

INSIDE: Activists "claim" a golf course/3

High Country News

October 5, 1992

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A Paper for People who Care about the West

One dollar and fifty cents

Western voters face clear choices

The 1992 election will redraw the West's political map, but the new shape is almost impossible to predict.

Nevertheless, a few outcomes are already certain. Sens. Tim Wirth, D-Colo., and Brock Adams, D-Wash., who both own strong environmental voting records, are stepping aside. But as if there were a "no net loss" rule operating, so are two of their opposites — Sens. Steve Symms, R-Idaho, and Jake Garn, R-Utah.

Wirth will be replaced by a more conservative, less conservation-minded senator. But in Utah, Garn's seat could be taken by Rep. Wayne Owens, a man who has spent his time in the House attempting to reform the Central Utah Project and trying to give the state several million acres of wilderness.

Overall, voters in most states have clear choices. The candidates running for the United States Senate and House are differentiated enough so that the electorate could come down strongly for environmental protection or strongly for more extraction and less regulation.

There will be no muddling in Montana. There, redistricting has cast conservative, pro-logging Republican Congressman Ron Marlenee against Congressman Pat Williams, a moderate Democrat. It is a struggle not just between two men but between two parts of the West. Marlenee represents traditional, rural eastern Montana, where most of the land is flat, privately owned and covered by cows. Williams represents the mountainous, public-land part of the state, which is attracting new economies and new people, symbolized by Ted Turner, Jane Fonda and their buffalo herd.

From one perspective, pro-development, anti-wilderness forces can do no better than hold even because, according to the League of Conservation Voters, the Western delegation already holds the weakest environmental voting record in the country. Wyoming's delegation — two senators and a congressman — earns the lowest grade of any state, and Arizona's House delegation comes in second, according to the league's ranking by votes on such key issues as protecting ancient forests, wetlands and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

The high LCV rankings are usually earned by non-Western congressmen fighting to protect what they see as national treasures that happen to be in the West. To a certain extent, the push for protection has always been strongest from outside the region, aided by a few Westerners such as Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. But until the 1980s, conservation was at least bipartisan. Today, owls and trees and grass are as partisan and divisive as abortion and defense.

In recent elections Republicans have swept the West, with Reagan taking 70 to 75 percent of the presidential vote. But the region is no longer a sure thing for the GOP, and both camps are courting the West energetically. Presi-

dent George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle come West to find their most receptive audiences for such ideas as unravelling the Endangered Species Act, removing protection from wetlands and maintaining low grazing fees.

"It's time to put people ahead of owls," said Bush in September campaign stops

tana are all considered swing states for 1992. It is possible, then, that the presidential and congressional votes will provide a clear expression of the nation's druthers on the West's natural resource issues — regional issues that have caught the nation's attention in the way civil rights did 30 years ago.

court-ordered redistricting.

As a result of population changes, some very conservative legislatures are slowly giving way to more moderate, urban representation, especially in Nevada, Wyoming and New Mexico. But the "wise use" movement, with its agenda of deregulation and the rights of private property over public interest, is gaining ground in the statehouses of Arizona, Oregon and Washington.

This election issue contains a state-by-state description of the upcoming election. The outcome of each race hinges on a mix of personality, issues and history. But if you quickly want to decide which way the West is going, watch the national election in Colorado, Williams vs. Marlenee in Montana and Owens vs. William F. Bennett in Utah. If Colorado votes for Bush, and if Marlenee and Bennett win, the West is still the West — conservative, leaning heavily toward mining and logging and grazing, and unwilling to set aside wilderness and regulate land use.

But if Colorado goes for Clinton, and Williams and Owens win, then the region is a-changing. Stories begin on page 6.

— Florence Williams and Ed Marston

INSIDE: The way it looks in 10 Western states

with loggers in the state of Washington.

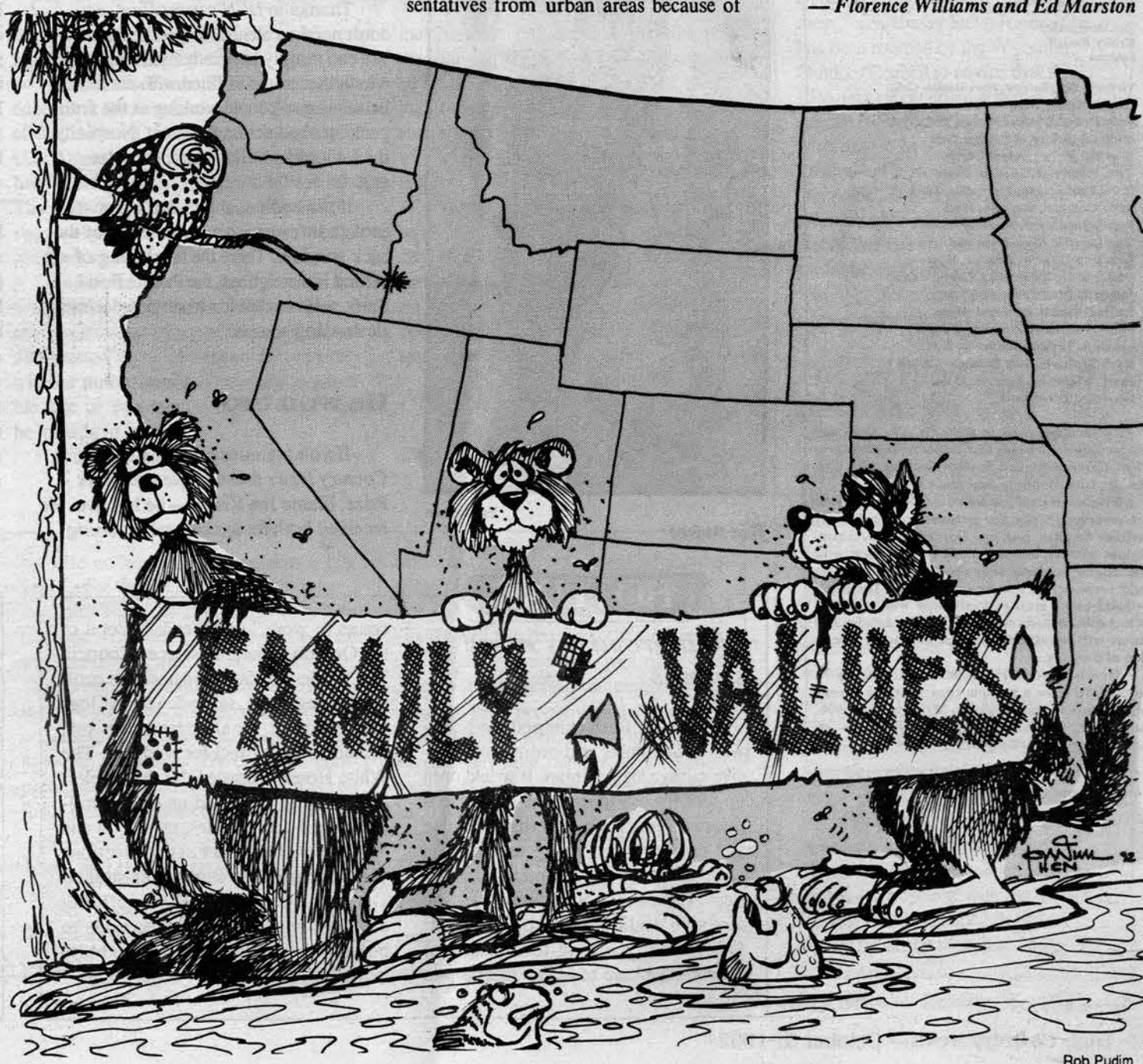
But Democratic vice-presidential candidate Al Gore has sent a very different message to audiences in Aspen and Denver, Colo. And Hillary Clinton drew a huge group of student environmental activists in Boulder.

Against Bush's emphasis on natural resource development and deregulation, Democratic candidate Bill Clinton says he wants to develop renewable sources of energy, encourage natural gas, enforce tough clean air standards and preserve the Endangered Species Act.

Colorado, New Mexico and Mon-

Among the issues to be decided by the next Congress and president will be reauthorization of the 1973 Endangered Species Act, the 1972 Clean Water Act, and the 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, to take three examples. There will also be new bills on energy, grazing, mining, clearcutting, wolf reintroduction and the management of wilderness and national parks.

Change is also possible at the state level. The home of the Sagebrush Rebellion — Nevada — will most likely house only one rebel-rancher legislator after the election. In Wyoming, some legislating ranchers must make way for representatives from urban areas because of



Rob Pudim

Dear friends,

HCN goes to Seattle

The board and staff of the High Country Foundation gathered in Seattle Sept. 19 to hold their final meeting of the year. The meeting, which was organized by board member Maggie Coon and volunteer Louise Stonington, with help from Vic Sher, took care of business from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and then adjourned to a potluck gathering with 50 or so readers at the Elliott Bay Bookstore in downtown Seattle.

While the meeting went well, the party went wonderfully, thanks to a bookish and yet comfortable setting and enthusiastic readers eager to tell staff and board about stories the paper should cover. There was plenty of food and three hours of intense conversation.

The board meeting itself focused on the 1993 budget and on the management structure of HCN. The budget discussion was routine. But the discussion of the way in which HCN is operated was not.

Basically, the present structure and personnel are adequate for the present task of publishing *High Country News*. But there are several additional projects

board and staff would like to see accomplished.

These include preparation of an integrated index, putting HCN in full text on an electronic data base, publication of college readers based on articles that have appeared in the paper, and publication of guides or books, also based on already published articles.

By themselves, each of these projects seems doable, and over the past year or so, staff has attempted to do them. Unfortunately, they haven't gotten done. Rather than conclude that we're lazy, staff suggested to the board that the paper's present organization may not be capable of taking on additional major tasks. And that led to a wide-ranging discussion of what kinds of

changes may be needed to make the paper better able to accomplish the additional projects. No conclusion was reached, but the talk was very helpful.

In fact, board and staff agreed that it was an especially useful meeting. Because eight of the 10 board members in attendance were women, it was suggested that perhaps women are better than men at board meetings. Other theories were also advanced.

The next meeting of the High Country Foundation board will be in Carson City, Nev., January 23.

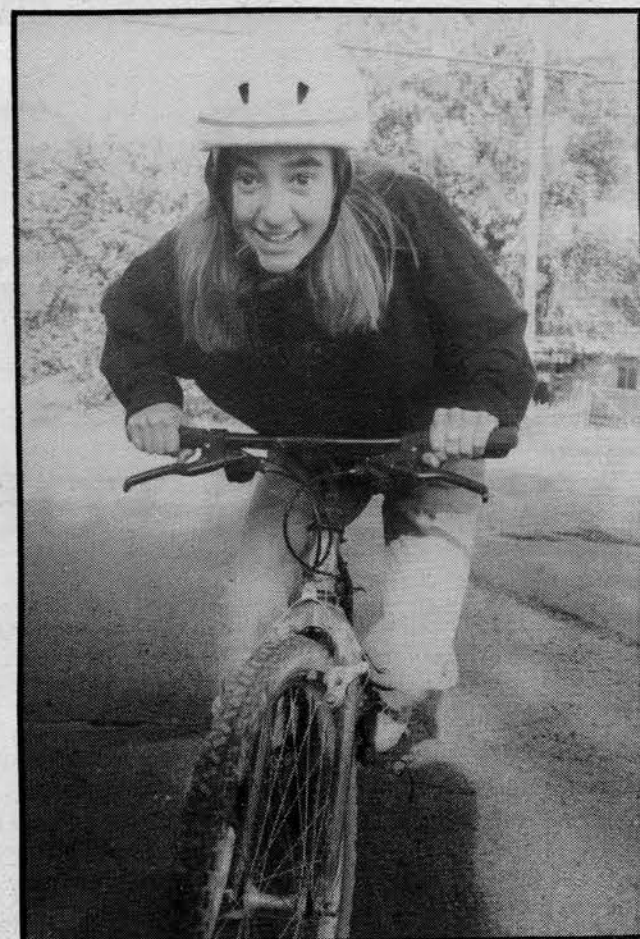
Fruit and game

Thanks to HCN's new office, we don't need a calendar to tell the season. We can simply look in our parking lot, which these days is filled with cars belonging to people working in the fruit packing shed across the street. Normally, the lot looks mostly empty, so we're grateful for the company.

If the additional cars don't give us enough information, we can look out the back window. There the butchering of elk behind our neighbor, the Paonia Food Bank, tells us that it's black powder/muzzle-loading season.

He won two

If you are wondering why *High Country News* doesn't have a Pulitzer Prize, blame Jim Risser — he has two. He received both for agricultural reporting



Cindy Wehling

New intern Kristy Ratliff

while with the *Des Moines Register*.

Fortunately for HCN and all other newspapers, Risser is not seeking a third Pulitzer. He is now director of the John S. Knight Fellowship Program, which each year offers 19 or so journalists from around the world nine-month sabbaticals at Stanford University, in Palo Alto, Calif.

Risser was traveling through the West in early September with his son John, and stopped in Paonia to check up on the doings of two of the program's recent alumni: Ed and Betsy Marston.

A new intern

New intern Kristy Ratliff comes to *High Country News* from a long line of English Americans who settled in Winchester, Kentucky. Rumor has it that her grandfather brewed moonshine for a living before finding a more respectable livelihood as a furniture maker. While she seldom gets the urge to skin a 'coon or brew a batch of rotgut, Kristy isn't sure what direction her life will take.

She recently finished her degree in English from Colorado College, where she discovered *High Country News*. But that leaves her with, well ... a degree in English. Although sure she doesn't want to be a professional volunteer for the rest of her life, recent work history indicates otherwise: She spent the past two summers working at a YMCA wilderness camp in northern Minnesota. During the next three months Kristy hopes to discover whether journalism suits her.

— Ed Marston for the staff



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Tom Bell
Editor emeritus

Ed Marston
Publisher

Betsy Marston
Editor

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Florence Williams
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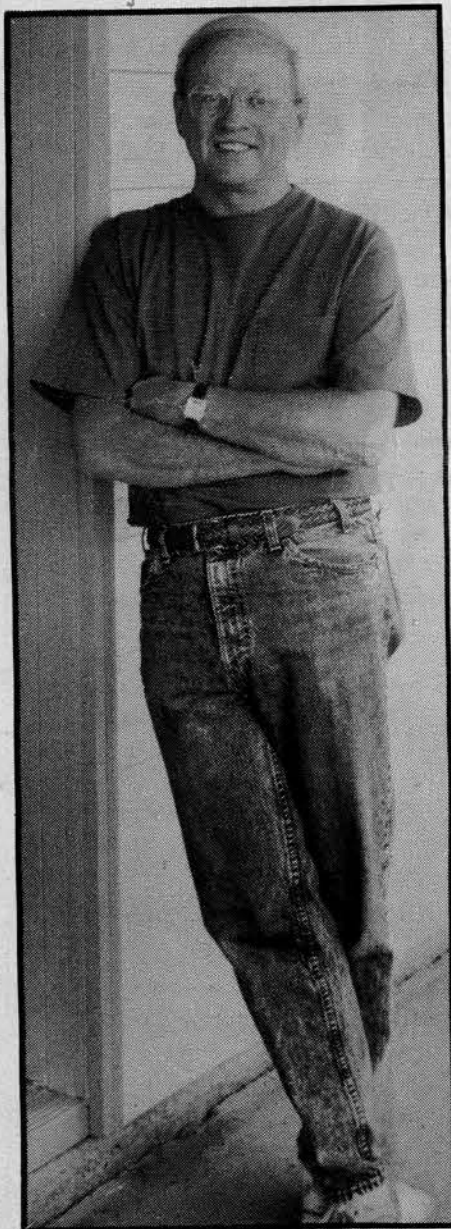
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Ed Marston

Jim Risser

HOTLINE

Bush promises more stumps

President Bush stumped the Northwest in September and promised a massive salvage logging plan. It would open up four regions in drought- and insect-infested forests to immediate logging and exempt stands of up to 1 million board-feet from environmental restrictions. Critics said Bush's pre-election directive could harm habitat for elk, fisheries and the long-term health of forests. "We have to allow natural pro-

cesses to work," said Wendell Wood of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. The Wilderness Society agreed. Its ecologist, Greg Aplet, said when sound logs are removed, smaller trees are left behind to act as fuel for wildfires. The White House estimated that the accelerated logging could add up to 450 million board-feet to sales, mostly in the Northwest. In another act of election-year generosity, the Bush administration also announced it will ban all log exports from Washington state lands to bolster the region's wood products industry.

BARBS

Black humor in an anti-green recipe.

A ranger district in Utah's Manti-LaSal National Forest recently shared its "Monticello Range Con Stew" in the newsletter called *Scoop*: "Combine four large, well-plucked, spotted owls, 150 transplanted elk, and bring to a boil for 10 minutes. Add two Abert squirrel tails, 1/2 lb. Canada thistle, three finely chopped peregrine falcons, and simmer for three hours. Season with two well-beaten environmentalists."

WESTERN ROUNDUP

Miners stake out a golf course in Idaho

KETCHUM, Idaho — A group of environmentalists pounded a wooden stake into the grass of a posh golf course here Sept. 23 to drive home a point.

Members of the Idaho Conservation League were not bent on vandalism. They wanted to prove that even Sun Valley resorts are vulnerable to mineral exploration under the nation's 120-year-old mining law.

Elkhorn resort owner Milt Kuolt made it clear he wanted environmentalists off the golf course, but the law doesn't allow him to throw them off, said Mike Medberry, an ICL staffer.

The group set up one corner marker on the golf course, another on a utility pole and two more just off the golf course to mark their 1,500-by-600-foot claim. It

includes part of a green, a fairway and a sand trap.

Medberry said he apologized to Kuolt, explaining the ICL was trying to dramatize that the 1872 Mining Law needs to be changed. Kuolt was not convinced. "Hell, no, I won't give them any support," he said. He advised the would-be miners, who have incorporated as the Mine-All-Mine Mining Co., to wear hard hats "in case golf balls hit them in the head."

Bunny Wilson, a land expert for the Bureau of Land Management, said the Mine-All-Mine Co. has the legal right to stake claims on federal lands if the mineral rights have not been withdrawn by the federal government. That legal right extends to private land if the federal government has

retained the subsurface mineral rights. Janis VanWyhe, associate director of the Shoshone District BLM office, verified that the private land where ICL wants to stake its claims is legally open to mineral exploration.

All ICL has to do is stake its claims and file an operation plan. Once federal agencies approve the plan — and they have little power to do otherwise — the miner can begin to dig, Medberry said. If valuable ore is discovered, he added, the claim can be developed without paying the government a dime.

There is one catch: Mine-All-Mine Co. can't start excavation at the golf course or ski area — their next target — without an agreement with property owners to reclaim the land.

Absent an agreement, the government would require Mine-All-Mine to pay a bond to cover reclamation costs, Wilson said.

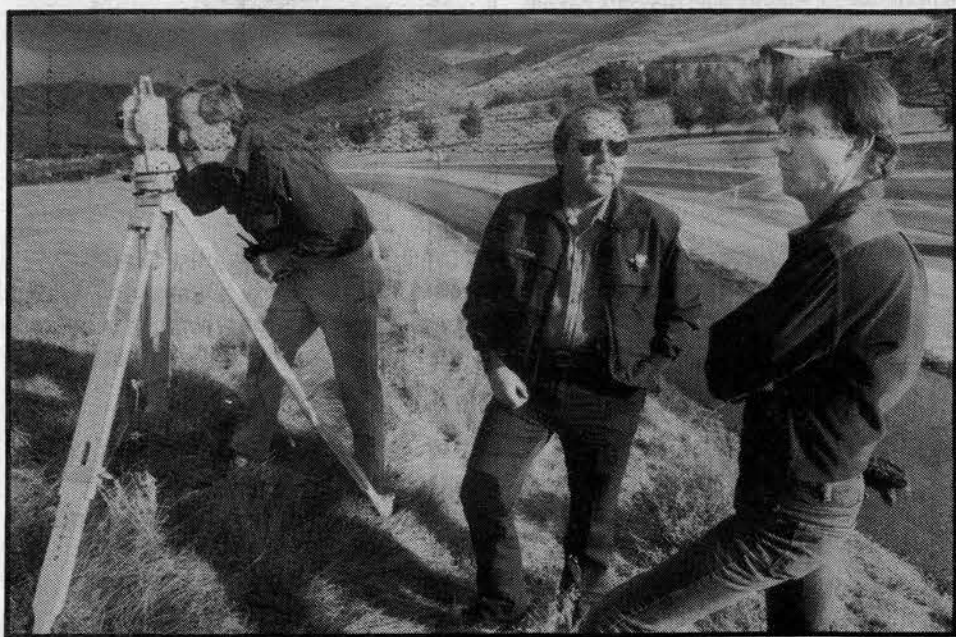
Medberry said that didn't bother the new mining company since "the law doesn't require us to bring the land back to its original condition."

Jack Lyman, executive director of the Idaho Mining Association, congratulated ICL on its entry into the mining business. The association supports mining law reform, he said, but not the kind ICL has in mind. "They want to scrap the mining law," Lyman said.

Still, he invited ICL to join the Idaho Mining Association. But he warned the group of the time-consuming and expensive "gauntlet of state and federal requirements applied to mineral exploration."

— N.S. Nokkented

The reporter writes for the *Times News* in Twin Falls, Idaho.



ICL's Larry Warner and Will Caldwell survey the golf course while Sun Valley Police Lt. Mark Lockwood looks on

Wayne Hage goes on trial(s)

You win some. You lose some. Nevada rancher Wayne Hage has claimed a big win in his \$28.4 million "takings" lawsuit against the U.S. Forest Service. In mid-September, U.S. Claims Court Chief Justice Loren Smith blocked the Nevada attorney general and four environmental groups from intervening in the case on the side of the Forest Service (*HCN*, 7/13/92).

But less than a week later in a separate trial in U.S. District Court in Las Vegas, a jury found Hage and a hired woodcutter guilty of illegally removing piñon and juniper trees from Toiyabe National Forest.

The trees surrounded an irrigation ditch that supplied Hage's Pine Creek Ranch in Monitor Valley, AP reports.

Hage's attorney argued that the trees were removed to maintain the ditch.

While the Forest Service acknowledged that the rancher had a 50-foot right-of-way on each side of the ditch, Assistant U.S. Attorney Jay Cook said the ditch had been bulldozed and was no longer in use. The only trees cut down, he said, were those that were large enough to be chopped up and sold.

Hage and sawyer Lloyd Seaman are scheduled for sentencing in November on charges of injury to government property and removal of government property without authorization. They face a possible fine or two months in jail. Hage said he intends to appeal.

A dozen ranchers, friends, family

members and supporters were on hand for the trial. Supporters said Hage was targeted by the government because of his takings lawsuit against the Forest Service and his book *Storm Over Rangelands*, which lays out his view of private property rights on public lands.

Although blocked from intervening as affected parties in the takings case, the state of Nevada and environmental groups can still file "friend-of-the-court" briefs on the public interests in the battle between the rancher and the Forest Service.

— Jon Christensen

The writer free-lances from Carson City, Nevada.

HOTLINE

If you want something done ...

Tired of sharing the road up one of America's most treacherous mountain passes with trucks and Winnebagos, some mountain bikers and other residents of Aspen are building a trail of their own. Architect Fritz Benedict, who has lived in Aspen for 47 years, and nature filmmaker Marty Stouffer are leading the volunteer effort to build a hiking-biking trail from Aspen, Colo., up Independence Pass to Difficult Creek. Although Stouffer and

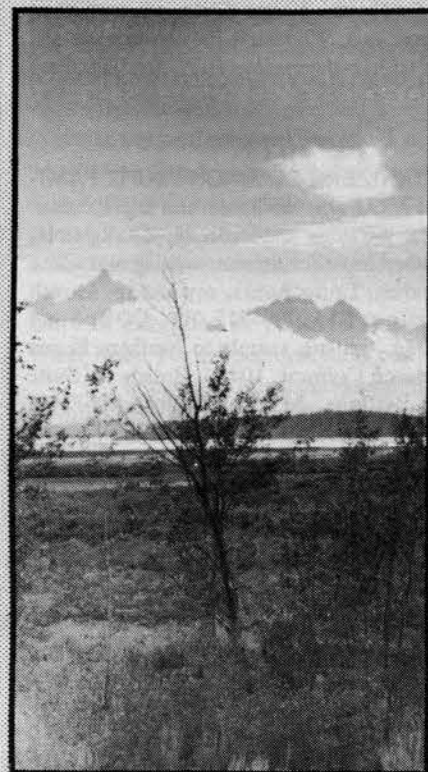
his wife collected 2,000 signatures a few years ago, then successfully petitioned the State Highway Department to widen the road's shoulder for bikers, the road was recently repaved without a bike lane. That prompted Stouffer and Benedict to secure easements from private landowners, enlist a volunteer trail corps and get to work. The trail is now one-third complete, and the county has earmarked funds to finish it sometime next summer.

Too many hungry bears

At Glacier National Park in Montana this summer, 17 black bears had to be

moved and eight others were killed after the animals became aggressive or raided campsites. But chief ranger Steve Frye said visitors weren't the problem. "My feeling is that the compliance with park rules is as good as it has been in the past," he said. Although more people visited the park and fewer park staff were hired, Frye attributes the unusually high number of bear-human encounters to an increase in the bear population and a poor food crop. The combination forced less dominant bears into campgrounds and other developed areas, Frye said. To decrease the chances of trouble, the park recently restricted the Rising Sun campground to hard-shelled vehicles.

HOTLINE



Wyoming's Teton Mountains

Permit? What permit?

For the past 20 years, employees of Grand Teton National Park have operated an illegal gravel pit within park borders. But on May 29, Ed Gooey of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers issued a cease and desist order after a park employee informed the agency about the operation. Now the Environmental Protection Agency has taken over the high-profile case from the Corps and is gathering historical data about the pit. Apparently it has been used to collect gravel for park system roads since 1977, says the *Casper Star-Tribune*. The dump covers 65 acres of prime grizzly habitat on the floodplain of the Snake River, but a hill obscures it from the nearby John D. Rockefeller Highway. "It's a mess," says lawyer Steve Jones, who has been retained by the Wyoming Outdoor Council to ensure that the EPA takes appropriate action. "All vegetation has been removed from what used to be a riparian wetlands. Restoration is probably impossible at this point." The EPA, however, is reluctant to fine the Park Service. According to Vern Helbig, an EPA biologist who is reviewing the case, "It would be like taking money out of one pocket and putting it in another."

The greening of New Mexico

Protecting New Mexico's environment may be worth sacrificing a few jobs. That's the conclusion of a recent statewide poll surveying voter attitudes about environmental protection. Fifty-two percent of those polled in a random sampling agreed that environmental concerns take precedence, "even if it means losing some jobs and industry which degrade the environment." The poll, administered by the Santa Fe-based New Mexico Environmental Law Center, also focused on public perception of elected officials. Sixty-nine percent of the 400 registered voters asked said they believed state officials favored industry over environment. Citizens' concerns ranged from nuclear waste disposal to recycling, with the proposed nuclear Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) at the top of voters' lists.

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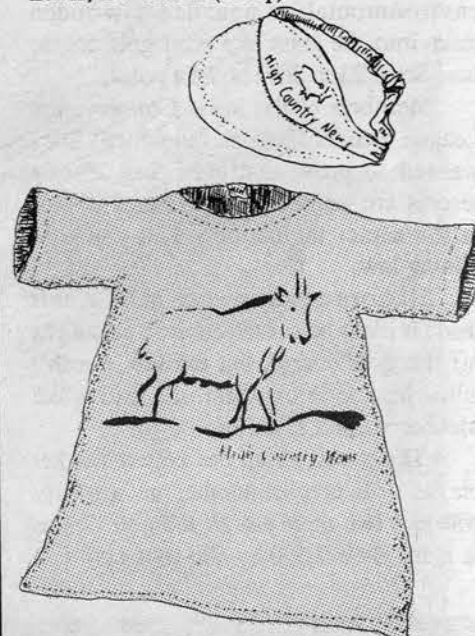
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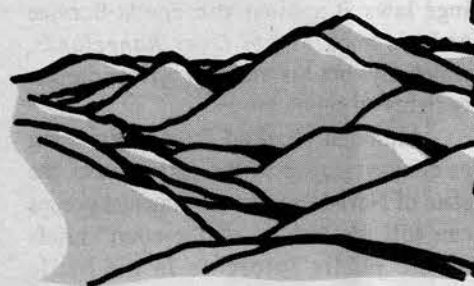
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Larry Michael Dobson

Wake Up Colorado!

Do you know that the Department of Defense has control over 70 percent of the air space in Nevada and is trying to do the same thing here in Colorado? Using the Colorado Air National Guard as its pawn, the Dept. of Defense is trying to grab more of the air space over our national forests and wilderness areas right now.

Do you know what this means? They can fly their jets anywhere from 100 to 500 feet off the ground at 600 miles per hour, destroying our chances for preserving our wildlife areas for our children and grandchildren.

The Colorado Air National Guard will try to establish a Military Operation Area (MOA) over the Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range and the Great Sand Dunes National Monument. They want to run thousands of fighters, per year, day and night. They plan to make this area a national jet air combat training facility. If we don't stop them now, some of the best Colorado wilderness will be lost to future generations forever.

Please don't let them steal our wilderness right out from under our noses. Write or call and voice your opposition to this environmental disaster. Contact Governor Roy Romer: State Capitol Building, Denver, CO 80203; 1-800-332-1716 and/or Major General John France, the leader of the military team responsible for trying to get this (MOA) approved: 6848 S. Revere Parkway, Englewood, CO 80112; 1-303-397-3028.

We need local volunteers all across Colorado as well as contributions to help fight the military. For more information regarding MOA's and to volunteer your time and/or send your monetary contribution, call 1-800-892-0135. For every minute you wait, Colorado will lose more of its wilderness. **SAY NO WAY MOA!**

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PESTS OF THE WEST

Pests of the West: Prevention and Control for Today's Garden and Small Farm is a new bible for Western gardeners. It is not as beautiful as some full-color, glossy garden books, but author and entomologist Whitney Cranshaw has packed the book with information about "true bugs" (the bad guys that can do a lot of damage) and how to discourage them, bugs that are friends of the gardener, and the vast percentage of insects that are in the garden minding their own business. The book outlines biological and chemical controls for diseases, weeds and large pests such as mule deer, rabbits and birds. The book's index, unfortunately, is hard to use. Roly-polys can be found only by poring over six index pages, and tarnish bugs can be found only by leafing through the book.

Fulcrum Publishing, 350 Indiana St., Suite 350, Golden, CO 80401-5093 (800/992-2908). Paper: \$18.95. 274 pages.

—Cindy Wehling

WHAT PRICE POWER?

The beaches of the Grand Canyon are crumbling into the Colorado River, only to settle beneath 500 feet of water at the base of the Glen Canyon Dam. Production of peaking-power electricity at the dam causes these extreme fluctuations and is the subject of a new, 20-minute Sierra Club video narrated by former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt. *Grand Canyon: The Price of Power* criticizes the Bureau of Reclamation's role in regulating the dam, mixing interviews and canyon images to illuminate the controversy. Regulated by the unnatural forces of power generation, the river has begun to wash away ancient archaeological sites and important habitat along its banks. The Bureau of Reclamation is finally addressing the issue and is preparing to issue a draft environmental impact statement on managing Glen Canyon Dam (HCN, 8/26/91). For more information about the draft, write Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, 1849 C St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20240. For copies of the \$10 video, contact the Sierra Club's Southwest office at 516 E. Portland St., Phoenix, AZ 85004 (602/254-9330).

—Zaz Hollander

CROSSING THE LINES

Naturalist Gary Nabhan is a featured speaker at a conference Oct. 22-24 about land-use issues on the United States-Mexico border. Sponsored by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and the Sonoran Institute, the get-together will focus on developing regional planning in the western Sonoran desert, where jurisdiction is shared by Americans, Mexicans and the Tohono O'odham Nation. Participants range from Native Seeds/SEARCH and the Centro Ecologia, UNAM-Mexico City to Tohono O'odham members, and representatives of land management agencies are also expected to attend. For more information about the conference, called *Land Use Changes in the Western Sonoran Desert Border Area: A Regional Forum*, call Ann Long, 800/LAND-USE, or Wendy Laird, 602/290-0828.

STICKING WITH THE WEST

Named from a line in a hobo ballad, Wallace Stegner's new collection of essays, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs*, blends personal experience with insights on the West. The first essay recounts how Stegner followed his father's reckless and consuming search for the illusory jackpot. Like so many other Western boosters, Stegner's father never found the "big rock candy mountain," but he did leave a trail of broken lives and plowed-out land in his wake. Stegner never seems to forgive destructive men who exploited land for profit. This resentment is also apparent in four essays reprinted here from a series of lectures Stegner gave at the University of Michigan in 1968. Stegner examines the West through the lens of aridity, telling its history as a tale of human greed and exploitation. Even today, Stegner tells us, Western industry nurses the "something for nothing" dream of the past: Subsidized water helps fill the pockets and the fields of some Westerners who continue to live the myth of independence. But Stegner holds hope for the future. "For somehow, against probability, some sort of indigenous, recognizable culture has been growing," he writes. It is the product ... "not of those who pillage and run but those who settle, and love the life they have made and the place they have made it in."

Random House Inc., 201 E. 50th St., New York, NY 10022. Cloth: \$21. 227 pages.

—Mark Tukman

DRY TIMES

A 16-page tabloid came off the presses in Montana this summer, and copies of this primer on water, called *Dry Times*, are available free or for "Common Cents" from a group of environmental activists. Geologist Larry Campbell says he spearheaded the effort after realizing that water issues were "orphans." Some of those issues include the effects of logging and cattle grazing on fisheries. Another goad, he says, occurred when clearcutting dried up a spring above his land. Campbell raised a few thousand dollars locally, convinced Bruce Farling, Chris Clancy, Ron Stephens and others to contribute their reports, and even found a layout person willing to donate some of the work. The result is that 10,000 newspapers were printed, and some 2,000 copies have been mailed so far. That leaves 8,000 ready to go. Groups wanting copies can write to Montana Waterwatch, Box 204, Darby, MT 59829.

A WATER LAW CONFERENCE

Transferring water across the Rockies is the focus of the seventh annual water law and policy conference called "Moving Water in Colorado," at the University of Denver College of Law, Oct. 30. Everything from the role of buyer and seller to courts and a failed ballot initiative called W.A.T.E.R. is up for discussion. The water initiative was an effort to ensure that local communities decided whether to sell their water. Colorado Gov. Roy Romer will give the keynote speech; other speakers include David Getches, law professor at the University of Colorado Law School in Boulder, and Hamlett "Chips" Barry III, manager of the powerful Denver Water Board. For more information, call the Institute for Advanced Legal Studies in Denver at 303/871-6118.



HOT TALES

The Rocky Mountain Peace Center has published an updated version of its 1988 *Citizen's Guide to Rocky Flats*. The 76-page guide covers health hazards to

workers and nearby residents and the two-to-three decade cleanup phase lying ahead for the plant. The story is not without drama. Fires in 1957 and 1969 were kept secret until a neighbor of the plant sued the Department of Energy in 1984 and received an out-of-court settlement of \$9 million. Transcripts from the case were sealed from the public until 1990. Now it is known that in 1957, deadly plutonium was released into the atmosphere and blew towards Denver, and that approximately one metric ton of plutonium burned in the 1969 fire. Stories like these, plus the FBI's dawn raid of the plant in 1989, the revelation of plutonium caught in venting ducts, and the January 1992 change of mission from production of weapons to decommissioning and decontaminating the plant, make this guide fascinating.

The *Citizen's Guide to Rocky Flats* is \$4.95 from the Rocky Mountain Peace Center, P.O. Box 1156, Boulder, CO 80306-1156 (303/444-6981).

—Caroline Byrd

GREEN GIVERS

The 1992 directory of *Environmental Grantmaking Foundations*, commissioned by the Environmental Data Research Institute, is a comprehensive guide to 250 private and community foundations that dispense environmental grants. Together, these grantmakers have assets of more than \$44 billion; each year they give away nearly \$300 million. Complete profiles and multiple indexes will help groups narrow the search for financial aid. The directory tells how to contact a foundation and describes its history and philosophy and recent topics funded. The hefty 490-page compendium is available for \$40 plus \$4 shipping from the Environmental Data Research Institute, 797 Elmwood Ave., Rochester, NY 14620-2946 (1-800/724-1857).



PAUL MITROCHA '87

High stakes in Utah ...

continued from previous page

early political leanings," says Owens, the youngest of nine children growing up in a cabin with no running water. "Pan-guitch is totally Republican and totally Mormon. I accepted the religion, but not the politics."

Owens attracted considerable attention, when, at age 35, he walked the length of the state during his successful bid for Congress in 1972. Two years later, he ran for the Senate against Jake Garn and lost. He then practiced as an attorney and became president of the Mormon mission in Montreal for three years. In 1984, he lost a bid for governor but was re-elected to his urban, 2nd District House seat in 1986.

Among his accomplishments are injecting the Central Utah Project act with \$140 million in environmental mitigation measures and authoring the 1990 Radiation Exposure Compensation Act for families of downwinders and uranium miners. He also fought the proposed Thousand Springs coal-burning power plant in Nevada, which would have dirtied Utah's air. He supports wolves in Yellowstone and is opposed to mining in Antarctica and drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

His supporters know they're in trouble if Owens loses his bid. Says Utah Sierra Club chair Lawson LeGate: "This is one of the most important Senate races in the country for us." ■

Florence Williams is a staff reporter at High Country News.

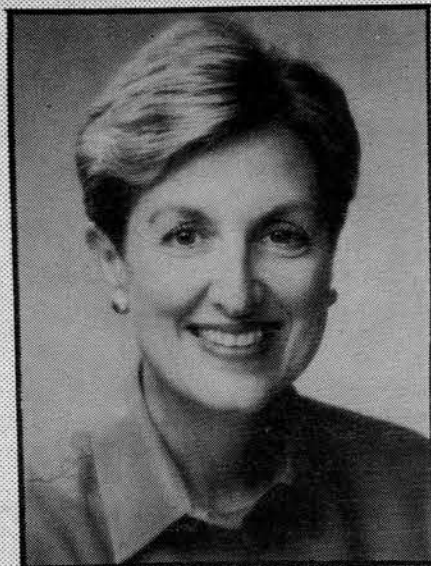
Women vie for Owens' seat in the House

Utah boasts two women candidates in its three House races this year, and they happen to be running against each other for Rep. Wayne Owens' vacated 2nd District House seat. They are Karen Shepherd, a Democratic state senator, and Enid Greene, a 32-year-old attorney and the chair of a national young Republicans organization.

Shepherd, 52, a prominent state activist on women's issues and health care, has received endorsements from Emily's List, a national fund-raising group for pro-choice women candidates, the League of Conservation Voters, the Sierra Club and the Utah State AFL-CIO, among others.

Greene, a former deputy chief of staff for Utah Governor Norm Bangerter, has put together a highly organized and well-funded campaign. She supports a wilderness bill roughly one-fifth the size of that proposed by Owens. Shepherd, while not saying that she supports the specifics of Owens' 5.4 million-acre plan, wants "as much wilderness as possible," according to aide John Becker.

The contested 2nd District seat is overwhelmingly urban and tends toward Democratic: Owens won 66 percent of the vote in his last two elections. Voters in the district, however, are known to cross party lines and Greene is 8 points ahead in the polls with many voters undecided. Also, some redistricting has added several Republican-leaning communities.



Karen Shepherd

In other races, Republican incumbent Jim Hansen appears likely to beat Democrat Ron Holt, a professor, in the western 1st District. Hansen proposed a wilderness bill half the size of the BLM's modest plan. He has also proposed measures to give state governments more control over wilderness designations, to protect private property rights in wilderness areas and to penalize eco-terrorists.

In the state's third and last district, conservative Democratic incumbent Bill Orton is expected to win handily over Richard Harrington, an attorney. Orton, representing the conservative district around Provo, has lately distanced himself from state environmentalists and former House colleague



Enid Greene

Owens by opposing wilderness. Orton's League of Conservation Voters' rating was a weak 15 percent last year.

The governor's seat, held by Republican Norm Bangerter since 1984, is also open this year. Republican Mike Leavitt, son of a former state senator, will face Stewart Hanson, a Democrat with the endorsement of the Sierra Club. But an independent, Merrill Cook, is holding strong in the polls.

Environmentalists say a supportive governor could help wilderness designation, encourage clean industries and keep the private property rights advocates at bay.

—F.W.

Nevada politics: rural no more

by Jon Christensen

In Nevada's primary, not even God Almighty was able to challenge Democratic Sen. Harry Reid's re-election.

Incredible as it may seem, candidates in Nevada can run under any name they please. "God Almighty," however, garnered only 2 percent of the votes in the Sept. 2 primary, falling behind "None of the above" at 4 percent and coming nowhere near Reid, who triumphed with 53 percent.

Republican Demar Dahl, a wealthy rancher from Elko County, will oppose Reid in the general election. But running on an unreconstructed Sagebrush Rebellion platform, Dahl has, well, about a snowball's chance on the Las Vegas Strip of defeating the incumbent senator, who has amassed a \$2.5 million war chest.

All told, Nevada's races this year reveal a state moving toward urban and cosmopolitan interests, such as growth control and "quality of life" issues.

Reid has gained a reputation as an "environmental senator" for his support of a Nevada wilderness bill and water negotiations that were opposed by ranchers and farmers. Votes for Demar Dahl are likely to provide a good indication of the discontent in the rural counties with Reid. But Reid may take even rural Elko County from the Republicans this year. The gold mining boom in northeastern Nevada has transformed the last redoubt of the Sage-

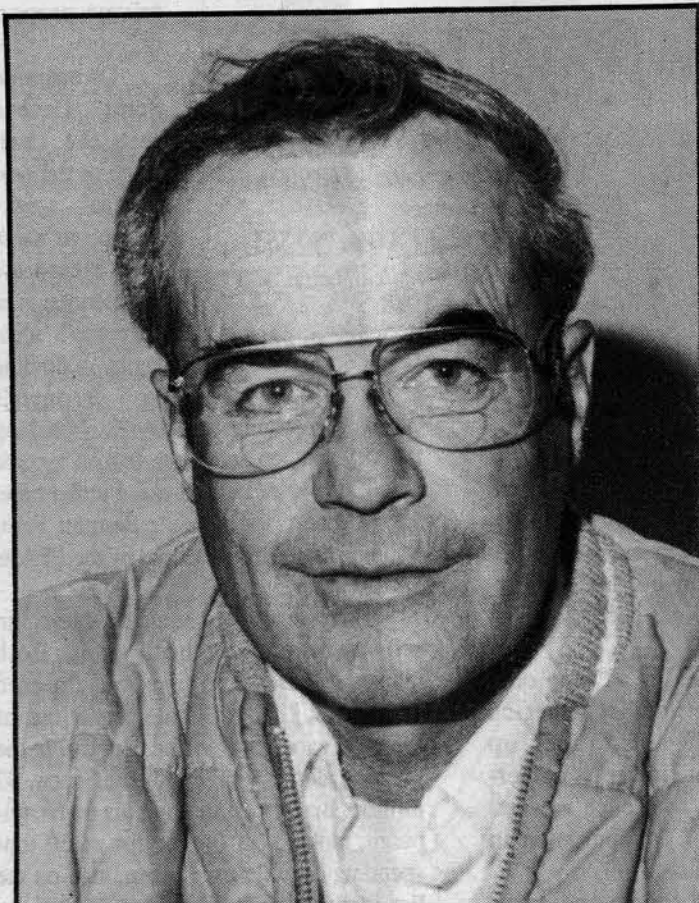
brush Rebels into the most heavily unionized community in the state, and Reid is a staunch supporter of the mining industry.

The waning power of agriculture in Nevada can also be seen in the statehouse. Unless some long-shot candidates win election this fall, the number

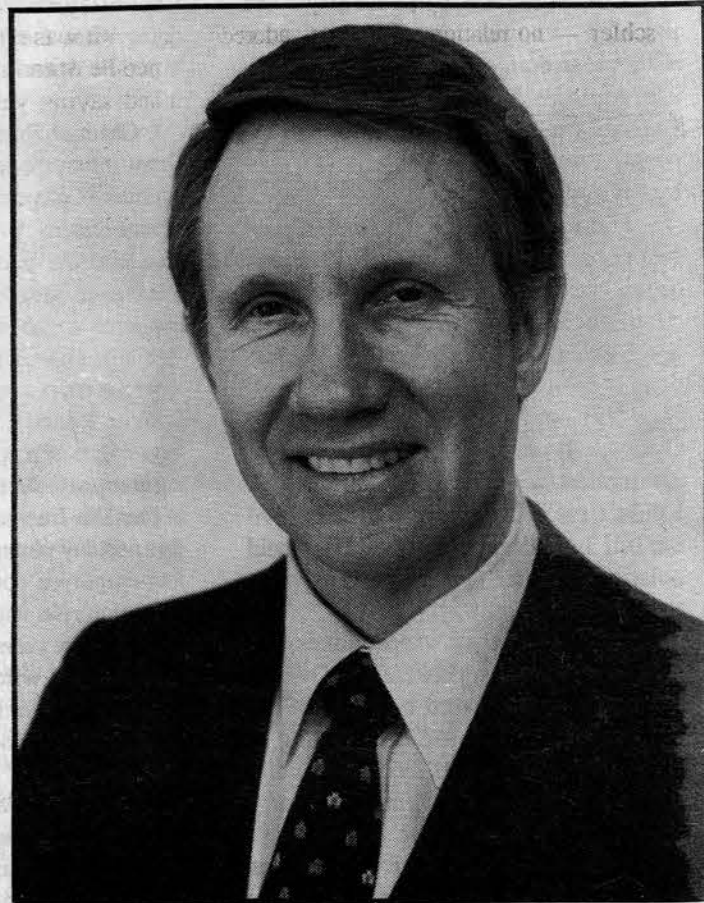
of full-time ranchers in the 1993 Nevada Legislature will drop to one: Sen. Dean Rhoads, a Republican from Tuscarora, north of Elko. Rhoads sparked the Sagebrush Rebellion in 1979 when he introduced legislation to "take back" the 70 percent of Nevada that is controlled by the U.S. Bureau of Land

Management.

Assemblyman John Marvel, a life-long rancher and Republican from Battle Mountain, is also running for re-election this year, but he has sold most of his ranch. The only two other Republicans with ties to agriculture, one a rancher and the other a farmer, retire this year



Dean Rhoads



Harry Reid

after long stints in the Legislature.

Another longtime voice for rural interests, five-term Republican incumbent Rep. Barbara Vucanovich, faces a tight challenge from Pete Sferrazza, the Democratic mayor of Reno. Nevada's 2nd Congressional District covers all of the state except the Las Vegas metropolitan area.

Such developments follow the dominant political trend in Nevada: urbanization. Close to 90 percent of the state's 1.2 million citizens live in cities, making Nevada the fourth most urban state in the nation. With population and political power concentrated in urban areas, the key elections on the environmental front in Nevada this year are county commission races in Reno, and especially in Las Vegas.

"The county commissioners are just as important as any legislators because they have so much to do with water these days," says Bob Fulkerson, director of the environmental group Citizen

Alert. The county commissions in Reno and Las Vegas have essentially gained control of the future of all water development around the cities, Fulkerson says, and are actively seeking water in rural areas of the state to supply future growth.

Growth is a hot-button issue in Reno. One local race even drew the attention of Bruce Babbitt, the two-term former Democratic governor of Arizona and a prominent advocate of water reform, who appeared at a Reno fundraiser for Republican Steve Bradhurst, a candidate for the Washoe County Commission. Bradhurst, a planning consultant, opposes a Las Vegas plan to import water from rural counties. Bradhurst also opposes a plan to transfer water from rural valleys to Reno.

Perhaps even more important, however, are races in southern Nevada's Clark County. Because the majority of Nevadans live in the Las Vegas metropolitan area, statewide races are

decided there and the county offices are stepping stones to the governor's mansion and to the U.S. Congress.

This fall, the majority on the Clark County Commission could swing from old-line development boosters to a new generation of politicians concerned with growth and lagging social services. It is far from certain, however, that this will translate into a defeat for the city's grandiose scheme to pump water from rural counties, says Chris Brown. He is southern Nevada coordinator for Citizen Alert and director of a new lobbying group called Nevadans for Accountable Government, or NAG.

"A number of candidates have put growth and the environment in their campaign literature," adds Brown. "But nobody has made it their banner."

Jon Christensen writes frequently on environmental issues from Carson City, Nevada.



NEVADA

- Population 1990 - 1,201,833
- Median house value - \$95,700
- Registered voters:
 - Democrats - 46%, 166,497
 - Republicans - 44%, 160,930
 - Unaffiliated - 10%, 37,537
- How it voted in 1988:
 - Bush - 59%
 - Dukakis - 38%

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992

One-person, one-vote finds Wyoming

by Michael Milstein

Televising glowing green cows may not seem like a smart campaign move. But when luminous bovines graced Wyoming's TV screens this summer, it may have marked a new high on the state's political scene.

These particular hot cows were tools in Democratic candidate Jon Herschler's

A green awareness emerges in the Cowboy State

run for Wyoming's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. They are meant to illustrate the fate of Wyoming's large cattle population should a much-debated radioactive disposal site be built in the state.

In broadcasting the image, Herschler — no relation to the late, adored

former governor Ed Herschler — took aim at incumbent Republican Craig Thomas's votes on federal waste-siting laws. With his glowing cows, Herschler also became one of Wyoming's first statewide candidates to make an environmental issue central to the campaign.

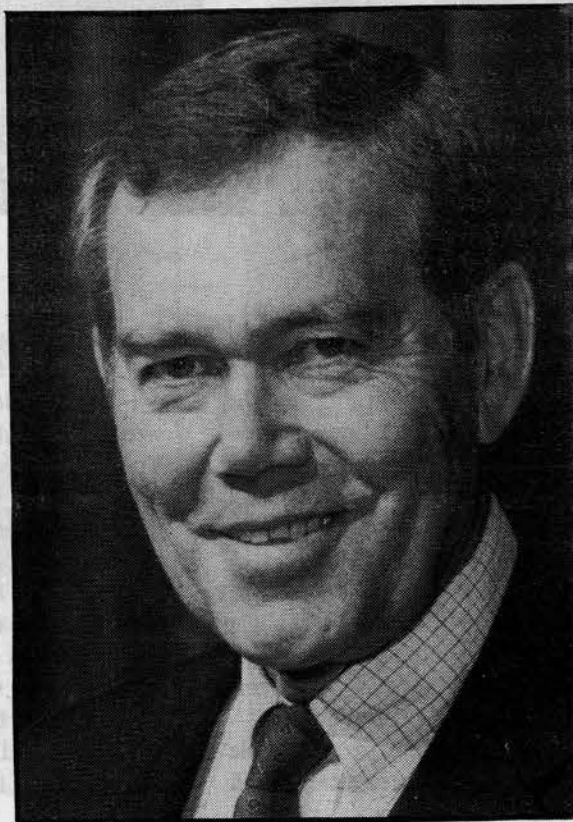
That is not often a popular stance to take in Wyoming, where environmentalists are frequently considered stumbling blocks to progress and politicians are hailed for battling such initiatives as mining reform. But the debate over a Monitored Retrievable Storage (MRS) facility was different. It focused citizens' thoughts on Wyoming's future, and what they wanted it to include and not include.

"It was one of the first times we saw people standing up during a campaign and saying yes or no to something that could have major effects on the state's environment and image," said Sierra Club Northern Plains representative Kirk Koepsel.

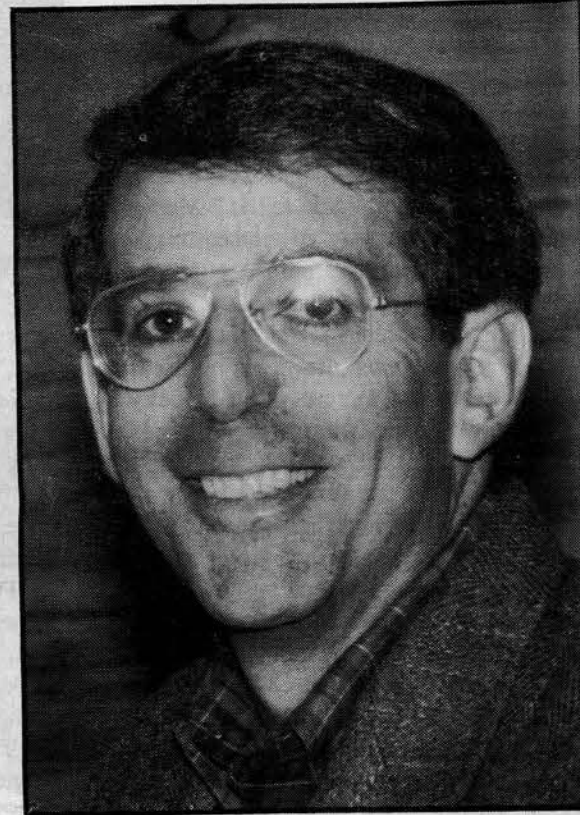
Though Gov. Mike Sullivan, a Democrat, killed the MRS proposal after Herschler won the Democratic primary, it still provided good grist for state and local primary races. That candidates were forced to address it may signal a new green awareness among both voters and politicians in Wyoming — which could be further heightened by a court-ordered shakeup in the state Legislature.

Due to a dramatic reapportionment of the Legislature, about half the seats in the conservative capitol are likely to gain new occupants, giving added power to Wyoming's urban areas.

Until now, Wyoming was the only state in the nation without single-member state House and Senate districts. Instead of representing an individual district, state lawmakers represented a county or sets of counties, often with other legislators.



Congressman Craig Thomas



Challenger Jonathan Herschler

Tessa Dalton Photography

As a result, a small county with a population of 3,000 had the same representation in the Statehouse as a county with 8,000 people, a violation of the constitutional assurance that each citizen will have an equal voice. So the court ordered changes and the Legislature, after a lot of kicking and screaming, gave in.

Radical changes in the Legislature are unlikely, but it is probable that the strong sagebrush-rebellion attitude fostered by the legislators from small rural counties will be tempered by the more cosmopolitan interests of city-dwellers.

Even during primary campaigns, many candidates panned Wyoming's historic reliance on mineral extraction — oil, coal and others — as an economic foundation. Now that the value and supply of some of those commodities are waning, leaving the state in a serious funding crisis, many candidates have begun talking about how to take advantage of more environmentally benign industries such as tourism, which is booming.

One particularly notable statehouse candidate is Democrat Linda Burkhart. Something of a local folk hero, Burkhart fought the toxic pollution that contaminated the Brookhurst subdivision in Natrona

County. She faces Republican newcomer Glenda Stark, a Casper businesswoman.

The only major statewide race is the one for U.S. House, a seat Dick Cheney held until he became secretary of Defense. Craig Thomas took over and was re-elected two years ago, but has an undistinguished record in Washington. Thomas, with a zero percent rating from the League of Conservation Voters, is generally reviled by environmentalists.

Casting aside Thomas's explanations that it's hard to get anything done in a crowded Congress, Herschler told Thomas to step down and give someone else a shot.

Herschler, an eye surgeon, is also threatening to usurp Thomas's touted health care platform, saying that as a doctor he is more qualified to deal with the nation's medical funding problems. "I restore people's vision," Herschler has said. "You tell me what he does."

The state Republican chair called Herschler, who has lived in Wyoming only about four years, a "carpetbagger" who moved to Wyoming only to run for Congress. The vehemence of the attack surprised some observers. Now both Thomas and Herschler are busy raising money, with much of Herschler's coming from out of the state. ■

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



WYOMING

- Population 1990 - 453,588
- Median house value - \$61,600
- Registered voters:
 - Democrats - 35%, 77,140
 - Republicans - 57%, 125,900
 - Unaffiliated - 9%, 19,291
- How it voted in 1988:
 - Bush - 61%
 - Dukakis - 38%

Marlenee-Williams is the big one

by Todd Wilkinson

When Montana voters go to the polls this fall, the single most important election in their state's modern history will hinge upon one question: What role should government play in shaping the lives of citizens and the natural resources they use?

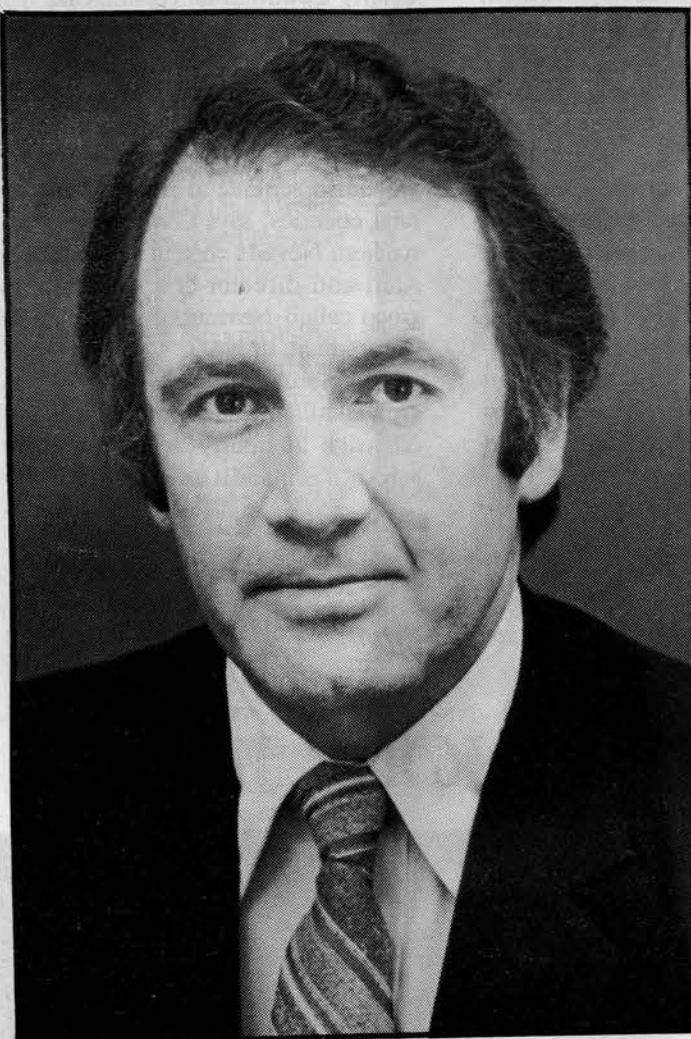
Although this referendum will not appear officially on the November ballot, it has become the central issue in the race for Montana's lone Congressional seat.

This summer, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Big Sky state must relinquish one of its two seats in the U.S. House of Representatives based on the 1990 census. The decision has set the stage for a showdown that many view as a political bellwether for the rest of the West (*HCN*, 5/4/92).

Ron Marlenee, a former farmer and auctioneer from Scobey, Mont., who has represented the eastern half of the state in Congress for 16 years, draws the bulk of his supporters from the sparsely populated high plains. A champion of private property rights and unbridled resource extraction, he relishes his role as the nemesis of environmentalists — whom he once labeled "prairie fairies." Marlenee also opposes any government regulations that impinge upon a citizen's ability to develop raw materials.

His challenger, incumbent Democrat Pat Williams, draws his political might from the more populated Rocky Mountain front, where federal lands have supported the state's logging, mining and tourist industries. While not an avowed environmentalist, Williams nevertheless believes that government should protect citizens and the land against the avarice of big business. A former school teacher from the blue-collar mining town of Butte, he has served in the House as Montana's Western District representative for 14 years.

"Without a doubt, this is Montana's



Pat Williams

most important election in a long, long time," says Jim Gransberry, a veteran journalist who covers politics for *The Billings Gazette*. "I can't think of anything that approaches its significance. The person we choose this year will leave repercussions well into the next century."

Polls say the contest is a dead heat. Earlier this year, Williams held a slight lead, though in recent voter surveys, Marlenee has inched ahead by three percentage points.

The winner will emerge as the sole congressman for the entire state. He will

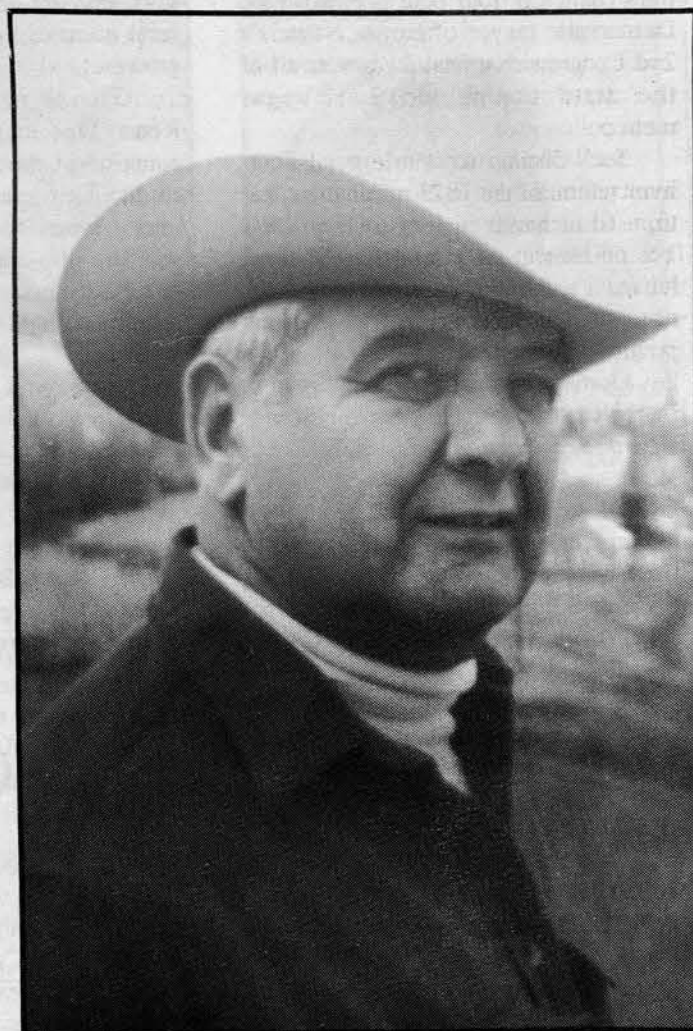
represent the largest and most populous voting district in the contiguous U.S. — a 147,138-mile region that is equal in size to the combined land masses of New York state, Pennsylvania, Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont.

Pundits view the race as a decisive crossroads for Montana. Marlenee's brash disdain for federal regulations is evident in many of the positions he takes, such as opposing the creation of more federal wilderness in the state, attempting to block restoration of gray wolves to Yellowstone National Park and opposing the Clean Air and Water

acts.

"It's not fair to paint Ron as an exploiter of the environment," says Will Brooke, Marlenee's campaign spokesman. "Ron's position is he wants to produce jobs and then protect the environment. The two are not mutually exclusive."

Williams's positions have been much more conciliatory. Although he received a middling 54 percent rating from the League of Conservation Voters last year, he supports the California Desert Protection Act and the protection of Alaska's National Arctic Wildlife



Ron Marlenee

Todd Wilkinson

Montana governor's race offers voters a clear choice

With every House seat and about half its state Senate seats contested, Montana's Legislature could be on the verge of a political hurricane.

But what has captured the attention of Big Sky residents in 1992 is the race for the governor's mansion in Helena. This year, the gubernatorial contest was thrown wide open after Gov. Stan Stephens, a Republican, decided to step aside due to health problems after one four-year term.

Attorney General Marc Racicot, a pro-lifer, won the Republican nomination and is running on a platform that places jobs ahead of environmental protection. Racicot, 44, is challenged by Democratic legislator Dorothy Bradley, who hopes to become the state's first woman governor in its 102-year history.

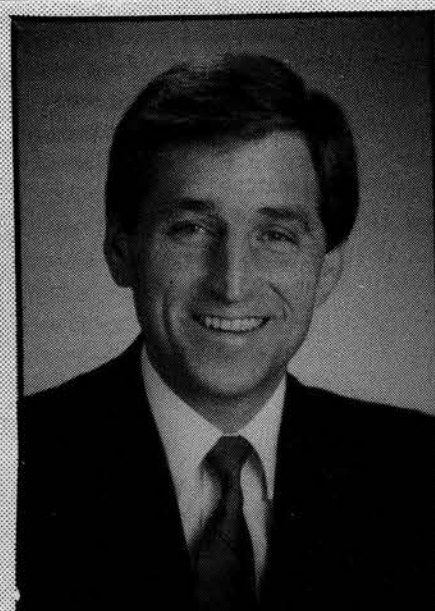
Campaigning on the motto that "Staying Clean is Cheaper," the 45-year-old Bradley is a firm believer in using environmental laws to avoid the pollution problems that have been a

part of the state's mining past.

Bradley, who is pro-choice, was first elected to the Montana House of Representatives as an ambitious 23-year-old. As chair of the Natural Resources Committee, she pushed through a tax on coal producers and helped draft the benchmark Montana Environmental Policy Act, a model for other states.

Along the campaign trail — which she rode on horseback last year — Bradley endorsed sustainable use of resources. If elected, she says she will lobby to give local municipal governments authority to control the state's recent spurt of subdivisions.

Racicot, meanwhile, tells voters he fears that Montana's forests and minerals will be "locked up" by regulation and made inaccessible to the state's economy. He praises the Montana Environmental Policy Act but warns that too much state and federal regulation will cost jobs. Instead of regulations, he says timber and mining com-



Marc Racicot

panies should voluntarily come up with clean ways of harvesting raw materials.

Over the last four years, conservationists have criticized the Stephens administration for failing to enforce environmental laws and for lobbying against such measures as a forest practices act for timber companies cutting trees on private lands.

As attorney general, however, Racicot did successfully bring litigation against mining companies that had pol-



Dorothy Bradley

luted the Clark Fork River.

Despite that intervention, he says he prefers the free-market solution to problems. "I want jobs," Racicot told *Montana Magazine*. "If we had more jobs, we'd have a lot less stress and a lot more opportunity to deal with some of the things that we see manifesting themselves as environmental problems."

—T.W.

Refuge from oil interests. He sponsored a measure to protect Yellowstone's geysers from development on the edge of the park and backed an initiative to save wetlands — all things Marlenee opposed. Williams is also credited with leading the charge to maintain federal funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, an effort ridiculed by his opponent.

But Williams, like Marlenee, did not favor reform of the 1872 mining law, he opposed increases in livestock grazing fees on federal lands and he failed to deliver a much-needed vote this spring on a bill to protect ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest.

Although the national body of the Sierra Club has officially endorsed Williams, a local group of the Sierra Club based in Bozeman, Mont., withdrew its support because of Williams's opposition to adding more Montana wilderness acreage in a bill currently before the House.

For many voters, the choice will come down to ideology. "Marlenee argues quite heavily in favor of multiple use of public lands, as would Pat Williams," says *The Gazette's* Gransberry. "The difference is whose multiple use do they want to get preference."

While Marlenee and Williams share opposition to gun control and support the right to hunt, Marlenee has pursued both issues with zeal, drafting legislation that would make protesting of sport hunts a federal crime. Last year, he disrupted a gun control press conference on Capitol Hill by carrying an Uzi machine gun loaded with blanks.

As a resolution of his positions, *People Magazine* called him "an enemy of the earth" and *Ms. Magazine* targeted him as one of 10 congressmen on its "throw-the-bums-out wish list." Marlenee's spokesman Brooke dismissed the bad press, saying the successful feminist magazine is "not a very fair representation of anything that has to do with any-

thing in Montana."

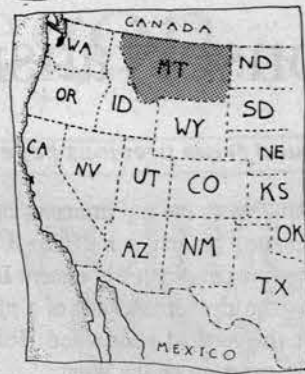
Such a defense may be misguided. The 1990 census showed that nearly half of all permanent Montana residents were not born in the state, a factor that pollsters say weighs in favor of Williams.

Steve Kelly, an activist with the Alliance for the Wild Rockies, says that Williams has skillfully assessed the perils of racking up a record that could be exploited by Marlenee.

"The established formula for statewide voting in Montana is if you're perceived as being too green, you lose too many votes," Kelly said. "A lot of people in the environmental movement, quite frankly, are not happy with either of these individuals, but they're voting for one of them because the alternative is unthinkable." ■

Todd Wilkinson lives in Bozeman, Montana, and writes about natural resource issues in the West.

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



MONTANA

- Population 1990 - 799,065
- Median house value - \$56,600
- Registered voters:
Unaffiliated - 100%, 435,900
(no parties)
- How it voted in 1988:
Bush - 52% Dukakis - 46%

Conservatism still reigns in Idaho

by Steve Stuebner

Idaho may hold claim to some of the finest natural resources in the nation, but none of the candidates running for Congress in 1992 is making bold promises to protect them.

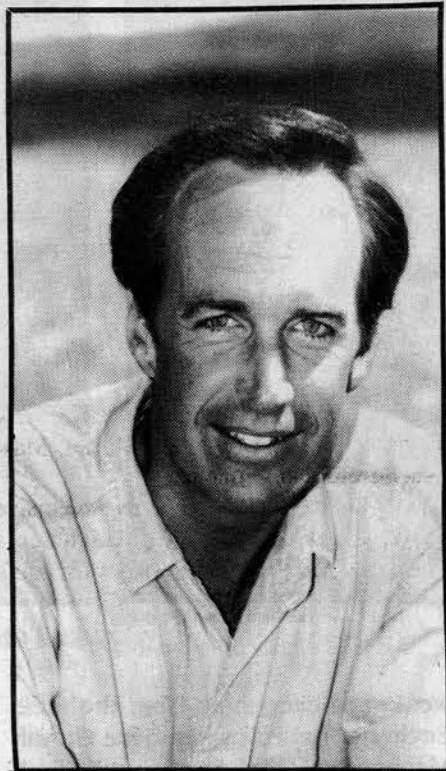
Three of the state's four seats in Congress are open this November. Thus far, the campaigns have focused on peripheral issues, including the integrity of campaign aides.

Pundits say it's not surprising that candidates aren't focusing on the environment.

"It shows the conservative nature of the state," says John Freemuth, political science professor at Boise State University and public lands expert.

"The polls showed Bush is running way ahead of Clinton in Idaho, even though Clinton's ahead nationally," he adds.

Environmentalists had hoped that quality of life issues would play a prominent role in the congressional campaigns. But Walt Minnick, a board member of The Wilderness Society, says, "The environmental community hasn't done a very good job of molding environmental opinion in the state. That's the real key to get candidates to listen to us."



Dirk Kempthorne

At stake in Idaho is the fate of 9 million acres of de facto, unprotected wilderness, the cleanest air in the country, a slew of endangered species, including salmon, and a number of dams proposed for blue-ribbon streams.

Despite a lack of heroes, environmentalists find themselves endorsing all of the Democratic candidates running for Congress.

Four-term Congressman Richard Stallings, a Mormon and moderate Democrat, is running against Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorne for the Senate seat held by retiring arch-conservative Republican, Steve Symms.

Kempthorne likes to go whitewater rafting and says that Boise's quality of life is partly responsible for the city's booming economy. But he's surrounded by conservative advisors such as retired Sen. James McClure and Symms's chief of staff, and he's received the endorsement of the timber, mining, oil and agricultural industries.

Stallings, on the other hand, is a pro-lifer with one of the worst environmental records of any Democrat in Congress: a 31 percent rating in 1991, according to the League of Conservation Voters. Symms, who rallied to gut the Clean Air Act and regularly hammered



Paul Peck Photography

Richard Stallings

on the Environmental Protection Agency, had a zero rating.

The race between Stallings and Kempthorne, a forty-something candidate who posed for a pinup calendar two years ago, is expected to be very close.

Two Democrats running for the U.S. House, freshman Rep. Larry LaRocco and state auditor J.D. Williams, have vowed to try to resolve the wilderness stalemate. LaRocco is expected to handily defeat his opponent, former state Sen. Rachel Gilbert, a right-wing Boise real estate agent.

But Williams and his opponent, state Senate President Pro-Tem Mike Crapo of Idaho Falls, are running a close race. Williams, as a former state Water Board member, led efforts to protect the Henry's Fork in the Legislature while Crapo voted against the plan. But so far, Williams has refrained from focusing on the issue in his campaign, probably because the 2nd Congressional District is Mormon and conservative.

"You're not going to be out front on the environment in that district if you want to get elected," says analyst Freemuth.

In a few of the state's legislative

continued on next page

Idaho will vote on tribal gambling

Some states have tried — and nearly all have failed — to ban casino-style gambling on Indian reservations. But in Idaho, voters will settle the issue in November.

At the request of Gov. Cecil Andrus and Idaho Attorney General Larry Echolaw, a Pawnee Indian, the state Legislature voted to put a constitutional amendment prohibiting casino-style gaming on reservations on the ballot. Voters can affirm or reject the amendment by a simple majority.

Without any public hearings, the Legislature accepted the amendment over the objections of Idaho Indian leaders. Tribal officials argued that casino gaming would dramatically boost economic conditions on reservations, as it has elsewhere.

Complaining of 50 percent unemployment on most of Idaho's reservations, Marjorie Matheson of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe said casino gaming "would all but eliminate unemployment. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, they can't fill all the casino jobs with Indian people, there's so many" jobs, she added.

In mid-September, Idaho's six Indian tribes formed a coalition to wage a media blitz to convince voters to defeat the ban.

"We're not asking the state to lead or follow, but to get the hell out of the way," said Bob Bostwick, a spokesman for the CDA tribe.

Tribal leaders say they have a legal right to build casinos, but Echolaw disagrees. "It's an issue of state policy with regard to gaming. Period," he said.

If voters defeat the ban, state authorities may be forced to negotiate compacts with tribal leaders outlining the kind of gaming allowed on reservations. If voters uphold the ban, tribal leaders may seek relief in court.

— S.S.

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



IDAHO

- Population 1990 - 1,006,749
- Median house value - \$58,200
- Registered voters:
Unaffiliated - 100%, 540,247
(no parties)
- How it voted in 1988:
Bush - 62% Dukakis - 36%

Conservatism still reigns ...

continued from previous page

races, however, the environment is as a major issue. Nearly a half-dozen pro-environment candidates in eastern Idaho, stung by the defeat last year of a plan to protect the world-renowned Henry's Fork, are running on the issue.

"The defeat of the Henry's Fork was the final straw," says candidate John Ochi, an environmental activist from Idaho Falls. "But it's not the only issue I'm running on."

In door-to-door campaigns, Ochi says, protection of the Henry's Fork appears to be the most important issue to constituents.

"I haven't found an issue that has more interest than the Henry's Fork," he says. "It's not abstract; it's something they can see and interact with."

Earlier this summer, a hydroelectric project under construction went awry and blew out the Marysville Canal, spewing mud into Fall River, a tributary of the Henry's Fork (HCN, 9/21/92). Ochi says that incident may help bolster support for banning new dams in the

watershed.

If some Democratic candidates are successful, it could change the balance of the Legislature. At this point, the Senate is tied 21-21 and Republicans hold nearly a two-thirds majority in the House. ■

Steve Stuebner, a free-lance writer in Boise, writes frequently for *High Country News*.

Growth is the Washington issue

by Ken Olsen

Growth is the big issue dominating elections in Washington state this year. Voters must choose from an array of candidates representing every platform from no-growth to pro-growth to old-growth.

The state's population soared 50 percent, from 3.4 million to more than 5 million, between 1970 and 1991. The surge has taken its toll: An estimated 30,000 acres of wildlife habitat is lost to urban sprawl each year. Freeways are clogged, mass transit is inadequate and waste disposal and water supply problems are multiplying.

Against this backdrop the state is losing its most environmentally sensitive U.S. senator, Brock Adams, D; the state Legislature will see its most extensive turnover in four decades; and the governor's mansion is wide open.

Sen. Adams, who has put forth substantial efforts to protect ancient forests and garnered high ratings from the League of Conservation Voters, is leaving office following allegations of sexual harassment.

Candidates for his seat are mostly being viewed in the context of the state's timber wars.

The strongest contender is U.S. Rep. Rod Chandler, R, a former TV newscaster from Bellevue, a prosperous Seattle suburb. Heavily supported by the timber industry, Chandler says he favors weakening the Endangered Species Act.

Chandler also supports making government compensate private property owners who must comply with environmental regulations. His list of contributors reads like a *Who's Who* among oil and timber companies.

Once considered average by the League of Conservation Voters, his 1991 voting record earned a dismal 15 percent approval rating.

Chandler's more recent political posture surprises even environmentalists. He has gone from moderate to joining other conservative Republicans in advocating "the pro-stumps position," says Rick Johnson, Northwest representative for the Sierra Club.

Chandler, who spent eight years in the Legislature and has been in Congress

for 10, faces Democratic dark horse Patty Murray, a state senator from the Seattle area.

Murray, who helped champion growth management during her time in the Legislature, has earned the Sierra Club's endorsement. While that endorsement may help her in western Washington, where voters are likely to feel the pain of the unregulated growth of the 1980s, it will cost her votes in conservative eastern Washington.

In elections for the Statehouse and governor's office, candidates supporting the state's controversial growth management act contend with those who wish to weaken it.

First passed by the 1990 Legislature, the act requires participating counties to identify sensitive areas and make them off limits to development. It also gives counties the power to charge developers impact fees for things like roads, schools and parks before the subdivisions go up.

Though optional for all but the most populated of the state's counties, 26 of 39 counties opted to operate under the progressive law. But it's now attracting heat because it affects everything from wetlands to subdivisions, prompting

farmers and developers to complain about losing private property rights.

Those interests are gaining power. During the 1992 legislative session, private property advocates managed to get 12 bills introduced that "would have

weakened everything from the state Environmental Policy Act to the Growth Management Act," according to Beth Doglio, executive director of the Washington Environmental Political Action Committee. One of the so-called "dirty dozen" would have gutted wetlands protection and another would have required state and local governments to compensate property owners affected by government regulations. This compensation bill would have been retroactive for 10 years.

Another of the bills would have prohibited local governments from having a say in pesticide use on agricultural and forest land and along state highways.

None became law. But two of the "dirty dozen" made it all of the way to the governor's desk. That near success will fuel the return of such legislation, Doglio says.

The changing makeup of the Legislature makes the outlook for environmental legislation uncertain. Many people believe that the 58-40 Democratic margin in the House, where many of the "dirty dozen" were defeated, will be narrowed. Control of the state Senate is a toss-up.

On top of this, Gov. Booth Gardner, who has done pretty well in the eyes of environmentalists, is not running for a third term.

Former Congressman Mike Lowry, a Republican not supportive of environmental measures, wants the job. Facing him is Democrat Ken Eikenberry, whose

efforts for the environment during his tenure as attorney general "are as mild as can be," says Mike Layton, a political columnist for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. Lowry's major challenge is overcoming his image as a tax-and-spend liberal.

If Eikenberry wins the governor's race and if the Democratic majority in the House weakens, the growth management rules are likely to be diluted. That worries David Bricklin, co-chair of the Washington Environmental PAC and one of the principal authors of the growth initiative.

"I think the concern is that the act be given a fair chance to prove itself," Bricklin says. "We are not totally satisfied with the act either, but at some point we have to get beyond tinkering with the legislation and start implementing it from the bottom up."

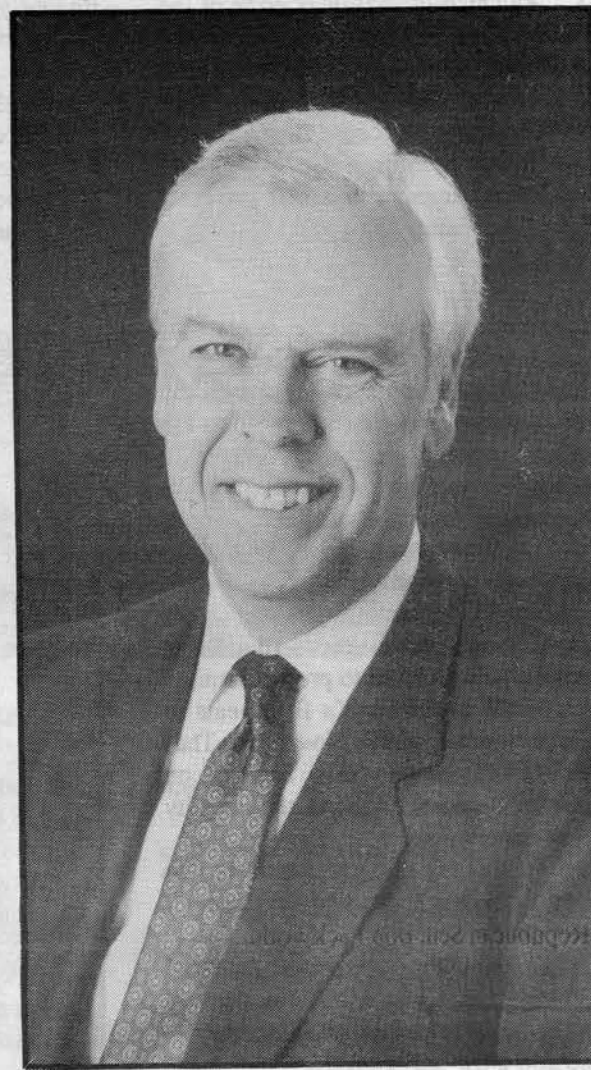
Another significant race in Washington this year is the position of state public lands commissioner. Democratic state Rep. Jennifer Belcher, endorsed by environmentalists, faces Ann Anderson, a Republican state senator supported by the timber industry.

At stake are 5 million acres of state lands, much of it used for timber harvesting and cattle grazing. With increasing environmental regulations on federal timber lands, pressure for clear-cutting, exporting logs and meeting high forest yields has moved to the state holdings. How these forests are managed will fall largely to the commissioner. ■



Patty Murray

Benham Studio/Gallery



Rod Chandler



WASHINGTON

- Population 1990 - 4,866,692
- Median house value - \$93,400
- Registered voters:
 - Unaffiliated - 100%, 2,225,100 (no parties)
- How it voted in 1988:
 - Bush - 48% Dukakis - 50%

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992

Nukes, owls dominate in Oregon

by Jim Stiak

Nuclear power, the spotted owl and cattle are big players this election year in Oregon.

Thanks to a ballot initiative, the state's 3 million residents are getting another chance to shut down Trojan, Oregon's only nuclear power plant. After a similar measure lost in 1990, two anti-Trojan forces have emerged.

Jerry and Marilyn Wilson, millionaire founders of the Soloflex fitness machine company, have the finances to counter a campaign by Trojan's owner, Portland General Electric (PGE). They proved their willingness to spend those fitness bucks by mailing glossy brochures — eight pages of reasons why Trojan should be closed — to two-thirds of Oregon households.

Both the Wilsons' initiative and one led by perennial anti-nuke activist Lloyd Marbet require closing Trojan unless it's made earthquake-proof, cost-effective and safer. Trojan has been releasing radiation almost since the day it opened. But the Wilsons' proposal contains the added stipulation that decommissioning costs, estimated at \$500 million, must not be passed on to ratepayers.

PGE, however, threw a curve in early August when it decided that, rather than spend the millions needed to repair Trojan's aging generators, it would close the plant after 1996. The surprise move may convince a majority to vote against the initiatives, and give the plant four more years.

In Oregon's sole Senate race, many in the environmental community grudgingly support Democrat Rep. Les AuCoin in his battle against incumbent Republican Sen. Bob Packwood.

Like most congressmen, AuCoin is stronger on environmental issues outside of his region. He earned a 77 percent approval rating from the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), but as a member of the House Appropriations Committee played a major role in the rapid clearcutting of Northwest ancient forests in the 1980s. AuCoin now supports cutbacks in logging and the reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act.

Packwood, with a 13 percent LCV rating, wants to keep the timber cut high and raise spotted owls in zoos.

For AuCoin, who won a ruthless primary by only 300 votes over forest conservationist Harry Lonsdale, the race is uphill. Packwood is one of the Senate's ablest fund-raisers, nicknamed the "Six Million Dollar Man" for the size of his cache in the last election. This year, Packwood is paying for a statewide television blitz, featuring ads such as "AuCoin: A Study in Hypocrisy."

The race for AuCoin's House seat, in a district that runs from Portland to the Pacific Coast, is between Oregon State Treasurer Tony Meeker, a conservative Republican, and Elizabeth Furse, a social activist in her first run at elective office. Born in Africa of British parents, Furse watched her mother lead one of the first demonstrations against apartheid.

Meeker wants to revise the Endangered Species Act to ignore species with low odds of survival, such as Snake River salmon.

"Why sacrifice thousands of jobs for something that won't work anyway?" he asks. Furse supports reauthorization of the act, but advocates long-range economic plans for timber communities. She also favors development of light-rail transportation,



Jim Stiak

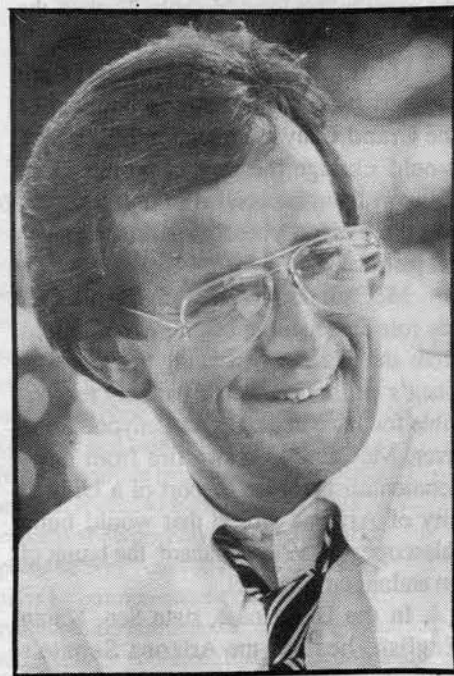
Trojan Nuclear Power Plant

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



tion, bullet trains and "products that conserve energy and protect the environment."

Oregon's three incumbent Democratic congressmen — Peter DeFazio, Ron Wyden and Mike Kopetski — are



Les AuCoin

all favored to win re-election. But in the district that encompasses the eastern two-thirds of the state, Republican Bob Smith faces a windmill-tilting longshot opponent, Denzel Ferguson.

Ferguson, who has never run for public office, authored a scathing look at cattle grazing on federal lands, *Sacred Cows at the Public Trough* (see accompanying story). Smith, former state legislator and five-term congressman, is a rancher and proud owner of a zero percent rating from conservationists.

Although Ferguson is best known for his convictions on cattle, he seldom mentions them in campaign speeches. Instead, in a district that receives no defense money, he sniped at Smith's support of high military spending. In the 2nd District, which is about the size of Iowa, Ferguson rallies the masses with his slogan: "D.F., not B.S."

Over the Cascades at the state capitol in Salem, first-term Gov. Barbara Roberts seems safe in her office at least until her term expires in 1994. A recent recall effort, funded by timber companies after Roberts espoused logging cutbacks, didn't collect enough signatures to make the ballot.

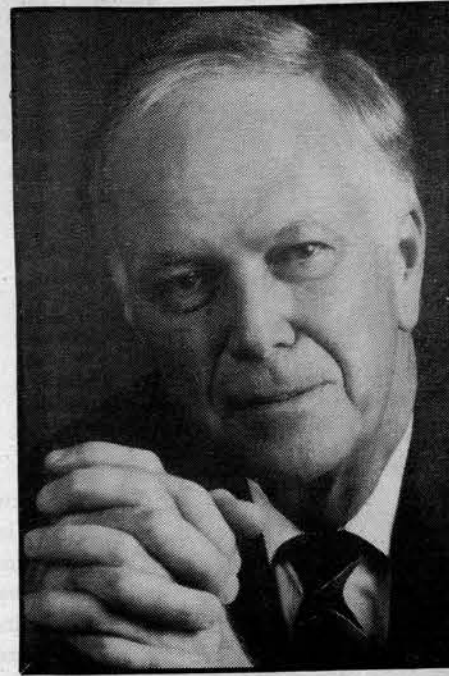
Democrats are also secure in control of the state Senate. They currently hold a 30-20 majority, a ratio unlikely to change. In the House it's a different story. There, Democrats are trying to regain control after the last election produced a Republican majority for the first time in two decades.

Although the last session produced several environmental bills, such as implementation of the Clean Air Act, a bill mandating curbside recycling, and a slight tightening of logging regulations on private lands, Democrats complain that Republican control is gumming the works.

When the Republicans gained power in 1990, the Democrats say, the position of speaker of the House was given to Larry Campbell, a director of public affairs for Louisiana Pacific Corporation. Campbell promptly ousted Ron Cease, longtime Democratic chair of the Energy and Environment Committee, replacing him with Fred Parkinson, a Republican with little experience with or interest in environmental issues.

Unless Campbell and his committee chair appointees lose control, say the Democrats, the Senate's environmental bills will continue to die in the House. ■

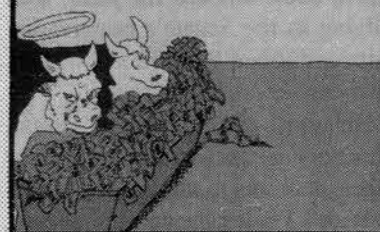
Jim Stiak frequently writes on Oregon's environmental issues for HCN.



Bob Packwood

SACRED COWS AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH

DENZEL AND NANCY FERGUSON



'Get rid of them all'

Denzel Ferguson says he's running for Congress because he knows that environmental decisions are made at the political level.

At an anti-grazing conference in Boise recently, Ferguson said the future of the West depended on protecting natural resources and promoting the region's high quality of life. Tossing cows off public lands would be a good first step, he said.

"To leave one cow on public land is like a surgeon leaving a few cancer cells in a patient," he said. "We've got to get rid of them all."

Ferguson raised the ire of the livestock industry with his 1983 book, *Sacred Cows at the Public Trough*. He is running against five-term Rep. Bob Smith, a cattle baron who'd love to eat a spotted owl for lunch.

A former college professor and an articulate speaker, Ferguson could easily hold his own against Smith in a debate about cattle grazing. But political pundits say Republican Smith will likely whip Ferguson come election time.

"I suppose there could be a flood and it might keep a lot of the Republicans from the polls, but absent that, I don't think he's got a chance," said Michael Blumm, a professor of law at Lewis and Clark College in Portland.

The contested district — one of the largest in the nation — encompasses the rural portions of Oregon, including towns where loggers have been laid off and where spotted owls have caught the blame.

Blumm says it's people like Smith, dedicated to "delivering the government pork," who will win the district. "It's like (Ferguson) said in his book; they're living off the public trough," he said.

Despite unfavorable odds, Ferguson says his message is so important he will do whatever it takes to make people listen.

"Our history is one of exploitation," he said. "We don't need to be ashamed of that; every nation on earth has done that. But now we have a chance to make amends. Let's stop whining and work toward a sustainable future."

— Steve Stuebner

N.M. Legislature is battleground

by Tony Davis

The state Legislature, long a death trap for anything stamped "green," will be New Mexico's big environmental battleground in November.

Environmentalists hope that a wave of retirements and primary defeats of state Senate incumbents will give them an opening. Until now, environmental bills have been blocked for years, with most dying in the Senate's conservation committee, dubbed by environmentalists the "anti-conservation committee."

Conservation committee chairman John Morrow, a rancher, was one of four incumbent senators to fall in the June primary. With 11 other incumbents quitting, it's already certain that more than a third of the Senate's 42 seats will change hands.

Although Democrats could control majorities in both houses and hold the governor's office, the last big environmental law to pass was the 1990 Solid Waste Act, which overhauled landfill rules.

Of the new candidates, the Conservation Voters Alliance, an umbrella environmental group, plans to endorse 25 to 30 of them.

"Our goal is to have a situation where

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



we have committees that are fair, where we have a reasonable shot at getting reasonable legislation out of committee," said

Lynda Taylor, an alliance spokeswoman.

Typical of the battles that will unfold this fall is a state Senate race in an affluent area of Albuquerque's North-east Heights. Democrat Ann Riley, a contract negotiator for a federally funded research lab, is challenging William Davis, an attorney and one-term Republican incumbent who is viscerally disliked by environmentalists.

Since Republicans exceed Democrats in the district, this race will be a bellwether of environmentalists' vote-getting abilities, particularly in a year where the sorry economy tops most voters' priorities.

Davis opposed the solid waste bill and tried repeatedly to pass weakening amendments. Environmentalists consider him an obstructionist. He says he thought the law was unconstitutional because it allows charging different dumping fees for in-state and out-of-state garbage haulers.

Davis has opposed most other recent environmental measures and sympathizes with People For The West's concern that "the environment needs to be balanced with jobs." He contends that cattle grazing has improved the quality of public land, and that private enterprise manages land better than government.

"How many spotted owls are worth how many jobs? You can't say one owl is worth 1,000 jobs," Davis said. "The main problem of most environmentalist bills is that they are written way too broadly."

Riley contends that a clean environment can produce more jobs than it takes away. She says clean air and clean water are her top environmental concerns. She points to high sales of water filters as an example of how the environment can translate into jobs. She also talks of building highways wide enough to hold bike paths and tracks for passenger trains.

"Clean air and clean water, there are no alternatives," she has said.

As for congressional races, it's been 22 years since an incumbent New Mexico congressman lost, and 1992 isn't likely to change that pattern. Northern New Mexico Democrat Bill Richardson, long an environmental favorite, is considered a shoo-in for re-election. Environmentalists haven't decided if they'll endorse anyone in races for the other two seats, held by Republicans Steven Schiff and Joe Skeen, who are heavy favorites.

Tony Davis, a reporter for the *Albuquerque Tribune*, frequently covers New Mexico for *High Country News*.

In Arizona: Mecham is back

by Peter Aleshire

Arizona, a state that has been politically unstable since the departure of Gov. Bruce Babbitt and his moderating influence in 1986, appears headed once again for stormy waters, and environmental interests are likely to suffer.

They have already taken some blows, with the passage of a "takings" bill this spring that was then signed into law by Gov. Fife Symington (*HCN*, 8/24/92). It was a turn-around for the governor, who campaigned in 1990 as a strong environmentalist, and whose first major act in office was to block completion of a hazardous waste incinerator near Phoenix. He then supported protecting riparian areas, including giving legal standing to in-stream flows.

Observers say political embarrass-

ment lies behind Symington's change. He has suffered a series of political disasters, including involvement in a bankrupt savings and loan and embarrassing publicity about an aide who hit a pedestrian and fled the accident. As Symington lost the support of moderates, he sought the support of the right wing of his Republican party.

Buoyed by the governor's change, a resurgent Republican Party appears poised to recapture control of the state Senate. Republicans lost control of the Senate as a result of the impeachment of Republican Gov. Evan Mecham in 1988.

Of 30 contested seats, six are considered close races. Democrats must win five of them to retain control. However, the Republican candidates are favored in four of the six races.

In the state House, already controlled by Republicans, conservatives appear to

be on the rise, led by Mesa Rep. Mark Killian. The odds-on favorite for House Speaker, Killian, a developer, is a long-time defender of private property rights. He was co-sponsor of the takings bill, and he describes the Nature Conservancy as a "radical" environmental group.

On the national level, two strong environmentalists have a chance of winning House seats in a congressional delegation whose members rank near zero on the rating cards of environmental groups. In addition, both Republican incumbent Sen. John McCain and his underdog challenger, Claire Sargent, have taken increasingly pro-environment positions.

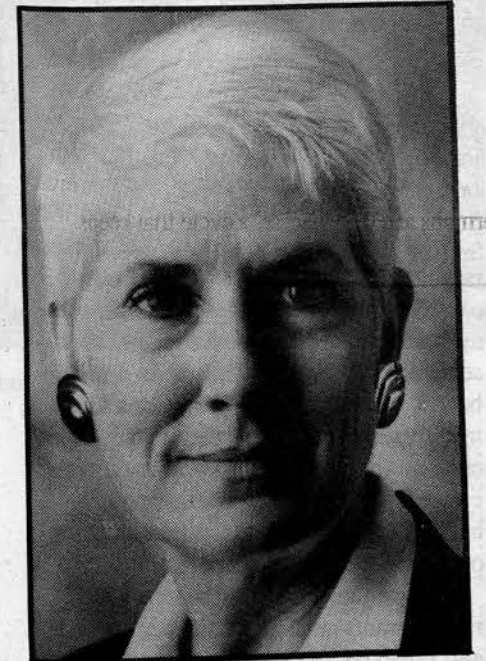
McCain appears likely to be re-elected to the U.S. Senate despite the criticism that engulfed him last year for assisting convicted financier Charles Keating. With nearly \$2 million in campaign funds, McCain is well situated to fend off a challenge from Sargent, who is not well known and who spent most of her money winning a primary.

The race would be a shoo-in except for a wild card: the independent candidacy of the irrepressible Evan Mecham. He won the governorship in a similar three-way race.

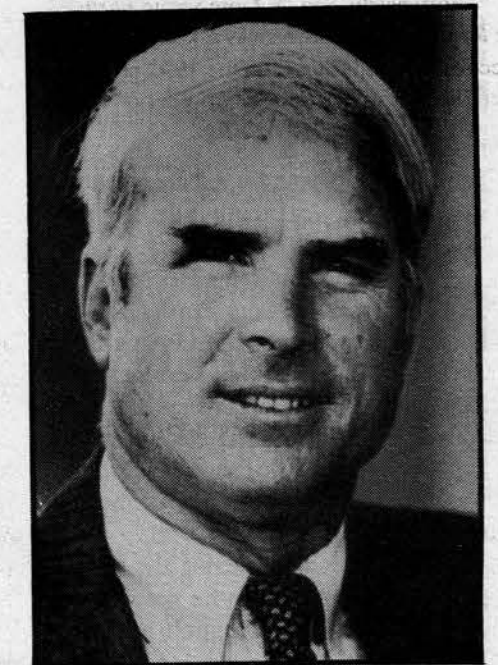
Generally, environmentalists are pleased by McCain's strong support of the Grand Canyon Protection bill, which would change the way in which Glen Canyon Dam is operated in order to protect the canyon's beaches and other natural resources.

McCain also received high marks for his role in requiring control of emissions from the Navajo Generating Station. The plant's emissions are held partially responsible for haze in the Grand Canyon. However, McCain has drawn fire from environmentalists for his support of a University of Arizona project that would build telescopes on Mount Graham, the haunt of an endangered squirrel.

In the U.S. House, state Sen. Karan English, head of the Arizona Senate's environmental committee and a favorite of women's and environmental groups, will face White House aide Doug Wead,



Claire Sargent



John McCain

some of whose support comes from national religious-right groups. They are vying for the newly created 6th District.

Incumbent Republican Congressman Jay Rhodes faces a strong challenge from



Grand Canyon

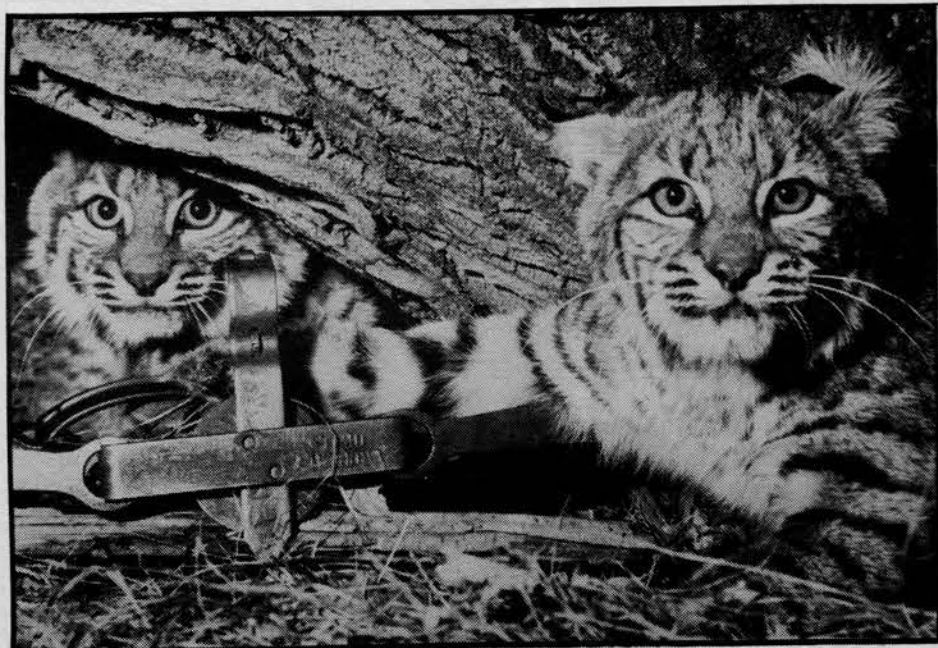
Ann and Myron Sutton

Phoenix attorney and Democrat Sam Coppersmith in the 1st District, encompassing the heart of Phoenix. Rhodes is plagued by the checks he bounced on his congressional banking account. But despite that and anti-incumbency fever, Coppersmith, who has been endorsed by environmentalists, remains an underdog in the heavily Republican district.

In the remaining four districts the one incumbent Democrat and three incumbent Republicans face only token opponents.

In addition to choosing among candidates, Arizona voters will be asked to vote on Proposition 200, an initiative that would ban steel-jawed traps and similar devices on public lands. Led by a lawyer for a man injured while trying to free his dog from such a trap, the grass-roots effort gathered more than 170,000 signatures to qualify for the ballot. Early polls showed the measure leading by a two-to-one margin.

But opposition is coming. The Wildlife Legislative Fund, a pro-hunting group, has already raised some \$600,000 to fight the initiative. Assisting are the National Rifle Association, the Cattle Growers' Association and Safari Interna-



Defenders of Wildlife/Dick Randall

An Arizona initiative would ban steel-jawed traps on public lands

tional. In the closing weeks of the campaign, opponents are expected to mount a \$750,000 advertising blitz patterned on successful efforts to defeat similar initiatives in Oregon, Ohio and elsewhere.

In addition, a coalition of environmental groups has been circulating petitions to put an initiative on the November ballot that would repeal the Legislature's takings law. ■

Source: The Almanac of American Politics 1992



ARIZONA

- Population 1990 - 3,665,228
- Median house value - \$80,100
- Registered voters:
 - Democrats - 42%, 779,351
 - Republicans - 47%, 871,073
 - Unaffiliated - 11%, 212,994
- How it voted in 1988:
 - Bush - 60%
 - Dukakis - 39%

BOOK NOTES

A GREEN SUPERPOWER?

Vice President Dan Quayle's favorite argument, that environmental regulations hurt America's competitiveness, is convincingly ripped to shreds in the new book, *The Once and Future Superpower: How to Restore America's Economic, Energy and Environmental Security*. Joseph J. Romm, a researcher at Colorado's Rocky Mountain Institute, argues that the key to this country's success lies in efficiency, including speeding up our manufacturing cycle and minimizing energy and pollution waste. Currently, he points out, American companies rely on pollution-control technology imported from the Germans and the Japanese, a cycle that keeps us from gaining the upper hand in markets likely to grow as the globe industrializes. We also waste half the energy that we consume. Romm says a streamlined economy would put research and development funds into renewable power sources such as wind, already cheaper than burning coal and nuclear energy. "Lean production will be joined with clean production," he predicts.

William Morrow & Co., 1350 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019 (212/261-6500). Hardcover: \$23. 320 pages.

— Florence Williams

EARTH IN THE BALANCE

Fortunately, Sen. Al Gore wrote *Earth in the Balance* before he was asked to accompany Bill Clinton on the 1992 presidential ticket. Otherwise, we might not have such a thoughtful invocation by a politician to help agitate the political status quo for the sake of the environment. Gore, a former journalist, began writing this appeal from the hospital room of his young son, who was nearly killed by a car. With modulated passion and an array of theological, anthropological and scientific knowledge, the Tennessee senator argues a compelling case for making "rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization." But Gore understands better than most the need for tinkering with America's economic and political systems in order to accomplish that goal. "The key to ... recovery is to dramatically change attitudes and to remove the constant pressures exerted by population growth, greed, short-term thinking and misguided development." It is an assertion that has made him a target in the election by some of his less eloquent rivals.

Houghton Mifflin, 215 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10003. Hardcover: \$22.95. 407 pages. Illustrated with charts and photographs.

— Florence Williams

VOTE FOR THE EARTH

In 1991, Congress allocated \$55 million for enforcement of the Endangered Species Act. That amounts to a week's worth of betting at America's dog tracks. And that, according to *Vote for the Earth*, is one of many compelling reasons to take environmental issues to the polls this November. *Vote for the Earth* couldn't be more timely,

VOTE SMART

Need more information on the candidates? Project Vote Smart may be exactly what the pollster ordered. This toll-free, call-in service, sponsored by the non-partisan, non-profit Center for National Independence in Politics, provides information on how the candidates vote and where they got their money. Operators also answer

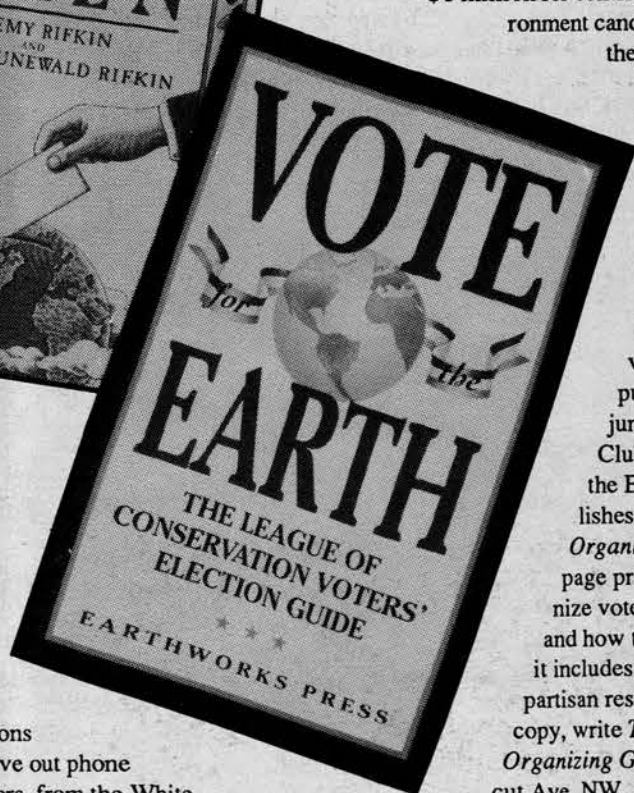
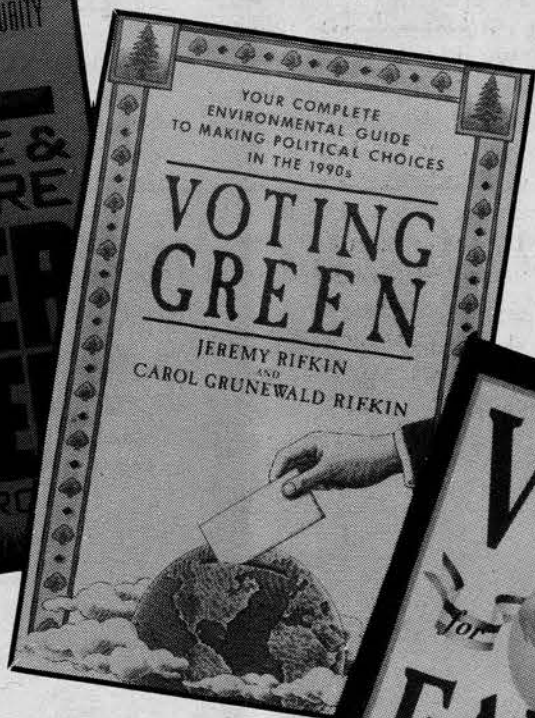
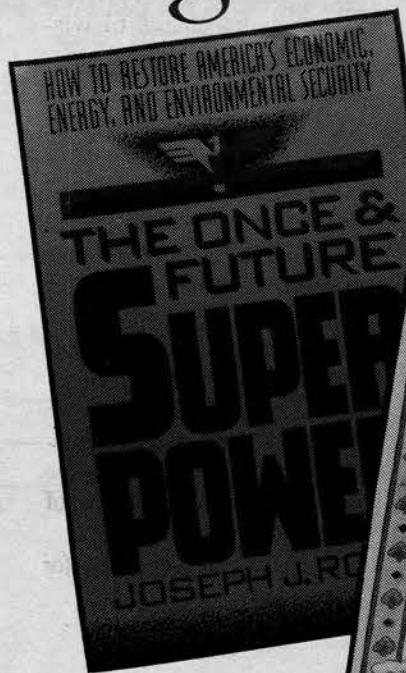
VOTING GREEN

The latest in a series of election guidebooks for environmentalists, *Voting Green* offers descriptions of candidates and how they voted, overviews of key legislation such as the Endangered Species Act and background on relevant policy issues. Compiled by Washington, D.C., activists Jeremy Rifkin and Carol Grunewald Rifkin, the book also contains anecdotes, quotes and cartoons. Probably longer and more proselytizing than it needs to be, *Voting Green* will nevertheless provide much useful information for November 1992.

Doubleday, 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10103. Paper: \$15. 390 pages. Illustrations.

— Florence Williams

Books court the green vote



considering that many politicians are campaigning on the "jobs vs. the environment theme," saying that environmental regulations threaten the American worker. In easy-reading fashion, the book covers 15 major issues, debunks the anti-environment arguments and gives economic reasons to "vote green." The book also illustrates its points on local, state and national levels — a perspective long overdue in popular environmental literature. Included is the League's 1991 scorecard showing how U.S. senators and representatives voted on significant issues. This is a common-sense guide to complex environmental issues and a compelling education on why you should care about politics.

Earthworks Press, 1400 Shattuck Ave., #25, Berkeley, CA 94709 (510/652-8533). Paper: \$4.95. 132 pages.

— Ken Olsen

questions and give out phone numbers, from the White House to local county headquarters for further inquiry. Call 1-800/786-6885 with questions about candidates' positions on specific issues or, for a \$3 a minute charge, call 1-900/786-6885 for a printed copy of requested information.

— Zaz Hollander

WAKE UP, YOUNG VOTERS

Young people from 18-24 have not been much of a political force because of their historic absence at the polls. That may change this election, thanks to a group called GreenVote, which is busy registering students all over the country. Organizers say they have registered 85,000 students in addition to raising over \$1 million for contributions to pro-environment candidates. Candidates they endorse include

Wayne Owens in Utah, Pat Williams in Montana, and Ben Nighthorse Campbell in Colorado, all running for Senate seats. To help students launch voting drives on campus, GreenVote, in conjunction with the Sierra Club and Americans for the Environment, also publishes *The Student Political Organizing Guide*. This 10-page primer tells how to organize voter registration drives and how to canvass voters, and it includes an address list of non-partisan resources. To receive a copy, write *The Student Political Organizing Guide*, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 440, Washington, D.C. 20009. For more information write GreenVote, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202/232-3176).

— Kristy Ratliff

LETTERS

SACRIFICED WILDERNESS

Dear HCN,

I hope we don't have to sacrifice our wilderness just to spoil a rich man's view, as Ed Marston suggests (HCN, 9/21/92). Do we want to look like the Front Range going into Denver? Ask the old-timers over there how they ended up that way.

I know there is a lot of pressure to change things here on the Western Slope. If the towns change, which most do, so goes the town. But if the wilderness goes, it's gone forever. Once the damage is done, it doesn't really matter what the reasons were.

I also feel sorry for the hunters who plan to hunt that area. The game has probably been run into the next county by now. I have many fond memories of that area. It's sad to see how greed cancels out a man's conscience.

Leonard Weiss
Paonia, Colorado

A SIMPLE SOLUTION

Dear HCN,

Conservation groups have got it all wrong when they try to buy out hit-and-run developers like Tom Chapman. The solution to keeping him from building ritzy houses in the middle of wilderness areas is simple. Instead of buying Tom Chapman's land, we should buy Tom Chapman.

For about the same (admittedly exorbitant) ransom, a group like The Nature Conservancy could purchase an option on Chapman, then go searching for a suitable government agency that will handle his long-term care. Perhaps he could be placed in the Interior Department's Washington, D.C., museum on Third and C streets, which houses fossils, extinct vertebrates and other "non-adaptive" species. Or he could be moved to a small island in Micronesia and allowed to develop all the inholdings he can find.

Fred Swanson
Salt Lake City, Utah

BLAME THE AGENCY

Dear HCN:

There can be no doubt that ridgeline home construction in the heart of a wilderness is a travesty (HCN, 9/7/92), at least for the public. However, to shout with anger at the perpetrator, a holder of vested property rights, is folly. Tom Chapman is not to blame. Clearly, he lacks even a modicum of a social conscience (what land developer does?). But hey, this is the West, the tradition of dominion long ago demolished the myth of conscience.

The fault here lies not with Tom but with the Forest Service, which hugely

considers whether modest recreational-use fees might encourage our public lands managers to manage our lands for those resources we find most valuable.

Richard Domingue
Morrison, Colorado

PROFIT ABOVE PRINCIPLE

Dear HCN,

I don't think there is any doubt that the value of the property Tom Chapman says he wants to develop was created by the fact that it is in a wilderness (HCN,

assigns forever, was for the most part taken by force and violence from the original inhabitants. There is nothing sacred about the way our society treats property rights. And any person with a religion worthy of the name will tell you that the earth is the Lord's, intended by the creator for the use of all its creatures.

Chuck Worley
Cedaredge, Colorado

"GIVE THEM A SUBURB"

Dear HCN,

I read Ed Marston's editorial, "If the West Elk Developers Want a Suburb, Let's Give Them a Suburb." It won't come as a surprise to you that I think the problem you describe is the result of political control of wilderness land. What surprises me is that you didn't recognize the private solution to this problem. Rather than waste more of the taxpayers' money logging the land and destroying Chapman's value, why not sell the West Elk Wilderness to him? That way the taxpayers gain, and the wilderness won't be destroyed though its values will be privatized.

Near Bozeman we have a land development where 20-acre parcels are sold, but 17 acres are deeded back to the collective association to remain in a natural state. The three-acre "inholdings" can be used for housing with strict covenants. Just as Chapman is capitalizing on the wilderness, the developer near Bozeman is capitalizing on the natural space he has preserved. Selling the West Elk Wilderness to Chapman would allow the federal government to capitalize on the natural space it has preserved.

It is interesting that I would propose privatization to preserve wilderness while you call for subsidized political destruction of wilderness. Who is the true environmentalist?

Terry L. Anderson
Bozeman, Montana

The writer is a senior associate and professor at the Political Economy Research Center.

Readers react to the West Elk Wilderness story

undervalues in-place and wilderness recreational resources. For as long as I have lived in Colorado (about 20 years now) I have watched as holders of private property rights slowly but surely usurped public rights. The Forest Service and county governments have stood idly by as private property owners reduced our access to our forests.

So lay off Tom; he's merely a western entrepreneur (a.k.a. slimy furball), and go after the Forest Service. Ask them why it is that they have money to burn on wilderness-destroying below-cost timber sales and not a dime to spend buying out in-holders or acquiring right-of-ways. And if Ranger Posey of the Paonia office points a finger toward Capitol Hill, well then maybe you should ask a few questions of Ben Campbell and Tim Wirth and the rest of our illustrious protectors.

This issue is much larger than one jerk usurping the amenity value of a wilderness for his own use — it is an issue about priorities in public lands management and the crazy set of incentives our laws have set in place which create those priorities (please read, *Reforming the Forest Service*, Randall O'Toole). We should all examine the management incentives created by our current set of land management laws and

9/7/92). That value was created by the commonwealth and by rights should belong to all the people.

Henry George, whom many modern economists have never even heard of, pointed out a hundred years ago that all land values are created by society and that this unearned increment (as he called it) should be taxed by government to pay its expenses.

Legally, Mr. Chapman is not a thief, but what else can you be if you take for yourself something you did nothing to earn and that rightfully belongs to somebody else? Equally contemptible, it seems to me, are those who willingly sell their services to assist in such enterprises. It's little wonder that lawyers are increasingly coming into disrepute. Many people in our society place profit ahead of principle.

As for all the fine talk about the sanctity of private property rights, there are many reasons why government can take your property or part of its value: non-payment of taxes, mining (if you don't own the mineral rights), utility rights of way, drug smuggling, to name a few examples.

But the biggest scam of all is that the deed to any property, properly signed and sealed by the state, which guarantees its sole possession to you and your

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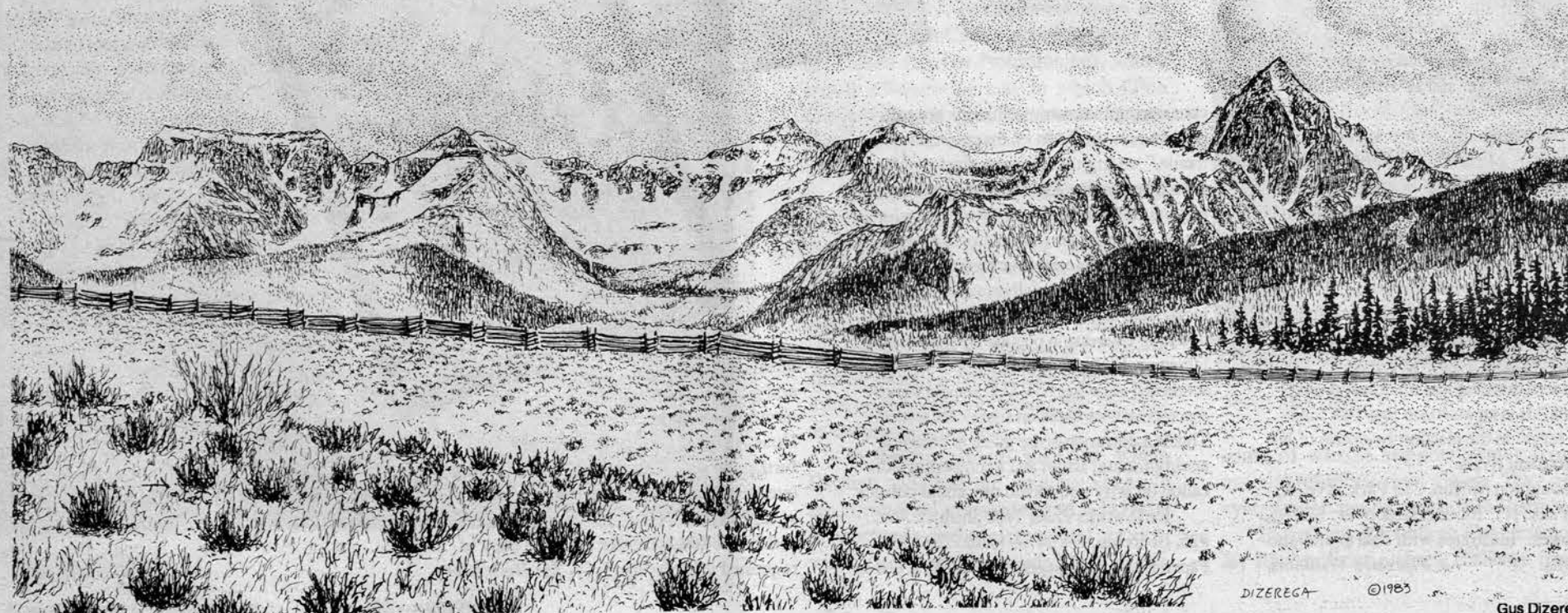
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