

High Country

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MONTANA
SPECIAL ISSUE

Montana politics

The populist tradition continues

by Don Snow

It was dubbed the Monday Night Massacre when just a few hours before the midsession transmittal of bills, the 1983, Montana house daggered a number of measures that had been lobbied heavily by the Schwinden administration. High on the list of the governor's favorites was a House bill to repeal Montana's ban on coal slurry pipelines and substitute a water marketing program that would allow the Treasure State to compete eye-to-eye with South Dakota in industrial water sales.

The Schwinden bill had already been beaten once on the floor, but a feverish weekend lobbying blitz by the Department of Natural Resources and Conservation and several industry trade associations guaranteed reconsideration of the pro-slurry bill. Daily newspapers and TV broadcasts had already outlined the issue for Montanans: South Dakota had sold 50,000 acre-feet of "surplus" reservoir water for use in a Wyoming slurry line. The water originated in Montana mountains, yet a distant state would benefit terrifically from the \$1.4 billion sale while Montanans could stand on the banks of the broad Missouri and weep like schoolchildren.

Meanwhile, Montana legislators had been scrapping day and night to balance the state budget, and a few prominent Democrats — but not the governor — were calling for a general tax increase. For state government the cupboard was getting bare, indeed.

By mid-January, the skillful politician Ted Schwinden (D) lifted a wet finger to sample the wind. He must have liked what he felt because he quickly advised his lieutenants at DNRC to drop the original idea of a coal slurry study and push hard for the whole enchilada — an immediate repeal of the slurry ban

coupled with a water-marketing scheme that would put Montana on the map of big-time water dealers.

DNRC hit the aisles and phones over the weekend, and by Monday the lobbyists for conservation, labor, and a few agricultural groups stood on the verge of panic. They had lost a clear 10 votes against reconsideration, and some of them feared that the turnaround went even deeper.

"We were positive we would lose on reconsideration, and 90 percent sure we'd lose the slurry ban, too," said Tom Daubert of the Montana Environmental Information Center.

The conservationists and railroad unions fought back with the only tool they had left — phone calls from the folks back home. All day Monday the Capitol switchboard rang. Representatives from Montana's numerous railroad towns got the message clearly. One representative, a coal slurry proponent who changed his vote, complained of getting a call every five minutes. The switchboard pages dutifully carried message after message into the House chambers, stacking them up on desks like so many overdue bills. Meanwhile, conservation and railroad union lobbyists worked the halls, shoulder to shoulder with the Schwinden people, who kept up the assault.

By the time the final debate began — after reconsideration passed easily — the lobbyists slumped in the gallery seats, fully expecting to lose their hardest fought issue of the session. Head to head they counted again the No's and Yes's, based on intelligence gathered from the halls, and silently prayed for the Maybe's. For a conservation lobbyist in Montana, the universe revolves on a handful of Maybe's.

The Speaker of the House timed his move well. Not presiding, he had listened carefully to the stormy debate for nearly two hours. The issue had been



IS IT COMING TO THIS?

Wanted—A New Earth: Apply the Common People

exhausted but not the facts. The debate had been emotional. After all, it was Montana's water — or, perhaps more accurately, the way that water flows through the state — that was at stake.

Suddenly the Speaker was on his feet, having unfurled his 6'5" frame for what would become the final shot. The Speaker was about to slam-dunk.

"Mr. Chairman," he began, "I don't like to take the time tonight because I know we're going to be here until midnight. However ..."

For the next 10 minutes, House Speaker Daniel Kemmis of Missoula held an audience transfixed. All of the usual late-night fidgeting, the small talk and corridor conversations, stopped. It was as if the House chamber with its enormous Charlie Russell mural of Indians negotiating peace was suspended for a few moments in history. Speaker Kemmis stood on his feet, invoking the pride and wisdom of the 48th Montana legislature.

When he sat down, the outcome was unquestioned. The governor's bill failed by 14 votes. As far as the Montana House was concerned, coal slurry would remain banned another two years.

The phone calls had worked. It was easy for a rural Democrat to support the alternative bill, calling for a coal slurry study, but awfully hard to buck the governor. The support from home helped a

great deal. But Kemmis' speech iced the cake.

"He turned maybe 10 votes around," said MEIC's Daubert. "It was truly the most amazing speech I ever heard."

More than what he said, it was what Kemmis stood for that made the difference. In the "people's house," Kemmis stood for populism, for the needs and desires of the citizens as opposed to the desires of big business, big government, big anything. The people were not yet ready to enter into a Faustian contract for their water, and they said so over the phone. Study the issue; don't act on it yet. That was the message. As a statement of populist sentiments, it's a message as old as Montana's statehood.

Montana is one of the few states in the West where the people's representatives have not completely accepted the arguments for industrial "progress." Montanans have stubbornly resisted the level and pace of energy development that has occurred in neighboring states. Through initiatives and referenda, the nuclear and uranium industries have been kicked out wholesale and the MX missile has been sent dense-packing someplace else. Through legislation, the coal industry has been told to pay its way and clean up its mess better than anyplace else, utilizing

(continued on page 12)

WESTERN ROUNDUP

Another EPA official bites the dust

On April 25, Steve Durham, Environmental Protection Agency administrator for the six-state region that covers most of the Rocky Mountain West, announced his resignation, effective June 25. Durham's announcement came on the eve of a press conference originally scheduled by a coalition of 26 organizations to demand his resignation. Instead, the group, the Rocky Mountain Coalition for Environmental Protection, called for Durham's immediate departure, terming Durham's decision to remain in office for two more months "unacceptable."

The coalition, which includes seven major environmental groups and a number of citizens' groups also seeks the resignation of Durham's deputy, Seth Hunt.

Durham, who for many years operated a Colorado Springs tourist attraction, was appointed in 1981 by former EPA administrator Anne Burford to head EPA's Region VIII office in Denver. Burford and Durham had a political alliance dating back to their days in the Colorado House of Representatives when they were members of a right-wing coalition usually called the "House Crazies."

In announcing his resignation, Durham said he would return to private business. He later added, "I left this job mentally the day Anne Burford resigned."

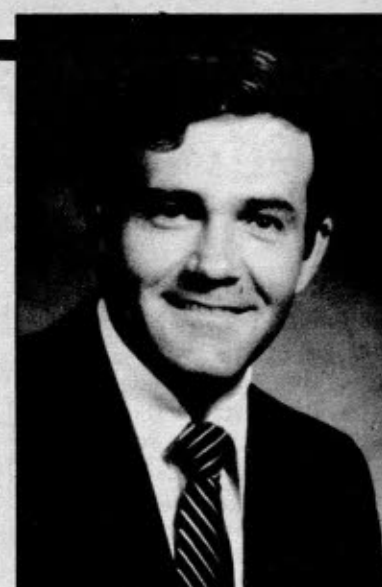
In recent months, Durham has come under increasing fire from environmentalists, citizens' groups and western government officials for taking positions considered to be more consistent

with his own politics than with EPA's mission. He created a furor on January 31 by announcing he would recommend disapproval of Denver's plan for cleaning up carbon monoxide pollution by 1987.

That action was criticized as part of an effort to garner support for weakening the federal Clean Air Act. During a speech in February, Durham charged that the EPA's critics were "practicing demagoguery" by overemphasizing the risks of hazardous wastes. Durham challenged state officials and members of Congress to "give me a list of even one person" who died from exposure to a hazardous waste dump. Colorado Gov. Dick Lamm (D) responded that Durham's remarks showed he was "incompetent" to hold the position and called for Durham's resignation.

Recently Durham was also criticized for personally deleting EPA staff recommendations that the environmental impact statements for timber cutting in the White River and Pike-San Isabel National Forests be amended. Durham's staff had wanted the EISs to consider the link between more liberal harvesting policies and potential increases in air pollution resulting from greater use of wood-burning fireplaces along Colorado's Front Range. Durham contended that the air quality issues should be dealt with on their own rather than as part of the EIS process.

Wes Wilson, president of the American Federation of Government Employees local that represents Region VIII staff, charged at the coalition's April 26 news conference that Durham had



Steve Durham

hired friends and political associates who lacked "any plausible credentials" for their jobs. Wilson noted that the staff presently has no toxicologist, has lost three of four chemical engineers and the EIS review staff has been reduced from 12 to two.

Wilson also criticized the naming of W. Clifton Miller, special assistant to former administrator Burford, to become assistant regional administrator for the Denver office. Miller is currently under investigation by EPA's inspector general for allegedly compiling a "hit list" of EPA employees based on their political affiliations.

The coalition is not satisfied with Durham's June departure date because critical decisions on the Denver air plan and the Lowry Landfill must be made during the next few months. They are also concerned about efforts to transfer several of Durham's political appointees to permanent career positions.

Durham's departure could be the first small change in a shift in Reagan administration policies at EPA under new administrator William Ruckelshaus. Environmentalists had pointed to Durham's replacement as one possible sign of such a shift.

— Hal Winslow



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Dear friends,

This special issue on Montana is one of the first products of new bureau chief Don Snow. Don did the planning, research, editing and writing of the issue from HCN's new office in Stevensville, Montana. The additional help enabled managing editor Dan Whipple, designer Kathy Bogan and production assistant Phil Heywood to spend a week hiking around Canyonlands National Park, escaping the snow and cold weather that has frosted Lander. We hope our readers enjoy the special issue ('cause we sure enjoyed the trip).*

Be sure to take a close look at the back page of this issue, where you'll find information on our first-ever *High Country News* New Subscriber Sweepstakes. This is our major circulation drive for the year and we need your help to make it a success. Our goal — an ambitious one — is 500 new subscribers.

The prizes, all donated, are really quite nice. The beautiful Zapotec Indian rug that Stuart and Isabel Mace gave us last year on behalf of the Malachite Small Farm School and their Aspen Toklat Gallery heads the list. The rug, valued at over \$750, features a stylized mountain sheep of orange and white standing in a rich chocolate-brown background. It's a beauty.

The big prize is almost upstaged by our other five offerings: two black and white photos by HCN photographer-in-residence Mike McClure, two black and white photos by Arizona freelancer Dale Schicketanz, and a wonderful and whimsical graphic of a stork on a unicycle by Lander artist Sylvia Long (the original for one of our notecard designs).

A \$1500 anonymous contribution from a Montana subscriber has given our bureau fundraising drive a big boost in that state. Twenty-nine people have now contributed a total of \$1985 toward that operation, leaving us \$3015 to go for our \$5,000 goal. We're hoping this Montana special issue will inspire

some additional donations.

In Colorado, our total has now climbed to \$3035, thanks to donations from 44 people. That leaves us only \$1965 to go as Associate Editor Carol Jones heads this week for the remote (from Lander) outpost of Denver, Colorado.

— the staff

Good job, Don Snow!

With this issue, HCN Contributing Editor Don Snow makes his debut as our Montana bureau chief. A pretty impressive performance, don't you think?

If you'd like to help Don to watchdog Montana:

** Forward your story leads and ideas to*

Don Snow
Route 2 Box 170-B
Stevensville, Montana 59870
(406) 777-5169

** Support the Montana bureau with a tax-deductible contribution*

Keep up the good work, Don!

Enclosed is my tax-deductible donation of:

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Make checks out to High Country Foundation. Send to Box K, Lander, Wyoming 82520.

Offensive against grizzly killings

Illegal killing of grizzly bears may become a hazardous and expensive undertaking if a new federal-state offensive is successful.

"The control of human-caused mortality is probably the most significant thing we can do to prevent the decline of grizzly bear numbers," said Dale Harms, wildlife biologist for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's endangered species team in Billings. "In recognition of this, the Montana Fish and Game and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service are trying to cooperate to get some of these cases taken into federal court."

The Endangered Species Act provides for fines of up to \$20,000 and one-year imprisonment for persons convicted of illegally killing a grizzly. Even where there is no criminal intent, the Endangered Species Act provides for civil penalties.

The civil penalties can be quite significant, as two Montana men have learned. Both face \$3,000 fines. Ronald L. Matthew of Seeley Lake, Montana, is suspected of killing a grizzly bear that was rustling around his trailer near Condon, August 24, 1981. Richard P. Christy, Sr., of Fairfield, is suspected of killing a grizzly that was approaching his grazing sheep on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation near Glacier National Park on July 9, 1982.

Charges for grizzly killing carry lower fines and less likelihood of conviction in state courts. For instance, Matthew was cited by a state game warden for killing a grizzly out of season. The normal fine is \$700. However, a justice court jury in Missoula found Matthew not guilty of the offense.

If a grizzly is killed in one state and part of the bear is taken across state lines, then the federal government may choose to prosecute where the illegally killed bear was found. That allows the government the opportunity to try cases outside the West, "instead of before a jury of ranchers," said Joel Scrafford, a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service agent in Billings.

Soon there will be twice as many federal agents to investigate grizzly killings. By July 1 there will be agents in Missoula and Lander, Wyoming. The Fish and Wildlife Service agents in Great Falls and Billings are the only ones working on grizzly investigations currently.

Scrafford expects the agents to caution outfitters to run clean camps. If problems develop, he expects the agents to separate the bears from people who might kill them. "Anybody can investigate a grizzly death after the fact," Scrafford said.

The renewed interest in cracking down on illegal killings of grizzly bears



stems from concern over the plight of the grizzly in the Yellowstone ecosystem, where there may be as few as 29 adult females. The National Audubon Society has encouraged the crack-down, both by offering rewards for persons reporting illegal grizzly bear killings and by working in Congress to increase funding for enforcement efforts.

"It's the one area we can do something about immediately," said Amos Eno, the Audubon Society's director of wildlife programs in Washington, D.C.

— Bert Lindler

HOTLINE

Northern Tier pipeline canned

All plans to build an oil pipeline from Port Angeles, Washington to Clearbrook, Minnesota, were cancelled last week when the North Tier Pipeline Company announced the project was no longer feasible. The announcement concludes a seven-year effort to construct a 1,400 mile long pipeline designed to ship Alaskan crude oil to Midwest refineries. The company's major stumbling block came last spring, when Washington Gov. John Spellman (D) rejected Northern Tier's application to build the pipeline under Puget Sound (HCN, 4/16/82). The company cited financial difficulties in its decision, noting the cost of the project has grown from \$1.5 billion when originally proposed in 1975 to nearly \$3 billion.

Ski area gets Forest Service approval

A new ski area on 3,400 acres of federal land 10 miles southwest of Rifle in western Colorado has been approved by the Forest Service. The Rifle Ski Area, located on the White River National Forest, may open within three years. The first phase would have six chairlifts and 275 acres of ski trails. Its base elevation would be about 8,000 feet and its summit 10,400. Ski area proponents claim that the tourist trade will help diversify the economy of western Colorado from the ups and downs of the oil shale industry.

The oil shale eight

Eight of the largest oil companies in the United States are considering the formation of a consortium to finance and develop the oil shale industry. Known as the Mobil Consortium, the group has organized a steering committee to study the cooperative approach in an oil shale venture. Mobil said initial talks with the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation indicate the SFC is receptive to the idea of spurring syfuels development by underwriting the costs between several companies and the federal government. However, two U.S. senators are questioning whether such an arrangement would be in violation of federal anti-trust laws.

Reclamation projects receive funds

The Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation will receive \$116 million from the 1983 Jobs Bill, for improvement and maintenance of public work facilities at 60 reclamation projects in 15 states. The majority of funds will be used to improve safety and irrigation features along the Snake and Columbia rivers. Among the appropriations is \$100,000 for an environmental impact statement on alternatives to correct the safety deficiencies at the Jackson Lake Dam in western Wyoming and \$500,000 to correct safety problems at the Island Park Dam in eastern Idaho.

SFC funds methanol project

The U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation, in the first grant it has ever made, awarded \$820,750 for the design of a North Carolina peat-to-methanol project. The project will involve mining peat from 15,000 acres of former coastal swampland and using it to produce 4,600 barrels of methanol per day. The sponsors of the project, Peat Methanol Associates, still need several mining, air and water permits before they can begin construction, but hope to be in operation by 1987. Several synfuels projects in the Rocky Mountain region have made application for SFC aid.

Idaho wilderness battles rage

Wilderness is promising to be Idaho's environmental hot potato this summer as Sen. James McClure (R) prepares a state wilderness bill and the Bureau of Land Management continues its series of wilderness studies, impact statements and recommendations, and the Forest Service readies to release its draft recommendation for a White Clouds wilderness.

Range warfare has already broken out over the BLM's wilderness study of 175,627 acres in Owyhee County, a sparsely populated county in extreme southwest Idaho. The BLM is beginning to write the Jacks Creek Wilderness draft environmental impact statement, which will be completed April 1984. The study includes seven separate areas of high desert plateau with deep rhyolite and basalt canyons carved by tributaries of the Bruneau and Owyhee Rivers. The most controversial area — Little Jacks Creek — is home to between 100 and 125 California bighorn sheep, of which there are but a few thousand in the world.

Ranchers from Owyhee County showed up in force at hearings in mid-April held by the BLM to "provide input on significant issues and alternatives that should be addressed in the EIS." The informal hearing in Boise quickly turned into an emotionally charged debate between a few of the ranchers and conservationists. BLM specialists in attendance ducked into corners to avoid the spectacle, which included presentation of a photograph of California bighorns and cattle grazing together (to prove that the two are compatible) and charges that, "They've already got half the western United States" in wilderness.

The livestock industry won a battle March 30 when the BLM officially decided to build a 19-mile livestock watering pipeline on the plateau between Little Jacks and Big Jacks wilderness study areas.

The pipeline is valuable to the ranchers because it will allow their cattle to graze a plateau previously inaccessible to livestock because of the lack of water. Conservationists have been fighting the pipeline because the grazing will degrade some of the last remaining sagebrush steppe in good ecological condition, and the cattle will infringe on the rare California bighorn sheep.



White Clouds Range

The BLM followed recommendations made by the newly-appointed Citizens Advisory Board. The recommendations are: construction of a 19-mile pipeline; later construction of lateral pipelines into Big Jacks Creek plateau if the area is not designated as wilderness; no laterals into Little Jacks Creek; the setting aside of 1,000 acres to be maintained in pristine ecological conditions; and monitoring of effects of the pipeline on the plateau. The Big Jacks Creek lateral pipeline would be built to avoid impact on California bighorns which may be transplanted into that canyon.

The board created almost as much controversy as the pipeline itself because the members — appointed by Secretary of the Interior James Watt — are all development oriented, including: the environmental representative, the secretary of Sagebrush Rebellion, Inc.; the public at-large representative, an Idaho Power Company vice president; and the recreation representative, a public relations coordinator for Boise-Cascade Corporation.

Construction of the pipeline will not begin until a cost-benefit analysis has been completed. Critics doubt that the 19-mile pipeline can be proven cost-effective without the additional spur lines into the wilderness study areas.

Glenn Oakley

Conservationists are also worried about McClure's plan for an Idaho wilderness package bill. McClure has said he supports a "forcing mechanism" attached to wilderness package bills. The forcing mechanism would require Congress to act on the wilderness bill or the Forest Service's RARE II recommendations for wilderness would become law. Ironically, conservationists expect McClure's wilderness bill to include less acreage than does RARE II, which they characterize as minimal at best.

Idaho conservationists do not have a wilderness proposal at hand, although leading Idaho conservationists met in Boise at the end of April, with the wilderness bill at the top of the agenda. Bruce Boccard, researcher for the Idaho Conservation League, said conservationists will likely attempt to update Alternative W — the conservationists' proposal during the RARE II. Alternative W cannot simply be dusted off and resubmitted, he said, because some of the roadless areas have since been roaded, logged or otherwise compromised.

McClure has arranged a meeting with the conservationists May 31 to "receive their proposals," according to H.D. Palmer, assistant press secretary to McClure.

The Idaho Forest Industry Council released its wilderness proposal April 28. A leaked memo from the IFIC heightened fears among the conservation community that McClure is already aligned with industry on the wilderness bill. The memo, signed by IFIC's executive director Joseph Hinson, stated, "The industry will be guided by Senator McClure on the need for additional lobbying efforts outside that provided through IFIC or cooperating associations."

Asked about the memo, Hinson said the group was simply asking for the senator's opinion on whether the IFIC should hire a special lobbyist to work on the bill. Palmer said, "I can assure you there is no preferential treatment."

Conservationists are awaiting the release in June of the Forest Service's draft wilderness proposal for the White Cloud Mountains in central Idaho. Conservationists have proposed a 452,000 acre wilderness, incorporating BLM land and an adjacent national forest.

— Glenn Oakley

HOTLINE

Justice Department will sue over Stringfellow Dump

The Justice Department is planning to file a lawsuit against more than 200 companies for the costs of cleaning up toxic wastes they dumped at the Stringfellow acid pits near Riverside, California. The companies failed to offer a cash payment to settle clean-up costs, said a Justice Department official, so the agency is forced to pursue legal action. Under federal law, dumpers who refuse to pay clean-up costs can be held liable for triple the actual costs. Total cost of the clean-up at the Stringfellow pits is estimated at \$40 million, but if the Justice Department goes through with its case and wins, it could collect as much as \$120 million.

Wilderness bills moving ahead

The Wyoming wilderness bill recently passed the Senate and now awaits scheduling in the House. The bill has two significant changes from last year's version which passed the Senate and died in the House. Bruce Hamilton, Sierra Club representative, said the Laramie Peak area has been excluded from possible wilderness designation, and the number of acres recommended on the western slope of the Tetons has been reduced because of timber interests (HCN, 4/1/83). The Montana Lee Metcalf Wilderness bill also passed in the Senate and is awaiting action by the House.

Surplus Montana land to trade or sell

The state of Montana wants to sell or trade hundreds of acres of its land in southeastern Montana. The state Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks said the 70-acre Branam Pond just west of Miles City and 1,800 acres of the Rosebud Battlefield in Big Horn County are not needed. Officials said the pond has not proved adequate as a fishing site and the Rosebud acreage has no historical significance. If no acceptable trades can be arranged the department may sell the surplus land and place the proceeds into a special management fund for the agency's other lands.

Forest Service plan criticized

The U.S. Forest Service's Asset Management Program has come under fire from the Pitkin County Commissioners, in central Colorado, who object to the government's plan to sell 2,000 acres on the Aspen ski hill, and several other parcels surrounding the resort community. A resolution was unanimously passed by the Board of Commissioners which criticized the plan as being contrary to the goals and objectives of the county government. One of the tracts in contention is a 235-acre parcel adjacent to the city of Aspen, which prior to transfer to the Forest Service, was leased by Pitkin County from the BLM for the purpose of preserving open space and recreational values.

Denver deregulates the spigot

Denver residents will no longer be restricted to watering their lawns every third day for conservation purposes as they have been since the summer of 1977. With the initial completion of the controversial Foothills Water Treatment Plant recently, about 125 million additional gallons of water will be available to the city. The Denver Water Department decided that was enough to end the program. However, the department warns folks not to go overboard.

Utah wilderness victory

The Utah Wilderness Association has scored a major victory in its attempts to save Bureau of Land Management wilderness areas. The Interior Bureau of Land Appeals, acting on a UWA appeal — the largest ever filed with the Interior board — reversed BLM's decisions to declare non-wilderness designations on about 825,000 acres of federal land in Utah. The lands will be returned to BLM for further study and BLM will probably have to declare them wilderness study areas.

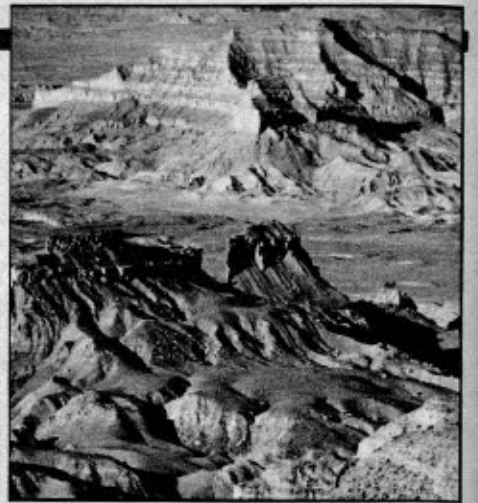
The UWA filed a massive appeal covering 925,000 acres of BLM lands in early 1982 after BLM had declared those acres unsuitable for wilderness. The IBLA findings return nearly 90 percent of the appealed lands to BLM for restudy. According to UWA staffer Gary Macfarlane, "Eventually, it seems that

they will have to give the lands wilderness study status."

In the Kaiparowits area in south central Utah, the IBLA ordered the BLM to restudy about 330,000 acres in six areas — Horse Spring Canyon, Mud Spring Canyon, Carcass Canyon, Death Ridge, Burning Hills and Wahweap.

In the Moab District in southeast Utah, restudy is called for on an additional 57,000 acres adjacent to the Desolation Canyon WSA, which already includes about 250,000 acres. Also remanded were about 155,000 acres near the Bookcliffs WSA, which had about .5 million in the original inventory.

In the Richfield District, 20,000 acres were remanded on Mount Helen, 60,000 on Mount Pennell and 62,000 on Fiddler Butte.



Kaiparowits Plateau

In the Salt Lake District, 23,000 were added to Newfoundland Mountains and 18,000 to Dugway Mountains.

And, in the Cedar City District, 37,000 acres will be restudied in the Central Wah Wah Range.

— Dan Whipple

Ranchers vs Indians — the water war

Over 100 years ago, the Shoshone Indians and the U.S. government signed a treaty creating the Wind River Indian Reservation. Now one man, Wyoming District Judge Harold Joffe, is deciding whether that treaty gave the Indians the right to about a third of the water that flows out of Wyoming's mountains.

The state of Wyoming argued in late April that the Indians have to stand in line like any other water users, get permits from the state, and then "use it or lose it." But Special Master Teno Roncalio, who was appointed by the court to suggest a resolution to the dispute over water rights, recommended that the tribes on the 2.3 million acre reservation be given a "reserve" right to 500,000 acre-feet annually in the Big Horn Basin.

Non-Indian ranchers and spokesmen for communities in the drainage said the Roncalio recommendation would threaten water supplies that they have taken for granted for generations. Dick Pattison, who has a spread north of Riverton, Wyoming, said in-stream flows for the Wind River that would be protected for the Indians could mean no irrigation water in his ditches during dry years. Farmers say water shortfalls would cripple a multi-million dollar economy in the area.

They also point to the odd role of the federal government, which is defending



Bull Lake Creek, Wind River Reservation

Indian water rights but also encouraged settlers, early in the century, to homestead in the Big Horn Basin. The U.S. government supplies many of those homesteaded farms with water through Bureau of Reclamation projects.

"It's a double standard," said Pattison. "In 1904, the government cedes this land from the tribes to my grandfather for irrigated farmland. Who created this whole problem?"

Joffe is expected to take about a month to consider the pros and cons of the Roncalio report, sifting through

18,000 pages of transcript from earlier hearings and a roomful of supporting evidence. Attorneys on all sides predict that whatever his decision, the case will be appealed, probably as high as the U.S. Supreme Court. No water adjudication suit of this size has ever before been tried at the state level.

Tribal leader Wes Martel, a Shoshone, called the fears of the ranchers "closed-minded scare tactics." He said the tribes, if they win, will manage the Big Horn Basin waters to protect wildlife and plants according to tribal beliefs, but they will "not just cut everybody off."

Among the possible developments for which the tribes would consider using the water are large scale irrigation of their own and a coal gasification plant. "We've been stagnant all these years," said Martel, "and development is long overdue." Currently, unemployment on the reservation is 60 percent, and half the people live in substandard housing.

At stake are millions of dollars worth of water rights, and the investment by various parties in the litigation reflects its worth. Former Wyoming Attorney General Steve Freudenthal said the state alone has already spent \$6.4 million to argue its side.

— Geoffrey O'Gara

Parks suffer in Colorado legislature

Senate Minority Leader Ron Stewart (D-Longmont) called a plan to substitute Colorado lottery proceeds for general fund appropriations "the worst decision this year on the budget." Sen. Claire Traylor (R-Wheatridge) charged that the switch is a violation of truth in government because when Colorado voters approved plans for a state lottery in 1980, they believed the proceeds were earmarked as parks and recreation budget supplements. So far the Colorado lottery has been very successful and expects to bring in about \$140 million during its first year of operation.

Under a plan devised by the Republican caucus and approved by the Joint Budget Committee, funds from the lottery would not be used in addition to regular appropriations but rather, would replace current general funds allocations. Opponents of the decision argue that the voters intended lottery revenues to supplement, not replace, the parks and recreation budget which last year came to \$2.3 million in general funds and \$3.6 million in user fees.

Further complications in the budget process arose over how to finance repair of Colorado's deteriorating highways and bridges. A bill sponsored by Rep. Paul Schauer (R-Littleton) would

provide a graduated six cents a gallon hike in state gas taxes over the next twenty months, add two cents a gallon to the cost of diesel fuel, up the costs for drivers' licenses, and place a new tax on freight trains traveling through Colorado. Approximately 40 percent of Colorado highways are deficient according to Dwight Bauer, spokesperson for the State Highway Department. Schauer's gas hike received wide support as a means of providing the approximately \$100 million needed each year for repairs. The temporary two cent a gallon surcharge on diesel fuel, however, was opposed by the Colorado Motor Carriers Association.

But the one cent per-mile, per-car tax on railroads brought about the most controversy. Originally proposed in a bill sponsored by Sen. Al Meiklejohn (R-Arva), projected revenues were designed to build overpasses at Front Range intersections for reasons of safety and to eliminate inconvenience caused by 100-car coal trains. Opponents, mainly agriculture, energy and manufacturing interests, convinced Rep. Dick Soash (D-Steamboat Springs) to propose that instead of a per-car tax, railroads be allowed to contribute up to \$5 million a year for construction.

After House Speaker Bev Bledsoe, a rural legislator from Hugo, effectively killed Meiklejohn's bill by assigning it to the Agriculture Committee which postponed it indefinitely, Rep. Jeanne Faatz (R-Denver) revived the proposal. Chair of the House Transportation and Energy Committee, she added the railroad tax to Schauer's bill calling for increased gas hikes. Supporters of the taxes claim that railroads should pay their fair share of construction costs and that the one cent per-mile, per-car surcharge will amount to only about five cents a ton for coal and wheat shipments.

Finally, a proposal that would have freed Colorado municipal and county officials from fears of anti-trust lawsuits involving land use and planning decisions appears unlikely to achieve late bill status. Without such status, all bills not heard by April 24 will not be considered.

The bill was proposed after a U.S. Supreme Court decision held that cities and county governments do not necessarily have anti-trust immunity unless they are specifically granted it by state governments.

— Deidre Duncan

Investigation cites coal mismanagement

An eight-month investigation into the Department of Interior's coal leasing program has concluded that large-scale leases are being made below market prices, enabling the coal industry to reap windfall profits.

The investigation was ordered by the House Appropriations Committee after controversy surrounded last April's sale of over one billion tons of coal in the Powder River Basin along the Wyoming and Montana border. Although the Powder River sale produced a record \$55 million in revenue, there was little competition on many of the tracts. Of the 13 tracts the government offered, only three drew more than one bid.

The report accused Interior Secretary James Watt of mismanagement by flooding the market with coal leases during poor economic conditions, resulting in a loss of revenue to the government of approximately \$60 million. The investigation also disclosed that confidential department information regarding min-



Mike McClure

imum bids had been leaked to the coal industry before the auction. Coal in the Powder River sale sold for an average of 3.5 cents a ton, while private sales in the same region averaged 18 to 20 cents a ton.

Interior claims that it is a heavily biased report, only designed to embarrass Watt. "It's strictly a political document, poorly prepared, containing a lot of contradictions," said an Interior official in Washington. The department is scheduled to meet with the Appropriations Committee and challenge their accusations.

Meanwhile, another investigation, initiated by the Interior Department and handled by the Inspector General's office, is also looking into the Powder River sale. Interior has accused 10 companies of illegally drilling over 70 test holes on federal land prior to the government's auction last April.

Trespass notices went out last month to Digilog Inc., Eldorado Exploration, Inc., Neil Butte Company, Ranchers Energy Corp., Kaneb Services, Inc., Northwest Mutual Life Insurance, Materi Exploration, Inc. and Gillette Minerals Company.

When the federal government puts coal leases up for sale, potential buyers can either use geologic information supplied by Interior or apply for an exploration permit. A permit costs \$250 and authorizes exploration activities on 25,000 acres. By failing to comply, these companies may now face millions of dollars in fines for trespass.

— Dan Gorham

Oil prices have synfuels struggling

Declining energy prices have caused backers of the Great Plains coal gasification project in North Dakota to question their financial commitment to the synthetic fuels industry and aroused speculation within the Department of Energy that federal price guarantees may be needed.

The Great Plains project is now 50 percent complete and scheduled to go into operation in December, 1984. However, the five sponsors of the project — Tenneco, American Natural Resources, Transco, MidCon and Pacific Lighting — have notified DOE that because of depressed oil prices and the

anticipated decontrol of natural gas, they could lose \$770 million in the first 10 years of operation.

The consortium, Northern Plains, is building the project under a loan guarantee agreement with the DOE which includes a provisional allowance enabling partners to withdraw from the project if they cannot recapture their equity within 10 years. The latest announcement that it will take 16 years for them to achieve a return on their investment has the DOE searching for incentives to keep the project afloat.

While there has been no talk of halting construction, the consortium is

obviously concerned. "Our board of directors has been looking at the market forecasts and discussing six or seven possibilities," said John Graham of Northern Plains. The DOE, concerned that it may be left to assume the project, is also considering a number of options to keep the group together, including price guarantees, preferential loan rates and extended loan terms to float the plant through its first few years of operation. Yet, whatever agreement is reached, the federal government seems certain to increase its financial commitment to the Great Plains project.

— Dan Gorham

Report card in for Wyoming forests

Wyoming's three major National Forests got their 12-year report card in mid-April, which awarded pluses in progress towards better management, but warnings that improvement is still needed.

The report was the result of the Wyoming Forest Study Team's evaluation of management practices on the Bighorn, Shoshone and Bridger-Teton National Forests. The report recommended that forest managers give increased emphasis to recreation, wildlife and aesthetics in designing timber sales and that public involvement be incorporated at each level of the decision-making.

The study team was composed of three state officials and six retired forest service scientists. The six scientists were the ones who completed the original study in 1971, which was prompted by public concerns over excessive clearcutting on Wyoming's forests. The purpose of the recent project was to evaluate the 1971 recommendations and determine how effectively existing policies were being carried out.

While the report noted commendable progress in the administration of timber sales, it remained critical of existing silvicultural policies designed only for maximum timber yield. "The goal of national forest management is not that combination of uses which gives the greatest dollar return or unit output, but that which yields the greatest net public benefits. Economic analyses are required for commodity values, but non-market and intangible benefits must also be weighed," stated the report.

The study team also concluded that policy disagreements between the public and the forest service are largely the result of misunderstandings. "Providing public access to hearings and meetings

regarding forest plans should be a priority ... Once definitive answers on management direction are available, some current controversies should be resolved and public confidence increased." The team went on to recommend the re-establishment of citizen advisory committees to mediate disputes.

Individually, each forest was evaluated on 62 recommendations the study team had made in the 1971 report. Of these, the Bridger-Teton was found to have made satisfactory or commendable progress on 36, the Shoshone on 34 and the Big Horn on 33. The team concluded its report with a list of 47 recommendations for improvements.

"It's a good document, well prepared and should help us in the more effective management of our forest," said Fred Kingwill, spokesman for the Bridger-Teton. The report gives forest managers an outline of constructive criticisms and acknowledges that inadequate funding may be the source of some current management problems. "In recent years, the national trend to reduce spending and employment has affected the national forests. Programs that produce revenues for the U.S. Treasury or those with potential to ease the energy situation have been better funded than wildlife habitat improvement, outdoor recreation, or wilderness management ... The much-needed solution will likely come from an administration level higher than the Forest or Region," the study said.

However, additional federal funding looks unlikely in the immediate future. The Reagan administration recently proposed a 10 percent reduction in forest service spending for fiscal 1984. In addition, the budget projects a cut of 11 billion board feet on the national forest system in 1984, which is up

sharply from last year's 6.2 billion and the 8.5 billion predicted for this year. Compounding this, large cuts are also outlined for the reforestation budget. A total of \$109 million was designated for reforestation this year, while less than \$63 million has been allocated for 1984. Forest managers are now faced with the need to improve management techniques, while regulating more activity with less money.

The Wyoming Forest Study Team's report now goes to the regional forester for evaluation. Response to the plan and directives for the individual forests are expected by the end of May.

— Dan Gorham

BARBS

Oh, say can you see... Sadie Hanson, a 76-year-old Lusk, Wyoming farmer, was jailed recently after being arrested five times for driving without a license. Hanson was denied a license because she refuses to wear glasses. According to Lusk Police Chief Tom Oliver, "She thought glasses were a Communist plot. She thought the Commies would land here someday and control us by taking away our glasses."

Monkey urench notes. An Ovando, Montana, real estate broker has a sign in the Missoula County Airport terminal reading, "Keep Montana Beautiful — Shoot a Land Developer."

Maybe they were just hungry. In New York City in 1982, there were 1,557 reported cases of one person biting another, a 9.5 percent increase over 1981. People were bitten by rats a total of 241 times.

HOTLINE

Colorado hydro project shrinks in size

A recent study by the Colorado River Water Conservation District has concluded that the construction of two full hydroelectric dams on the Yampa River would make the cost of that power non-competitive. Water officials have concluded that building half of the proposed Juniper-Cross Mountain Hydroelectric Project is the only way to provide water storage for the area and generate enough money from electricity sales to pay for it. By building a single dam, which would provide less than one-half the planned yearly output of Juniper-Cross, revenues from the sale of electricity "could pay a fairly decent percentage of the total project," said Rollie Fischer, district secretary-engineer.

Smokey the Bear becomes a civilian

Recreation facilities on the south shore of Sheridan Lake, in the Black Hills National Forest in Wyoming have been turned over to a private operator to be run on a concession basis. John Percevic has been awarded a contract to operate the Forest Service campground and picnic facilities. The Forest Service approved a fee of \$6.50 for 129 camping units in the Southside Campground and a \$2.00 charge per unit for the picnic area. Percevic will pay 17.25 percent of his gross revenue, or an estimated \$9,500 to the federal government. His responsibilities will include maintenance and repair of the facilities, as well as cleanup, trash hauling, and law enforcement. The Black Hills National Forest plans to expand the concession's arrangement to other facilities in 1984.



Solar gets a boost

Legislation to boost the growth of renewable energy industries was introduced in Washington last month by Rep. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.). The bill, which has bipartisan sponsorship in both houses of Congress, would consolidate existing federal solar programs in one section of federal law. It would also extend the lives of various federal solar programs, several of which are due to expire shortly. Sponsors claim the legislation will stimulate jobs and enhance national security by putting renewable energy and energy conservation to work.

Mineral deposit clouds wilderness study

The world's largest deposit of alunite, a mineral which can be used to make aluminum, is located in the Redcloud Peak area of western Colorado within a potential 40,000-acre wilderness area. Currently, the United States imports 94 percent of the basic raw materials for making aluminum and if foreign sources dry up, having alunite on hand would be vital to the nation, an industry official said. Congress will eventually decide whether to include the area in the nation's wilderness system. The BLM's draft recommendation, however, suggests excluding several thousand acres surrounding the alunite deposit.

Montana Legislature '83

MIXED REVIEWS

by Don Snow

Development finance, coal slurry, hardrock mineral taxation, and the regulation of pesticides consumed the energies of the conservation lobby during the 1983 Montana legislature. Unlike the 1981 session, when a new Republican majority tried to out-Reagan Reagan by cutting down a decade of environmental lawmaking in just 90 days, the 1983 session offered new opportunities for conservationists. Republicans still held a one-vote majority in the Senate, but in the House a healthy Democratic majority, led by Rep. John Vincent (D-Bozeman), helped conservationists push for new reforms. The results were mixed.

Following the overwhelming passage of Initiative 95 in November, the legislature went about the task of establishing mechanisms for investing coal tax interest income in Montana businesses. Written by House Speaker Daniel Kemmis (D-Missoula) and Sen. Tom Towe (D-Billings), the author of Montana's 30 percent coal severance tax, I-95 allocated a percentage of the coal tax trust fund interest for development finance. Right now, about \$15 million annually is available for lending.

The legislature passed a measure approving a seven-member Economic Development Board to review development finance proposals. Labor, agriculture, small business, and the financial community will be represented on the new board, which the governor is expected to appoint very soon. At the insistence of the Montana Senate, conservationists and women's representatives have no place on the board, and Senate Republicans succeeded in deleting provisions to include union representation, settling on the nebulous appointment of "labor" instead.

The board is directed to give preference to agricultural processing firms, to businesses that are locally-owned and

employ Montana residents, and to those that are fuel-efficient and comply with environmental regulations.

The Senate deleted language giving preference to affirmative action employers, to those paying prevailing wages, and to businesses that use or produce alternative and renewable energy sources. In the battle of the buzzwords, the Senate won.

In debates on the I-95 implementation measures, small manufacturing firms dominated the business groups who showed up to testify. High technology and food processing companies appear to be the front-runners for coal tax money, which will be loaned through existing lending institutions.

I-95 also changed the way in which the Montana Board of Investments handles its \$1.4 billion portfolio. Now the board must invest 10 percent of the state's holdings in Montana based companies. The board will still follow the "prudent investor" rule calling for high rates of return from secure investments, but language in the initiative expands the definition of permissible investment to include low-risk Montana companies. Formerly the only permissible investments in Montana were in corporations as large and secure as the Montana Power Company.

Conservationists supported I-95 and most of the implementation measures that passed the legislature. As one environmental leader put it, "We've done a very good job of identifying what we're against. Now it's time we told the state what we're for."

Meanwhile, the Schwinden administration pushed a number of economic development measures that were dubbed the "Build Montana" program. The new state Commerce Department with an expanded bureau for promoting tourism will receive economic development dollars from the general fund. The state Labor Department also received an

appropriation to match federal funds for a job training program to teach new skills and retrain displaced workers. The layoff of 3,000 copper and aluminum workers by ARCO's Anaconda subsidiary since 1980 spurred legislative action on the job training program.

In the coal slurry debate — the toughest conservation issue of the session — last-minute Senate amendments watered down the House's strong anti-slurry bill. House Natural Resources Committee chairman Hal Harper (D-Helena) sponsored a measure that retained Montana's 10-year-old coal slurry ban and called for a two-year study of the slurry issue, focusing on the constitutionality of the ban, the need for slurry lines and the availability of Montana water for coal transport.

The bill also eliminated an unquestionably unconstitutional ban against the out-of-state transport of Montana water and substituted a water marketing program that allows for industrial water sales under strict public interest criteria. Under Harper's bill, pipelines intended for water transport would have been subject to the Montana Major Facility Siting Act, the state's strongest environmental law.

After weeks of emotional debate in the House, the bill traveled to the Senate where the Montana Coal Council muscled out most of the bill's provisions. The Council's executive director, Jim Mockler, called the Harper measure "a horrendous piece of garbage" and got the Senate to agree on amendments that stripped away the public interest criteria and Siting Act provisions. The amended measure received eight votes in the 100-member House.

In the waning hours of the legislature, a House-Senate conference committee worked out a compromise reinstating the public interest criteria but leaving

out the siting act provisions. Gov. Ted Schwinden (D), who originally favored a bill eliminating the slurry ban, is expected to sign the amended Harper bill into law. Conservationists, who teamed up with railroad workers to beat back the governor's bill, consider passage of Harper's measure to be a major victory.

On the hardrock mining front, conservationists made few gains. Republicans in the 1981 legislature successfully thwarted an effort to establish a hard-rock mineral severance tax by enacting a measure that established a state Hard Rock Mineral Impact Board to assist local governments in negotiating impact payments with mining companies. The 1981 bill essentially called for the prepayment of taxes rather than a new severance tax.

But the Northern Plains Resource Council and its affiliate, the Stillwater Protective Association, remained skeptical of the Board's effectiveness in relieving the so-called "tail-end impacts" of mining — the loss of a major tax-base and mined land reclamation that may or may not be accomplished under the state's weak Metal Mine Reclamation Act.

NPRC armed its 1983 lobbyists with a stack of bills aimed at hard rock mining taxes and reclamation. Meanwhile, the industry used its favorite House Democrat, Rep. Dave Brown of Butte, who lobbies for the coal industry in Washington, to counter the NPRC measures with "reasonable compromises." Brown's skillful maneuvering among Republicans and pro-mining Democrats brought home the bacon for Montana's mining industry.

NPRC pushed hard for a 3.5 percent severance tax referendum — a legislative bill passed on to the 1984 ballot — but came up empty.

House Republicans took a strong caucus position against the referendum

The legislature also passed a nongame wildlife tax checkoff to fund nongame research and education programs. The bill easily passed the House after its sponsor, Rep. Jay Fabrega (R-Great Falls) showed up for the floor debate wearing binoculars and a birdwatcher's pith helmet.



David Spear

measure, and the bill never got out of the Taxation Committee.

But Rep. Dave Brown's bill to allocate one-third of the 1.5 percent Metal Mines License Tax to the Mineral Impact Board passed. The new allocation is earmarked to pay for post-mining impacts, but its real intention is to spoil arguments favoring a new severance tax.

Other hard rock taxation measures were aimed at creating impact jobs in Butte, where Anaconda plans to close its remaining operations in June of this year. An unsuccessful bill, sponsored by Rep. Fritz Daily (D-Butte) would have transferred interest monies from the state Resource Indemnity Trust Fund to pay for mining reclamation in depressed mining counties. It passed the House but drowned in the murky waters of the Senate Finance and Claims Committee, which killed several Butte relief bills.

The Northern Plains Resource Council lost another measure to legislate simple standards for hard rock mining reclamation and to shift the burden of proof of ground water contamination from landowners to mining companies.

NPRC also lost on a bill aimed at coal mine railroad spurs, after the measure received a hearty endorsement from the Senate Natural Resources Committee. SB 416 would have prohibited the construction of new railroad spur lines until the mine intended to feed them receives its operating permit.

NPRC complained that Westmoreland Coal had used the construction of an expensive new rail line as leverage when the company sought its permit to operate the Sarpy Creek mine. According to NPRC lobbyists, Montco and the Tongue River Railroad Company might use the same tactics to gain a permit for Montco's new strip mine, 80 miles up the Tongue River valley.

The Senate Natural Resources Committee reversed its endorsement after heavy pressure came from the coal industry. The bill died in the Senate.

In other legislative action, conservationists lobbied successfully for a bill that tightens the regulation of pesticides and allocates funds for the state Agriculture Department to study alternatives to toxic chemicals. The bill also enacts a provision that pesticide applicators must be able to read before they are granted a state license. Formerly, state law allowed for the licensing of illiterate applicators.

Conservationists lost in their bid for a tri-agency review of new pesticides registered for use in Montana, but gained provisions for civil penalties against violators of pesticide regulations. The conservationists' bill, supported chiefly by the Montana Environmental Information Center, received 37 amendments before it passed the Senate.

The legislature also passed a non-

game wildlife tax checkoff to fund non-game research and education programs. The bill easily passed the House after its sponsor, Rep. Jay Fabrega (R-Great Falls) showed up for the floor debate wearing binoculars and a birdwatcher's pith helmet. The Senate struggled over the measure until its chief supporters, the Montana Audubon Council and the Montana Conservation Congress, agreed to an amendment restricting the funds to research and education, not nongame management. The bill then passed the Senate on a nearly unanimous vote.

Legislators also reinstated funding for the state Air Quality Bureau after an early attempt to cripple the agency by eliminating salaries and monitoring funds. Lobbying by the Environmental Information Center was responsible for restoring the funds.

But on a strict party-line vote, legislators rejected a right-to-know bill supported jointly by the MEIC and the state FL-CIO. The House measure would have given workers the right to information about hazardous substances in the workplace and would have provided emergency clean-up procedures for hazardous waste spills. Senate Republicans said the bill was cumbersome and unworkable, but offered no constructive amendments.

Also killed was a House bill requiring

utilities to invest in the most cost-effective energy sources, including conservation, when making additions to the power grid.

Another ill-fated energy measure, this one in the form of a resolution, called for a study of rate-making at the Public Service Commission after some legislators complained that the PSC was "anti-industry." Last year the Commission restructured electricity rates so that residential and commercial customers no longer subsidized low rates for aluminum and other major industries. The House soundly rejected the measure, which had been heavily lobbied by the state Economic Growth Council.

Conservationists supported the cost-effective energy acquisitions bill and opposed the rate-making study.

Lawmakers also rejected a House bill, sponsored by Republican leader Bob Marks of Clancy, that clarified the rights of recreational river floaters on streams passing through private lands. The Marks bill redefined "navigability in fact" to include all streams and rivers that are floatable by a craft, and banned ranchers from fencing across streams for the purpose of harassment. The bill essentially conformed with two major Montana court decisions in 1982 that found in favor of the floaters, who had been sued. The Senate rejected the measure. □

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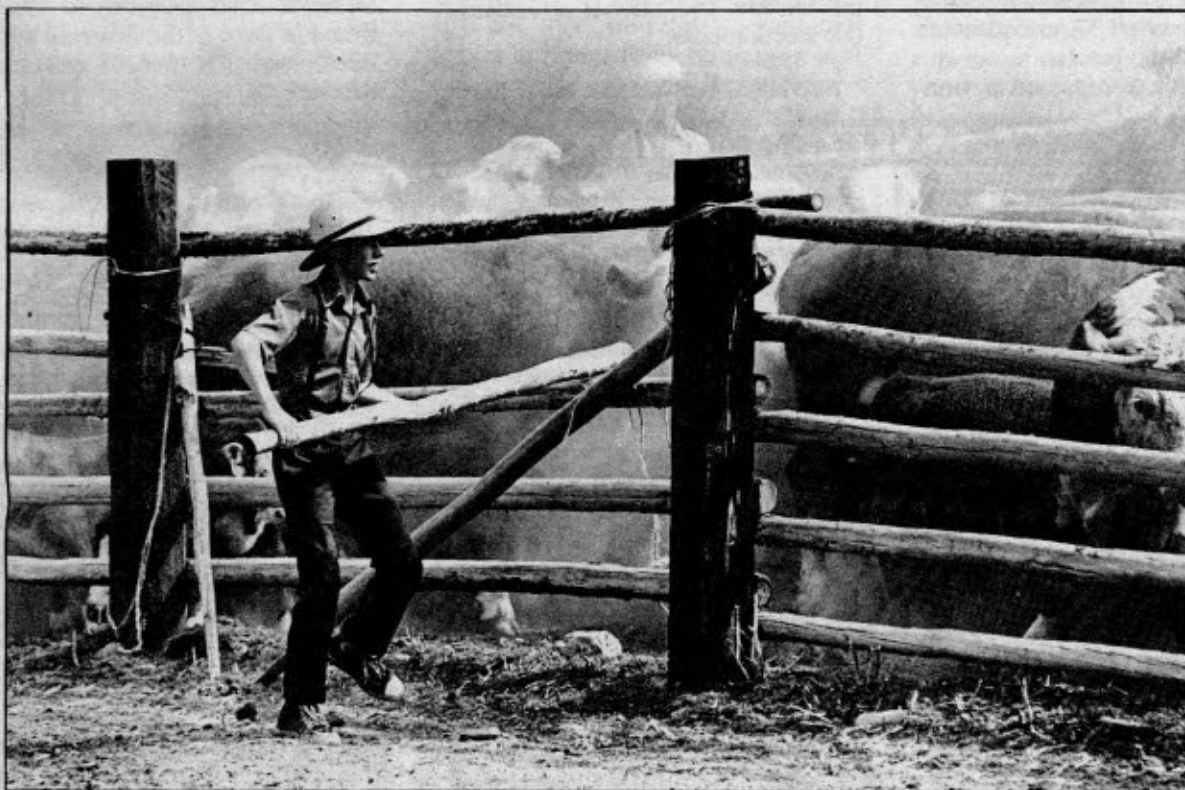
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A



separate peace

Written by Deirdre McNamer
Photographed by Raymond Gehman



Along the west shore of Lake Koocanusa, an empty highway stretches toward the ribbon of clearcut that marks the Canadian border.

It is remote and rugged country, this northwest corner of Montana between Eureka and Yaak — a region of knifelike mountain peaks, long, low valleys, Christmas tree farms, and four-wheel drives. The massive lake, formed by Libby Dam, glitters blankly in the sun. Its shores are white and treeless.

The road forks at an unexpected sign of civilization; a cluster of wooden signs that advertise a buggy shop, a general store, two small lumber mills, a harness business.

Follow their arrows half a dozen miles down the paved side road and you come not to a town, but to a narrow green valley dotted with handsome houses of unpainted wood.

A black buggy drawn by a spirited bay Morgan clip-clops by. The driver is a woman wearing a long, plain dress, a black bonnet and shawl. She turns into a gravel drive and reins up in front of a new log house.

Crisp white curtains frame the plant-filled windows. A set of wind chimes on the porch tinkles delicately. Two small girls in jaybird blue dresses and tidy white bonnets play in the yard. Their bearded young father unharnesses the horse.

These people are Amish — members of a Christian sect that is committed to simplicity, nonconformity, pacifism and detachment from the materialistic world. They do not use electricity or drive automobiles. They avoid any personal or household ornamentation, attend school only through the eighth grade and dress much like their ancestors did two centuries ago.

Since 1975, some 20 Amish families have settled on a former 2,700-acre ranch across Lake Koocanusa from tiny Rexford. Approximately 15,000 Amish live in communities in the East — most of them in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio — but this is the only one in the West. And that's because Steve Kauffman is something of a cowboy.

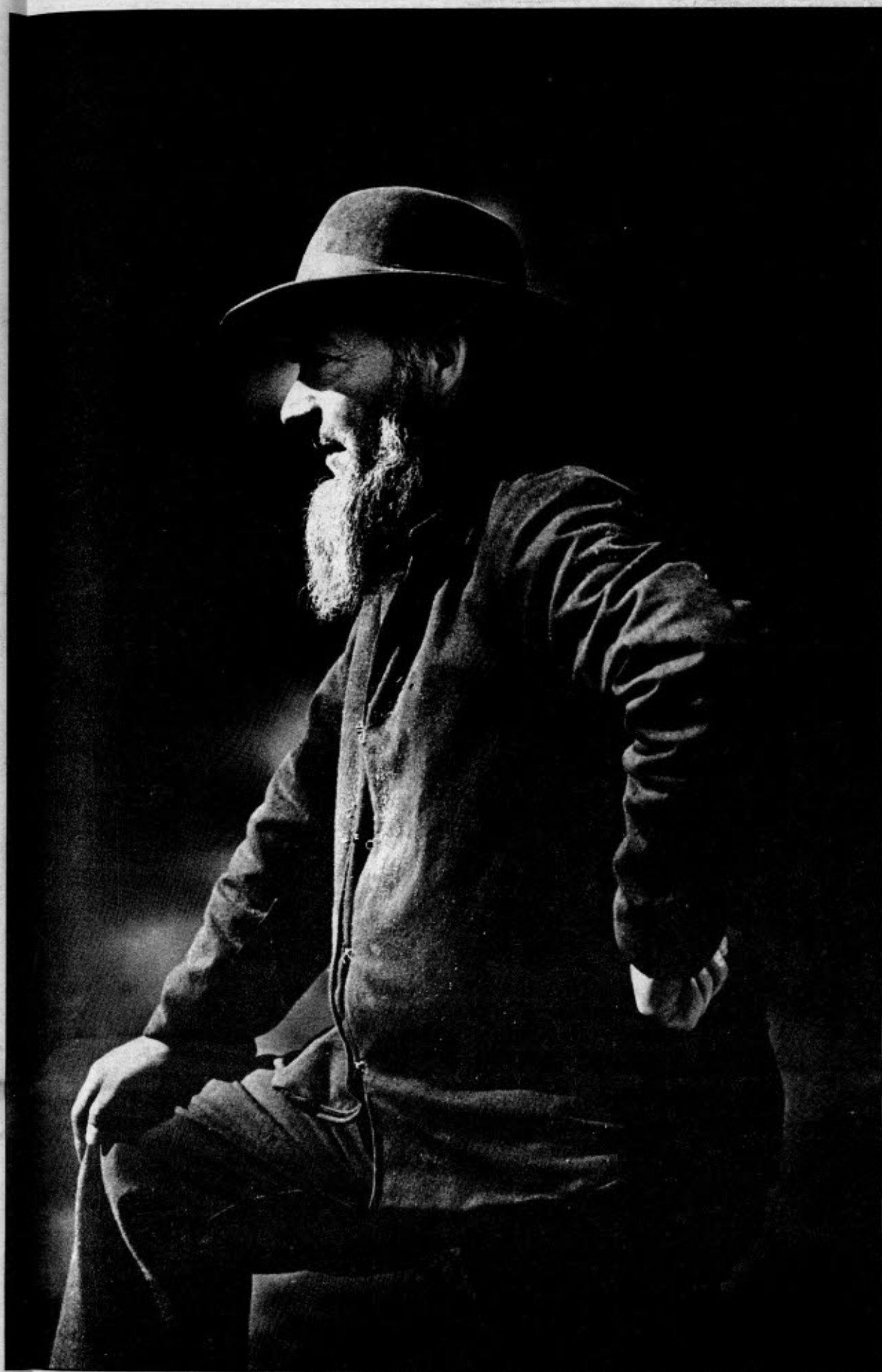
Kauffman, 31, is a trim and friendly Amishman who grew up in Indiana with a yen for the West. In his early 20s, he came to Montana to work for several years on farms in the Flathead valley. That's where he met a real estate man who told him the John Doble ranch near Rexford was for sale.

Kauffman told Amish friends and family back East about the ranch, and three men — John Miller, Jonas Hochstetler and Kauffman's father, Dave — bought the ranch jointly. They subsequently sold parcels to other Amish who were looking for a rural, isolated place to live.

Early on, Steve Kauffman began to learn the ranching business. He built a one-room cabin in a mile-long grazing pasture called Green's Basin and took charge of about 170 cattle that came with the place.

He lived alone in his cabin for four years, visiting Doble often. "I don't know how many nights I sat up until 11 or 12 with him, talking about ranching," said Kauffman. "I learned a lot from him. And I also learned from my mistakes. That's a pretty good way to learn."

Kauffman recently married a young Amish woman from Ohio and the two are living in Kauffman's "bachelor" cabin while they build a new home nearby.



The Amish are an offshoot of the 16th century Anabaptist movement, as are the Mennonites and Hutterites. There are distinct differences between the groups, however. The Hutterites, for example, live communally and share ownership of their land; the Amish don't.

The Anabaptist movement held, basically, that the Protestant Reformation had not gone far enough in challenging the established medieval Catholic Church.

The first Anabaptists included some of the most educated and intellectual people of the time, many of them former priests. Their goal was to create a new fellowship based on the example of the early Christians. They adopted Christ's Sermon on the Mount as their code, and renounced reveling, worldliness and violence.

Although separation from the world is basic to the Amish faith, the Amish accept as a matter of course the way other people live and do not attempt to make converts.

Amish children are not baptized until they reach late adolescence and express a willingness to commit themselves to the values, beliefs and customs of the church.

The Amish do not believe in fighting wars, and have been conscientious objectors during wartime. The Amish also reject the idea of government assistance. They pay into the Social Security program when required to do so, but their elderly are supported by family members rather than through Social Security payments.

Community members will not pose for photographs, believing such "graven images" to be worldly and immodest, but are tolerant of unobtrusive and considerate shutterbugs.

An Amish community holds church services every other week, rotating them among members' homes. The worship exercises are conducted in High German and the hymnbook dates from the 16th century.

"Singings" for young, unmarried people in the community are held on Sunday evenings. Hymns are interspersed with conversation and the gathering is the major opportunity young people have to congregate separately and socialize with each other.

It is an ordered, predictable life. Everyone shares the same values and the same customs, and passes them down intact to the next generation.

The primary, self-governing unit is the church district, which is made up of 30 to 40 families. The Amish community near Rexford is a single district. Each district has its own ordained officials, including a bishop who is elected from among several ministers and each has its own unwritten rules. The rules govern every aspect of community life, and can vary from district to district.

Some communities, for example, do not own cars but have decided to use electrical tools for carpentry. The Rexford community does not allow telephones in individual homes, but has one at its Kootenai General Store for community use and so that people outside the community can contact Amish businesses.

Those who deviate from the rules are subject to social sanctions. Minor offenses may be punished by requiring a confession before the church members. Major offenses are punishable by excommunication and shunning, which means the community must sever normal work and domestic relations with the offender.

Shunning occurs when the offense is considered a gross sin — drunkenness, for example — and the person remains unrepentant.

However, "We don't say everyone has to be like this (Amish) to still be Christian," said Amzie Troyer, the white-bearded bishop of the Rexford Amish community. "We make all kinds of mistakes. And we try to correct them."

John Miller, one of the original Amish "settlers" in 1975, said of his decision to emigrate to Montana, "I love it here, especially when the fire's up in the stove and it's snowing and cold outside."



The author and photographer are both employed by the *Missoulian* in Missoula, Montana, where this article was originally published.

10-High Country News — Apr. 29, 1993



A MONTANA BESTIARY

by Ellen Ditzler

Camel

At one time there were great hopes that the camel, or more accurately, the dromedary, a one-humped camel of small stature and great speed, would become more than the pack horse and mule could ever be in moving freight back and forth between the thriving mining camps of southwestern Montana and distant supply towns.

In the spring of 1864, six dromedaries appeared on the streets of Virginia City, Montana, brought there from Arizona (it was never clear how they had come that far) to work on the pack trains between Virginia City and Fort Benton on the Missouri River. Handbills luring people to a Sunday exhibition of the strange beasts described their obedience ("kneeling and rising on command"); everyone was assured that their mean looks and apparent ill humor were merely normal for an animal ready to tackle serious work and foreign horizons.

An observer of the event was Montana pioneer Granville Stuart, who wrote in *Forty Years on the Frontier*, "The claim was made that the dromedaries could travel much faster, carry a greater load and that as the Indians were afraid of them, the (pack) trains could escape raids from the aborigines."

The final claim may have borne some truth. It was said that when Virginia City's local Indians saw the dromedaries, they immediately packed up their lodges, lock, stock and travois, and left. Probably a smart move.

The "Gargantuan Exhibition" and rumors that the "durn dromedaries" were man-eaters provoked little but frightened horses and a pink bottom on a thrown camel rider. The next day, the local newspaper panned the "Great Camel Farce."

The camels were taken to a nearby ranch where they grazed peacefully alongside the Herefords, more or less forgotten until a hunter mistook one for an elk and shot it. "What was his astonishment to find a camel instead of an elk," wrote Granville Stuart, deadpan.

Eventually the durnbledaries were taken to Utah, perhaps to receive deserved appreciation by the enterprising Mormons — the moral being that you can lead a horse to water, but Montana ain't Egypt. However, stories say that at least two camels escaped from the group before it left Montana. To this day, tight-lipped hunters and ranchers will tell you nothing about weird feral elk.

A bestiary is a treatise on beasts, a natural history book popular in the Middle Ages. Although the descriptions of actual and mythical animals were largely moralistic, religious and allegorical, the "book of beasts" was the medieval equivalent of the modern wildlife field guide.

It assembled years of oral, ancient, Christian, mythological and other knowledge about animals into richly illustrated manuscripts that were widely circulated in Europe for several centuries. It was copied and translated from one language to another, undoubtedly with an occasional embellishment from a bored scribe, but certainly with some factual basis amidst the aphorisms and fables. A striking feature of the bestiary was a subtle terror, hidden beneath the ponderous moralizing, of what was then perceived to be a thin line between civilization and human reversion to bestiality.

Compared with the cool empirical analyses of modern science, the bestiary was largely a taxonomic muddle. It

called a spider an "air worm" and put independently rotating horns on the head of a deer-like animal named the Yale. Griffins, manticores, mermaids, nereids and harpies shared equal space with horses, falcons, beavers, wolves and cuckoos. The bestiary gave most animals weird habits of copulation and parturition and even advised the reader on practical matters such as how to use virgins when capturing unicorns.

Despite its naivete, which often was attributable to innocent misinterpretations of actual animal behavior, the bestiary was more than folklore. In notes on his translation of a 12th-century Latin bestiary, T.H. White calls it "a serious work of natural history and... one of the bases upon which our own knowledge of biology is founded, however much we may have advanced since it was written."

Gathered here are a few entries for a Montana bestiary, an exploration of hard scientific data about some of the state's well-known, and not-so-known, species.

Dinosaur

People everywhere are changing the heads of dinosaurs.

Throughout the world, museum personnel are quietly correcting a 100-year error that put the wrong dinosaur skull on the wrong skeleton. Yet it is little wonder that the mistake occurred. Besides the natural jumble of ancient bones buried in a shifting earth surface, early fossil hunting was a competitive trade that pitted scientists against one another in a fierce race for discoveries. Many of the errors made in haste form the basis of how we think dinosaurs looked and behaved. The correction of these errors is often slow in coming in a science that still is filled with uncertainties.

Many of the "new theories" about dinosaurs are coming from excavations in Montana, the state that, in 1902, gave the world the first bones of the *Tyrannosaurus Rex*. One of the most intriguing recent finds is a fossilized nest of duck-billed dinosaurs on the Rocky Mountain Front near Choteau, Montana.

The nest is shedding new light on the social structure of dinosaurs and is filling in gaps produced by the rarity of fossilized juveniles. The nest has yielded eggshells, little baby duckbills, slightly older ones, and the speculation that some dinosaurs were not typically reptilian and not necessarily the cold-blooded, dimwitted, drooling stumbling giants they were touted to be. Instead, the nest suggests that dinosaurs were family, even communal creatures. Perhaps lovable.

The Choteau duckbills apparently raised their young in hatching colonies before migrating in herds to distant feeding grounds. The baby and juvenile duckbills stayed in the nest for some time, nurtured by some form of parental care. This in itself is surprising since modern reptiles usually leave their



Grasshopper mouse

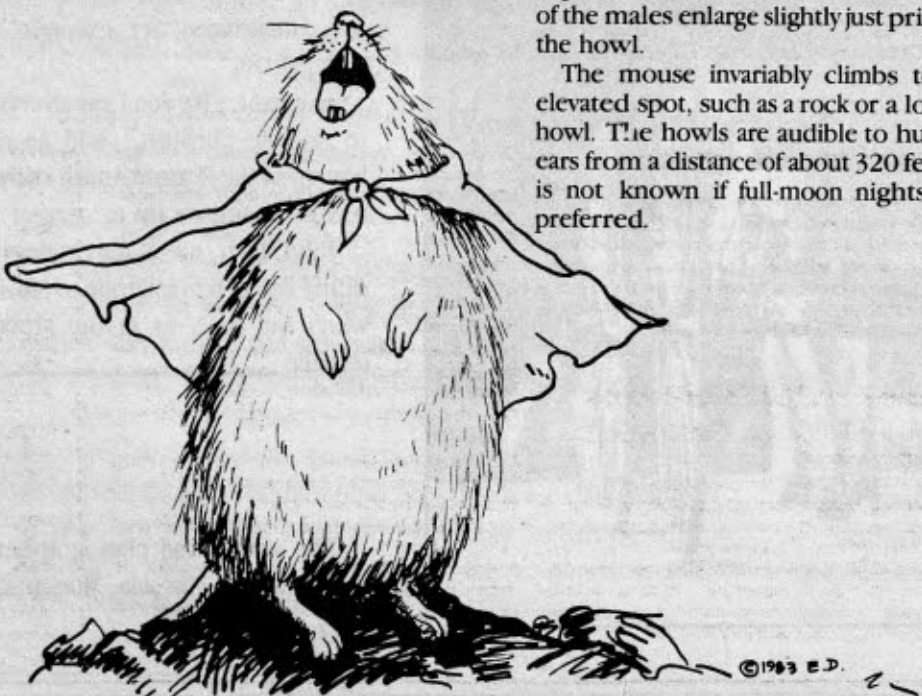
The grasshopper mouse may be the most overlooked and underrated mammal in the Rocky Mountain West, although it is hardly surprising that grizzly bears, cougars, wolves and the like would far outshine a creature a mere five to seven inches long, a pound or two in weight, and belonging to that lowly meek breed: the mice. But aside from its looks, the grasshopper mouse is no ordinary rodent.

For one, the grasshopper mouse is an exceptionally vicious and aggressive predator whose habits include the attack, kill and consumption of dangerous prey such as scorpions and vertebrates, including other mice and rodents. But its most striking feature is this: Standing on its hind legs, its tail forming the third member of tripod, its little head thrown back, nose pointed skyward, ears flat to the side of its head, eyes partly closed and mouth wide open, the grasshopper mouse *howls*.

The posture and wolf-like howl of the grasshopper mouse are most often assumed before prey are killed or when another of the species is nearby (the

second mouse will howl back). The creatures howl most frequently at dawn and dusk, and usually when in an active reproductive condition. Laboratory experiments have shown that the scrota of the males enlarge slightly just prior to the howl.

The mouse invariably climbs to an elevated spot, such as a rock or a log, to howl. The howls are audible to human ears from a distance of about 320 feet. It is not known if full-moon nights are preferred.



young soon after they are born; it was assumed that dinosaurs did the same. The assumption was undoubtedly perpetuated by the brains-the-size-of-a-walnut theory of dinosaur intellect. Montana's duckbill nest, however, may ultimately refashion our notions of these prehistoric animals.

Mastodon

Mastodons don't roam Montana anymore. They once did, as evidenced by the mastodon bones that an eastern Montanan found recently and innocently fed to his dogs. (You could hear the sobs of Princetonian paleontologists all the way to Glendive.) But living or dead mastodons in Montana were on the mind of at least one man as far back as 1804.

Before Lewis and Clark left for the wilds of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, Thomas Jefferson wrote them an extraordinary document of instructions — a "blueprint for discovery" that was detailed and scientifically astute. For Jefferson not only was a president, he was a reputable scientist well-versed in biology, ethnography, geography and meteorology. To prove certain points of science and rescue his country's reputation from allegations of inferiority, Jefferson once sent a giant American moose to a prominent French naturalist who had claimed that New World animals were much smaller than their European cousins.

Jefferson also was a lay paleontologist (his specialties were mastodons and ground sloths). Because of his keen interest in prehistoric animals, Jefferson instructed Lewis and Clark to keep their eyes peeled for live specimens or the remains of any animals thought to be rare or extinct. Although the explorer made many important observations and, largely because of Jefferson's expert technical guidance, set an example for future scientific expeditions, they found no mastodons.

Grizzly and other bears

Most of us in the Rocky Mountains are well-educated about our grizzly bears. It must be the others (Californians and easterners, no doubt) with a sick fixation on bear maulings who obscure the plight of the grizzly as a species that may become extinct (in the lower 48) before our very eyes.

To counteract such pessimism, much has been written about the grizzly bear lately — part of an awareness effort which we hope, will rally to divert us from the path of doom. However, the following is not Another Grizzly Bear Story.

One of the more interesting things about bears is the origin of their genus name, *Ursus*, as in *Ursus horribilis* — a name which forever gave the grizzly bear a sinister reputation. *Ursus* comes from the Latin *orsus*, "a beginning," or *ore*, which means "mouth." In ancient times people believed that a mother bear gave birth to a formless foetus, a shapeless bit of pulp which she rearranged into the proper legs, nose, ears, etc., by licking it. While the idea of sculpting bear cubs from a wet blob wasn't entirely accurate, it may have come from the fact that newborn bears are undeveloped and premature — hairless, pink, rat-sized creatures less than a pound in weight.

In 1883 the German explorer and naturalist, Prince Maximilian of Wied, whose fame is somewhat obscured by that of his artist-companion, Karl Bodmer, traveled over 5,000 miles up the Missouri to Fort McKenzie (now Great Falls, Montana). Prince Maximilian had a bear experience.

According to his diary, the experience began at a trading fest in Fort McKenzie, like this:

"Most entertaining was the sight of a wizened old Indian who was painted grey and had brought a very tame female bear to the fort in order to sell her. He sat down on the ground with his charge,

played with her and kissed her repeatedly. The animal was charming and completely tame. Today I bought her for whiskey. Mr. Mitchell then made me the present of a very nice young male to serve as her mate."

While most of the animal and plant specimens collected by the prince returned east with him as corpses or pressed between the leaves of books, the bears were kept alive. The collection and two large cages carrying the bears filled most of the boat built for the return trip down the Missouri. The seven passengers, for all the bear brawling and lack of space, were forced to sleep in camps on shore, prime bait for marauding hostiles. "Betrayed by the disagreeable roaring of our bears," the prince must have realized then that it was wrong to buy a bear from a grey Indian.

During the winter sojourn at Fort Clark (near Bismarck), Maximilian got scurvy but the bears survived in health. They then continued downstream with the party and arrived in St. Louis in the spring of 1884. Two months later, Prince Maximilian of Wied, his collections, two companions, and two bears from Montana disembarked from a ship at Le Havre, France.

Trout

Like grizzly bears, trout are one of the most well-known wildlife species in Montana. Since every self-respecting Montanan firmly believes that Yellowstone National Park is in his/her state, despite what people from Wyoming might think, here is a uniquely Montanan, ultimate trout-fishing experience:

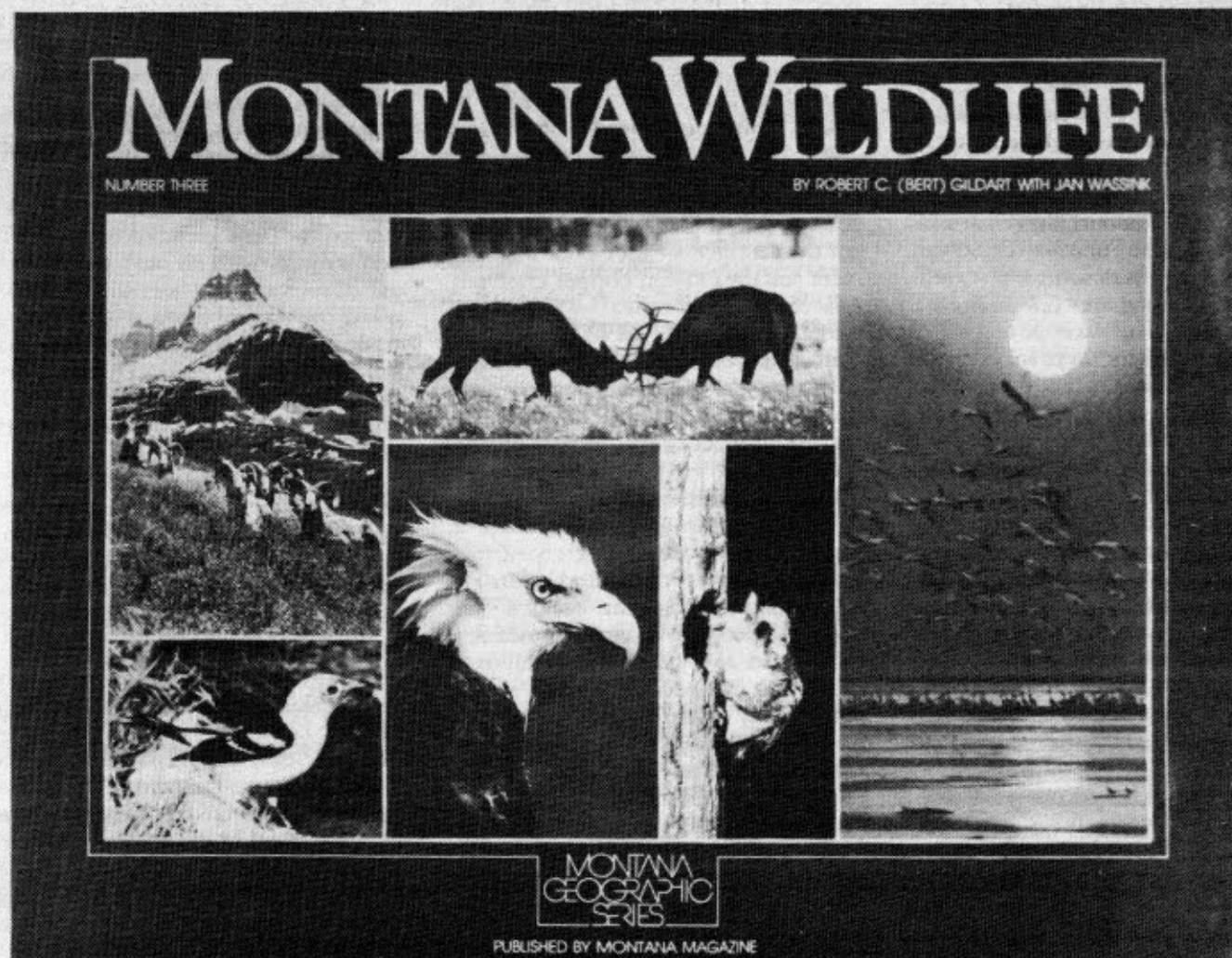
Go to the Firehole River in Yellowstone. Set out your napkin, knife, fork, plate and lemon slice on the grass near your feet. Pour yourself a chilled glass of Clos St. Landelin Alsatian Riesling. Then position yourself at a certain point between the river and the gurgling hot springs you will notice just behind you. Cast your fly into the river. When you have a trout secure on the line, in a single motion backcast your line so that the trout lands with a soft plunk in the hot pool. Count to 10. Fling your line gently forward so that the perfectly par-boiled fish lands on your plate. *Bon appetit!*

Ellen Ditzler is currently simulating the howls of grasshopper mice, on moonlit nights, from her rooftop in Helena, Montana.



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12-High Country News — Apr. 29, 1983



Montana politics...

(continued from page 1)

ties and synfuel developers have been told they can operate here but only under the strictest guidelines in the country, and the Sagebrush Rebels have been politely asked to return to Las Vegas.

In 1973, Montana came within two votes in the House of banning strip coal mining, and a few years later banned uranium solution mining until studies proclaimed it safe. The state was a pioneer in granting water rights to fish and wildlife, and under a new water reservation system state government reserved most of the Yellowstone's flow in-stream for future uses. Montana is the only state in the Rockies where there are perhaps too many environmental activists, sometimes stumbling over each other's turf to get the job done.

Despite these gains in environmental protection, Montana cannot legitimately be called anti-development. Voters in 1982 overwhelmingly passed an initiative to invest coal tax interest monies in economic development and to redirect a percentage of the State Board of Investments' monies into Montana-based industries. A new Department of Commerce exists to stimulate growth, and dozens of local and statewide economic growth councils have sprung up to encourage innovative business schemes in a state whose copper industry collapsed and whose coal and oil industries are stagnant.

Montana, for all of this, has established itself as a leader in environmental protection and sensible growth. Why and how did this happen?

The late Montana historian K. Ross Toole took a crack at answering this tough question. Toole wrote that a century of corporate abuse dealt out by the Anaconda Company made Montanans wiser than their neighbors. He pointed to the infamous net proceeds tax on minerals, established in the statehood constitution of 1889, which in 1922 allowed the Anaconda Company to pay a scant \$13,559 on \$20 million worth of Butte copper.

Pointing to Montana's 30 percent coal severance tax as a reaction against the ravages of copper, Toole in 1976 wrote, "Montanans are much more sensitive to this issue than other states because of the long history of mining law that forced local and state governments to bear enormous costs that

should have been borne by the mining industry."

There were other deprivations as well that marred Montana's acceptance of big business. Anaconda manipulated both parties to suit its own needs. It crushed numerous attempts at legislative reform, owned a number of governors, and in 1919 blatantly rigged the firing of a University of Montana professor, Louis Levine, for publishing a truthful book on the effects of the net proceeds tax.

The copper-clad dome of the state capitol sheltered Anaconda's interests for too many years to suit Montanans, according to Toole. In 1972, when they got their chance — after poor management and the Chilean copper crash put Anaconda on the ropes — the people wrote themselves a new constitution that, among other features, guaranteed environmental quality and empowered the legislature to set mineral taxes as it wished. The state thus threw off the "copper collar."

Political scientist Lauren MacKenzie of Montana State University offers a slightly different view.

"The 1970s represented a major discontinuity in Montana politics," he said. "The people who wrote the constitution were a very different group than those who had been in recent legislatures. They were better educated, younger, politically naive. There was a higher proportion of women among them. As a result, the convention proved itself open to the cross-fertilization of ideas, and they borrowed from many sources, including recent national events such as the passage of NEPA," the National Environmental Policy Act.

MacKenzie believes that the 1972 convention naturally seized on new trends on environmental policy-making that national politicians were considering. "1972 was a very opportune time for environmentalists," he said, "and in the 1973 legislature, following the convention, we saw a very dramatic display of environmental policy-setting."

But there is another argument, suggested by Montana historians Michael Malone and Richard Roeder, that answers the question in another way. It goes like this:

Since the early 1890s, Montana has been periodically infected by the ideals of populist and progressive politics. At various times and under various circumstances, the torch-bearers of populism have risen up, organized, and passed numerous reforms, then disappeared into the ordinary fog of party politics.

Over decades, the populist reforms gradually coalesced into a cogent pattern of open government characterized by a long tradition of direct legislation — the initiative and referendum — and the periodic rise of gifted populists to positions of leadership in government, unions and citizen groups. When enough of these leaders are serving concurrent terms, populist fireworks occur.

Seen in this context, the 1970s were no political discontinuity but rather were the most recent wave of populism in Montana. A new issue and a new movement — conservation — arose and the leaders of the major progressive groups embraced it. The results are sheer populism: the 1972 constitution, a cogent body of law to protect natural resources, and a resurrected initiative and referendum process.

Butte in the 1880s was a rough-and-tumble town. Marcus Daly, "the best miner who ever came to Montana," had coaxed the capital of William Randolph Hearst into the rich Anaconda Mine near Butte. The mine's fabled silver quickly petered out, but Daly's men found a strike of copper there that would blow a century of raucous life into Butte.

When Daly came to Montana in 1876, he was not a capitalist but a seasoned and respected miner with an uncanny nose for ore. Because of his management, money and miners poured into Montana as Daly and his competitors opened mine after mine near Butte. By 1883, after the Hearst investors had dropped over \$15 million in the Butte mines, Daly convinced them to build the Washoe Smelter in nearby Anaconda, a town that Daly wanted to name Copperopolis. By 1889, when Montana's bid for statehood was finally accepted, the territory had become the nation's leading producer of copper.

Daly possessed two passions which, ironically, got populism off to a running start in Montana. A former working man himself, his political sentiments leaned toward the Democratic Party. He identified strongly with his men, particularly the numerous Irish, and so stoutly resisted the current practice of squashing trade unions in the mines. Believing that satisfied workers produced more ore, Daly allowed the men to unionize in 1878. By 1887 they had won the closed shop in Butte mines.

His other passion was his feud with archrival W.A. Clark, an egomaniac with uncontrolled political ambitions. Jealous of Daly's rapport with workers, Clark matched his rival's concessions blow for blow as he struggled for power in the Butte Democratic party.

As the Copper kings warred, the unions skillfully used the lust and greed of their bosses to their own advantage. The politically ambitious Clark allowed unions because Daly did. Twenty-two years later, when Daly's mines were under control of the ruthless Standard Oil Company, Clark and his ally-of-convenience, F.A. Heinze, traded the eight-hour workday for control of Silver Bow County politics and, ultimately, a U.S. Senate seat for Clark. Working for big oil, Daly refused the shorter day and watched helplessly as Clark went to Washington.

As long as several small companies

controlled Butte copper, the unions enjoyed leverage. Thanks to Daly, they did not have to fight the debilitating battles for recognition that plagued unions in most Western states. As a result, union leaders began very early to turn their full attention toward issues of enlightened self-interest: better pay, shorter hours, worker safety, and power at the polls. When the Populist wagons rolled into Butte, the unions hopped right aboard.

The Populist Party established itself in the election of 1900, in which the strange alliance of Clark and Heinze with one wing of the Democrats, a splinter group of Republicans, and the Populist, Social Democrat and labor parties came into power. Both Copper Kings took the opportunity to rail against Standard Oil's Amalgamated Copper. Montanans thus got their first good taste of anti-corporate sentiments, spoken by as corporate a pair as ever lived. Strong sentiments against out-of-state corporations would become a trademark of Montana progressives for the next century.

The eight-hour day, granted by Clark and Heinze, became the first major victory for Populists in Montana. The once powerless miners of Butte, many of them immigrants, earned a sense of what they could accomplish through organization and opportunism. More importantly, the Populists used their unholy affiliation with Clark and Heinze to push numerous ideas for reform before the Montana public. Mine safety, the initiative and referendum, the direct election of senators, and women's rights were other planks in the Populist platform. They astonished Montanans by nominating Ella Knowles of Helena for attorney general in 1900. She lost by a scant 5,000 votes.

Unlike Midwestern states, where populism flourished among frustrated farmers, Montana populism sprouted among the unions in Butte. But Montana farmers were gradually lured to the ideals of populism and by 1910 many of them were ready to make their mark on Montana's political future, this time through the rise of the Progressive Party.

The decade preceding World War I brought prosperity to Northern Great Plains agriculture. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 touched off a second wave of homesteading, and the new land seekers were blessed with good rainfall and abundant harvests.

The new Montana farmers tended to be young, native-born Americans, although a sizable percentage were German and Scandinavian immigrants. Many of them had little or no farming experience, and they listened earnestly to the experts in dryland farming who recommended deep-plowing techniques — just the opposite of today's minimum tillage.

They also listened to the Wilson administration, which, during the early years of the War in Europe, urged farmers to bring as much new land as possible into production and guaranteed a price for wheat.

Many of the new farmers brought reformist ideals to Montana, and they watched with interest the activities of

Montanans had learned from the Populists that the best way to overcome a copper-clad legislature was to go over its head by using ballot issues and election reform.

the Populist Party in Butte. One belief, apparently widespread among the new homesteaders, was that the key to curing society's ills rested with women, who could not yet vote but whose good judgment should be heeded even in political matters. The young Farmers' Union, slowly gathering members in the homesteading counties, elevated the faith in feminine good sense to unprecedented levels by granting to women full membership and participation in the organization. Virtually all other agricultural organizations in Montana to this day relegate women to auxiliaries. The Stockgrowers have their Cow Belles, the Wheat Growers their Wheat Hearts, the Pork Growers their Porkettes. But for the early Farmers Union, women's suffrage was an easy step to take.

In 1912, a group of liberal Montana farmers helped found the People's Power League, a coalition of agriculture, labor, education and women's rights advocates. The state aim of the League was to advocate progressive legislation through the initiative and referendum, the tools of direct legislation enacted in a 1906 Montana constitutional amendment. For a brief time the tools worked very well.

Montanans had learned from the Populists that the best way to overcome a copper-clad legislature was to go over its head by using ballot issues and election reform. One of the first states to use the Australian, or secret, ballot, Montana has a tradition of election reform dating from the first days of statehood.

The Power League teamed up with the Direct Legislation League, an alliance of Bull Moose, or Progressive, Republicans, to push a number of 1912 ballot issues. Together, they passed an initiative calling for direct primaries and a referendum repealing a law that allowed the use of the militia for strike-breaking. Unfortunately, the labor-agriculture alliance in the Power League split up over the issue of workman's compensation, an unsuccessful 1912 initiative. Labor wanted it; farmers didn't. It would be over 30 years before another labor-agriculture coalition emerged and gained electoral power.

But the Farmers' Union continued to grow on its own, storing the seeds of Montana's agricultural populism. In 1914, the homesteading counties cast the deciding votes in the state's leading progressive issue, the women's suffrage initiative, while the older ranching and mining counties voted against it. Two years later Montana shocked the nation by sending the first woman to Congress, Jeannette Rankin. Three women went to the state legislature, and a fourth became state school superintendent. Supported by the new homesteaders, feminism enjoyed its healthiest period until the 1980s.

Drought, war and the rise of the latent right-wing in Montana stalled the progressive movement in its tracks. Butte miners' unions came undone in 1914 when an unidentified group of men bombed the Miners' Union Hall. The anti-union sentiments of Amalgamated Copper, now the lone king on the Hill, had caused deep divisions among the Butte miners. The International Workers of the World, or Wobblies, called for a radical union platform to fight The Company eye-to-eye. Other competing unions shook the power base of the Butte Miners' Union. The bombing gave Amalgamated an excuse to forbid union activities altogether, as the governor established martial law in Butte. For the next four years the union radicals and moderates fought bitterly, especially over U.S. involvement in World War I.

If Montana had set national precedents for progressive reform, they were soon lost in the hateful gloom of the war years, when the ultra-conservative Council for Defense conducted a statewide witch hunt for anti-war radicals. Shortly after going to Congress, Jeannette Rankin cast the lone vote against U.S. involvement in World War I. Back home, the Wobblies and the agricultural Nonpartisan League cheered, but the Montana Council for Defense went berserk, calling on the governor and the legislature to still these dissident voices. They did.

The 1918 legislature enacted the Montana Sedition Law, which made a crime of criticizing government or the armed forces during wartime and became the model for the infamous federal Sedition Law of 1918, a gross violation of civil rights. Even after the war had ended, the Council for Defense successfully banned the speaking of German in Montana. In the 1918 election, Rankin lost her seat because of her anti-war views, and the radicals continued to be harassed in the name of patriotism.

Fear of association with the Nonpartisan League and other radical groups — who remained loyal to Rankin — blunted the effectiveness of Progressives in both parties, who trembled before the new-found power of the Defense Council patriots. Progressive leaders quietly backpedaled their way into the moderate mainstreams of the two major parties, as the movement went underground.

1918 brought a cycle of drought to the plains, and the halcyon days of homesteading turned to bust. The drought consumed thousands of acres of the deep-plowed prairie, where even marginal lands were cultivated at the instigation of the federal government. By 1924, two million Montana acres had fallen out of production. Half of the state's farmers lost their land as more



"IT COSTS MONEY TO TRAVEL."

than 20,000 mortgages were foreclosed.

A few radical trumpets sounded on the plains — a communist newspaper sprouted up in Plentywood, and the Nonpartisan League, advocating state-owned banks and grain elevators, tried to reorganize — but most farmers who felt like joining anything joined the Farmers' Union.

The Progressives were scattered and beaten, but like the Populists before them, they had left a lasting mark on Montana politics. The messages of the radicals had been heard and rejected, the superpatriots had shamed the state, the Progressives had gotten their women elected and had used direct legislation effectively, opening up state government just a little more to citizen interests. When the times were right, they would rise again.

Other Western states also saw the successive rise of populist and progressive movements, but in none of them did the traditions take hold as they did in Montana. The Treasure State is one of only six in which the Farmers' Union is the largest agricultural organization. In Montana it has over 6,000 members. Union and trade organization membership is higher per capita in Montana than in any other Rocky Mountain state. The Montana AFL-CIO has over 35,000 members.

But more important than the numbers are the traditions of open government and leadership that Montana populists, liberal and conservative, have fostered throughout this century. The 1972 constitution did more than any other single event to make state government accessible to the people, not just to the corporations. Through the 1970s, conservationists made good use of that openness, in both lobbying and ballot issues.

The new constitution loosened the requirements for qualifying initiatives and referenda, and made provisions for constitutional amendments by petition. The result has been a phenomenal flowering of ballot issues that vaulted Montana into the national forefront of direct lawmaking. Since 1975, 19 ballot issues have appeared before the Montana voters. About a third of those have been sponsored or supported by conservation groups.

Recently, Montana has shown itself to be more likely than any other state to qualify initiatives for the ballot, and more likely to pass them once they are there. These gains in direct legislation have roots that reach clear back to the Populists of 1900.

Montana remains a conservative state with a deeply embedded populist tradition characterized by two outstanding features: an existing network of union, agriculture, conservation and citizens' groups that periodically form real alliances

for their own good; and a tendency to focus on issues that expand state protectionism. The 30 percent coal tax is a good example. These two characteristics keep Montana populists from becoming just another assortment of tired old liberals.

In 1978, a familiar alliance banded together again to sweeten a sour legislature. Representatives from labor, agriculture, education, and women's groups joined with conservationists in forming the Montana Committee for an Effective Legislature, a political action committee to work on state legislative races.

As Montana's economy sputtered along through the '70s, legislative reaction against all forms of regulation — but especially environmental — grew increasingly bitter. In 1981, with Republicans controlling both legislative houses for the first time in three decades, conservationists were called into committees to atone for their sins. There were bills introduced and considered seriously that would have jailed "environmental obstructionists" for challenging industrial projects. And a six-bill Senate package, aimed partly at crippling environmental reform, would have made Montana's initiative process a lot like Wyoming's, which has such stiff requirements that voters have never seen a single ballot issue.

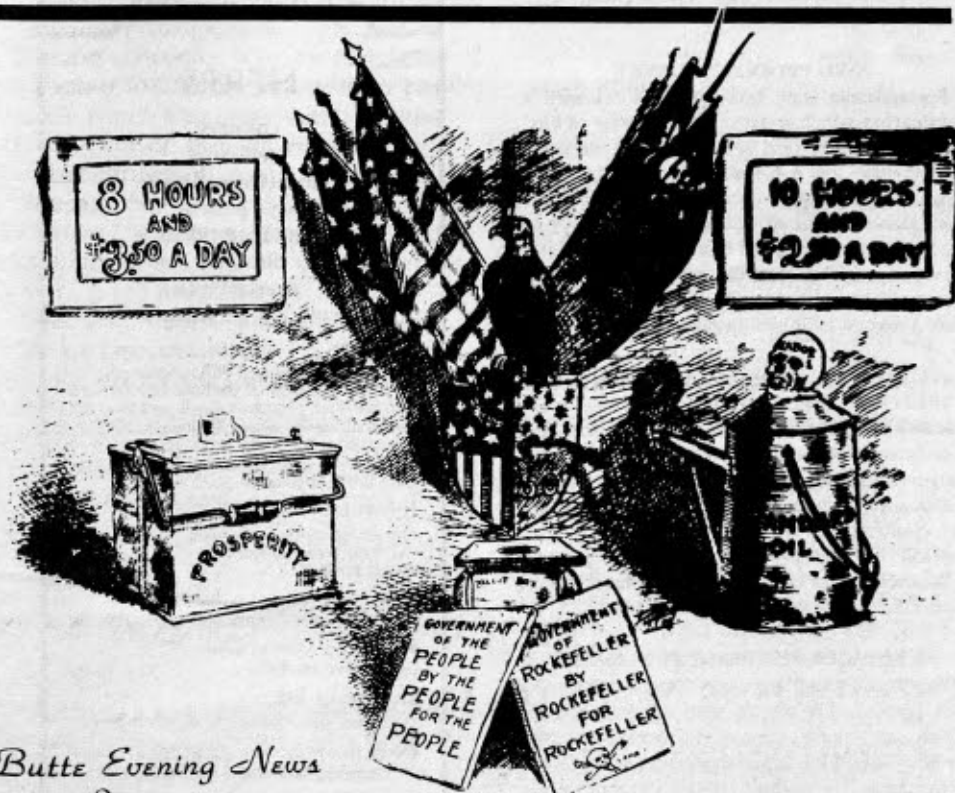
MontCEL arose to combat the legislative swing to the right, and it has been astonishingly successful in its three-election history — 80 percent of its 1982 candidates won.

While the organization has been branded by Montana media as merely "liberal" — a swear word in 1980 — more astute observers realize that MontCEL's roots are also populist. It is one of the few PACs in Montana (there are over 30) that does not look out for a single special-interest group, but rather selects candidates on the basis of broad political philosophies. Its success is a reflection of Montana's populist history.

When House Speaker Kemmis took the floor on that stormy Monday night, he invoked that history. His passionate voice boomed over the chamber's loudspeakers, touching something very old in the hearts of his colleagues. He told the truth as the people see it. Ross Toole would have been proud of him.

+++

The author wishes to acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to historians Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, whose *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* not only provided a factual basis for this article but also many hours of pleasurable reading. Other acknowledgements are given to K. Ross Toole's *Montana: A State of Extremes*, *The Rape of the Great Plains*, and to hours of enlightening conversation with Montana's beloved late historian.



Butte Evening News
Oct. 24, 1904

Under Which Flag?

BULLETIN BOARD

ACID RAIN IN THE ROCKIES

"Acid Rain in the Rocky Mountain West" will be the topic of a conference sponsored by the Colorado Dept. of Health, on June 2-3 at the Colorado School of Mines in Golden. The conference will evaluate recent studies on acid precipitation in the West and discuss the results. Space is limited to 300 and a \$50 registration fee is required. For more information contact Acid Rain Conference, c/o Office of Health Protection, Colo. Dept. of Health, 4210 E. 11th Ave. Denver, Colo. 80220.

FEDERATION OF FLY FISHERS

"Rise to the Future" is the motto of the Federation of Fly Fishers annual convention, to be held in West Yellowstone, Mont. Aug. 17-20. This year's event will bring together some of the best fly tyers from the United States and Canada for fly tying demonstrations and classes. Other events will include fly fishing techniques, strategies and stream entomology and ecology. The principle theme will emphasize conservation and education in an effort to make all fly fishers more involved in the preservation of the sport. For more information write the Federation of Fly Fishers Conclave '83, P.O. Box 1088, West Yellowstone, Mont. 59758.

RMNP SEMINARS OPEN

Registration is now open for field seminars at the Rocky Mountain National Park. The 15 week-long and weekend courses focus on an indepth study of the park's environment. The program includes various offerings in alpine ecology, plant identification, nature writing and invertebrate zoology. The program is sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Nature Association, Colorado State University and the University of Northern Colorado. University credit is available. For further information and a full program listing contact Jean Menning at RMNP, Estes Park, Colo. 80517; 303/586-2371.

FOREST SERVICE CALLS FOR VOLUNTEERS

The U.S. Forest Service Intermountain Region has published a catalog listing volunteer job opportunities. The catalog lists 41 categories of jobs with a variety of several hundred openings in southern Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and western Wyoming. Background information and a brief description about the area in which the job is located is also included. To learn more about this program contact the Forest Service, Volunteer Coordinator, 324 25th Street, Ogden, Utah 84401.

WESTERN WOMEN UNITE

The Women's West, a conference dedicated to exploring the role of women in western history, will be held Aug. 10-13 in Ketchum, Idaho. The principle theme will involve a comparison of the actual lives of western women and how they relate to traditional western histories. The conference is free and open to the public. A limited number of stipends providing travel/meals/lodging may be available to qualified applicants. For more information contact the Institute of the American West, P.O. Box 656, Sun Valley, Idaho 83353; 208/622-9371.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

New Mexico State University is sponsoring a natural resource management workshop for students between the ages 15-18. The workshop will be held May 30 to June 3 at the Ghost Ranch Conference Center near Abiquiu, N.M. Topics will include range management, range livestock production, watershed management, forestry and wildlife management. The cost is \$75.00 which includes room and board, transportation and educational materials. For more information contact, Chris Allison, Box 3AE, NMSU, Las Cruces, N.M. 88003; 505/646-1944.

BACKPACKING RESEARCH PROJECTS

The Wildland Research Institute, San Francisco State University Extended Education, is offering wilderness research courses throughout Wyoming, Colorado and Montana this summer. Participants join small backpacking research teams to help preserve wildlife species and threatened habitats with personalized instruction from environmental specialists in backcountry settings. Previous research experience is not required. Field projects are three four-week long courses. Optional college credit is available. For details, write: Wildland Research Institute, 407 Atlantic Ave. Santa Cruz, Calif. 95062; 408/427-2106.

TOXIC WASTES DISPOSAL CONFERENCE

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is offering a two-day conference on "Institutional Stability and the Disposal of Nuclear and Chemically Toxic Wastes." Scheduled for May 16 and 17, the conference will host a variety of renowned scientists for both the public and private sectors. Registration fee is \$35.00. For more information contact Dr. Marvin M. Miller, 24-109, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. 02139; 617/253-3848.

WESTERN COURSES AT CODY MUSEUM

The University of Wyoming, in cooperation with the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, is offering four one-week courses for university credit in Cody this summer from May 30 through June 24. Notable teachers from campuses around the country will be featured as lecturers in Western American studies. Tuition for the summer institute is \$100 per course plus a \$20 administration fee for those students seeking university credit. For more information, contact the Historical Center's Education Department, P.O. Box 1000, Cody, Wyo. 82414.

SPOTLIGHT ON COAL

The National Coal Association is sponsoring its 66th anniversary convention from June 14 to 18 in Hot Springs, Va. Discussion topics include: "Energy Crisis Revisited", "Industry and Environmentalists" and "Rail Deregulation: Boon or Bane for Coal." The cost of the convention is \$450 per delegate. For more information contact the National Coal Association, 1130 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

MINING SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE

The College of Mines and Earth Resources at the University of Idaho has financial aid still available to students in mining and resource-related fields. Nearly \$170,000 in scholarships and out-of-state tuition waivers are available for the 1983-1984 school year for students seeking degrees in mining or metallurgical engineering, geology, geography, cartography and other related fields. For more information on the scholarships and program offerings of the College of Mines and Earth Resources contact Dr. Sam Scriptor, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843; 208/885-6517.

MONTANA BLM MANAGEMENT PLANS

A draft resource management plan and environmental impact statement for 426,000 acres of public land in eight south central Montana counties has been released by the Bureau of Land Management. Copies of the plan are available at the BLM offices in Billings, Miles City, and Lewiston or by writing to Billings Resource Area Office, 810 E. Main, Billings, Mont. 59105. Written comments may be sent to the above address. The public may also present testimony at hearings in Lovell, Wyo. on May 31, at the NPS Visitor's Center, and in Billings on June 1 at the Ramada Inn. Both hearings start at 7 p.m.

ENVIRONMENTAL OPPORTUNITIES

Environmental Opportunities, a monthly bulletin listing environmentally-oriented employment throughout the United States is now available. The bulletin is sponsored by the Antioch New England Graduate School and is edited and published by Sanford Berry of Walpole, New Hampshire. The publication features a variety of job categories as well as seasonal work and internships. Each issue lists over 25 announcements, is mailed first class to insure timely information and offers free "position wanted" listings for subscribers. For more information write Sanford Berry, *Environmental Opportunities*, Box 670, Walpole, New Hamp. 03608; phone (603) 756-4541.

AMERICA - YOUR COUNTRY

The National AudioVisual Center catalog "America - Your Country," features a selection of 133 film and video programs produced by the National Park Service and other agencies responsible for protecting and preserving the natural wonders of America. The programs are ideal for educational enrichment programs. For further information contact National AudioVisual Center, Information Services EQ, Washington, D.C. 20409, 301/763-1896.

BIRD PRODUCTS SURVEY

Pennsylvania State University has released a publication which summarizes the value of bird seed, bird houses, bird feeders, etc. and estimates the revenue that a federal excise tax on those items would generate towards a nongame wildlife management program. Entitled "Initial Survey of the Value of the Wild Bird Products Industry," the survey is available from the Agricultural Mailing Room, Room 112, Ag. Adm. Bldg., Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. 16802.

INFORMATION ON WATER POLICY ISSUES

The League of Women Voters of Utah have available five pamphlets on various water policy issues now being discussed in several western states. They include: water brokering, growth and water reallocation, instream flows, water law and rights, and challenges of the future. All the briefs are available free of charge by contacting the League of Women Voters of Utah, 3804 Highland Drive, Suite 9, Salt Lake City, Utah 84106; 801/272-1712.

FURBEARER REFERENCE PUBLISHED

"North American Furbearers," a new reference book published by the International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies in cooperation with the Maryland Wildlife Administration is available for purchase. The volume is an encyclopedia of 30 major furbearing animals and is available for \$14. Orders should be made payable to Worldwide Furbearer Conference, 1111 E. Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore, MD 21239.

PROGRESS REPORT

The U.S. Department of Energy will hold two public hearings on its proposal to nominate an underground disposal site in southern Utah for high-level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel. The repository site has not yet been officially nominated. DOE seeks to inform the area residents and gather public comment. The hearings will be held May 3, from 7 to 11 p.m. at the High School Auditorium, Monticello, Utah; and May 4 from 2 to 11 pm at Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City.

JACK CREEK EIS AVAILABLE

The Boise District of the Bureau of Land Management has begun preparing the final environmental impact statement on the proposed Jack's Creek Wilderness area. The EIS will evaluate the wilderness suitability of 175,630 acres of public lands in southwestern Idaho. Public comment is sought on the significant issues and alternatives that should be addressed in the EIS. Comments should be sent to the Boise District Office, 3948 Development Ave., Boise, Idaho 83705 by May 13.

EARTH TREKS IN COLORADO

Earth TREKS, an environmental education summer program for teenagers 13-17 conducted by the National Wildlife Federation, will feature four coeducational 12-day backpacking excursions in Colorado's Rocky Mountains from June 24 through August 16. Under the leadership of experienced instructors, teenagers develop both a practical mastery of backpacking skills and an understanding of the natural history of the Colorado high country. For more information, write to Earth TREK, NWF, 1412 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, 703/790-4363.

GARDEN CITY SEED CATALOG

Garden City Seeds, a non-profit seed company dedicated to natural process plant breeding and seed production, is offering its new 1983 catalog of seeds, bulbs and plants suited for open pollination in northern climates similar to that of Montana. The catalog also contains information on gardening accessories and participation in the Down Home Project of which it is a part. For a copy of the catalogue and more information contact GCS, 625 Phillips, Missoula, Mont. 59802, 406/728-4549.

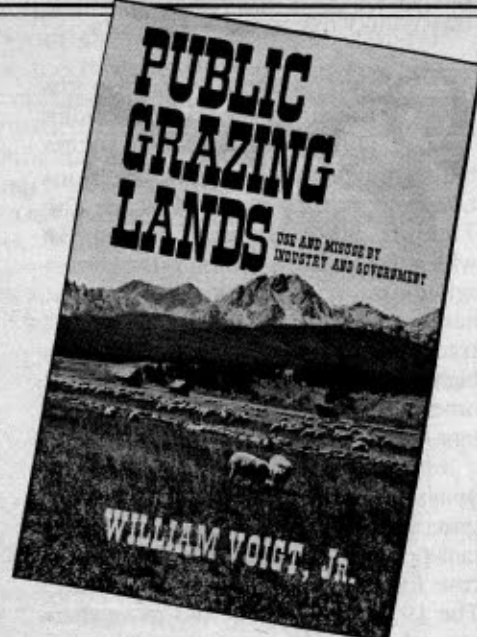
HOW MUCH NUCLEAR IS ENOUGH?

The award winning PBS documentary, "How Much Is Enough? Decision Making in the Nuclear Age" is now available for rental or purchase. The film reveals the often faulty process by which decisions concerning nuclear weapons have been made. It is divided into 10 parts, each introduced by its own graphic element with a break at 29 minutes, making it handy for classroom and other instructional viewing. For more information contact Documerica Films, P.O. Box 985, Vallejo, Calif. 94590, 415/428-9467.

HAZARDOUS WASTE FILM

"Hazardous Waste: Who bears the cost?" is a 30 minute, 16mm color film which looks at hazardous waste as a local and national issue. Case studies, new technologies and potential solutions are also featured in this documentary. For information regarding film rental, contact Umbrella Films, 60 Blake Rd., Brookline, Mass. 02146; 617/277-6639.

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Join the Public Lands Institute (PLI) now and get William Voigt's classic book about the great land grab attempt of the 1940s and '50s, precursor of the "sagebrush rebellion" and of the Reagan Administration's plan to "privatize" the National Forests and BLM lands.

Mr. Voigt wrote his vivid historical account out of personal involvement in the public land struggles of four decades ago. A former Executive Director of the Isaak Walton League of America, he served as field general for the conservation forces when Western livestock associations, having subdued the Bureau of Land Management, set out to emasculate the Forest Service and almost succeeded.

Through special arrangement with Mr. Voigt and his publisher, PLI is able to offer the 359-page illustrated, hardcover volume as a bonus to new members. It is essential background for today's defenders of the public lands. Priced at \$19.95 when it first appeared in 1976, Voigt's *Public Grazing Lands* is now listed in bookstores at \$32.50.

The Public Lands Institute, founded in Denver in 1978, is a division of the Natural Resources Defense Council. Non-profit and tax-exempt, its purpose is to work for efficient management and conservation of government-owned lands. Members are kept informed of current public land issues and legislation through the monthly *PLI Newsletter* and special bulletins.

Make your check payable to PLI, Natural Resources Defense Council, for \$15 or more, and request the FREE bonus book, Voigt's Public Grazing Lands. Mail to Charles Callison, PLI Director, Dept. 1-B, 1725 I Street, N.W., Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20006.

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OPINION

Kemmis' call for leadership

Montana debate over the issue of water for coal slurry focused in the 1983 House of Representatives. Three bills aimed at getting Montana into the water marketing business and out of constitutional jeopardy were heard by the House Natural Resource Committee, which reported only one bill, HB 908, favorably to the rest of the House. The other two bills, nearly identical, were forged into a single measure, HB 893, and forced out onto the House floor for a full debate.

The Schwinden administration, an early and vocal proponent of a study investigating Montana's 4-year-old ban on the use of water for coal slurry, quickly changed tactics when the legislature convened. Administration officials, goaded into action by coal industry lobbyists and ultimately by the South Dakota water sale last year, believed they had the votes to repeal Montana's slurry ban and substitute a water marketing program that might bring millions of dollars into the state from the Billings-based Powder River Pipeline Company, a consortium of coal slurry investors who plan to pipe Montana or Wyoming coal to utilities in the Great Lakes region.

by Dan Kemmis
House Speaker, Montana

Mr. Chairman, I don't like to take the time tonight because I know we're going to be here until midnight. However, I would like at this time to try to lay out what I view as the historical responsibility that we face in this issue for those of you, if there are any, who still haven't made up your minds.

The question has been asked why Montana suddenly — and believe me, it's sudden — why has Montana reversed course on coal slurry? Why is it, as Rep. Vincent said, that six months ago every study that the Governor commissioned said take your time, study the issue? And now, all at once, here we are saying, We've got to do this. Why has this happened?

Well, I'll tell you why it's happened. It hasn't happened because of the sudden fear about the constitutionality of the slurry ban. It has happened because Governor Janklow of South Dakota sold some water and got a lot of money for

that state, and because the governor of Montana decided that we could not be second in that kind of race. And so we are faced now with this sudden emergency that we have got to turn around, and we have got to sell some water. Let's not fool ourselves — that's what's happening.

Now we've got a bill that's supposed to allow us to sell that water, and yet every time the question is asked, "How does this bill work, how is it going to enable us to sell any water?" there is no answer. We don't yet know how it's going to work.

But here's the situation. It's just like the fable about the fox crossing the river with a ham in his mouth and seeing another fox below him with a ham in his mouth, and thinking, that ham looks a lot better than the one I've got. And he drops the ham and jumps into the water to get the one that he sees below him. That's what's going on here — it's the kind of greed that's operating here.

It's just flat greed! We've got a pipeline company wandering the halls telling us how many millions of dollars they've got available for this state, and

It was in the context of these political maneuverings during the final days of House action on the bills that House Speaker Dan Kemmis (D) decided to take a stand against immediate action on coal slurry.

The author of the 1979 coal slurry ban, Kemmis had risen quickly to leadership of the House after serving as House Minority Leader in 1981. There he established a reputation for even-handed management of the minority party, while the majority Republicans entertained scores of measures intended to dismantle Montana's environmental laws. Kemmis, clearly an heir of Montana populism, decided to take on the Governor — also a Democrat — over the issue of marketing Montana water. The following is the substance of his remarks on the House floor during the anxious moments preceding the final vote on HB 893. The speech and Kemmis' ardent delivery have already been praised as one of the oratory highlights in recent legislative history.

— Don Snow

that's what we're really talking about here. Now maybe that's okay, but let me tell you some of the implications.

Western water and the availability of western water have been held in a tenuous balance for a long time. In 1944, Congress passed the Flood Control Act, and they put into that act an amendment called the O'Mahoney-Millikan Amendment, which gives to upstream states preference for use of the Missouri Basin water. Provided that we use the water for beneficial consumptive uses, we have preference over downstream users.

important to Montana than that one piece of legislation. And it hangs upon the slenderest of threads because we don't have the votes in Congress to defend it if we ever upset the downstream states enough to go after it. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, the water war that Governor Janklow has started is going to lead to an attack on the O'Mahoney-Millikan Amendment that will threaten Montana water in a way that we have never seen.

Ask yourself something: Why is it that all four members of the Montana con-

gressional delegation have opposed coal slurry for the last 10 years? Why is that? Why is it that in the last two months we've gotten so much smarter than they are? Greed, that's why. Why is it that they're telling us to go slow? Because they know what the downstream states can do to us, and what they will do to us. Upstream states don't have the power in Congress to resist that.

What the upstream states need is a little leadership. It has not come from South Dakota. Wyoming's leaders have called us time and again saying, "What are you going to do in Montana?" And what they mean is, Are you going to go for this water war or are you going to resist it?

Now that's the question here. The question is whether we're going to get into that water war that we can't win, or whether we in Montana are going to exercise the kind of leadership that Montana has become famous for and say no. My gosh, cool heads prevail in this state, and it's cool heads that have got to prevail on this vote. Greed is not what we need now. What we need right now is common sense.

LETTERS

HOGWASH AND UNTRUTHS

Dear HCN,

"Watt and Wister — Westernism unchained" which appeared in the April 15, 1983 issue of *High Country News* is full of hogwash and untruths.

James Watt was born in Lusk, the one fact in the article. His father, William Watt, was Niobrara County attorney, 1948-1950. From Lusk the Watt family moved to Wheatland. They never lived on the family homestead in northern Wyoming. Lusk and Wheatland are not in Powder River Country.

The only thing James Watt had in common with Owen Wister was the alliteration of "W" at the start of their last names. James Watt never lived, worked or irrigated on that old family homestead in northern Wyoming. James was a town boy. He came out and rode the buckrake I was driving in the hay field and thought it a lark. He didn't know how to pitch hay or handle a horse.

Lois and William Watt, his parents, were my personal friends. I certainly do not like the policies of James Watt as Secretary of the Interior. He would sell the priceless wilderness and off-shore heritage of the United States to the highest bidder to exploit.

Mae Urbanek
Lusk, Wyoming

A GRIZZLY PROJECT

Dear HCN,

Neither reopening Yellowstone's dumps, feeding from helicopters, or the importation of bears from Alaska seems, to me, the answer to the problem of Yellowstone's declining grizzly population.

The answer, as with all modern-day

environmental dilemmas, lies in the numbers of people. Just as in Oregon, Texas, and California the decrease in the grizzly population is directly related to the increase in *homo sapiens* within the bears' habitat.

Sadly, the solution appears to be this: either we remove (or better control) the people, or we most likely lose the bears. Sadder yet, we are willing to accept neither. Therefore, within 25 years Yellowstone's last grizzly is very likely to be in a glass display case in the lobby of the Old Faithful Inn, viewed by two million camera-toting tourists annually.

Saddened, I am,

Dan Brecht
Palmer, Alaska

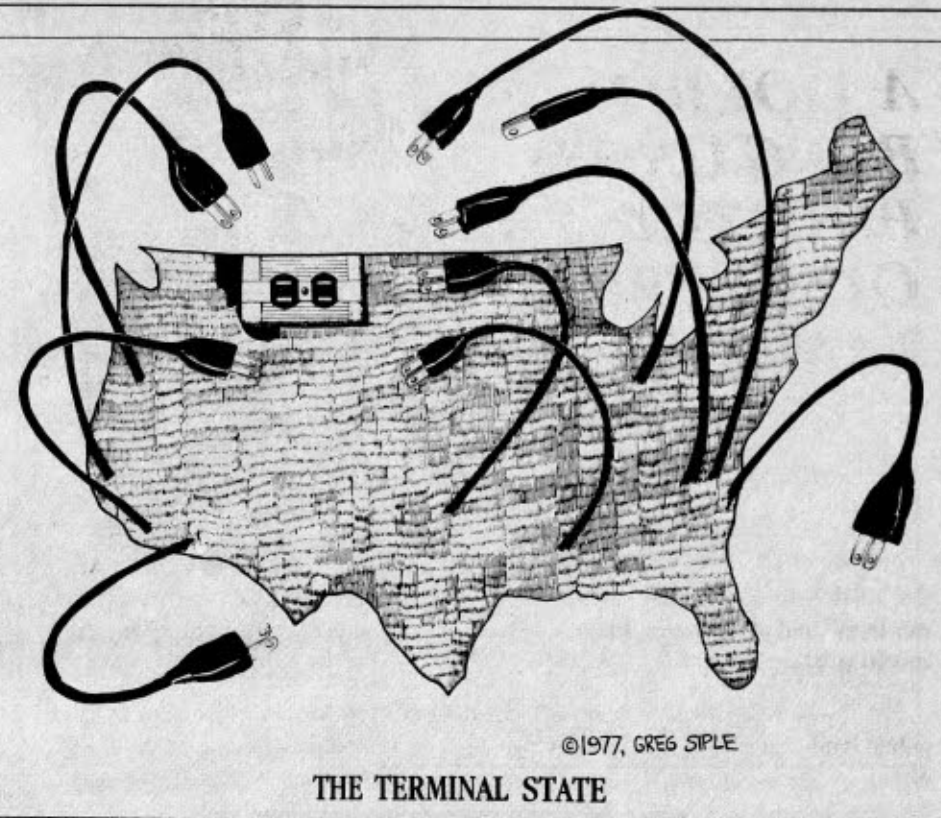
GRAND JUNK YARD

Dear HCN,

Ed Marston's article on the collapse of the oil shale industry in western Colorado was excellent. I would, however, make one additional point.

Many residents of Colorado's West Slope (I'm one, currently displaced under protest to Denver) had nothing less than a day of celebration on May 2, 1982, when Exxon announced its pull-out. Unencumbered by desires to get rich quick off of oil shale, many of us felt the oil shale boom would spell disaster in Colorado's scenic West Slope.

The concern was that no matter how much effort the oil companies put out to minimize impacts on the environment, particularly the human environment, the boom growth associated with that industry nonetheless was occurring in a region historically opposed to institutions such as planning and zoning. Thus, there was little hope that the million people projected to move into that region in association with oil sh e



©1977, GREG STIPLE

THE TERMINAL STATE

development could be handled without tremendously negative impacts on the West Slope environment. Many western

Colorado counties have virtually no zoning in rural areas, others make only token attempts at directing growth. One has only to look at the Grand Junction area (some call it Grand Junk Yard) to see what might have happened to the entire Grand Junction-to-Glenwood Springs corridor.

With any luck, as new advanced technologies offer opportunities for massive commercial and industrial energy conservation of a scale currently unimaginable, oil shale will remain a white elephant for many long decades to come. Perhaps in the meantime western Colorado will mature to the point that it might be able to actually plan and direct growth associated with such an industry.

Kathlene Parker
Denver, Colorado

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16-High Country News — Apr. 29, 1983

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That's great work, but our subscription rolls need a bit of an extra boost this spring, so we thought we'd offer you a little extra incentive to help us — namely, the items pictured on this page as prizes in the HCN New Subscriber Sweepstakes.

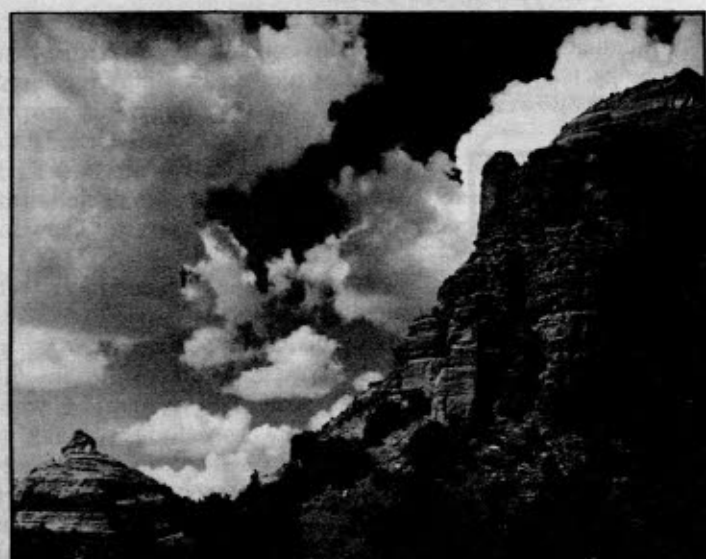
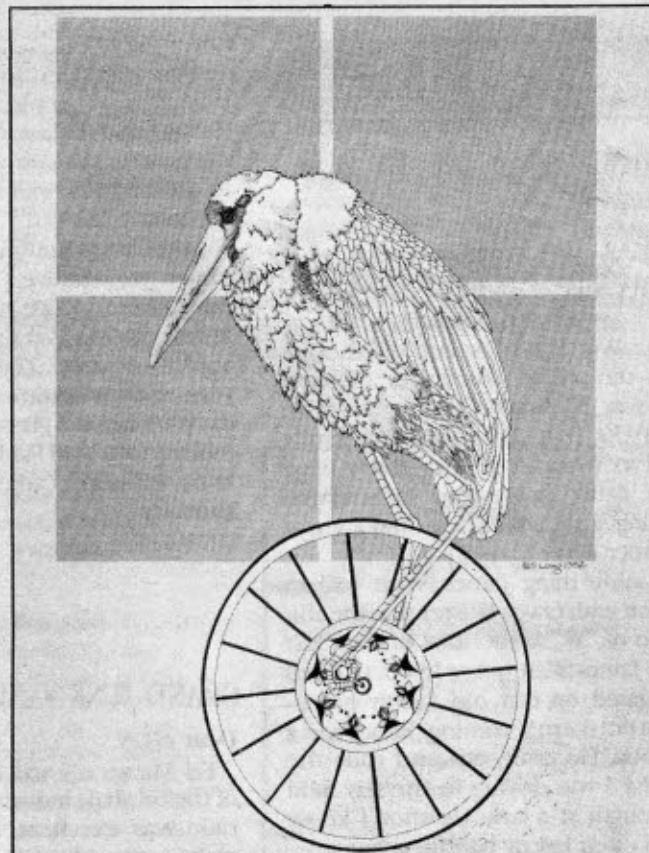
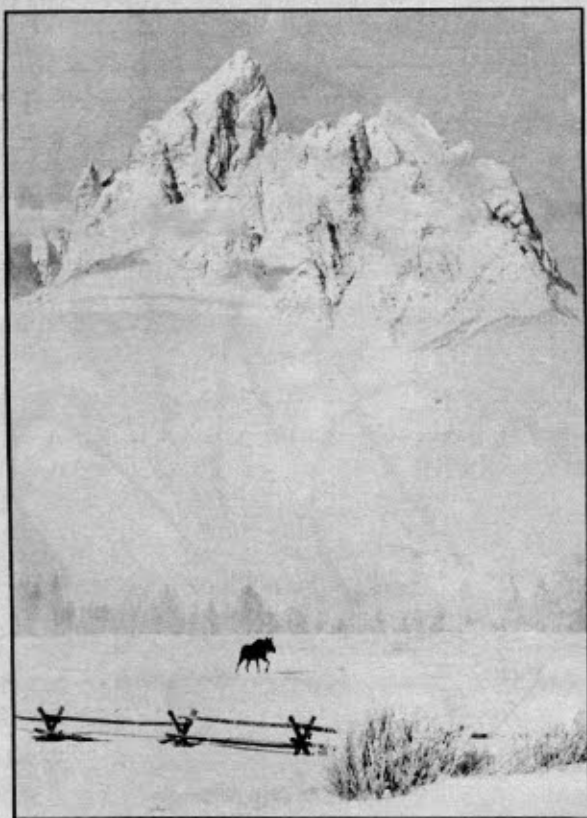
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It is also possible to enter without signing up a new subscriber. Simply complete the "Sweepstakes Entrant" portion of the card and mail it in. Postal regulations require us to offer this option and obviously, we'll honor all entries submitted in accordance with these guidelines. But you'll feel a whole lot better — and we'll love you a whole lot more — if you actually find us a new subscriber.

That's it. Good luck — and thanks for your help!

Void where prohibited by law.



THE PRIZES
(clockwise from right)

ZAPOTEC RUG

STORK

Painting by Sylvia Long

HAYSTACKS

Photo by Mike McClure

SCHNEEBLY HILLS

Photo by Dale Schicketanz

GRAND TETON

Photo by Mike McClure

MT. BALDY WILDERNESS

Photo by Dale Schicketanz

