

Election results from 10 states

and the Navajo Nation start on page 6

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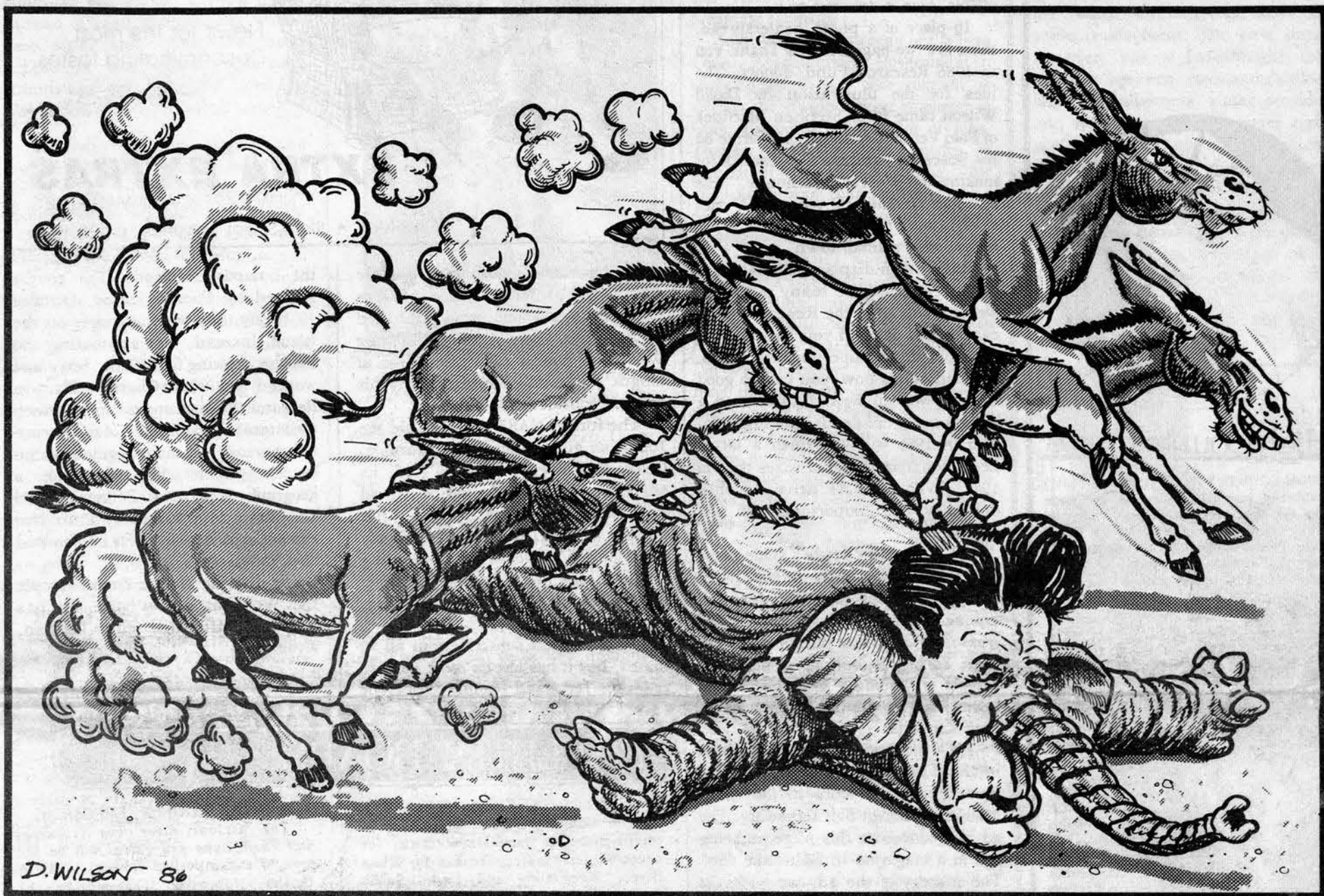
High Country News

November 24, 1986

Vol. 18 No. 22

A Paper for People who Care about the West

One Dollar



The two-party system is back

An immensely popular Republican president campaigns hard in the West, and yet loses race after race for the U.S. Senate. Clear proof, some argue, that Congressman Tip O'Neill, Jr. is correct when he says, "All politics is local."

There is another interpretation. Politics is local in the sense that voters who would have re-elected Reagan with another landslide felt no obligation to give him the senators of his choice. They voted as Nevadans, North Dakotans and Oregonians; not as participants in a national plebiscite.

Nevertheless, the senatorial elections were determined by national forces in several Western states. The Reagan administration's policies on nuclear waste helped defeat Republican candidates in two nuclear dump waste states: Washington and Nevada. The latter election, in which Harry Reid beat Jim Santini, may have also dashed the longshot political hopes of Nevada Senator and Reagan intimate Paul Laxalt.

In normally Republican North and South Dakota, the administration's policy on farm prices, and the two

Republican incumbents' loyalty to that policy, almost certainly led to their replacement by Democrats.

In Colorado, Reagan's position on the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) was echoed and then amplified by Republican Ken Kramer. So extreme was Kramer's trillion dollar position on Star Wars that he gave Democrat Tim Wirth miles of running room. Wirth, in deference to the state's heavy economic stake in defense spending, could support research and development while still staying to the left of Kramer. Wirth also hammered away at what he said was the administration's anti-environmental policies, of which Kramer was an enthusiastic supporter.

President Reagan's supporters point out that he lost the Senate in the West by a handful of votes. If only 36,000 voters in five Western states (Colorado, Nevada, Washington and the Dakotas) had switched votes, the Republicans would have controlled the Senate 50-50. If another 5,000 had switched in Alabama, they would have had the Senate without the tie-breaking help of vice president George Bush.

But the Democrats have their counter-arguments. They were outspent by the Republicans in Senate races \$93 million to \$62 million. Averaged over 34 races, that's \$1 million a race. (In addition, Republican national committees raised \$179 million to the Democrats' \$35 million.)

Moreover, the Democrats showed grass-roots strength. Nationally, they picked up six legislative chambers, and now control both chambers in 29 states. Western legislatures remain solidly Republican, although Democrats gained the lower house in Nevada and perhaps the Senate in North Dakota.

On the other hand, Republicans won the lower House in Montana and the Senate in Nevada. Both had been evenly split. The Montana Senate will be evenly split, with a Democratic lieutenant governor giving his party control of committees. The New Mexico Senate will be evenly split, with the New Mexico House Democratic.

The Republicans remain solidly or overwhelmingly in control of the statehouse in Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. Statehouses and gover-

norships will be very important in 1990, when congressional seats are reapportioned, and so the effects of this election will be felt in 1990.

The numbers, as always, can prove anything; the gut impressions speak more clearly. Utah's conservative U.S. Sen. Orrin Hatch, who gives up a Senate chairmanship, told the *Deseret News*: "It's the end of the Reagan revolution. I can't believe it."

In the mountain states, until the night of Nov. 4, it seemed that Reagan and his conservative tide were invincible. The election created a new landscape. Democrats didn't sweep the West, but they showed that, when free to campaign on their own merits, they could win. They won a congressional seat in Utah, won another one in Colorado's Western Slope against a congressman who had tied himself tightly to Reagan, kept one congressional seat and the governorship in super-conservative Idaho, and generally gained ground in heavily Republican state legislatures such as Utah's.

(Continued on page 7)

Dear friends,



High Country News

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This issue was to be HCN's return to normal: 16 pages, no color, a photo centerspread and a nice balance between Roundups, Hotlines, and one or two lengthier features.

But events are in the saddle, and while we heroically staved off color and extra pages, balance and centerspread are gone. The general election, like the one in 1980, will determine the West's course for the next several years; as a result, much of this issue is devoted to it.

In place of a photo centerspread, there is a two-page belated Thank-You to 1986 Research Fund donors. The idea for the illustration by David Wilson came from Stephen Martinek of Palo Verde, California. He wrote on his Research Fund card: "Thanks for making the West a community." His sentence summed up what HCN tries to do: Cover the rural West as if the region were a small town.

Rather than displace the names of donors (we still have many to thank), we have reprinted the Research Fund card on this page. If you have not yet contributed, we hope you will do so. By contributing now, you can do good even as you do well. Experts say a donation to a tax-deductible organization in 1986 will be worth a larger deduction from personal taxes than in 1987. (In our 1987 RF drive, we shall downplay the importance of the change.)

HCN has been getting some press lately. *The Whole Earth Review* listed the paper, calling it "intelligent and unique..." John McPhee's *Rising from the Plains*, first published in *The New Yorker*, is out as a book. Its subject is Wyoming geologist David Love; HCN is mentioned as a cause Love supports.

HCN is being used as an attraction in an ad campaign to draw people to Extra Extras -- a store in the ZCMI Mall in downtown Salt Lake City. The ad, reproduced on this page, is being run in a magazine in Salt Lake City. The strategy of the ad, we guess, is that a store that carries something called *High Country News* must carry everything.

Circulation manager C.B. Elliott is always on the lookout for trends. She tells us that we have recently lost two subscriptions to love, or at least to propinquity, when four subscriber households merged into two. It occurred to us that publications that depend on subscriber income must do better when the divorce rate is rising. Nevertheless, we wish the couples the best.

We attended a moving ceremony Nov. 6 at the home of the Native American Rights Fund -- a book signing by Oregon University Law Professor Charles Wilkinson. Wilkinson spent several hours signing copies

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of his *American Indians, Time and the Law -- Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy*, published by Yale University Press. Watching Wilkinson ponder each inscription at length made us understand why his work is considered so highly.

The former NARF attorney told the 100 or so guests that if, for example, Colorado University were to fold, its students, faculty and mission would find new homes elsewhere. But NARF, he said, is unique: the only organization devoted to defending Indian rights in the courts. NARF is located at 1506 Broadway, Boulder, CO 80302.

HCN still has subscribers in all 50 states, but it has lost its most remote readers: Jerry and Jeannie Emory of

the Galapagos Islands. The couple stopped by Paonia Sunday, October 19, to say they were no longer on the island. Instead, they are touring the Rockies, looking for a niche. Jerry had worked at the Charles Darwin Research Station under contract with the international division of the Nature Conservancy. Jeannie originally came to the paper when she took a geography course at Berkeley titled *The West*, taught then by Prof. Jim Parsons and now by Dave Larson and Paul Starrs.

Finally, the Nature Conservancy's Tom Wolf has a new home. He has moved his office and self to Jackson, Wyoming.

--the staff

BULLETIN BOARD

A COLORADO WILDERNESS EIS

The Colorado BLM is preparing an environmental impact statement for seven wilderness study areas in the White River, Kremmling and Little Snake resource areas in northwest Colorado. The Bureau of Land Management will consider wilderness values, timber, wildlife, minerals and ranching operations when writing the EIS, and the public is invited to participate. Public meetings have been held, but for more information and to send written comments write Greg Goodenow, Project Manager, BLM Craig District Office, 455 Emerson St., Craig, CO 81625 (303/824-8261).

\$10,000 to NPCA

A \$10,000 Albert Schweitzer prize in the humanities was awarded to the National Parks and Conservation Association, a 67-year-old non-profit group that works to improve national parks. The Alexander Von Humboldt Foundation, founded seven years ago by a German businessman, granted its first annual award last month to the Washington, D.C.-based association. NPCA president Paul Pritchard said the prize was the greatest honor the association had received.

A MISSOURI RIVER SYMPOSIUM

The Missouri River: The Resources and Their Uses and Values will be the topic of a symposium Dec. 9, 1986, in Omaha, Nebraska, sponsored by the American Fisheries Society and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. To be held in conjunction with the 48th Midwest Fish and Wildlife Conference, the gathering will look at the Missouri River from a historical perspective to show present changes, their effects and to develop a philosophical approach to the river. There will also be reviews of state-of-the-art fisheries and river biology. Speakers will be from state game and conservation departments along the river, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. For information, contact Chuck Sowards, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, P.O. Box 986, Pierre, SD 57501 (605/224-8693).

BITTERROOT REVIEWS

The Bitterroot National Forest, in southwestern Montana, has published a list of environmental assessments and environmental impact statements being prepared in 1987 that cover everything from the travel plan to individual timber sales. To get a copy and be part of the decision-making process, write to Bitterroot National Forest, Supervisor's Office, 316 North Third St., Hamilton, MT 59840 (406/363-3131).

RIVER ADVOCATES

The Colorado Rivers Coalition, a nonprofit network of organizations, recently formed to help protect Colorado's last few segments of free-flowing rivers. Its main goal is to see that the 12 studied and some of the inventoried rivers in Colorado gain Wild and Scenic River status. The group invites activists to attend a wilderness and wild rivers leaders meeting on Dec. 5-7 in Glenwood Springs, Colorado, and to also join CRC. For more information, contact the coalition, 2239 E. Colfax, Denver, CO 80602 (303/939-0466).



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WESTERN ROUNDUP

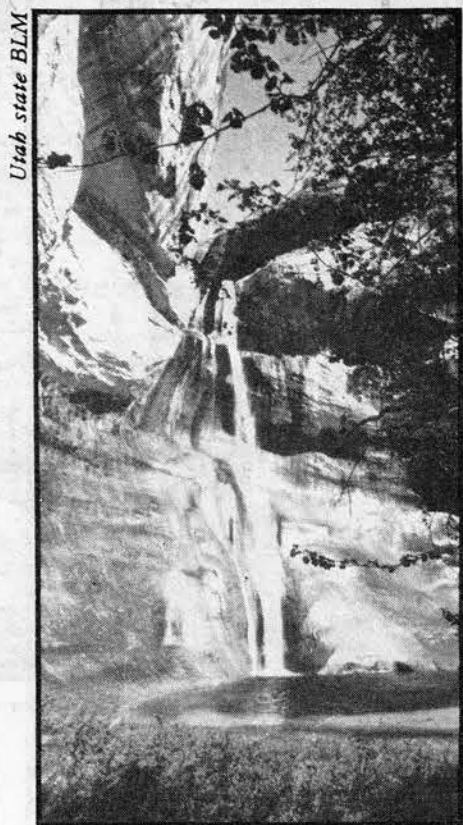
In southern Utah: A step towards dialogue

The Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance sponsored an unusual conference Oct. 11-12.

The three-year-old group invited the pro-development community to meet in discussion and debate near Moab in Grand County. Back on July 4, 1980, county commissioners there fastened an American flag to a bulldozer and plowed a road into a Bureau of Land Management wilderness study area. Since then some people in Utah have maintained friendships by carefully avoiding discussion of environmental issues.

Saturday morning registration found Pack Creek Ranch crowded with some 100 visitors from throughout the intermountain West and both coasts. But "oldtimers" -- mostly those who profited from uranium mining and milling until the bust -- were underrepresented. Also missing were superintendents from some of Utah's spectacular national parks, such as Zion and Bryce. The failure of Congress to pass a continuing budget resolution caused parks to close and kept officials at home. But the discussions that did take place between park staff, conservationists and long-time southern Utah residents revealed broad areas of agreement. Almost all said it was desirable to designate BLM wilderness areas adjacent to parks.

Panels were held on BLM wilderness: How much is enough?; Utah's national parks: Can we protect



Calf Creek Falls in Utah's Death Hollow BLM Wilderness Study Area

them?; the future of southern Utah: dollars and sense; and the Burr Trail: road to ruin? Two panels were lively with debate but absence of opposition softened the others.

San Juan County Commissioner Cal Black, a prominent spokesman for the extractive industries, sent a representative, Carl Eisemann, who emphasized the fear of county residents that any wilderness designa-

tion will undermine their struggle for economic survival.

Conservationists argued that wilderness study areas have not caused the decline in mining, farming and ranching, and that wilderness designation will help local people. New jobs would become available in guiding, outfitting and supplying, they said, and ranches might add bed and breakfast facilities.

John Williams, director of the Five County Association of Government in Utah, pointed out that tourism is already the single largest employer in Utah, providing 36 percent of jobs. Tourism, however, only provides 23 percent of the state's income. The implication was that tourism can be part of survival but cannot restore prosperity.

Ken Sleight, a river-outfitter whose Pack Creek Ranch was the site of the meeting, said there should be a broader definition of tourism than "the push to make all roads lead to Del Webb country." Del Webb Corp. runs the marinas and other tourist amenities at Lake Powell.

Among participants were Craig Bigler, economic development specialist in Moab, Sam Taylor, editor of the *Moab Times-Independent*, Jimmy Walker, Grand County commissioner, Terri Martin, National Parks and Conservation Association, Maggie Fox, Sierra Club and Darrell Knuffke, The Wilderness Society.

--La Rue Christie

Proposed Idaho road threatens elk herd

A proposed 8.8-mile road linking the farming towns of Egin and Hamer in eastern Idaho continues to draw sharp public comment. The controversial farm-to-market road made national news this summer when Washington, D.C., officials overturned a local BLM district manager's decision to deny the road application. The manager was then barred from involvement in the matter (*HCN*, 8/4/86).

The proposed road crosses the migratory route of up to 2,500 elk in an area designated as both crucial winter habitat and of critical environmental concern by the Idaho Bureau of Land Management. The elk herd, one of the largest free-roaming herds in the West, provides Idaho with approximately 23,700 hunter-days a year valued at \$570,000, says the BLM. The Idaho Department of Fish and Game reports that construction of the road could reduce the herd to as few as 150 animals.

If the road is built it would save local farmers \$90,000 a year in transportation costs, according to BLM estimates. But the farmers who want the road say their savings could be as much as 10 times that amount.

The local road controversy spilled over into the political arena last August. The Idaho Environmental Council used the Freedom of Information Act to obtain a letter written by the BLM's District Manager O'dell Frandsen just days before he was removed from the case by state BLM Director Delmar Vail. Jerry Jayne, a Council board member, says Frandsen was about to mail his decision when Vail intervened.

The decision to overrule the local

BLM office came from as high up as the office of Interior Secretary Donald Hodel, says Jayne. He points to a trail that led from frustrated county commissioners to Idaho Lt. Gov. David Leroy, the state Legislature and finally to Washington, D.C. In the draft EIS the BLM's new preferred alternative is to build the road, and is supported by Leroy, the Legislature and the county commissioners.

The Idaho Falls-based Environmental Council insists the decision to build the road short-circuits the governmental process. In a recent letter to the BLM, the conservation group asked for any new evidence that changed the road decision. "If they're not going to admit it's a political decision, they better come up with some evidence to justify the change," says Jayne.

State BLM Director Vail said in an interview he had no contact with Hodel, but says he reviewed the case with Assistant Secretary Steve Griles. Vail also says Frandsen was removed from the case because of "sensitivity issues."

At public hearings in Boise and Idaho Falls held this August, Vail reports the crowds were evenly split on the road, although both sides criticized the BLM's draft EIS. Before the public comment period ended Sept. 12, Vail received over 200 letters with "substantial comments" and 400-500 signatures on petitions. He says most were against the road, but "we don't look from a popularity standpoint." A final decision is due from Vail in November.

In the meantime, Fremont County workers have already graded two to three miles of the Egin-Hamer road.

The BLM decided not to file charges against the county, but state Director Vail sent a letter warning them not to do it again. A dirt trail usable by four-wheel drive vehicles already exists along the proposed route, even though it is on public land and not supposed to be there.

Recently, Shoshone-Bannock tribal officials threatened to sue if the road is built, saying it would violate hunting rights guaranteed to them in the 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty. The elk herd's winter refuge near the St. Anthony sand dunes is part of the tribe's traditional hunting grounds, and under the treaty tribal members have the right to harvest two elk a year. The elk continue to be a primary source of food for 400 to 500 tribespeople, according to the Idaho Falls *Post-Register*.

During the fall, BLM officials studied most of the criticisms of the draft statement, leading to what many think will be a compromise solution: building the road, but closing it during the winter when the elk migrate.

--Steve Hinchman

BARBS

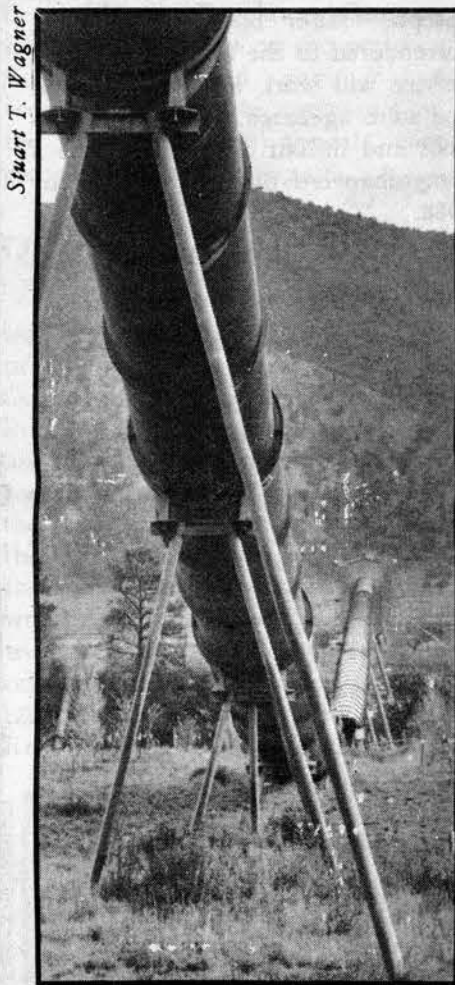
Raising unconscious, condescending snobism to a dizzying new height.

New Yorker film critic Pauline Kael, in her Nov. 17, 1986, review of *Something Wild*, wrote: "But the movie gives you the feeling you sometimes get when you're driving across the country listening to a terrific new tape, and out in nowhere you pull into a truck stop and the jukebox is playing the same song."

HOTLINE

After 13 years

Congress approved wild and scenic designation for 75 miles of northern Colorado's Cache La Poudre River Oct. 16, making it the first Colorado river to get federal protection. The bill, sponsored by Colorado Republicans Rep. Hank Brown and Sen. Bill Armstrong, designates 31 miles as "wild," with no dams or roads allowed, and 44 miles as "recreational," which permits roads, dams and some development. The new status, however, was a hard-fought compromise between environmentalists, adjacent landowners, water providers and sportsmen. Present water rights are not affected, nor is dam building downstream precluded. The Poudre and its south fork will be protected from its headwaters in Rocky Mountain National Park to the town of Poudre Park, just northwest of Ft. Collins. The Poudre was first nominated for wild and scenic status, along with 12 other Colorado rivers, back in 1973.



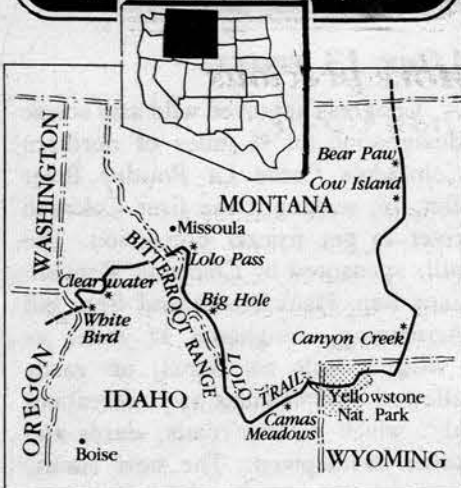
Coal conveyor

Coal slides downhill

For Sale: Used coal conveyor and loading facility, a quarter-mile long, to good home, asking \$300,000-\$400,000. Might be useable as a dirty-laundry chute for the BLM, a shotgun-style pump action MX missile silo, or, with windows added, as a bear-proof sight-seeing tunnel in Yellowstone.

Owners of the closed Snowmass coal mine near Carbondale, Colorado, had hoped to sell all their used equipment at auction last month. But while moveable equipment went fast, the entire coal-wash and preparation plant, as well as the conveyor and loading facility, still remain on the block. The conveyor system, approximately \$2.5 million new, is a steal at \$400,000. To build the same system from scratch would cost between \$7-8 million today, according to Bill Niggemeyer, president of Universal Equipment, which owns the mine. Universal must remove all its equipment by the end of next summer, says the state Mined Land Reclamation Board.

HOTLINE

**The Nez Perce Trail**

Congress has passed and President Reagan has signed legislation granting National Historic Trail designation for the 1,170-mile route used by the Nez Perce Indians in their 1877 flight from the U.S. Army. The trail begins in northeastern Oregon, crosses Idaho, cuts through a corner of Yellowstone National Park, and ends in the Bear Paw Mountains of Montana, 40 miles south of the Canadian border. There, Chief Joseph, leader of the Nez Perce, surrendered to the army. The Forest Service will work with other federal and state agencies, private organizations and Indian tribes to develop a comprehensive plan for the trail by 1988.

The yeasty Great Salt Lake

The Great Salt Lake continues to rise, and a pumping project to lower its level has run into problems. The lake was 4,210.85 feet above sea level on Oct. 15, which was 2.45 feet higher than a year ago. The rise may not seem large by river standards, but the lake is surrounded by almost level mudflats. A rise in the lake level of a few inches can cause a horizontal expansion of several hundred feet. Utah hired a construction company to install three pumps to lower the lake level, but Dee Hansen, director of the state's Department of Natural Resources, says the company can't meet its Feb. 15 deadline. While digging a foundation for the pump-house, workers encountered 10 times more water than anticipated. None of the pumps could function, which delayed the project two weeks. Hansen says in any case pumping won't lower the lake level the first year, which means flooding will occur almost certainly next spring.

An unwanted powerline

The Bureau of Indian Affairs announced its decision Sept. 26 to allow Public Service Company of New Mexico to build the controversial OLE 345-kilovolt powerline across New Mexico's Jemez Mountains (HCN, 3/13/86). The agency had issued an environmental impact statement considering two routes: through the Rio Grande and Chama River valleys or across Santa Fe National Forest in the Jemez. The Los Alamos National Laboratory and Public Service supported the mountain route. An environmental group, Save the Jemez, and an organization of Pueblo tribes, the All-Indian Pueblo Council, said it would appeal the decision through BIA administrative channels. The groups had argued that there was no need for the powerline and that damage to archaeological and religious sites and endangered species was unacceptable.

Battling inappropriate technology

It's a compact office, like so many in the low-rent district of Eugene, Oregon. Papers seem to cover every surface, grey light filters through fogged windowpanes and the phones are ringing.

"Good afternoon," answers a woman at a battered old desk. "Encap."

After a minute's silence, she sweeps into an encyclopedic soliloquy on organic chemistry, entomology and political chicanery. And when that call is over, there soon will be another. NCAP is the Northwest Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides, the oldest and possibly the most influential of all grassroots pesticide-reform organizations. With only three full-time staffers and a yearly budget about that of most corporate vice president's salaries, NCAP has succeeded in winning partial or complete bans on several pesticides, and achieving policy changes on all levels of government. NCAP information director Mary O'Brien says the battle is basically against "completely inappropriate technology."

NCAP was born almost 10 years ago in response to the herbicide spray programs of many of the lumber companies in the Pacific Northwest. It took miscarriages, stillbirths, deaths of animals and other health problems to create "awareness of the implications of the annual spring migration of helicopters into local watersheds," says Norma Grier, NCAP director.

Grier entered the pesticide reform movement in about 1976, when she was living in rural Douglas County, Oregon. She and her neighbors joined together to stop the helicopters and spray trucks. "It was quite an interesting experience," she recalls. "The Sunday school teachers and loggers and back-to-landers were all united."

Similar groups formed throughout the vast area where fir is king. Protestors blocked roads and occupied spray zones. Shots were fired at helicopters; barrels of herbicides were vandalized.

Richard Armentrout was just one of many citizens who tried direct negotiation. But after meetings with the Forest Service, state legislators and county commissioners, plans were unaltered to spray herbicides in his watershed.

"So I organized a sit-in -- an occupation of the clearcut," he says. "When the helicopters came over the hill everybody released helium-filled balloons on 30-foot strings. We stopped the spraying."

After several weeks of occupying the site, the helicopters returned, spraying both the land and the protestors. "It became clear to me," says Armentrout, "that this was a real power struggle and we needed a coalition. In August of 1977, people came to my farm and camped out for three days. We just met around the fire, cooked out and talked. The outcome was NCAP."

The original coalition consisted of 17 member-groups, representing several hundred people, with a small central office in Eugene and a steering committee made up of one person from each of the member groups. But, before long, that proved unwieldy, and in 1980 NCAP re-organized into five regional offices. The current board of directors is composed of 12 members, two each elected by the five

Jim Stiak



Norma Grier, left, and Mary O'Brien

regions and the central office. They meet three times a year at different locations so that at least once every two years people won't have to travel very far," Grier says.

Today, NCAP has grown to over 70 member groups representing several thousand people. In the truest sense of "grassrootism," the coalition is actually no more than an information clearinghouse, research resource and networking tool, existing solely to assist the actions of its members. Much of its growth can be traced to the many successes of those members, especially in the legal arena.

A lawsuit filed by one of NCAP's member groups in 1976 led eventually to a national ban on 2,4,5-T. Another court decision in an NCAP-initiated suit has temporarily halted all Forest Service spraying of 2,4-D.

In 1985, an out-of-court settlement in New Mexico, resulting from a lawsuit inspired by NCAP's successes, set up a pioneer Integrated Pest Management group to direct the management of the Carson National Forest. And another NCAP suit has halted the use of four herbicides in all 1986 federally funded gypsy moth spray programs. Grier says it is "the first nationwide environmental injunction ever issued by a Western court."

Although the legal work consumes much of the staffers' time, they would rather be spreading news that pesticide manufacturers don't like to hear. Toward this end, the NCAP News, a quarterly journal, began publishing in 1979. A recent grant has stabilized it, enabling it to come out on time every three months and increase its circulation to over 11,000. Now called the *Journal of Pesticide Reform*, it tries to turn the often obscure technical and generally inaccessible information about pesticides into a form understandable to the average non-scientist.

NCAP's funds come from a combination of sources: grants from progressive foundations, direct-mail donor campaigns, sales of the journal and their other literature and small fees collected on their 3,000 annual information requests. "It's a real low-budget operation," says O'Brien. "Our central office has a budget of \$66,000."

The group also works with other organizations, such as the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP), which lobbies for them in Washington, D.C., and the Oregon Environmental Council, which does the same on the state level.

--Jim Stiak

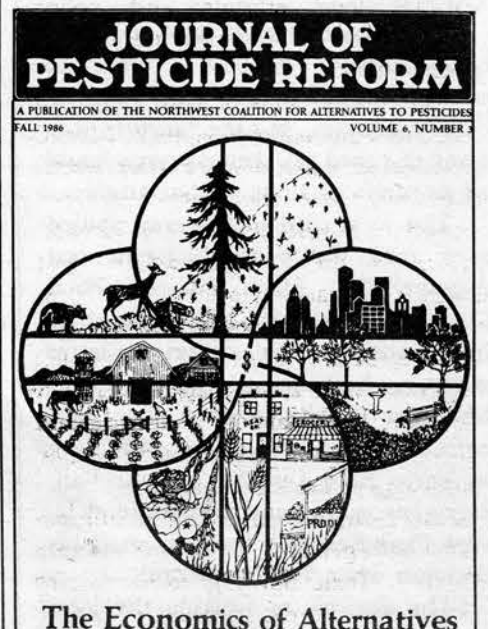
Keeping track of poisons

Now in its seventh year, NCAP's *Journal of Pesticide Reform* may be the most comprehensive publication on the subject. Each quarter it presents another 48 pages of news about pesticides and the growing reform movement. Each issue is typically devoted to one topic, with several articles written by scientists, economists, agriculturalists and other researchers.

The spring 1986 issue, for example, highlighted international pesticide use and contained 11 articles with titles such as "The New International Pesticide Code," "Hopping Off the Pesticide Treadmill in the Third World," and "Paraquat: Another Scourge from the Merchants of Death." Each issue also contains a section on news from member groups of the National Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides, another section on news from elsewhere, book reviews and more.

Edited by NCAP staffer Mary O'Brien, the journal is now on sound financial ground, thanks to a

substantial donation from a single donor. This has enabled the publication to come out on schedule every three months. Back issues are available for three dollars a copy from NCAP: P.O. Box 1393, Eugene, OR 97440.



As acidic as the driven snow

MOLAS PASS, Colo. -- The only sign of life here at 10,800 feet is a lone skier's tracks across a sea of snow. The skier's trail leads to \$43,000 of scientific equipment, an outdoor laboratory in the San Juan Mountains that is one of 200 monitoring stations in the United States, and one of 10 in Colorado. All are part of the National Atmospheric Deposition Program.

The man at the end of the ski tracks is Mark Story, a hydrologist for the San Juan National Forest. "It's kind of hard to believe when you get in these pristine mountains that you can have the air pollution problem," he says.

Every week Story collects the dry and wet acid deposits and documents the hourly weather conditions associated with them, both at Molas Pass and at the Engineer Mountain Guard Station north of Durango, Colorado. The Durango-area stations, installed last December, will measure chemical deposits in the Weminuche Wilderness Area for the next three to 10 years.

The National Atmospheric Deposition Program, primarily funded by the Environmental Protection Agency, is related to the national acid-rain study of lakes made last fall. Fifteen lakes in the Weminuche and 3,000 nationwide were sampled to form a chronological bench mark so scientists can determine if the chemical content of the lakes is changing.

"We know about 70 percent of the lakes in the Weminuche are considered sensitive to acid rain," Story says. "But we don't know how much we're actually getting."

The odd-looking equipment will tell analysts at the University of Illinois not only how much sulfate and nitrate deposition there is, but where it comes from.

While the Denver metropolitan



Mark Story at acid deposition monitoring station in the San Juan Mountains

area has been implicated as a source of emissions that acidify precipitation on the eastern slope of the Rockies, sources of acid rain west of the Continental Divide are less certain.

Potential sources are coal-fired power plants in the Four Corners region. The greatest sulfate emissions come from copper smelters in southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico, according to the *American West's Acid Rain Test*, a year-old report published by World Resources Institute.

"We may be getting some acidic deposition from southern California and possibly quite a bit of it," Story says. Nitrous oxide emitted from vehicles in the Los Angeles basin can

come back as nitric acid, and frontal storms that hit the San Juans traditionally sweep Southern California first, he adds. In addition, two new smelters in Mexico without pollution controls are now in the process of starting up. Both smelters are within 60 miles of the Arizona border.

"We have the highest probability of acid-deposition sources in the San Juan Range combined with the heaviest precipitation in Colorado," Story says. That, combined with the high percentage of poorly buffered lakes, makes this area particularly vulnerable to acid rain.

The Durango-area stations are the first installed by the EPA in two years. The installation here was partly prompted by acidic pH readings at nearby Mesa Verde National Park.

The only automated device at the stations is an acid-deposition collector. It collects rain and snow in a bucket that opens automatically. A second container is uncovered between rain or snow and only collects dust and dirt deposits. Story gathers the contents of the buckets weekly.

A gauge that measures the amount of precipitation by weight resembles a milk can. Antifreeze inside the can melts snow so the gauge can record precipitation by weight. A collection of spiked shields ringing the opening prohibits wind from blowing snow in horizontally and allows for accurate measurement. The two instruments are on an eight-foot high platform, a foot above maximum snowfall at the Molas Pass site.

--D.S. Curtain

BARBS

"There's only room for one McD in this here town, so you better mosey out of here..."

The McDonald's Corp. recently won a court battle against McDharma's "natural fast-food" vegetarian restaurant in Santa Cruz, California. McDharma's, which serves Brahma Burgers and Dharma Dogs, lost the copyright to its name, but still remains open for business.

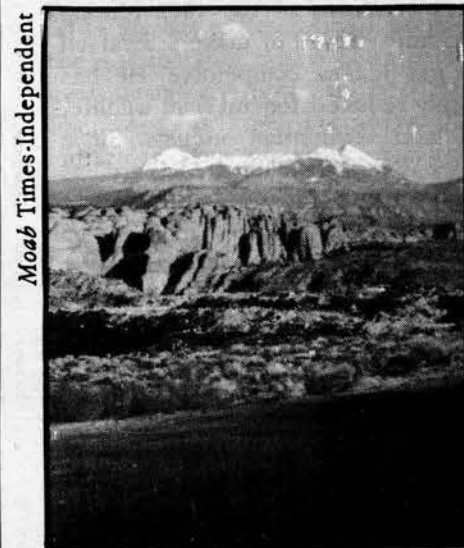
HOTLINE

More precious than money

Residents of a tiny and remote Idaho town are resisting a developer's scheme to put a hydro project on their primary natural resource -- north Idaho's highest set of waterfalls. Elk River, Idaho, population 200, is a shrinking town in a depressed timber-based economy, but has decided it doesn't want economic development at the price of Elk Creek Falls. Lewiston, Idaho, developer Richard Siggismonti offered the Town Council \$40,000 a year, which is half the town's annual budget, and promises of increased tourism, if it would let him build a power plant that would divert a good portion of the water that normally goes over the falls. Siggismonti told the *Spokane Spokesman-Review* that "power plants and tourists go hand in hand," and that he could bring 25,000 tourists to Elk River. Townspeople have mobilized to stop the plan. The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, which is reviewing the project's license application, says it has received 180 negative comments on the issue, the most appeals ever received against a project.

Off road vehicle

A semitrailer truck carrying 20 wooden boxes filled with low-grade uranium rods plunged off a bridge on Oct. 12 into the Snake River near Rupert, Idaho. Department of Energy and Idaho police officials say no measurable radiation was released in the crash, but a radiation team from the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory was dispatched to help wrecking crews recover the load. The truck was on its way from a uranium-enrichment facility in Ash-tabula, Ohio, to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Richland, Washington.



Moab garbage dump

What a dump

The Chamber of Commerce in Moab, Utah, boasts that its town has the most beautiful garbage dump in the country. To prove it, the chamber is sponsoring a nationwide "most scenic dump" contest, and the challenge has already drawn responses from Salt Lake City, Utah, Grand Junction, Colo., Scarsdale, N.Y., Virginia Beach, Va., and Covington, Ky. The contest will be based on photographic evidence and judged by an independent landscape architectural group. The Moab Chamber of Commerce can be reached at 59 South Main, Moab, UT 84332 (801/259-7531).

NCAP sprays with lawsuits

NCAP staffers have a hard time keeping track of the lawsuits their members have filed.

One member, Paul Merrill, is working on his fourth suit. His first led to a nationwide halt of aerial herbicide spraying by the US Forest Service. His next three are pending: a Freedom of Information suit to get the Environmental Protection Agency to release the results of a five-year study of dioxins in the Oregon Coast Range; a Ninth Circuit Court suit to force the EPA to do environmental impact statements before registering any new pesticides; and a suit against several cabinet level officials and police agencies for illegal surveillance and harassment.

After thousands of hours of legal work and one national victory, Merrill decided to make a move that would enable him to file suits for other people. He enrolled in law school. "They weren't going to let me get away with poaching forever," he says. "I had to get a hunting license."

The battle against 2,4,5-T, which together with 2,4-D made up Agent Orange, lasted almost a decade and gave NCAP workers training in the workings of the legal system.

In 1976, one of NCAP's original member groups, CATS (Citizens Against Toxic Sprays), filed suit to stop the Forest Service's spray

programs in the Siuslaw National Forest. In 1977, District Judge Otto Skopil imposed an emergency injunction to stop the Forest Service from spraying 2,4,5-T in region 6 (Oregon and Washington). Two years later, the EPA ordered an emergency suspension of 2,4,5-T. In 1979, they made it permanent, and Dow Chemical gave up its \$10 million effort to keep the herbicide on the market. In 1985, Union Carbide and the other smaller manufacturers also gave up, reaching a deal that called for the EPA to buy their remaining stocks of the chemical.

The legal battle against 2,4-D began when government agencies turned to that chemical after 2,4,5-T's ban. Three separate suits against various districts of the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management were decided in favor of the plaintiffs in 1982 and 1983. NCAP then filed suit to halt virtually all northwest Forest Service and BLM spray programs. In 1984 District Judge James Burns ruled in their favor. In response, Forest Service Chief Max Peterson cancelled all aerial spray programs nationwide.

"It was basically a defensive move," says NCAP staffer Mary O'Brien. "They knew they were open for suits in any of the other regions on the same issue."

--Jim Stiak



IN THE WEST

Sen. James McClure and the Forest Service are big losers

At 10:30 p.m. election evening, Idaho Republicans were smiling. Two networks had projected Steve Symms the winner over John Evans for Idaho's junior Senate seat. Republican Dave Leroy was 10,000 votes up on Cecil Andrus in the governor's race (Andrus would squeak by to victory the next morning). Republicans were winning three-fourths of state legislative contests.

But Idaho's most powerful Republican was not smiling. Whatever might happen in Idaho, Democrats had recaptured the U.S. Senate, and Jim McClure had lost his committee chairmanship. So had six other Western Republicans. A reporter at the Republican election party in Boise called McClure "ashen."

Among Western Republicans, McClure is the biggest loser from the Senate shift. For six years he has chaired the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, which handles nearly all legislation affecting public lands. He has also chaired the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, which sets budgets for the agencies managing the public lands. He has used those twin posts to keep Forest Service timber and roadbuilding budgets high, and Bureau of Land Management grazing fees low. He has resisted reform of the 1872 Mining Law, and efforts to make federal oil and gas leases competitive. He has sharply reduced federal fish, wildlife, and land acquisition budgets. Since James Watt's departure, McClure has been public enemy number one of national and Western conservation groups. He is the chief reason so many staff members of those groups could be found working in Democratic Senate campaigns the final month.

His Energy Committee chair now goes to Bennett Johnston of Louisiana. "Bennett Johnston and I will see alike on most energy issues," McClure told reporters the day after the election. "But on public land issues, you'll see a different shading." Wilderness Society lobbyist Steve Richardson is more explicit: "Sen. Johnston has been quite supportive of wilderness proposals. He has a fine record on public lands budget and policy. We have a real opportunity."

Johnston will also be a major influence in the Interior Appropriations Committee, where he is second-ranking Democrat. The chairman will be West Virginia's Robert Byrd, who will be Senate Majority Leader as well. "McClure used Interior Appropriations not just to set budgets but to make policy through ad hoc amendments and budget games," Richardson says. "Byrd and Johnston won't act like that. They won't circumvent authorized committees,

and we won't have the tactic of holding everything anyone else wants hostage to Forest Service road money."

McClure loses more than his chairmanships. His committee tactics have often angered fellow Republicans as well as Democrats. This year, for instance, he tacked an important amendment onto hydroelectric relicensing legislation late one Friday when few senators were on the floor. The amendment, which weakened fish and wildlife protections, upset Oregon's Mark Hatfield and Washington's Dan Evans, Republican members of McClure's Energy Committee. They had worked hard on the bill in subcommittee and knew nothing of the amendment until it had passed. "What respect McClure got had to do with his position, not with him," says one veteran Idaho conservationist. "Now he's lost that position, and I don't think he'll get much respect on his committee from either side."

Other Western Republicans also lose influence. Wyoming's Malcolm Wallop loses his chairmanship of the Energy Committee's Public Lands Subcommittee. That subcommittee, which considers all wilderness legislation, will be run by Dale Bumpers of Arkansas. "The difference between Wallop and Bumpers on wilderness is night and day," Richardson says.

Chip Hecht of Nevada and Dan Evans may lose their seats on the Energy Committee altogether. As the minority, Republicans will have seven committee seats rather than their present nine. Hecht and Evans are the lowest-ranking Republicans of the nine.

Mark Hatfield loses the full Appropriations Committee chair, a powerful seat from which he has joined McClure to keep Forest Service timber budgets high. John Stennis of Mississippi assumes that seat.

Wyoming's Alan Simpson has been Majority Whip in the Senate. "Simpson is well-respected by everyone," says Andrew Melnykovich of the Casper *Star-Tribune's* Washington office. "So I don't think loss of his leadership post will hurt Wyoming much. But he does lose the Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee chair (of the Senate Environment Committee), where he's been able to modestly help Wyoming's uranium industry."

The final major change affecting public lands is transfer of the Senate Agriculture Committee from Jesse Helms to Vermont's Pat Leahy. The Ag Committee shares jurisdiction over Forest Service issues with the Energy

Committee. "That's a 180-degree change," Steve Richardson says. Leahy is a strong wilderness advocate, and according to Richardson will be much less inclined to interfere in National Forest planning than McClure and Helms.

Everyone, including Sen. McClure, agrees on one specific result of these changes: Forest Service roadbuilding budgets will go down. The last two years, McClure has fought back administration and House attempts to cut road money. The conflict was especially fierce this year; McClure used up much of his political capital to keep the road budget high.

"John Stennis, who takes Appropriations, has lots of private timber holdings in his state," Melnykovich notes. "He won't be interested in big National Forest timber harvests." Robert Byrd will be more interested in deficit reduction than roadbuilding, and Wisconsin's William Proxmire, the third-ranking Democrat on Appropriations, is Congress' leading critic of Forest Service road budgets. This year the administration proposed a freeze in the road budget, and the House approved a 40 percent cut. In short, McClure is isolated, and all signs point to much less roadbuilding on Western public lands.

Melnykovich expects action on coal leasing. "The Energy Committee spent forever on coal leasing last year, but never got a bill out," he says. "McClure couldn't shape a consensus." A disagreement between McClure and Montana's Sen. John Melcher -- McClure wanted railroads to be able to own coal leases, and Melcher didn't -- held up the whole bill. As a result hundreds of coal leases near expiration may revert to the federal government. "The industry is hoping Johnston can either ram something through or build the consensus McClure couldn't," Melnykovich says.

Sen. Bumpers may go after a pet issue -- oil and gas leasing reform. He wants to sack the lottery system, and replace it with competitive bidding. Sen. Johnston's position on that will be the key.

Both the Energy and Environment committees will likely get involved in the increasingly controversial national nuclear waste repository issue. New Democratic Sens. Harry Reid in Nevada and Brock Adams in Washington were elected in good part on strong opposition to siting that repository in their states. (Hanford, Washington, and the Nevada Test Site are the two leading candidate sites under study.) And Washington's voters approved by some 80 percent a

ballot referendum opposing the Hanford site. Since the administration made political promises not to study Eastern sites, the program is well-mired with no clear way out of stalemate.

Finally, the climate on wilderness legislation will change. This year, Harry Reid passed a 592,000-acre Nevada wilderness bill in the House, but Sens. Laxalt and Hecht killed it in the Senate. Now Reid replaces Laxalt in the Senate; moving a wilderness bill will be one of his priorities.

John Gatchell of the Montana Wilderness Association thinks their chances on Montana wilderness are a bit improved, too. "The Democratic Senate further reduces Rep. Ron Marlenee's power," Gatchell says. "He's our delegation's most anti-wilderness member, and he won't be able now to reach across to Republican friends in the Senate with much



Sen. James McClure

effect." Sen. Melcher remains the key; both he and Rep. Pat Williams plan to introduce their own wilderness bills next year. "We hope to sit down with Sen. Melcher soon," Gatchell says.

Idaho, the other Western state without a statewide bill, is problematic. Sen. McClure may be reluctant to push a bill quickly, given his weakened position. Idaho conservationists would just as soon not see immediate action. The unknown factor is new Gov. Cecil Andrus. His national stature and Democratic control of Congress give Andrus the influence to broker a bill if he wishes, but he has not revealed whether he will press for action soon.

Steve Richardson says there is one last important result of the new Senate. "There will now be staff on these committees that believe in conservation, in wilderness, in the environment. They have more influence than is generally appreciated."

--Pat Ford

WASHINGTON STATE

Nuclear fallout hits incumbent senator Slade Gorton

The day after the election in the state of Washington, one observer said Republican incumbent Sen. Slade Gorton had "nuked himself." Democratic challenger Brock Adams won a slim upset victory over Gorton largely on the strength of one issue: the Hanford Nuclear Reservation and its selection as a finalist for the national nuclear waste repository. Adams had built a case throughout the campaign that the Department of Energy decision occurred during Gorton's watch in the other Washington, which meant that Gorton wasn't looking out for state interests.

The sentiments of Washington voters were made abundantly clear at the polls when a resounding 84 percent of the voters approved an anti-dump Referendum 40. It directs state officials to use all legal means necessary to convince the national government to suspend the current site selection process and to reverse the decision to abandon plans for a second repository in the East.

Incumbent Gorton had opposed the site selection process that made Hanford one of three finalists, along with Yucca Mountain, Nevada, and Deaf Smith County, Texas. Gorton had also agreed that the selection was

made for political reasons and was not based on scientific fact. But, Adams asked repeatedly, What had he done about it?

Gorton blundered when he admitted that the first time he spoke to President Reagan about Hanford was during a limousine ride from the airport to a hotel when Reagan made a campaign stop for Gorton at Spokane -- four days before the election.

In recent years, Energy Department activities at Hanford have been the subject of considerable criticism in Oregon and Washington, particularly among environmentalists and anti-nuclear activists who have created several new monitoring groups. But Chernobyl in April and Hanford's selection as waste-dump finalist in June jolted the entire region. The N reactor at Hanford, which produces plutonium and electric power, is the U.S. reactor that most resembles the failed Chernobyl reactor.

Critics of the waste dump have questioned whether the series of tunnels drilled 3,000 feet down into basalt formations will be sealed off from the water table. A major worry is that the high-level wastes will contaminate the aquifer used for drinking water and get into the Columbia River, which borders the nuclear reservation.



Hanford Nuclear Reservation, Washington

Adams latched onto the Hanford issue early and was assisted by Washington Gov. Booth Gardner, a Democrat who was possibly dosed by radiation while visiting Hanford last year in a bizarre incident. Contractors apparently removed warning signs

just before his tour. Both Adams and Gardner travelled the state hammering at the DOE, the Reagan administration and Eastern producers of the majority of nuclear wastes. The strategy worked.

--John McCarthy

WYOMING

Sullivan wins; L-P loses

Wyoming voters are known to be unpredictable. But in the governor's race, national news commentators compared Democrat Mike Sullivan's trouncing of Pete Simpson to defeating a Kennedy in Massachusetts.

By a comfortable eight-point margin, the Democrat defeated the genial and popular older brother of Wyoming's senior senator, Alan Simpson. That meant there was considerable crossing of party lines since there are 58,000 more Republicans than Democrats registered in Wyoming.

Historian and former Democratic state Rep. T.A. Larson thought a liberal tinge scuttled Simpson's chances. Larson told the *Star-Tribune* he was sure Simpson aggravated his party caucus by voting with minority Democrats on state employee pay raises and retirement pay improvement when he served in the Legislature from 1980-1984. Rep. Lynn Dickey, D-Sheridan, noted that during his legislative career Simpson's voting record was rated higher than hers by environmental groups (*HCN*, 10/27/86).

A seven-way Republican primary on Aug. 19 also took its toll on Wyoming's Republican Party and eventual gubernatorial candidate. With over \$1 million raised among the top four contenders, many in-state funding sources were exhausted during the primary. Simpson spent \$300,000 seeking his party's nomination, emerging with only a slim margin over the second place finisher.

Sullivan, with no serious competition, spent only \$100,000. And apparently national Republican funds flowed to tight Senate races in other states, skipping over what seemed a certain GOP gubernatorial victory in Wyoming. Toward the end of the campaign, Simpson appeared in financial difficulty, reaching into his own pockets for a large share of his campaign expenses.

But Sullivan staffers reported tens of thousands of dollars flowing into their candidate's coffers during the last week of the campaign and there were prominent Republicans, including Warren Morton, who made an unsuccessful bid for governor in 1982, supporting Sullivan.

Though spending on the part of the candidates in the general election was about even, Sullivan's campaign insiders said their campaign dollar went a lot further than Simpson's. With only three paid staff compared to 11 in Simpson's camp, they relied on extensive volunteer networks in all of Wyoming's 23 counties.

Sullivan said he believes his "straight talk" impressed voters. Though early polls reflected his low name recognition and newcomer status, the 25-point spread between him and his better-known opponent shrank as the campaign progressed. In a series of radio and television debates Sullivan did not shirk difficult questions. He would not categorically rule out tax increases, and he told the Wyoming Public Employees Association that some of its members might lose their jobs in budget cuts.



Mike Sullivan

Democrats made fewer gains in state Legislative races. Republicans will keep the same 19-11 edge over Democrats in the Senate, and with a net gain of two Democrats in the House, Republicans will still outnumber Democrats 44-20.

But one of those two seats gained by Democrats in the state House was a defeat for Louisiana-Pacific Corp. The lumber company's chief forester, Bob Baker of Dubois, lost by 94 votes to a Riverton businessman, Eli Debout, who was a write-in candidate in the Democratic primary. Debout won in a county where Republicans outnumber Democrats 2-1.

Local Democratic Party activist Frances Pistano said, "Bob's name was in the paper all the time but he has spoken to only one issue -- timber." Baker told a local newspaper that voters had not "seen the last of Bob Baker."

--Katharine Collins

Two party...

(Continued from page 1)

In very Republican Wyoming, a little-known Democrat beat the bearer of an illustrious Republican name for the governorship. Mike Sullivan won even though the post had been held for 12 years by Democrat Ed Herschler, and the state is hurting economically. In Colorado the harder Republican gubernatorial candidate Ted Strickland campaigned on abortion and Religious Right grounds, and the more Red-baiting he did, the larger became Democrat Roy Romer's lead.

The lesson appears to be that the West, in the absence of Reagan on the ballot, remains centrist. Republicans, in part due to past success, are tied to what some Republicans and Independents see as extreme positions on abortion, on church-state relations, on taxation, and on financing of education and other services. By contrast, the Western Democrats didn't have to pull the heavy freight of a party symbolized in past elections by dissension, Big Labor and minorities. New York Democratic Sen. Patrick Moynihan said, "We have exorcised the war, the riots, the rhetoric -- and thank God."

If nothing else, the 1986 elections gave both parties -- Republican and Democrat -- a very heavy shove toward the center. The shove was no harder in the West than in the nation generally; it just came as a surprise to the Republicans.

--Ed Marston

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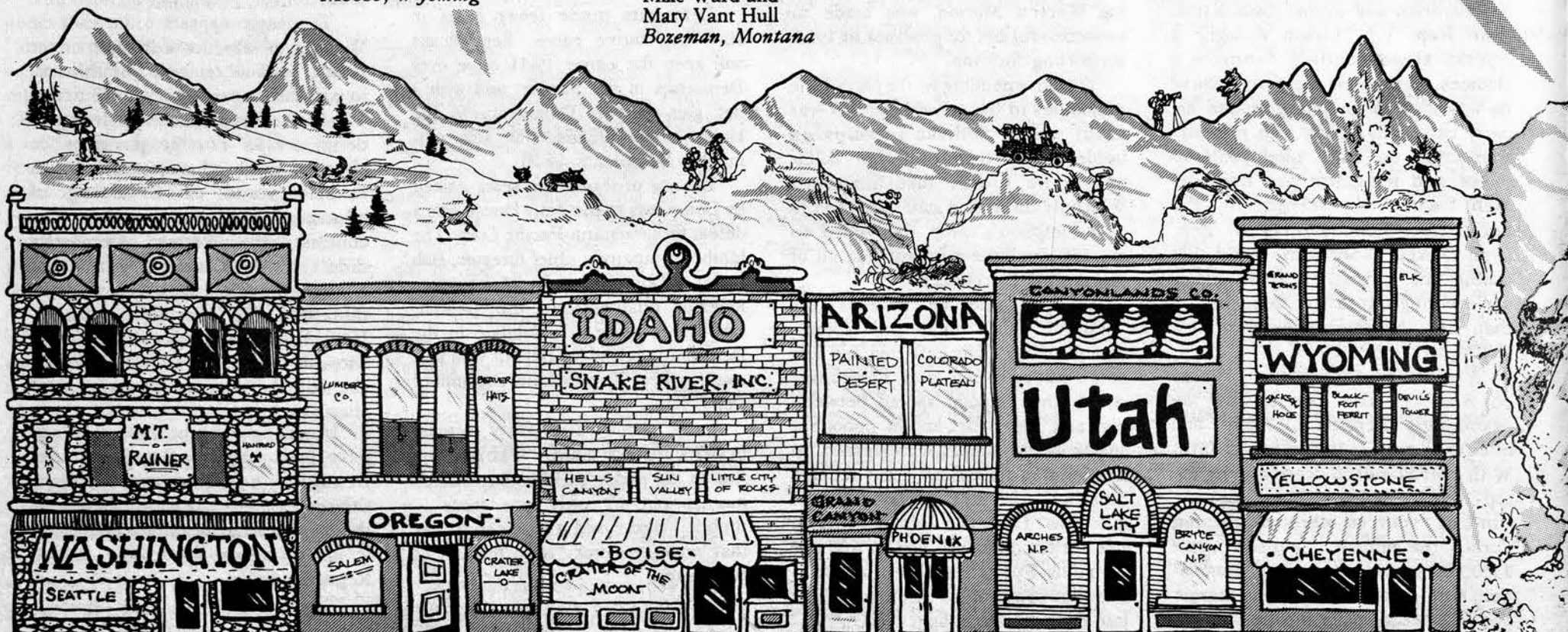
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R. Kirk Schroeder
Maupin, Oregon

Ann B. Hodgson
Lakewood, Colorado

Kathryn Rupp
Elgin, Illinois

Joe Oliver
Pacific Grove, California

Neil Montgomery
Berwyn, Illinois

Gael N. Bissell
Kalispell, Montana

A. Kelly
Redlands, California

Gerald G. Ashdown
Morgantown, West Virginia

R. Kuhl
Kalispell, Montana

Rocky Mt. Nature Assn.
Estes Park, Colorado

Sarah F. Jacobson
Boulder, Colorado

S. & L. McBors
Nederland, Colorado

Michael and Joy Smith
Boulder, Colorado

Les Pengelly
Missoula, Montana

Rocky Smith
Denver, Colorado

Gary and Carolyn Haden
Topeka, Kansas

David C. Ochsner
Thousand Oaks, California

Tim Speyer
Helena, Montana

Kim E. Ragotzkie
Fort Collins, Colorado

Charles and Pam Boyer
Elizabeth, Colorado



10-High Country News -- November 24, 1986

THE NAVAJO NATION

MacDonald retakes the chairmanship by defeating Zah

WINDOW ROCK, Ariz. -- After the closest election ever for tribal chairman, Peter MacDonald is back in the Navajo Nation's highest office. A six-day-long recount declared him the winner Nov. 10 against Peterson Zah: 31,114 to 30,336. MacDonald served as chairman from 1970 to 1982, the year Zah ousted him by 5,000 votes.

This time around the vote was so close MacDonald took 54 chapterhouses, Zah took 53 and two were tied. Chapterhouses are spread throughout the 25,000-square mile reservation that equals West Virginia in size. Sixty-seven percent of the 89,000 registered voters went to the polls.

There will be another recount. Zah paid \$5,450 for the privilege, and that tally is expected to conclude before the end of November.

The tribal chairman oversees the Tribal Council in Window Rock, capital of the Navajo Nation, and sets policy for the many social, health, educational and natural resource departments of the tribe. The chairman also helps monitor the federal government's obligation to provide the Navajo people with adequate health care and education, as well as deciding land-use policies and mineral contracts.

The election was a cliffhanger, with both candidates declaring victory when the last votes trickled in at 2 a.m. Nov. 5. For six hours the race see-sawed like a tennis match with no break point in sight. Over at MacDonald's "Big Mac Camp," disco lights flashed under a yellow circus tent and the blast of *Rocky* movie music played all night for close to 1,000 supporters. Chants that "The big Mac is Back" penetrated the still night, clear across the street into Zah's quieter camp. There, supporters gathered around a dozen warming fires, drinking coffee and occasionally singing the Zah theme song, "Building a Nation."

Zah told his weary supporters to be proud of their honest campaign. "Don't put your heads down, because we stood for the right thing -- honesty, accountability, providing for our children -- things that will be here beyond Pete Zah." Zah had lost the

Dave Lundy, The Gallup Independent



MacDonald supporters cheer in the MacDonald campaign tent as election returns come in.

August primary by almost 7,000 votes to MacDonald, a shock that sent the chairman from his Window Rock office to a non-stop coffee and frybread circuit on the campaign trail.

The 49-year-old chairman also criticized MacDonald's "overpromises and misstatements." He promised the whole world to everyone," Zah said.

While MacDonald did not promise mutton in every pot, he did promise a tribal scholarship to every Navajo student, regardless of grades, and a new home to every Navajo veteran. Zah consistently criticized these campaign promises as impossible because they alone would consume the tribe's \$50 million annual average revenue.

Meanwhile, MacDonald, 56, is calling for a smooth transition into office, and asking for unity among the Navajo people. "We must put aside any bad feelings. We need to come together with open minds and cooperate," MacDonald said. "We need to unite as Navajo people and

send a message to Washington, D.C., and elsewhere that the Navajo Nation is together once again."

Because parts of the reservation lack electricity and telephone lines, it took people -- not computers -- to count the hand-cast ballots. Chapterhouse election officials then telephoned their votes to Window Rock. Police two-way radios were used where telephone wires had not yet reached.

"We could still send smoke signals, but it's too far to see them," joked Harry Wero, election administration director, to a local reporter before the election.

The ballot boxes were sealed and given to a police escort to election headquarters where the votes are recounted by a second round of election officials.

The antiquated system allowed for a humorous episode when one ballot box was temporarily "kidnapped" from the back of a pickup truck on its way from the Alamo Chapterhouse to the Window Rock Civic Center. The box was taken by two MacDonald supporters, who said they saw the vehicle drive away from election headquarters without delivering the ballot box. The box was taken to MacDonald's headquarters. The incident was cleared up when the ballots were recounted in front of federal and tribal police. The original drivers explained they found the election headquarters closed and they were only driving the box to a guard's house. A recount of that box ended with one dropped Zah vote.

--Patricia Guthrie

OHIO

An irreplaceable loss

Though the House of Representatives remains firmly in Democratic control, one committee change there will have an impact in the West. Ohio's John Seiberling is retiring from Congress, and will leave his Public Lands Subcommittee of the House Interior Committee to Bruce Vento of Minnesota.

Seiberling has been the most effective wilderness champion in Congress for nearly a decade. He shepherded over a dozen state wilderness bills (including the Alaska Lands Bill) through Congress in recent years. He was a powerful advocate for conservationists in the major states remaining unsettled -- Montana, Idaho, and Nevada. He had extensive personal knowledge of wildlands nationwide, and his staff had an encyclopedic knowledge.

"John Seiberling is irreplaceable," says Steve Richardson of The

Wilderness Society. (Richardson once served on Seiberling's subcommittee staff.) "But Chairman Vento has the interest, aptitude, and energy to do a fine job, and I think he will." Vento, a former teacher from St. Paul, is in his sixth term in the House. He is expected to combine Seiberling's old subcommittee and the National Parks Subcommittee he now chairs into a single body.

The biggest loss grass-roots activists see is Seiberling's first-hand knowledge and commitment. Jerry Pavia, of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, has led a six-year local wilderness campaign for Long Canyon, the last major unroaded drainage in Idaho's Panhandle. "Once Seiberling came out here and saw Long Canyon two years ago," Pavia says, "there was no way he was ever going to settle for anything but wilderness. Now we'll have to start over with Mr. Vento. And we will."

--Pat Ford



Peter MacDonald, left, and Peterson Zah greet each other before the

Navajo Nation's first-ever candidate debate, Oct. 21, 1986.

Kenji Kawano, Navajo Times Today

COLORADO

Wirth, Romer succeed Hart, Lamm

Although some Colorado election results were as close as a razor's edge, victory was still sweet to the Democrats.

The party extended its 12-year hold on the governor's seat occupied by retiring Gov. Richard Lamm; held retiring Sen. Gary Hart's seat; and in western Colorado, took back a congressional seat from a first-term Republican and held a state legislative slot vacated by the newly elected lieutenant governor. For some of the elections it was not clear until morning who had won.

Only the race for governor was an easy call. Democrat Roy Romer, 57, who is state treasurer and a close Lamm advisor, easily defeated Ted Strickland, the state Senate president who ran for governor unsuccessfully in 1978. Romer swept 59 percent of the vote and accepted Strickland's concession at 9 p.m.

The race had been marred by smears; in fact one of Strickland's television spots was named by one network as "most sinister" during election-night coverage. The commercial portrayed Romer as switching hats to suit his need for financial gain at public expense.

The race for U.S. Senate, which descended into its own mud-slinging depths, left Democrat Tim Wirth the victor by a slim margin of 51 percent: 529,056 to 512,828. The Boulder-area congressman, who spoke out for a cleaner environment, ran against another Colorado congressman, Ken Kramer of Colorado Springs.

Kramer proved an enthusiastic campaigner who carved his turf from the right wing of the Republican Party. He enjoyed the support of the president, who twice visited the state to campaign for him. Reagan's Sept. 8 visit reportedly raised \$912,000 for Kramer in 90 minutes.

Reagan told Kramer supporters that he would become a "six-year president" if the Republican Party lost control of the Senate. On election night Sen. Gary Hart agreed with that estimate: The strong Democratic showing was the "end of the Reagan era," he said.

The campaigns cost Wirth and Kramer approximately \$3 million each, with the lion's share going for television commercials.

Only six of the 391 House of

Representatives incumbents seeking re-election were defeated Nov. 4, and one was Republican Mike Strang, an Aspen rancher and stockbroker. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, 54, a Native American jeweler and horse rancher, won by a 7,198 vote margin, pulling off his victory in western Colorado by taking heavily Democratic Pueblo by 12,000 votes.

Campbell attributed his victory to 1,000 unpaid volunteers in his sprawling district and to concern among residents for a revitalized economy and jobs.

Democrats continued their momentum by holding onto the congressional seat vacated by Tim Wirth, as David Skaggs narrowly defeated Mike Norton. Republican Joel Hefley won the seat vacated by Ken Kramer, and Democrat Pat Schroeder handily won re-election as did Republican incumbents Hank Brown and Dan Schaefer. The congressional delegation is thus evenly split: 3-3 in the House, 1-1 in the Senate.

Democrats lost their bid to unseat



the attorney general and secretary of state but picked up the open treasurer's seat with Gail Schoettler, who ran an informative, able campaign.

Finally, Democrats picked up

enough state legislative seats to end a veto-proof House. One of those seats was won by Bob Pastore in western Colorado by a 174 vote margin.

--Betsy Marston

SOUTH DAKOTA

Reagan's farm policy leads to a defeat

In a U.S. Senate contest between two of the state's most popular politicians, South Dakota voters chose Democratic Congressman Tom Daschle over incumbent Republican James Abdnor. The final margin was 52 percent to 48 percent.

Daschle, a 38-year-old four-term congressman, had hammered at his opponent's support of President Reagan's farm policies. In response, Abdnor characterized Daschle as an ultra liberal, out of step with the average South Dakotan. This was the tactic used by Abdnor to oust George McGovern in 1980.

Observers credited the Daschle win to a superb get-out-the-vote effort and to rural-farm problems under national Republican policies. During the final weeks of the campaign, President Reagan visited the state twice for Abdnor, tying the incumbent even tighter to the administration's farmland philosophy. Also, early in the campaign Abdnor remarked that lower farm prices were necessary for a time. It was a statement from which he never completely recovered, and rural voters backed Daschle.

Abdnor, a western South Dakota rancher and former four-term U.S. congressman, overcame a stiff primary challenge from popular Gov. William Janklow to defend his seat against Daschle.

With over \$6.5 million spent in the Senate race, it was the most expensive campaign in the state's history. One-third of the money came from Political Action Committees. The amount also likely makes it the costliest Senate contest (per vote) in the nation. There were 428,000 voters registered for the election; about 290,000 voters actually cast ballots. The two candidates spent about \$2 a vote.

Environmentalists applauded the Daschle victory. Abdnor's poor environmental voting record had been

targeted by conservation groups and the Republican was listed as one of the Senate's "dirty dozen" by the League of Conservation Voters.

Replacing Daschle as South Dakota's sole congressman is another Democrat, Tim Johnson, a 39-year-old lawyer and state legislator. Johnson easily defeated Republican Dale Bell, who had lost the 1984 congressional race to Tom Daschle.

Though South Dakota has more Republican voters than Democrats, Bell received only 41 percent of the vote. He had narrowly won a bitter primary last summer that left him without solid support. Though Johnson entered the campaign with far less name recognition, it was Bell's negative image that keyed the victory for the Democrat. The Republican power structure in the state virtually abandoned Bell and focused on helping Abdnor and George Mickelson, the Republican gubernatorial candidate. Mickelson won a narrow victory over Democrat Lars Herseth, as Republicans retained control of the governor's office.

Speculation continues regarding the future of outgoing, two-term governor William Janklow. Janklow had passed up probable victory in the U.S. House race to challenge Abdnor

in the Republican Senate primary. Janklow's aggressive, sometimes ruthless style made him as colorful a governor as the state has had. Janklow himself has offered no clues to his future plans.

Republicans maintained a firm grip on the state Senate and House and dominated statewide constitutional office races.

In an important, but overlooked, series of elections, the James River Water Development District Board remains in the hands of those favoring large water projects, including James River modifications. Though opponents to James River degradation managed to win one seat, the pro-development faction has a six to three majority on the board. The James River District plays a key role in the development of North Dakota's Garrison Project, as the James River in South Dakota may be used as the drainage for that project's return flows (HCN, 10/27/86). Voters in South Dakota counties along the river determine the board's directors.

Nearly 69 percent of South Dakota's registered voters participated in the 1986 elections, close to the state's 1974 record turnout, and much higher than the national turnout.

--Peter Carrels

NORTH DAKOTA

The farmers take a hand

North Dakota's farmers expressed their displeasure with national farm policy by ousting popular incumbent Republican Sen. Mark Andrews. He was beaten by underdog Kent Conrad, the former state tax commissioner. Conrad had trailed Andrews by 30 points in polls conducted last summer.

Conrad made up the difference by focusing on rural economic problems.

The difference, in the end, was minute; less than 2,500 votes, only 0.8 percent, separated the two men.

Andrews, who served nine terms in the U.S. House before winning a Senate seat in 1980, was plagued by his connection to the Reagan farm program. But he was also hurt by several events that tarnished his

(Continued on page 13)



Tim Wirth

12-High Country News -- November 24, 1986

ARIZONA

Evan Mecham is governor; McCain replaces Goldwater

With a low turnout at the polls and the winner of retiring Republican Barry Goldwater's Senate seat a foregone conclusion, there were still some big surprises in Arizona. In the gubernatorial race, Republican outsider Evan Mecham, a Phoenix car salesman, beat both a strong Democratic candidate and a powerful Independent to claim the statehouse.

Arizona is a Republican-dominated state, but Mecham drew little support from Arizona's Republican machine. He pulled off the election with only three key staff members and mostly his own money.

Mecham gained the Arizona governorship through a bizarre turn of events that began a year ago when Democrat Bill Schulz announced his candidacy for governor. Schulz, a former Republican worth in excess of \$57 million, developed task forces of important Arizona citizens to inform him on current issues in the state. He generated enthusiasm and was seen as a favorite to replace Gov. Bruce Babbitt, also a Democrat. But Schulz suddenly withdrew from the race, citing his daughter's serious illness. His sudden exit left Democratic hopes pinned on Carolyn Warner, an experienced administrator and director of the state's Department of

Education. But she was not expected to have much chance against Republican favorite Burton Barr.

Barr's only opposition in the Republican primary was the political longshot Evan Mecham, who entered the race with only four months left to go. Barr, who had been the state House majority leader for 20 years, was the choice of the strong Republican establishment in Arizona. He had the endorsement of the chair of Arizona's Republican party, and newspaper polls put him ahead of Mecham by more than a 10 point margin. Yet Mecham won the primary by a 54 percent to 46 percent margin.

Mecham's primary upset was seen by some as a strong message of dissent from Arizona Republicans to state party leaders. According to environmental activist Dick Kamp, Mecham's appeal came because he was a maverick and not part of the Arizona establishment.

With Barr out of the way and a schism in the Republican Party, Arizona Democrats thought they had the keys to the governor's office. Warner was predicted to continue Babbitt's policies as governor, and according to Priscilla Robinson of Southwest Environmental Services, Warner had a strong emphasis on air and water-quality issues.

But a month before the election, Schulz re-entered the race as an Independent, saying his daughter had sufficiently recovered. Schulz's campaign positions were similar to Warner's and he remained a registered Democrat. The result was that Schulz's candidacy competed with Warner's and this allowed Mecham to edge them both out. Mecham took 40 percent of the vote, Warner 35 percent and Schulz 25 percent.

A week after the election there is an untested man in the Arizona governor's office who has few debts to pay and no love for the Arizona Republican and business establishments. Mecham will have to work with a two-thirds Republican majority in both the Arizona Senate and House. He will enter office in a time of transition for the state, now one of the fastest growing in the nation. Over the next year at least one new department will be created, the Department of Environmental Quality, splintering off from the Department of Health. New air- and water-quality legislation is expected to be enacted, and most people expect a fight with the copper industry over any air-quality legislation affecting the Douglas and Magma smelters. The Douglas smelter will close next January following a decree signed by Gov.

Bruce Babbitt (HCN, 8/18/86). Mecham has said he would not have signed the decree.

Not surprisingly, Republican Rep. John McCain, a two-term congressman from Tempe, took Goldwater's U.S. Senate seat by a 60-40 margin over Democrat Richard Kimball. McCain, who outspent his opponent 5-1, was known as a Reagan Republican, but was also considered a social moderate. Arizona environmentalists say McCain is reasonable on environmental issues.

In congressional races two seats opened up and Republicans captured them both to retain a 4-1 majority in the Arizona delegation. McCain's Phoenix-area berth was taken by Republican John Rhodes, and the 4th District seat, vacated by retiring Republican Eldon Rudd, was won by another Republican, John Kyle. Incumbent Republicans Bob Stump and Jim Kolbe retained their holds on Districts 3 and 5. And Democrat Morris Udall, Arizona's most well-known congressman and chair of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, easily retained his seat in the heavily Democratic Tucson area. All the congressional races were decisive victories; none of the delegates won less than 65 percent of the vote.

--Steve Hinchman

IDAHO

Andrus (barely) elected governor: Symms survives

Former governor and Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus squeaked by Republican Lt. Gov. David Leroy to become governor of Idaho with a whisper-thin margin of victory -- 3,356 votes.

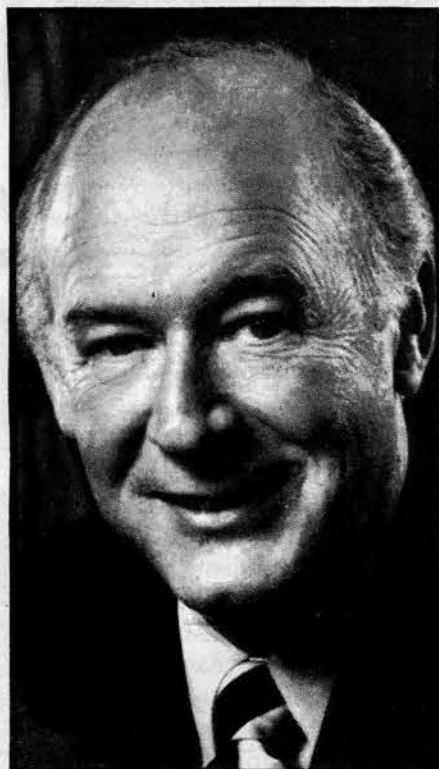
Another major state race that was touted as being too close to call turned out to be a tight but sure victory for incumbent Republican Steve Symms. Symms defeated Gov. John V. Evans with 52 percent of the vote. Symms has been consistently one of the Senate's "dirty dozen" on environmental issues, is no friend to wilderness, voted against the recently vetoed bill to strengthen the Clean Water Act and is a strong advocate of the timber industry. Evans didn't campaign hard on environmental issues but had the support of most environmentalists and sportsmen in the state.

Democrat Richard Stallings' reelection in the southern 2nd Congressional District and Republican Larry Craig's re-election in the northern 1st District, which includes part of Boise, scrambled any simple explanation. Stallings was conservative on many issues but he sought wilderness designation for the Boulder-White Clouds, which Andrus also supported and most Idaho Republicans opposed. Stallings won easily against Idaho Falls broadcaster Mel Richardson, who ran as a true-blue Republican.

Republican Craig wasn't tired much by opponent Bill Currie, who got only 33 percent of the vote and whom Craig didn't bother to debate. Late in the campaign, Craig said his

recommendation to pave a road through the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness was just a ploy to demonstrate the inadequacy of claims that wilderness attracts tourist money.

In state legislative races the results were also mixed although the Capitol will be more moderate than the last four years. Ken Robison, a solid conservationist and publisher of his own public interest and environmental newsletter, *Idaho Citizen*, won a House seat in Boise. No incumbents with strong environmental support lost. But several candidates with environmental leanings were not able to dislodge incumbents.



Cecil Andrus

Andrus is known as a governor able to compromise and he is expected to be able to work with both branches of the Republican-dominated Legislature. The veto-proof majority in the Senate was broken, which may allow Andrus to stop some objectionable

bills. Water quality, hazardous materials, mining regulations and water rights are issues that are likely to be brought up again when the legislative session begins in January.

--John McCarthy

MONTANA

An off off-year election

Ballot initiatives took the spotlight in Montana's elections this year. For the first time in 12 years, Montanans did not vote for a president, governor or senator. They did re-elect two incumbent congressmen, one from each party.

The most controversial initiative on the ballot was a proposal to abolish all property taxes and require voter approval of a sales tax or any increase in state income taxes. The *Wall Street Journal* called it the country's most radical tax initiative in history and predicted it might pass because of Montana's severe economic conditions. The initiative failed by a 56-44 percent margin.

However, a less radical tax initiative passed by 55-45 percent. It freezes some property taxes at 1986 levels unless the next Legislature reforms the property tax system and finds alternative revenue for schools and local governments. Tom Power, chair of the economics department at

the University of Montana, said the popularity of both initiatives showed that voters are afraid property taxes will rise as state revenue from mineral taxes declines.

In the race for Congress, Democrat Pat Williams beat Don Allen by a 62-38 percent margin and Republican Ron Marlenee beat Buck O'Brien by a 53-47 percent margin. Jim Jensen, director of the Montana Environmental Information Center, said he was surprised O'Brien came so close to Marlenee in the agricultural eastern district. He attributed the closeness to Marlenee's support of Reagan's farm policies.

Control of the state Legislature changed hands, with Republicans winning a majority in the House. Before the election there were 28 Democrats and 22 Republicans in the Senate; the Senate is now split evenly 25-25. Split 50-50 before the election, the House now has 49 Democrats and 51 Republicans.

--Kate McIvor

NEVADA

Laxalt's candidate fails in Senate bid

Nevada voters elected Democrat Harry Reid to fill retiring Republican Sen. Paul Laxalt's seat, despite appeals from both Laxalt and President Reagan to send a Republican to the Capitol. Reagan made two trips to Nevada in the week before the election and Laxalt, a possible 1988 presidential candidate, campaigned hard for Republican nominee Jim Santini. The push failed: Nevada voters sent Reid to the Senate by a 52 to 44 percent margin.

Democrat Reid, a former representative from Nevada's 1st Congressional District, supported Reagan's "Star Wars" defense and the MX missile. But he opposed the proposed siting of a national nuclear waste dump in Nevada. While in Congress Reid favored a larger Great Basin National Park for Nevada and was considered willing to compromise on more wilderness designation for Western lands. Santini campaigned on the slogan, "The future of the military is the future of Nevada," and supported Laxalt's no-wilderness bill. Reid carried the greater Las Vegas

area, which is traditionally Democratic, while Santini took the less populated "cow counties" and northern cities.

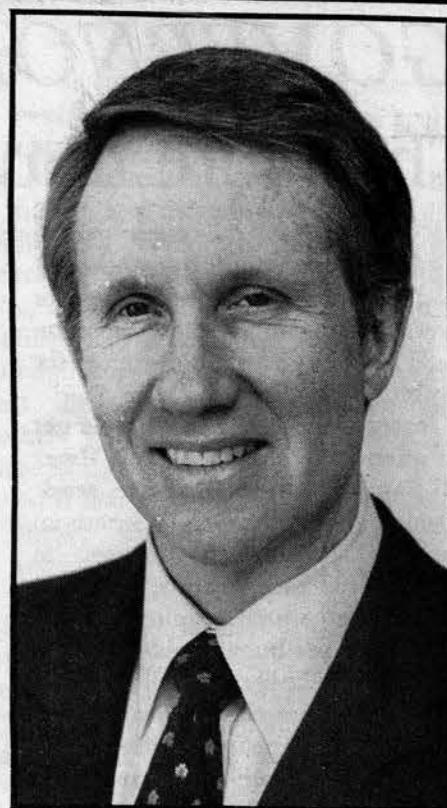
In the congressional elections, moderate Democrat Jim Bilbray took Reid's vacated 1st District House seat, 54 percent to 44 percent, defeating Republican Bob Ryan, a former aide to Laxalt. Republican incumbent Barbara Vucanovich squashed Reno mayor and Democrat Pete Sferazza by a 16 percent margin to retain Nevada's 2nd Congressional District berth. Sferazza, a pro-wilderness and disarmament candidate, fared better than anyone expected against Vucanovich, who took a strongly pro-military, pro-nuclear and anti-wilderness stance. The 1st Congressional District won by Bilbray represents the Las Vegas area, while Vucanovich's constituency covers the rest of the state.

In elections for state offices, incumbent Democrat Richard Bryan easily retained his hold on the governorship, winning 72 percent of the vote. He beat an arch-conserva-

tive, Republican Patty Caffereta. Bryan opposed the proposed nuclear dump, but has agreed to military withdrawals of public lands in Nevada for strategic purposes.

Bryan will face a divided state legislature, with a 2-1 Democratic majority in the Assembly and slim Republican control in the Senate. The new make-up marks a reversal of previous control over the Legislature. In the last session the Nevada Legislature voted against further wilderness designation of federal lands in Nevada, and a resolution of opposition to the proposed nuclear dump never made it out of committee. However, in the past year a number of surveys have indicated Nevadans consider the Reagan administration's proposed nuclear waste dump to be the most important issue in the state. Nearly 80 percent of the people polled in the state said they are opposed to the dump and almost every candidate for office came out against the dump proposal.

Nevada voters also passed a ballot issue authorizing the state to sell \$70



Harry Reid

million in bonds to buy out property owners of environmentally sensitive shoreline along the Nevada side of Lake Tahoe. The Tahoe buy-out will block development of the lake's shoreline and prevent possible siltation.

--Steve Hinchman

NEW MEXICO

Carruthers beats Powell

New Mexico environmentalists are assessing the fallout from stinging defeats in Nov. 4 election contests.

Shrugging off conservationists' attacks, Republican Garrey E. Carruthers, former assistant secretary of the Interior under James G. Watt, easily captured the race for governor and the Republican tide swept former Sierra Club leader Brant Calkin to a close loss in the campaign for New Mexico Commissioner of Public Lands.

Carruthers, 47, took 53 percent of the vote to beat Democratic candidate Ray Powell, a retired Sandia National Laboratories executive. Calkin trailed Republican William R. Humphries by 1700 or more votes out of 360,000 cast, with final returns being tallied.

But the narrow margin amplified frustration that Calkin's supporters felt after losing to a slick Humphries' campaign heavily financed by ranchers and oilmen. "It was a very bad defeat, because Brant was one of the strongest candidates we could have

come up with," said University of New Mexico political scientist Jay Sorenson, an adviser to Calkin campaign strategists.

Calkin, 52, a former national Sierra Club president, upset two other candidates in a June primary to win the Democratic nomination. As the general election campaign got underway, strategists figured that a two-to-one Democratic registration edge in New Mexico could carry him to victory over Humphries. But stockmen and oil and gas interests, alarmed by the prospect of an environmental activist controlling state lands, last summer began pouring money into Humphries' coffers. In the campaign's final weeks, as Calkin still struggled to raise funds, Humphries mounted a major advertising blitz on television, radio and billboards. "We got overwhelmed on TV," said John Daniel, Calkin's campaign manager. "Humphries may have spent \$95,000 on TV, but we could muster only about \$20,000."

Calkin ran a grass-roots style effort

built around volunteers drawn from the Sierra Club and other conservation groups. But political observers faulted Calkin's campaign for failing to raise more money early on. They also suggested that Calkin was too reluctant to court Democratic political leaders and relied too heavily on inexperienced volunteers instead of seasoned party workers. "There are other constituencies -- the education community, recreation interests, small businessmen interested in state lands -- that we could have tapped,"

acknowledged New Mexico Conservation Voters Alliance chairperson Lynda Taylor, a Calkin campaign adviser. "The next time we have a candidate, we should branch out and try to get money from these sources."

The National Education Association endorsed Calkin and gave his campaign \$500. But Calkin was forced to rely on small individual contributors for most of the \$28,000 his campaign had collected before the election.

--Tom Arrandale

North Dakota...

(Continued from page 11)

personal image in a state that is very puritanical in its approach to politics. In the most serious, he was linked to a secret investigation of the man Andrews had seen as his toughest opponent -- the state's sole congressman, Democrat Byron Dorgan.

The investigation by a private detective revealed that Dorgan's wife is a Washington lobbyist for Canadian timber and mining interests. But the investigation hurt Andrews more than Dorgan. In fact, Dorgan, who chose to run again for the House, beat Republican opponent Syver Vinje by a 76-24 percent margin.

It is now thought that the 44-year-old Dorgan will take on fellow Democrat, Sen. Quentin Burdick, in a 1988 Senate primary. Burdick, who will be 80 by then, is fourth in overall Senate seniority. He figures to become chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. Dorgan's apparently unshakable popularity forecasts trouble for Burdick, a senator since 1960. If Dorgan does challenge him, Burdick has indicated he may run as an Independent to escape a primary. That could guarantee victory for a Republican.

Voters may have made history by electing a Democratic state Senate. The lineup now is 27-26, but one Democratic victory was by a single vote, and a recount or new election

could tip the Senate into Republican hands. The House remains solidly Republican, at 60-46, although Democrats picked up five seats. North Dakota incumbent Gov. George Sinner is a Democrat.

Environmental issues played a small role in the voting. The Garrison Project debate is seen as resolved, and both Dorgan and Burdick portray themselves as strong supporters of the irrigation and municipal water project. If Burdick gains the committee chairmanship, Garrison will benefit.

Although traditional environmental issues were not important, rural issues were. Commentators have noted that the rural depression didn't clearly affect most farm state elections. But it did in the Dakotas. In North Dakota, that may have been because the Dakota Resource Council spent many months keeping rural issues before the public.

Theresa Keavany, head of the DRC, said the group used candidate forums, letters to the editor, public meetings and media events to focus on farm prices, the 1985 Farm Bill, the proposed Save the Family Farm Bill, and in-state efforts by energy interests to lower taxes on coal, oil and gas.

North Dakota is a very rural state, and Keavany attributes North Dakota's large voter turnout to the prominence of those issues. The election saw 60 percent of North Dakota's eligible voters turn out, compared with 37 percent nationally.

--Peter Carrels

Incumbents returned to Congress

New Mexico's three incumbent congressmen all registered resounding re-election victories to retain their seats.

By a 2-1 vote, Democrat Bill Richardson easily defeated former Gov. Dave Cargo, the last Republican to be governor, from 1967-1971. Republican Manuel Lujan, who has been a congressman for the last 18 years, easily defeated his Democratic opponent, Manny Garcia, by a 60 percent - 40 percent margin. Republican Joe Skeen defeated New Mexico's current Lt. Gov. Mike Runnels to gain a fourth straight term.

In the 70-person state House, Democrats claimed five more seats to increase their dominance 47-23. This

was a striking contrast to Republican victories statewide with Democrats gaining upset victories in the towns of Las Cruces, Aztec and Clovis.

Republicans lost their slim state Senate majority to a 21-21 split, which means the Legislature will almost certainly clash with conservative Governor-elect Garrey Carruthers, who promised "a new beginning."

Still undecided in New Mexico is the race for state attorney general. Only 125 votes out of more than 369,000 cast separate the two candidates, Democrat Bob McNeill and Republican Al Stratton. Stratton was leading. A recount should be completed by Nov. 25.

--Patricia Guthrie

16-High Country News -- November 24, 1986

BOOK NOTES

*Muck that smells like rancid pork**Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water*

Marc Reisner. New York, N.Y.: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1986. 462 pages. \$22.95, cloth.

Reviewed by William Voigt, Jr.

Perhaps the chief difference between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers in their eagerness to build dams is that BuRec builds only in the 17 contiguous states in the West, while the Corps can put them anywhere inside the U.S.

They are much alike in their ingenuity in finding sites where dams can be put. They've been so clever at this there are few places left for posterity, but as a long-gone vice president once quoted a constituent: "What's posterity ever done for me?" Getting water, cheap and with lots of other people's money, is much of what this book is about.

Reisner obviously did a great deal of research gathering material for his investigative report, which decades ago would be called "muckraking." He certainly has raked a great deal of muck that smells like rancid pork. When I read it, scribbled notes filled 43 pages of ruled school paper.

This review, therefore, must be a business of picking and choosing carefully in an effort to convey the essence of Reisner's exhaustive examination of tremendous forces. These forces turned vast desert and semi-desert areas into incredibly fertile cropland; dammed almost every stream where a site existed or could be contrived (even that of Teton in Idaho) and dammed some of them almost to their extremities; establish-

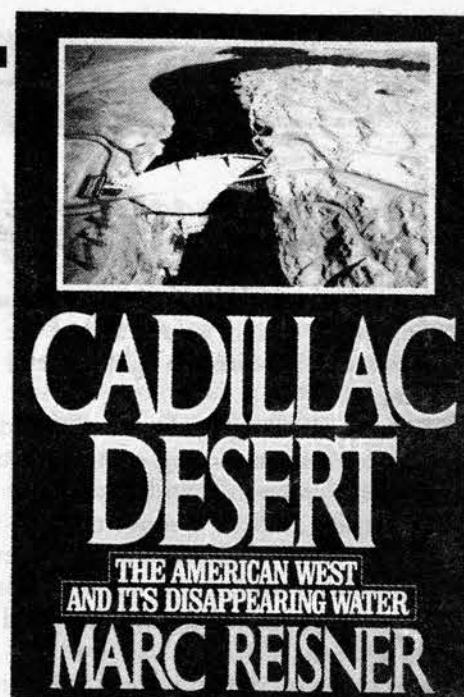
ed some of our biggest cities -- even megalopolises; created great wealth for quite a few privileged individuals; brought on saline conditions whose consequences are both visible and fearful; and continue to drain at an accelerating pace aquifers that are being recharged at only an infinitesimal fraction of the rate of withdrawal, leaving the future not in doubt but merely raising the question of when the pumps will quit bringing up water.

Reisner pays his respects to the doings of the Corps in the eastern part of the country where -- usually in the holy name of flood control or barge navigation -- it has stilled the waters of the major rivers of nearly every state south and west of New England, which private enterprise got to first. The Corps has been matched in totality of river conversion only by a creature of

the Great Depression, the Tennessee Valley Authority. But the Corps has what Reisner calls the "nonsensical" Tennessee-Tombigbee boondoggle to its credit.

Except for the Ogallala aquifer's sad plight under the Great Plains, Reisner devotes the greater part of the book to the mountainous West and the once-dry regions below the rangetops. In BuRec country he leads us to the bedrock of nearly every dam, along the banks of the reservoirs and beside the canals, past the pumps and siphons to thirsty cities and huge corporate farms. His examination of political and economic forces is penetrating.

Cadillac Desert is not a book to pass the time with on a lazy afternoon. Read and your mind will churn. But maybe you'll have another glass of



Napa Valley wine or nibble a stalk of Imperial Valley celery, or toy with a thread of Arizona cotton, convinced that "Uncle and his engineers will take care of everything; they have from the start, and the refreshing waters of the Columbia and the Yukon are waiting."

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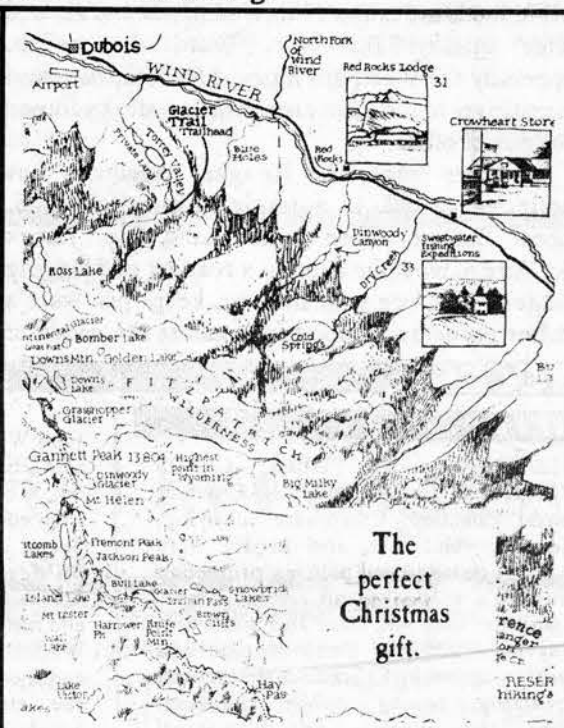
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