

High Country

news

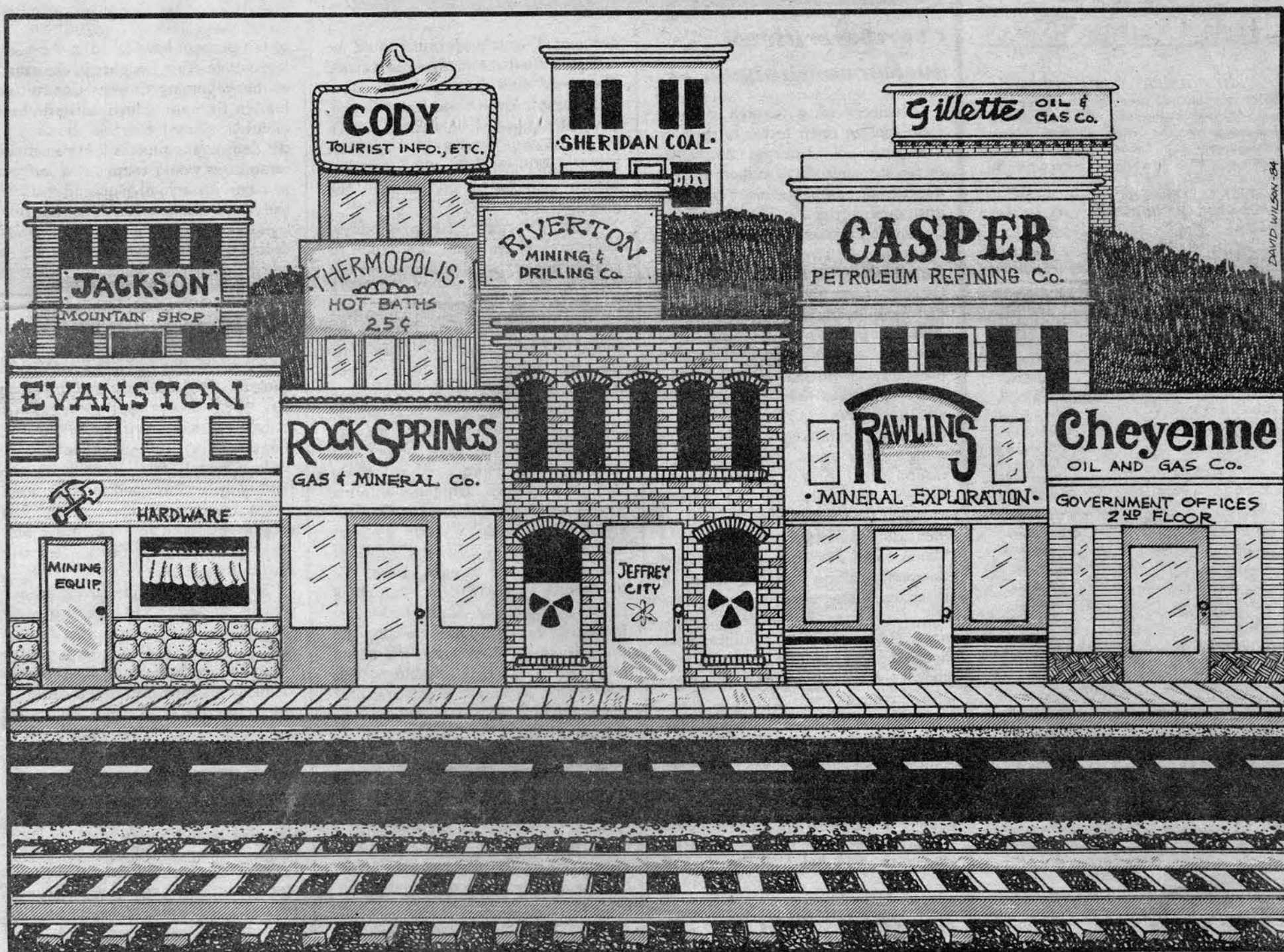
February 6, 1984

Vol. 16 No. 2

The Paper for People who Care about the West

\$1.00

WYOMING a small town with long streets



INSIDE

A special issue on Wyoming's politics, its economics,
and the way it welcomed home James Watt.

Plus, a centerspread on Wyoming's marooned antelope.

Dear friends,



High Country News

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Below is a picture of the fruits of Rocky Mountain development -- a deer in a river being bitten by someone's pet. This week's centerspread paints a less brutal picture on the same theme. It shows antelope trapped in a developed part of Wyoming.

People are compassionate, and throughout the mountains they are trying to feed and protect the animals. When they're lucky, their efforts don't make the situation worse.

The issue is devoted to Wyoming -- stories on its politics and economics fill four pages. The stories are by Tom Wolf, the former executive director of the Wyoming Outdoor Council.

Finally, there is an interview with a heretic forester -- one who doesn't want to cut down every tree in sight, and a frustrated editorial expressing the possibly unfounded belief that all would be well in the West if only the U.S. Forest Service would shape up.

--the staff



Photographer Craig Sherwood may have saved the life of this deer which was attacked by a dog near Carbondale in

Western Colorado. The dog had chased the deer onto ice, which collapsed. The dog then leaped on the deer's back.

Sherwood's arrival scared the dog away, and although weakened, the deer was able to scramble out of the Roaring Fork River to safety.

HOTLINE

Churches criticize nuclear campaign

Members of a church coalition have sent an open letter to the U.S. Committee of Energy Awareness criticizing their \$25 million nuclear advertising campaign as "one-sided and misleading." The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a coalition of 17 major Protestant denominations and over 200 Roman Catholic orders and dioceses, charges that the campaign presents the American public with an "inaccurate picture of the safety and long-term feasibility of nuclear energy." The letter also urges the nuclear utilities which support the committee's advertising campaign not to pass along contribution costs to their ratepayers. In a related move, Catholic members of the Illinois Coalition for Responsible Investment filed a stockholder resolution to the Illinois-based Commonwealth Edison Company, calling for the Board of Directors to stop contributions to the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness. Commonwealth Edison has donated \$3.5 million, the largest known contribution from a single utility company.

Recent efforts by the church groups add support to the work of the Safe Energy Communications Council. The council is a coalition of 16 national environmental energy and media organizations working to counteract the U.S. Committee of Energy Awareness and balance the nuclear debate.

Riley Ridge hearings

Wyoming's Industrial Siting Council will hold hearings in February and March on western Wyoming's Riley Ridge gas-field project (HCN, 9/19/83).

As described in the Riley Ridge EIS, the project would involve the construction of four gas sweetening plants and the drilling of up to 238 wells into a huge natural gasfield on the eastern side of the Wyoming Range. John Huss of the Powder River Basin Resource Council says that Riley Ridge is the biggest gas-processing facility ever proposed and that associated transmission lines would cross three counties. Gases commonly

associated with acid rain would be released from the plants and carried downwind over the vulnerable lakes and streams of the Wind River Range. Several companies, including American Quasar, Northwest Pipeline, Mobil, Williams Exploration, and Exxon plan to be involved in the project.

The February 10 procedural hearing will deal with the scope or jurisdiction of the council over various aspects of the project and a March 8 hearing will focus on Exxon's application -- the first before the council. Exxon hopes to build one gas-sweetening plant on Shute Creek in Lincoln County.

To participate in the hearings, a formal notice of intent to be a party must be filed ten days before the hearing. The Powder River Basin Resource Council, Oregon-California Trails Association, Wyoming Outdoor Council, Wyoming Wildlife Federation and Wyoming District Council of Carpenters have already filed. To become a party to the March 8 hearing, write to Richard Moore, Industrial Siting Administration, 500 Boyd Building, Cheyenne, WY 82002 (307/777-7368). Both hearings will take place at Luigi's Restaurant in Diamondville, Wyoming at approximately 10 a.m.

Another setback for in-stream flow

The in-stream flow initiative supported by the Wyoming Wildlife Federation has failed the verification process.

In a reprise from two years ago (HCN, 2/5/82), Wyoming Secretary of State Thyra Thomson ruled in early January that though the initiative had 1878 signers more than required to be placed on the ballot, over 3000 of the signatures were unqualified. State law requires that 15 percent of the registered voters in the last general election -- in this case, 27,688 people -- sign an initiative in order for it to be placed on the ballot in the next general election.

Besides these two stream-flow initiatives, eleven other initiatives have been sponsored since 1970, but none have received signatures from 15 percent of the registered voters. Efforts to reduce the required number

to ten percent have failed in the state legislature. Tom Dougherty, chairman of the Wyoming Citizens Committee for In-Stream Flow, called last month's ruling "a slap in the face to the democratic process." He said the committee would continue its efforts to have an initiative placed on the ballot and also to effect in-stream flow legislation. The shot-down initiative declared that in-stream flow is a beneficial use of water, not tied to storage.

Skiing turns uphill

Some of the nation's economists think the 1983 recovery may turn into the 1984 bust. But several of Colorado's ski towns appear to be preparing for a recreation boom.

In Crested Butte, investors are putting up a large condominium hotel and a conference center at the ski area, as well as a new golf course and several other projects in the surrounding area.

Nearby, in Telluride, investors are putting up nearly \$10 million in new projects in a town that, at least until now, has not had a strong winter economy. Perhaps most interesting, Telluride citizens have voted three to one to put tax money into recreation marketing, hiking trails, parks, street paving and other sectors of the recreation base.

Big game in Piceance Basin get help

In order to protect big game animals and their critical winter range the Bureau of Land Management has suspended some oil and gas operations in Western Colorado's Piceance Basin, South Douglas Creek, and Elk Springs/Blue Mountain areas until further notice. "The animals are under tremendous stress and their critical winter range must be protected," said district manager Lee Carie. Division of Wildlife officers also agreed. The suspension applies to new construction and drilling activities. But routine production, maintenance activities and emergency repairs will not be affected by this suspension. The suspension of oil and gas operations on critical winter range for big game will remain in effect until March 31, 1984, unless weather conditions improve.

Craig Sherwood

WESTERN ROUNDUP

Colorado again confronts hazardous wastes

The Colorado Legislature's second session started January 4, 1984 with a big blow to hazardous waste legislation. Within a couple of days, four of the five bills put into the hopper were effectively killed in Rep. Frank DeFilippo's (R-Golden) House State Affairs Committee.

The chairman states that "no real need was justified in committee" and that "one way to screw up a good thing is to get the government involved."

The bills would have regulated transportation of hazardous waste, would have set up regulations for recyclers, and would have required fees to be paid by those who generated and transported hazardous wastes. Stuck in the committee and presumed dead is a bill allowing counties to charge a higher annual fee for licensing disposal sites.

The surviving bill passed the House, but some critics say in a "diluted" and perhaps useless form. HB1041, sponsored by John Herzog (R-El Paso), was intended to strengthen permissive language in last year's hazardous waste bill so that hazardous waste dumping would be reduced. But the bill was amended to require a study of possible regulations, rather than to require the regulations. However, Herzog says he expects the bill to accomplish the original goals, although there may be an extra step.

Geoff Wilson of Colorado Public Interest Research Group (COPIRG) is critical of the amendment, saying it will weaken the intent of the bill and may delay reductions of hazardous waste dumping until at least 1988.

Hazardous waste control did better in the Senate. Martha Ezzard (R-Englewood) sponsored two bills -- SB20 and SB21. They would define hazardous wastes and establish fees based on toxicity, volume and other

characteristics. They passed through the Senate and are on their way to the House.

There are also several superfund bills designed to get Colorado into the federal superfund program. Similar attempts died in the fall 1983 session in DeFilippo's House State Affairs Committee. This year, DeFilippo has announced he will sponsor a bill in the House. It will name as priority sites Radium, Woodbury Chemicals (both in Denver), and Argo Tunnel near Idaho springs.

A state superfund is also in the works. The bill, cosponsored by Senators Harvey Phelps (D-Pueblo) and Martha Ezzard, and Representatives Ruth Wright (D-Boulder) and Annabelle Dunning (D-Arapahoe), will first be introduced in the Senate. Sponsors hope it can pick up enough public support in the Senate to have a chance in the House. It would provide the 10 percent in state matching funds required in the federal superfund program, as well as clean up sites not on the federal list.

On the same front, Sen. Ray Peterson (D-Denver) will sponsor the Toxic and Hazardous Substance Information Act of 1984, coined the Right to Know bill. It is designed to let workers and communities know of dangers from hazardous substances they may be working with or living near. The supporting coalition includes the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, the Colorado Open Space Council, the Environmental Defense Fund, and local health officials. Briggs Gamblin, who is the COSC lobbyist, says the bill has a 50-50 chance in the Senate. He has no idea what will happen in the House.

Air quality legislation this year will deal with wood and diesel emissions. Two bills governing fireplaces and wood stoves have been introduced by Rep. Charles Brown (D-Denver) and

Rep. Chris Paulson (R-Englewood). Paulson's bill was already killed by the State Affairs Committee. Sen. Ezzard will introduce legislation on diesel emissions and a Rep. Jeanne Faatz (R-Denver)-sponsored bill will address all particulates.

Sen. Tom Glass (D-Frisco) will introduce a bill to eliminate a block to water conservation. Colorado farmers who now save irrigation water through more efficient practices lose the right to the saved water.

Revision of the State Park and Wildlife statutes and acquisition of property for wildlife and fishing access will be the subjects of several bills in this session of the Colorado legislature. A bill sponsored by Sen. Ezzard and Rep. Water Youngland (R-Weld) would provide insured funding for the state parks, which now rely solely on state lottery money.

The House Finance Committee defeated a bill intended to reduce property tax credits for oil, natural gas and carbon dioxide companies. According to Rep. Phil Hernandez (D-North Denver), who introduced the bill, the current property tax credits often outweigh the taxes on gross income and some companies end up paying no taxes at all.

And lastly -- for now -- the whitewater enthusiast versus landowner dispute rages on. Sen. Richard Soash (D-Steamboat Springs), whose district includes a hub of commercial and recreational rafting as well as thousands of square miles of ranchland, introduced a bill that would expand Colorado's definition of criminal trespass to include not only streambanks and streambeds, but stream surfaces as well. Rafters and float fishermen made enough noise at a January 24 committee hearing on the bill that Soash backed off and temporarily pulled the bill off the table without a vote.

--Pam Hoge, staff

HOTLINE

Bigborns trounce seismic testing



Shawler Productions

Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep have scored one in the ongoing battle between the sheep, oil and seismic companies, the Forest Service, and a wildlife preservation group in Wyoming's Shoshone National Forest (HCN, 11/28/83). In mid-January, the Regional Forest Service Office turned down an appeal -- would have reinstated an original Environmental Assessment and resumed seismic permitting in the forest.

Concerned about stress from seismic blasting to bighorns as well as elk, grizzly bear, eagles and falcons, the Foundation for North American Sheep filed suit last August to stop seismic exploration. The suit charged that the original Environmental Assessment failed to fully evaluate the environmental consequences of blasting in the forest. In October a new Shoshone National Forest Supervisor, Steve Mealey, cancelled the original EA, stopped the issuance of seismic permits and initiated a new EA. In November the International Association of Geophysical Contractors appealed Mealey's decision to then-Regional Forester Craig Rupp. It was this appeal that was turned down last month. The sheep foundation is pushing for a full Environmental Impact Statement. The Forest Service will use their new EA to determine whether to undertake an EIS.

Idaho quake study

The National Science Foundation has granted \$40,000 for a Boise State University study of post-earthquake changes in the Big Lost River Valley. Boise State researchers began collecting geologic data immediately following last October's Mount Borah earthquake. With the new funds, they will map the earthquake fault line and continue their study of earthquake-related phenomena such as sudden underground water surges, sediment boils, large sinkholes, changes in flow rates and water temperatures of springs, and new springs.

The earthquake study, to be completed by October of 1984, is of broad interest to the scientific community. Additional interest arises because the earthquake is thought to be typical of earthquakes expected to occur in the Intermountain Seismic Belt, a north-south trending zone that includes the populated Salt Lake City area. Finally, residents may learn from the study if new springs on their land will be reliable water sources in the future.

--Glenn Oakley

Idaho may reallocate Snake River water

Hazardous waste disposal and Snake River water rights -- both dealt with ineffectually last session -- are the dominant environmental issues now before the 1984 Idaho Legislature.

Last year, without fanfare, the legislature passed a bill which gave Idaho's Division of Environment control over toxic substances, eliminating EPA's jurisdiction. That bill was largely the product of lobbying by the Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry and did little other than set restraints on the state Division and the public.

But revelations about poor disposal practices at Idaho's only toxic waste dump (HCN, 12/26/83) -- and equally poor monitoring by state and federal agencies -- have put pressure on the legislature to beef up regulations. Gov. John Evans is proposing a Division of Environment-written bill which would tax hazardous wastes to be landfilled at \$20 per ton. Wastes treated or incinerated would be taxed at \$10 per ton. The money would go into a Hazardous Waste Management Account and fund everything from monitoring landfill sites to supplementing the state's Hazardous Wastes Emergency Account. The emergency account, created by last year's hazardous waste bill, presently has no money in it, according to Hazardous

Materials Bureau Chief Bob Olson.

In the legislature, Sen. Terry Reilly (D-Nampa) is leading the charge with four draft bills and more in the works. The four bills ready to go to committee are:

- An employee's right-to-know. Employees of hazardous waste generators and at disposal sites would have a legal right to know what they were handling;

- Informant compensation. Whistle-blowers who disclose illegal practices in hazardous waste disposal would be rewarded.

- An increase in state fines. The maximum penalty for violations would increase from \$10,000 to \$25,000; a minimum fine would be \$10,000.

- A private property damage-compensation bill. Private citizens would be reimbursed for damage incurred by hazardous waste disposal and shipping.

Reilly said he thinks the bills stand a good chance of getting passed. "The legislature has been hit over the head with a two-by-four" on the hazardous waste issue," he said.

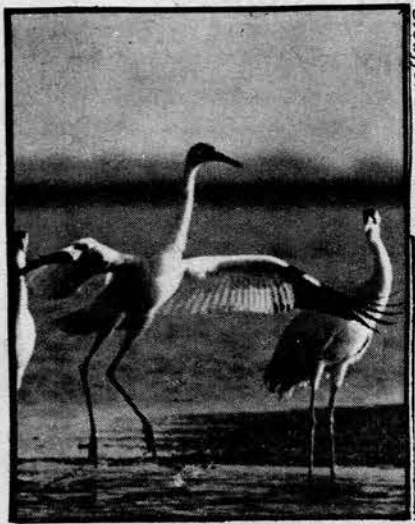
On a different issue, Idaho's governor and attorney general have teamed up to propose a bill that they say will take control of the Snake River from Idaho Power Company. A similar bill narrowly failed to pass last session.

Spurring on the state is a 1982 state Supreme Court decision which ruled that Idaho Power has essentially all rights to unallocated water in the Snake River upstream of Swan Falls Dam. Governor Evans' bill, like last year's proposal, would subordinate the utility's water right to irrigation and other uses. But this year's bill adds a provision the governor says will protect rate-payers who enjoy cheap hydroelectric power. Protection would come from state review of water permits to determine if any new permit would seriously deplete hydroelectric generation.

Critics of the bill, including Idaho Conservation League Director Pat Ford, say that in the battle between Idaho Power and the state, in-stream values are being ignored. Ford says he could support the bill "if it were coupled with a minimum flow of 5,000 or 6,000 cfs because that would mean the water would remain in the river." State Senator John Peavey (D-Carey) adds that the bill will primarily benefit land speculators.

Paul Cunningham, assistant to the governor for natural resources, argues that it's too early to say there will be less water in the river under state control. In any case, he says, decisions about the Snake River should not be made by Idaho Power.

HOTLINE

Cranes and lead shot
don't mix

Shaffer Productions

The death of one of the few remaining whooping cranes in the country from lead poisoning has led to renewed efforts by conservationists to ban lead shot. The bird died last month in New Mexico and was found to have more than 100 pieces of lead in its gizzard. The cranes ingest lead shot while eating grain. National Wildlife Federation officials met with Interior Secretary William Clark late in January and threatened a lawsuit if no action was taken. The Interior Department now allows steel shot in only 62 of the 168 refuges where waterfowl hunting is allowed.

Whooping cranes have been making a slow movement away from extinction, with the Whooping Crane Conservation Association reporting in early December 107 in the wild and 37 in captivity. Forty years ago, only about 15 cranes were known to survive.

Anasazi roads

In preparation for the planned leasing of three billion tons of San Juan Basin coal in 1984, the Bureau of Land Management has published a study of the region's prehistoric Anasazi Indian roads.

Aerial photos and sediment patterns in trenches dug during the three-year study verified the existence of a road network radiating outward from northwestern New Mexico's Chaco Canyon National Historic Park. Chaco Canyon was the center of Anasazi civilization from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. and figures as a major migration crossroad in Hopi Indian legends. The Anasazi Indians had no wheeled vehicles or pack animals, yet they built at least 400 miles of roads, most of which were 33 feet wide, curbed, and run in straight lines. Most of the roads connected the cities of Chaco Canyon with outlying towns, but some may extend as far as Colorado and Arizona. No one knows how the roads were built.

Further archeological studies are required before strip-mining can begin on newly leased lands.

BARBS

Some people just can't be pleased.

Forty-six South African tourists arrived in Aspen last month to find that their \$30,000, 6-month-in-advance deposit had reserved rooms that were being renovated. So they lacked hot water, TVs, and privacy. In recompense, the owner of the Applejack Lodge bought the tourists Coca-Cola and six jugs of (domestic) Chablis wine. Later he offered them coupons good for future lodging at a discount. Still not satisfied, the group held out for, and won, undisclosed damages.

A forester questions the primacy of wood

Randal O'Toole has put in about ten years as an independent forestry expert bird-dogging the U.S. Forest Service. In that time, the Eugene, Oregon resident has found little he likes.

Despite that, he does not wish to see the Forest Service dissolved and replaced by something else. "I'm afraid it would be worse than it is now."

O'Toole, who has a forestry degree from Oregon State University, is Forest Economist for CHEC -- the Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants. He helps put out *Forest Planning* magazine and supports himself and the organization by foundation grants and consulting. For example, he was recently in Colorado as a consultant to the state Department of Natural Resources. He was in the state to examine the Fifty Year Plans for several National Forests. The state is concerned that the Forest Service is emphasizing timber at the expense of tourism.

O'Toole, who studied economics as well as forestry, can talk knowledgeably about discount rates, present net value, computer analyses of timber growth, and the rest of the technical paraphernalia. But he says a true understanding of the conflict between the Forest Service, the public, and industry requires some social theorizing.

"Professions aren't made up of facts and techniques -- they're a way of looking at life. It's certainly true of forestry. They look at life differently from you and I."

The forester's philosophy is that "next to food, wood is the most important thing to our civilization. So regardless of cost, foresters say we have to grow and harvest wood." As a result, O'Toole says, they don't attempt to be economically efficient, and they never willingly subordinate logging to other forest values, such as recreation and wildlife.

O'Toole says there is nothing unique about the foresters' view. Miners believe all wealth comes out of the ground. Marxists believe the source of all wealth is labor; bankers believe it is capital; and farmers think a healthy society requires a healthy agriculture.

O'Toole says the foresters, miners and Marxists are extremists. He looks to classical economics for his answer: that labor, capital and resources are all important, with their relative importance depending on the times.

"Right now, resources are the most abundant of the trio. The cost of labor has been getting higher and higher, while resources and capital are staying relatively cheap."

That sounds academic, but O'Toole says it quickly comes down to earth. The Forest Service goal, he says, should be to measure the costs of timber production in dollars. If it turns out that they could get a better return on the public's money in some other activity, they should do so.

But the Forest Service, he says, because of its ideology that wood is the foundation of civilization, concentrates only on maximizing the production of timber, regardless of the cost of producing it.

According to O'Toole, economic analysis shows that timber production doesn't make sense in most western states. "The only timber states are Oregon, Washington, northern California and maybe northern Idaho and western Montana." With minor exceptions, he says, timber makes no

sense in Utah, Colorado, and most of Idaho and Montana. Logging in those states, he says, costs the taxpayer money -- lots of money.

To hide the subsidy, to make timber production appear economic, O'Toole says the agency claims logging improves wildlife, recreation, and water. "Timber cuts have a small, dubious effect on water; they hurt wildlife; and they have a positive effect on the other big subsidy -- grazing."

O'Toole has a precise definition of subsidy: a government activity that competes with the private sector, such as grazing and timber. He says, "Forest Service timber is undercutting the private sector." He cites as an example, "Two million acres of private land in the Northwest that's been cut but not reforested because they had government land available."

"That two million acres could outproduce the Rockies. But it's cheaper for the timber companies to hire lobbyists to get subsidies from the Forest Service than it is to reforest their own land."

O'Toole says providing fishing, hunting and wilderness opportunities on National Forest land is not a subsidy because the private sector is not providing those products. "It's like national defense -- it's the sort of thing only government can do."

O'Toole, who has studied several Fifty Year Forest Plans in depth and scanned others, says that despite the attempts of the Reagan Administration, "It's still business as usual at the Forest Service." But he says John Crowell, the Undersecretary of Agriculture who formerly worked for Louisiana-Pacific, has not yet been able to force the agency to subsidize timber cutting even more liberally.

So the agency has pressures on it from industry on one side and from conservationists and recreationists on the other. Does that mean the agency is doing the best job it can, steering a difficult path between

opposing, extreme demands? O'Toole doesn't think so.

"I think the extreme positions are created by the Forest Service. Everything in the planning process is designed to create the extremes. You don't see the Forest Service sitting down at the same time with industry and the public. They sit down with them separately. They don't try to create compromise."

"You also don't see them design approaches, or alternatives everyone will go for. They always have a commodity extreme and a non-commodity extreme." They assume, he says, that it's impossible to design an approach that satisfies timber, mining and grazing, and recreation and wildlife. The agency approach, he says, is designed to create the maximum conflict between the public and industry, thereby giving the Forest Service the maximum room to carry out its own bureaucratic mission.

O'Toole sees no easy answer. He says the Reagan administration is attempting to further centralize the Forest Service. "When the environmentalists come into power, they will also want to centralize things. How else do you control an agency with thousands of employees" except by concentrating all power at the top, in an appointed official? Further centralizing, he continues, "will further demoralize the Forest Service until it's totally inefficient."

O'Toole suggests that the agency go back to the old days of decentralization. He says there will be a lot of bad management. "But there will also be some good things that we'll be able to point to as a model of how things can be done. I think some individual foresters will respond to the public."

Under the present centralization, he continues, it is impossible for creative ideas to surface. Everything must be done according to the same mediocre formula.

--Ed Marston

**'I think extreme positions
are created by the Forest Service.'**

U.S. Steel to drown mine

This spring, U.S. Steel is expected to begin a \$1.6 million reclamation job at its Atlantic City, Wyoming taconite mine, which was idled in October after 20 years of operation.

U.S. Steel is responsible for reclaiming all the land disturbed by its mine activities since the state passed its mine reclamation law in 1973. The company's plan, on file with the state Department of Environmental Quality, calls for the creation of a 600-acre, 300-foot-deep lake in the mine pit and the grading and revegetation of spoil piles.

U.S. Steel must begin reclaiming the mine by 180 days after mining stops. Work at the Atlantic City mine was temporarily suspended in October, and early this January the

company announced that the shutdown would become permanent in about 90 days. Once reclamation work begins, U.S. Steel has two years to complete the job.

Gov. Ed Herschler and DEQ officials have expressed hope that the pre-1973 mine areas could be reclaimed by U.S. Steel at the same time it reclaims the post-1973 lands. But there may be a hitch in arranging funding in time.

Before the federal Office of Surface Mining will approve funds for reclaiming non-coal abandoned mines, the state must submit plans for reclaiming all abandoned coal mines within its borders.

--Geoff O'Gara

BULLETIN BOARD

URANIUM LEGACY

The Southwest Research and Information Center, a non-profit corporation based in Albuquerque, New Mexico, has published its winter *Workbook*, this one largely devoted to hazards associated with low-level radiation from uranium mining and milling, and what they see as inadequate regulation. The *Workbook* is published six times a year from PO Box 4524, Albuquerque, NM 87106.

THE PLAINS TRUTH

The people at the Northern Plains Resource Council in Billings, Montana packed a large amount of information into their December newsletter. The eight-page *Plains Truth* described the ranching organization's annual convention at Billings, including a panel discussion on the Missouri River basin fight between upstream and downstream states. One panelist from the Colorado River basin commented, "It's nice to be here in Montana where you actually have water in the river."

The group also heard from grazing specialist Allan Savory, who said that ranches deteriorate from "understocking and overgrazing... the number of animals is unrelated to overgrazing." He also said increased densities, properly managed, can help the range through "foot action" and increased natural fertilization.

The new chairwoman of NPRC is rancher Toni Kelley. Among her other achievements, she has written a preface to the "Landowner's Rights Handbook." The booklet by Mary McDonough describes possible property owner strategy when confronted by demands for energy and mineral exploration or by condemnation. Copies, at \$3 each, are available from NPRC, 419 Stapleton Bldg., Billings, Montana 59101.



SKI TOURING MAPS

National Forests of the Northern Region (northern Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and northwestern South Dakota) offer about 425 miles of marked ski touring trails and about 2,400 miles of snowmobile trails. Directories of these trails (showing trail names, location, difficulty ratings, information offices, and additional trail information) are available from the Northern Regional Office (Federal Building, P.O. Box 7669, Missoula, MT 59807.)

UTAH SALINITY PROJECT

The Bureau of Reclamation is seeking public comment on possible impacts from the Dirty Devil River Unit, a proposed salinity control project in south central Utah. The unit is a component of the Colorado River Water Quality Improvement Program, which is designed to reduce salinity in the Colorado River Basin. The project is now under study and several means of salinity control are under consideration including piping canal flows, lining irrigation canals, and pumping and disposing of saline groundwater in evaporation ponds or by deep well injection. For more information, contact Rick Gold, Projects Manager, Durango Projects Office, P.O. Box 640, Durango, CO 81301, or call 303/247-0247.

NO HURRY ON ACID RAIN

There is no "compelling need" to reduce acid rain to protect timberlands in North America, concludes the American Paper Institute and the National Forest Products Association. The groups' recent position paper says that although acid rain does contribute to the acidification of sensitive waters, "the contribution of natural causes to this process may be significant." The industry position continues to be a call for more research. John Thorner at the American Paper Institute at 1619 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 has more information.

FOREST FUTURES

Here's your chance to comment on what proportion of timber, range, outdoor recreation, wildlife, wilderness, water, and other renewable resources the U.S. Forest Service should help produce in the next 50 years.

Since the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act passed in 1974, a Resources Planning Act Program was initiated and has been updated every five years. The program governs activities including cooperative assistance programs with states and private landowners, forest and range research, and management of the 191 million-acre National Forest system.

The draft environmental impact statement for the 1985-2030 Resources Planning Act Program includes nine alternatives for Forest Service activities. One alternative is substantially below the current level and mix of activities; several are substantially above for some or all resources. The program is based on assessments of future supply and demand of the renewable resources. According to Forest Service Chief Max Peterson, the 1984 assessment indicates a faster increase in demand than in supply. To request copies of or submit comments on the draft environmental impact statement, contact your nearest Forest Service Regional Office (Missoula, MT; Lakewood, CO; Albuquerque, NM; Ogden, UT; San Francisco, CA; Portland, OR; Atlanta, GA; Milwaukee, WI; or Juneau, AK). Comments are due April 9.

WILDERNESS POTENTIAL

The mineral-resource potential of wilderness areas and proposed wilderness areas has been assessed and summarized in a long-awaited report from the U.S. Geological Survey. The two-volume report covers 45 million acres within 800 wilderness and proposed wilderness tracts. Almost all of the lands are within national forests. U.S.G.S. and U.S. Bureau of Mines scientists have been studying the mineral and energy resource potential of these lands for 20 years, since their directive by the Wilderness Act of 1964. U.S.G.S. Professional Paper 1300, "Wilderness Mineral Potential -- Assessment of Mineral-Resource Potential in U.S. Forest Service Lands Studies 1964-84," is available for \$32 from the Branch of Distribution, U.S. Geological Survey, 604 S. Pickett St., Alexandria, VA 22304.

THE GOOD OLE BOYS

The good news is that the enormous agricultural surpluses now draining the U.S. Treasury through cash subsidies are likely to end. The bad news is that they will end because of the failure of U.S. agricultural research. According to the January 1984 *Atlantic Monthly* (Trouble Amid Plenty by Stephen Budianski), federal research money goes mainly to good-ole-boy land grant institutions which concentrate on short-term problems and increasing mechanization. But agricultural productivity no longer responds to more fertilizer or a different insecticide. The genetic engineering approach, which holds out hope of major gains, is blocked by existing research interests, who want to go on testing insecticides and breeding tough-skinned, square tomatoes.

Why increase productivity? Budianski is somewhat vague on that point, but he does argue that more productive varieties can increase farmers' income without them having to increase farm size. And he's a fan of relatively small farms. One surprise in the article: Of America's 2.4 million farms, only 2000 are owned by non-family corporations. Those 2000 farms are less than 2 percent of all farm acreage. Moreover, from 1974 to 1978, corporate farming declined.

10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Planning is underway for the Northern Plains Resource Council's Tenth Annual Missoula Benefit which begins at 6:30 p.m., February 17th, at the National Guard Armory in Missoula. Featured again will be a spaghetti dinner and auction, with original artwork, gift certificates, Montana collectables and many one-of-a-kind items. Auctioneer Harry Fritz will return for his tenth year. The auction will be followed by a dance. Co-sponsors are the University of Montana Student Action Center and the Wilderness Institute. For more information, call Russ Brown at 406/248-1154.

WILDLIFE TRADE

Idaho is importing Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep and Rio Grande turkeys and exporting river otter. In an effort to reestablish bighorn sheep in their historic range, the Idaho Fish and Game and Wyoming Game departments recently trapped 39 sheep from Whiskey Mountain in northwest Wyoming and transported them to two locations in Idaho -- the Little Lost River drainage north of Arco and the Craig Mountain Wildlife Management Area south of Lewiston. Eighty-six Wyoming sheep have been relocated to Idaho since 1978, including 19 to the Little Lost River drainage one year ago. Idaho has just received 56 Rio Grande turkeys from Kansas. In exchange, 10-12 Idaho river otter will go towards restoring an all-but-vanished Kansas population. Almost 300 Rio Grande turkeys have been released along waterways in Idaho since their first introduction to the state two years ago. Merriam turkeys, who prefer wooded, hilly habitats, were first introduced in 1961 from Colorado. Their population is now estimated at about 2000. Other trades for 100-150 turkeys -- Texas and Oklahoma Rio Grandes and South Dakota and New Mexico Merriams -- are planned for this winter. Surplus kokanee eggs, sharp-tailed grouse and pheasant are some of Idaho's bartering tools.

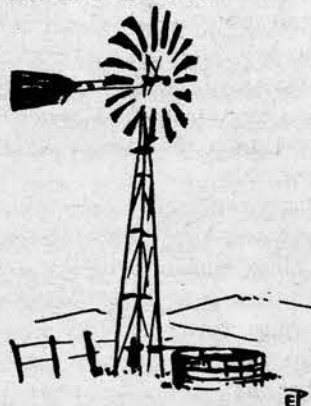
NUCLEAR POWER ATTITUDES

A new book looks at nuclear power from a sociologist's point of view. *Public Reactions to Nuclear Power - Are There Critical Masses?* is a collection of a dozen essays by nuclear power critics, nuclear power industry officials, and social scientists. The 300-page book was edited by Washington State University sociologists William Freudenburg and Eugene Rosa and published by Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301.

MINING'S ROAD BACK

The National Western Mining Conference gathers at the Fairmont Hotel in Denver February 8-10 for its 87th annual meeting. Its optimistic title -- "The Road Back" covers a series of panels on coal, precious metals, oil shale, and mine operations.

A half day on February 9 will cover worker health -- providing effective care in accidents, using genetic screening as a pre-employment test, how employees' free-time activities "may cost you a fortune," and the fact that medical records are anything but private. There is also a February 9 session titled "Environment and Production." Call the Colorado Mining Association at 303/534-1181 for more information.



WATER QUALITY MEETING

Tulsa, Oklahoma is the site of the Second International Conference on Groundwater Quality Research. Dates are March 26-29, and the conference is sponsored by the EPA, Oklahoma State University, University of Oklahoma, and Rice University. Contact Norman Durham, Director, University Center for Water Research, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078 (405/624-6995).

UTAH ENERGY

The second edition of the Utah Energy Statistical Abstract uses charts, colored maps, and statistical tables to present consumptions, productions, prices and employment relative to each of Utah's energy resource industries including coal, petroleum, natural gas, uranium, electricity, and renewable resources. Data is for the last 20 years up to 1981, and is broken down by individual resource and by county. Copies are \$15 at the Utah Energy Office, 3266 State Office Building, Salt Lake City, Utah 84114 (533-6666 or 800/662-3633). The first statistical abstract was published in 1981 and didn't include renewable energy resources.



WESTERN ABCs

The Western ABC, with verse by farmer HCN editor Geoff O'Gara and illustrations by Sylvia Long, has just been published in softcover by Trovare Books, Box 58, of Lander, Wyoming 85820.

Each letter is formed by a distinctive western animal or object, from boots for B to ferret for F. And J, of course, stands for jackalope: "In June, we need jockeys for jackalope jumps. We sent out announcements, 'Come West! Take your lumps! They come by the hundreds, from faraway burrs, To ask us, 'Where are your great jackalope herds?' Look for it in bookstores for \$3.95."

AUDUBON COURSE

This summer you can spend two weeks in the Wind River Mountains hiking, canoeing, and learning more about the environment. The Audubon Ecology Camp in the West at Trail Lake Ranch near Dubois, Wyoming offers summer courses designed to develop a better understanding of ecological relationships and balances, and an increased awareness of how people affect the system.

Total cost is \$585 (down \$55 from last year). Scholarships are available and, if you are a student, you can get two semester hours of graduate credit from the University of Wyoming for only \$56 extra. For more information, contact Don Nelson, Camp in the West, 4150 Darley, Suite 4, Boulder, CO 80303 (303/499-5409). Other courses are also available, too, for families and for different parts of the country. Ask for a brochure.

NEVADA WASTE REPOSITORY

According to a new report, the environmental effects of building a high-level nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain, Nevada would be similar to those created by a typical mining operation. The study, by the University of Nevada's Desert Research Institute for the U.S. Department of Energy, concludes that air emissions would consist mostly of exhaust from machinery, and dust from tailings piles and dirt roads.

Yucca Mountain is about 100 miles northwest of Las Vegas on DOE's Nevada Test Site. It is one of nine potential locations for the first national repository of high-level nuclear wastes from commercial nuclear power plants. The Yucca Mountain study is in response to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982. The act calls for studies of potential atmospheric effects from repositories and potential effects of weather conditions on repositories at all nine locations.

Copies of the 75-page report, "Atmospheric Overview for the Nevada Nuclear Waste Storage Investigations, Nevada Test Site, Nye County, Nevada" (publ. NVO-269), are available through the Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of Energy, P.O. Box 14100, Las Vegas, NV 89114.

ARIZONA WILDERNESS

Non-residents think of Arizona as a large desert cut by a large canyon. Arizona does have deserts and canyons, but it also has forests, beautiful high plateaus, and perennial rivers and streams. The Arizona Wilderness Coalition thinks 3.2 million acres of the desert, forests, and plateaus should be in Wilderness, and that 266 miles of the rivers and streams should be Wild and Scenic. For a brochure briefly describing the areas or for additional information, write the Wilderness Coalition at: 2515 E. Thomas, Ste. 16-673, Phoenix, Arizona 85016.

James Watt lacks the touch to be Wyoming's governor

by Tom Wolf

Were politics scripted in Hollywood, James Watt would now be riding toward the Wyoming governor's mansion at a pace calculated to bring him to Cheyenne in late 1986.

But a trial ride on a bitterly cold December night in Casper indicates that the real ride will never take place. James Watt has as little chance of becoming governor of Wyoming as he has of being reappointed Secretary of Interior.

To those outside Wyoming, which means 499 out of every 500 Americans, that seems strange. The stereotype of Wyoming is of a conservative state, implacably opposed to environmentalist values, big government, and the liberal press which Watt says brought him down. Based on that stereotype, Watt should have the governorship for the asking.

And Wyoming would probably enjoy electing him governor, if only to snub their noses at the rest of the nation. But there is something the state enjoys even more -- confounding outsiders.

Such confounding isn't difficult. Wyoming politics -- despite the state's small population -- are complex. They can't be understood by assuming that the candidate furthest right, or most against the environment, is an automatic winner.

If the right always won, Democrat Ed Herschler wouldn't have coasted into his third four-year term in 1982, easily beating the last in a succession of increasingly conservative Republican opponents. And several Democrats wouldn't be jockeying for a chance to replace Herschler in 1986.

It is true that whoever is nominated by the Democrats will be the underdog in the strongly Republican state. But if the Democratic candidate is lucky, the Republicans will once again put up a candidate too far right, too extreme in his opposition to Wyoming's natural values, too big business even for Wyoming.

For there is more than right-wing rhetoric to Wyoming politics. There is also the need for the touch -- the touch of genuine individuality, of a certain freedom from ideological posturing. It is not idealizing to say that the Wyoming electorate has a nose for genuine individuals, so long as that individual is also rooted in certain Western fundamentals.

It is an easier phenomenon to see than to explain. And it is even easier to see when that touch is missing. Its absence was clearly on display at James Watt's less-than-triumphant return home in December.

The occasion for Watt's return was the first appearance on the Wyoming scene of a Mormon-centered ultra-conservative organization called the Freeman Institute. It is dedicated to so strict a reading of the U.S. Constitution, that it holds National Parks and National Forests illegal,

since the Constitution doesn't mention them.

That position meshes well with Watt's now mothballed efforts to "privatize" public lands through Asset Management. That apparently brought the Freeman Institute and Watt together for a big dinner and rally in Casper's 12,000-seat Events Center.

Some expected a sell-out--a mobbing of the Favorite Son with well-wishers. Instead, the event was a flop. And so was Jim Watt.

It may have been the big chill of -20 degrees. But it may also have been the realization that Jim Watt is no longer anybody. As a result, only 600 of the 12,000 seats were filled for his "The Battle for America" speech.

Listening to Watt's voice ring hollow in that frigid, nearly empty auditorium deep in the heartland, you might have felt pity for the man; you might have murmured like the woman next to me, "How the mighty are fallen!"

Given the speech, perhaps Wyoming was wise to stay away. For instead of focusing on issues of interest to his home state, Watt dealt in the far-right generalities you could have heard in any similarly empty auditorium during the Goldwater presidential campaign. Once again, righteous, family-oriented America is said to be under siege within and without. Once again a few brave men answer the trumpeter's call. Once again a few other brave souls venture forth to hear them.

The Watt you saw in Casper that cold night seemed wooden and shellshocked, a man publicly humiliated; someone whose eyes shine with the same glaze that dimly illuminates former Governor Stan Hathaway -- another Wyoming son who met his Waterloo in Washington. But while Hathaway never goes anywhere without a band of sympathizers to support him, Watt and wife Leilani seemed absolutely, proudly, defiantly alone.

In an obvious reference to Hathaway's fate, and just as obviously casting himself in the same martyr's image, a defiant Watt told reporters in Casper that the environmental extremists and their allies in the Eastern press are guilty of a "harsh, hostile ugliness" towards straight-talking Westerners who refuse to play by "the rules of the Georgetown cocktail circuit."

And indeed, when Watt was asked a straightforward question: "Will you run for public office in Wyoming?" he gave a straightforward "no." But with a potential rival literally standing at his elbow in the person of Russ Donley, some observers were not convinced that his "no" meant "no."

The "shellshocked" description should be tempered with the way Watt appeared at an afternoon press conference. There he was his old feisty and pugnacious self. But the pose seemed inappropriate for Wyoming,

where the local press is hardly as hostile as the *Washington Post*. Neutral or simply curious reporters were bewildered when Watt pounced.

Reporter: *Mr. Secretary, what is your attitude towards your recent resignation?*

Watt: "I'm going to surprise you, because I know why you asked me that, because I'm going to talk about the truth, and I'm going to use facts -- two things you obviously don't know much about."

"My time in Washington was longer than I thought it would be and longer than it needed to be to get the job done that the President wanted. We accomplished all we needed to in the first eighteen months of my tenure."

Such posturing is alien to informal Wyoming, where some were prepared to welcome Watt as they had welcomed Hathaway ten years ago -- a gallant favorite son wounded but unbowed in the wars against the hated enemy, the federal bureaucrat.

Hathaway retreated to his cigars and cronies. But Watt doesn't have that refuge. He still thinks he is on the front lines of some national struggle, even though the lights are no longer bright, and even though the distance between having real power in Washington and simply having been someone grows greater each day.

James Watt's obliviousness to the not-so-subtle norms of Wyoming political life made you feel that wherever his calling, it is not in Wyoming. He was asked whether he looked forward to returning to the West, perhaps to his family ranch near Sheridan, up near the Montana border in eastern Wyoming. He looked bewildered by the question, saying he felt his place was in Washington, practicing law, campaigning for Reagan, writing a book to be called *The Courage of a Conservative*.

The impression was of a man who knows little more of the West than does the Eastern press he so hates. When the "Western" rhetoric clears,



you see someone with no roots or constituency. You see a man who has spent almost all his adult life in Washington as an appointed -- never an elected -- official. You see one of those federal bureaucrats, one of those lifers, Wyoming loves to hate.

Thinking of what Wyoming politics really is -- thinking of the whiskey and cigars and good old boys -- you could not imagine James and Leilani Watt any happier here than on the Georgetown cocktail circuit. Keep your eyes on the Watts toward the end of the program, when all the speechifying is done, when the tall gawky woman in the blue polyester long dress and the short, stocky white-haired woman in the red polyester dress approach the microphone and piano.

Smiling grimly at each other and nodding primly to the Watts, they launch into the kind of "God Bless America!" rendition that always ends such events.

The moment is revealing -- it shows that the Watts are not as tired inside as they look outside. Oh, no. Their eyes are burning now with the flame that had been missing earlier. Here among the faithful they are free at last to be themselves, to sing the old song as they feel it should be sung.

But is anyone listening, even in Wyoming? Or will they have to return to sin city, to Washington, to fulfill their image of themselves, to battle the devil rather than to be around those they are supposedly fighting to save?

Watching Jim Watt sing his heart out for America, trying to see him as a human being rather than as the caricature he and the press have conspired to create, I feel the worst is yet to come for Jim Watt, this strange, intense, bitter man.

But it will not come in the West, where there are only a few hapless local reporters to play that all-important role of the anti-Christ to Watt's image of himself as the martyred saviour of a doomed America.

Watt on Watt

Reporter: *What do you think of your successor, Judge Clark's, recent meetings with environmentalists? Is that something you should have done?*

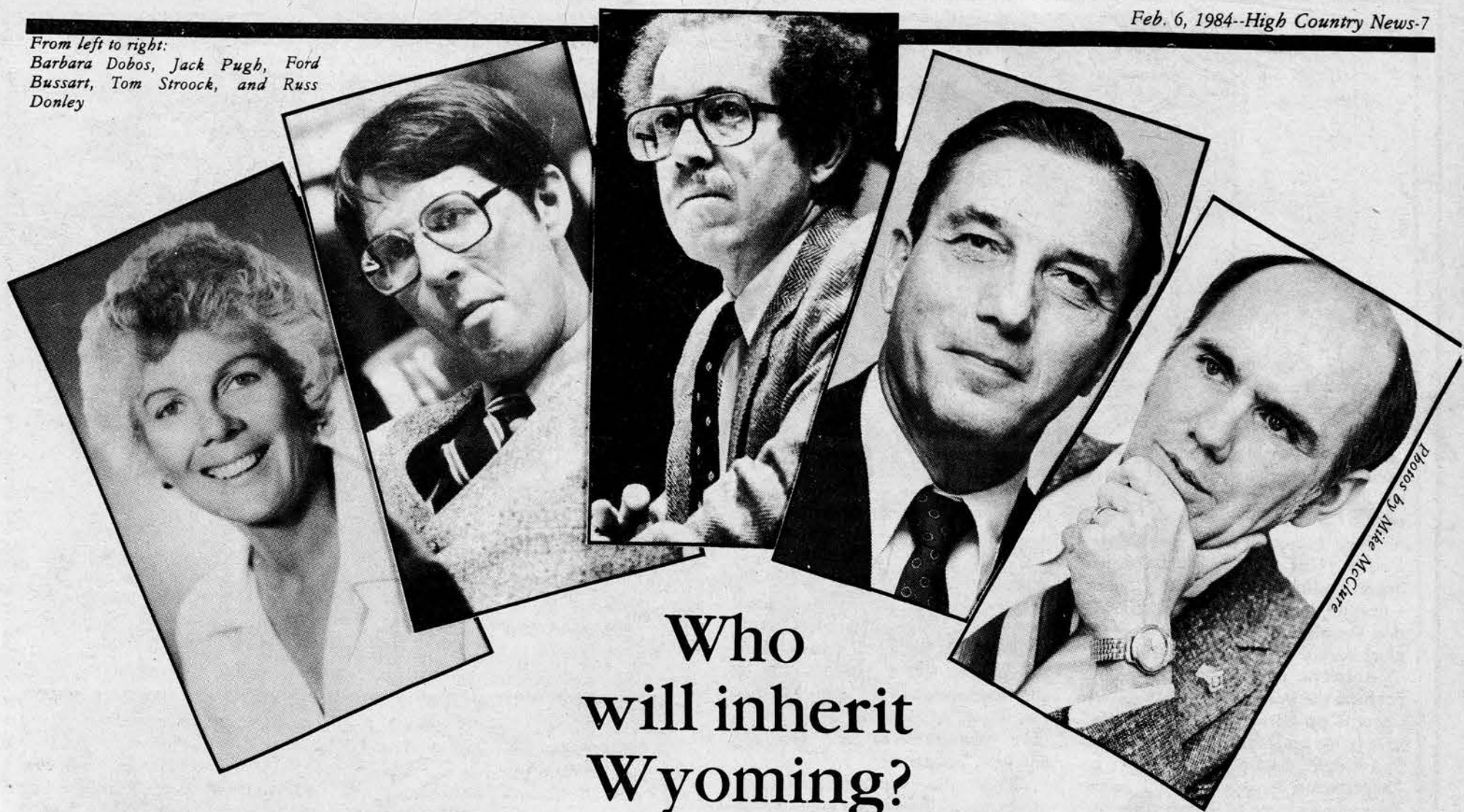
Watt: "I always had those groups in my office. I hope Judge Clark has more luck with them than I did. When I met with the Sierra Club's Executive Director, I even bought his breakfast. If I had known what he was about to do to me, I never would have paid for that meal."

Reporter: *Why has Wyoming supported you?*

James Watt: "I was doing the

right thing for the country, and they recognized that. If you were born and raised in the West like me, you have integrity in public and in private. We Westerners say what we think and feel. I dare to tell the truth. Wyoming people know this. Wyoming remembers how Washington and the Easterners treated Stan Hathaway. You remember that this same abuse and hostile ugliness was leveled at former Colorado Governor John Love when he went to Washington. I lasted longer than either of them. I had courage. To Wyoming people, that means quality."

From left to right:
Barbara Dobos, Jack Pugh, Ford
Bussart, Tom Stroock, and Russ
Donley



Who will inherit Wyoming?

by Tom Wolf

If James Watt doesn't have the political touch to become Wyoming's next governor, then who does? Perhaps the best clue can be found by looking at the present Governor, Ed Herschler, a Democrat with ten years and three solid victories under his belt.

Right now, Herschler is playing the role of the aging Louis XIV: "After me, the deluge!" A fiscal conservative as well as a conservationist and rancher, Herschler succeeds because he is as stubborn and unpredictable as the people who keep re-electing him.

Now in his mid-sixties, Herschler sealed his retirement by turning down the certain chance of beating U.S. Senator Malcolm Wallop in 1982. He said Cheyenne was already too far from his ranch in western Wyoming.

Herschler will leave the Democrats both confused and bitter. He has led the state, but he has not led his party, many of whose more active and liberal members he seems to dislike.

The bitterness comes from an intra-party dispute over the siting of the MX in Wyoming. With the governor practically begging the Pentagon to pour its money and missiles into Wyoming silos, the liberal wing of the party wondered whose side Herschler was on. Feelings intensified when he returned from an amicable Washington meeting with President Reagan proclaiming, "He's my president. I support the MX."

The Republicans rejoiced at finding a new ally. The liberals held a news conference to express dismay at Herschler's decision -- a decision which robbed them of what may become their best political break in years. That's especially so if the MX does not turn out to be the boon to the state's economy so loudly promised by its chief proponent, Republican U.S. Senator Wallop.

Given the betrayal, the Democrats are asking questions the party has never considered. Liberals like state senator Jack Pugh of Green River and state representative Barbara Dobos of Casper say they fail to understand why their party devotes all its energy to mimicking Republicans.

The mavericks authored a white paper on their party's future that has

become required reading in political circles. If Pugh and Dobos have their way, the party may serve as the rallying point for a new coalition of small ranchers and farmers, small businessmen, and environmentalists of all persuasions.

Intricacies like these let you see why Wyoming is so often described as a small town with very long streets.

Since Herschler has groomed no successor, his party is presided over by what the Republicans, frustrated by ten years out of the Governor's mansion, call "the Freudenthal cabal." This powerful group includes state Democratic Party Chairman Dave Freudenthal, his brother and former attorney general Steve Freudenthal, and Dave's wife Nancy, an astute political hand who plays a major role in Herschler Administration decision-making, especially in environmental affairs.

The rebels within the Democratic party are no happier with Freudenthal's leadership than they are with Herschler's MX position. They point out, for example, that Freudenthal has yet to come up with an opponent to Congressman Richard Cheney. Getting elected to Congress in Wyoming is harder than getting elected to the U.S. Senate. The state has two Senators, but only one representative.

Despite the unrest and maneuvering, no one seems ready to step into Herschler's shoes unless it be another Union Pacific line-Democrat like former state senator Ford Bussart of Rock Springs. The other candidates also come from the southern part of the state.

In Wyoming, Democratic registration follows the Union Pacific railroad line -- and the unions, coal and trona mines -- along the southern tier of the state. The rest of the state, especially the true capitol, Casper, is staunchly Republican. Political geography like this makes it easy to understand why Governor Herschler has lined up with the railroads to oppose all coal slurry pipeline proposals over the years.

The complexity of Wyoming politics is also visible on the Republican side. For example, Tom Stroock, an independent Casper oilman and leading state senator, is a fiscal conservative. Tops on his agenda as chairman of the Joint Appropriations Committee is a

concept he says he learned from former Colorado legislator Joe Shoemaker.

It's called "performance budgeting" and would upset much of the Cheyenne bureaucracy since it would require each agency to justify both how it spends its money and how much income it generates. It would be a boon to the Wyoming Travel Bureau, which brings millions into the state. But a program like abandoned mine reclamation in the Department of Environmental Quality would be in trouble. Stroock is seen as a possible candidate, and his budget move should prove popular in the state.

Although Stroock is a strict conservative when it comes to the budget, he is also the strongest statewide supporter of the much-contested instream-flow proposal. He seems oblivious to the fact that the influential agricultural community strongly opposes instream-flow. He says, "There is no room for compromise with agriculture on this issue."

Stroock may line up with the environmental community on the instream-flow issue, but he parts company with them on another water issue. He thinks they were hasty and ill-advised to oppose coal slurry pipelines.

From an environmental point of view, he says, all they achieved was the siting of powerplants in the state, close to the coal. Coal slurry pipelines, by lowering transportation costs, would have encouraged the shipping and burning of coal out of state. Stopping coal slurry lines may save water, but burning the coal in-state will use up that water and some clean air to boot.

Politically, he says the slurry opposition had gained the environmentalists nothing in their attempt to build an alliance with farmers and ranchers. Agriculture took their slurry support and continues its opposition to environmental legislation such as instream-flow and the ill-fated Wildlife Trust Fund. This last was a proposal Stroock supported that would have used money from minerals severance taxes to aid Wyoming wildlife.

Implied in his comments is concern that Wyoming's environmentalists have tied themselves too closely to the

Democratic party, and therefore to the railroads. This concern is shared by the two other Republican gubernatorial possibilities for 1986.

John Turner is one of the hopefuls. As the originator of the Wildlife Trust Fund scheme, he thinks the state's environmentalists need to work hard to avoid a partisan taint. He recently warned them to stay away from political action committees in the 1984 and 1986 elections. Turner owns a Jackson-area dude ranch.

His other, friendly, rival for the 1986 gubernatorial nomination is Laramie attorney Dave Nicholas. Widely respected, and a close friend of Congressman Dick Cheney, Nicholas sounded the same theme toward environmentalists: stay away from partisan politics.

Friends of Nicholas and Turner say both would be Democrats in any other state. In Wyoming, they represent the liberal wing of the Republican party. But Turner has better ties to the rest of the party since he actively campaigned against Herschler on behalf of the failed 1982 campaign of Casper oil man Warren Morton. Nicholas sat that one out.

Working alongside Turner during the 1982 campaign was Harry Roberts, executive director of the Wyoming Heritage Society, and one of the Republican Kingmakers. To Roberts' right stands another serious candidate, ultra-conservative Mormon activist and House Speaker Russ Donley, also of Casper -- the man who was instrumental in setting up the Watt welcome home.

Although widely reviled by both environmentalists and colleagues in the more liberal Senate for packing House committees against popular bills in 1982, Donley might have a chance in 1986. His chance depends on doing what the three past Republican challengers to Herschler have failed to do: putting together a big-agriculture - big-energy coalition.

Such a coalition, buoyed by the state's strong Mormon bloc, and well funded by the big oil and coal companies, could make Donley hard to beat in 1986 with Herschler -- who specialized in beating far-right opponents -- gone.

[Continued on page 10]

STRANDED ANTELOPE

A test case for feeding

by Jim Frost

After extreme cold and winds stranded 200 antelope on a hill in Rock Springs, Wyoming among subdivisions and a community college, a local wildlife association decided that the state's no-feeding policy was wrong.

The group is the Sweetwater County Wildlife Association which began feeding the antelope in January -- despite warnings from state officials that the alfalfa would not save lives, much less reduce stress.

Antelope need sagebrush and do not have the bacteria in their digestive tracts to properly break down alfalfa, says Game and Fish district supervisor Phil Riddle. At a press conference in Cheyenne on January 27, Don Dexter, the state's Game and Fish director, repeated and defended his department's decision not to feed antelope.

John Borzea, a board member of the county wildlife association, says he thinks the volunteer feeding program in Rock Springs has worked. "These antelope are marooned. If we weren't feeding a vast majority would die. If I didn't think it would help the herd, I wouldn't be out there feeding them."

The antelope on College Hill are the last of an estimated 2,000 animals which hovered close to Rock Springs and Green River earlier this winter. Part of a herd of 32,000 which normally winters to the north, most are gone now. The 200 remaining were trapped when they crossed Interstate 80 and fences buried by snow drifts to reach the hill they now occupy. Warmer weather then melted the deep drifts to expose the fences and block their way back. A local road called Dewar bars their way south.

One attempt to drive the animals over Dewar Road in late January failed when the animals were 'spooked' by garbage trucks and ran back up hill.

Borzea says until a solution is found, feeding will continue. The wildlife association does not expect all the antelope to survive, he adds, but he thinks fewer will die since the feeding was started.

"Usually, the later you start, the less successful you'll be. However, we figure we got to them in time."

Even though the state and representatives of the Wyoming Wildlife Federation in the county frown on the feeding program, many residents and businesses have joined the project. More than \$2,000 in contributions was raised in less than two weeks, and several dozen people have volunteered to help feed the antelope, Borzea said.

While the wildlife association continues to feed the animals, an ecology class at Western Wyoming Community College in Rock Springs will examine the dead pronghorn found on the hill. The necropsies will be made to see if the feeding program is any help, with ecology instructor Dee Forest working with a Game and Fish department biologist. A report will be made available to both groups when the study is completed in about two months, says Forest.

This is the first detailed study of an antelope feeding program, she points out. The Game and Fish department says it won't reevaluate its position on not feeding antelope until the study results have been examined.

To state officials, holding the line on feeding averts bigger problems. Phil Riddle says that the more than 2,000 antelope near Rock Springs and Green River were far better off without a feeding program.

"I'm awful glad we did not try to feed all those antelope about two or three weeks ago," he says. "Otherwise they would have stayed in this area and we could have had more

problems with them running on the highway or being chased by dogs." By returning to their natural winter range, he adds, the antelope stand a better chance of survival.

Game and Fish Director Don Dexter says that the issue is really preserving winter range since feeding programs can only benefit a few antelope. The game and fish department currently owns 118,000 acres, which is used primarily for winter range. But the only big game animals usually fed in the winter are

the large elk populations in the northwest corner of the state. The cost is a half million dollars to \$750,000 for feeding about 15,000 to 20,000 head of elk each year, Dexter says.

□

Jim Frost has been following the controversy over feeding antelope as a reporter for the *Green River Star*. This article and accompanying photographs were made possible by the High Country News Research Fund.

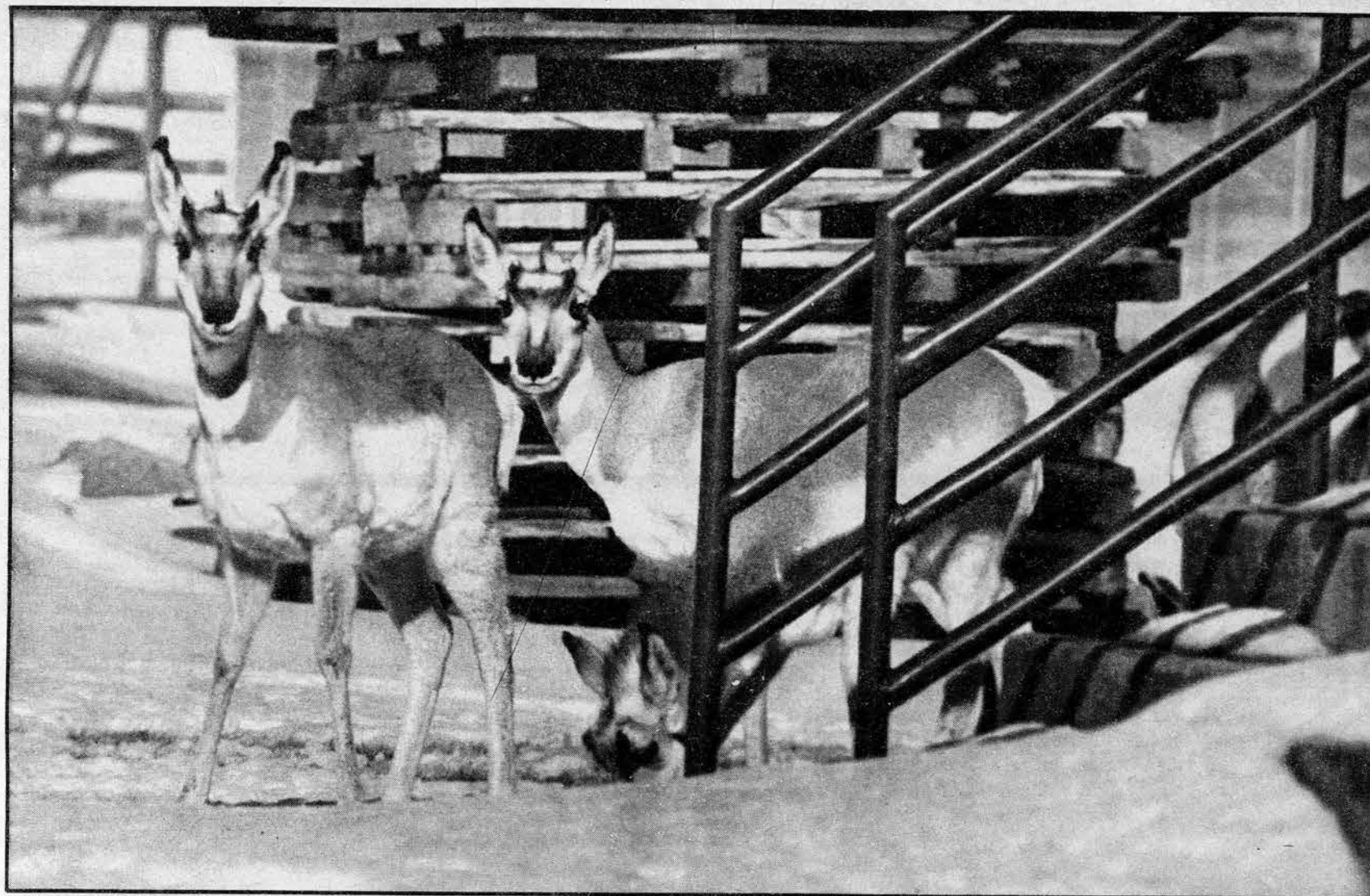


Neal Palumbo



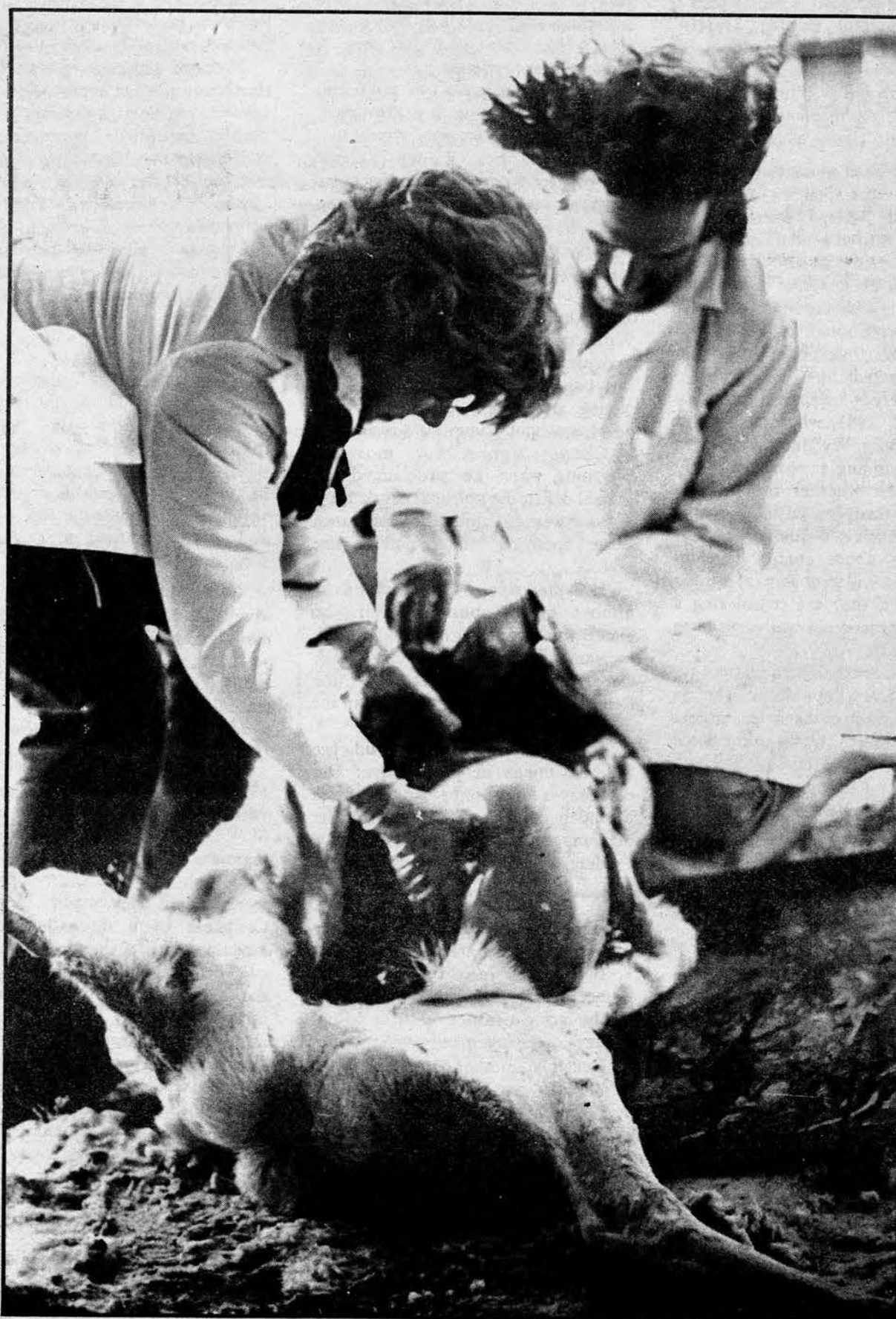
Bill Wilcox





Neal Palumbo

Photos clockwise from upper right:
Antelope resting in front of a Rock
Springs building;
Staff members at Western Wyoming
College perform a necropsy on an
antelope. The question is whether
feeding is killing the animals with
kindness;
Part of the herd of 200 surrounds hay
given by the Sweetwater County
Wilderness Association;
Lone antelope on College Hill in Rock
Springs



Tom Jarvie



Neal Palumbo

Does Wyoming's future lie with miners or tourists?

All through the 1970s, Wyoming knew exactly where it was going. Its economic destiny was tied to oil, gas, coal, trona and power plants. Such development, it was believed, would lead to prosperity and stability.

But the boom of the 1970s was followed by the bust of the early 1980s. The nation is pulling out of its recession, but Wyoming as always is among the last to recover. So people throughout the state are once again concerned about their chronic vulnerability to booms and busts.

In response, Governor Ed Herschler (D) has appointed an Industrial Development Task Force to recommend solutions. And Chambers of Commerce have resuscitated Economic Development Committees. Even the Wyoming Heritage Society has issued a white paper on economic diversification -- a first-ever from a group that always assumed economic development would follow the state's coal mines and power plants.

The influential conservative organization was founded in 1979 by businessmen, energy interests and stockmen. Until the bust, the group showed no doubt about Wyoming's destiny. And even now it is reluctant to question the assumptions underlying the resource boom. But despite the lack of explicit questioning, the bust has had its effect.

That effect was on display December 2, 1983, when the Society held "A Preview Wyoming -- 1984" to look at Wyoming's economy. Only time will tell whether the mining-agricultural-business coalition which formed the Society is questioning past assumptions about energy development. And it will probably take more time to see if they are considering a change in direction. But the meeting provided hints.

Former Governor Stan Hathaway, a conservative Republican who is attorney for many of the state's largest energy companies, was a prime force in forming the Heritage Society. Hathaway is no stranger to booms and busts. Back in 1969, before Wyoming's biggest boom ever, the then

governor loaded a plane with frozen big game, filled another plane with Wyoming dignitaries, and flew East to promote Wyoming to big-city businessmen.

The businessmen ate up the wild game and the conservative rhetoric about wide-open, self-dependent Wyoming. But the results were worse than disappointing. It attracted no business. And the *Wall Street Journal* ran a cruel front-page article about "empty Wyoming" getting emptier. It mocked the state's efforts at development, and never had the curiosity or compassion to ask why the West in general and Wyoming in particular were in difficult straits.

That memory was softened by the growth of the 1970s. But now Wyoming is again asking: Why are we always last into and last out of nationwide recessions?

The lineup of seers and politicians brought into the one-day Preview to answer the question was impressive. Congressman Dick Cheney (R) gave the keynote address and discussed how future congressional action would affect Wyoming's economy. He talked of wilderness, coal slurry pipelines, acid rain and Jim Watt.

But compared to interest rates, the above matters are mere details to Wyoming. Interest rates are vital to agricultural producers, who must go to the bank each year for operating money, and to new, capital intensive development of Wyoming's resources.

Cheney spoke for most of Wyoming when he proclaimed the federal deficit the political key to 1984. His answer to high interest rates: "Cut spending, but don't raise taxes."

His prescription was echoed by almost every speaker. But the exception was significant: R.T. McNamar, deputy secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury -- the Reagan Administration's man at the meeting.

McNamar implored the audience to "put things in perspective. Our economy is larger today and therefore the deficit is actually a smaller percentage of the gross National Product than it was before. In the

meantime, we must demonstrate the political will to build weapons until the Russians say 'Enough!'"

McNamar was pressed by Hathaway, who was presiding over the luncheon talk, to describe Wyoming's place in the economy. The response was reminiscent of the sneering 1969 *Journal* article. McNamar said:

"Wyoming is in about the same position as Mexico and Brazil, except that your internal security is better."

Plus, unlike Mexico and Brazil, Wyoming is also a good Republican state. "President Reagan calls you 'the hat trick state' since all three of your delegation members are loyal Republicans."

McNamar answered the boom-bust question with a question of his own: "Are you better off now than you were four years ago? You bet you are!"

If facial expressions mean much, Hathaway was not impressed with the answer, but he said nothing.

McNamar made his remarks to an audience that is not having it easy. In fact, some in the state are ready to say "Enough!" themselves. The state's oil production is down considerably this year while its natural gas production is up. That's a poor situation since national demand is just the opposite -- buyers want oil more than gas.

Conditions in agriculture are no better. Bob Budd of the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association said his industry's plight is worse than ever, with a rising tide of bankruptcies due in 1984. He also said his organization vehemently opposes the PIK program and any other form of government subsidy.

Coal could be a bright spot. Wyoming supplies one eighth of the nation's low sulfur steam coal, some 108 million tons in 1982, up from a 1959 total of 3 million tons. And the state could quickly increase annual production by 50 million tons.

But a jump depends on lower shipping costs due to slurry pipelines and on new demand due to possible acid rain legislation. Acid rain legislation, however, is going nowhere in Congress. And slurry pipelines were beaten back handily in the last Congress by a railroad-agriculture-environmental coalition.

The man who could change national coal policy, Senator Alan Simpson, spoke to the Preview audience. Running for his second senate term without even token Democratic opposition, he is one of the most influential members of the Senate committee charged with revising the Clean Air Act. He has tried mightily in the past to introduce changes that would stimulate Wyoming coal production.

Whatever Senator Simpson accomplishes in this session will probably not stimulate the industry as much as enthusiasts of coal once predicted. Coal's man at the meeting

was Charles Margoff, W.R. Grace's vice president of western coal.

Margoff was not in a strong position to predict another boom: Grace has just unloaded itself of the publicity-rich Aquatrain, which was going to use carbon dioxide to move coal, grain and other commodities hither and yon -- in fact, it was going move everything but human passengers.

Margoff's talk was pessimistic, blaming some of his industry's problems on the nation's backbone. The U.S., he said, lacks the resolve needed to achieve energy independence. He also said that Montana's high severance taxes will drive out its coal producers when 20-year leases signed in the 1960s come up for readjustment, and that Wyoming coal mining will pick up if new power plants can be built in Utah.

The least speculative, most hopeful speaker of the day was Bernard Illiff, who spoke about tourism. Illiff, who is general manager of the Grand Teton Lodge Company near Jackson, Wyoming, said:

"Tourism is the industry of the future in Wyoming. We bring back \$10 for every dollar invested. That is why it makes no sense for the Wyoming Legislature to be decreasing the Wyoming Travel Commission's budget in the face of stiff competition from Colorado and Utah."

He also said that in a time when money is expensive, tourism requires comparatively small investments to create a significant number of jobs. Illiff also said that ten percent of Wyoming's 250,000 jobs are tourism-related. According to Illiff, Wyoming takes in \$700 million a year from tourists, placing it fifth per capita in the United States.

With interest rates high, with energy demand flat, with the last boom having done little or nothing to diversify the state's economy, a tilt toward tourism and a diversified economy, and away from resource development and power plants, might seem natural. At present, the state's number one employer is government (all sectors), followed by energy, agriculture and then tourism.

If that employment ranking is to change, then the attitude of Wyoming's establishment must probably change first. And indeed, the Heritage Foundation appears to have recognized the need for some change, in the form of the White Paper, "Economic Diversification: A Wyoming Alternative," by staffer Len Edgerly. And some in the Republican Party would like to see the state put up venture capital. But the subject is controversial.

A Herschler Administration economist who attended the Preview said quietly:

"No matter what they say here today, you can't force recovery on an economy like Wyoming's. The road to

Inheriting Wyoming...

[Continued from page 7]

In the meantime, Donley's term as House Speaker will end in 1984, and a House tradition means he must leave the House after stepping down. Preparing for this, he recently ran for state Republican party chairman. To the surprise of many outside the party, he was roundly beaten by a comparative unknown, prompting speculation that he's weaker politically than he looks.

Just possibly, that's bad news for the Democrats. It could mean that the Republicans will put up a moderate candidate -- moderate by Wyoming

Republican party standards -- making it impossible for a Democrat to win.

But for the next two years, the Democrats can at least hope that they will be facing a James Watt or a Russ Donley come November 1986.

Recently, another attractive liberal Republican name has been heard. With a father who was U.S. Senator and Governor, and a brother who is now a popular U.S. Senator, State Representative Peter Simpson from Sheridan would make an interesting candidate. Together with his prominent family name and courtly ways, Simpson would bring to Wyoming politics a quality now sadly lacking -- the warmest sense of humor visible in Wyoming for many years.

[Continued on page 11]

Wyoming's economy...

[Continued from page 10]

recovery in this state is blocked by high interest rates, and there is little we can do about that.

"The Governor is interested in stimulating industrial development, but only if industry puts up four dollars for every dollar the state provides. We will not tolerate the one to one ratio the Republicans are proposing."

Herschler's attitude toward economic stimulation is best shown by his attitude toward water development. When he ran for his third term in 1982, he outlined \$600 million in water projects to be funded with state funds. It was a good campaign plank, and he won going away.

But so far, Herschler has spent

only \$64 million of the \$114 million allotted by the Republican-controlled legislature. When people ask him about spending the rest of the \$114 million, or about the \$600 million total, he smiles and says he refuses to be stampeded into big spending on projects even the Bureau of Reclamation thought were wasteful.

With the governor and the Reagan administration blocking the public spending route to recovery, and with interest rates blocking the resource development route to recovery, Wyoming may have to turn to such things as its natural beauty, its wildlife, and its open space to create a viable economy.

Whether Stan Hathaway and the Heritage Society have any interest in such humble, work-a-day efforts remains to be seen.

--Tom Wolf

LETTERS

SIERRA CLUB DISAGREES ON SECRETARY CLARK

Dear HCN,

I want to commend you on the fine articles your publication has carried over the years on western resource conservation and development issues. The *High Country News* fills a major void in media coverage of these matters with timely and accurate reporting. Keep up the excellent work!

However, I must take issue with your recent editorial ("Opinion," November 14, 1983) respecting Interior Secretary William P. Clark's record on the California Supreme Court. In your editorial you discussed four of the 17 major environmental decisions handed down by the court during Justice Clark's tenure, noting that you agreed with Clark's lone dissent in two of the cases.

One of these cases dealt with application of the California doctrine of implied dedication to beachfront property. Justice Clark dissented from the court's ruling that public use of undeveloped beach property for recreational purposes, if continued for at least five years without objection from the landowner, operates much like adverse possession to create a public easement over the property. Your editorial sides with Clark's dissent on the grounds such a doctrine penalizes property owners who allow public use of their land.

Your editorial overlooks several factors crucial to the court's decision. First, the land in question had been regularly maintained as if it were publicly owned for a period of at least twenty-five years by Los Angeles County. Second, the owner of the property purchased it several months after the Supreme Court had ruled in a 1970 decision that such beachfront lands are subject to a public recreational easement.

Furthermore, in reaching its decision, the court was mindful of a 1971 statute under which landowners can allow public use of their properties and avoid implied dedication simply by posting or recording a brief notice. Clark's dissent, by contrast, failed to acknowledge that under this statute, this property was subject to a public easement because of the property's long history of public maintenance.

The other Clark dissent with which you agreed involved a landowner whose five-acre parcel was rezoned to permit a maximum density of five dwellings. Clark's lone dissent argued

that the property owner was constitutionally entitled to recover damages for any diminution in property value occasioned by the ordinance. You praised Clark's dissent on the grounds that the ordinance prevented any economically viable development of the property, rendering the land worthless.

But your editorial failed to explain that the primary question before the court was not, as Clark's dissent would suggest, whether the landowner had any remedy for the loss of the use of his property. Rather, the central issue presented was whether the landowner's remedy was a suit for damages or a suit to invalidate the ordinance. The court held that the latter remedy was preferable to the former. If a suit for damages were the remedy, the court explained, then property owners could hold innovative land use planning hostage to the threat of such suits, contrary to the public interest. In any event, the court noted, the property owner had failed to adduce any evidence that his land was in fact rendered economically useless by the ordinance. Nor had the owner alternatively made a showing that the ordinance was not reasonably calculated to achieve proper planning objectives. The court therefore concluded that the owner had failed to make a case that the ordinance was unconstitutional.

Clark's dissent, on the other hand, contended that any diminution in property value occasioned by land use regulation was compensable. This extreme approach would undermine the very concept of governmental planning and zoning of private land use, since virtually any land use regulation entails some impact on property value.

In 1980, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the California court's ruling in this case. In a rare unanimous decision, the Supreme Court joined the California Supreme Court in rejecting Justice Clark's arguments.

Much more significant than Justice Clark's views in these two cases, I think, is the fact that invariably, in each of the seventeen major environmental decisions in which he participated while on the court, Clark sided with developmental interests and against environmental protection. Many of these cases dealt specifically with enforcement of environmental statutes, a function Mr. Clark will



have to perform as Interior Secretary. Justice Clark's consistent rejection of environmental controls which the majority of the court found to be eminently reasonable strongly suggests to me that he lacks the balance needed to perform a job that requires careful reconciliation of competing environmental and developmental interests.

Based as it was on a careful and detailed review of Clark's judicial record, a copy of which is enclosed for your review, the Sierra Club's opposition to Mr. Clark's appointment reflects a reasoned and mature exercise of judgment. I can only hope that Secretary Clark will see fit to prove this judgment wrong.

Stephan C. Volker
Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund
San Francisco, CA

LAMM HAS COURAGE

Dear HCN,

While I've contributed substantially to natural resource conservation efforts during recent years, I'm surprised that only now, at this late stage in our planet's demise, has someone had the courage to effectively address the real problem that confronts us all. I refer to Richard Lamm's very excellent article (HCN, 1/23/84). We have many strong and efficacious environmental groups in our country and millions of concerned citizens, but their efforts seem only to palliate the causative problem of burgeoning overpopulation.

I include a small contribution to your Research Fund.

Bob Hosley
Bozeman, Montana

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Who was Harold Ickes?

FDR's and the nation's best Interior Secretary

What do you say when you want to praise a former Secretary of Interior to the skies? Compare him to Harold Ickes.

At least that was the path taken by former U.S. Senator Cliff Hansen when he introduced former Interior Secretary James Watt at a Welcome Home gala in Casper last December. Hansen said:

"When the historians remember the great Secretaries of the Interior, only two will stand out -- James Watt and FDR's Ickes."

The remark made us curious about Harold Ickes, so we asked Robert Cochran, a Washington, D.C. writer, to tell us about him.

by Robert Cochran

Not long ago I wrote an article about the relationship between two of my heroes, Harry Truman and Harold Ickes. Research was complicated and at times tedious. So I lightened the tedium by making a wholly unscientific poll.

"Who was Harold Ickes?" I'd ask anybody I encountered who was under thirty. Few had heard of him and those who had seldom knew much about him. My sample was drawn largely from bright, politically aware young people around Washington -- recent top ten percent law school graduates and Ph.D.s. They were mostly on Capitol Hill staffs, or with liberal lobbying groups, or fancy media organizations. These people are going to run the country some day. Indeed, many of them think they are running it now. Ickes is a useful person to know about if you're in a country-running frame of mind.

If I'd asked the same question in Washington forty years ago, everybody would have known who Harold Ickes was. Many actually would have known him, since he was a gregarious fellow. He also was the best of our forty-four Secretaries of the Interior, and maybe one of the best secretaries of anything we've ever had.

The public concerns he wrestled with during thirteen years at Interior -- 1933 to 1946, longer than any other secretary -- still are important concerns today. None have been resolved, and a host of new ones have crowded in since. Ickes wouldn't have been surprised. More than most public officials, he understood Sisyphus. Push that rock up the hill and it rolls back on you. You have to keep pushing. In the long run, that's life.

His second wife Jane understood him pretty well. After he died in 1952, she wrote:

*He looked out upon a nation
rich but prodigal in the*

*exploitation of its natural
resources, knew that wasteful,
competitive practices were
diminishing its irreplaceable
supplies of oil and gas, saw its
hills exposed to the erosion of
rains by ruthless lumbering,
saw rich farm soil washing into
the sea with every flood,
envisioned vast potential water
power waiting to be harnessed
to lighten the toil of men and
women. He was the most
fanatical conservationist of his
generation, and coming gen-
erations may call him blessed.*

Not a bad environmentalist agenda for this generation or for any generation, except that Harold Ickes wasn't an environmentalist. In his day they hadn't been invented yet. He was a conservationist.

Conservationists by and large weren't all that scientific and sophisticated, but they were lovely people. The term "ecosystem" meant little to them; pollution, radiation and hazardous substances were time bombs which barely had begun to tick.

Their causes were national parks, water development, soil conservation, restraining predatory exploiters, and sensible resource management. They added an important dimension to these causes, a dimension that some of us seem to pay less attention to these days than conservationists used to: people. Ours was a more stratified, discriminatory society during the first half of this century, and conservationists like Ickes were among the first to understand that whatever good you accomplish means little unless everybody shares it.

If this makes Ickes seem like a paragon, all nobility and sweet thoughts, he emphatically wasn't. He had a good deal of the idol in Belshazzar's dream in him, "...legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." He was a practicing, practical pol. More than most public officials of his or any time, he knew how to make government work, and what he did to make it work wasn't always pretty.

Still, as you watch the nice fellows and the not-so-nice fellows come and go as Secretary of the Interior, you're tempted to echo the primal scream, scripting it to say: "Where are you, Harold Ickes, now that we need you?"

When Ickes finally found a job where he could make a difference, he was nearly sixty. He didn't figure out what he was politically until about 1920, the year his ideological brethren, the progressive Republicans, began a twelve-year hegira that ended only in 1932, when progressive Democrat Franklin Roosevelt was elected. Before that, Ickes hadn't amounted to much.

A newspaperman and lawyer in



HAROLD ICKES

turn of the century Chicago, he backed Republicans against the Democratic machine, leaving the mainstream of his party in 1912 to campaign for Teddy Roosevelt. At the Republican convention in 1920, Ickes almost became physically ill (he flew into a monumental rage instead) watching the cynical conniving that nominated Harding. Through the 1920s, he fumed and waited, apprehensive that by the time his kind of people finally achieved power, he'd be too old to matter.

Although he campaigned for him, Ickes had never met Franklin Roosevelt. Invited to New York in February, 1933, only a week before the inauguration, he was stunned to hear the president-elect offer him the Interior job. He accepted instantly. "I liked the cut of his jib," Roosevelt said afterward.

California Republican Senator Hiram Johnson and New Mexico Republican Senator Bronson Cutting turned down Interior before Ickes took it. All three were progressive Republicans and all were politicians of impeccable integrity. Roosevelt needed visible honesty at Interior, and surviving progressive Republicans were likely the most honest of all politicians since they seldom held office.

Honesty was needed because Interior was a political sewer. Teapot Dome's stench lingered in the hallways. Had there been national opinion polls at the time, Interior likely would have ranked with Sodom as a public nuisance.

During the frantic early days and months of the New Deal, environmental matters did not have high priority. A government of pragmatists knew that before they could save society's resources, they first had to save society. The angel Gabriel in the play *Green Pastures* spoke the fears of practically all Americans when he told de Lawd, "Everything naled down is comin' loose."

The immediate and urgent task was putting as many as possible of the ten to fifteen million unemployed to work. New Deal employment programs helped the environment enormously, although that was not their main purpose. The Civilian Conservation Corps, lampooned because some of its beneficiaries raked leaves, also reforested millions of acres, built countless soil erosion dams, and gave work to three million young men.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, our first regional development effort, provided jobs, generated electricity, and spread sound conservation practices throughout nine southern states. Ickes had no administrative role in these programs, however.

He became directly involved in relief efforts in the spring of 1933 when the Public Works Administration was established and Roosevelt picked him to run it. Ickes made sure that conservation projects were included in PWA's mandate.

Ickes the government administrator and Ickes the liberal activist were quite different people. Flamboyant when humane efforts and reform were involved, he was cautious and conservative when it came to running programs. Adamant that corruption and even accepted patronage practices would not take root in PWA, he moved slowly, undertaking only proven-need projects. Still, in the six years it operated, PWA built a third of the nation's new schools, the Grand Coulee Dam, Virginia's Skyline Drive, the Chicago subway -- the list could go on and on.

Important as Ickes' contributions at Interior were, he had a much larger role in the administration: that of magnet. From its beginning, the New Deal was a revolving door. The nation's brightest young lawyers and economists flocked to Washington to create new programs and operate old ones. Despite his age, Ickes was a sort of brains trust catalyst. He attracted the very best and the very brightest of the best and the brightest.

The government was much smaller then, and at its top levels almost collegial. Everybody knew and liked (or feuded with) each other. Agriculture's Rexford Guy Tugwell, one of the administration's brighter intellectual lights, was an Ickes intimate.

These movers and shakers made common cause with him for practical as well as philosophic reasons. The Roosevelt administration in fact was a one-man show. Although he delegated a great deal of power, the president actually never surrendered very much. The way to make a difference in Washington was to be accepted by Roosevelt and the White House inner circle. The president had countless associates and subordinates, but few genuine friends. Ickes was one, and those who were his friends shared the magic. Being close to Ickes was worth your while and pretty exciting.

Interior was Ickes' continent but by no means his whole world. He knew everybody who mattered in government and many who mattered outside it. He had policy level thoughts about practically everything, from foreign policy to national defense to campaign strategy, and people paid attention to him.

Friends and intimates were forever huddling with him in his vast panelled office or in the secretary's private dining room to settle the world's problems. These weren't just bull sessions. The people who gathered likely were those actually responsible for dealing with the problems, and thus Ickes was highly influential in disparate fields.

He travelled around the country a great deal, sometimes alone but often with Roosevelt, dedicating public works projects, making speeches and conniving with local politicians. Ickes blossomed during national campaigns and Roosevelt, winner of four terms, campaigned more than any president ever has or will. Ickes loved the politicking at national conventions, and was always ready to make a campaign speech filled with scurrilous invective.

Oil policy during Ickes' years at Interior was pretty much what the industry wanted it to be. The main problem was an oil glut caused by huge new discoveries in Texas, falling demand during the depression, and consequent low prices. The industry customarily dealt with such situations with cartel arrangements which ignored the antitrust laws; the New Deal tended to look the other way. Confident that the glut and low prices would pass (they did), the oil industry was concerned mainly with positioning itself for future growth and profits.

There was a critical oil issue, however, unresolved through the 1930s and 1940s -- control of tidelands

oil. Liberals like Ickes believed that the federal government ought to manage leasing and share royalties on the theory that tidelands belonged to the entire nation, all the states. Inland Kansas had just as much right to the proceeds as coastal Louisiana or California.

Oil companies and tidelands states argued otherwise, and those states in fact controlled the tidelands. The companies much preferred to deal with easily manipulated good ol' boy state legislatures and easygoing state agencies than with people like Ickes. Ickes wanted to make a test federal lease, take the matter to court, and determine tidelands title once and for all.

The areas involved were close to shore, just beyond the low water mark. Control of most offshore oil is no longer debatable. Drilling takes place far out on the continental shelf, clearly in federal jurisdiction. Moreover, complicated, biased federal leasing procedures favor large companies over smaller independents. But during Ickes' time, independents were able and eager to exploit tidelands deposits.

They had no slicker advocate in Washington than Edwin Pauley, an aggressive, successful California independent oil sharpshooter. Pauley made it his business to get to know Ickes because of his clout in oil matters and his influence at the White House. Pauley soon realized that the best way to shape government policy was to use campaign contributions as a chisel.

By 1944, he had managed to become treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and an arm-bending fund raiser, drawing mainly from his independent oil peers. They gave him money, Ickes believed, because he promised to use his influence to keep the government from testing tidelands oil title in the courts.

Ickes was right. Pauley tried to do exactly that, infuriating Ickes. He wrote in his diary that on September 6, 1944, in the midst of the presidential campaign, Pauley visited him:

Pauley said he could raise \$300,000 from the oil men in California, who have interests in offshore oil, if they could be reassured that the Federal government would not try to assert title to these oil lands... This is the rawest proposition that has ever been made to me.

This is a fascinating New Deal footnote, which never has been fleshed out. Roosevelt carefully kept himself above the maneuvering, but allowed -- encouraged -- it to continue. Pauley had first put the proposition to

the president, who told him to go see Ickes. The attorney general never filed the lawsuit. California oil money poured in. Only Ickes seemed disturbed.

He added Pauley to his list of enemies. The Californian had a hand in nominating Harry Truman for vice president in 1944, and after Truman became president, tried to influence him on tidelands. Truman paid no attention and told Attorney General Francis Biddle to go ahead with a tidelands legal proceeding. Biddle did and the government won.

Truman continued to think well of Pauley's abilities, however, and nominated him to be Secretary of the Navy in 1946. This was too much for Ickes, who sent the passages in his diary that concerned Pauley to the Senate committee considering the nomination, torpedoing it. Truman lost his temper and fired Ickes (or Ickes resigned, take your pick). Pauley stayed on the fringes of government for a while, eventually going back to California to make money. After the

Supreme Court ruled on tidelands, reversing the decision became an early priority of the Eisenhower administration. Legislation accomplished the job.

After Ickes left the government, he went on living near Washington, politicking and scheming, although with considerably less muscle. He wrote for magazines and newspapers and usually managed to keep his peace with President Truman. They agreed on most things, although he regarded Truman as a machine politician with questionable liberal credentials and not at all the statesman Roosevelt had been.

When Ickes died in February, 1952, Truman praised him:

He was withal a true patriot and a many-sided citizen whose passing leaves a void in our national life not easily filled.

And it hasn't been filled. "Where are you, Harold Ickes, now that we need you?"

LETTERS

GRAZING PERMITS ARE WELFARE FOR RANCHERS

Dear HCN,

I'll be Dave McDonald's present age next October, and surely have no desire to see another old timer suffer want or deprivation. Nor, at the same time, can I accept his argument or that of his niece or others who were moved out of the atomic bomb range in 1940.

Their fault is the same one nearly every permittee and lessee on public range has been crying out so loudly since the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary" (Blackstone). They all have come to consider the *privilege* they have long enjoyed, to run livestock on *our* public rangelands, as a *right* as ironclad as if it were locked in place with an inviolate deed. And they have done so with the acquiescence if not the connivance of both the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.

Your story in the December 12 issue didn't say how many years McDonald had held his grazing permit, but it likely was a sizeable number. At no time -- up to 1940 -- had he ever paid more than 15 cents per AUM for cattle (one steer or one cow and her calf), or 18.5 cents for sheep (five ewes and their lambs) on national forest range, or five cents per AUM on Taylor Act land. It would have cost him many times that much to rent private pasturage of comparable quality -- if he could have found it. And it is sheer propaganda for a stockman to allege that his costs have been so much higher to use public range than private land that he is entitled to the subsidy he's been getting.

Earl Sandvig of Portland, Oregon, was an outstanding Forest Service range expert who was the target of humiliating actions by his service bosses in the 1940s and 1950s -- because he dared to buck the livestock lobby. Still active, Sandvig has time and again proved the fallacy of the low fees and the high "permit value" permit holders say they have and deserve. I told Sandy's story in my 1976 book, *Grazing Public Lands*. More recently the Fergusons, Denzel and Nancy, of the Malheur country in southeastern Oregon, have quoted him to the same end in their eloquent expose called *Sacred Cows at the Public Trough*.

Permittees on national forests and

BLM range have in recent years paid less than \$2 per AUM -- only \$1.40 in 1983. At the same time the Navy is being paid more than \$12 per AUM for forage on its Boardman Reservation in Oregon. The difference is that the Navy lets its forage to the ranchers of the area on sealed bids, while the Forest Service and BLM fiddle with complicated formulas dreamed up in consort with livestock lobby lawyers.

It is true that ranchers favored with permits because their base property is close to national forest range, or because they were well off enough to survive the Great Depression's early years and meet the tricky rules laid down under the Taylor Act, are far from the only ones subsidized by acts of overly generous Congresses.

The 27 percent *per year* "depletion allowance" granted to every owner of an oil or gas well for as long as it produces is a glaring example of that kind of favoritism. So is every guaranteed support price in each annual farm program bill -- that one is truly "sacred cow" legislation! Tax money is poured out to whomever produces milk products and to growers of wheat, corn, peanuts, tobacco, and you-name-it. And how many subsidies, hidden or out in the open, are there to make life sweeter for corporate managers all across the country?

I suspect McDonald is on Social Security. So am I -- and I consider it no more than a glorified welfare check. These things exist, but the ancient maxim that two wrongs don't make a right still applies.

William Voigt, Jr.
(a former westerner)
Blackshear, Georgia

WHY I'M AN EARTH FIRSTER

Dear HCN,

SUBJECT: Letter to the Editor
RE: "Monkeywrenching Edward Abbey" by J.V. Rosenfeld

Has J.V. Rosenfeld ever been to a U.S. Forest Service hearing? I have been to plenty of them, and that's one reason why I'm an Earth Firster.

Clod Funnstrom
Anchorage, Alaska

The really secret Ickes diary

There is no more useful, readable memoir of the New Deal era than *The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes*. It covers the period from the day Ickes arrived in Washington in March, 1933 until 1951 (Ickes died early in 1952). Ickes missed a day here and there, but otherwise recounted faithfully what he did and thought during all those years. The diary runs to some six million words.

His widow Jane published three volumes, covering 1933 to 1941, in 1954 (Simon & Shuster, no longer in print, but it turns up now and then in second-hand bookstores). The unpublished years exist only in manuscript and on microfilm at the Library of Congress.

Ben Cohen, Ickes' literary executor, died in August, 1983. Years ago, he told me that before Mrs. Ickes died she said the remaining diary was never to be published.

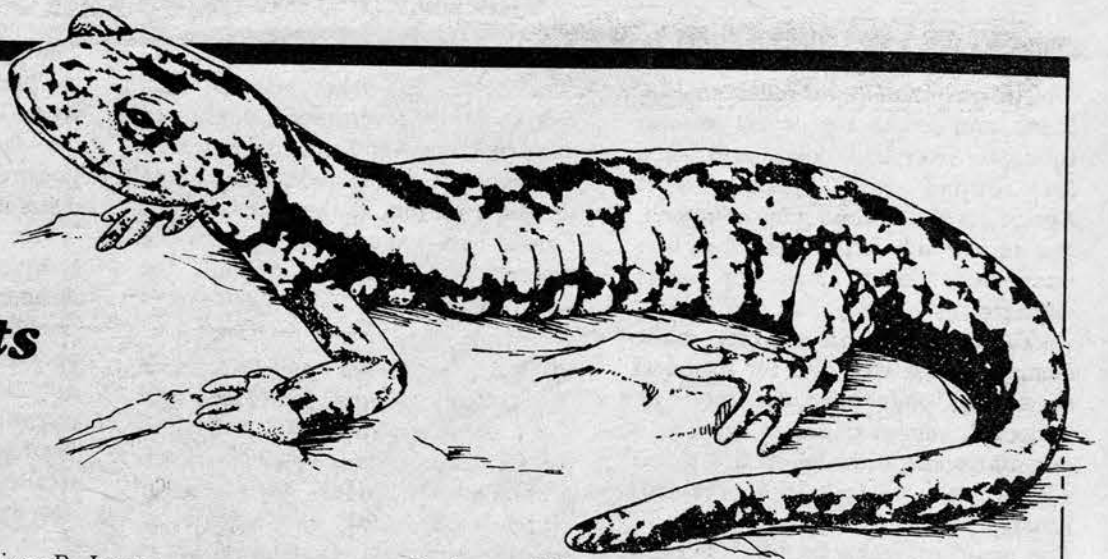
As one of the very few people if not the only person who has read the entire diary, I can't understand Mrs. Ickes' reluctance. True, the unpublished diary is pure, brassy, gloves-off Ickes, but so is the published part. Both might be offensive to some, but most of those people are long-since dead.

Over the years Mr. Cohen allowed me and other writers to quote briefly from it, but that's all.

--R.C.

14-High Country News--Feb. 6, 1984

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OPINION

How to save trees, and destroy forests

Elsewhere in this issue is a letter from an Earth First!er telling how he came to join the anarchistic organization. He wasn't recruited by a bearded, beer-drinking rebel. He was brought to Earth First! by the U.S. Forest Service.

We can attest to the general truth of the letter. We've gone to forty or so Forest Service meetings in our day, and almost always we emerge enraged.

We were reminded of that two weeks ago at a meeting in Hotchkiss, Colorado, on the cutting of aspen trees on the Gunnison, Grand Mesa and Uncompahgre National Forests. There we watched the Forest Service rewrite history, a la Winston Smith and Big Brother.

Like 1984, the Forest Service depended on video. Instead of the old-fashioned slide show, we saw video tapes -- one featuring a disembodied, stentorian voice gave us the "facts" about aspen trees. The other was an interview with Craig Rupp, the just-retired regional forester for Region II.

The "facts" are that the non-Wilderness National Forests in Colorado have two million acres in aspen, with half "considered to be overmature." The pushy conifers are moving in on the aspens, and Colorado could lose half the aspens over the next century because young aspen trees won't grow in the shade. Conifers, on the other hand, love shade and grow up under the aspens. The answer to the problem, the documentary said, is to clear-cut the aspens so a new crop can sprout out of the aspen roots.

Rupp, on his video tape, met the major criticism of the aspen program head-on: the charge that the "need" to cut aspens was manufactured to justify granting enormous timber-cutting contracts to Louisiana-Pacific. The timber giant is building a mill in Montrose County, Colorado, to process flaked aspen into waferboard.

Rupp said, "I see no basis for saying we were interested in aspens for commercial reasons." In fact, rather than the Forest Service playing into the hands of Louisiana-Pacific, "Louisiana-Pacific is another tool in our tool box." Given the need to harvest 4000 to 5000 acres of aspen a year, "It was like a blessing when Louisiana-Pacific walked in."

Rupp also put his personal imprimatur on the program: "To do nothing is unacceptable to me."

Why must the relentless march of conifers be stopped? "When you think of the Rocky Mountains, you think of aspens... fall color tours, wildlife..." To lose aspens, he implied, is to lose the Rockies.

Rupp said public and agency concern about the plight of the aspens is long-standing. As early as 1976, he appointed an aspen task force and brought in experts to save the aspens.

We enjoyed the video presentations. They went down as easily as a half hour of *Laverne and Shirley* followed by a half hour of *Cheers*. But they did make us feel a little stupid. Here we've been going to Forest Service meetings since 1974. We've destroyed large chunks of our brain by reading EISs and Fifty Year Plans. We've spent many hours chatting with Forest Service personnel in the regional office in Denver, the Grand Mesa-Uncompahgre-Gunnison supervisor's office in Delta, and district ranger offices around the region.

Despite that exposure, we never realized the Forest Service feared losing aspens. We'd never picked up on the aspen task forces; on the thunderous public outcry to save aspens; on the agency's almost kamikaze dedication to saving the trees for posterity. It made us feel dense and overgrown -- deadwood waiting to be cut by more perceptive journalists.

But we began to feel a little less dense -- a little thinned out, in the agency's jargon -- during the question and answer period. An audience member asked the Forest Service representative how the agency had discovered the public's overwhelming passion for aspens.

The reply was: "The Regional Planning process determined that the public wanted to save the aspens." He could cite only the agency's own study. We know aspens hadn't been the subject of any public meeting we could recall. It hadn't found its way into local planning documents. Perhaps because saving the aspens had such a high



priority, the Forest Service saw no need to talk or write about it. They assumed we could read it on their earnest, open countenances.

We also felt a little less stupid when we realized that among the one hundred or so people in the audience were many who knew a lot more about aspen regeneration than Craig Rupp. It turns out that there is an enormous amount of uncertainty about aspens. According to the audience, aspens will continue to dominate certain elevations and exposures, and may only be threatened by conifers at the extremes of their 7,000 to 11,000 foot elevation range. There is also a theory that the lack of aspen propagation by seed may have fundamental causes -- a climate change due perhaps to the early stages of greenhouse-effect warming.

On another subject, the Forest Service representative at the meeting didn't have the slightest idea of the economics of the save-the-aspen campaign. The intensity of the public's demand for Color Sunday had apparently overwhelmed economic considerations. The penurious make-the-forests-pay approach of the agency -- an approach that you see in neglected trails, abandoned campgrounds, closed water faucets, and the like -- is gone when it comes to aspen cutting. Money is no object when Color Sunday is at stake.

For the most part, the above questions came from environmentally-oriented folks. But there were also small-scale, local timber operators in the audience. They added a new, on-the-ground dimension to the evening. One asked, "Why, all of a sudden, is there all this timber available? But for four or five years, we couldn't get any aspen?"

It turns out that Craig Rupp's concern about cutting aspen -- a concern that he told the TV camera started in 1976 -- hadn't gotten out of the Denver office. Some small local loggers interested in aspen hadn't been able to get the Forest Service to put enough trees up for sale. The logger, perhaps tongue in cheek, thanked the Louisiana-Pacific representative at the meeting: "You have opened some doors for us. But why did it take so long?"

The Forest Service rep responded, "Budget -- we only have so much money; we haven't had the money."

But now the Forest Service has the money -- the money to sell Louisiana-Pacific 25 million board-feet a year, with a substantial, though unspecified, dollar loss on each board-foot sold. The logger told the Forest Service why it now has the money:

"It's more trouble to sell one piece of candy than the whole store."

As at any Forest Service dog and pony show, one has the agency, one has the environmentalists, and one has the industry. In this case, industry was represented by Louisiana-Pacific's manager of timber cutting -- a man named Robert Sutherland.

Sutherland told the audience something they've heard a thousand times: that the excesses of the past won't occur here; that L-P is going to do things differently; that L-P is only going to hire contract loggers with peripheral vision -- people who can see more value out there than just chopping a tree down.

Since the fix is obviously in, we wanted to believe Sutherland; we wanted to believe the Forest Service had put us in good hands. Unfortunately, Sutherland would have no part of our self-deception. His facade cracked moments after his talk. First, he kept interrupting the logger to keep him from making his point about the former scarcity of small aspen sales.

Then he responded with indignation and contempt to a question from the audience about taxation. The question turned on the location of the mill. It will be located in Montrose County, literally a few hundred feet south of Delta County. So all property tax revenues will flow to Montrose County.

But 70 percent of the timber cutting, and traffic and road destruction will take place in Delta County. Moreover, Delta County is likely to get the logging crews, which means they will get the tax revenue-consuming homes without the offsetting industrial taxes. And when this cyclic industry goes bust, Delta County will get food stamp and welfare costs. Before it goes bust, trucking may chase off tourists.

In this day and age, even school children know that houses and workers drain a community's tax base unless there is offsetting retail or industrial tax revenue. But when those facts were posed to Sutherland, he became angry. He said he was "boggled" that people didn't see the benefits of the mill. This man, who appeared unaware of the most elemental facts of local politics and public revenue considerations, seemed to sincerely think it was the audience that was ignorant.

He was also uninformed about the nature of the mill. When asked about possible threats to workers from the mill's chemicals, Sutherland said he had talked to someone who had worked in one of the firm's eastern waferboard mills and was told that it was clean and quiet.

Basically, we're quiet, conservative types -- nothing makes us happier than to see the system working; to see government and industry behaving responsibly; to see decisions made on the best facts available.

In Hotchkiss two weeks ago we saw a clown of an agency clumsily dancing with an arrogant company determined to put its worst foot forward.

L-P, as a private entity, can behave as it will. But how sad that an agency which is supposed to serve both the nation and a local constituency serves neither -- that it gives a hosing to both the general public interest and to local tourist economies throughout the region.

-E.M.

16-High Country News-Feb. 6, 1984

OFF THE WALL

Nudity code uncloaked

Small town newspapers and small town attorneys are to each other as cats are to dogs. Idaho Springs (Colorado) publisher Cary Stiff showed why in a front page story in the December 21, 1983 issue of his *Clear Creek Courant* under a modest headline reading: "Council tables new code after editor minces its words."

Stiff got grist for his mincing by reading only the first eleven pages of a 63-page misdemeanor ordinance that had already been passed on first reading by the town council. That was plenty, for he found in those eleven pages the following felicities:

"Any person convicted in the Municipal Court... may be imprisoned in the County Jail or such other suitable place as shall be provided by said City for a period not to exceed three hundred dollars..."

Drawing attention to a passage in the code which defines "nudity" as, among other things, "the covered human male genitals in a discernible turgid state," the publisher quibbled. "My definition of 'nudity' doesn't include anything that's covered."

Then in the best tradition of small-town journalism, he argued *ad hominem* that the definition of the word "loiter" is so vague that "it would be illegal for Grace and Emily Seccombe to sit outside on the porch and watch the world go by."

He also nitpicked other definitions, such as the

phrase that circularly describes "professional gambling" as "participating in gambling."

The Idaho Springs City administrator, in the best tradition of the code, circularly defended it. He said definitions had been lifted verbatim from state statutes. And the attorney who spent months drafting the code said some of the regulations had come from similar misdemeanor statutes in other towns.

Despite the defense by association, the council decided to scuttle the ordinance until it has been revised. As a result, Idaho Springs remains vulnerable to loitering, covered nudity and gambling, at the very least. On the other hand, the Seccombe sisters can continue to set on their porch in the hilly mining town.

--Ed Marston

LETTERS

DESPERATE TECHNOCRATS

Dear HCN,

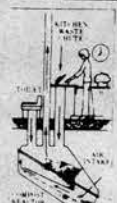
I read with great interest your comments on Tom Wolf's excellent article on the near-fatal runoff at Glen Canyon Dam last summer. What I can't decide is whether we read the same article or if it was changed by a crafty editor after you last read it. What I get from the piece is a sense of the arrogance these deluded people possess, these insipid engineers and their outlandish nightmares-become-reality. At no point do I conceive of these desperate technocrats Wolf describes as anything but the foolish children they really are. The father he mentions is lampooned, not venerated. What you so innocently pretend is a "complete dream" is in fact a bankrupt short-lived societal psychosis. While I agree that recognizing the strength of an adversary is requisite to successful combat, I resist the assertion that the folks at the Bureau of Reclamation acted heroically last summer. After all, what choice did they have?

If we could direct these people's penchant for the manipulation of everything in our world to more constructive ends, such as the dismantling of Glen Canyon Dam, then perhaps they would be worthy of the appellation hero. Until then, when you choose to identify yourself in print as one "who believes that technology has turned into our enemy," and to class yourself with others who so believe, please do a better job of recognizing the issue, and read your reporter's material more closely.

Marc A. Brown, editor
Dream Garden Press
Salt Lake City, Utah

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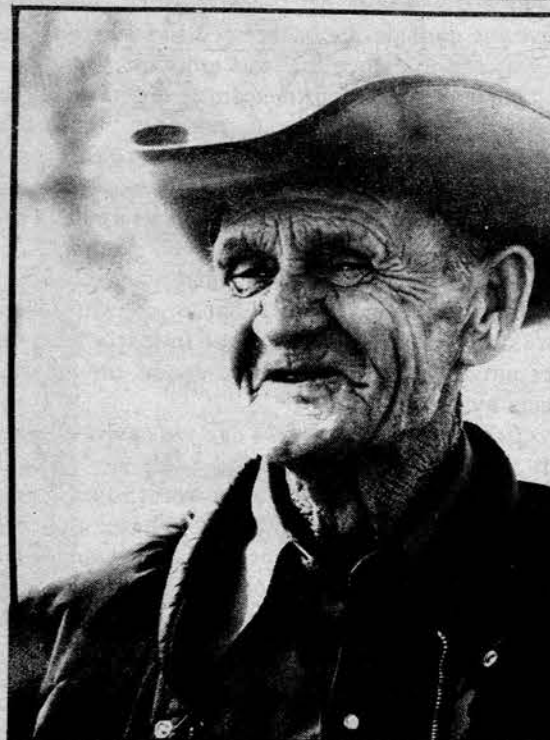
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