

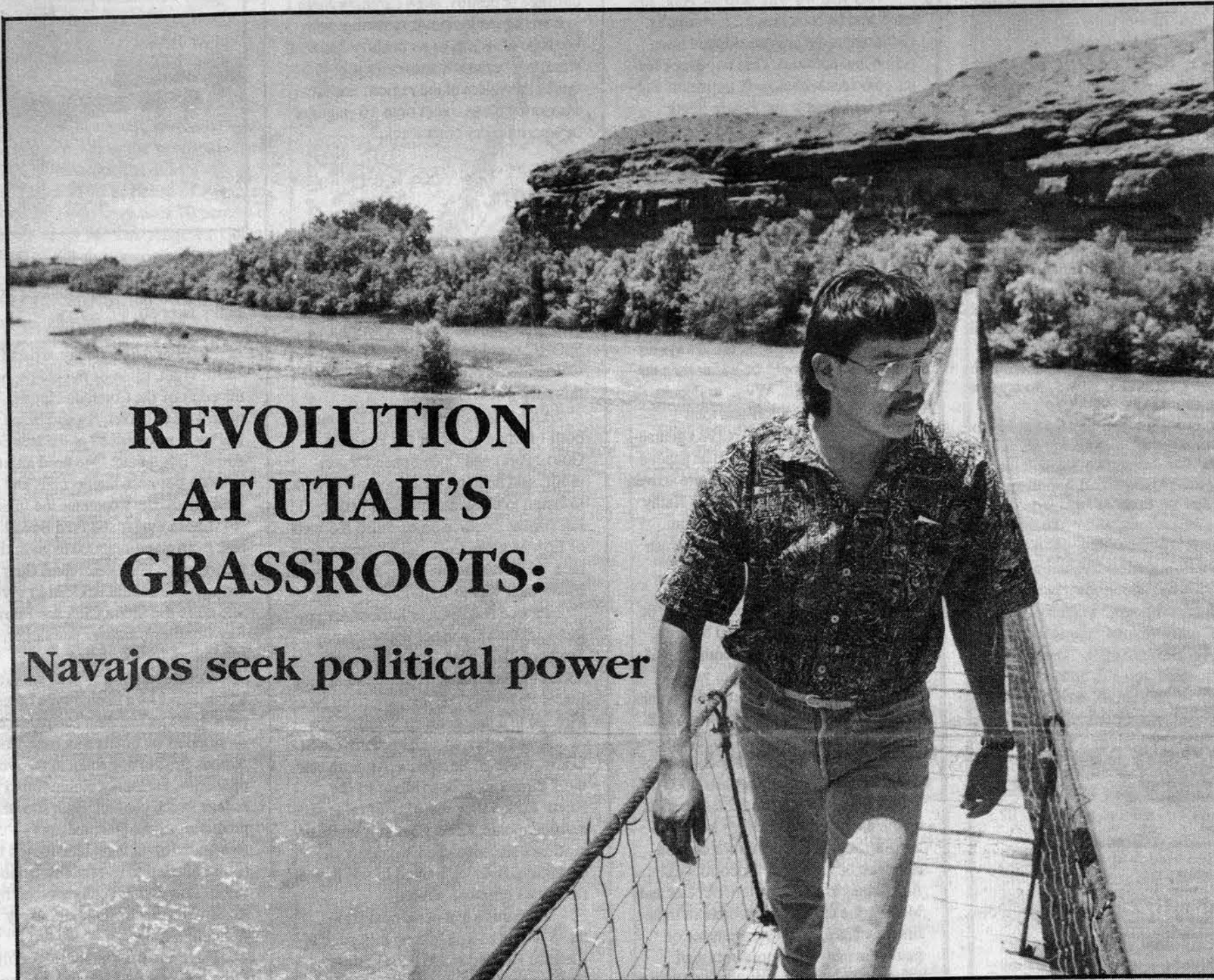
High Country News

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July 30, 1990

A Paper for People who Care about the West

One dollar



Mark Maryboy crossing the San Juan River

REVOLUTION AT UTAH'S GRASSROOTS:

Navajos seek political power

by Florence Williams

Bessie Adakai, an 81-year-old Navajo healer, had been collecting herbs from the same sacred ground for 65 years. Last April, she stood in front of an oil company's bulldozer headed for her medicinal patch near Aneth, Utah. Her protest failed, and the oil rigs moved in.

Julius Claw, a Navajo vocational education consultant, watched the disinterment of his mother-in-law's body as an oil company's road grader ripped into the earth near Montezuma Creek, Utah.

Ruby Nakai, who is Cherokee also, sees the impact of drilling on Utah's Navajo reservation. In Montezuma

Creek, she works in a health clinic treating patients with cancer, headaches and nausea, symptoms she attributed to oil fumes.

Claw and Nakai, along with three other Native Americans, have decided to fight to take back their land in southeastern Utah. They are not writing letters or joining organizations. Instead, they are running as Democrats for public office in Mormon-settled San Juan County. They think they can win.

A Democratic victory would give Indians control of a county government for the first time in history. In San Juan County, long dominated by conservative Republicans, it would be a near-revolution.

At stake is control of a vast amount of land and natural resources, including money from oil and gas royalties. Control could put the reservation in line to receive long-awaited basic services, such as water and electricity. For environmentalists, it could mean a friendlier reception in a county known as much for hostile sagebrush rebels as for coveted wilderness.

Uprooting the Mormon pillar won't be easy. When missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints first settled the region in 1879, their task was to convert and control the

Indians. Today, the county is roughly half Anglo and half Navajo and Ute. At 7,800 square miles, San Juan is the size of Connecticut. But only 12,000 live in the county, most in the towns of Blanding, Bluff or Monticello.

The Navajos, like most reservation Indians, have historically been excluded from county politics by a mix of subtle and not-so-subtle barriers. Poverty, illiteracy and geographic isolation helped render them politically mute.

A new political force

Until this year, Claw is running for county treasurer, and Nakai for clerk. Joining them are Claudia Keith for county recorder, Dan Nakai for county assessor, and Nelson Begay for sheriff.

Mark Maryboy is also seeking reelection as the state's first and only Native American county commissioner. The candidates believe they can improve communication between the tribe and the county, bring more money onto the reservation from state, federal and tribal funds, and ensure equitable distribution of district dollars. They have named their campaign *Niha whol zhiizh*, "It's our turn."

Candidate Julius Claw just registered to vote this year. "I never thought it was important to vote. We're getting smarter. People are starting to be aware that there's millions of dollars in the county that comes off the reservation. We need to focus on getting some of that money."

For years, the San Juan County government was considered the domain of Anglos, says Daniel McCool, a professor of political science at the University of Utah. The Navajos, in turn, had their tribal government, headquartered in Window Rock, Ariz. But the Navajos living in the Utah portion of the reservation, hundreds of miles from Window Rock, felt overlooked by both governments.

"This is no man's land," says Commissioner Maryboy of what is called the Aneth strip, a 130-mile-long extension of the Navajo reservation. About 6,000 Navajos live there, representing only 3 percent of the total tribal population. Although they live atop one of the richest oil fields in the country, the Aneth Navajos say they are the poorest in the tribe.

Oil royalties flow out of the Aneth oil field into Window Rock, Salt Lake

(continued on page 10)

Dear friends,



HIGH COUNTRY NEWS

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LIBRARIAN ALERT

Twice annually, our little joke goes, staff takes pity on *HCN*'s readers and skips an issue — not because we want a vacation (oh, no), but so that you can catch up on your reading, or take a break from the drumbeat of news from around the region.

This year we will skip the Aug. 13 issue, and be back Aug. 27. Normally, staff scatters during the skipped issue period, but not now. This two-week hiatus coincides with a staff transition. Publisher Ed Marston and editor Betsy Marston left July 25 on a one-year sabbatical — six weeks to be spent visiting places in the West they know only on the telephone and then an academic year at Stanford's Communication Department.

Their editorial roles will be filled by Larry Mosher and Mary Jarrett, with the assistance of Steve Hinchman, who, counting his internship, has been with *HCN* for four years.

Although transitions are always difficult, this one should be easier than the last — from Lander, Wyo., to Paonia. That change in location and total turnover of staff in August 1983 guaranteed maximum dislocation. The paper's files and a few pieces of furniture arrived in a pickup truck, staff members Kathy Bogan and Jill Bamburg came from Wyoming to give the Marstons a crash course in *HCN*, and the paper was launched in its new location. Within months, circulation was plummeting (it dropped from 4,200 to 3,300 before a year was over) although income stayed steady at about \$100,000 per year.

But by the end of 12 months, thanks in part to intern Mary Moran, who had lived around the West and knew the region well, the paper had become relatively knowledgeable about its 500,000 square miles. We no longer had to look up the names of Wyoming's two senators, or ask who the governor of Montana was, or what state Socorro was in. And thanks to development director Judy Moffatt, the third staff member in those first few years, and her insistence on putting scarce cash into direct mail efforts, circulation began to recover (it is now close to 9,000) and income rose along with it.

By comparison with 1983, this transition is buttressed. There is no change in location. Development director Linda Bacigalupi, a veteran of two years with the paper, will take over as chief administrative officer for the next year. She has done much of that work for the past year — the difference now is that she will also have the final responsibility.

The difficulty with the 1983 transition was not so much that publisher and editor changed, but that people who are key to getting out the paper, and who have its institutional memory, changed. In this case, they stay the same. Kay Henry Bartlett remains as circulation manager and bookkeeper. Ann Ulrich remains as typesetter. Cindy Wehling, who came to us recently after working in the Washington, D.C., area as a newspaper editor, will continue to make the computer spit out pages. Diane Sylvain will continue to proofread, do photo research, pay writers and provide drawings. Gretchen Nicholoff, who has been working part-time for the paper in a variety of tasks, will continue as utility infielder and part-time college professor. The one loss, almost coincident with this transition, will be Florence Williams, staff writer for the last nine months. She will move to Boston. Her place will be taken by Lisa Jones, who will arrive in

August.

In addition, there is an active board of directors, with a subcommittee of directors from nearby (the Denver Front Range and Lynn Dickey in Sheridan, Wyo.), who are ready to help make things go smoothly.

Nevertheless, things will not go smoothly. Changes disrupt — they will alter and disrupt now, and they will alter and disrupt 12 months from now, when the Marstons return. But they will not damage or destroy. *High Country News* is a strong institution. It is strong not because of its size or its healthy financial state, but because it knows its job: to listen to the voices of the region, and to transcribe those voices onto 16 pages of newsprint every other week.

Visitors

Visitors came through in large numbers recently. Glee Murray, the Washington, D.C., representative of the Western Organization of Resource Councils, stopped by on the way back from a WORC board meeting in tiny Lake City, Colo. Glee, a Montanan, was here to see this area's coal mines.

Dave Hallock and Nancy Dayton, both of whom work for the Boulder, Colo., Parks and Open Space Department, said hello on their way to Telluride to listen to bluegrass and do a little birding (not at the same time). Julie Kostuch of Fort Morgan, Colo., and Karen Kostuch of Stevens Point, Wis., also stopped by on their way to Telluride.

Patrice Hughes, a volunteer for Project Lighthawk, and her friend Nancy Stotts of Taos, N.M., came by to talk about the environmental movement's air force. Patrice was on her way from New Mexico to a new home in Seattle.

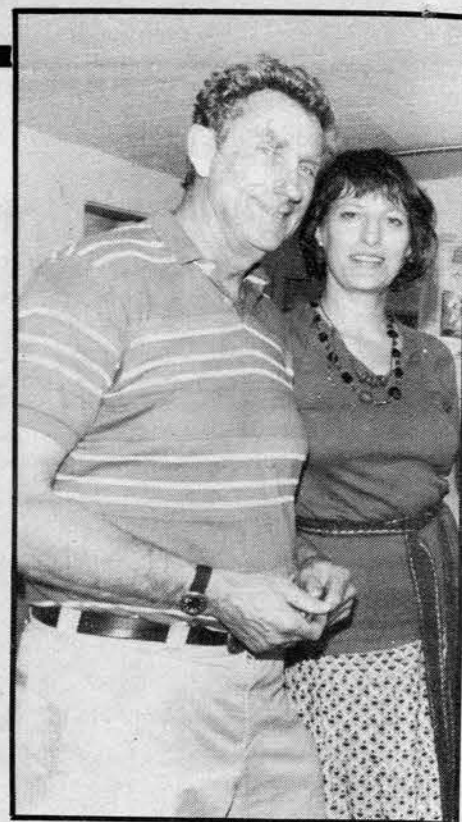
John Parker, an art director from St. Louis, came in. He, spouse Annette, and their three kids hope to move to the North Fork Valley someday to raise exotic mushrooms. Kevin Eber, a journalism graduate student at the University of Colorado, Boulder, wanted to see how a real news operation works.

Were this a real news operation, there would be a picture on this page of Richard Hufford and his dog, Smiley. Unfortunately, the photos we took did not come out. Richard drove his motorcycle into Paonia with Smiley perched in an apple box strapped to the luggage rack, looking over Richard's shoulder. The pair stopped by on their way from Clifton, Ariz., to Boulder.

Gordon and Laura Yarrington of Tucson — he sells real estate and she teaches bilingual classes in elementary school — visited the office in order to subscribe. The couple left Paonia several years ago, and were back to haul yet more of their furniture south. Kay Matthews and Mark Schiller, with baby Max in a backpack, said hello, as did two relative neighbors — Black Mesa subscribers Lee and Margaret Anderson.

Tom Sewell and his fiancée, Santa, and her friend Damnar, stopped by. Tom is a house painter from Dallas; Santa and Damnar are from Nepal. They are on a climbing-hiking trip to Oregon and Montana. Hans Stuart, an editor with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in Boston, and Dan Stuart, a cartographer with the U.S. Geological Survey in Denver, came by and left with *HCN* T-shirts.

Finally, Wes Jackson's Land Institute in Salina, Kan., sent us two visitors: Colin Laird, an intern at the Rocky Mountain Institute in Snowmass, and Brooks Anderson, who is about to coordinate the University of Wisconsin's College Year in India program. Both learned about *HCN* at Jackson's institute.



Diann Pipher

At the helm: Larry Mosher and Mary Jarrett

John and Tina dePuy, artists from Bluff, Utah, came by our office, here on the edge of the Colorado Plateau, on their way to cooler, higher climes. Doc DePuy, a good friend of the late Edward Abbey, left a note: "We need an uneasy alliance between intellectuals and Deep Ecologists. Let's continue the dialogue."

Laura Hagar and Fred Bedall came east from San Francisco to go hiking in the "West." They interrupted their trek through the central Rockies to say hello. She edits the Sierra Club San Francisco Bay Chapter's *Yodeler* newsletter, and he fundraises for the chapter.

Colorado gubernatorial candidate Robin Heid — a libertarian who uses parachutes as his main campaign vehicle — stopped by on his way back from the famous prairie dog shoot in the west end of Montrose County. Robin found consensus in the conflict: Both shooters and protesters agree that predators — coyotes and wolves and black-footed ferrets — are needed to re-establish balance. Robin said he has been endorsed by the Rocky Mountain Humane Society as a "straight shooter."

Dave Ochsner of Johannesburg, Mich., who served with the National Park Service in the Grand Canyon and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area before retiring, came by with brother John Ochsner, who is with the NPS in Denver, at the agency's Planning and Design Center.

Subscriber E.V. Carter of nearby Cedaredge wrote to say that Linda Hasselstrom's recent article on Northern Lights took him back 40 years, to the 1935 Chevy he spent the night in, out on the Colorado plains, watching a similar display.

Someday, *HCN* is going to hold a reunion of its interns, one dozen of whom pass through the office a year. It won't be a reunion for them — they are only here three at a time and rarely overlap — but it will be wonderful for the more or less permanent staff to see them 10 or so years later. In the meantime, we hear word on occasion. Last summer's intern, Matt Klinge, a newly minted Berkeley graduate, gave the undergraduate address at his school and is now teaching at the College Preparatory School in Oakland.

And Gus Wilmerding, who cut his editorial teeth at *HCN* several summers ago, won the Best News Story Award for all New York State weeklies recently.

— Ed Marston for the staff

WESTERN ROUNDUP

LA may slake its thirst with Idaho water

BOISE, Idaho — Parched by the worst drought in 400 years, southern California has revived a grandiose scheme to import a new water supply from the Pacific Northwest.

California proposes to divert three billion gallons from the Snake and Columbia rivers through aqueducts beginning at Twin Falls, Idaho, and Portland, Ore.

"Over my dead body," said Oregon Gov. Neil Goldschmidt, summing up the region's reaction to the proposal. However, California may have as many as 51 members in the U.S. House of Representatives by 1993, more than 10 percent of the whole. If the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors cannot garner the support of the Northwest's governors to study the \$10 billion, water-export scheme, they intend to play hardball in Congress.

Though most people laughed and sneered at the supervisors' plans, at least one water official in Idaho is taking it seriously.

"California is water-short, and they've got a lot of political muscle and a lot of money," said Sheryl Chapman, executive director of the Idaho Water Users Association, a conglomeration of irrigation interests. "The scary part about this plan is that it can be done."

"All of us in Idaho should be wary of this, whether they're a water user for agriculture or a kayaker — it affects all of us," Chapman added.

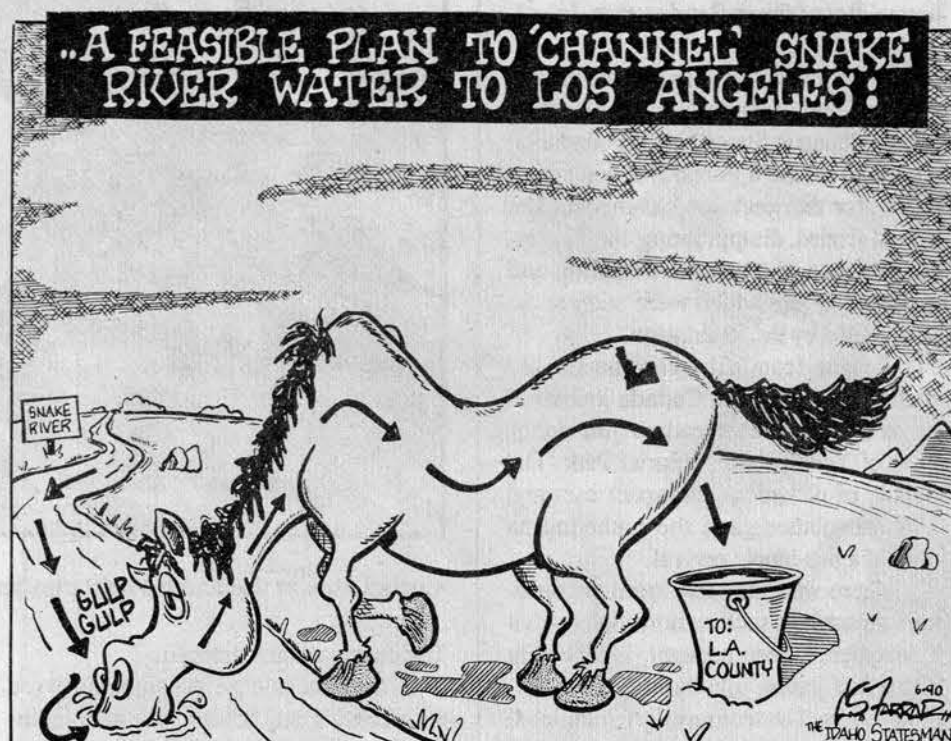
California's proposal isn't new. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has dreamed up similar trans-basin water-transfer schemes in the past. Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, who likes controversy, advanced similar plans in 1977 and 1985. In announcing his latest scheme in late May, Hahn not only outlined California's needs for the plan, he also scolded the Pacific Northwest for allowing 90 billion gallons of water per day to flow from the Columbia River into the Pacific Ocean.

For the Columbia River to dump 90 billion gallons of fresh water into the Pacific Ocean "is wasteful and sinful," Hahn said. To which Will Whelan of the Idaho Conservation League replied, "I find it incredible in this age of environmental consciousness that someone views a river flowing into the ocean as being a waste of water. In fact, the Snake and Columbia rivers are tremendously valuable resources for salmon and steelhead, hydropower, transportation, recreation and aquatic habitat."

Hahn added that the aqueduct projects would create an estimated 20,000 jobs. "This is especially important now, when thousands of skilled workers are facing layoffs because of sharp cutbacks in defense spending."

Hahn's resolution, which passed the board on May 22, calls for obtaining the approval of the governors of Idaho, Oregon and Washington to launch a feasibility study for the massive aqueduct project. If the governors do not cooperate, the resolution asks the California congressional delegation to repeal section 715 of the 1986 Water Resources Development Act, the federal law that gives Northwest governors veto power over aqueduct feasibility studies.

Idaho Gov. Cecil Andrus was swift in his opposition to Hahn's plan. "There is no surplus water in Idaho to transfer anywhere," Andrus said. "It seems like every few years we must educate Californians about the facts."



Because of continued drought in the Pacific Northwest, river flows have been inadequate to meet minimum requirements for salmon and steelhead, two state species of concern. And irrigators' water allocations have been cut short the last three years out of four.

But one factor concerns Chapman, the irrigators' representative, more than any other: Drinking water is considered the No. 1 priority water use under the U.S. Constitution. So while the Snake and Columbia rivers are entirely appropriated for irrigation and other beneficial uses, those uses could be usurped for drinking water.

Before California can seize water from the Pacific Northwest, however, it must demonstrate that it cannot find any surplus at home. Leon Furgatch, who just retired from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, said a surplus exists in northern California, but the so-called California Water Plan has been mired in a political stalemate.

That plan calls for diverting northern California's coastal rivers to southern California. Furgatch says since Cali-

fornia has a plentiful supply of its own water wasting into the sea, other states are justified in questioning California's motives in crossing state boundaries to obtain new water supplies.

Los Angeles County water officials say water shortages are growing more acute every day as more people move to the southern desert. The water shortage is estimated at 500,000 gallons per day now, said Jim Noyes, deputy director of the Los Angeles County Department of Public Works.

"It's a misconception that we're not trying to do things with respect to controlling growth," Noyes said. "The city of Santa Barbara has tried to use water to control growth, and our agencies are doing everything possible to increase water conservation."

"But how do you control people from having more babies? We can't wall off the city and say, 'Okay, that's it, no more people can come in.'"

— Steve Stuebner

The writer works for the *Idaho Statesman* in Boise.

HOTLINE

More radioactive waste in West

A new federal policy that allows dumping of low-level radioactive waste in ordinary landfills has come under fire. Earlier federal policy allowed burial of low-level radioactive waste in only three licensed dumps, in South Carolina, Washington and Nevada. Bill Magavern, attorney for the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, said the new policy would "release more man-made radiation into the environment in completely unmonitored ways." One of Ralph Nader's advocacy groups, Public Citizen, immediately sent letters to Congress calling for the resignation of the five members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Under the new plan, radioactive equipment and nuclear power plant components could be placed in thousands of landfills. Later, the material could be recycled into consumer goods such as frying pans and jewelry, reports *Knight-Ridder News Service*.

BARBS

So that's why George dislikes broccoli.

Budget Director Richard Darman told a Harvard audience that as the Cold War ends, the term "environmentalist" will become a "green mask" for competing ideologies to continue "their global struggle," reports *The New Yorker*. "Americans did not fight and win the wars of the 20th century to make the world safe for green vegetables," he said.

Is Mr. Lehner aware that there exists a very simple, well-known way to get people to believe a company?

James K. Lehner, the manager for Plum Creek, a firm that has been voraciously clear-cutting its way through Northwest old-growth, told the *Wall Street Journal* (June 18, 1990), "We've got a public-relations problem, and we've got a problem where people just don't quite believe us."



Kenneth Hahn

Idaho legal team hopes to block LA

For the third time since the 1970s, Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn has proposed taking water from the Northern Rockies to fuel an expanding population in Los Angeles.

Although some Western politicians laugh off this latest attempt at a "water grab," Idaho Gov. Cecil Andrus has appointed a team of attorneys to formulate a defensive strategy.

"Sure, I take it seriously," Twin Falls water lawyer John Rosholt said in a recent interview. "You can sit down and on paper justify this thing financially based on equivalent water charges to what they're charging now."

Rosholt, one of the state's major water attorneys, said he has long been aware that, to an engineer, the project is possible.

An aqueduct system would start near Hagerman, Idaho, where the Snake River lies at about 3,000 feet above sea level. At that point there is about 6,000 acre-feet of unappropriated water. Pumping it up to about 6,500 feet above sea level near Jackpot, Nev., would be expensive, he added, but the flow downhill from there to Lake Mead, a California reservoir, could turn

turbines and generate power to pay for the pumping.

To water lawyers like Rosholt, it is chilling to note that under the interstate commerce clauses of the U.S. Constitution, a Californian has as much right to the extra water in Idaho as does an Idahoan.

"The whole effort of the defense team is to demonstrate that the water in Idaho is being fully used," said Scott Reed, a Coeur d'Alene lawyer who also serves on Andrus' defense team.

At the Idaho water team's first session, water lawyers such as Rosholt and Reed began discussing one approach that environmentalists would appreciate. The strategy would lock up Idaho's unappropriated waters by protecting in-stream flows.

"If you had it in the name of the public, it would be a tough nut to crack," Rosholt said. But water users aren't likely to accept such a plan, he said, unless they trust the environmental community to release some of those waters if a future need develops in Idaho.

— Dean Miller

The writer is based in Idaho for the *Spokane, Wash., newspapers*.

HOTLINE

L-P may have to pay

In what may be a precedent-setting case, a federal district judge denied Louisiana-Pacific Corp. an injunction against San Miguel County, Colo., after the county demanded that L-P pay for road damage. The case could end up allowing counties across the country to bill L-P if its logging activities cost counties money for road repairs. But Judge Jim Carrigan also ruled that the Forest Service must enter the litigation on the side of L-P. With the federal government as opponent, county officials wondered if appeals, which could go all the way to the Supreme Court, were worth the expense. The lumber company has not said if it will appeal. In the meantime, area logging is on hold, reports the *Telluride Times-Journal*.

Bad times in the Badlands

Thanks to the oil boom of the late 1970s, Belfield, N.D., thought it had a promising future. But now the town of 1,100 may become the first in the state's history to declare bankruptcy. In the early 1980s, town officials issued \$2.1 million in bonds to pay for water, sewers and housing for incoming oil workers, reports *AP*. But by 1986, oil prices had dropped, and the workers left, leaving the town with \$1 million in unpaid property taxes. Currently the town's debt of almost \$1.9 million has led to severe cutbacks in road maintenance, water and sewage services. Residents hope a new Community Development Corp. will attract businesses to Belfield. So far their only commitment is from Arcus Environmental Inc., to build a plant that converts hazardous waste into fuel.

Cy Jamison intervenes

Under orders from BLM Director Cy Jamison, the New Mexico Bureau of Land Management will rewrite its environmental impact statement on a proposed molybdenum tailings dump in Questa, N.M. In December 1989, the BLM published a final EIS and approved MolyCorp, Inc.'s request to build a 250-million-ton tailings facility on public lands on Guadalupe Mountain, just west of Questa. However, the BLM study, which looked at MolyCorp's proposal and no other alternatives, drew four separate appeals from private citizens and environmental groups. They charged that by ignoring other alternatives the BLM had violated the National Environmental Policy Act (*HCN*, 6/4/90). New Mexico BLM Director Larry Woodard said the 1872 Mining Law supersedes NEPA, but before the case reached court, Jamison intervened. His decision, however, has not convinced opponents that the BLM has really had a change of heart. "I'm afraid that the BLM is just going to go through the procedures that NEPA requires without addressing the rest of the issues," says Roberto Vigil, coordinator for the Concerned Citizens Del Norte, formerly the Concerned Citizens of Questa and one of the appellants. The agency is accepting comments on how to rewrite the EIS, but has only asked for recommendations on what alternative sites to study. Each site must be capable of holding 150 million tons of tailings and be economically and technically feasible. Send comments to Robert T. Dale, BLM, 435 Montano NE, Albuquerque, NM 87107, before Aug. 10, 1990.

Earth First! gathering brings back the '60s

Against a backdrop of mountain grandeur, some 250 Earth First! supporters met in Montana for a peaceful, 11th annual Round River Rendezvous, July 7-14.

A last-minute plea to the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals by the Denver-based Mountain States Legal Foundation sought to revoke a Forest Service permit issued for the week-long campout. The appeal fizzled, disappointing the 77 mining, logging, motorized recreation and ranchers' groups which were party to the action filed by the foundation.

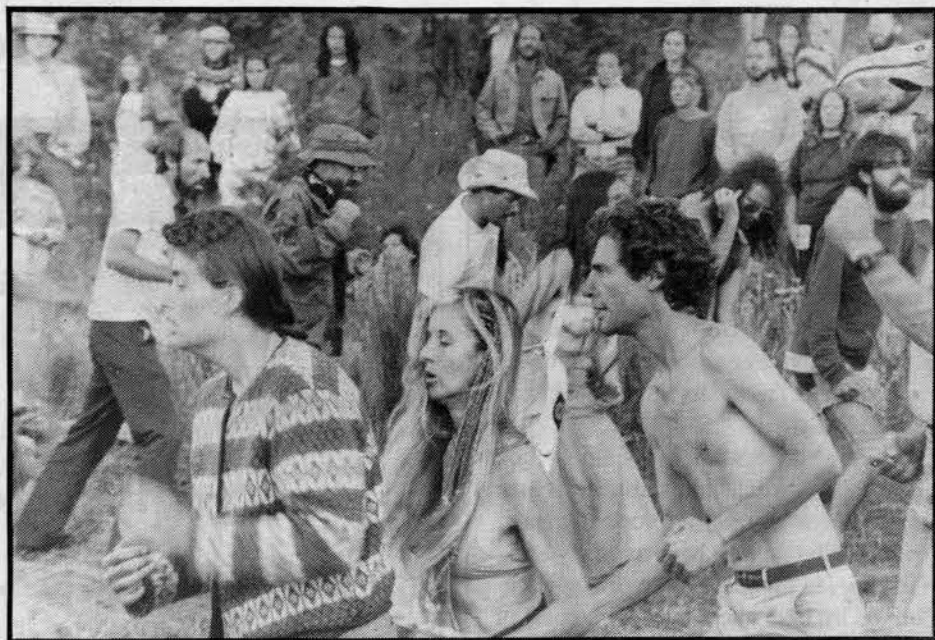
People from all over the United States and some from Canada journeyed up to the mountain meadow just northwest of Yellowstone National Park. The parade of old trucks, compact cars and VW microbuses gave the gathering an aura of a neo-hippie revival.

There were daytime outdoor seminars on subjects such as non-violent civil disobedience, deep ecology, biodiversity and a half-jesting scheduling of a workshop on "self-vasectomy." A traditional Earth First! tenet is that overpopulation is a major cause of environmental problems.

An extemporaneous speaker, named Richard, who said he was a lawyer, gave a rambling lecture on the merits of political assassination, but he was hurriedly disclaimed by the regulars, who said they didn't know him or where he came from.

Evenings brought out collective musical improvisation for the dozens of celebrants, some of whom had painted or daubed themselves with mud. When the sun sank behind the Gravelly Range, lines of skipping wood nymphs and satyrs emerged from the aspen grove to whoop and dance in a circle to the beat of tom-toms, congas and the wail of horns.

"A lot of these people you see dancing naked at night have worked their asses off for months on worthwhile projects, so they deserve a release," said Bill Haskins, 32, of Missoula, Mont. Haskins, a graduate student in environmental studies, was one of eight people subpoenaed by federal investigators last year for an alleged tree-spiking case in Idaho.



John Gould

Conga line at the Earth First! rendezvous

The case was later dropped.

Haskins said he became involved with Earth First! actions such as tree-sitting because mainstream environmental groups lacked conviction and were often "in bed with the agencies." He said he respects Earth First! for not compromising its deals, but disavows "monkey-wrenching" or mechanical sabotage because it "risks hurting someone else ... To me, tree spiking comes uncomfortably close to violence."

The movement's traditional openness was marred by suspicions this summer because of recent investigations and incidents involving Earth First! participants. The loosely structured group relies on guerilla theater, songs, skits and demonstrations to get its message across. Such showmanship and theatrics, of course, are useless and invisible without media attention. But several news reporters and photographers at the rendezvous were accosted by campers and denounced by some as liars during a discussion on how to deal with the press.

The majority of those at the meeting agreed that the convention should be open, since it was being held on public land. Holding it on private land would allow them more control over who came in, but it would be against the Earth

First! tradition of openness with minimal structure. Also scrapped was a proposal to charge the press admission and to differentiate between "corporate" and "alternative" press representatives. But the group talked seriously about making up press information kits and issuing press badges at the next rendezvous, which will be held in New Hampshire.

July 14 was rally day, packed with speeches, skits and musical performances by gifted activists. The day was warm and the tepid keg beer flowed as the crowd cheered on speakers and performers. The public address system was powered by a solar panel. Campers packed their gear and supplies in and out of the wildflower meadow on their backs, about a half-mile from the parking area.

On July 16, 100 or so people showed up for a peaceful demonstration at Plum Creek Lumber's mill at Belgrade, Mont. EF! speakers accused the company of indiscriminate clearcutting of timber on private forest land originally deeded to Northern Pacific Railway Co. as part of the 19th-century land grants. Plum Creek is a subsidiary of BN Inc., the railroad, real estate, timber and minerals conglomerate.

— Pat Dawson

HOTLINE

Not much

What do tourists do when they visit a national park or monument? Not much, according to a 15-page Northern Arizona University study. At the Wupatki National Monument in Arizona, anthropology professor Robert Trotter found the average tourist visited for less than 30 minutes, even though it is an 18-mile drive to the site. Tourists stopped in at the visitors' center and went on to the pueblo ruins that make up the monument, Trotter found, but some didn't even make it that far. They used the restroom, bought souvenirs, asked directions and then left. While the researcher had no suggestions for encouraging people to stay longer, he recommended ways to enhance short visits. One proposal was to remove some signs on the self-paced tour since most visitors preferred reading brochures. For a copy of the report, *Summary: Results of Wupatki National Monument Summer Ethnographic Field School*, send 75 cents to the Anthropology Department of Northern Arizona University, Box 15200, Flagstaff, AZ 86011.

Found, but not kept

Three Moab, Utah, teens discovered a 1,000-year-old Anasazi basket during an exploration of a cave outside town. The boys turned in their discovery, called the most important archaeological find in the area in 20 years, to the Bureau of Land Management, reports the *Moab Times-Independent*. Explained teenager David York, "I thought it would be better in a museum where everybody could see it." The three-foot-wide "burden basket" from the Basket-maker Anasazi period, dated between 0 and 500 A.D., is now displayed at the Dan O'Laurie Museum in Moab.

Looter goes to jail

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recently upheld the conviction of Bradley Owen Austin for illegally excavating archaeological sites on the Deschutes and Ochoco national forests in Oregon. Austin, found guilty of violating the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, had appealed an earlier court decision because he said the act was "vague." He also told the court his collection of artifacts was academically motivated and protected under the first

amendment. The May 11 decision found no evidence that justified Austin's arguments, the court noting that Austin lacked affiliation with any academic institution. Forest Service Chief Dale Robertson praised the court's decision, saying, "With some 150,000 (archaeological) sites and the potential for many more to be found on the National Forest System lands, it is imperative that we are able to adequately protect the nation's cultural heritage through laws such as the Archaeological Resources Protection Act." Austin was sentenced to two years in a federal penitentiary, five years of probation, 400 hours of community service work and a \$50 court fee. Robertson said government agents seized more than 2,800 Native American artifacts from Austin's trailer on the Deschutes National Forest.

BARBS

That makes sense: A stream buried under 100 feet of water certainly has adequate flows.

The Colorado Water Conservation Board voted in July that a stream protected by an in-stream flow decree would not necessarily "be adversely affected" if it were inundated by a reservoir.

Herbicide causes plants to die en masse in a Wyoming drainage

They called it Agent White in Vietnam. It was a mixture of two powerful herbicides: 2,4-D and picloram. When its better-known cousin Agent Orange failed to defoliate forests, Agent White usually did the job.

Picloram, produced by Dow Chemical, proved to be the perfect herbicide: It was lethal to a wide spectrum of broadleaf plants and its persistence in the environment meant it kept killing long after the B-52s stopped flying. When the war ended, picloram was given the trade name Tordon and sent home to kill weeds.

The weeds were waiting, particularly a troublesome perennial that arrived from Asia in the early 1800s and now infests over 2.5 million acres in the north central United States and southern Canada. Leafy spurge is a green, gangly weed whose life history resembles guerrilla warfare: It inhabits both moist and dry sites, rapidly reproduces both vegetatively and by seed, and has a deep root system capable of sustaining the plant for years.

Cut a seven-day-old seedling an inch below the surface and it grows right back. Exuding a latex sap that produces blisters, leafy spurge causes scours in cattle. Consequently, while sheep and goats eat it without harm, cattle won't touch it. For ranchers, leafy spurge may be the most persistent noxious weed in the Rocky Mountain West, and that, of course, means all-out war.

By 1985, leafy spurge was annually costing the cattle industry in Montana \$1.4 million in lost forage production and \$2.5 million for control. In North Dakota, over \$7 million was lost in beef production and nearly \$6 million was spent on control. From 1978, when Wyoming's legislature first authorized a control program, until 1984, leafy spurge cost the Cowboy State about \$7.6 million. Wyoming is lucky with only 40,000 infested acres; the plant currently inhabits 550,000 acres of range and pastureland in Montana and more than 860,000 acres in North Dakota.

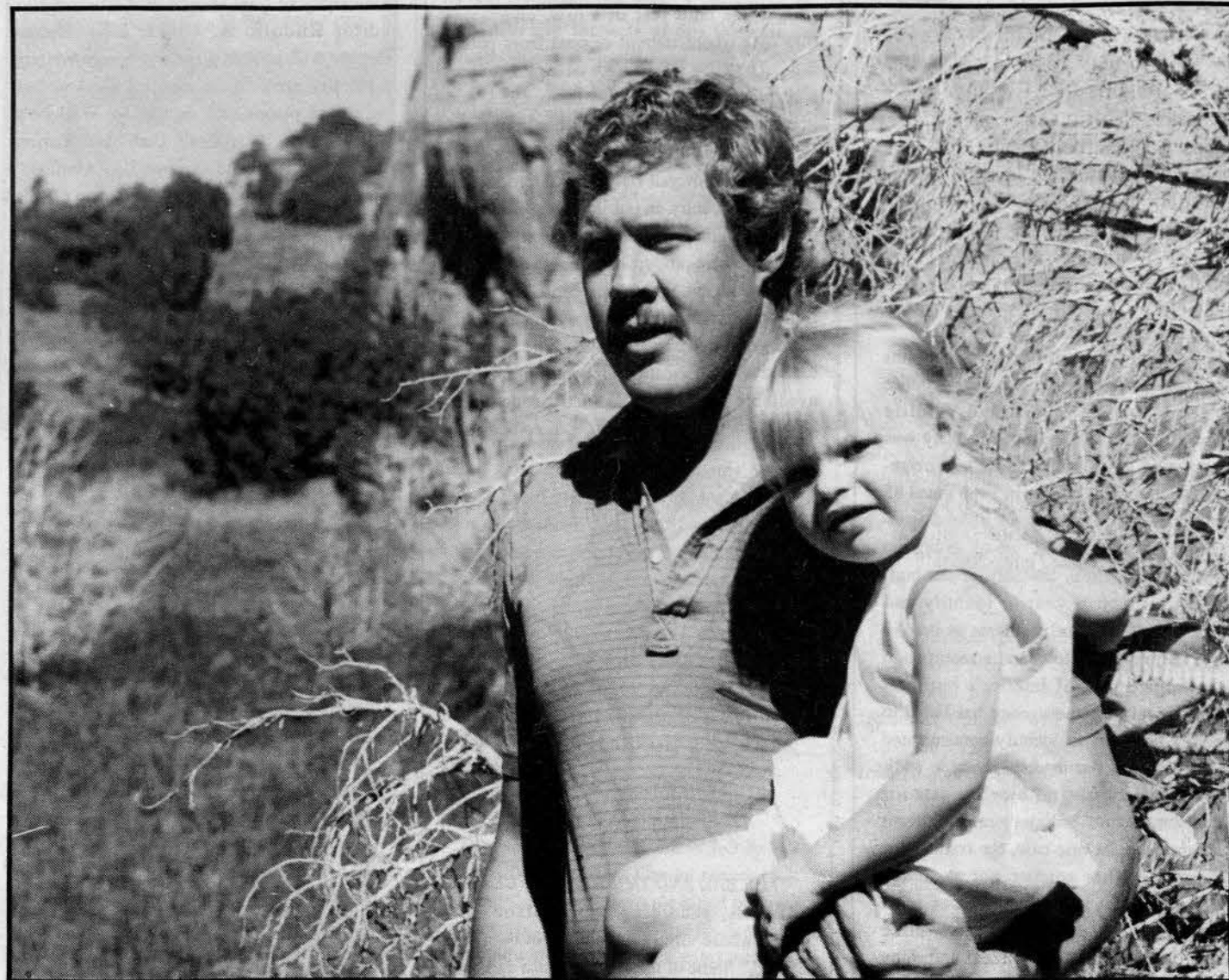
With few natural predators and little support for non-chemical control, the weapon of choice has been Dow's Tordon. Although other herbicides kill spurge, they aren't as deadly. Once it is sprayed on foliage or absorbed by normal water uptake, leaf edges curl, buds wither, leaves yellow and the plant dies.

In soil and in the absence of light, Tordon may persist for years. While that may be a bonus for spurge control, it has caused trouble for Wyoming residents living along Squaw Creek outside of Lander.

"We've had Tordon in our aquifers for 11 years now," says homeowner Bob Crump. "No one knows where it's coming from, how it affects humans over time, or how much longer we'll have it. We're the guinea pigs for a grand experiment."

The problem began in 1979, when the Fremont County Weed and Pest Control District, under the direction of Wyoming's Department of Agriculture, identified Squaw Creek as one of the state's most heavily infested spurge areas. Resident Ken Richardson recalls that the county "sprayed Tordon everywhere that summer and the next. Then our beans, tomatoes, even our trees began dying." Soon, other residents reported damage. Subsequent sampling showed contamination throughout the four-mile-long valley.

"The question at first was what does this stuff do to you?" says Richardson. Homeowners organized to gather more information. Agent Orange was in the news and the unknown health effects



Bruce Hampton

Bob Crump and daughter Megan near a juniper tree killed by Tordon near their Squaw Creek home

gave more than one family sleepless nights. Suspicions heightened when residents learned that most picloram research had been done by Dow Chemical.

But the EPA requires that pesticide manufacturers conduct studies into the effects of their own products; based on these results EPA then regulates their use. Because of picloram's persistence, it's classed as a restricted pesticide. EPA, however, considers picloram "low" risk when it comes to human health.

Toxicity tests show that for picloram to cause death, a lethal dose must be as high as 4,000 parts per million. In short-term studies, volunteers ingested as much as 5 ppm with no adverse effects. One cancer study proved negative, but because a minimum of two tests are required, EPA places picloram in Group D: not classified.

Tordon's defenders applaud EPA's decision. Based on residues of 41 ppb measured in Squaw Creek well water, "an average adult would have to consume 580 gallons of water per day," says supervisor Lars Baker. "You'd blow up from water before Tordon would ever affect you."

But Richardson adds that it is not easy to live with contamination. "When your plants die after being watered with the same water you drink, you think about it."

Beans show damage in amounts as low as 0.5 ppb of Tordon. Tomatoes, chard, spinach, peppers, and peas are also susceptible, while corn and cabbage are more tolerant. Water sampling is costly and ineffective; plants often die before results come back from the laboratory. Still, a monitoring program administered by the county, in cooperation with Dow, began in the early 1980s, and carbon filters were installed in homes. Although filters require maintenance and can't remove all contamination, they were considered a stopgap until aquifers cleansed themselves by natural flushing.

Pressured by landowners, Weed and Pest declared a moratorium in 1981 on publicly applied herbicides in the Squaw Creek drainage, although private application still occurred. Soon supervisor Baker believed he had found the source of contamination. Limestone outcroppings and fractured soils in the area allow rapid recharging of aquifers; instead of normally percolating slowly through the soil, surface water enters aquifers quickly. Tordon is water soluble, says Baker, and probably drained into aquifers with surface runoff.

In April 1983, Baker notified landowners that the "monitoring program has shown a steady decline in contamination." He assured residents that the problem was a one-time occurrence and "with sufficient precipitation the aquifer will be flushed out." The county then lifted the moratorium on Tordon. For the most part, landowners accepted this decision. "We trusted them; they were the experts," says Richardson. That summer spraying resumed, but well below earlier levels, and according to Baker, away from potential aquifer recharge areas.

Between 1983 and 1988, occasional flare-ups resulted in continued plant damage. Residents took no action, expecting the aquifers eventually to clear. Then last summer Tordon began to kill plants again.

Angry residents decided to take action. "We went back and looked at [county] records," says Bob Crump. Samples taken in 1983, just prior to rescinding the moratorium on spraying, showed that instead of declining, Tordon contamination had in fact increased to as much as five times the level of previous years. Crump says he also learned that more Tordon had been applied in the watershed in the six years since the moratorium than before 1980.

Baker brushes off residents' concerns: "We're in the weed control business, not water sampling," he says.

Unable to get the county to agree to

another moratorium despite a petition signed by 50 landowners, residents appealed to Wyoming's Department of Environmental Quality. Director Dennis Hemmer assigned researcher Edith Johnson to begin by initiating an agreement among the state, Dow Chemical and the Wyoming Department of Agriculture to work together. According to Johnson, Dow Chemical says contamination couldn't have lasted this long if Tordon had been applied correctly. The county contends that they've never exceeded legal application, and that spraying since 1983 is safe and unrelated to the original contamination. Johnson admits, "We may never know the truth."

Last March director Hemmer denied the request for another moratorium. "It's a clear violation of the law," says Hemmer, "but before we can say, 'stop spraying,' we need more documentation." Citing recent budget cuts, Hemmer says that since the state can't afford to pay for testing, continued cooperation with Dow is necessary. Hemmer warns residents that their protestation "will cause Dow to back off. We'll lose their lab."

Although they support continued monitoring, Crump says, residents question the state's reliance on Dow Chemical, which sells one million pounds of picloram each year. "Depending on Dow for testing is like asking the fox to watch the chickens."

"But what we're really angry about is DEQ's refusal to uphold Wyoming's water quality law," says Crump, describing the state's reluctance as more politics than good science. "They're afraid of going head-to-head with agriculture." DEQ's Johnson acknowledges that Wyoming's powerful agriculture lobby, fearing other areas of the state may follow Squaw Creek's example, would probably challenge such a ban.

— Bruce Hampton

The writer lives in the Squaw Creek area near Lander, Wyoming, and writes an environmental column.

6-High Country News — July 28, 1990

BULLETIN BOARD



AGENCY FAILS TO ACT

In 1985, an epidemic of waterfowl deaths at California's Kesterson National Wildlife Refuge alerted U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service officials that the bird sanctuary was contaminated by deadly toxins from irrigation. After an initial survey in 1986 found 85 other contaminated refuges, the federal agency ranked the problem as one of its highest priorities. Since then, the Service has budgeted \$4 million a year to identify and resolve contamination problems at its 450 refuges nationwide. However, a recent audit by the Department of Interior's Inspector General found that the agency has failed to develop a program to identify contaminated refuges or assess damages to them. In addition, the agency has no baseline data for comparison and no policy exists to prevent further damage. In one case, the report says, the Service neither stopped nor monitored farmers who were using pesticides on lands leased from the Klamath National Wildlife Refuge, because the agency had no policy governing use of those pesticides. More than 46,000 birds died at the Klamath refuge between 1986 and 1989, many from pesticide poisoning. The Inspector General recommended that the Fish and Wildlife Service develop a contaminant identification system, start a ranking system to fund refuge cleanups and initiate reclamation.

A copy of the 11-page document, *Refuge Contaminants: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service*, audit report number 90-70, is available free from the U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Inspector General, P.O. Box 1593, Arlington, VA 22210 (800/424-5081).

THE TELLING DISTANCE

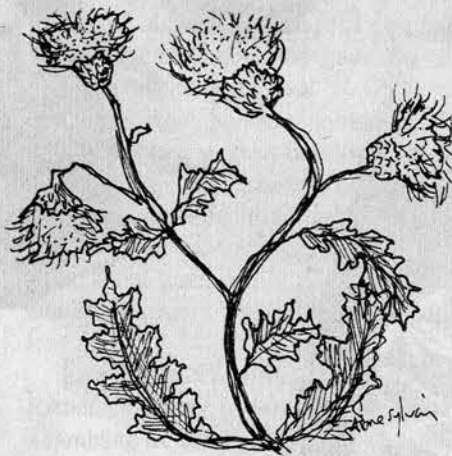
Essayist Bruce Berger's *The Telling Distance: Conversations with the American Desert*, will appeal most directly to the desert backpacker. In the 50 essays collected here, the writer has captured the varieties of backpacking experience, including the little wars companions will wage against each other over the choice of campsite, the walking pace, and where to spend the night on the way home — in a motel with hot showers or in another campsite, to make the experience linger. Berger also captures the contradictions inherent in wilderness backpacking, such as the dependence on higher and higher technologies to reduce impacts and eliminate the need for pack animals, and the need to protect little known land by publicizing it, which introduces another kind of threat. Although some of these essays tell sad stories about development and the desert, they are at root hopeful. There are problems, but no tragedies. The land can be saved and enjoyed. Most of us can go back and forth between civilization and wilderness, so long as we carry the civilization on our back. In the book's most interesting essay, Berger describes one person who could not go back and forth — who could not use wilderness with moderation. He was Everett Reuss, who explored the Colorado Plateau in the 1930s, then disappeared. As Berger imagines it, Reuss was a moth, drawn by the flame of the plateau's high, dangerous, colorful places, against which he tested himself and from which he drew inspiration. The book is illustrated with seven drawings by Navajo artist Johnson Charley.

—Ed Marston

Breitenbush Books, PO Box 82157, Portland, OR 97282, Cloth: \$19.95, 256 pp.

COAL PRODUCTION IS UP

For the third year in a row, companies dug up a record amount of coal from public land. The 1989 record high of 211.4 million tons was a 13 percent rise from 1988, and accounts for 22 percent of all coal produced in the United States. The increase corresponds to an overall rise in coal production across the country on public lands. The most dramatic mining increases occurred in New Mexico, where production rose 84.3 percent, and Washington, up 64.5 percent. The statistics come from the BLM's *Federal Coal Management Report* for 1989. The report is loaded with information and statistics, and is available from the BLM Colorado State Office, 2850 Youngfield St., Lakewood, CO 80215.



THE BAD AND THE BEAUTIFUL

Weeds, according to Emerson, are "plants whose virtues have not yet been discovered." Some of these virtues are explored in a new paperback guidebook, *Northwest Weeds: The Ugly and Beautiful Villains of Fields, Gardens, and Roadsides*. Written by botanist Ronald J. Taylor, the book is a useful tool for the Western rancher and gardener who wishes to identify the weeds of the Pacific Northwest, the Northern Rockies, and southwestern Canada. The easily understood entries contain both the scientific and common names of weeds, as well as information on edibility, pollination, and distribution. Excellent color photographs accompany each entry.

Mountain Press Publishing Co., P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806. Paper: \$11.95. 184 pages. Illustrated with photos and sketches.



STOP LOOTING NOW

Archaeological looting is taking place at an alarming rate in the Southwest, according to a report issued by the 1989 Taos Working Conference on Preventing Archaeological Looting and Vandalism. The report, titled *Save the Past for the Future: Actions for the '90s*, finds that vandals and looters have ransacked 90 percent of the known archaeological sites in the Four Corners area. On the Navajo reservation, thieves increased their incidents of looting 1,000 percent between 1980 and 1987. In spite of these numbers, the Bureau of Land Management still has only four archaeologists in Utah and concedes that its patrolling efforts are ineffective in combating looting. The report recommends that archaeologists and volunteers work to increase public awareness as to how vandalism and looting destroy our ability to learn about the past. The report also cites a need for an increase in security personnel to guard archaeological sites. However, the report fails to identify additional sources of funding to implement its recommendations. Copies of the 39-page report are available for \$6 from the Society for American Archaeology, Office of Government Relations, 1333 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20036.

BLUE MESA REVIEW

A new literary magazine with a decidedly Southwestern flavor has emerged from the University of New Mexico. But according to editor Rudolfo A. Anaya, *Blue Mesa Review* will publish prose and poetry writers from any area. In the past, the *Review* has published poems such as Joni M. Wallace's "Dead Horse Point/Moab, Utah" and Robert Gallego's "hand and shadow: Los Alamos." Short stories have included Dagoberto Gilb's "I Danced with the Prettiest Girl (a Tex-Mex song)," a story about two Southwestern musicians, and B.H. Cole's "The Father of Rebellion," a tale of the El Tiburon Verde cantina. The deadline for next spring's issue is Aug. 31. Write *Blue Mesa Review*, Department of English, Humanities 217, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.



Julia Johnson

REVERSE ARCHAEOLOGY HAILED

Julia Johnson doesn't give up. For the past four years, the Boulder, Colo., resident has tracked down ancient Anasazi artifacts that were dug up and removed from the Grand Gulch area of southeastern Utah. Recently, her efforts as the founder of the Wetherill-Grand Gulch Project were recognized by the Bureau of Land Management, which gave her its national award for volunteer service. Hailing her "reverse archaeology" project, BLM state director James Parker said that Johnson has made an "indispensable contribution to the understanding of the archaeology of the Grand Gulch area." Project volunteers estimate they have spent over 20,000 hours of volunteer service to recover artifacts taken by the Wetherill Brothers during the late 1890s and early 1900s. The project has yielded 3,000 pages of documents, 200 historic photographs, over 100 documented signatures and a photo catalog of over 1,000 artifacts. At the Anasazi Basketmaker Symposium held last May in Blanding, Utah, Johnson turned these items over to the Edge of the Cedars Museum in Blanding for permanent storage and study. Presently, Johnson is working with the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Field Museum in Chicago to bring artifacts back to Utah for a centennial exhibition.

THE KILLING ROADS

Killing Roads: A Citizens' primer on the effects and removal of roads reviews the impacts of road-building on natural diversity and ecosystems. Produced by the Earth First! Biodiversity Project, the eight-page *Primer*, in tabloid format, also argues for the recovery of roaded areas, outlines road-removal proposals for several ecosystems and lists 18 "things you can do." The project was funded by private donations with the objective of preserving and restoring "the full array of biological diversity in North America." Copies of the *Primer* are free from the *Earth First! Journal*, P.O. Box 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. Direct questions, comments or donations to the Earth First! Biodiversity Project, 2365 Willard Rd., Parkersburg, WV 26101.



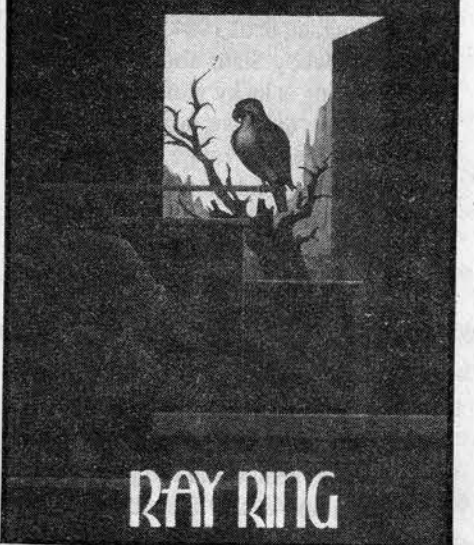
RAGE OVER TREES

Halfway through National Audubon's film, *Rage Over Trees*, aerial footage contrasts the verdant green of Oregon's Opal Valley to the sudden barrenness of the next watershed, clearcut and desertified. "If we could fly everyone in the United States over this place we'd have a revolution," says the pilot. The goal of producer Jim Lipscomb is to be that fly-over, to alert people about the mowing down of America's ancient forests — already 92 percent gone and falling faster than Brazil's rainforests. During the film's first showing last year on the Turner Broadcast Network, a threatened boycott by loggers of Stroh Brewery Co., the film's major funder, led the beer company to withdraw its \$600,000 backing of all Audubon projects. A stampede of backouts followed, with Ford, Exxon, Citicorp, Dean Witter Reynolds, Sears, Michelin Tires, New York Life Insurance, and *Omni Magazine* also pulling their advertising from the program. Ted Turner chose to show the film at his own expense, without advertising. In its first airing since that controversial debut, an updated and lengthened hour-long version of the film will be shown on PBS Aug. 12, with the help of \$1.3 million in underwriting from General Electric. The film focuses on the Opal Creek drainage in Oregon — the state's last uncut watershed — and lets timber people and logging opponents speak for themselves. Narrated by Paul Newman, the film's first scene sets the tone of ragged emotion: A logger attacks a protester blocking his truck. But more than just a disagreement over what to do with big trees, the conflict, as Newman says, "reaches to the heart of our society's values."

—Ken Wright

PEREGRINE DREAM

A HENRY DYER MYSTERY



PEREGRINE DREAM

Willie Sutton robbed banks because that's where the money is kept. Ray Ring's villains in *Peregrine Dream: A Henry Dyer Mystery*, rob cliffs in the Southwest because that's where the peregrine falcons live. Ring, a fine journalist, is becoming a fine mystery writer. In Henry Dyer, he has created a new member of the breed of angry, alienated detectives. Through Dyer's eyes we see the high and the low elements of Southwest society, and are hard put to decide which is the more objectionable and destructive. Dyer is also hard on himself: "Busting up a bird-napping, that's what I'd come to. Or backed into. I had reasons to be where I was, nothing dramatic." Among the undramatic reasons was his father's advice about life: "Blow it yourself. Don't let anybody blow it for you. Blow it exactly how you want it blown." So stubborn, bitter, lonely Henry Dyer goes about blowing it his own way, and therein lies this gripping tale. The book is well worth reading, both for its biology of endangered species and its psychology of our species.

—Ed Marston

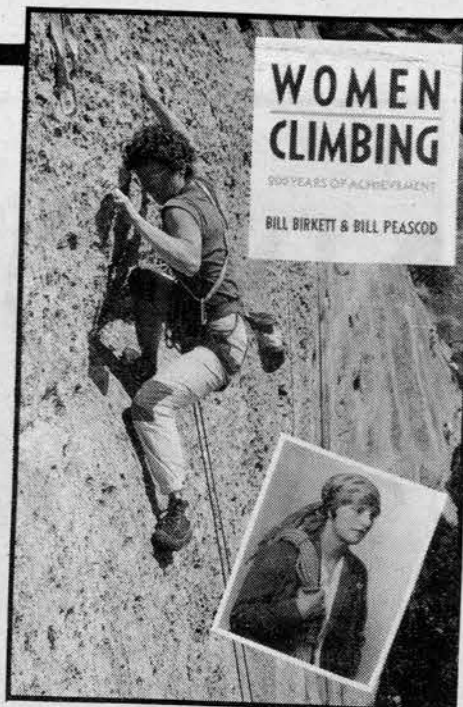
St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010. Cloth: \$15.95, 214 pp.

JOY OF BACKCOUNTRY COOKING

Written for the backcountry camper, the *Wilderness Ranger Cookbook* is a collection of campstove recipes contributed by Forest Service rangers, including former HCN intern Rob Bleiberg's "Alpine Tortellini with Pesto." The cookbook contains dishes such as Burrito Power and Ginger Desperation over Rice, as well as low-impact camping tips, the text of the Wilderness Act of 1964 and a map of the National Wilderness Preservation system. The book is laced with photos and drawings depicting backcountry camping and forest scenes. The *Wilderness Ranger Cookbook* is the product of a partnership between the U.S. Forest Service, the San Juan National Forest Association and Coleman Outdoor Products, Inc. Copies of the 112-page cookbook, published by Falcon Press, are available for \$7.95 plus \$2 shipping from the San Juan National Forest Association, P.O. Box 2261, Durango, CO 81302.

A CLEARCUTTING BIKE TOUR

Journalists will have an opportunity to see the devastation caused by clearcutting during a 200-mile mountain bike tour Aug. 7-9 through Montana's Flathead National Forest. The tour will be led by a number of environmentalists and entertainers including Howie Wolke of Earth First!, Jeff DeBonis of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics; Bob Weir of the Grateful Dead; and John Oates of Hall and Oates. After the ride, a press day in Missoula Aug. 10 will include a multi-media presentation on clearcutting and speakers such as Dr. Al Engle, hydrologist and geologist, and Stuart Brandborg, former executive director of The Wilderness Society. Project Lighthawk will provide opportunities for aerial photography of the forest. For more information, call Bill Curry at 406/642-3467 or Mike Bader at 406/721-5420.



BAGGING THE HIGHEST PEAKS

The first ascent by a woman of Mt. Blanc was in 1808. Marie Paradis ran a tea room at the base of the mountain in Chamonix, France, and hoped the feat would boost business. Much to her delight, it did. More dedicated women climbers began tackling the Alps in the mid-19th century. Some learned to climb with their fathers, others hired male guides and still others formed all-women expeditions. Authors Bill Birkett and Bill Peascod recount such endeavors in *Women Climbing, 200 years of achievement*. In 13 chapters, they profile prominent individuals who battled stereotypes, achieved tremendous successes and nurtured a thirst for the freedom of the mountains. Birkett and Peascod, British and male, shy away from probing the personal motives and lives of their subjects, but the descriptions of the women are themselves fascinating. A better understanding of these women is yet to come.

The Mountaineers, 306 2nd Ave. West, Seattle, WA 98119. Paper: \$14.95. 187 pp. with photographs and appendices. — F.W.

PARK PLAN FOR WINTER

In 1964, six snowmobiles cruised Yellowstone National Park; last winter 65,000 travelled the area. A draft plan to deal with the impacts of this increase in Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks proposes closing the Potholes area of Teton Park and creating a road-shoulder trail link between the two parks. The *Yellowstone/Grand Teton Draft Winter Use Plan and Environmental Assessment* will guide management of winter activities, including ski touring and snowmobiling, in these parks and along the John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Memorial Parkway for the next 10 to 15 years. Overall, the draft plan suggests managing the areas for current use levels with moderate growth by increasing available parking, replacing some buildings, enlarging visitor capacity at Old Faithful and hiring more park staff. Comments on the proposal and the EA are due by Aug. 10. Once comments are evaluated, the Park Service will either prepare a final plan or file for an environmental impact statement. Address comments and requests for copies of the plan to: Superintendent, Grand Teton National Park, P.O. Box 170, Moose, Wyo., 83012, (307/733-2880); or Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, P.O. Box 168, Yellowstone National Park, Wyo. 82190, (307/344-7381).

COYOTE KILLINGS AND ART

Over 75,000 coyotes are killed by the federal Animal Damage Control agency each year, and thousands more are killed by local governments and ranchers. But studies have never shown that killing coyotes reduces livestock losses. In recognition of the coyote's plight, a month-long art show, "In Honor of God's Dog," will run from Aug. 11-Sept. 5 at the Gallery At The Rep in Santa Fe, N.M. Lectures, music, poetry reading and storytelling celebrating the coyote are among the events scheduled for the opening weekend. Event organizer Kirsten Hardenbrook says the program will appeal to both ranchers and environmentalists so that positive alternatives to current coyote control methods can be discussed. For more information, contact The Fellowship for Ecology and Arts at Rt. 11, Box 70, Silver City, NM, or call 505/536-2879.

UTAH HUNTING HEARINGS

The Utah Wildlife Board seeks comment on a controversial proposal to increase bear and cougar hunting permits next year. Currently, state conservation groups are trying to reduce the number of permits issued. "What's needed are studies on lion and bear habitat and population dynamics across the state," says Margaret Pettis of the Utah Wilderness Association. The Utah Wildlife Board meets Aug. 15 at 150 E. Main, Vernal, Utah at 1 p.m. For more information on the issue, call the Utah Wilderness Association at 801/359-1337 or the Utah Wildlife Resources Division at 801/530-1201.



MOBILIZING AGAINST GARBAGE

"Waste Not the West," a conference sponsored by the Powder River Basin Resource Council, will examine patterns of waste disposal throughout the West and what can be done to limit its impact. The conference, which will be held at the Laramie County Community College, Cheyenne, Wyo., Aug. 3-4, includes a luncheon with Wyoming Gov. Mike Sullivan. A discussion of regional waste issues will feature Marv Ballantyne of the Western Colorado Congress, and three waste experts from Wyoming: Harry Pauli of People for the Environment; Sharon Breitweiser of Citizens for Recycling; and Linda Burkhart of the Pollution Posse. Other highlights of the conference include seminars on organizing, conducting research and media relations. Registration for the conference is \$15. For more information call the Powder River Basin Resource Council at 307/358-5002.

CLASSIFIED

"OUTDOOR PEOPLE" lists 50-word descriptions of active, outdoor-oriented Singles and Trip Companions nationwide. \$2/copy, \$10/ad. OUTDOOR PEOPLE-HCN, PO Box 600, Gaston, SC 29053. (6x15 pd)

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HELLS CANYON

Should it be a park?

by John McCarthy

HHELLS CANYON — Crusaders are floating the Snake River again, talking about saving Hells Canyon.

The story sounds familiar. More than 20 years ago the Hells Canyon Preservation Council gained national attention by taking actors, senators, Cabinet members, environmentalists and journalists down the scenic Snake River through Hells Canyon.

Then power companies threatened to dam the free-flowing river.

Now the threats are said to be from the agency deemed to be the canyon's protector — the U.S. Forest Service. It has jurisdiction over the 652,000-acre Hells Canyon National Recreation Area in Idaho and Oregon.

"The Forest Service has had 14 years here in Hells Canyon to exhibit a good land ethic and they've failed. I

think the only alternative is to replace them," said Ric Bailey, sitting beneath a ponderosa pine alongside the Snake.

The preservation council fought an eight-year battle to keep the dam builders out. After the 1975 creation of the national recreation area by Congress, council members declared victory and disbanded.

Today, members of a revived council want to run the Forest Service out and bring in the National Park Service to administer a Hells Canyon National Park and Preserve.

Although the dam builders may never take their eyes off the Snake, the worst threats to the beauty and wildness of Hells Canyon aren't on the river anymore, said Bailey, a member of the preservation council board of directors.

He talked about a snowball effect of expanded timber cuts and logging roads, overgrazing by livestock, nonexistent or inappropriate recreation management and a land-use philosophy based on extraction of resources, not preservation.

Bailey was on a mission recently, as one of the boatmen to lead the latest contingent of Hells Canyon protectors.

The cast of characters was somewhat different than 20 years ago, and perhaps not as prominent as Burl Ives, Arthur Godfrey and then Secretary of Interior Walter J. Hickel. The Hells Canyon Preservation Council sponsored this week's trip as a fundraiser, which was a bust, and as a dog and pony show for environmentalists and journalists.

Some people already supported the national park idea and wanted to find out more. David Simon, natural resource coordinator for the National Park and Conservation Association at Washington, D.C., said his organization "has been in complete support for the national park vision for a long, long time."

The park association only backed the Forest Service management when it became clear Hells Canyon would be a recreation area and not a park, he said.

"I don't think there is any question that the place is of national park character and always should have been a national park. And I think people expected a higher level of stewardship from the Forest Service," Simon said.

Others went on the float to develop a position. Victor Sher of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund at Seattle said the trip "brought home in a very direct way how special a place this is and what kinds of threats there are. It's apparent to me that the law isn't being followed."

Sher talked about the lack of recreation planning and emphasis, the conflicts of timber sales in a recreation area and no action being taken to resolve issues with private landowners.

"National park versus Forest Service — I'm not sure that's the relevant issue," said Sher, who is the managing attorney for the legal defense fund's Northwest office. "Hells Canyon deserved the highest degree of protection and it's not receiving that. Whether it can with the Forest Service I don't know."

"In the short term what we have to do is focus on improving Forest Service management."

The low-key leader of the trip, Curtis Chang, owner-operator of Northwest Dorries at Lewiston and a board member of the preservation council, sees the canyon and surrounding area at "a critical time right now. The use is increasing steadily, especially the power boat use — both the commercial and the private."

"The impacts haven't been noticeable in the past but are on the rise now," he said.

At the same time, much of the past animosity between floaters and power boaters has washed away, Chang said. "We've got lots of shared concerns; lots of them are interested in the same values."

But the increase in unrestricted power boaters can create conflicts with floaters, which are under a permit system, for campgrounds and in problems with sanitation.

Coming up to the Kirkwood Historic

Ranch, Chang referred to one treatment of the sanitation problem as "a classic Forest Service screw-up."

A composting toilet was brought into Kirkwood to handle all the stop-off visitors to the museum. Instead of bringing it upstream by boat, the Forest Service reopened the Kirkwood Road with a D-8 Caterpillar tractor, reopening at the same time the entire can of worms of whether the road should be open to four-wheel drives and motorcycles or even administrative use, plus spending \$12,000 in the process.

"It was certainly needed; it was just the way that they did it. It was totally ridiculous," said Chang, who continues to lobby for road closure.

Chang serves on the Limits of Acceptable Change committee for the recreation area. He sees it as a process to establish what is going to be done, by who and when, to such things as the Kirkwood Road.

But he also remains suspicious of the Forest Service management. He sees both the LAC process and the Forest Service \$44 million, four-year recreation development plan as indications the agency hasn't done its job in the past and now is scrambling to take charge, before it is taken away and turned over to the National Park Service.

The current ranger for the Canyon recreation area, Edward Cole, acknowledges some problems with management decisions and with funding the area.

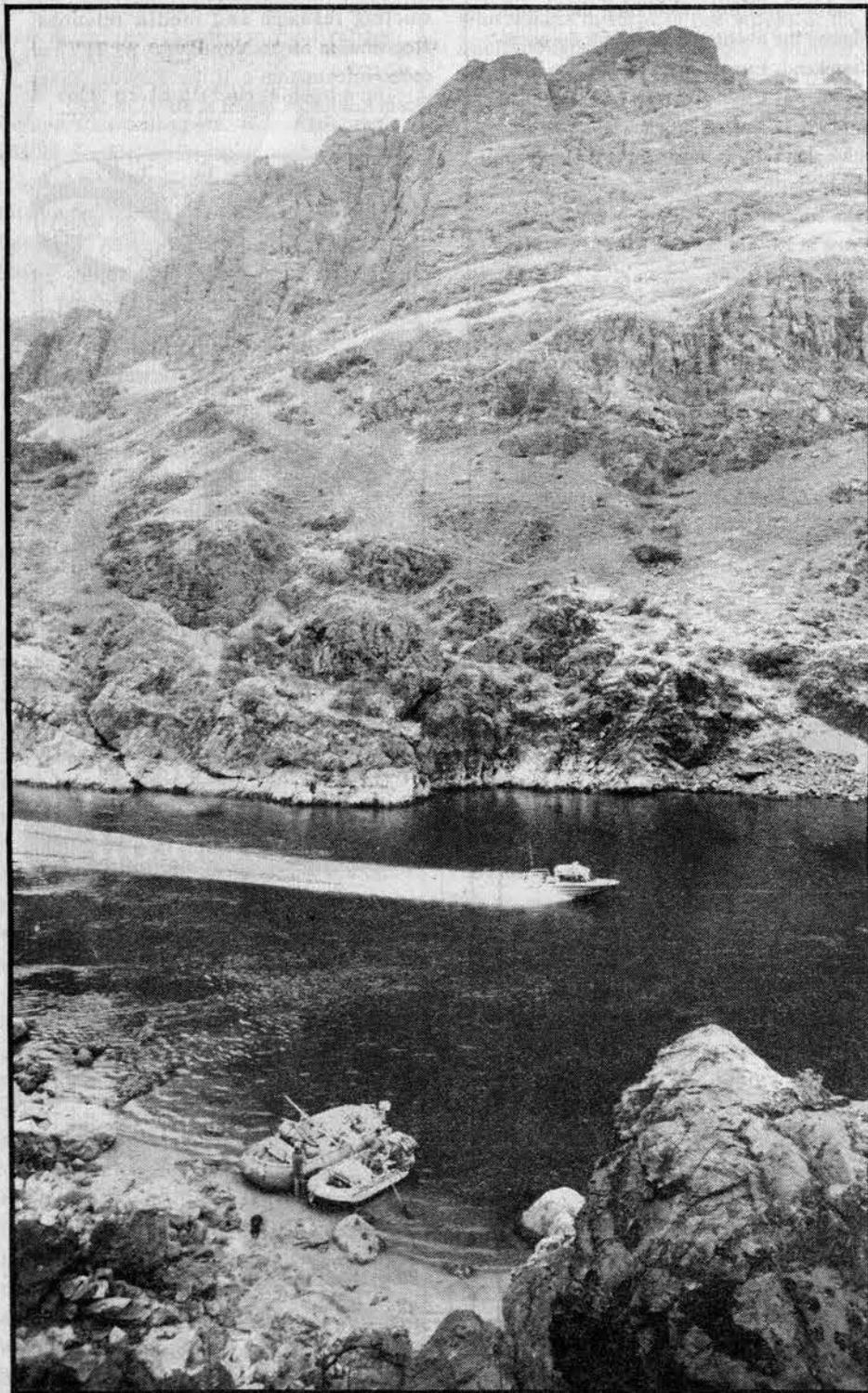
"The way it's been going, timber has been getting the money, and recreation, wildlife, soil and water haven't been getting the money they need," said Cole.

Contradictory messages exist within the Forest Service, Cole said. National recreation areas are showcased by Forest Service Chief Robert Robertson but, even with a \$200 million overall budget increase last year, the Hells Canyon recreation area budget was cut 18 percent.

Timber sale acreage has been less than outlined in the management plan for about five years because of the salvage fire- and insect-damage, Cole said. But it will drop in the next five years to average out to 70 million feet over 10 years, in accordance with the plan.

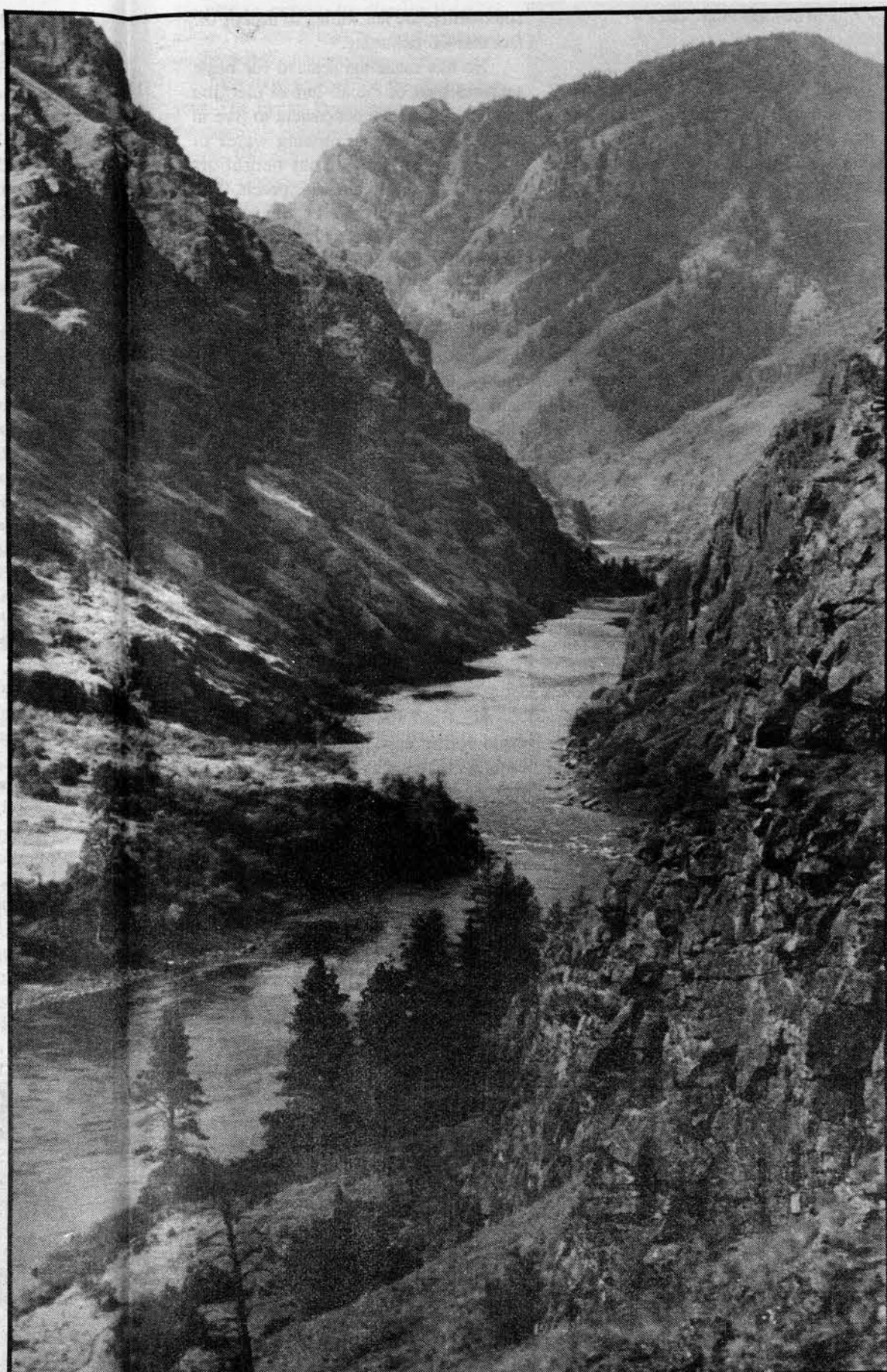
While the decision of who manages any public land is up to Congress, Cole pointed out advantages of sticking with the Forest Service.

The Park Service views management as an intervenor in natural forces, but



Jeff A. Taylor

A jet boat cuts a wake up the Snake River



Hells Canyon of the Snake River

John McCarthy

Forest Service, man is part of the natural system, Cole said. The Park Service mandate is to protect resources for future generations. The Forest Service mandate is multiple use of resources, with greater emphasis and flexibility on recreation.

Cole also raised the specter of animal rights and anti-hunting groups stopping sport hunting in a Hells Canyon park and the adjacent Eagle Cap Wilderness of the Wallowa Mountains. "I think it's optimistic to [expect to] maintain hunting in a national park in the lower 48 states," he said.

The majority of board members of the preservation council are hunters, and hunting is an accepted activity in the new designation of National Parks and Preserves in Alaska, Bailey said later.

As far as livestock grazing, the council wants greater management of cattle and sheep through increased fencing and more riders. Traditional grazing by current landowners and permittees could and should continue, but grazing allotments that are given up shouldn't be advertised to newcomers, opponents say.

The two sides go back and forth, with Bailey critical and Cole defensive.

However, Bailey has lost more than 30 independent appeals of timber sales within the recreation area.

"Environmental groups support the Park Service; the rest of us don't want it," said Darell Bentz, a Lewiston jet boat builder and outfitter. The Northwest Power Boat Association at Boise voted at recent meetings to oppose the national park concept.

"I really think the Forest Service is capable of getting this thing under control," said Mike Luther of Snake River Adventures at Lewiston, who joined Bentz and others at the LAC meeting at Pittsburg Landing.

Boatman Joel Mensick of Northwest Dories at Lewiston found a certain irony in so few people from the region being aware of the possibilities. In his more than 60 trips through Hells Canyon over the years, maybe 15 people from Idaho went along, he said.

"To me, the people in Idaho don't know they are sitting on a diamond in the rough. ... You live so close to it, you take it for granted," Mensick said, as he prepared a pot of camp coffee in the first canyon light.

John McCarthy is a writer for the Lewiston Morning Tribune.



Hells Canyon, the deepest gorge in this country, forms the boundary between Idaho and Oregon, south of the Washington border.

The vast national recreation area straddles the states and takes in 67.5 miles of a wild and scenic river, a 214,000-acre core wilderness, the jagged peaks of Idaho's Seven Devils Mountains, and one of Oregon's salmon-spawning rivers, the Imnaha. The canyon itself towers 8,000 feet above the Snake River (HCN, 10/23/89).

This remote area contains the remains of more than 1,000 prehistoric Indian sites on river bars. The wildness of the place means that wild animals, from black bear to peregrine falcons, abound. Just to drive around the Hell's Canyon National Recreation Area is a 450-mile journey.

—Deborah Richie

A blue-collar crusader

Ric Bailey, 36, describes himself as a crusading "blue-collar environmentalist." Since 1982, his cause has been the saving of Hells Canyon.

"We tried the cooperative route with the Forest Service beginning in 1982, but we got nowhere," he says. "We've had to get kind of hard-nosed with them. The only thing they know is confrontation." Now he wants to abandon the fight with that agency by switching jurisdiction of the area to the National Park Service.

Bailey moved to remote Wallowa County in Oregon in 1977. With its economy of timber, livestock and tourism, Wallowa County is a long way from anywhere and hard to get to from everywhere, which can be great for living but hard for making a living, he says.

"I've been everything from a ditch digger and pipe layer to a long-haul truck driver and logger," Bailey also works as a boatman for Northwest Dories, running a half dozen float trips a year. "The paperwork with my activism is as close as I ever want to get to an office job."

His work as a truck driver and logger helps to break down any charges of elitism when he pushes to limit timber harvest and livestock grazing in the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area. He also is built like a logger, with broad shoulders, muscled arms and a thick chest, and he's partial to wearing a black T-shirt that reads "Mel's Tavern, Joseph, Oregon."

When he toured a timber sale this summer as the only environmentalist with a half-dozen loggers, he never hesitated to press his points. "I don't think there is anything wrong with a tree dying a natural death," he said about the rationale for salvage sales to

clean up forests. "Bugs have been here a lot longer than foresters."

The loggers complained about being restricted to cutting only 77,000 acres of the 652,000-acre recreation area. But Bailey told them: "I don't think the intent of the Hells Canyon Act was to expand the range of logging."

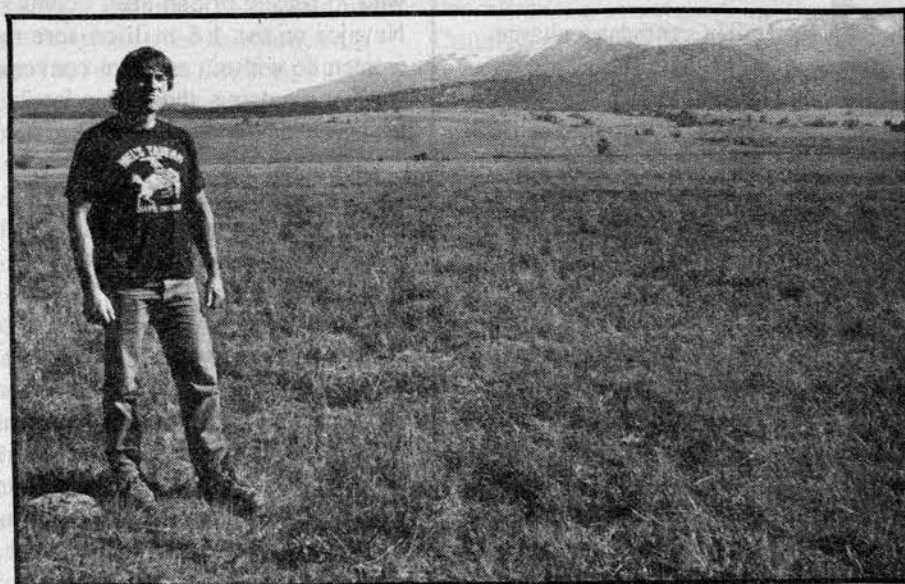
He can be blunt. When Roy Garten of Boise Cascade questioned if advance timber tours might help avoid appeals by environmentalists, Bailey broke in, "We're going to appeal these sales." He later said the Forest Service management plan isn't in accordance with the recreation area's intent to protect wildlife, recreation and scenery ahead of consumptive uses, and that he intends to appeal all timber sales until the management plan is changed.

He can also be philosophical. "The ghosts of the Nez Perce warriors deserve a tranquil abiding place. This was their home. The magic that they left behind is still here for those who can feel it," he said one evening from underneath a giant ponderosa pine alongside the Snake River.

His mission is clear. "We're desperately holding on to the last vestiges of wild America and we're going to do everything that we can to protect Hells Canyon. It's one of the last great wild places in the country."

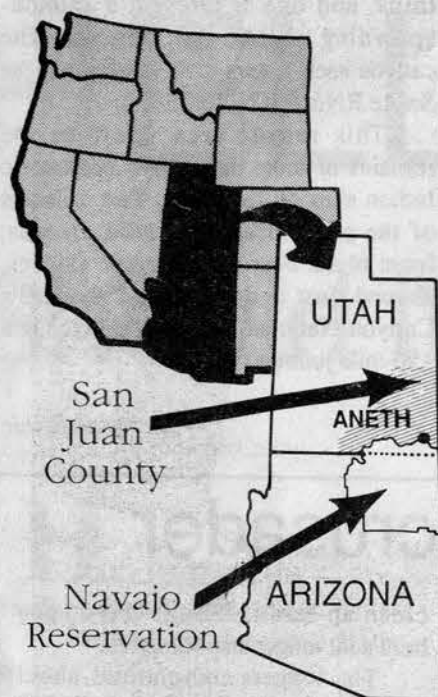
Bailey isn't interested in becoming a professional environmentalist or changing the all-volunteer status of the Hells Canyon Preservation Council. "To me this is a moral issue and I would prefer to not be paid for what I'm doing, because I look at it as a contribution. It's a contribution to future generations and it's a contribution to maybe a little bit cleaner and freer world."

—J.M.



John McCarthy

Ric Bailey of Joseph, Oregon



Revolution ...

(continued from page 1)

City and Monticello, and little of it returns. A study released last year by the accounting firm Arthur Young found a wide economic disparity between the sums of money generated on the reservation and the negligible benefits to the Aneth Navajos.

The lack of money on the reservation is evident: 75 percent of Utah's Navajos do not have drinking water or electricity. Ninety-five percent of them cannot read, and unemployment rates are nearly triple those of the rest of the state.

Traditionally, the Navajos looked to the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs or to their tribal government for help. But they are now realizing that the fastest route to a better life may run through Monticello rather than Washington, D.C., or Window Rock.

"The county government actually has a larger potential impact on the lives of Utah Navajos than the tribal government," explains McCool. "The real effort here is to convince the Navajos on the reservation that they should focus on the county election, where they've always felt they had no say."

Mark Maryboy has shown that it makes sense to act on the county level. In four years as commissioner, he has brought \$4.7 million to the reservation in roads, fences, fire and police personnel, and recreational facilities. But a lot more is needed, he says, and he cannot do it alone in a county run by Anglo interests.

Litany of violations

The Indian candidates charge the county with a litany of civil rights violations and discriminatory practices, most of which revolve around the use of royalty funds. They say the reservation has not seen its fair share of benefits from the extensive oil and gas development on its land.

The Aneth field, located on the Utah portion of the reservation, is one of the 10 richest oil reserves in the continental United States. Since first tapped in 1956, it has yielded over 350 million barrels of crude oil.

But the money flowing from the reserves bypasses the Indians living there. That is because in 1933, when Congress gave the Aneth strip to the tribe as an extension of its Arizona holdings, it mandated that 37.5 percent of

any oil royalties be paid to the state of Utah to be held in trust for the Aneth Navajos. The remaining 62.5 percent would go directly to the tribal government in Window Rock.

The candidates want to see Aneth residents gain direct control over the royalty trust. To them, having a trust fund managed by whites is archaic at best and exploitative at worst. According to their campaign manager, Jean Melton, Utah is the only state still controlling money that belongs to an Indian tribe.

"The situation on the Aneth oil field on the Utah portion of the reservation is no different from the coal fields of Johannesburg," says Maryboy.

The royalty money, he says, has been used to build airports, roads, schools and a museum in Blanding, largely for the benefit of Anglos off the reservation. The same racially skewed benefits are true for other monies generated on the reservation, he says.

The Arthur Young study supports Maryboy's charges. It traced taxes and revenues from the reservation to the county coffers from 1978 to 1988. The study found the reservation generated \$83.6 million income for the county, but the county spent only \$67.4 million on services for the reservation. Likewise, the reservation generated \$28.5 million in taxes, but saw only \$7.2 million return to the Navajos in schools or services. The study was made in response to a suit filed by Texaco and other oil companies that charged Utah with unfair double taxation.

The report concludes, "From our examination, there is no apparent attempt to match the amount of reservation-related revenue from these sources with corresponding services."

Is the county subsidized?

In effect, says Maryboy, the reservation subsidizes the rest of the county. He estimates that San Juan has spent only 5 percent of its total budget on Native Americans, who make up just over 50 percent of its population.

As a result, the Aneth residents live without such services as drinking water, electricity and adequate roads. Maryboy's fellow commissioners, Ty Lewis and Bill Redd, believe the services are too expensive, and that the tribe should be providing them. Maryboy, however, says the county has a legal obligation to create service districts for its residents.

Last spring the late Calvin Black, who had been a San Juan County commissioner for 22 years, said on local television that the Navajos didn't have running water because they never asked. He also said their nomadic lifestyles did not justify the expense of providing permanent services. Such sentiments are echoed by the present county government.

"Can you imagine how many millions of dollars it would take to provide water to every hogan?" asks county attorney Craig Halls, a former Mormon bishop. "It's their choice to live out on a hill some place. If they want to form themselves into communities, then they can form service districts. The rest of society shouldn't be put to the burden of trying to provide services when they choose to be so dispersed."

To Maryboy, Halls' statement illustrates the depth of misunderstanding between Anglos and Indians. "People in San Juan County, especially in the white

community, are not willing to accept the fact that we're hurting."

He has made the demand for basic services part of the all-Indian election campaign. "We are not content to live in our poverty without running water or electricity as many of our neighbors believe," he said in a recent speech. "We have children who are becoming educated and they will not return to live in a shack without modern conveniences."

Another demand by candidates is that the county expand its voting facilities for Native Americans. Campaign manager Melton, a law student at the University of Utah, says the county has consistently refused to comply with the U.S. Justice Department order to hire a full-time, bilingual voting rights coordinator. The Utah Intertribal Coalition, a Native American rights group, has threatened to boycott San Juan County businesses if that election need is not met by November, she says.

County never made it easy

San Juan County has never made voting easy for its Native Americans. As recently as 1956, it was legal to prevent Indians from voting in state and county elections.

In 1955, the Utah Supreme Court upheld a decision by the attorney general that county clerks could deny Indians the vote because they did not pay income tax, despite passage of the federal Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. The state Legislature overturned the decision in the next session.

In 1984, the voting rights division of the U.S. Justice Department ordered the

The need is great at the grassroots

SKULL VALLEY, Utah — A two-room shack with outdoor plumbing is home to Ann and Nellie Tsosie, who drive their battered truck 10 miles along a dirt road to haul drinking water.

Within those walls they care for their ailing 90-year-old mother, Mary, without running water or electricity. They cook her meals on an indoor butane gas stove or outdoors on wood, walk her to the outhouse and use the limited water to help her bathe.

The elder Mrs. Tsosie is weakening and her daughters fear they will have to place her in a nursing home, something Navajo people don't believe in doing to their revered elders.

"Navajo elders are highly respected and taken care of at home, unlike the dominant society which confines them to nursing homes and doesn't consider their judgment and opinions," explained San Juan County Commissioner Mark Maryboy. "With Navajos, their opinions are always consulted before making decisions."

Mrs. Tsosie and her daughters live about 10 miles south of Bluff, on the south side of the San Juan River. Along with 75 percent of San Juan County's approximately 6,500 Navajos on the 1.6-million-acre reservation, the three women do without modern conveniences. And as many Navajos are doing, the Tsosie family supports the election of five Navajos and one Cherokee to county office.

"What we wish is water, that's the main thing, and electricity for our lights and the road," Nellie Tsosie said. "I'd hate to admit my mother to a nursing home, so I would like an adequate house to take care of her. This was built a long time ago. We need a house."

The Tsosies hope that a special service district can be formed to provide at least some of those necessities. They've had no luck with tribal government headquartered in Arizona or with county government. Now they hope to gain power by electing Navajo people to county office.

"My mom, no one will care to provide services to her if we do not vote," Ann Tsosie said through an interpreter.

While Nellie speaks English, Ann relied upon Maryboy

to translate a reporter's questions into Navajo and her replies into English.

Mary and Ann Tsosie have always voted in both tribal and local government elections. Nellie joined them four years ago.

Individuals can't benefit from government services unless they vote, Ann Tsosie continued. "By not voting, we are just defeating our purpose and remaining poverty-stricken."

Nellie asked Commissioner Maryboy if the county really could provide housing, electricity and water. "If we support the Navajo candidates, will they provide that?" she asked.

"I think the candidates can coordinate with various agencies and work closely with the tribal chapter houses," he replied. "The Utah code says counties can establish a service district to provide municipal services, or the tribal chapter houses can."

The service district would need tax money, probably obtained from the oil wells white-owned companies drill on Navajo land, he said.

Most days the Tsosies' children come by, pick up the barrels and drive over bumpy dirt roads to the highway and on to Bluff where they pump water from a community well.

"My kids are agonizing over hauling water every day," Nellie said.

"As far as I can remember, we've had hardly any assistance from county government," Ann added.

The Tsosie women will be voting twice on election day, once at the Red Mesa Chapter House in the tribal election and once in Bluff for county and state offices.

Their community gets its name from a Navajo named Big Beard who used to drop animal skulls into a nearby wash, Ann Tsosie explained. Some people also call it Bury Springs because one man was buried by the natural spring.

— Carol Sisco

The writer works for the Salt Lake Tribune, where this article originally appeared.

county to redraw its district lines to allow Navajos at least one representative on the board of county commissioners.

Maryboy took office the following year. The Justice Department also voided the county's requirement that candidates obtain 100 notarized signatures in order to run, observing that there are few if any notaries available on the reservation.

"There are many de facto ways to disenfranchise minorities," says McCool. "They all occurred in San Juan County. The best way to keep Navajos from voting was to keep them uninformed of how the system works. It was very effective." The county still places no polling booths on the reservation, he says, and until recently did not provide bilingual translators.

In addition, with poor roads, Navajos find it difficult to reach election sites, and with no electricity, they have no access to voting information that is broadcast on television and radio.

"I don't think there's been an effort by San Juan County officials to create a fair and democratic county government," says McCool. "They are more interested in maintaining Anglo control than in promoting free or democratic government."

To address its concerns over civil rights and royalty fund abuses, the Utah Intertribal Coalition recently called for investigations by the U.S. Justice Department, the U.S. General Accounting Office, the state attorney general's office, and the state treasurer's office.

Navajo candidates surprise their party

Meanwhile, the Navajo candidates are writing some of their own campaign rules. They surprised the local Democratic party by filing their nominations, unopposed, an hour before the final deadline.

This spring, they successfully added a plank to the party platform, demanding basic services for the reservation. They also insisted that San Juan County Democrats share their party offices with Native Americans. In preparing for the November elections, volunteers are conducting a massive drive on the reservation, seeking to enroll Indians as registered Democrats.

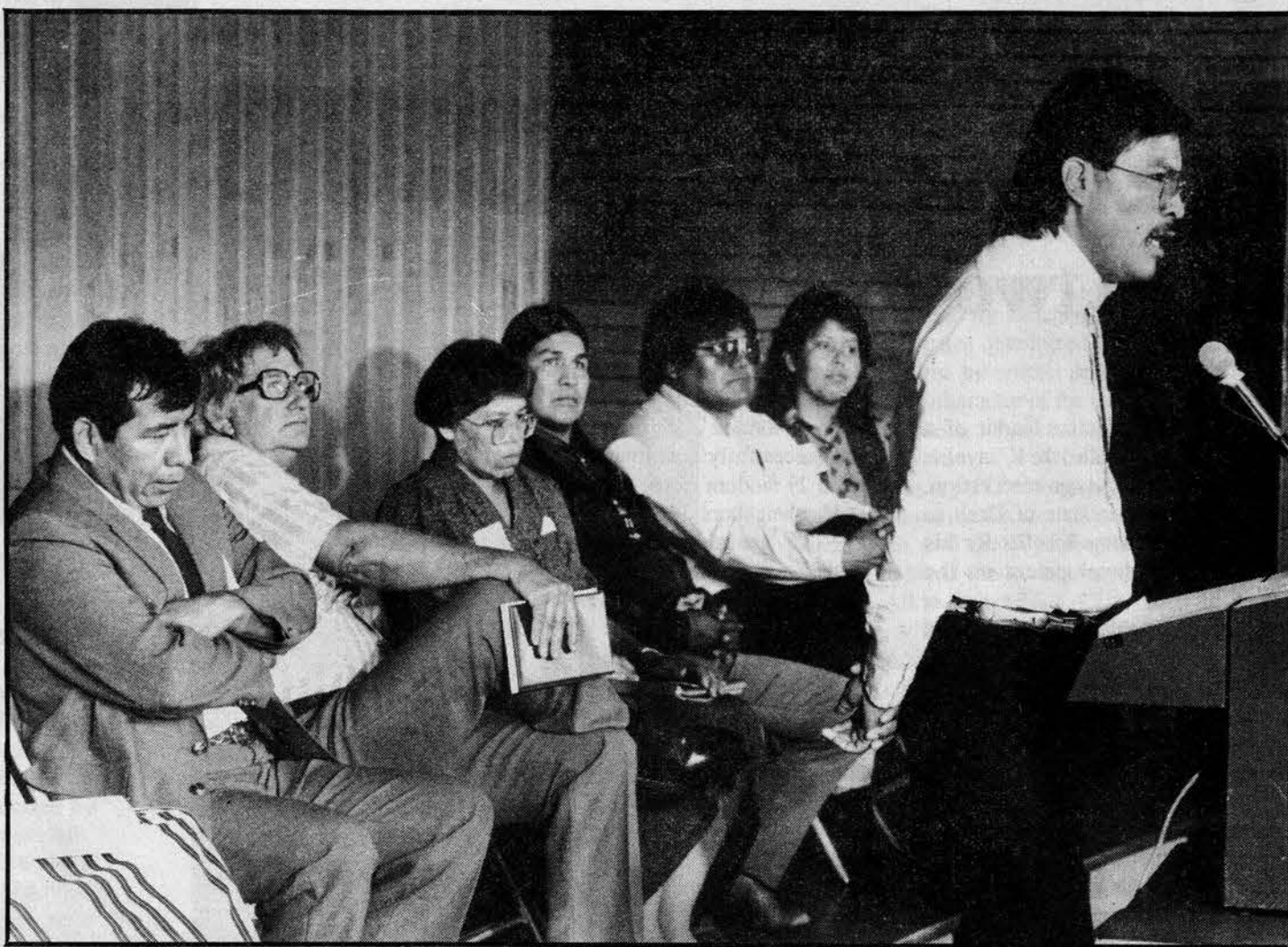
The sudden infusion of new blood into the party has caught some conservative Democrats off guard. The Salt Lake City-based group leading the voter registration effort, Native America Votes!, has collected donations from the Salt Lake City Democratic party, but none from San Juan. Melton says the election, perceived as racial, cuts deeper than party lines.

"I have no doubt," she says, "that most white Democrats will vote Republican in November." Nevertheless, Melton says her group has registered far more Native Americans than expected, and the race will be close. Just since March, the number of Navajos registered to vote has doubled to 2,800, and Melton expects another 1,200 to sign up by November.

"Altogether, our project has identified 4,000 Navajo voters and only 2,500 whites," says Melton, who grew up in a conservative San Juan family but fled to Haight-Ashbury as a teenager. "We're building a lot of rapid steam here. If we have an 80 percent turnout, we can win."

Opposition is on the defensive

If the San Juan Democrats feel



Mark Maryboy addresses the San Juan County Democratic Convention including candidates for office (from left) Nelson Begaye, sheriff; Ken Sleight, state representative; Ruby Nakai, clerk/auditor; Julius Claw, treasurer; Dan Nakai, assessor; Claudia Keith, recorder

Environmentalists' relationship with the tribe has been problematic. The Navajos want control over their land, but they do not necessarily want more wilderness.

uneasy about Maryboy and the Indian ballot, the Republicans, who represent the overwhelming majority of white voters, feel worse.

Bruce Black, 53, is the owner of Canyonlands Texaco in Blanding and a cousin of Calvin Black. As a conservative Republican, he says he does not believe that Indians, who are wards of the government, should be allowed to control county finances. "This is a good demonstration of what the ballot is," says Black. "What do Democrats believe in? Socialism and abortion. If all our offices were taken over by Navajos the state would have to take over within a year because the budget would be out of control."

Former commissioner Ken Bailey, who is a supporter of Maryboy, says the whites harbor deeper fears. "I'm sure people are upset. I think they feel threatened by a perceived loss of control."

The campaign's greatest support outside the Indian community has come from environmentalists, who have in the past felt stymied by the conservative, anti-wilderness stance of San Juan County Mormons. Michael Heyrend, of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, says the Salt Lake City-based group encourages members to donate to the campaign.

"We're hoping with some new blood we can do something down there environmentally," says Heyrend. "We think we can work a lot better with them. Their view is a great deal closer to ours."

Southern Utah lies at the heart of some of the West's most wrenching debates over public land, including wilderness designation, grazing, and oil and gas exploration.

San Juan County, the largest in

Utah, contains a national park (Canyonlands), three national monuments, extensive Bureau of Land Management holdings, including thousands of archaeological ruins and 850,000 acres of proposed wilderness, as well as the La Sal and Abajo mountains and Lake Powell.

Despite all that is at stake for environmentalists, their relationship with the tribe has been problematic. The Navajos want control over their land, but they do not necessarily want more wilderness.

To Bessie Adakai and other herbalists, wilderness designation can cut off sacred land as effectively as oil drilling. Other conflicting traditional uses for proposed wilderness areas include wood gathering and livestock grazing, both critical to subsistence on the reservation.

Earlier this month, a group of Navajos petitioned Rep. Wayne Owens, D-Utah, to withdraw from his Utah wilderness bill 682,000 acres of land near Cedar Mesa in San Juan County. His bill proposes designating 5.1 million acres in the state. The Indians say they must have vehicle access to the land to continue their traditional activities.

Nevertheless, the environmental camp remains optimistic about a changing of the guard in San Juan County. Utah environmentalist Ken Sleight, who is seeking election on the Democratic ticket for state representative, thinks the tribe and environmentalists can work together to clean up oil wells and prevent drilling in sites like Monument Valley, where Chuska Energy Corp. recently announced plans to drill 26 new wells. In addition, Sleight says both groups want to ban low-level military test flights over the reservation and bring responsible, small-business development to towns in southern Utah.

As an ally of Maryboy and the other candidates, Sleight, too, finds himself alienated from the San Juan County Democratic establishment.

"They're entrenched in the old ways," says Sleight of party members. "We're in a flux of evolving into a new Democratic party. Democrats need to represent those in poverty. You've got a tremendous amount of poverty, tremendous unemployment. We've got to revitalize the party. It's time someone did."

Whether the Indians win or lose, the party has been revitalized, or, as Jean Melton would say, revolutionized. With a few thousand brand-new Democrats, the political face of southern Utah may never be the same.

"Even if we've made the Navajo voter turnout jump from 10 percent to 50 percent, that's a revolution," says Melton. "I tell them, 'If you vote, you will get things.' If we could do that in the Hispanic community in Carbon County and with the Utes in Uinta County, that is where the action will be for the Democratic party."

McCool agrees. "If they don't take the election this time, they'll take it next time," he says of the Navajo candidates. "It may take several elections to overcome the resistance, hostility and racism of the status quo ... but when they do, it could serve as a pattern for other reservations elsewhere. There's a lot of anti-Indian sentiment out there."

Florence Williams is a staff reporter for *High Country News*. Her story was paid for by the High Country News Research Fund.

12-High Country News — July 30, 1990

Mark Maryboy politicks with a two-by-four

Sakezzie was the leader of a small clan of people called the K'aayeliis who live on Utah's Navajo reservation. In 1963, he took the state of Utah to court, demanding some benefits for his people from oil development on the reservation.

As he lay, defeated, on his deathbed several years later, he told of a young prophet from another clan who would rise to carry on the struggle of the tribe.

Some people believe Mark Maryboy is that man.

The first Native American county commissioner in Utah, Maryboy, 34, is also the education director of the Utah Navajo Development Council and a candidate for the Navajo Nation Tribal Council headquartered in Arizona.

Like Sakezzie, Maryboy is deeply religious. He practices the traditional Navajo way, and is studying to be a shaman. He says he uses his knowledge of the old ways to bring his political messages to the sparse, isolated reservation. Medicine men channel Maryboy's words to even more remote reaches of the hot, dry land.

His message these days is simple: Vote. Not only in the Navajo Nation elections, which usually draw a high turnout, but in the Anglo-dominated San Juan County elections held on the same day.

The rest of his message is more complex. Maryboy says he wants his people to understand the depth of their disenfranchisement, the extent to which they have been exploited, repressed and cheated, and that it is time to assert their political power.

Ten years ago, when Mark Maryboy had finished college, his father, a uranium miner, died of lung cancer. He returned to his home on the San Juan

River to find his mother, Clara, impoverished. Distressed by her living conditions, he formed a small citizens' group and successfully petitioned the tribe to build 29 modern homes for his mother and her neighbors.

The grandson of a respected medicine man, Maryboy was also sickened by the environmental damage wreaked by massive oil and gas development on the reservation.

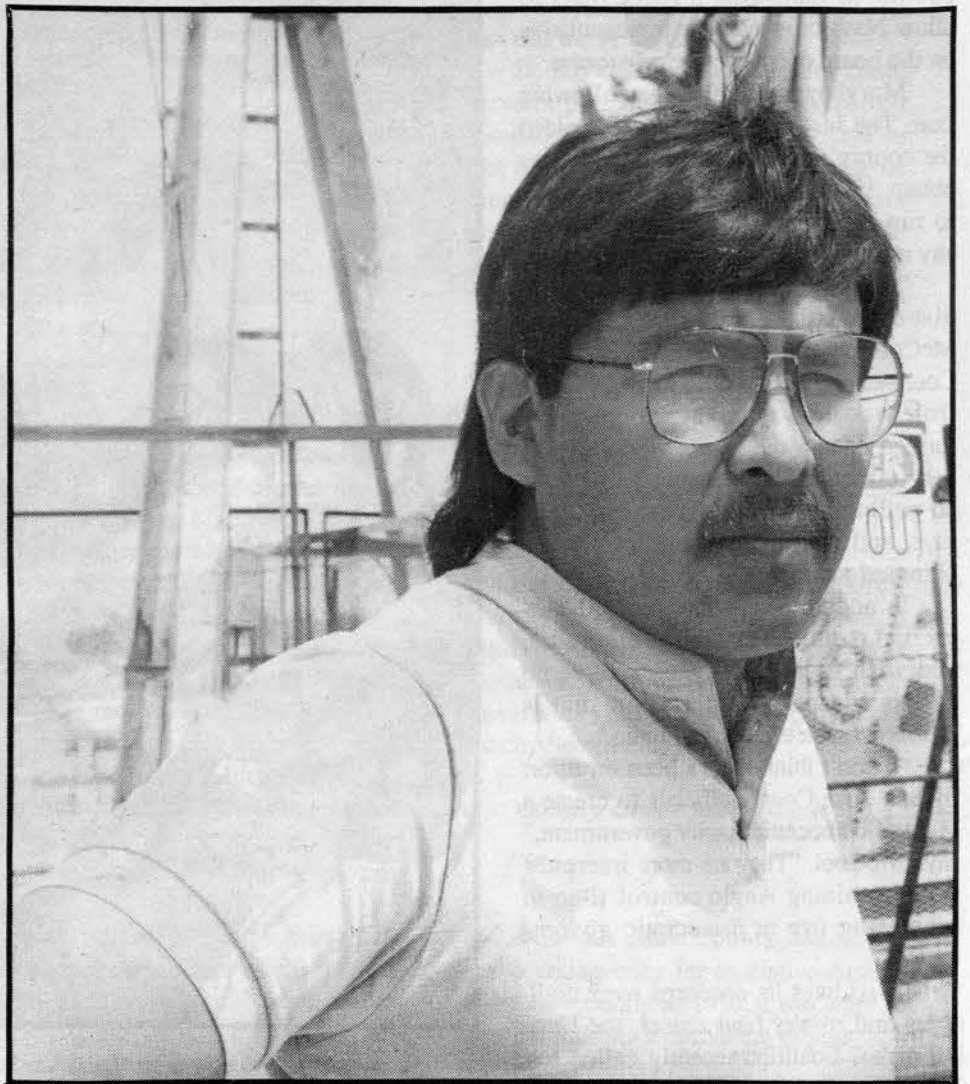
"The land is totally desecrated," he says. "Wells are contaminated, people are constantly sick, and plants and animals die. If you sit up on the mesas at night, it looks like Christmas; there's gas burning everywhere." He says he vowed to help improve conditions on the reservation.

An amateur bronco-buster, Maryboy hardly fits the image of prophet. Tall and athletic, he prides himself on negotiating the rites of the Anglo world as well as the traditions of Navajoland.

"My dad was a great teacher who inspired me to go on," he says. "Traditional philosophy teaches endurance and consistency. I can still retain traditional things, songs, prayers and philosophy, and it's okay for me to be in the mainstream."

Maryboy may be mainstream, but he is not accepted by everyone. From Monument Valley to Canyonlands, Maryboy is controversial. He has launched a series of investigations against the county for royalty and civil rights abuses, and has become the target of counterinvestigations spearheaded by the county's attorney.

In 1989, Gov. Norm Bangerter appointed a task force to address royalties and other concerns on the reservation. He appointed 15 Anglos, many from oil and gas companies, and two Navajos, one of whom was Maryboy. Not satisfied with the progress of



Florence Williams

Mark Maryboy

the committee, Maryboy helped organize a highly publicized Native American rights march on the capitol. The group stormed the budgetary session of the Legislature and demanded that royalty money be rerouted through elected tribal leaders.

Says Maryboy: "I've been complaining. I'm very candid about my positions. I've been kicked off practically every board; I've been called a rabble rouser."

At a recent commission meeting, Maryboy requested that the county provide stamps for sending mail to his constituents. There followed a heated discussion of personal versus business use of county supplies. In a calm voice, Maryboy said, "Ty, Bill, you guys are reasonable adults. I'm probably the only commissioner who's had to justify everything a thousand times. It's so obvious the whole process leads to discrimination."

"I had a feeling you were going to say that," responded chair Ty Lewis.

Maryboy's problems with the commission date back to the days when he regularly butted heads with the late chair Calvin Black, perhaps best known for his contribution to Edward Abbey's character in the *Monkey Wrench Gang*, Bishop Love. When Black's retirement was imminent, he made a motion to pass the chair to newcomer Ty Lewis. Lewis seconded the motion, effectively skirting an unspoken tradition of passing the chair to the next senior commissioner. Both men knew that would be Maryboy.

"My first two years on the commission, I was a nice guy," recounts Maryboy. "But it became so obvious I was being patronized and discriminated against. They were always stonewalling me. I went into plan B, to go in there with a two-by-four and get their attention. I'd refuse to have to justify myself. For that reason, they started approving things for me."

"I try to be unemotional and maintain my composure. I only lost it once with Cal. We stared each other down. The medicine men say Cal Black died because he fought me so hard."

The other commissioners are not so sure Maryboy's unyielding style works.

"I don't dislike Indians, I never

have," explains Lewis, a rancher and devout Mormon. "I think we can do some things, but not if everyone is fighting. Mark makes allegations and doesn't listen to the facts. I find it difficult to explain things to him. He won't reason. Our working relationship is difficult."

Lewis believes the county has done a good job of improving conditions on the reservation.

"Fifteen years ago, there were few roads on the reservation, no doubt about it. In the last five or 10 years, I think we've been more than equitable. They've more than gotten their share. We've bent over backwards to give them their share." While some conditions are better, Lewis will not credit Maryboy with the changes. "It's hard to tell if he's done anything. He's bulldogging ahead. It grates on me."

But former commissioner Ken Bailey applauds Maryboy's efforts. "The county really needs his abilities in working with the local tribes. I don't know a commissioner who isn't confrontational when he wants something."

Recently, county attorney Halls launched an investigation against Maryboy, whom he suspects may have double-billed the county and the state for \$750 in travel expenses. Maryboy's allies think the accusations are part of an effort to smear the campaign.

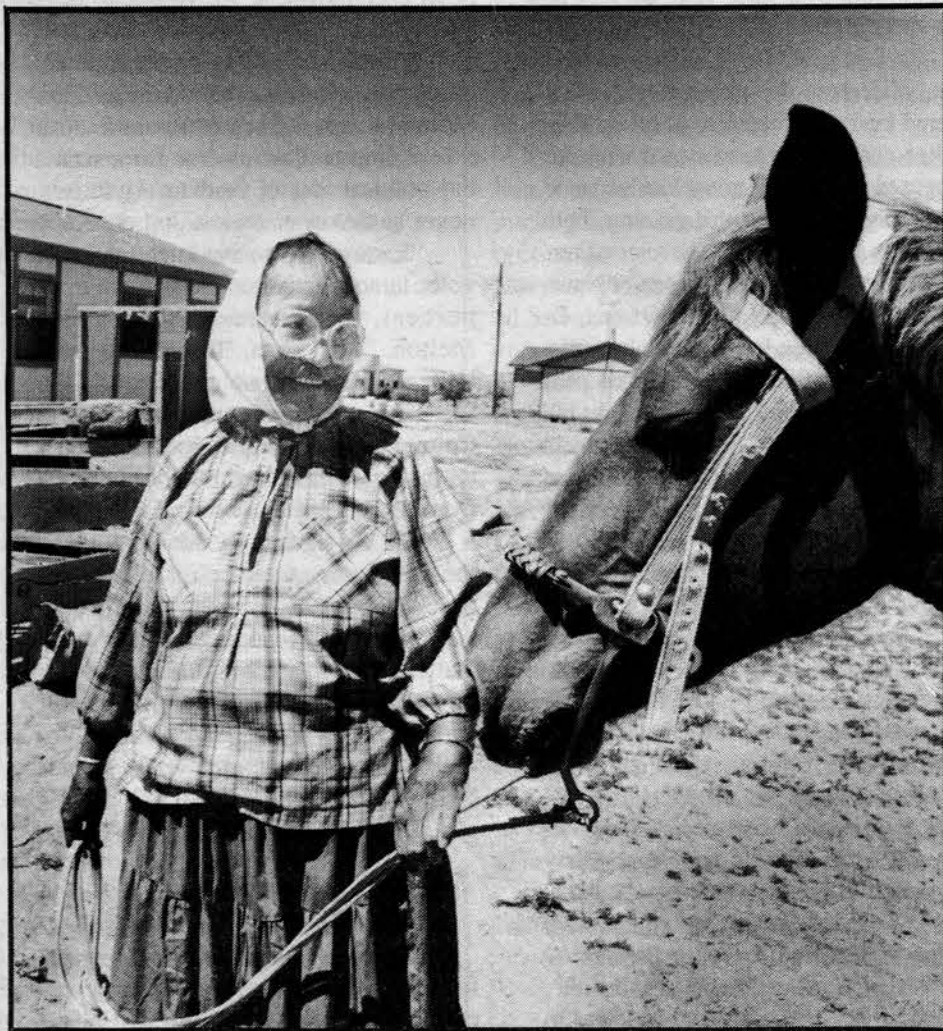
"Those guys down there play political hardball with him. They want to embarrass him because he's made them look bad," says Michael Heyrend of Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance.

Ken Sleight, Democratic candidate for state representative, agrees. "The Navajo slate scares the hell out of them," says Sleight. "So there's this big vendetta against Mark Maryboy."

But Maryboy says he does not get discouraged by his opposition. "That's when I revert to my Indianness," he explains. "I think of the good things, of what we have accomplished. I was taught to expect the worst, but to collect myself and continue what I want in life relentlessly."

"Besides," he adds, "the medicine men are praying for me."

— Florence Williams



Clara Maryboy of White Rock Point, Utah

GUEST ESSAY

A wild Wyoming river is held hostage

by LaMar Empey

Eleven years have passed since the U.S. Forest Service recommended, with overwhelming public support, the designation of 21.5 miles of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone as a wild and scenic river. Eight years have passed since the Reagan administration endorsed that recommendation and submitted appropriate legislation to the Congress.

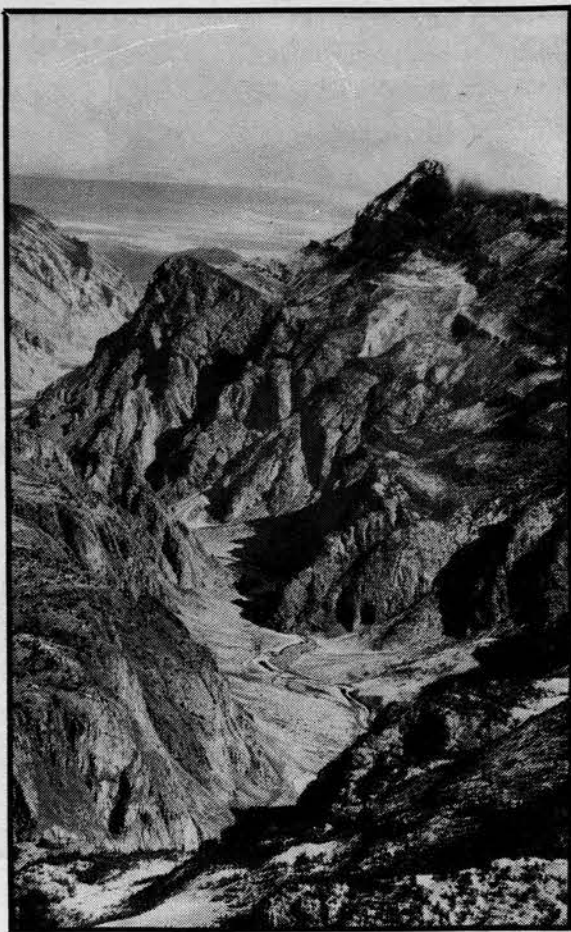
But Wyoming's congressional delegation — Sens. Alan Simpson and Malcolm Wallop and Rep. Dick Cheney — quashed the nomination. All held, instead, that until Wyoming's governor determined that Clarks Fork protection was in Wyoming's best interest, federal action was unwarranted. The delegation repeatedly promised, however, that if the state did endorse protection, the necessary legislation would be forthcoming.

This action notwithstanding, there were few people in the state willing to argue that the Clarks Fork was anything but a unique treasure. It originates in wide meadows and cool forests and then plunges for miles through a 1,200-foot chasm characterized by incredible vistas, deep pools and leaping waterfalls. So narrow are the canyon's walls in places that only a handful of world-class kayakers have traversed them. The Clarks Fork may flow through the wildest, most inaccessible canyon in the lower 48.

Equally important, the Clarks Fork is habitat for mountain goats, the rare Yellowstone cutthroat trout, the grizzly, the peregrine falcon, and deer, elk, bighorn sheep and moose. Yet opposition to federal protection was based upon the assumption that such protection would forever endanger Wyoming's right to develop its own precious water.

It took years of work on the local level to overcome these fears. By 1988, however, federal designation had been endorsed, not merely by local landowners, sports and conservation groups and such local organizations as the Cody Chamber of Commerce, the Park County Commissioners, the League of Women Voters, the *Cody Enterprise* and the *Casper Star-Tribune*, but by Wyoming's governor, Mike Sullivan. Even a last-ditch effort by the Wyoming Legislature to declare the Clarks Fork a state, rather than federal, wild and scenic river was beaten down.

The formula that made all this possible was simple: (1) All existing water rights above the Clarks Fork Canyon (the protected segment), plus some additional water for future contingencies, would remain in force; (2) all remaining water would flow through the canyon, as it has for a hundred years; and (3) a large reservoir, below the protected canyon, could be built on federal land, if and when Wyoming



Jack Richard

Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone

needs it. To make such a reservoir possible, in fact, the Forest Service agreed to shorten the protected segment from 21.5 to 20.5 miles.

Two events followed. On the one hand, the congressional delegation, now including Rep. Craig Thomas rather than Dick Cheney, joined in praise of the Clarks Fork. It is an irreplaceable treasure, they said, which they would like to see receive federal protection in 1990, in memory of Wyoming's centennial year.

On the other hand, the delegation, with some support from the governor, introduced a bill which, in addition to the simple formula mentioned above, includes provisions that would seem to assure its failure: (1) that Wyoming must join the federal government in determining an appropriate flow through the Clarks Fork Canyon, and (2) that such a flow shall remain at 50 percent of normal, should state-federal

negotiations break down. According to the delegation, this latter provision was inserted to prevent an odious, evil litigation in federal court over an appropriate flow.

The difficulty with these provisions, of course, is that the standards for including a river in the National River System are determined not by whim or state veto power, but by criteria designed to preserve the original, wild character of the river. If worse came to worst, therefore, a 50 percent flow for the Clarks Fork would not do that.

Recognizing this fact, such groups as the Clarks Fork Coalition, the Greater Yellowstone Coalition, the Sierra Club and the Wyoming Wildlife Federation worked behind the scenes, trying to get the bill changed. All to no avail.

Thus, when hearings were held before the Senate Public Lands Subcommittee in May 1990, Sen. Dale Bumpers confirmed the self-defeating character of the bill. "I don't mean to denigrate the concerns of any state," he said, "but we have a bill and there's no point in it unless we have enough water to carry out the purpose of this bill."

In response, Sen. Simpson went on the attack. If rejection is the price that must be paid to protect Wyoming's sovereignty, he argued, so be it. And in response to our public revelations of the contents of the bill, he said that "super-zealots" like us would be responsible for the bill's failure. "Wrap [the responsibility] around their heads like a tire iron," he said.

The irony is that neither of the delegation's controversial provisions are necessary or relevant. The quantity of water necessary to meet the criteria for a wild river already flows through the canyon, after existing water rights are met. There is nothing to negotiate.

Likewise, a mandated interim flow of 50 percent, to encourage negotiation, is, for the same reason, irrelevant. As a consequence, it is clear that Wyoming's own congressional delegation has made the Clarks Fork a pawn in the larger Western struggle over state versus federal water rights, its repeated promises to protect the river notwithstanding.

The future of this struggle is difficult to predict. Sadly, Wyoming could protect both its water and its national treasure — the Clarks Fork — if the delegation would simply modify the bill to account for the arrangements so laboriously worked out before they began to add to them.

LaMar Empey is chairman of the Yellowstone Clarks Fork Coalition, Box 2685, Cody, Wyoming 82414.

LETTERS

FOREST SERVICE BASHING

Dear HCN,

It was a pleasure to see the opinion on the USFS Region 1 "camp-out" (HCN, 6/18/90) and it is usually also a pleasure to read articles by Dick Manning. He has written many well-researched and thoughtful pieces on resource issues. It was equally a disappointment to read through to the end and find six paragraphs of requisite agency-bashing.

There is no doubt that both "resource" and "management" have anthropocentric implications. And I am sure that Dick Manning walks gently on the land when he enters a wilderness area, designated or not. It is a fact of life in "resource management," however, that not everyone treats our surroundings with respect, and it is responsibility for wilderness (and other natural resources) that drives management. Whether you agree with management strategies, plans or objective is a different albeit important question.

Many people who dislike thinking

of the natural world as a resource are also quick to jump when they believe it is being poorly managed. Population and economic pressures make the laissez-faire approach to wildland protection anachronistic. As a "resource manager," I would rather speak the language of the marketing world and consider some "resources" as suited for protection and careful monitoring than to pigeonhole parts of the larger ecosystem in my thinking, and pretend like no one "uses" them. That kind of determined tunnel perspective exacerbates the problems and creates litigation.

Suzanne J. Morgan
Missoula, Montana

DISCLAIMER REVEALS
PREJUDICE

Dear HCN,

Only occasionally are educated, relatively prosperous white males subjected to prejudicial statements. My first experience was as a gentile in Utah. And earlier this year, I lectured to a graduate environmental sciences program and again experienced prejudice,

i.e., although the lectures went well, my *vita* was strong, and there were no other candidates, I was told I could not be considered as a finalist for a faculty position. The reasons: wrong gender, wrong race, wrong sexual orientation. Neither my experiences in Utah nor those at Evergreen State were especially troubling, for an important reason, since I was not interested in acceptance by either group, they lacked the power to hurt. In contrast, free market environmentalists want their ideas to be honestly considered by sincere environmentalists of all types.

For this reason, I reacted strongly to a sentence in Ed Marston's review of James Fallow's *More Like Us* (HCN, 4/23/90). Your disclaimer, "This is not a plea to listen to the free marketers and lift all environmental controls ... Our goal should be to achieve a clean environment within the context of maximum economic and social freedom." The first sentence hurt for I expected better. The second hurt because that is precisely the goal, and probable outcome, of free market approaches to environmental protection.

We've both known members of minority groups with characteristics allegedly stereotypical of these groups,

i.e., sloth, avarice, and so forth. In contrast, I've yet to meet a "free marketer" who advocates lifting of all environmental controls. Can you identify such an individual — even one? In my 20 years in the field of environmental economics and policy, I have yet to encounter one.

John Baden
Bozeman, Montana

The writer is chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment.

CALIFORNIA DESERT

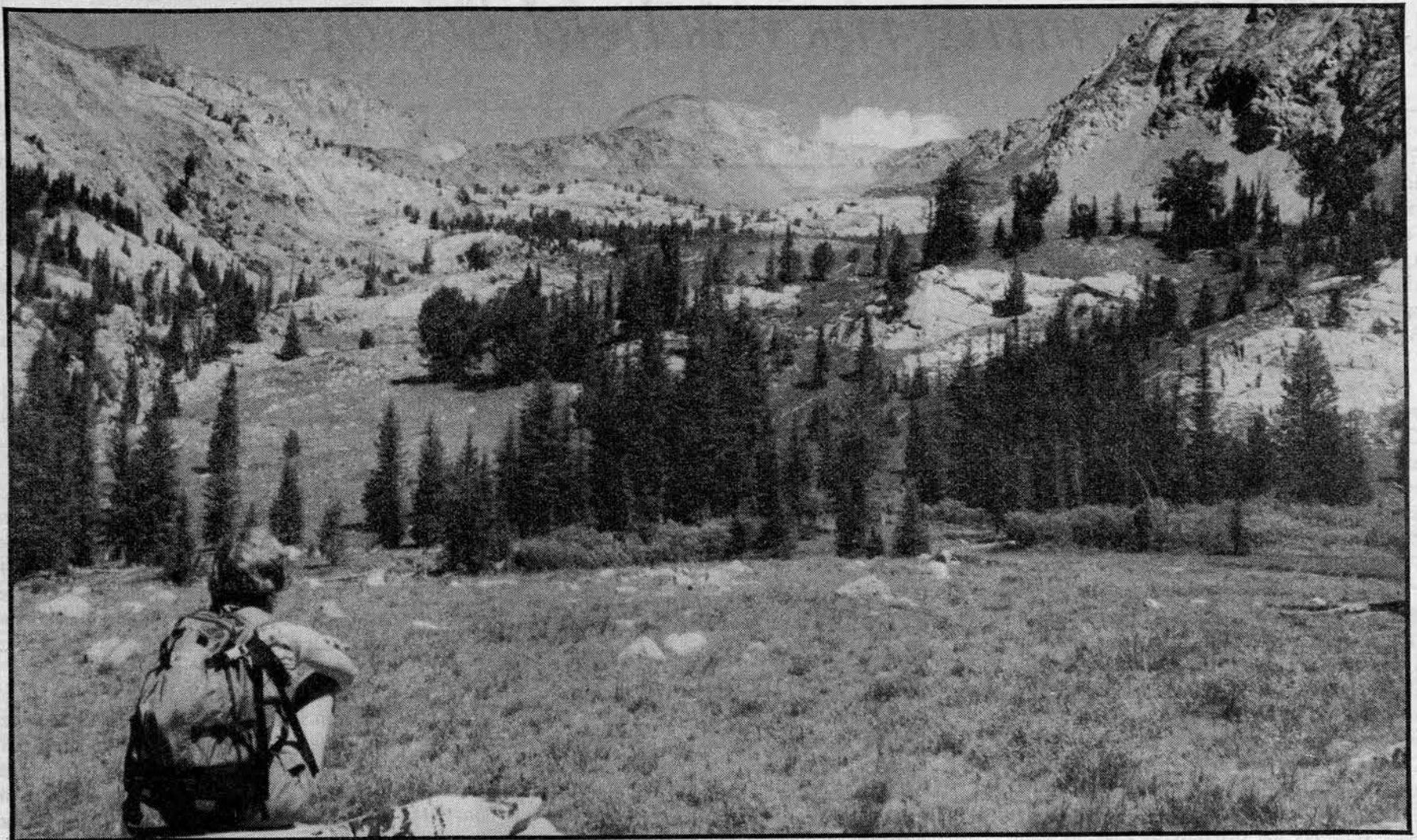
Dear HCN,

Thanks so much for the great feature on the Mining Law of 1872 (HCN, 6/4/90). We, of course, loved the article on the California Desert Protection Act, especially since you carry so few articles on specifically California issues. However, I must point out that Jim Dodson has been working for the California Desert Protection Act, and is not part of the "opposition."

Judy Anderson
Montrose, California

14-High Country News — July 30, 1990

GUEST ESSAY



Lynne Stone

Big Basin: proposed Pioneer Mountain Wilderness in Idaho

We must stop devouring the West

by Thomas A. Barron

My father, a small businessman in Colorado Springs, has a 1952 Willys Jeep that he won't let die. It has followed me throughout my life, and it sits even now in my parents' garage, minus doors, roof and many of its original moving parts. But it still runs, and it still gets stuck in at least one snowdrift every winter.

When I started in business nearly 10 years ago, my dad took me out to the old jeep. In a rare philosophical moment, he laid his hand on the windshield and said: "Keeping a business alive is a lot like keeping this jeep alive. Once you get it running, don't forget to take care of it. If you feed it, repair it and don't push it too hard, it should keep running for a very long time."

What applies to old jeeps and businesses, I have concluded, also applies to the economic well-being of the communities of the West. We are blessed with an astounding base of natural assets: clean air, good water, open land and the many sturdy folk who live here. But instead of feeding, repairing and taking care of these natural assets, we have been running them down in a way that would destroy any automobile or business in very little time.

In building the venture capital firm of which I eventually became president, I had the opportunity to make a few mistakes — and to learn a few things in the process. Most of what I learned came from working closely with several of the companies in which we made substantial investments. These included the major producer of Girl Scout Cookies (a business with sales in excess of \$200 million, thanks to a sales force of two million little girls who refuse to take no for an answer), the fifth largest chain of child care centers in the country, a regional railroad in the Southeast, and the company with the exclusive right to import and distribute Victorinox Swiss Army Knives in the United States. In the case of each company, success depended on identifying its key asset, then nurturing that asset over the long haul.

The key asset of a company or a region may not be obvious at first. Take the Swiss Army Knife company. Shortly after investing in it in 1983, we decided to set up stores to sell imported products. Although it seemed to be a logical extension of the business we were in, it became an expensive mistake.

But the experience had a positive effect: It caused us to think hard about what was the company's key asset. There were lots of possibilities: our niche in the

imported products business, our good distribution network, the stacks of unsold Swiss Army Knives in our warehouse. But they weren't it. We finally realized that the company's key asset was the name Swiss Army, and the abundant goodwill associated with it. The key to building our business was concentrating on this strength and then maintaining it over time.

Thus was born the idea of introducing other high quality products under the brand name Swiss Army — items like watches and sunglasses and that had the same look, feel, durability and versatility as the original Swiss Army Knife. Today, this business has become one of our most successful operating companies, with triple its 1983 revenues.

I have now left that firm, but I believe the experience holds some relevance for the West. What are the West's key assets? And can we keep them running?

Despite first impressions, I believe our key assets are not represented by a short-lived uranium mine outside of Moab, Utah, nor the elusive dream of an oil shale boom in western Colorado, nor a new ski resort that yearns to become even more like Beverly Hills than Beverly Hills itself. These may bring short-term booms, but dependence on them will also bring long-term economic instability, human suffering and environmental damage.

Our true asset base — our real wealth — lies in the magnificent bounty of air, water and land around us, the natural assets that allow us to live in a place where decency and openness abound, where ready access to the outdoors is available to everyone. It is these assets that some refer to as "the paycheck from God." Their presence enriches the life of urban as well as rural Westerners, and has sparked a notable demographic shift: In 1986, professors Gundars Rudzitis and Harley E. Johansen at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, documented that rural counties adjacent to wilderness areas have been growing since 1970 at more than twice the rate of metropolitan and rural counties as a whole.

If the West were a business, we would regard our natural assets as our capital base. They also comprise our competitive advantage. We would not squander them, but would nurture them, for our long-term survival depends on their long-term health. Instead, we have been devouring our capital base, destroying our competitive advantage and calling it profit.

Examples surround us. In Montana's Gallatin National Forest, near Yellowstone National Park, recent data from the Congressional Research Service show that 93 percent of the jobs directly derived from

the forest are tied to recreation, but only 6 percent of jobs in the area are directly tied to the timber industry. If one includes all the indirect labor from uses of the Gallatin, 86 percent of jobs are tied to recreation and 11 percent to timber. Nevertheless, the Forest Service's long-term management plan for the Gallatin would open up 95 percent of the remaining non-wilderness roadless areas (nearly 500,000 acres) to timbering and other extractive uses, compromising future recreation business opportunities in the area.

The Gallatin is no isolated instance. In Idaho, Montana and Wyoming counties surrounding Yellowstone, employment related to logging and wood products represented only 1.6 percent of total 1988 employment in the region. Service industries — not including restaurant, insurance, retail, real estate, banking or finance businesses — comprised 30 percent of the total (up from 21.8 percent in 1975). Despite this, the Forest Service continues to spend such huge amounts on timber harvesting that in the seven national forests in the region, the timber program has cost taxpayers, in cash, nearly \$26 million over the past two years alone. To make matters worse, the timber program produces additional long-term costs: erosion, watershed destruction, soil disturbance, wildlife habitat disruption and lost recreational opportunities.

If the Forest Service's timber management policies in the Yellowstone basin embody the old economic thinking that erodes our capital base and contributes to boom-and-bust cycles, what then is the new economic thinking? It springs from three fundamental concepts: diversity, flexibility and stewardship.

Diversity and Flexibility

Diversification spreads risks and dampens cycles. No portfolio manager would keep his job very long if he placed all of his investments in a single security. And flexibility is also needed: markets are always moving, usually in unpredictable ways.

So, states and regions throughout the West need to adopt policies to encourage diversity and flexibility. Not every local economy can diversify significantly. Some towns will always be more suitable for skiing, others for value-added timber manufacturing, others for tourism, others for corporate office parks. But counties, watersheds, parts of states, states and the region as a whole can diversify. As an area achieves a better overall balance, the economic, social

and environmental costs of dependence on any one industry are minimized.

In recent years, we have been reminded of the severity of the cycles of traditional extractive businesses. As documented by Thomas Michael Power, professor of economics at the University of Montana, more than half of those previously employed in Montana in oil and gas are now out of work, producing only one-third of the former oil and gas payroll for Montanans. Some blame wilderness designations, but the opposite is true.

Montana's only growth sector during the 1980s has been services, including recreation and tourism, which have expanded by almost 60 percent. Had Montana been even more dependent on oil and gas than it was, and had wilderness areas not been preserved, with a consequent burgeoning of the state's recreation industry, Montana's current economic collapse would have been even more devastating.

Many regional economies of the West are seriously depressed. The good news is that many of them are beginning to diversify, building new business bases in services, tourism, small business, manufacturing, retirement and recreation. In Utah, U.S. Department of Commerce figures show that the share of the state's economy contributed by the mining and energy industries has dropped by more than 67 percent since 1963. Although employment in Utah has nearly doubled in the last 30 years, from 430,000 in 1969 to more than 800,000 in 1987, the number of jobs tied to the energy and minerals sector is actually lower than it was in 1969. Meanwhile, the services sector increased its share of the economy by more than 50 percent, while more than tripling its dollar contribution from \$1.11 billion to \$3.33 billion. Arizona tells the same story, as do other western states.

Stewardship

The term stewardship boils down to a long-term attitude about our planet and its resources. Stewardship requires us to use, re-use and conserve resources just as we would the assets of a business or a trust.

That means they are left in good condition for our sons and daughters and generations of sons and daughters beyond them. We should conduct our economic lives so that our descendants can reap dividends from that paycheck from God.

Stewardship would not prohibit all resource extraction or development. But it does force us to face generational equity. Does this project devour the resource, or does it allow the resource to be used and re-used over a significant period of time? It also asks us to consider externalities that do not show up under market-based economic analyses, giving a value to concepts like clean air, pure water, habitat for mountain lions, as well as solitude and inspiration.

In the case of timber, stewardship means harvesting the trees no faster than they can regenerate, and, where the environment is too fragile or alternative economic options would be destroyed, not cutting them at all. Rather than liquidating the timber of an entire area, as happened over the last 30 years in the Island Park area of Fremont County, Idaho, why not develop a long-term base of added-value forest products? Companies that produce furniture, veneers, panels, joists and other wood products have a vested interest in preserving the basic underlying resource — and their livelihoods in the process.

Communities where timber is an important part of the economy can create more jobs over a longer time by encouraging more efficient uses of the timber resource. Any government assistance ought to focus on facilitating the transition to competitive new timber businesses and modern silviculture, rather than subsidizing current destructive, wasteful practices. Instead of spending \$2 billion over the last 10 years to build more destructive roads in the national forests, we might have created many new and lasting jobs if some of those funds had been used to encourage local businesses with long-term viability.

Economic restructuring with an eye to stewardship is beginning to happen throughout the West. Not far from Island Park, West Yellowstone, Mont., has diversified away from dependence on accelerating timber harvests and become a major recreational cen-

ter and a world-class destination for fly fishing. But a recreation-oriented economy is not the only possible route.

Bozeman, Mont., has attracted light manufacturers like Gibson Guitar because it is a good place to live. Dozens of other towns, from Dubois, Wyo., to Moab, Utah, to Grand Junction, Colo., have made progress toward prosperity by aligning their economies with resource protection, rather than resource depletion.

Conclusion

The Greek word *ecos* is the root of both our words *economy* and *ecology*: Making a living and making life worth living must both be part of our long-term economic future. No longer is it possible to survive by using up or wearing out one place and then moving on. The human and environmental costs of economic escapism are too great.

An economy more oriented toward diversity, flexibility and stewardship promises to be more durable, more energetic, and less tied to the whims of any single market cycle. By building on our true assets rather than devouring them, we will also produce greater autonomy — more control over our own destinies, a strengthened sense of our own unique attributes. In the process, we will preserve our economic base and cease irreversibly depleting our resources.

Economic well-being and environmental health are inescapably intertwined. The West is blessed with substantial natural resources, a vibrant heritage and people who are willing to learn from the past. There will inevitably be bumps in the road ahead, but like my dad's old jeep, the revitalized West can take the bumps and keep on rolling.

■

Thomas A. Barron is a businessman and author in Denver, Colorado. Since 1982, he has been active in the venture capital business.

GUEST ESSAY

Exxon caused panic in Needle Park

by Andrew Gulliford

Drive through Hobbs, N.M., Grand Junction, Colo., or Colstrip, Mont., and on 10-year-old luxury cars, bumper stickers still read, "Lord, let there be another energy boom and let me not piss this one away."

These bumper stickers found in energy boomtowns gone bust are terse reminders of a decade ago when the Rocky Mountains hummed with activity brought by multinational oil companies riding the crest of an unprecedented energy boom.

In western Colorado, Exxon, U.S.A. announced plans to spend \$5 billion on oil shale development. Thousands of construction workers moved to the Colorado River Valley to work on Exxon's Colony Oil Shale Project and new town of Battlement Mesa.

But two years later, on a Sunday — "Black Sunday" — in May 1982, Exxon pulled the plug on its project and threw 2,300 people out of work.

Fortune magazine said Exxon's decision had all "the abruptness of a teenager making a screeching U-turn."

It was so abrupt, construction employees had no chance to retrieve lunch buckets or jean jackets hanging in their lockers. After moving halfway across the country for a job, workers found that severance pay amounted to a day's wages and mileage to and from the job site.

Because of a decision made in New York by 19 managers on Exxon's board of directors, 6,000 people left the Colorado River Valley within three months. As workers moved, they sold their belongings below market value. Pub owner and newspaperman Pat O'Neill remarked that "carpetbaggers buzzed around like flies on an outhouse," purchasing furniture, appliances and automobiles.

Senior citizens on fixed incomes, who could not cope with spiraling food and housing expenses, were particularly hard hit in Rocky Mountain boomtowns. Also affected were teenagers and young adults who became susceptible to the easy money found in

boomtown employment. One bulldozer operator said he had expected to earn as much as \$80,000 in a year.

The day Exxon stopped spending a million dollars a week on Battlement Mesa, 400 apartments and condominium units were under construction, as were 46 single-family houses. Foundations had been laid for an additional 112 units. Exxon had been building a new city to contain more people than actually lived in the entire county!

In what University of Denver political scientist John Gilmore called "one of the greater minor faux pas of corporate history," Exxon had released a controversial "white paper" outlining the role of synthetic fuels in the nation's energy future. For the labor necessary to run this new industry, Exxon projected growth in the Colorado River Valley at 50,000 people a year for 30 years. Because each barrel of oil from shale takes between two and three barrels of water to produce, Exxon engineers even suggested pumping water from the Missouri River basin in South Dakota over the Continental Divide because not enough water existed on the Western Slope.

Such grandiose plans smacked of one-upmanship in the world of big oil, but small-town businessmen naively assumed these were irreversible corporate decisions by Exxon, and by Mobil, Chevron, Union, Cities Service, Occidental Petroleum, Multi-Minerals, Cathedral Bluffs and Getty Oil. All had massive shale projects.

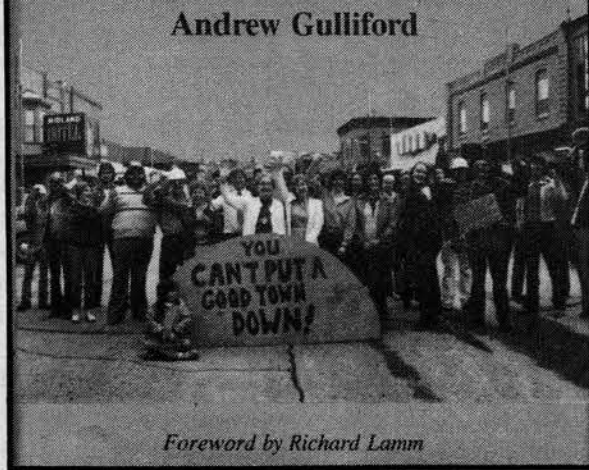
When the economic bust occurred, \$85 million in annual payroll evaporated from western Colorado. In Mesa County, just west of the oil shale epicenter of Parachute and Battlement Mesa, banks foreclosed on 1,500 houses. The population of Mesa County was 94,000 in 1980, but by 1985, only 83,000 people remained.

Robert Nuffer, director of the Sopris Mental Health Center in Glenwood Springs, recalls, "What we saw was the very typical grief reactions that you see with a loss." After shock, denial and anger came bargaining. Nuffer explains, "And people move back and forth between all these stages. Then it's into a

Boomtown Blues

Colorado Oil Shale, 1885-1985

Andrew Gulliford



Foreword by Richard Lamm

depression, a loss, a sense of hopelessness, an overwhelming sadness, a tendency towards despair ... This process can take time. Depending on the magnitude of the loss, anywhere from several months to several years."

Though the recent oil shale boom brought new roads, schools, libraries, water treatment plants and subdivisions to the Western Slope, the boom and bust also destroyed a social and cultural web of community that had sustained area residents for a century.

Have we learned anything from the Exxon-created bust? One lesson is this: In the future, Westerners must insist on delay and abandonment clauses in all mining permits, for there is no telling when corporations will learn to be as sensitive to the delicate balance of local culture as they are to international markets and the global economy.

■

Andrew Gulliford's *Boomtown Blues: Colorado Oil Shale, 1885-1985*, was published in 1989. This fall, he will become assistant professor of history and public historian at Middle Tennessee State University.

16-High Country News — July 30, 1990

BOOKS

Propaganda from academe

Seven Popular MYTHS
About

Livestock Grazing on Public Lands

Jeffrey C. Mosley, E. Lamar Smith, Phil R. Ogden. University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, and University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. 1990. 18 pages. \$2.

Review by Ed Marston

If you want a quick introduction to the West's lack of intellectual resources when it comes to natural resources, write to the University of Idaho, Moscow, or the University of Arizona, Tucson, for *Seven Popular MYTHS about Livestock Grazing on Public Lands*.

The 18-page booklet — liberally illustrated, set in large type and containing no more words than this commentary — speaks volumes. The three authors are assistant professor Jeffrey C. Mosley of the University of Idaho, associate professor E. Lamar Smith of the University of Arizona, and professor Phil R. Ogden of the University of Arizona.

Their professorates are in range science, and their purpose in writing the booklet was to provide "factual, well-documented information" on livestock grazing on public lands, a subject that, they say, "has become embroiled in flaming controversy fueled by misinformation."

They attempt to pour cold facts on this flaming controversy by stating and then refuting seven "popular myths." They start with the most troublesome myth: the amount of forage livestock consume on the public range. A forthright statement of this Myth, as the writers call positions they differ with, would not serve the purpose of the booklet. So the Myth is restated as:

"Livestock grazing on public lands plays an insignificant role in U.S. cattle and sheep production."

The trio then argues that at some point or other in their brief lives, many of the West's cattle and sheep set hoof on public land. The opening paragraph of the refutation is:

"In 1988, the 11 western states supported 20 percent of the nation's total beef cows and replacement heifers and raised 19 percent of the nation calves."

The key word is "supported." It is a squirrely, vague word, capable of many interpretations. The 20 percent number is followed by "81 percent in Nevada, 64 percent in Wyoming and 63 percent in Arizona..." One gets the idea that without "support" from the public lands, there would be no beef or mutton or wool in the United States.

It must therefore come as a shock to readers unfamiliar with the grazing debate when, toward the end of the Myth One refutation, the professors finally reveal that "only 1 percent of the sheep and cattle feed consumed in the U.S. is supplied by public lands."

The authors are correct, of course, to place the 1 percent figure in context, and opponents of public land grazing should not brandish this number as if it were the whole story. The West's public lands, at their highest grazing use, produce calves, which are the cattle industry's seed crop. And the cow-calf operation in the West often consists of a private ranch which could not exist without its public grazing lands.

The range professors make this point, but mostly they attempt to bury the 1 percent number. Were they really interested in illuminating the subject, they would have forthrightly recognized

that the public lands produce only a dab of forage even as cattle and sheep occupy a vast majority of the land.

Such an honest look at the facts would have led them to recognize that their "flaming controversy" is not a result of a communist conspiracy. (Communist conspiracies today are all aimed at eliminating the kinds of subsidies cattle ranchers benefit from.) Its roots lie in the millions of individual interactions that hikers, hunters, fishermen and bird-watchers have each year.

One by one, users of the public lands are coming to realize that these lands have been bent out of shape by and are still dominated by livestock. We want those animals to move over and give room to other wildlife, other forms of vegetation besides brush and weed, and to other users.

If the professors had confronted the roots of the controversy, they might have asked: Is there a way to accommodate pressures from other uses and users while protecting the cow-calf operations that are the core of Western ranching?

One alternative would reserve a suitable (for grazing) part of the public range for cow-calf operations. The professors might have investigated the possibility of eliminating all "feedlot" type grazing, which occurs when ranchers graze yearlings on cheap government grass. Those yearlings would already be in feedlots if the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service weren't compelled by the ranching lobby, acting through the Congress, to give away the government grass.

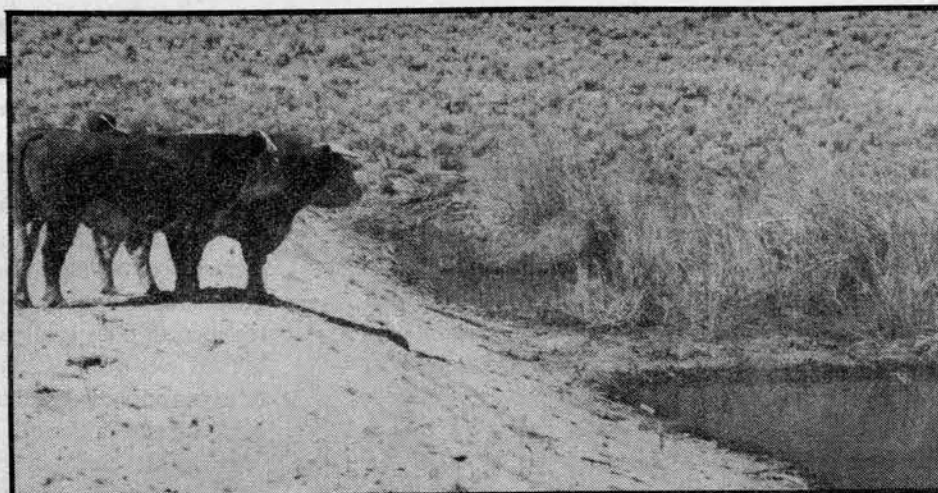
Such a discussion — accompanied by statistics showing how much of the public range is used for cow-calf operations and how much for general feed — would add to the understanding of the grazing issue and dampen passions. The statistics might show that a large chunk of BLM and Forest Service land could be removed from grazing, while allowing most cow-calf operations to continue. But the professors had no time for such considerations. Their mission was to defend grazing — to freeze it in time and space.

So rather than rewrite the booklet, let's move to Myth 3: "Low federal grazing fees encourage excessive numbers of livestock on public lands."

The refutation of this Myth, made in one paragraph with breathless brevity, claims there is no relation between the subsidized cost of public land grazing and the number of livestock on the public range. They write: "The grazing fee is a political and economic decision made by Congress, whereas grazing capacity is an ecological decision made by the BLM and USFS."

The three researchers are like the city kid who thought that cows give meat the way they give milk. This *troika* of range scientists is apparently unaware that the West's ranching community has organized an efficient political machine, designed to ensure that Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service range decisions are not based on ecology and multiple use. Range management is based on politics, and the ranching industry's political influence reaches down onto every grazing allotment.

As a service to the range science discipline, I am going to send professors Mosley, Smith and Ogden back issues of this newspaper that describe how the ranching community works to prevent federal land managers from making ecological decisions on range stocking. I may also send them articles describing how the manipulation of markets,



through subsidies, often leads to political pressures and ecological damages.

For the moment, let's skip to Myth 7: "Livestock grazing on public lands is causing a decline in big game populations on these lands." This is a new myth — a sort of straw myth, meant to be pushed over easily. As we all know, big game numbers are increasing. Some say this is because livestock grazing and fire suppression have altered biological succession, creating a brushy habitat suitable for large browsing and grazing animals, such as deer and elk, and unsuitable for birds and small animals.

The three range scientists had covered biological succession, but their treatment was so tortured in its logic that it is difficult to discuss in a family newspaper. Their argument seemed to be that the public land should be judged as livestock range, and that attempts to measure how close the land is to its natural biological state is off the point. In other words, to these three scientists, "multiple use" refers to having land suitable for many cows and many sheep.

Moreover, what they omitted here is more interesting than what they included. The three avoided what they would undoubtedly have labelled the Riparian Habitat Myth. It is a startling omission, even for this booklet, because riparian habitat has dominated the public land grazing debate for much of the 1980s. Many Westerners believe that a century of livestock grazing has badly damaged or wiped out riparian areas, and that these devastated riparian areas would come back to life if livestock stopped grazing them. Some even think that the West's most typical landscape features — the gully and the wash — were caused by overgrazing.

Earth Firsters and other supporters of Livestock Free by '93 would probably charge that the professors left out the Riparian Myth because, for all their learning, they could not figure out how to explain away West-wide devastation of riparian habitat. My own sense is that the riparian discussion was left out because the resulting title, *Eight Popular MYTHS about Livestock-Grazing on Public Lands*, isn't nearly as jazzy as *Seven Popular MYTHS about Livestock Grazing on Public Lands*.

Were this newspaper to follow the Theory of Deconstructionism — which holds, very roughly, that what is not written down is more important than what is written down in a work of art — this booklet might suggest a ninth Myth: The West's publicly supported institutions of higher learning are places that assiduously avoid the natural resource issues facing the West. Or this Myth could be phrased: The natural resource departments of Western universities are invariably captives of their industries.

As this Myth hints, the value of the booklet is not the smog it shrouds public land grazing in, but the light it inadvertently backscatters on Western institutions of higher learning.

The booklet illustrates why intellectual initiatives about the West's natural resources almost always originate away from the region's universities. Science and public policy analysis cannot solve

the spotted owl controversy, or the fires-in-Yellowstone issue, or tell us how to manage the Colorado River. However, good science and good policy analysis can lay the basis for such solutions, and provide the rest of us with an accepted body of facts and alternatives based on those facts.

Unfortunately, as this embarrassing booklet illustrates, the West's universities have largely abdicated the area of natural resources. The vacuum the universities created has been partially filled by non-academics, or freelance academics — people with a fraction of a university's resources but with the all-important freedom and push to think and speak their minds. They include Randal O'Toole and his Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants in forestry; Alston Chase in national park management; Allan Savory and his Center for Holistic Resource Management in grazing; Dave Foreman and his Earth First! in endangered species; and Amory Lovins and his Rocky Mountain Institute in energy.

Academics from outside the region also make contributions. Frank and Deborah Popper of Rutgers University in New Jersey have done excellent demographic and economic analysis of the plains region, and come up with the Buffalo Commons idea to dramatize their conclusions.

Newspapers and government officials in plains states describe them as outsiders who know nothing about the region. But their critics have been unable to do more than call them names. Moreover, the harshness of the reaction makes it clear that an academic working for a university in a plains state would have trouble doing the Poppers' kind of research and keeping his or her job. The reaction to the Poppers helps explain why the West's universities are usually non-players when it comes to natural resource issues.

There are, of course, some Poppers in the region — a few faculty at each of the West's colleges and universities who do not follow the grazing-dam building-logging-mining party line. Moreover, the world is moving on, leaving these three range scientists behind. Even the public land ranching community is more intent on accommodating other public land users than the authors of this booklet.

There are also some signs of institutional stirrings. The College of Agriculture and Home Economics at New Mexico State University puts out a publication, *New Mexico Resources*, that pushes on its traditional constituency to recognize the need for thoroughgoing reform.

However, there is no recognition of the emerging new Western reality anywhere in this grazing booklet. The issuance of this publication by the universities of Idaho and Arizona inevitably leads to a question: Who peer reviewed this booklet — James Watt?

Seven Popular MYTHS can be ordered from The Editor, Idaho Forest, Wildlife and Range Experiment Station, College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843.