead came from toxic waste dumped by mining companies into the Coeur d'Alene River's South Fork. Excessive logging on the north fork of the river is the main source of floods. When these two branches come together, so do logging and mining, which are the genesis of the toxic floods in Idaho's Panhandle region.

These activities have a long history of environmental destruction in the region. In 1884, a rich lead-silver vein was discovered near the town of Wallace. Other veins were discovered and exploited, until Idaho's "Silver Valley" became one of the world's leading suppliers of silver and lead. The dangers to surrounding communities became clear nearly 70 years ago. In 1929, the Coeur d'Alene Press began a series of

articles on mining pollution. In 1932, a scientist with the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries noted that "as far as fisheries are concerned, the mine wastes . . . have reduced the 50 miles [of the Coeur d'Alene River] . . . to a barren stream practically without fish, fauna, food, or plankton, and with enormous lateral supplies of potentially toxic materials which as they now stand will continue to poison the waters of the Coeur d'Alene River for a considerable period of time."

Despite such warnings, mining companies continued to dump mine waste into the waters of the Coeur d'Alene until 1968. Abandoned tailings piles continue to release more toxic metals into the system each year.

Today, over 165 billion pounds of contaminated mining and smelter waste have entered the Coeur

*Continued on next page*

***"Hundred-year" floods are now occurring with deadly, destructive frequency. The bitter irony is that abundant warnings against overcutting and roadbuilding went unheeded for so long. The connection between overcutting and floods was well understood in the last century, and was a primary reason for creating the forest system in the first place.***

*Continued from page 12*

postpone further unnecessary impacts on wildlife while having virtually no impact on timber industry jobs.

In 1982, a court decision known as California vs Block ruled that the Forest Service must complete a thorough environmental analysis before selling timber in a roadless area.

"But unless someone filed an appeal, the Forest Service would go ahead and log a roadless area anyway," Osborn said. "Over and over again we had to appeal sales because they weren't doing the analyses.

"We decided this had gone on too long. Too much was being lost. The St. Joe River was starting to run mud, cutthroat were dwindling in the Little North Fork of the Clearwater and the elk herds in the Mallard-Larkins were being threatened.

"Either the Forest Service has to abide by the law, or we need an Idaho wilderness bill to protect the most valuable roadless areas."

Predictably, timber leaders have said the stay on logging in roadless areas will plunge the industry into ruin and eliminate thousands of jobs.

Workers and reporters are swallowing this propaganda without looking at the figures.

For example, according to the Forest Service:

- The region's total annual mill capacity, which is rarely achieved, is roughly 800 million board feet.
- Timber from the Panhandle forests accounts for 30 percent of the timber used by these mills; the rest comes from state and private lands.

• The timber industry already has more than 750 mbf of uncut timber under contract on Panhandle forests.

• Freezes on timber sales in all roadless areas affected by the appeal will account for less than 50 mbf, or less than 6 percent of the region's mill capacity. This small amount can easily be absorbed by the 750 mbf cushion.

Thus, the appeal gives the Forest Service more time to conduct the legally required environmental analyses with virtually no impact on jobs.

When we start trying to sort out who the bad guys are in North Idaho, the sleaziest of all appear to be timber industry leaders.

They call it "irresponsible environmentalism" when conservationists block a handful of timber sales in a few roadless areas. But they call it "efficiency" when dozens of jobs are eliminated by automating a mill.

The timber industry is like a greedy little kid who will steal and hoard every cookie on the table even though he knows he can't eat them all.

Just a few years ago, timber companies had more than a billion board feet of Panhandle forest timber under contract.

They couldn't even come close to selling it all, so the taxpayers bailed them out and bought back the timber.

The conservationist's appeal was necessary because the timber industry and Forest Service were preparing to needlessly road and log our most precious forest areas.

***"We decided this had gone on too long. Too much was being lost. The St. Joe River was starting to run mud, cutthroat were dwindling in the Little North Fork of the Clearwater and the elk herds in the Mallard-Larkins were being threatened." – John Osborn***



d'Alene system. Toxic sediments cover the bottom of Lake Coeur d'Alene. A glass of water taken from the river may look clear, but in times of flooding that water contains heavy metals such as lead, mercury, cadmium, zinc and arsenic greatly exceeding safe drinking water standards. Signs posted along these waterways issue health warnings: "The Lower Coeur d'Alene River and lateral lakes are contaminated with lead and other metals from mine tailings. Small children are at greatest risk. To protect your health: Avoid breathing dust and touching the soil and mud; Wash hands before eating and serving foods; Do not eat large amounts of fish, waterfowl or aquatic plants; Do not drink water from the river or lakes."

Unfortunately birds and other wildlife are blind to these signs. Nearby wetlands are called "killing fields" by biologists because mine wastes cover thousands of acres and the lead has killed thousands of migrating tundra swans.

Logging transformed the Idaho Panhandle national forests - St. Joe, the Kaniksu and the Coeur d'Alene into the region's "timber basket." As the Forest Service signed off one destructive timber sale after another, the Panhandle's forest ecosystem has died a death by a thousand cuts. People zipping along the Interstate or the river road that winds along the north fork won't see the clearcuts behind the deceptive "beauty strips." But these thin curtains of trees are not a substitute for an intact forest watershed. Illusions don't hold back floods.

There is no doubt that irresponsible logging causes floods. Numerous studies have shown that flooding and increased water yield are byproducts of present and historical rates and methods of logging. In addition, the Panhandle's forested hillsides are vulnerable to "rain-on-snow" events. Snow accumulates during the winter, then a warm, maritime Pacific storm drops rain on the snow, melting it. Logging roads create and worsen flood events. Studies show that roads are a very significant source of erosion and consequent sedimentation of streams. According to one hydrologist and forestry instructor, 99 percent of the sediment that enters water is the result of road construction and activity conducted too close to the riparian

zones. A complex of nearly 10,000 miles of logging roads has been built in the Idaho Panhandle national forests.

***In a single day of flooding in 1996, the raging Coeur d'Alene River carried a million pounds of lead into Idaho's Lake Coeur d'Alene.***



*Wetlands are called "killing fields" by biologists because mine wastes cover thousands of acres and the lead has killed thousands of swans.*

creating the forest system in the first place. As early as the 1960s, Forest Service hydrologists in the Idaho Panhandle warned of severe flood risk from overcutting in rain-on-snow zones. These Forest Service watershed scientists were transferred out of Idaho; others took early retirement.

Prompted by scientists' warnings, citizens have become actively involved. They challenged the adequacy of the Panhandle Plan in 1987, only to have their appeal rejected years later. They then turned to scrutinizing individual timber sales. In response, the Forest Service crippled the timber sale appeals process in 1994. Congress went further the following year by suspending the appeals process - and environmental laws - with the so-called salvage rider.

The Forest Service continues logging and road construction despite the worsening floods and degraded condition of the

Coeur d'Alene River. The Yellow Dog-Downey timber sale is but one example of the spurious reasoning the Forest Service employs to justify continued overcutting. The Forest Service has sold this major timber sale in one of the most overcut drainages of the north fork. The agency claims it must cut the trees to pay for removal of old logging roads and to improve timber stand health. The Yellow Dog-Downey timber sale includes building over a mile of new logging road and reconstructing and reconditioning (clearing and grading)

nearly 50 miles of existing roads, which already average 8.2 miles per square mile in the project area.

Despite many decades of citizen concern and involvement, the Coeur d'Alene watershed remains in jeopardy.

"Stewardship or Stumps? National Forests at the Crossroads" SIERRA CLUB, June 4, 1997

***Today, over 165 billion pounds of contaminated mining and smelter waste have entered the Coeur d'Alene system. Toxic sediments cover the bottom of Lake Coeur d'Alene.***

# Western Republicans want to strangle roadless plan

2000

By Larry Swisher

WASHINGTON — Unable to win their argument on the merits, Western Republicans in Congress have formed an antienvironmental monkey wrench gang to sabotage President Clinton's roadless area protection plan for the national forests.

In October, Clinton capped a Forest Service "time-out" on roadbuilding in these areas by directing the agency to safeguard its shrinking inventory of unroaded land from development. By the end of this year — unless opponents succeed with their stalling tactics — at least 40 million acres will be spared from the bulldozer, including roughly 8 million acres in Idaho and 1 million each in Oregon and Washington.

Similar protection might be extended to remnant old-growth forests in western Oregon, western Washington and northern California that are managed under the Northwest Forest Plan. That would add 1.5 million acres of unprotected wild lands to a Noah's Ark of nature. The future of smaller roadless acreages that have not yet been inventoried will take longer to study and debate.

Besides preserving native wildlife, clean water and ecosystems without blocking public access for backcountry recreation, the government will save money by keeping more forests whole instead of spending it on below-cost timber sales and related construction.

Retired forester and congressional aide Robert Wolf has estimated that the 46 most subsidized national forests — including 16 in the Northwest — lost \$855 million during 1993-1997 on timber. Currently, the industry has plenty of federal timber — 5 billion board feet under contract — and roadless areas account for only 5 percent of future sales.

Forest Service Chief Michael Dombeck showed leadership in originally placing a temporary moratorium on new roads in pristine lands in 1997. Only recently has Congress started giving him more money to chip away at a multibillion-dollar maintenance backlog for the existing network of 380,000 miles of roads. Taking care of these public ways is a higher priority. Dombeck's other worthy goals are to save roadless areas for future generations and reduce controversy and lawsuits that stop one out of every two projects proposed in roadless areas, wasting time, money and effort.

"Twenty years of forest planning didn't resolve the issue," and his agency has become "a wrestling mat," he said.

Since Clinton's latest Teddy Roosevelt-like move, Western Republicans have held at least four committee hearings and received thousands of related agency and White House memos, schedules and electronic mail messages.

This Washington, D.C. fishing expedition has been led by Rep. Helen Chenoweth-Hage and Sen. Larry Craig, both R-Idaho, who chair key subcommittees, with coordinated help from other members who receive campaign contributions from the timber, mining and grazing industries, recreation vehicle users and other backcountry despoilers.

The Republicans dug up what they believe is political and legal ammunition to use against a presidential action that is wildly popular with Americans of all persuasions in all parts of the country.

Since they don't dare try to overturn it by frontal assault in Congress, their game plan is to win in a delay of the roadless policy and elect Texas Gov. George Bush, so he can kill it. Chenoweth-Hage and Craig charged environmentalists shaped Clinton policy in exclusive secret meetings with officials and that the Forest Service violated federal administrative procedure laws. But such meetings are nothing out of the ordinary, and a federal judge in Idaho last month threw out a lawsuit brought by that state charging procedural flaws.

"It is not process with a preconceived outcome," and there were no clandestine or backroom deals with environmental groups, Undersecretary of Agriculture Jim Lyons testified before Chenoweth-Hage last week. "Nothing could be further from the truth."

More than half a million public comments have been received on the policy, detailed information and maps have been posted on the Internet, and two rounds of public meetings in every national forest are planned this year.

Adding a new charge last week, Chenoweth-Hage released a copy of a memo from the World Wildlife Fund that sought a \$650,000 foundation grant to help the Forest Service develop roadless area studies in the Northwest. But Dombeck testified he was unaware of the proposal and would not

***The presidential action is wildly popular with Americans of all persuasions in all parts of the country.***

***Unable to win their argument on the merits, Western Republicans in Congress have formed an anti-environmental monkey wrench gang to sabotage President Clinton's roadless area protection plan for the national forests.***

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***This Washington, D.C., fishing expedition has been led by Rep. Helen Chenoweth-Hage and Sen. Larry Craig, both R-Idaho, who chair key subcommittees.***

*Continued on next page*

# Idaho's Jim McClure puts democracy on hold

It's probably no surprise that a U.S. senator would think he is more privileged than the rest of us, but does James McClure have to rub our noses in it?

In delaying release of the U.S. Forest Service's long-awaited management plan for the Nez Perce National Forest, McClure has shown his contempt for the process through which these plans are to be developed – a process he helped establish. That process includes appeal procedures for people unhappy with the plans, procedures that are open to John Doe as well as to those semi-divine eminences in Congress.

McClure chose not to use the means the rest of us have to use, however, just as Sen. Steve Symms and Rep. Larry Craig chose not to use it earlier. Instead, McClure, and Symms and Craig before him, decided to keep the riff-raff in the general public from seeing the plan that was scheduled for release in June 1986.

McClure pulled this end run around democracy to see if he can do a little more for his constituents in the timber industry, which finds itself unable to make do with the lands it already has logged. The industry wants more land, as if it will never run out, as if the industry never will have to live with a stable timber base.

It will, you know. And McClure knows it too. But just as the industry chooses to put that day off as long as there is more public land to exploit, McClure chooses to keep people in boardrooms at Boise and San Francisco happy. Those people someday will be succeeded by executives who regret today's never-say-enough attitude toward public lands, but by that time McClure will have been succeeded as well.

McClure's contempt for democracy in this instance is overshadowed only by his contempt for the future. —J. F.

*Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, September 25, 1987*



*The Spokesman-Review, April 2, 1995. Copyright 1995, The Spokesman-Review. Used with permission of The Spokesman-Review.*

*Continued from page 16*

approve such an arrangement. "They'll dig and dig and dig, but they'll get to China before they find anything," predicted Ken Rait, head of the Portland-based Heritage Forests Campaign, a coalition of groups leading the push for roadless area protection. Rait is among the "radical elite" environmentalists who exerted unfair influence, according to Republicans.

Chenoweth-Hage even credited Rait for suggesting Clinton boast of having protected 40 million acres of roadless land in the State of the Union address in January. "I don't know how long I can talk. I'm expecting a call from the president," Rait joked in an interview.

The idea that tree huggers somehow call the shots in the federal government is based on conspiracy theories and a chimera of evidence.

*Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, March 19, 2000*



# Piling on pork

Sen. James McClure's self-described "Armenian rug trader" method of regaining funding to build more roads in national forests was a stunning political feat.

But it also demonstrated why Congress can't get the federal deficit under control. And it once again reveals the hypocrisy of Western conservatives who beat their breast about a balanced budget while shamelessly increasing it for their own pet programs.

In the case of the logging road funding, Congress, over the objections of Idaho's senior senator, had finally decided to trim this direct subsidy to private timber companies. The lack of a strong argument other than job creation had finally caught up to this classic pork-barrel program.

If the U.S. Forest Service gets its way it will build another 260,000 miles of roads and reconstruct another 319,000 in the next half-century. "The total miles of new and reconstructed roads is enough to go to the moon and back and then circle the earth four times," said economist John Baden. And these roads mostly benefit giant lumber companies like Potlatch and Louisiana-Pacific.

That's why it was one of the federal programs targeted by the conservative Heritage Foundation for elimination to cut the deficit. The Wilderness Society and other conservation groups oppose the road program because it is a waste of taxpayers' dollars and is destructive to wildlife habitat and water quality.

So conservatives joined conservationists in the Senate and handed McClure a defeat in committee and on the floor, trimming the road budget to \$140 million. But the system allowed McClure one more chance. He ignored the will of his Senate colleagues and beefed up the

federal budget by more than \$40 million.

Don't forget the \$112,000 he sneaked into the bill to help one sheep-herding family. And who knows what other pork-barrel projects McClure dropped into the pie and still has not told us about.

Then don't be surprised if later this month McClure votes against the appropriations bills when they return to the Senate because, he might say, they are budget busters. He's done it before after loading the budget with pork.

The point is that if a conservative Republican like McClure can do this without feeling guilt, just think what those free-spending liberals are doing. That doesn't even take into account the sleight-of-hand gimmicks congressmen from both parties are employing to make it look like they are bringing the deficit under control even as federal expenditures continue rising unchecked.

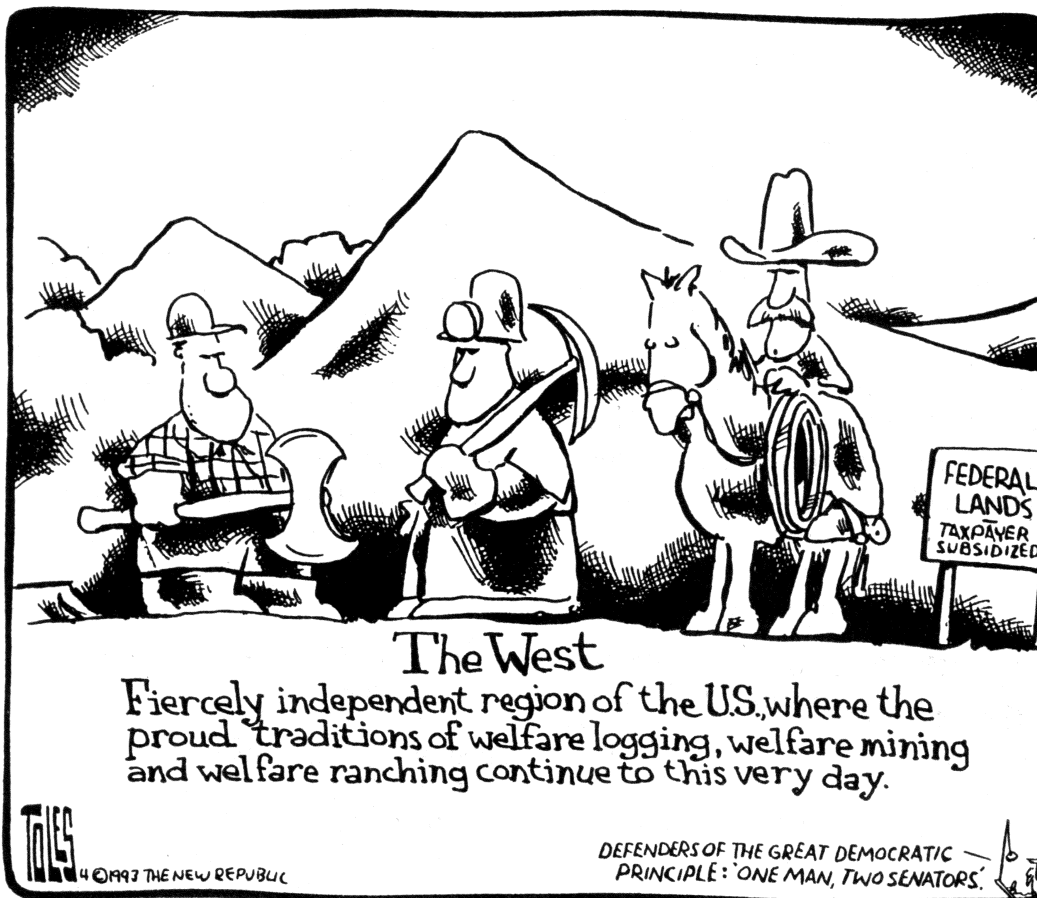
As long as voters put a higher priority on bringing home the bacon and a lower priority on balancing the budget, lawmakers like McClure are going to continue to flourish. We'll know conditions have changed when McClure, Richard Stallings, Larry Craig or Steve Symms start talking about cutting one of their own pet programs instead someone else's.

But don't hold your breath.

RRB, The Post-Register, Idaho Falls, Idaho, October 8, 1989

*Sen. James McClure's self-described "Armenian rug trader" method of regaining funding to build more roads in national forests was a stunning political feat.*

*These roads mostly benefit giant lumber companies like Potlatch and Louisiana-Pacific.*



# Roadless program

2000

## Environmentalists say Boise Cascade is trying to torpedo Clinton's policy

Associated Press

BOISE - One of Idaho's major environmental groups accused Boise Cascade Corp. on Monday of trying to manipulate its employees into conspiring with it to undermine the Clinton administration's roadless proposal.

But a Boise Cascade spokesman countered that the company was being accused of doing exactly what environmental groups urged their members to do on issues critical to them.

The Idaho Conservation League said it obtained an internal electronic memorandum in which a corporate lawyer urged Boise Cascade employees to request copies of the 400-page analysis of the roadless plan to essentially choke the information distribution system.

"We would like to be able to comment at public meetings and in written comments," the memo from attorney Jeff Neumeyer allegedly said, "that, among other flaws in this process multiple individuals requested the full (analysis) and did not receive it until some late date which did not provide them enough opportunity to comment on the proposed rule."

League spokesman John McCarthy said the memo showed the company wants to "manipulate the process with fake requests for information."

While corporate spokesman Mike Moser acknowledged that Boise Cascade's interest in the proposed policy is very high, "our employee interest in this is very high as well. Some of our employees live in these areas that would be affected.

"Our employees are really no different than any other citizen. They have citizens rights, they're no different than a member of an environmental group that encourages its members to get involved," Moser said. "Whether they participate in the hearings or process is really their choice."

He would neither confirm nor deny the existence of the memorandum.

Boise Cascade and others went to court three months ago, attacking the administration proposal to halt road building on up to 8 million acres of unroaded Idaho backcountry acres and over 40 million acres nationwide. The suit claimed there was insufficient detail for public evaluation of the proposal and that the policy prematurely applied roadless protection that would cut off access to private lands and historic rights-of-way.

The Idaho Conservation League and five other groups lined up with the federal government in defense of the proposal.

With the presidential election looming, McCarthy claimed the internal memo shows Boise Cascade was simply trying to stall.

Post Register, Idaho Falls, Idaho, June 30, 2000

***"Boise Cascade Corp. wants to manipulate the process with fake requests for information."***

***— John McCarthy,  
Idaho Conservation League***

***Boise Cascade and others went to court three months ago, attacking the administration proposal to halt road building on up to 8 million acres of unroaded Idaho backcountry acres and over 40 million acres nationwide.***



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# Study: Roadless plan better for rural towns

By John K. Wiley Of The Associated Press

SPOKANE — A proposal to ban roadbuilding and other developments in roadless national forests would benefit the economies of rural towns, a study funded by a pro-wilderness organization concludes.

Formerly timber-dependent communities in eastern and southwest Washington state would benefit more from a diversified economy than if the roadless areas were logged, University of Montana economics professor Thomas Power, the study's author, said Tuesday.

The Clinton administration has proposed banning roads and other development in 43 million acres of roadless forests, including about 2 million acres in Washington state.

"Washington's remaining roadless national forest areas are an asset that can spur the long-term economic vitality of Washington's forested eastern and southwestern communities," Power said.

Power, whose work was funded by the Wilburforce Foundation, a private, pro-wilderness philanthropic organization in Seattle, said debate over wilderness and roadless areas has focused exclusively on the commercial value of logging, and ignores noncommercial values of forested land.

"But it turns out they are critical, and in fact, mean more jobs, income and secure economic growth for traditionally timber-communities," he said.

*Dave Moershel fishing in still-wild forests – North Fork, Coeur d'Alene River.*



Industry groups and some recreational users have complained the proposal limits their access to forests.

"For a professor sitting in the great state of Montana, whose state is being overrun with Hollywood money and ranchettes and elite ski area developments, he can have that view," Northwest Forestry Association vice president Chris West said from Portland, Ore.

"But the simple fact is, anything outside the Interstate-5 and Interstate-90 corridor is struggling with double-digit unemployment and four-day schools, because they don't have the money."

Power's study found:

- Despite a 93 percent decline in national forest timber harvests and loss of 7,300 forest products jobs since 1,988, total employment, income and population all increased. In southwest Washington, where timber harvest declines were steepest, economies were the strongest.
- Economic vitality was strong in rural counties adjacent to national forests, such as Okanogan County.
- Most roadless areas have never been part of the commercial timber base, and national forests comprise only 4 percent of the total state timber harvest, 10 percent in eastern Washington and 3 percent in the state's southwest corner.
- Relatively high unemployment rates in many eastern Washington counties adjacent to national forests cannot be attributed to timber harvest declines.

Pristine scenery draws companies looking for a good quality-of-life for their employees, as well as tourists, the study said.

Power concluded that the state's timber-dependent communities have successfully adapted to changing economies and have found new sources of employment in relatively high-paying jobs for displaced timber workers.

West, whose association represents the timber products industry in Washington and Oregon, said rural communities with diversified economies would have done even better had timber extraction been healthy.

The roadless plan, he said, "is nothing more than election year politics."

About 60 million acres of the 192 million acres of federal forests are considered pristine. The rest of the acreage is host to a wide range of activities, including logging, camping, skiing and mining.

The Forest Service is holding 300 meetings to take public comment on the plan, including one scheduled in Spokane Thursday. A final plan is expected by the end of the year.

*Lewiston Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, June 14, 2000*



# Economic Evolution

## Montana can continue to thrive as forests are protected

By Thomas Michael Power

The Clinton administration has announced a new management policy for the national forests that will halt roading and logging in most of the remaining roadless areas. The Forest Service is holding one of the first public hearings in the nation on this policy in Missoula on Wednesday, Nov. 17, at the University of Montana, Gallagher Business Building, Room 123, with two sessions at 6 and 7:30 p.m. You are encouraged to attend.

In Montana as much as 6 million acres could receive protection from logging and mineral development, in Idaho as much as 8 million acres. Timber interests are already resurrecting their earlier charges that the Clinton administration is conducting a "war on the West."

Those charges that the federal government was crippling the economies of the western states may originally have had some political punch. However, as these same western states continued

to lead the nation in the expansion of economic activity, jobs and population, those charges of intentional economic damage to the region by the federal government became less and less plausible. Even in the rural areas of the West, almost every single county showed signs of above-average population growth during the 90s, the very period during which national forest timber harvests plummeted almost 80 percent. Instead of creating a "new Appalachia" of economic depression in the inland West, an economic boom rolled along, focusing attention not on coping with the predicted economic collapse but on managing the costs of rapid, sustained, economic growth. After a decade of successfully adjusting to a much lower level of timber harvest from national forest lands, Montana can certainly digest the economic impact of a limit on new roaded development in the remaining roadless areas. The actual impact of this is likely to be very small for several reasons.

*Continued on page 22*

## Idaho mills plan furloughs

### Boise Cascade reacts to recent building decline

Staff and wire reports

Boise Cascade Corp. said Friday that it will shut down its planing and shipping mill in Emmett and its sawmill in Cascade for about 10 days this summer to reduce inventory because of a slowdown in new home construction.

The facilities are among five sites that will be affected. The other lumber operations are in Yakima, Wash. and White City and LaGrande, Ore.

Employees at the lumber operations will face average two-week furloughs staggered over two months this summer. They were notified of the temporary shutdowns on Friday.

About 78 workers are affected at the Cascade site and 89 are affected at Emmett.

"During the past five weeks, market conditions have significantly deteriorated due to increased interest rates, decreased demand, a sharp increase in imported industrial lumber, and excess inventories," said Tom Lovlien, Boise Cascade's vice president for operations for the company's timber and woods products division. "A combination of these factors has created an imbalance between supply and demand in the marketplace."

Boise Cascade will temporarily curtail production at each operation based on specific circumstances at the individual sites, including log and finished goods inventories and outstanding order files. Each mill produces products generally targeted for the industrial millwork and home-center markets.

Company spokesman Doug Bartels said the temporary closures are not seasonal in nature.

"Usually this is the peak of the building season," he said, adding that the softening of the homebuilding industry "is a trend we have been seeing for a number of weeks."

"It's very disappointing. We had hoped for an upturn but it has not come," Bartels said. "We're doing what has to be done. It's regrettable, but we're trying to do this in the way that has the least impact not only on employees but customers."

Other wood products companies have been affected by the softer building materials market, officials said.

"It's widespread in the industry," Bartels said. "You can track it back to the interest rate increases."

The down periods are spread over the months of June and July. Company officials said the cumulative effect of the "staggered curtailments" will amount to about 8 1/2 weeks of production and impact a total of 550 employees throughout the region.

As an example, Bartels said, the Cascade sawmill will be shut down the week of June 26 for five days and shut down again in late July for another five days.

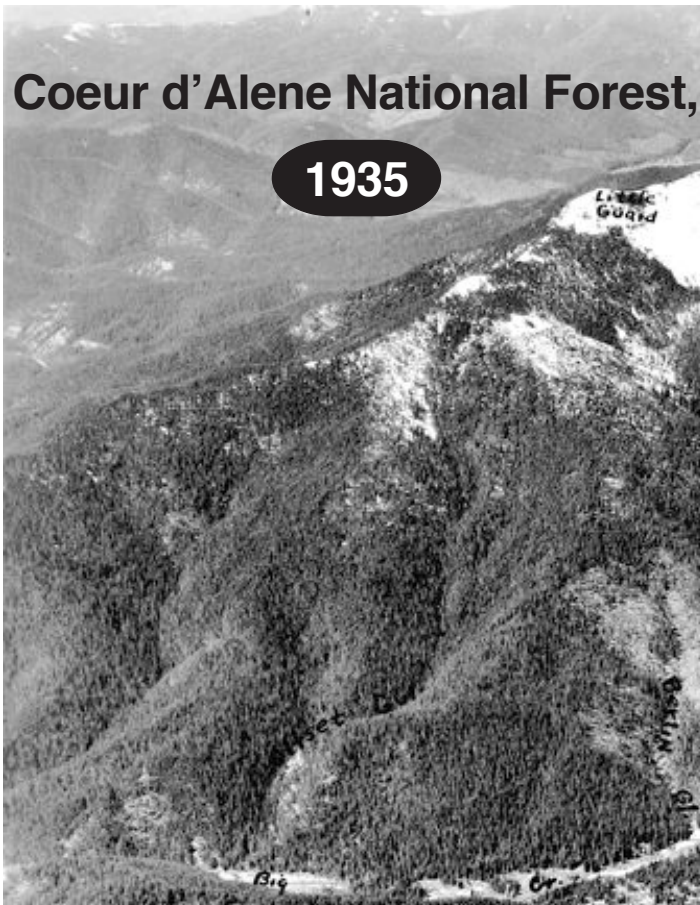
"Spreading out the curtailments will minimize the impact of potential supply shortfall for customers and limit the effect on employees," Lovlien said.

Boise Cascade manufactures and distributes wood products and paper and is a major distributor of office products and building materials. The company also owns and manages more than 2 million acres of timberland in the United States.

*The Idaho Statesman, Boise, Idaho, June 3, 2000*

***"During the past five weeks, market conditions have significantly deteriorated due to increased interest rates, decreased demand, a sharp increase in imported industrial lumber, and excess inventories." —Boise Cascade Corporation***

## Coeur d'Alene National Forest, Idaho: "Time-elapsed" photos.



1935



1997

### *Economic Evolution, continued from page 21*

First much of the roadless areas have been off limits to timber harvest for some time. In Idaho and Montana, where statewide Wilderness bills have failed to be passed, many wilderness study areas have been managed as Wilderness for almost two decades. Other roadless areas were put off limits to commercial timber harvest by the forest plans because of low timber values, high costs of access, and sensitive environmental values. Still other areas have not been roaded and harvested because of a variety of environmental constraints associated with damaged fisheries and endangered species such as the grizzly bear. The increasing pressure on the forest service to void below-cost timber sales has also limited new entry into high, remote areas where costs are high and timber values low. It was these economic considerations that blocked entry into these areas in the past. Finally, for a year or more, there has been a moratorium in place limiting the construction of new roads in national forest roadless areas.

The point is that most of these lands have not been providing a flow of logs to local mills for many years now and it was unlikely that that would have changed, with or without a new federal policy.

The question still remains, what will this restriction on the harvest of trees from federal land do to the local economy. We have had a full decade of experience to help answer that question.

Since the peak national forest harvests in 1987, two-thirds of that federal log flow in Montana has disappeared. On the Flathead, harvests in 1997 were only a fifth of what they were in 1987. On the Bitterroot, the 1997 harvest was only a quarter of the harvest in the late 1980s. On the timber-basket forest of the state, the Kootenai, only a third of the wood harvested in 1987 was harvested in 1997.

Clearly western Montana has experienced a massive decline in the availability of federal timber.

How did the western Montana economy respond to this loss of two-thirds of the federal timber supply? As we all know, it boomed. The areas hit the hardest by loss of federal timber, the Bitterroot and Flathead valleys, were among the fastest growing counties in the nation. The Bitterroot saw population increase by over 40 percent and jobs by 66 percent, three to four times the national increase. In the Flathead, economic growth was two to three times the national average. Even Lincoln County in the northwest corner of the state, the most timber dependent of our counties, saw jobs and population grow by about 7 percent during the 1990s despite the loss of not only two-thirds of the federal log flow but also the shutdown of a major mine.

Whatever the impact will be on the new federal policy on timber harvests in the remaining roadless areas, it will be very small compared to what we have already been through. Given our success in adjusting to much larger previous declines in the federal timber supply, there is no reason to panic as the federal government simply confirms with its new policy that harvests will never rise back to where they were in the late 1980s. Western Montana will simply continue its systematic evolution into a more diversified economy that increasingly resembles the rest of the nation rather than the frontier outpost we once were. That is not a bad change!

Thomas Michael Power is professor of economics and chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Montana. His most recent book is "Lost Landscapes and Failed Economies: The Search for a Value of Place," (Island Press, 1996)

*Missoulian, Missoula, MT, November 12, 1999.*



# Forest Wildlands Health

## Fires, Bugs, and Roadless Areas: Dispelling the Health Crisis Hoax

By The Wilderness Society

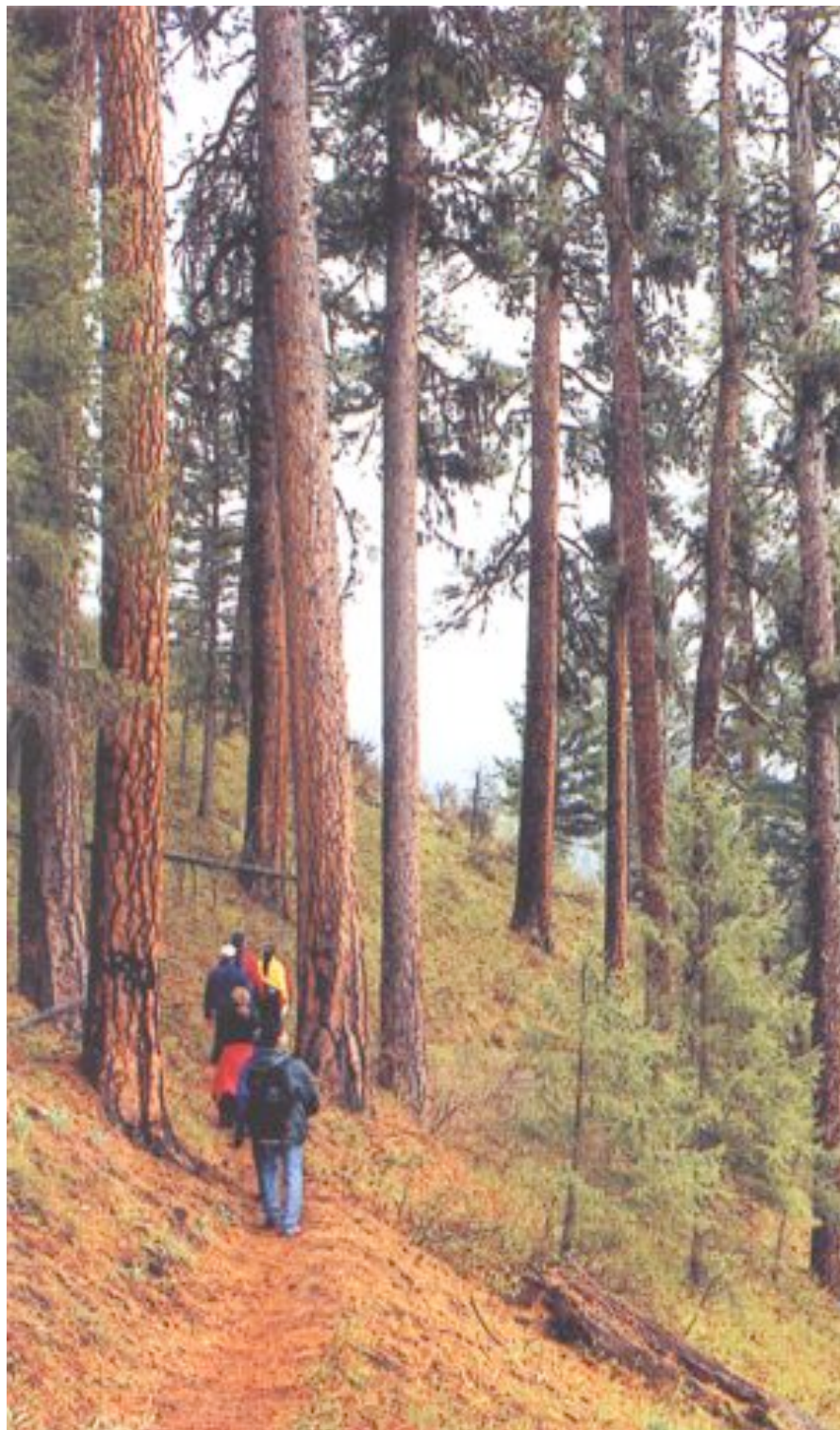
In late 1997, President Clinton described roadless lands on national forests as “unspoiled places [that] must be managed through science, not politics.” In response,

136 scientists and experts across the country wrote in a letter to the President, “A substantial amount of scientific information collected from both aquatic and terrestrial environments has demonstrated the importance of roadless areas in protecting the nation’s wildlife, fisheries and water resources. The ecological risks associated with developing these areas are extremely high, and may jeopardize the flow of goods and services that the national forests currently provide to human society.”

Nevertheless, the forest products industry claims that protection of roadless areas endangers the very health of our national forests. They argue that these areas increase the risk and frequency of large, high-intensity wildfires. Their solutions include widespread logging activities, such as thinning and selective cutting, to reduce the fire hazard. Additionally, they maintain that in order to stop the spread of insect infestations in national forests, logging in roadless areas is necessary. In brief: cut trees down to save them from insects and fire.

Science, however is strongly on the side of protecting roadless lands. Numerous studies around the country conclude that road construction and logging are more likely to increase wildfire in forested areas than would be the case if the areas were left in their natural state. And there is strong evidence that cutting down trees is an ill-considered response to insect infestations.

*Open stand of old growth ponderosa pine in area scheduled for “forest health” logging. Boise N.F. (John McCarthy)*





# Strengthening Our Forests

## Do roadless areas cause more frequent high-intensity wildfires?

**No** - Not according to science. The body of evidence from studies in the western United States clearly shows that logging and road construction, in fact, pose a greater threat of fire. The scientific literature on the relationship between fire and forest management concludes that forests roadless areas are the least altered from historic conditions and therefore present a lower fire hazard than forests in managed areas. The primary reasons? First, roadless areas are less subject to human-caused ignitions than are managed, roaded areas. Second, forests in roadless areas have not experienced the timber management activities that can create increased fuel loads and decreased resilience to fire. Third, these areas have been less influenced by the impacts of fire suppression.

As Under Secretary of Agriculture James Lyons testified before Congress in February 2000, "Preliminary data also indicate that the degree of overlap between areas that the [U.S. Forest Service] has identified as having risk from wildfires and inventoried roadless areas is small. ... Many fire ecologists believe that unroaded areas have less potential for larger, high intensity, more severe forest fires than roaded areas."

## What is the main cause of wildfires on national forests?

**People.** The Forest Service reported in 1996 and 1998 that 90 percent of wildfires on national forests are caused by humans. This occurs through operation of motorized vehicles and logging equipment as well as inadequate dousing of campfires, careless smoking, and arson.

Roadless areas are generally more remote and difficult to access than roaded lands on national forests. Therefore, they are less likely to be at risk from human-caused wildfire.

## Does logging contribute to wildfires?

**Yes.** Logging changes the ecology of a forest so that it is less resistant to the spread of fire. The typical logging operation litters cutover areas with slash and debris, primarily flammable needles and branches after removal of the least flammable portion of a tree - its trunk. Slash and debris create fuel loads on the ground. In forests where logging has stripped away the shading canopy of big, old trees, the fuel load is exposed to the heating and drying effects of greater amounts of sun and wind than in a naturally shaded forest. The Sierra Nevada Ecosystem Project and the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project concluded that commercial logging was a major reason for increased intensity and severity of

wildland fires. Both studies also showed that the logging method made little difference. In the roaded watersheds of the Sierra Nevada and Interior Columbia Basin, thinning, clearcuts, and salvage logging all contributed to more rapid rates of fire spread, higher fire intensities, and greater fire severity than in unlogged, roadless watersheds. Other studies found that partially cut stands in the Klamath Mountains of northwestern California burned more intensely and suffered higher levels of tree mortal mortality than unmanaged areas, and that thinning of previously uncut land in the Wenatchee National Forest in Washington State likely added to fire damage.

Furthermore, the Sierra Nevada and Interior Columbia Basin studies concluded that roadless watersheds have the highest levels of ecological integrity and the greatest resiliency to wildfires because they have experienced less logging and less road construction. The Interior Columbia Basin study stated, "Fires in unroaded areas are not as severe as in roaded areas because of less surface fuel. . . . Many of the fires in the unroaded areas produce a forest structure that is consistent with the fire regime, while the fires in the roaded areas commonly produce a forest structure that is not in sync with the fire regime."

## Does fire suppression contribute to wildfires?

**Yes** - counterintuitive though it may seem. Studies indicate that the most effective fire suppression strategies rely on large, ground-based operations that employ heavy equipment and sometimes hundreds of firefighters trained to blaze roads quickly and cut fire lines in the forest as well as other intensive methods to contain wildfires. While fire suppression is often essential to protect communities and property, firefighting activities can also create more of the cutover and roaded conditions that make managed forested areas more susceptible to wildfire.

Moreover, continual fire suppression over a long period of time often changes forests in ways that make them more vulnerable to high-intensity fires. Some types of forests are naturally adapted to fairly frequent, low-intensity fires. Excluding fire altogether from those forests encourages growth of trees that are less fire-resistant and more likely to carry fire into the forest canopy. Consequently, when fires finally strike such forests, they can do a lot more damage than would occur under natural conditions.

Roadless areas are generally more remote and less accessible to motorized firefighting methods than are managed forest landscapes with their road systems. However, the absence of roads also greatly reduces the risk of human-caused fires. Several studies have concluded that weather is typically the controlling factor in the demise of wildfire at the mid-to-high level cool elevations where

# Strengthening Our Forests



*Fire area, Boise N.F. Mosaic of live and dead trees, typical of most fires. (Craig Gehrke)*

most roadless areas in the West are located. A study that modeled fire behavior in the southern Canadian Rockies, for example, found that fire behavior was predominately determined by regional weather conditions resulting from hemispheric patterns. And an analysis of the patterns left behind by the 1988 Yellowstone fires discovered that the severity of a burn was a function of fire size and that fire size was a function of weather.

## **Do insects destroy forests?**

Not likely. Insect infestations do kill trees and other vegetation within a forest. But most natural forests are well adapted to insect cycles and have developed the ability to survive even widespread infestations. In fact, many may depend on periodic insect invasions to remain healthy. Scientific studies around the globe – in temperate and tropical forest – recognize that standing and downed dead trees that result from insect infestations provide food and shelter for wildlife, form fish-spawning pools, filter water for downstream use, and fertilize soils for future generations of forest life.

The myth that insect- or disease-infested forests dominate the wildland landscape was the basis of the so-called “health crisis” in the 1990s. The timber industry and often the Forest Service claimed that national forests were drought ridden and infested by insects and that these forests were a wasted resource and wildfire hazard. The work of many forest ecologists as well as time proved these

claims wrong. But not before the Forest Service rushed to offer timber sales in many previously uncut areas on the national forests.

In one of many examples, the Forest Service was convinced in 1999 that logging on the national forests in northern Idaho and northeastern Washington was necessary to help save the forest from the bark beetle. Much of the public may have been convinced by a television / radio / billboard blitz — paid for by the timber industry — that described and showed pictures of forested areas with obviously dead or dying trees interspersed with live trees. Nevertheless, by February 2000, the Forest Service concluded it had misjudged the number of trees that would fall to future infestations. The agency scaled back the timber sales.

## **Conclusion**

*For years scientific studies have debunked the myths that protection of roadless areas will result in increased risk of frequent, high-intensity wildfires and widespread insect infestations that will destroy forested wildlands. Yet these unproven arguments are still used by those who oppose protection of roadless areas on national forests.*

***When it comes to fire hazard and insect infestations, the science is not merely persuasive; it is overwhelmingly in favor of protecting roadless areas.***

**The Wilderness Society recommends the following reading list for more information about the relationship of roadless lands to wildfire and insect infestations and the current effort by the U.S. Forest Service to develop management alternatives for roadless lands on national forests.**

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**Heritage Forests Campaign**  
**[www.ourforests.org](http://www.ourforests.org)**

The Heritage Forests Campaign is a project initiated by the Pew Charitable Trusts through a grant to the National Audubon Society.

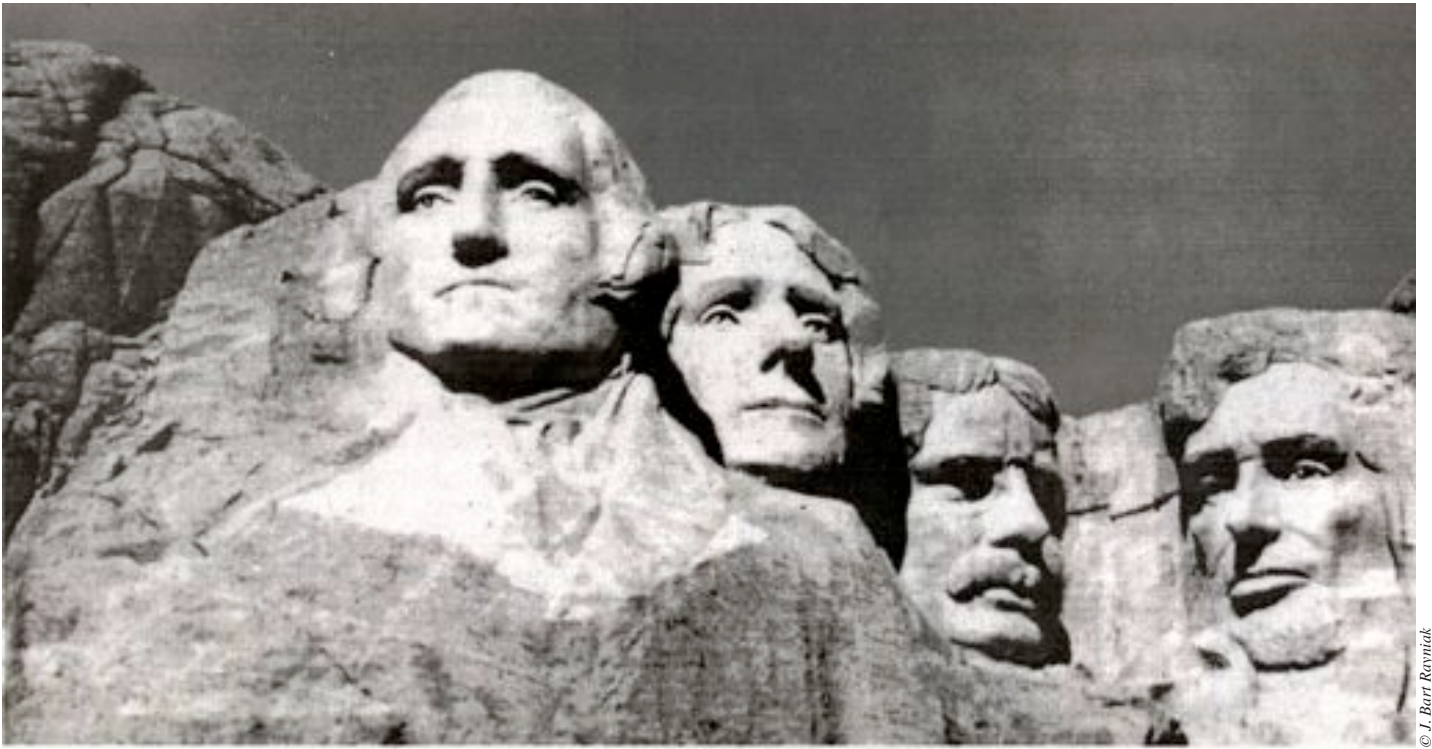
**The Wilderness Society**

Founded in 1935, The Wilderness Society works to protect America's wilderness and wildlife and to develop a nationwide network of wild lands through public education, scientific analysis, and advocacy.

Our goal is to ensure that future generations enjoy the clean air and water, beauty, wildlife, and opportunities for recreation and spiritual renewal provided by the nation's pristine forests, rivers, deserts, and mountains.

The Wilderness Society  
1615 M Street, NW \* Washington, DC 20036  
[www.wilderness.org](http://www.wilderness.org) \* 1-800-THE-WILD





© J. Bart Roynick

*Theodore Roosevelt memorialized at Mt. Rushmore, along with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.*

# FOREST MILLIONS SAVED TO NATION

## Roosevelt Throws a Bomb Among Barons at the Last.

WASHINGTON, March 4. — Tremendous excitement was caused today among members of the house and senate by President Roosevelt's proclamation that 17 million acres of timber land in 32 forest reserves has to added to the forest reserves of the country in the western states. The president issued the proclamation just before he signed the agricultural bill which carries the Fulton-Heyburn amendment providing for no more reserves or extensions without an act of congress. Congressional action is designed as it was known the president contemplated adding a large area to that already withdrawn. When it was learned today that the president had forestalled congress by withdrawing such vast areas, members of both houses who had supported the Fulton amendment expressed their rage. The president justifies his action by saying if he had not so acted before congress could act next fall, an enormous area of timber land would have been gobbled by the timber syndicates. Senator Heyburn was jointly interested with Senator Fulton, so he has been defeated to a great extent in attaining the object for which he has striven for the past two years. Senator Heyburn said today: "I do not think the action of the president was in good taste, but I know now where to look for relief when Congress meets next December. Meanwhile I won't bother my mind about it."

### The Land Affected.

The reservations created or increased follow:

Toiboye reserve, Nevada;  
Wenaha forest reserve, Oregon and Washington;  
Las Animas forest reserve, Colorado and New Mexico;

Colville forest reserve, Wyoming;  
Holy Cross forest reserve, Colorado;  
Uncompahgre forest reserve, Colorado;  
Park Range forest reserve, Colorado;  
Imnaha forest reserve, Oregon;  
Big Belt forest reserve, Montana;  
Big Hole forest reserve, Idaho and Montana;  
Otter forest reserve, Montana;  
Lewis and Clark forest reserve, Montana;  
Montezuma forest reserve, Colorado;  
Olympic forest reserve, Washington;  
Little Rockies forest reserve, Montana;  
San Juan forest reserve, Colorado;  
Medicine Bow forest reserve, Colorado and Wyoming;  
Yellowstone forest reserve, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming;  
Port Neufal forest reserve, Idaho;  
Palouse forest reserve, Idaho;  
Weiser forest reserve, Idaho;  
Priest River forest reserve, Idaho and Washington;  
Cabinet forest reserve, Montana and Idaho;  
Rainier forest reserve, Washington;  
Washington forest reserve, Washington;  
Ashland forest reserve, Oregon;  
Coquille forest reserve, Oregon;  
Cascade forest reserve, Oregon;  
Umpqua forest reserve, Oregon: and the  
Blue mountain forest reserve, Oregon.

The Spokesman-Review, March 8, 1907. Copyright 1998, The Spokesman-Review. Used with permission of The Spokesman-Review.

# Protecting the forest for all the people

**Edith Roosevelt Derby Williams**, Special to The Times

I am always pleased to have a chance to reintroduce my grandfather, Theodore Roosevelt, to all of you who are much too young to know about him. As a president, he is memorialized at Mount Rushmore along with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. Teddy Roosevelt, for whom the Teddy bear is named, was passionate in his beliefs about conservation. My grandfather firmly believed that the public lands belonged to we the people and not to special-interest groups with excessive wealth and power.

As president, Roosevelt set aside over 100 million acres as National Forest: over half of the current National Forest system. Roosevelt protected much of our forest here in the Pacific Northwest to keep them out of the hands of timber syndicates. At the same time, Roosevelt made very sure that the proper agency was set up to preserve and protect these lands: the Forest Service.

Under the able leadership of Roosevelt's chief forester and close friend, Gifford Pinchot, the Forest Service established the doctrine of "multiple use" - the National Forests would be both preserved and still used.

So what happened? Soon after Roosevelt left the White House his successor, President Taft, fired Gifford Pinchot for refusing to put private timber interests above the public interest. In the years since, many of our brightest and our best in the service have suffered the same fate. Why? Because they believed as Roosevelt believed in obeying the law and protecting our public lands.

Over the years and especially since World War II, the Forest shifted to "single use": timber production. The Forest Service has wandered far from its principled commitment to protect the National Forests for all the people.

What has happened to the public lands in the 50 years since my husband and I settled in the Pacific Northwest? It is a very dismal tale and I know that you have heard it many times. But it bears repeating time and time again to arouse the American public to stop what is happening to *their* public lands.

As everyone knows who has spent time in the forest or looked out an airplane

window, the once verdant canopy over the mountains is now pockmarked with clear-cuts. Clear-cuts mar the landscape. Logging roads further tear at the fabric of the forests. Over 370,000 miles of logging roads crisscross the 156 National Forests - 370,000 miles of roads. This make the Forest Service the largest road-building entity in the history of mankind, and the American taxpayers the financiers of every mile. We have enough logging roads to circle the equator 15 times. The Coeur d'Alene National Forest in north Idaho averages over 10 miles of logging roads for every mile of forest.

The healthy forest acts as a sponge that absorbs the water that comes from melting snows and from rains. This forest sponge is destroyed by clear-cutting and roads. The land cannot hold onto the water. All over the Northwest, the massive landslides and floods have been devastating. Floods are especially bad in the Coeur d'Alene because they carry downstream millions of pounds of lead and other poisons from mining in Idaho - polluting waters downstream in Eastern Washington.

Not only do the clear-cuts and roads cause flooding, but they fill streams with silt and debris. Trout streams are ruined and can no longer claim their title. Salmon and steelhead have no place to spawn. Commercial fishing is threatened by the loss of habitat in our National Forests. The quality of recreational fishing is diminished. Municipal watersheds all along the Cascade Mountains are at risk.

The money doesn't exist to maintain the current massive road systems and undo the damage. Yet, Congress wants to build even more logging roads. Taxpayers pay millions for these roads, actually pay to damage and destroy their own National Forests, and pay yet again to try to fix the damage. These logging road subsidies are irresponsible to the American taxpayer.

The majority of our congressional delegation are among the chief villains. The inheritance that Theodore Roosevelt secured for all Americans is being flagrantly and thoughtlessly destroyed. He would be distraught. And believe me, so am I.

This ravage of our forests, our public lands, our children's inheritance, must be stopped, right now!

***"My grandfather firmly believed that the public lands belonged to we the people and not to special-interest groups with excessive wealth and power."***

***"As president, Roosevelt set aside over 100 million acres as National Forest: over half of the current National Forest system. Roosevelt protected much of our forest here in the Pacific Northwest to keep them out of the hands of timber syndicates."***

***"Over 370,000 miles of logging roads crisscross the 156 National Forests - 370,000 miles of roads. This make the Forest Service the largest road-building entity in the history of mankind, and the American taxpayers the financiers of every mile."***

***"Floods are especially bad in the Coeur d'Alene. They carry downstream millions of pounds of lead and other poisons from mining in Idaho - polluting waters downstream in Washington."***

***"The majority of our congressional delegation are among the chief villains."***

*Seattle Times, Seattle, Washington, July 10, 1997*

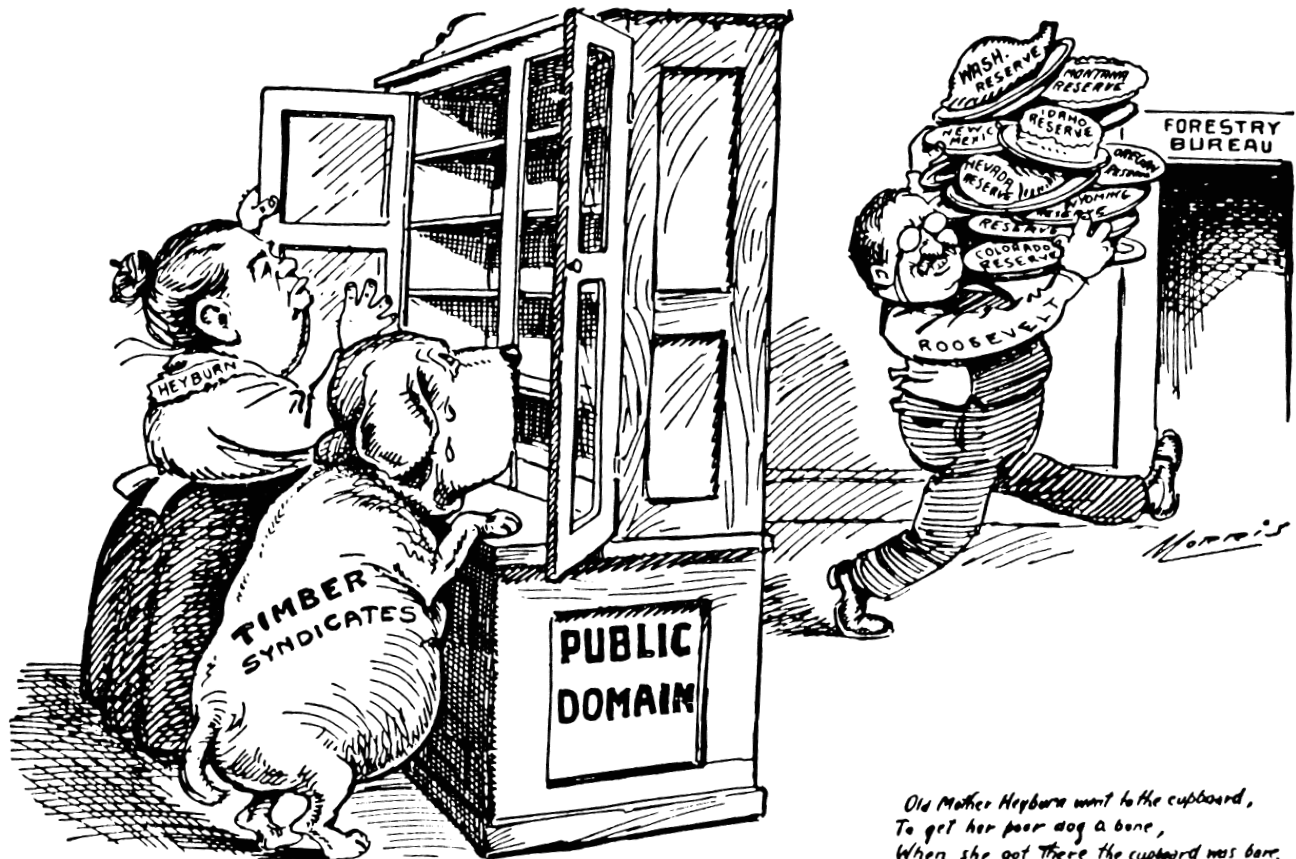




President Teddy Roosevelt (1858-1919)



President Roosevelt and Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot.



Old Mother Heyburn went to the cupboard,  
To get her poor dog a bone,  
When she got there, the cupboard was bare,  
And so the poor dog had none.

To Mr Pinchot - compliments of  
Spokane Spokesman-Review H.C. MORRIS



# Time is running out for America's forests

By Peter Pinchot, Knight Ridder Tribune

Many of the most significant advances in American conservation have come late in a president's term. In 1897, with 10 days left in office, Grover Cleveland more than doubled the federal Forest Reserves (later to become National Forests). Theodore Roosevelt, by the time his second term ended in 1909 had not only created the U.S. Forest Service but had quadrupled the size of the National Forests under its protection.

Now, in his last year in office, President Clinton has put forth his own vision: a major plan to preserve permanently the biological legacy of the roadless areas in the National Forests. If this plan is not finalized before he leaves office, Americans may wait many years for a comparable opportunity.

For decades the U.S. Forest Service has been mired in conflict between the economics of timber harvest and the ecological values of the forests. The din of partisan politics has all but buried the seismic shift in priorities that Americans have made for their public lands, with wilderness recreation and biodiversity preservation now at the top of the list. At the center of the conflict is one-third of the land in the National Forests that has never been opened to exploitation by building roads.

This conflict has begged for an act of genuine leadership to chart a course for the National Forests. And that is what President Clinton and Mike Dombeck, the chief of the Forest Service, have finally done. Last October they announced a plan that could protect 54 million acres of the National Forests from any new roads and further commercial and environmentally damaging uses.

When added to the existing wilderness area protection, almost 50 percent of the National Forest would be taken out of harm's way. These protected lands can become the nucleus of a national commitment to restore and protect the biological diversity of the American continent that will set a standard for the world.

While some may see this as a controversial idea, it is fully consistent with the original mission of the U.S. Forest Service, which was to protect as much of the nation's forests as possible for the long-term benefit of American citizens. At the beginning of the last century, as the West was being settled, forests from coast to coast were being logged and burned with little thought for the future. Realizing the inestimable value of what was being lost, President Roosevelt, working with Gifford Pinchot, the first Forest Service chief, brought 192 million acres under federal ownership.

Today our forests face an even more serious crisis. There is a broad consensus among scientists that the Earth is in the midst of

a catastrophic decline in the diversity of plant and animal species. The greatest conservation challenge of this century will be to reserve as many species as we can even while human population and economic pressure on natural resources soar to their peak.

The one strategy that most biologists feel confident can slow down the loss of diversity is to set aside large areas of natural forest and grassland that are no longer managed intensively for economic production. These large wildlands can function as arks or safe havens for sustaining the whole complex of species that inhabit a region. By protecting almost half of the land in National Forests from further road building and logging, President Clinton will be taking a vital step toward creating a workable safety net for the continent's biodiversity.

It is no surprise that there is powerful political opposition to this plan, just as there was to establishing the National Forests 100 years ago. The president's proposal is probably the most significant change in direction for the National Forests since the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964.

As with any major act of leadership, this plan shakes up many of the vested stakeholders, some of whom will protest bitterly, as they did in the time of President Roosevelt. However, that is no reason to sacrifice our profound national interest in protecting the forests, nor to ignore the need to preserve the irreplaceable biodiversity that our public forests hold.

A recent national poll by a prominent Republican pollster found that more than three-quarters of Americans favor protecting the remaining roadless areas in the National Forests from logging, mining and road building. This position is neither partisan nor regional, but is shared by 62 percent of Republicans and two-thirds of Westerners.

Why is this? One reason may be that for the first time in history the majority of people live in isolation from anything resembling a natural landscape. A growing hunger to reconnect with nature propels millions of Americans out to public lands each year for wilderness recreation. But many Americans also sense that time is running out on nature. Either we protect our wildlands now, or we will lose much of the biological wealth of this continent.

President Clinton has given us a chance to act. We should give him the support he needs to finish this job before he leaves office.

Peter Pinchot is the grandson of America's first Forest Service chief, Gifford Pinchot. As director of the Milford Experimental Forest in northeastern Pennsylvania, Pinchot researches restoration of the biodiversity of forests and watersheds. Readers may write to him at: 225 Moose Hill Road, Guilford, Conn. 06437-4311.

*The Missoulian, Missoula, Montana, March 15, 2000*

***"At the center of the conflict is one-third of the land in the National Forests that has never been opened to exploitation by building roads."***

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John Osborn, M.D. – founder  
The Lands Council



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### **ALERT! – PLEASE CALL THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY**

**Tell the President to veto anti-environmental “riders” attacking our forests and water quality written by Senators Larry Craig, Slade Gorton, and the other “Western Republicans.”**

**Call today, and encourage your friends and family to call: 202-456-1414**

# Craig aims to delay forest Plan

## Amendment calls for panel to study roadless initiative

Associated Press

Washington — Western Republican senators have insisted for months that President Clinton’s plan to protect 43 million acres of roadless forests is wrong, tainted and illegal.

Now they have a chance to delay the plan — or even quash it for good.

Next week, the Senate is expected to take up a proposal by Sen. Larry Craig, R-Idaho, that would delay the Clinton administration plan for at least a year — or until 60 days after a panel reviews the effort and submits a report to Congress.

Environmentalists say Craig’s proposal is a poorly hidden effort to put off the forest protection plan until after Clinton leaves office, with the hope that a newly elected president, possibly Republican George W. Bush, would scrap the initiative upon taking office.

This is the big environmental fight western Republicans and environmentalists have been bracing for since Clinton unveiled the roadless initiative last October.

The 43 million acres of already roadless forests that Clinton wants to set aside through an administrative rule would prevent road building or other development on more than one-fifth of federal forests for generations to come.

The plan sets broad criteria as to whether logging, grazing and other activities should be allowed and leaves it up to local foresters to decide whether roads should be banned in smaller forest parcels of 5,000 acres or less.

Environmentalists call the effort a crowning achievement of the Clinton presidency and one of the most important conservation moves of the last century.

But western Republicans, timber companies and recreation interests say the move would limit access to public lands. They denounce the rule-making as an end run around Congress, since the plan can be implemented with administration action only.

The amendment Craig will offer on the Senate floor to a \$15.5 billion interior spending bill would take \$1 million from federal timber amounts to pay for a study of the roadless initiative and a separately proposed rule governing when new roads can be built.

Craig said such an advisory committee needs to review the rulemaking to ensure they are done right — and legally.

He and Rep. Helen Chenoweth-Hage, also R-Idaho, have been holding hearings of the forest oversight subcommittees they chair to argue that the administration roadless rulemaking is violating laws, such as those governing advisory committees and open meetings.

“The environmental community behind closed doors convinced this administration to pump out a roads policy,” Craig said. “What I do is simply reverse that process ... I just cannot believe anyone serving in the U.S. Senate would condone a closed-door process.”

While Craig and Chenoweth-Hage have been laying the groundwork for a challenge on Capitol Hill, Forest Service officials have continued to hold about 400 public meetings nationwide on the draft of the roadless plan they unveiled in the spring.

A Forest Service spokesman said the public meetings — not more study — are the best way to move forward on the roadless plan.

“This represents to me a truly fascinating turn of events — we’re desperately seeking debate on the substance of an issue and others are relentlessly turning back to and arguing for more process,” Chris Wood said.

Marty Hayden, legislative director of Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund, said the Craig amendment would derail the public process with “hope that the next administration is less favorably disposed to protecting roadless areas.”

But Craig doesn’t call his amendment a plan killer. One of his aides said that Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman could quickly appoint the review panel and complete the study and roadless initiative before Clinton leaves office.

“Within reason, this is something that could be done promptly,” said Mark Rey, a staffer at the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

Clinton is expected to issue a threat to veto the interior bill if Craig prevails on the Senate floor. Environmentalists expect a close vote.

After a public comment period on the proposed roadless rule closes on July 17, administration officials will draft a final rule and expect to unveil it in late fall or winter.

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