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Timber - Press



LOGGING DISPUTE

Oregon's Eco-Warriors Confront Chain Saws With a Rusted Pontiac

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAVE JUNCTION, ORE.

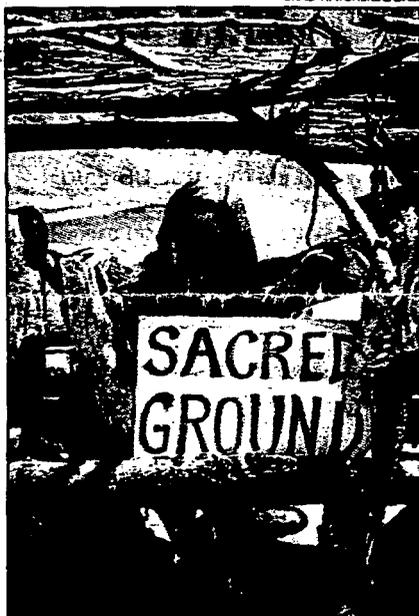
A HALF-MILE up logging road 080 in the Siskiyou National Forest, an encampment of eco-warriors prepares to face bulldozers and chain saws. They've dug a ditch across the road, built a rock and log barricade, and dragged out an old Pontiac - all more symbolic than actual impediments to tree cutters.

About a dozen activists with the Siskiyou Forest Defenders

have been arrested so far, protesting "salvage logging" in the national forests. These protests, played out amid the conifers are being repeated around the West and the rest of the country as opposition to increased logging on federal forests spreads.

This week, lawmakers in Washington, D.C., turn their attention to the issue, deciding whether to extend a salvage logging law, designed to remove damaged timber. It's a controversial subject that has roused debate among economists, natural scientists, religious leaders - and politicians trying to balance jobs and the environment.

See **LOGGING** Page 4



TAKING A STAND: A young protester mans her post at a blockade across a US Forest Service road in the Siskiyou National Forest in southern Oregon.

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Eco-Warriors Take On Chain Saws

LOGGING from Page 1

Proponents say salvage logging is a way to support resource-dependent communities while restoring forest health. Salvage logging has a role to play, they say, particularly since the practice of suppressing wild fires has become popular in recent decades, which has removed one natural tool to rid the forest of aging and weak trees.

Critics say the rush to log does more harm than good to the environment, that many healthy, green trees are being cut in addition to weak ones, and that salvage logging is just an excuse to continue subsidizing the timber industry.

At least 600 people have been arrested in Oregon and Washington alone since the first of the year. They have violated official bans on entering certain parts of national forests. They have conducted sit-down strikes and perched in trees or tall tripods. Some have used bicycle locks to shackle themselves by the back to log trucks.

And although some groups of forest activists look like camp followers from a Grateful Dead tour, many of those arrested fit society's definition of "respectable."

Dressed in suits and ties, former congressman Jim Jontz and Audubon Society vice president Brock Evans were hauled before a magistrate (along with 200 others) for refusing to disperse at the Sugarloaf timber sale in Oregon. Businessman Gary Schrodt, who owns a small woods-products factory and mail-order business in Ashland, Ore., joined protesters. So

did Dot Fisher-Smith, an elderly woman who locked herself to a log truck at the Croman Corporation headquarters in Ashland.

"I was moved by a desire to dispel the growing myth that only young, wild 'hippie' types do radical actions for what they believe," Mrs. Fisher-Smith wrote in a local environmental journal. "I wanted to demonstrate that old people can put themselves at risk in the same

gressional debate to a 1995 spending bill providing relief for Bosnian refugees and victims of the Oklahoma City bombing. Clinton later said signing the bill was a mistake.

A new bill, sponsored by Sen. Larry Craig (R) of Idaho, would continue the salvage logging on federal lands and expedite the process. The measure is needed, Senator Craig says, because of "the serious deterioration of the forest

passed. "Senator Craig's legislation provides a careful and pragmatic solution that will meet the needs of Western forests and rural economies," says Intermountain Forest Industry Association executive vice president Jim Riley.

How to keep a forest healthy

But some experts argue that Craig's bill could harm forest health. In a letter to Clinton urging

that he veto the bill, a group of 111 natural scientists last month warned that "the environmental costs of salvage logging and associated road building often outweigh the benefits."

"Because salvage logging removes natural fire breaks, it homogenizes the landscapes and increases susceptibility to catastrophic fires and insect outbreaks," the scientists wrote.

As the controversy continues, the attitude by some on both sides appears to be hardening. Workers at a mill near Salem, Ore., last month discovered steel and ceramic spikes in logs. Some equipment was damaged, but no one was hurt. (No one claimed responsibility, but activists have spiked trees in the past.)

More recently, a federal grand jury in Eugene, Ore., charged three men with illegally logging some 6,000 acres in northern California. The men are alleged to have offered to remove diseased trees, but then cut down healthy timber.

Meanwhile, at the China Left timber site here, protesters continue to wait until the rains, and therefore the logging, resume.

Recently, the protesters, camped out and relying on others to bring in supplies, were visited by "Baywatch" actress Alexandra Paul. The TV star is not new to protests; she has been arrested at nuclear sites before. "It's an abomination that this land should be logged," she said after flying over in a light plane.

Among those who came to lend moral support was Mike Rummel, a grandfather and wallpaper hanger. "Ten or 15 years from now I can at least say I did my part," he says.

Others emphasize national forests are the property of all Americans. "They belong to children in Philadelphia, to retired people in New York, to farmers in the Midwest," says Jean Crawford, director of the Siskiyou Regional Education Project, an environmental group. "The public lands are all the land that some of us will ever own."



PROTECTING TREES: Siskiyou Forest Defenders take a symbolic stand against logging in national forests. They face off against the timber industry behind a ditch fortified by rocks and logs.

way and can be equally passionate and concerned." In considering the misdemeanor charge against her, municipal Judge Alan Drescher sentenced Fisher-Smith to create a dialogue between environmentalists and timber-company officials.

Logging law politics

Last year, President Clinton signed a law allowing salvage logging in federal forests for one year. The law was attached without con-

lands from a variety of ills including, drought, insect and disease attacks, and unnatural wildfire.

"To simply put our heads in the sand and claim there isn't a forest health problem would be to deny good stewardship," he says. "What I am offering is a tool for professionals ... to use to help manage forests better."

The timber industry (which has been a big campaign contributor to Craig), is eager to see the bill

Gathering of Whales Stumps Researchers

OFF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS, CALIF.

LARGE numbers of endangered blue whales have gathered offshore, drawing dozens of marine biologists who want to know why.

Aboard six ships, scientists from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and other experts are working on a three-week project this summer to tag and track the whales electronically.

Three blue whales were tagged and followed last week, but scientists have seen many more. To tag the whales, scientists use a crossbow to fire a dart into the blubber on the creature's back. A computer records the depth and length of every dive the whale takes.

The mammals, some up to 100 feet long, have congregated about 20 miles west of the Channel Islands, which are about 25 miles southwest of Santa Barbara and 75 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

Scientists first noticed the increase in blue whales in local waters in 1991, and a 1993 study indicated about 2,000 blue whales along the California coast. Preliminary research suggests that the Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary contains the most concentrated blue whale population in the world.

The animals have been listed as endangered since 1966, victims of the overzealous whaling industry in the first half of the century. Scientists believe there once were 400,000 blue whales roaming the world's oceans, but now there are only 12,000.

The blue whales feed on krill, a small, bright-red crustacean similar to shrimp. But the Channel Islands are hardly the only place where krill thrive, which makes researchers wonder what else might be drawing the whales to the area.

- Associated Press

Environmental Responsibility, which obtained the March inspector general's report under the Freedom of Information Act and provided a copy of it to the Los Angeles Times.

The group, an association of state and federal land management and environmental employees, represents the former timber theft task force investigators who have filed whistle-blower complaints against the Forest Service.

(End optional trim)

In response to the inspector general's conclusions, the Forest Service vowed to revise its timber sale administration handbook by Sept. 30 to incorporate the audit's recommendations.

In addition, Manuel Martinez, the Forest Service's head of law enforcement, said Monday that the agency will now require timber sale administrators to inform law enforcement of any possible timber theft on the day it is discovered.

He said the agency needs more money to hire an additional 200 or so officers to check loads of logs leaving the forests. He said that his 460 uniformed officers are each responsible for an average of 499 square miles. The Forest Services also deploys about 160 investigators.

Mediator Says Freemen Ready for Conditional Surrender (Jordan) By Kim Murphy= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

JORDAN, Mont. Former Army Col. James "Bo" Gritz, looking exhausted Monday as he drove through a howling rain after a third day of talks, said that the "Freemen" locked in a five-week-old standoff with the FBI here are ready to surrender if their leaders are given safe passage to present their case to the Montana Legislature.

It was the second settlement offer in two days and seemingly no more promising than the earlier demand for the federal government's approval of the group's anti-government credos but Gritz said he has received assurances that two state government representatives would meet with the 20 holdouts sometime Tuesday.

Gritz said he also expected to finalize plans for the release of two young girls locked in the compound with their mother, and for a Freeman sympathizer wanted in an unrelated South Carolina case.

"This could be the log that releases the jam," Gritz told reporters after a four-hour meeting at the 960-acre ranch. "They want safe passage to Helena (the state capital), and I think the FBI's going to grant them that. All they want is a forum where they can make their case."

Gritz said the Freemen leaders want the public to hear their argument that the nation's fundamental legal system has been corrupted. "They'll present their case, and if they're rejected by those men that are the law, then this is something that will result in their submission to what is the law," Gritz said.

Federal authorities continued to refuse to allow former anti-government militant Randy Weaver to enter the Freemen compound. In an interview Monday, he said local FBI officials have been stymied in their attempts to resolve the conflict by a hard-line stance in Washington, D.C.

"The local Feds here say they're all for it, but then Washington says no. Pride and ego are standing in the way. They figure if I go in there and talk 'em out, I'll get the credit. It's pride, it's childish and it's scary, actually," Weaver said.

It was Gritz, accompanied by retired Phoenix Police Officer Jack McLamb, who ended the 1992 standoff between Weaver and FBI agents in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in which Weaver's wife and teen-age son and a federal marshal were killed. The 57-year-old Gritz has a loyal following among right-wing militants and has opened his own survivalist compound, called Almost Heaven, near Kamiah, Idaho.

On Monday, Gritz taped a segment of his weekly radio talk show at the Veterans of Foreign Wars hall in Jordan,

then drove out to the ranch with McLamb.

On Sunday, Gritz emerged from the compound with a 26-page document challenging the constitutionality of the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service and other federal agencies. The Freemen have pledged to walk out if the government can disprove the legality of their claims, but Gritz said Monday that he still had received no response to the document from the U.S. attorney in Billings.

Garfield County Attorney Nick Murnion, who has spent years battling the Freemen over their common law courts, refusal to pay taxes and challenges to state and federal government agencies, said there was nothing new in the Freemen's legal claims.

"They're trying to support their contention that they can declare their independence from all of the laws. The question, as Mr. Gritz put it, is what proof would suffice? They, of course, believe there's a conspiracy that involves all of the media, all of the attorneys, all of the judges and all of the government. So who is it that could speak to this at all, other than Mr. Gritz?" Murnion said.

Still, he added, Gritz's involvement represents the most positive development in the standoff, which began when the FBI moved in to arrest Freeman leaders Leroy Schweitzer and Donald E. Peterson on March 25.

"There's some hope," Murnion said. "I think he (Gritz) is of the right political persuasion, and certainly probably has more credibility with these folks than a lot of potential negotiators. So he does seem to offer them the possibility to come out in a more dignified manner."

(Optional add end)

Gritz appeared overcome with emotion and close to tears Monday as he described his talks with Edwin Clark, son of ranch owner Ralph Clark, whom he called "a genuine salt of the earth type" who had been taken over by "parasites" and forced into the standoff. Like others in Jordan, Gritz has sought to draw a distinction between the old Jordan farmers like the Clarks and militant Freemen who moved into the Jordan ranch when the law was closing in on them elsewhere.

Gritz said he talked quietly with Clark in the car for a long time before finally leaving the compound alone. "It's like he's reaching out, and the only thing to take his hand is a rattlesnake, instead of a lifeline," Gritz said. "I was sitting there so long in the car, and I just kept wanting to put it in drive and go through the veil."

Woman's Asylum Bid Raises Awareness of Genital Mutilation (Washn) By Robert L. Jackson= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON As her hearing approaches before a high-level immigration board, a young woman who fled the threat of forced genital mutilation in her native Togo seems likely to gain sympathetic treatment in a plea for political asylum here.

Fauziya Kasinga, 19, will present her case to the U.S. Board of Immigration Appeals on Thursday. Her attorneys will ask the board to grant her the asylum refused last year by a lower court or at least to remand her case for a fuller hearing before the same judge.

Freed from 16 months of incarceration last week when immigration authorities took note of her much-publicized plight, Kasinga has been supported by professors and students at the law school of American University in Washington. The case is shedding light on a tribal ritual designed to keep young women chaste in Africa and parts of Asia.

"I feel very happy to be here," Kasinga told a news briefing Monday. She added that "I would be very happy if the whole world would end the practice," which is sometimes referred to as female circumcision and which can lead to serious illness or death.

Human rights advocates estimate that 60,000 women face the risk of this ritual every day in nearly 30 countries,

Groups Are Divided on Proposal to Increase Minimum Wage By Vicki Torres= (c)

Los Angeles Times=

House Republicans thwart Democratic efforts to pass an increase in the minimum wage, their natural allies business groups are divided on the issue and seem much more willing to compromise.

The National Federation of Independent Businesses, the largest small-business organization in the United States, mounted aggressive opposition to a wage hike proposal that now appears stalled in Congress.

Jack Faris, president of the 600,000-member group, predicts that many marginal small companies would be forced out of business if the minimum wage is increased from \$4.25 an hour.

"Small-business owners are standing on tiptoe at the deep end of the pool," Faris said. "Another inch is going to drown them."

But in contrast with the federation's intense letter-writing, phone and fax campaign opposing a minimum wage hike, other small-business associations have kept a stunning silence on the issue. The National Association of Women Business Owners, the National Association for the Self-Employed and the American Franchise Association, among others, have taken no official position.

The reason is that, the federation's claims notwithstanding, small-business owners are not monolithically opposed to a minimum wage increase. Many small-business groups say their members are split on the proposals.

"For most small businesses, it's not an issue because most pay more than minimum wage," said Scott Hauge, who oversees legislative affairs for the 125,000-member California Small Business Association.

"I hate to see small business portrayed as being on the bandwagon against a minimum wage increase," Hauge added, "because it makes it seem like we're all a bunch of hamburger flippers."

Only about 5.3 percent of hourly paid workers, or 3.6 million nationwide, receive the \$4.25 minimum wage, according to 1995 data from the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. Although no data exist for workers paid by piece-rate or job, or who receive a salary, federal economists believe the same percentage holds, for a total of 6.6 million working at the minimum wage.

Several proposals to increase the minimum wage are on the table. At the federal level, Democrats on Thursday pledged to continue their fight for President Clinton's proposal to increase the minimum wage 90 cents to \$5.15 hourly. Meanwhile, House Republican leaders fended off an effort by moderate Republicans for a \$1 increase.

Economists disagree about the extent to which a minimum wage increase would cost jobs or hurt businesses. For small-business owners, the question boils down to what industry they are operating in or their political views, advocates for small business say.

Small-business owners using higher-wage, specialized workers in high-tech or consulting industries are likely to be indifferent to minimum wage issues, Hauge said.

But restaurant operators, small manufacturers and retail shop owners who rely on minimum wage workers are likely to strongly oppose increases, he said.

(Optional add end)

Yet even in those industries, business owners may start their workers at minimum wage but raise their pay relatively quickly, so that many small-business owners are already paying above the minimum wage, Hauge said.

Karen Caplan, president of the 500-member Los Angeles chapter of the National Association of Women Business Owners, said a January survey found her members to be split nearly down the middle, with 55 percent opposed to a minimum wage increase and 45 percent in favor.

The reason many women business owners favor a wage hike may be because they are more likely to run service or consulting businesses, for example, that employ higher-paid administrative and clerical workers rather

than the low-skilled or nonskilled laborers found in industrial settings, Caplan said.

In addition, women business owners may view a minimum wage increase as a societal "healing process" and not simply as a bottom-line issue, she said.

That is also a consideration for ethnic or racial business associations, such as the 1,500-member Black Business Association and the 2,500-member Latin Business Association, two Los Angeles-based organizations that support a minimum wage increase.

Frank Moran, head of the Latino group, said his members not only view the issue from a cost perspective but also with a keen sensitivity to the plight of industrial laborers, many of whom are Latinos.

But Moran said the group would like to see other measures that would make life easier for small businesses such as health-care reform and substitution of time off for overtime pay.

Forest Service Fails to Act On Timber Theft, Audit Finds(Washn)By Alan C. Miller= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON The U.S. Forest Service often fails to follow its own policies intended to prevent, identify and punish the theft of valuable timber by logging companies in national forests, the Agriculture Department's inspector general has found.

"Without the proper controls in place to prevent and to detect timber theft, the Forest Service reduces the likelihood of identifying theft when it occurs and of prosecuting suspected individuals or businesses involved in the activity," the government auditor said following a review of a cross-section of timber sales for the past two fiscal years.

The 34-page report concluded that Forest Service personnel frequently did not maintain complete inventory records of tracer paint used to designate trees to be cut or conduct sufficient tests to verify the authenticity of the paint. It also said employees failed to perform the required number of spot checks of trucks hauling logs out of the national forests and did not always perform required internal reviews to determine the adequacy of timber theft prevention controls or to ensure that necessary corrective action had been taken.

Even when the agency's timber sale administrators determined that unauthorized trees had been logged, they often did not inform law enforcement personnel because they did not consider the action "serious enough" to do so despite agency directives requiring such notification, the report said.

According to the audit, inspection reports showed that loggers had cut undesignated timber in 26 of the 61 sales they reviewed but that sale administrators informed the agency's law enforcement personnel of only six of those cases. The loggers paid for the extra timber in each case but generally were allowed to do so through a contract adjustment, rather than facing a possible criminal inquiry.

"Continued tolerance of this practice ... not only undermines the integrity of sale markings and boundaries, but could also compromise future investigations of timber theft cases," the audit warned.

(Begin optional trim)

The findings by the inspector general of the Agriculture Department, which oversees the Forest Service, are the latest criticism of the agency's efforts to combat timber theft by companies that log on public lands. Advocacy groups representing six members of a special timber theft task force that was disbanded by Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas last year have contended that the agency has not made timber theft a priority and, in one case, obstructed a major inquiry.

"This audit makes a mockery of Forest Service claims of diligence in the war against timber theft," said Jeff De Bonis, executive director of the Public Employees for

Trade Gap Shrank Sharply in February

Decline in Oil Imports, Rise In Plane Exports Helped Reduce the Deficit 17%

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The U.S. trade deficit narrowed significantly in February, aided by reduced oil imports and a snapback in aircraft exports.

The February gap in goods and services trade declined 17% to a seasonally adjusted \$8.19 billion from a downward revised deficit of \$9.88 billion in January. Exports climbed to \$68.10 billion in February from \$66.79 billion in January, and imports fell to \$76.29 billion from \$76.67 billion.

Although February's figures were largely influenced by a return to more normal winter weather, several economists said the gap will continue to narrow during the rest of 1996. That would be sunny news for President Clinton, whose trade record has become a contentious election-year issue. Commerce Secretary-designate Mickey Kantor seized on the news, saying it "confirms the long-term trend towards improved trade results."

The politically sensitive trade deficit with Japan dropped in February to \$3.89 billion from \$4.71 billion a year earlier largely because the yen remains strong against the dollar. The red-ink total with China, however, swelled to \$2.43 billion in February, from \$1.91 billion a year earlier. Beijing's critics are certain to emphasize the expanding trade deficit with China,

which ballooned to nearly \$34 billion in 1995, during next month's congressional debate on renewing China's "most favored nation" trading status.

Weather Affected Oil

By volume, oil imports dropped about 12% from January, and the price fell to \$16.18 a barrel from \$16.45. Brian Horrigan, vice president and senior economist at Loomis Sayles & Co. in Boston, cited "the abnormal weather in January and the return of normality in February."

Alan Levenson, a money market economist at UBS Securities in New York, said imports in general will probably continue at a reduced level in the second quarter as businesses work off inventories.

The rise in February exports followed the mercury. Mr. Horrigan noted that January's blizzards hurt exports more than imports because many goods coming into the U.S. enter through West Coast ports, where the weather is milder, while many exports are shipped from Great Lakes or Northeast facilities.

Shipments of U.S. civilian aircraft, always a volatile sector, increased more than \$700 million in February after falling a similar amount in January. Exports were slowed in January by the effects of last fall's strike at Boeing Co.

Positive Trend Is Expected

Barring further surprises from the weather or other events, Mr. Levenson predicted that "we should see a trend towards improved trade deficits through the end of this year."

Separately, the Labor Department reported that a 7.1% spike in petroleum prices — the biggest jump in nearly two years — sent U.S. import prices up 0.5% in

Trade Deficit

U.S. trade deficits with major trading partners in billions:

| COUNTRY | FEB. 1996 | FEB. 1995 |
|---------|-----------|-----------|
| Canada | \$1.40 | \$1.42 |
| China | 2.43 | 1.91 |
| Germany | 0.97 | 0.84 |
| Japan | 3.89 | 4.71 |
| Mexico | 1.30 | 1.10 |

Source: U.S. Commerce Department

March. Excluding fuels, however, import prices fell 0.4% in March due to widespread price declines for capital goods, imported foods and drinks, cars, consumer goods and industrial supplies.

For the year ended in March, import prices overall rose 1.6%, compared with a 6.3% rise in the previous year.

Prices for exports, meanwhile, slipped 0.1% in March, due to a continuing decline in prices for exported nonagricultural commodities, the government said. But agricultural export prices resumed their upward climb, rising 1.3% in March. Overall, export prices rose 1.4% during the past year.

TRADE

Here are the Commerce Department's monthly trade figures, in billions of dollars.

| | Feb. 1996 | Jan. 1996 |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Total Exports | \$68.10 | \$66.79 |
| Goods | 49.72 | 49.01 |
| Services | 18.38 | 17.78 |
| Total Imports | 76.29 | 76.67 |
| Goods | 63.51 | 64.09 |
| Services | 12.78 | 12.59 |
| Overall trade balance | -8.19 | -9.88 |
| Goods | -13.79 | -15.08 |
| Services | 5.59 | 5.20 |

For the full text of the government's trade report, see The Wall Street Journal's Money & Investing Update at <http://update.wsj.com> on the Internet's World Wide Web.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1996

Exposure to Workplace Tobacco Smoke Is Greater Than Believed, Study Says

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Passive smoke in the workplace might be a much bigger health danger than U.S. workers have been led to believe, according to a new government study.

The new findings come from the Centers for Disease Control, and appear in a

Hearts and Wallets at Odds

It's unlikely that either individuals or mutual funds will be able to kick the habit of investing in tobacco companies. Fund Track, page C1.

special issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association on the health impacts of tobacco. At a news conference yesterday to publicize the journal's research, AMA officials urged investors to avoid 13 stocks and 1,474 mutual funds that invest in tobacco manufacturing. The AMA shed its own tobacco holdings in 1986.

The passive-smoke findings represent the most extensive data ever compiled on nonsmokers' exposure to cigarette smoke in the U.S. The new information will likely add ballast to antismoking groups' efforts at the federal, state and local levels to ban smoking in office buildings and other public places.

According to the study, 87.9% of all nonsmokers in the U.S. have detectable levels of cotinine in their blood. Cotinine is a nicotine residue that turns up in the blood serum of individuals exposed to tobacco smoke. The survey, conducted from 1988 to 1991, involved physical examinations of 12,678 individuals nationwide.

Nonsmokers Understate Exposure

Of the nonsmokers surveyed, 12.4% reported they were exposed to tobacco smoke at work only, compared with 7.7% who reported they were exposed to tobacco smoke at home only; 38.8% reported no exposure at all, and 3.1% reported exposure at both home and work.

The JAMA study offers strong evidence that people tend to understate their exposure to passive smoke. There is a wide gap between nonsmokers who say they are exposed to tobacco smoke — 37% of adults and 43% of children — compared with the 87.9% whose cotinine shows they are exposed. This gap is significant because most previous studies of workplace passive-smoke exposure, many of them funded by the tobacco industry, relied on survey data rather than blood samples.

Even though the study found that more nonsmokers are exposed to tobacco smoke at work than at home, the study makes clear that the amount of nicotine absorbed into a nonsmoker's bloodstream is likelier to be higher if one lives with a smoker than if one works with one. Nonsmokers exposed to tobacco at home had roughly twice as much cotinine in their blood as non-

smokers exposed to tobacco at work.

The federal Occupational Health and Safety Administration has proposed a regulation that would ban virtually all smoking in the workplace. But the agency has moved slowly in issuing a final rule — it isn't expected this year — partly because agency officials are combing through a mountain of public comments and partly because of budget cuts. The new findings were made available to OSHA before its comment period on the smoking rule ended in mid-January.

The Environmental Protection Agency declared passive smoke a carcinogen nearly four years ago, but their finding has stirred some controversy in the scientific community. A recent report by the Congressional Research Service expressed such uncertainty on the topic that advocates for and against tobacco both claimed vindication from it.

But James Pirkle, the study's lead author, yesterday said the new findings are "much better data than the CRS report ever looked at."

But Brennan Dawson, a spokeswoman for the Tobacco Institute, said of the JAMA findings, "it's not a health-effects study." She said the study focused on nicotine exposure as measured in "molecules," and that the source of these trace amounts might be certain foods, such as tomatoes or potatoes, or a "momentary whiff" of tobacco smoke.

Sierra Club Toughens Its Stance on Logging On All Public Lands

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

SAN FRANCISCO — A Sierra Club faction has succeeded in an effort to toughen the big environmental group's stand against logging on public lands.

In a move sure to roil the nation's oldest and most influential defenders of the environment, club members voted to approve a plan stating the club will work to "protect all public land in the U.S. by advocating an end to all commercial logging" on them. The measure passed with about 66% of the vote; under club bylaws, it becomes official Sierra Club policy.

The Sierra Club has 600,000 members. This stance is far more hard-line than its past positions on public-lands logging, which called for sharply reducing but not ending commercial cutting.

The vote reflects a split that has been festering for years, caused by many grass-roots club activists' disenchantment with the club's leadership, who many activists believe have compromised too much in key environmental disputes over logging, grazing and mining.

The tougher stance was supported by such environmental luminaries as David Brower, the club's first executive director and a current board member. But it was opposed by some well-known environmentalists, too, including Dave Foreman, a co-founder of the environmental activist group Earth First! He, like other opponents of the shift, fears that the hard-line stance will increase tensions between forest defenders and timber interests, and could cost support in Congress.

Chad Hanson, an activist based in Eugene, Ore., and a leader of the Sierra Club faction opposing all commercial logging, said the policy will make the club more effective by refocusing it on its original mission.

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

GAZI ERCCEL, new governor of Turkey's central bank, was previously chief executive officer and managing director of Tutun Bank AS, not acting governor of the central bank as reported in yesterday's World Wire column.

* * *

THE COMPUTER STORAGE SYSTEM supporting the Summer Olympics in Atlanta will hold three trillion bytes of data. An article Monday incorrectly stated it would be three billion bytes of data.

* * *

AMRESKO Inc. is an independent company in Dallas and Amresco Residential Mortgage Corp. is a subsidiary of Amresco Inc. In Monday's New Securities Issues column, Amresco Inc. was incorrectly identified as a unit of Legg Mason Inc.

MUTUAL OF OMAHA Cos.' \$2,500-deductible individual health insurance plan in Georgia would cost a 35-year-old woman who doesn't smoke \$85 a month, instead of \$105 a month as was erroneously reported in Friday's Your Money Matters column. A 55-year-old female nonsmoker would pay \$150 a month, not \$251 a month as stated in the column.

* * *

ARTHUR ANDERSEN moved its worldwide audit practices unit from Paris to Chicago last year. An article Monday about U.S. companies shifting jobs abroad incorrectly stated the base as Paris. Also, managing partner Marion Gajek's last name was misspelled as Jacek.

* * *

WARNER WELLCOME CONSUMER HEALTHCARE, a joint venture between Warner-Lambert Co. and Glaxo Wellcome PLC, is sending out free samples of Zantac 75, its over-the-counter heartburn medicine. Yesterday's Work Week column said the samples were being sent by Glaxo Wellcome PLC.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1996

0 dependents.

s 18,000 state employees are expected to be
and the MSA option beginning Jan. 1.

(End optional trim)

Idaho's law allows an individual to deposit up to \$2,000 a year into a medical savings account, or \$4,000 for a family. The account holder then claims a deduction equal to the contribution when calculating state income taxes.

Withdrawals from the accounts are not subject to state taxes if they are used for medical expenses including eyeglasses, mammograms and even some less-than-mainstream treatments, such as acupuncture, that typically are not covered by health insurance policies.

Any funds that remain unspent at the end of a year remain in the account, where they can continue to earn interest and accumulate over time. If the money is withdrawn for non-medical uses, it is subject to state income taxes and a 10 percent penalty.

Once an account-holder reaches the age of 59½, the penalty no longer applies. That means the money can be used to supplement other sources of retirement income, much like an individual retirement account.

The driving notion behind MSAs is that account-holders will spend their money wisely because they stand to pocket the unspent dollars.

Idaho's law does not require MSA holders to buy a high-deductible catastrophic insurance plan. The House bill would impose such a requirement, as do many employers now offering the MSA option, including Ada County.

For people like Bich, 46, the potential payoff of a medical savings account proved irresistible, even though he already had a generous indemnity plan provided by his employer.

Before he switched, the county paid Bich's entire \$175 monthly premium for a standard Blue Shield plan with a \$100 annual deductible. Once he passed the \$100 mark, the policy kicked in, covering 80 percent of all costs until Bich's out-of-pocket expenses reached \$800, after which the plan covered 100 percent of expenses. In all, Bich's maximum annual out-of-pocket exposure was \$900.

Blessed by good health, Bich has virtually no medical expenses to speak of. So the premiums paid by his employer simply disappeared into Blue Shield's coffers, and were used by the giant insurer to cover the claims of sick people.

Under the MSA option, the county will spend \$75 a month to buy Bich a catastrophic insurance plan with a \$2,000 annual deductible. With the \$1,200 in savings, the county will deposit into Bich's bank account \$1,100 a year, on a prorated monthly basis.

Should Bich need medical care, he must pay for it with funds from the MSA. If he uses up all of the county's \$1,100 contribution, the next \$900 will come from his own pocket. After that, the catastrophic plan kicks in.

"Quite frankly, I'm banking on the fact that my health will stay good," Bich said.

On the other hand, Bob Poland, a county commercial appraiser, rejected the MSA option.

At 68, Poland had bypass surgery four years ago; his wife suffers from diabetes and high blood pressure. They were especially worried about incurring costly out-of-pocket medical bills before sufficient funds accrued in their medical savings account to cover those expenses.

In all, according to Ada County Commissioner Gary Glenn, the county stands to save nearly \$70,000 in the first year. The savings would reach nearly \$90,000 if Congress exempted MSAs from federal income tax, reducing the county's share of payroll taxes paid to Washington.

However, Roger Simmons, an Ada County commissioner who voted for MSAs as "just another option," is increasingly troubled by the potential creation of a two-tiered system for county employees.

"We may end up having to spend more money on the other side" to cover the higher premiums for those not in MSAs, Simmons said.

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala wrote

recently in Roll Call, a Capitol Hill newspaper, that "MSAs are an inherently bad and risky idea." Among other things, she said, they could "create dangerous disincentives for people to seek preventive care like immunizations and mammograms."

"There may be some truth to that," conceded Robert K. Seehusen, executive director of the Idaho Medical Association. "But I don't believe the system can hold everybody's hand."

Sierra Club Opposes All Private Logging on Federal Lands(Seattle)By Kim Murphy= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

SEATTLE Reflecting the environmental community's increasing polarization over management of the national forests, the Sierra Club membership has gone on record opposing all commercial logging on federal lands.

The new policy, adopted 2-1 in a ballot referendum of the group's more than half a million members, marks an important turning point for the nation's oldest conservation organization and a group that historically has been a moderate advocate for environmental protection.

Wracked by the same tumultuous debates that have driven the nation's political stalemate over logging on public lands jobs vs. timber, hard-line advocacy vs. real protection for the most crucial of resources more than 66 percent of the members who voted elected to adopt a tough position in opposition to all private logging on federally managed lands, including the national forests.

The position puts the Sierra Club in league with some of the nation's most strident environmental groups and sets the stage for tougher bargaining in Washington over the future of federal forest lands. It reflects the growing anguish among environmental activists over political and legal setbacks that have loosed chainsaws on thousands of acres of federal forest that previously were protected.

Advocates of the new policy, which will shape the organization's lobbying position on federal timber policy but leave intact the possibility of bargaining on the local level, said it reflects widespread public dissatisfaction with management of the national forests and a growing concern that the environmental movement has become too oriented toward compromise. "I think it signals a new era of environmental activism. It's especially significant coming from a large, national environmental group like the Sierra Club," said Chad Hanson, a Eugene, Ore., activist who drafted the new policy.

(Optional add end)

"This is not a popularity contest. We're not in this to try to please the timber industry or the Forest Service. Our job is to speak for the ecosystems, and fight for their defense as passionately and forcefully as we are able," Hanson said. "I think that we have been doing less than that in a number of circumstances."

The U.S. Forest Service is presently releasing about 4.5 million board feet a year of timber harvests in national forests. In addition, substantial new tracts were opened up as a result of a salvage logging provision passed by Congress last year that releases an additional 4.5 million board feet of dead and dying timber over a two-year period and thousands of acres of healthy timber sales previously held up by environmental challenges.

Forest Service chief Jack Ward Thomas, in an interview Monday, said the service is obligated by law to manage federal lands in response to an array of interests. "The Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act makes it clear that production of timber is one of the authorized multiple uses," Thomas said.

The new Sierra Club policy had been soundly defeated in a ballot referendum two years ago. Opponents said it promotes a position that has little or no chance of becoming the law of the land and weakens the group's

ability to fashion constructive compromises to protect crucial forest assets.

Phone Co. Mega-Mergers Take a Giant Leap Backward (Washn)By Jube Shiver Jr.= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON When Congress enacted a sweeping telecommunications reform law in February, one of its central objectives was to spur the kind of competition in local telephone service that, in the long-distance arena, has slashed rates by 40 percent and boosted the number of carriers to about 500 since the 1984 breakup of the old AT&T monopoly.

But instead of unleashing a free-for-all, where phone carriers, broadcasters, cable television operators and media companies would invade each others' markets, the clock so far has headed only backward, critics say at least in the local phone business.

There, two massive proposed mergers SBC Communications

Inc.'s \$17 billion bid for Pacific Telesis Group and Bell Atlantic Corp.'s \$22 billion deal with Nynex Corp. are driving a consolidation wave that could leave the industry looking suspiciously like the old Ma Bell.

As a result of the two planned mergers, the seven regional Bell telephone companies are poised to dwindle to five by next year. And speculation is bubbling about whether the three remaining Baby Bells will also merge with one another or perhaps with cable TV operators, long-distance companies or others.

Already, executives at companies that could face a tougher time as a result of the mergers are beginning to protest.

"It's hard to see how new competition promised by the Telecommunications Act can be attained if existing monopolies simply combine into larger ones," said Mark Rosenblum, vice president of law and public policy for AT&T. "The concern is especially great when these two companies otherwise would have had powerful incentive to compete against each other" because of their "close proximity ... and name recognition each has built up in the other's back yard."

Whether the mergers trigger a similar reaction from government regulators remains to be seen.

The mergers come more than a decade after a government antitrust suit against AT&T resulted in the local phone monopoly being split up into seven regional Bells. The breakup spurred a wave of new competition in long-distance service and communications equipment.

But entering the local telephone business is a bigger economic challenge than entering long distance, where companies like MCI started a generation ago with little more than office space, a little marketing savvy and a line of credit to buy and resell long-distance lines from AT&T.

Local telephone resale is promoted in the new telecommunications law under terms that experts say are more favorable than they were in long distance but some antitrust experts say the combination of likely competitors such as Bell Atlantic and Nynex will make it harder to challenge the entrenched monopolies.

(Begin optional trim)

"The Bell Atlantic-Nynex deal doesn't really exacerbate the local telephone monopoly, but what these deals do is re-introduce some concerns about diminished competition," said Phil Verveer, a Washington communications lawyer and former Federal Communications Commission official who was in charge of the Justice Department's investigation of the old AT&T monopoly in the late 1970s. "If one company controls too much of the local marketplace there can be serious effects" and hurt long-distance service, telephone equipment manufacturers and consumers.

But even pro-consumer lawmakers, many of whom dislike most mergers, now take the view that the burgeoning telecommunications business has enough big players

including AT&T and cable giants such as Time Warner and Tele-communications Inc. to go up against two Baby Bells at a time.

"Without the introduction of vigorous competition in the Baby Bells' local telephone market, (the) merger between Bell Atlantic and Nynex could lead to a disturbing stifling of competitive energies, (but) that is why the of the half of the story must also unfold," said U.S. Rep. Edward Markey, D-Mass., ranking minority member of the House Telecommunications subcommittee.

(End optional trim)

A different view is expected to emerge from at least some of the state regulators in the nearly two dozen states that are now pouring over the deals, however.

While many state regulators are concerned about competition, they are focusing on how that competition might directly impact the economies of their states.

In New York, where Bell Atlantic plans to move its headquarters after it merges with Nynex, regulators reacted as if the deal were a fait accompli.

"Locating the headquarters of the new company in New York City is great news for the city in particular and New York State in general," said John F. O'Mara, chairman of the New York State Public Service Commission. "I have instructed the department staff to immediately begin reviewing all of the merger to ensure that New York's consumers get the best telecommunications services for the most reasonable rates."

(Begin optional trim)

But Bell Atlantic Chairman Ray Smith acknowledged that things are a little more delicate in Pennsylvania, the state that will lose the corporate offices of a Fortune 500 company.

"We have told (officials) that there will be more jobs in Pennsylvania in three years than there are now. We just have to be allow to grow this business and be competitive," Smith said.

But the toughest regulatory scrutiny will likely come in California, which stands to lose a Fortune 500 company to Austin, Texas-based SBC Communications if its \$17 billion acquisition of PacTel is approved. Jessie Knight, one of the five California Public Utility Commission commissioners, promised a rigorous review.

Specifically, Knight said, the commission must consider what economic impact the PacTel-SBC merger will have on the state and what benefits, if any, accrue to rate payers.

"As we move into the world of competition, other things need to be considered to judge the merits of this merger, such as the opportunity for greater services to be offered, a better balance of competition, and new technological advancements," Knight said.

(End optional trim)

On the federal level, the Justice Department has already indicated it will review the SBC-PacTel deal. No agreement has yet been reached between Justice and the Federal Trade Commission as to which agency will review the Bell Atlantic-Nynex deal, although a top FTC official said it is likely that the Justice Department, which has more experience probing telephone industry mergers, will examine the Bell Atlantic deal.

NEWS

FROM REPRESENTATIVE

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4th Congressional District, Oregon

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March 21, 1996

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DEFAZIO & WYDEN TELL ADMINISTRATION TO STOP ENVIRONMENTALLY SENSITIVE OLD GROWTH TIMBER SALES

Representative And Senator Target Boulder Krab, First, and Last Sales

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- U.S. Rep. Peter DeFazio and U.S. Senator Ron Wyden today urged the Administration to stop the environmentally sensitive Boulder Krab, First, and Last timber sales on Oregon's Siskiyou and Umpqua National Forests by allowing timber swaps for less sensitive replacement timber volume. They made their plea in a letter to Agriculture Undersecretary James Lyons.

"The President got us into this mess by signing the salvage rider in the first place," said DeFazio. "His administration now must use the tools at its disposal to be sure the most environmentally harmful of these old growth sales do not proceed."

"Even Oregon timber executives have been trying in vain to get some of these sensitive sales swapped for more environmentally sound timber volume," said DeFazio. "The Clinton Administration should get on board this effort. The Boulder Krab, the First, and the Last timber sales are an ideal place to begin."

On February 6, four timber industry representatives from Douglas County, Oregon wrote to Secretaries Glickman and Babbitt indicating a willingness to support changes to the salvage rider that would enable the federal government to offer less environmentally sensitive replacement timber volume for sales that could be devastating in their impacts.

Clinton Administration officials have maintained that the so-called salvage rider, included in the 1995 budget rescissions bill, does not allow them to trade less environmentally harmful timber for old growth sales released under the rider. According to DeFazio, the administration now believes it may be able to proceed with negotiated trades.

"As we speak, thousand year old trees are falling in one of the most sensitive watersheds in Oregon," DeFazio said. "This administration has got to quit dragging its feet and act today."

See Attached Letter.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 22, 1996.

The Honorable James Lyons
Undersecretary
Department of Agriculture
14th Street and Independence Ave., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20250

Dear Secretary Lyons:

As you know, four timber industry representatives from Douglas County, Oregon wrote to Secretaries Glickman and Babbitt on February 6 indicating a willingness to support changes to the salvage rider that would enable the federal government to offer less environmentally sensitive replacement timber volume for sales that could be devastating in their impacts. One of the letter's signers, Allyn Ford of Roseburg Forest Products, owns a number of very sensitive sales on the Siskiyou and Umpqua National Forests.

It is essential that you take steps to ensure that these and other environmentally sensitive old growth timber sales released under section 2001(k) of the 1995 budget rescissions bill are not harvested, while at the same time recognizing the government's legal obligation to purchasers who have made good faith efforts to negotiate with the Forest Service for less sensitive replacement timber volume.

One such sale, the Boulder Crab sale on Oregon's Elk River, has been the subject of months of negotiation between the purchaser and the Forest Service. The Elk River boasts one of the Northwest's most productive fisheries. It is known for its steep and unstable slopes. The Boulder Crab sale would harvest old growth timber in a roadless area of the Elk River watershed. The purchaser, Scott Timber, a subsidiary of Roseburg Forest Products, has made a sincere effort to find replacement volume for two sale units located in a roadless area.

Two other very sensitive sales were recently released and unless you take immediate action could be harvested in the very near future. The First and Last Timber sales on the Umpqua National Forest are two of four timber sales clustered within the Boulder Creek drainage, a largely unroaded watershed that is a tributary of the South Umpqua River. The four sales will require the construction of 6.4 miles of road and will adversely impact the anadromous fisheries of the South Umpqua watershed. These sales were previously held up because they did not comply with the protections for ecologically significant old growth contained in section 318 of the FY90 Interior Appropriations bill.

March 22, 1996
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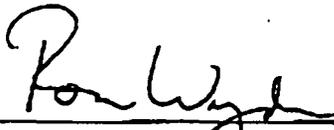
As you know, both the House and Senate have approved legislation that would give the Forest Service the authority it needs to find suitable replacement volume for all of these sales. Though we do not believe this legislation made the changes in law that are required, it would at least provide the agencies with enough flexibility to prevent some of the most damaging sales from proceeding.

The provision is included in a funding resolution intended to complete the appropriations cycle for the 1996 fiscal year. Though it is not yet possible to say with any certainty whether Congress and the President will agree on this particular funding bill, it seems reasonably certain that the timber sale provision providing agency flexibility will ultimately be passed into law before section 2001(k) expires.

However, legislation may not be necessary. It is our understanding that discussions are underway that could result in an agreement that would allow a timber trade on the Umpqua National Forest to proceed administratively. The Forest Service believes it can find much more environmentally benign timber volume to trade for the sales in question, particularly from old shelterwood harvest sites. An agreement to allow such a trade to proceed administratively would protect South Umpqua fisheries and avoid a potentially unpleasant confrontation in the woods. Such an agreement could also provide the precedent needed to allow a similar trade to proceed for the Elk River sales.

We ask that you do everything in your power to ensure that the Boulder Krab, First and Last sales do not proceed, while at the same time recognizing the contractual rights of the purchaser. We would be happy to do everything in our power to help you in this matter.

Sincerely,



U.S. Senator Ron Wyden



U.S. Rep. Peter DeFazio

Dole, House freshmen to meet

Critics concede senator's in control

By Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Bob Dole, soon to be running his presidential campaign from the Capitol, has agreed to meet with House GOP freshmen who have become increasingly agitated over his repeated compromises on conservative issues.

But Mr. Dole's staunchest freshman critics concede they don't expect to have much say in what issues the Kansas Republican brings up as he seeks to paint the stark differences between him and President Clinton.

"He is, in fact, in the driver's seat," said Rep. John Shadegg, Arizona Republican. "We're going to urge him to put forward an agenda which represents what we've been fighting for and what we've promised to the people who elected us. But ultimately there is little we can do to force him to do that."

A senior Senate source said that behind closed doors, "intelligent freshmen admit that his success is their success." And some senior House members agree.

Getting Mr. Dole elected president is "the highest value this party has," House Speaker Newt Gingrich said yesterday after meeting with Mr. Clinton at the White House. "So I think it is our job to work with him."

In a brief interview outside his Senate office, Mr. Dole confirmed that he will meet soon with leaders

of the 73-member freshman class in an effort to craft an agreeable legislative agenda that will further his candidacy.

Starting next week, Mr. Dole plans to campaign from the Capitol. He is still deciding which bills — and in what order — he wants to send Mr. Clinton. Welfare reform and regulatory reform are at the top of the list, senior aides said.

Mr. Dole will likely set aside several bills freshmen favor, including the repeal of the ban on assault-style weapons signed into law in 1994. The House votes on that bill today. Mr. Dole has declared it dead in the Senate.

Most freshmen said any truce will be driven by necessity rather than trust.

Overall, the freshman, elected in part to reform Congress, have

found Mr. Dole too quick to compromise on conservative issues and too willing to let items from the House GOP's "Contract With America" languish in the Senate.

Their ire came to a head late last year when Mr. Dole backed the president's order to send U.S. peacekeeping troops to Bosnia under the U.N. flag, even though the Kansan said the decision was wrong.

He added to that rage when he pushed through a temporary spending bill to end the second partial government shutdown while budget negotiations continued. The freshmen were intent on using the shutdown to force Mr. Clinton to accept a seven-year deadline on balancing the budget. The House blocked Mr. Dole's measure, then backed down.

In an interview with The Washington Times two days later, on Jan. 5, Mr. Dole derided the complainers by pointing out that he had done the "heavy lifting" while they were "home on vacation."

On the campaign trail, Mr. Dole routinely reaches out to Democrats by saying, "Nothing wrong with a little compromise."

That is not what the freshmen, facing their first re-election campaigns, want to hear.

"If he wants to win, it is vitally important that we articulate a Republican agenda that contrasts with the Clinton agenda," Mr. Shadegg said.

Dole accuses Clinton of being soft on need for a U.S. missile defense

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole attacked President Clinton yesterday for rejecting GOP plans to deploy nationwide defenses against a missile strike.

Mr. Dole, introducing legislation calling for deployment of a national missile defense by 2003, said Mr. Clinton "refuses to defend America, preferring to rely on the false protection of the Cold War-era Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty."

"Right now the United States has no defense — and I repeat — no defense against ballistic missiles," he said at a news conference with House Speaker Newt Gingrich. "If it's left up to the Clinton administration, it will stay that way."

The attack on the president for being soft on defense signals that Republicans plan to make the defense missile issue part of the presidential election campaign.

"We've seen no leadership in the White House on this issue," Mr. Dole said. "In fact, the White House and the rest of the administration are even denying that there

is a threat."

Mr. Clinton vetoed the defense authorization bill Dec. 28 largely because it required deployment of a national missile defense.

The president said in vetoing the bill that a national missile defense is not needed.

The bill introduced in both houses yesterday is similar to language that was later removed from the vetoed defense bill.

Surrounded by Republican House and Senate missile defense backers, Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich said the legislation is needed to remedy a critical national security shortfall.

The measure calls for:

- Deployment of a nationwide defense against long-range missiles launched by rogue nations, by accident or by unauthorized launch from an established missile power like Russia or China.

The system would include interceptors based either on the ground, at sea or in space, or in a combination of modes, fixed ground-based radars; and space-based sensor and battle management equipment.

- Negotiations to change the

1972 ABM treaty to permit national missile defenses and, if negotiations fail after a year, consultations between the administration and Congress on withdrawing from the treaty.

"We believe defending America's cities and defending America's civilian population is at the heart of our constitutional obligation," Mr. Gingrich said. "We believe it is clearly doable."

Mr. Dole said the defense is "going to cost money." But, he noted, "we're talking about protecting American lives. That's what it's all about."

A limited national missile defense system could cost about \$5 billion, according to recent testimony to Congress by administration officials.

Mr. Gingrich said administration opposition to building missile defenses is not "to save money."

"They're doing this because their priorities are wrong," he said. "And they would rather give the money away on foreign aid than use the money to defend America. And that's a very different America in our two now."

Loggers fear Congress' ax will fall on federal forests' salvage timber

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DENVER — For the first time in 16 years, Jim Hurst stayed home Thursday from work at his Montana sawmill. Instead, he turned on C-SPAN and sat down to watch the Senate decide his future.

The Senate was voting on a proposal to scale back the "salvage timber rider," a Republican-sponsored plan passed last year that allows loggers to harvest wood from forest fires and previously awarded timber sales in national forests without threat of environmental challenges. The amendment to cut back the program came from Sen. Patty Murray, Washington Democrat.

Her effort failed, 54-42, much to Mr. Hurst's relief. "I was sitting in front of the television, counting the votes on my fingers, and my palms were sweaty," he said in a telephone interview from his mill in Eureka, Mont.

What if it had passed? "Then I would have had to lay off a third of my work force — now. And that would have been just the first step," he said. "It was that important to us."

The Murray amendment failed, but the battle over the timber rider has just begun. With the presidential election looming and the White House aggressively courting the green vote, what began as a legislative footnote has mushroomed into the most contentious environmental issue in Congress this year.

"I believe that the salvage rider is one of the biggest mistakes that Congress has made in natural resource management in the last 25 years," said Sen. Bill Bradley, New

Jersey Democrat, who introduced a bill last week to repeal the program. "We need to admit our error and correct it as soon as possible with new legislation."

Leading the repeal charge is President Clinton, who signed the rider into law in July. The president says he was misled about the bill's intent and the damage it poses to forests and fisheries in the Northwest.

"It undermines our balanced approach to ensuring continued economic growth and reliable timber supply in concert with responsible management and protection of our natural resources for future generations," Mr. Clinton said in a March 13 letter to Mrs. Murray. "The timber rider must be repealed as soon as possible."

The rider's sponsors, Sen. Slade Gorton, Washington Republican, and Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon Republican, have tried to alleviate the concerns by adding language to the omnibus budget bill allowing the administration to buy out or offer an alternative to previously awarded timber sales.

Environmentalists have rejected the proposal because it allows the loggers, not the administration, to decide whether to exchange a sale or accept a buy-out. That opposition prompted Mr. Hatfield to accuse Democrats of playing election-year politics.

"This is not a forestry or environmental problem, Mr. President," Mr. Hatfield said on the Senate floor Thursday. "This is a political problem put into environmental wraps for the sake of the political election cycle."

The original rider suspended the appeals process and relaxed some environmental restrictions

on logging, allowing loggers to clear dead, fire-charred timber without the lengthy court process that has tied up the industry.

The rider also made it easier for loggers to gain access to 650 million board feet in timber sales awarded from 1990 to 1994 and cleared the path for more timber sales under the Clinton administration's 1994 forest plan. Both had been delayed by administration concerns over endangered species and appeals, in which any citizen may object to any timber sale in the national forests.

The Clinton forest plan promised loggers 1 billion board feet annually but delivered just 350 million board feet last year. In the late 1980s, foresters received up to 5 billion board feet each year.

Environmentalists have labeled the rider "logging without laws." The uproar has reignited the "war in the woods" as protesters attempt to halt logging by blocking roads, holding sit-ins and camping at work sites.

"The controversy has heightened because we're back to clear-cutting old-growth forests in the Northwest, a practice we haven't seen in seven or eight years," said Steve Whitney, Northwest regional director for the Wilderness Society. "We're at the point where the timber wars are back, and the blame can be laid on the shoulders of a very few members of Congress."

The delays have taken a toll on timber jobs and communities. Since the Clinton timber plan was approved two years ago, an estimated 92 sawmills in Oregon and Washington have closed because of a lack of wood, said Rex Storm, an analyst with the Associated Oregon Loggers in Salem.

Most divisive issues kept off Education Summit's agenda

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The governor most closely associated with private school choice came to Washington yesterday to sell next week's National Education Summit, but made it clear that vouchers are too divisive an issue to be put on the agenda.

"I would love to make school choice an issue, but... if we get off on school choice, merit pay and charter schools, there's no question we'll splinter and we'll not be able to unanimously come out with a real concerted effort to try to improve standards," said Wisconsin Gov. Tommy G. Thompson.

"Vouchers are not a panacea, but a step," he said in a meeting with editors and reporters at The Washington Times. "Vouchers are good in a large, urban school system where you've got to try a lot of things."

Milwaukee has a 5-year-old private-school-choice program that he is trying to expand to include religious schools. The issue is in the courts.

"A more important reform than choice is a comprehensive school-to-work program," Mr. Thompson said in the first of three presentations yesterday about the summit.

The GOP governor, who is chairman of the National Governors' Association and the Education Commission of the States, has called for the summit of the governors Tuesday and Wednesday in Palisades, N.Y.

The governors will be asked to sign an agreement promising to set rigorous educational standards and assessments within the next two years. "So many governors don't understand the need to improve standards and assessments in the states," Mr. Thompson said.

Each governor attending the summit has invited a state business leader. The business leaders are expected to help the governors push for higher standards by

agreeing not to relocate or expand in areas that have not raised standards, and by looking at high school transcripts of prospective employees.

Addressing a journalism awards luncheon of the Center for Education Reform at the National Press Club's First Amendment Lounge, Mr. Thompson said the summit's agenda will focus solely on standards, assessments and technology in education.

"I do not believe you can truly improve the quality of education in America unless you raise the bar on standards and assessments," he said. "It's the glue that holds everything together."

Moving on to the press club's main ballroom, he said: "If you can't read and write, can't calculate and don't know the difference between Wisconsin and Arkansas, you shouldn't get a diploma."

Despite Mr. Thompson's assurances that "I'm in control," many conservatives have expressed concerns about the liberal education establishment having the governors' ears and setting the agenda at the summit.

Up to 40 education "experts" have been invited to attend the summit as resource people or to give speeches at Tuesday's night's dinner. President Clinton will speak Wednesday before lunch.

Chester E. Finn Jr., an assistant secretary of education in the Reagan administration, and Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, are invited conservatives who could counterpoint Mr. Clinton's message, Mr. Thompson said.

The topic of teachers unions, viewed by some as the biggest stumbling block to school reform, also is taboo at the summit, Mr. Thompson said. "We need to address the union issue, but that would be divisive at this summit," he said. "It won't help to spend our time bashing one group over another group."

a mountain out of a molehill," he said, adding that he and his fellow loggers are tired of being portrayed as greedy pillagers of the earth.

"We've saved some forests and we're going to save some more," he said, but if environmentalists' full demands were met, the remaining timber companies and mills would be forced out of business.

Garvin says he understands the loggers' anguish. He works as a "topper," hired by the Forest Service to climb 200-foot-trees on the edges of loggers' clearcuts and trim their tops, thereby reducing the odds of wind damage.

"They're very upset and they have every right to be. A lot of their identity and pride was tied up with working in the woods, and timber's been a part of the Northwest for a long time. That was, in my mind, something that was supposed to go on for generations.

"People tell me they've got to do their jobs. I've got to do a job too, but there are some jobs you just don't take."

Rangers have left the Warner Creek demonstrators alone as long as possible "to avoid a confrontation," said Forest Service spokesman Chris Holmes, but the government plans to "remove the demonstrators" as soon as Thomas Creek Timber Co., the company that holds the Warner Creek contract, is ready to start cutting trees.

Hirons expects to head up an eight-man crew of yarders working with Thomas Creek's cutters. He doesn't think the Forest Service will be able to keep the protestors away for long, and he wouldn't be surprised if the demonstrations turn violent. "I think their purpose is to stop it any way they can, and if somebody gets hurt, well, too bad."

Garvin insists he and his companions will remain nonviolent. He hopes the two sides will be able to find common ground once the current crisis is past. "The only way we're going to make it is if the environmentalists and the loggers look on this land as something that they and their descendants are going to live on together. If you want your son and your grandson out in the woods wearing a pair of cork boots, things have got to change."

States weigh jobless pay in GM strike By Alan L. Adler and Janet L. Fix Knight-Ridder Newspapers(KRT)

DETROIT Going strictly by the number of states that will pay unemployment benefits to General Motors Corp. workers laid off because of a United Auto Workers strike at two brake plants, GM appears to be losing its bid to stop jobless pay.

But the states with some of the largest numbers of UAW-represented GM workers affected by the 15-day-old strike in Dayton, Ohio, are still weighing what to do, hoping the strike will be settled before they have to decide.

Marathon talks to settle the strike that has shuttered 26 of GM's 29 assembly plants in the United States, Canada and Mexico continued Tuesday under a news blackout. GM is building vehicles in only two plants both in Mexico. A plant in Doraville, Ga., is down for changeover to build GM's next generation of minivans.

As of late Tuesday, more than 166,500 GM workers in the United States, Canada and Mexico were laid off because of the strike by 2,700 parts plant workers in Dayton. The majority of those laid off, including about 40,000 workers in Michigan, have no idea if they'll get jobless benefits.

The list of undecided states includes Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Indiana, which have an estimated 80,000 assembly and parts workers, most represented by the UAW. Michigan also has thousands of laid-off GM workers who build engines and make metal stampings.

Laid-off GM workers in Mexico, Canada and those in the United States represented by unions other than the UAW are able to collect unemployment benefits.

Michigan Gov. John Engler said Tuesday that he hopes "that the folks down in Dayton know that a major impact is being felt in the state of Michigan."

Engler declined again to give his opinion of whether

laid-off workers in Michigan should get jobless benefits from the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

"I don't want to be accused at all of trying to influence their decision," he said. "It's really a judicial-type decision. It's not something that elected officials influence. The people who are in that job make the call."

GM continued to decline substantive comment on the Dayton strike Tuesday. J.T. Battenberg III, president of Delphi Automotive Systems, GM's parts operations, said after a speech in Novi, Mich., that he would respect the UAW's request to refrain from commenting on negotiations.

However, in deviating from his prepared speech to manufacturing executives, Battenberg reiterated GM's stance that to be competitive in the auto industry, it must be able to buy parts from the least expensive and most technologically advanced suppliers.

"We are truly operating in a global marketplace," he said. "It's amazing to me how many experts in our land don't want to come to grips or fail to come to grips with that basic business understanding."

In Dayton, it was a decision to purchase brake systems for the 1998 Pontiac Firebird and Chevrolet Camaro from nonunion Robert Bosch plants in South Carolina that helped lead to the strike that began March 5.

While GM and the UAW try to reach an accommodation, states are trying to determine if people who pay national dues to a union that is on strike against a company can then draw benefits from that company.

GM's contention since early in the strike is that it should not have to finance a strike against itself. So far, only Texas has agreed with GM.

Six states New Jersey, Oklahoma, Maryland, New York, Kansas and Mississippi have agreed to honor jobless claims from laid-off GM workers.

At least two states, Ohio and Louisiana, plan hearings to decide whether to grant benefits. If they decide in favor of the laid-off employees, the workers eventually would get all money due them, but delays could run into the weeks.

"What you have here is the only ones who appear to be on strike are in Dayton," said David Garick, spokesman for the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services. "At other plants, people clearly are not out picketing but the issue is, 'Are they in effect financing the strike in Dayton through union dues?'"

Ohio, which Garick said has 30,000 affected workers, may hold hearings throughout the state to hear from affected workers and others. None of the hearings were scheduled. He said the delay is not a stalling tactic.

"We have no reason to stall. Our job is to get checks to people. We are following what the law says. We are handling this the same way we handle any other claim."

Louisiana also seems to be swayed by GM's argument that national dues paid to the UAW are financing a strike against the automaker. So far, Louisiana hasn't heard the UAW's side, said Wayne Cox, Louisiana director of unemployment insurance.

This case is "a little sticker due to the information GM is giving us not because of their putting on pressure," Cox said. "We don't bend to pressure."

Dole wins GOP nomination By Steven Thomma Knight-Ridder Newspapers(KRT)

WASHINGTON Sen. Bob Dole clinched the Republican presidential nomination Tuesday, setting up a November confrontation between two lifelong politicians with vastly different styles and often different ideas.

Dole handily won primaries in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, winning more than 200 delegates and putting him past the 996 needed to assure a first-ballot nomination at the GOP convention in August.

"I think it's safe to say that I will be the nominee," Dole told cheering supporters in a Washington hotel ballroom.

Showdown between loggers, environmentalists expected in Oregon forests By Heather Dewar Knight-Ridder Newspapers(KRT)

EUGENE, Ore. One fine day when spring has melted the snow from the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains, logger Tom Hirons and environmentalist Mick Garvin will likely come face to face at a place called Warner Creek, a high ridge not far from Willamette Pass.

When that day comes, each man expects to be spat upon, insulted, threatened, maybe worse. Garvin figures he'll end up in jail. Hirons figures by dark, he and his crew will manage to cut down a few of the 200-year-old Douglas firs and hemlock trees growing along the ridge.

In a better world, the two would be friends. Both are slow-spoken, thoughtful men who earnestly try to walk a few miles in the other guy's cork-soled woodsman's boots. Both were born and raised in these forests and depend on them for their livelihood. Both want the Pacific Northwest's logging tradition to continue well into the next century.

But a new logging law has broken a fragile two-year-old truce in the region's long war of the woods. The law has led to the cutting of some treasured stands of very old trees stands that outraged environmentalists thought they had successfully protected after years of effort.

Now loggers and environmentalists are bracing for a season of angry confrontations, civil disobedience and mass arrests in Oregon's forests. It has already begun just west of here at Warner Creek, where a small group of environmentalists have camped all winter, defying deep snow and federal trespassing laws in an attempt to keep logging crews out of the woods.

"This was a place that was not going to be saved by people writing their congressman," said Garvin, 38, one of the Warner Creek activists. "It was going now. We did what we had to do to buy a little more time."

Both Garvin and Hirons are braced for the confrontation, not just at Warner Creek but in unprotected forests across the region. Neither is hopeful that the peace can be restored anytime soon.

"There's a great philosophical divide here that can't be bridged," said Hirons, 55, a logger for 30 years who now operates Mad Creek Timber Co. in nearby Mill City. "One side's going to win and the other side's going to lose. I don't see any way around that."

Conservationists and loggers have been fighting here for decades, and the conflict has intensified as the prized forests shrink. Once the great trees dominated the landscape from the Pacific Ocean to the Cascades' steepest slopes, soaring as high as a city skyline. Today, an estimated 6 percent or less of the region's original old growth forests survive, many of them in isolated patches surrounded by clearcut areas.

Along the backroads of the Siskiyou National Forest west of Eugene, only scattered patches of old growth survive, distinguishable at a glance by their immense height and the sea-green festoons of lace lichen that cloak their branches. It is possible to drive for miles through the forest completely surrounded by rotting stumps with no full-grown trees in sight.

"We're pretty near the end of it," said Hirons, whose small company specializes in "yarding" downed trees using heavy equipment to haul them from the place where they have been cut to a spot where they can be loaded onto trucks.

"For years nobody was facing up to the fact that there just wasn't very much left," agreed Garvin. "Now the big people have all moved out. And now it's a squabble between the environmental groups and the small mill owners, trying to get what they can."

For a brief time, conservationists and timber interests attempted to talk through their differences. In 1993, the Clinton administration struck a compromise with a forest plan that permitted logging in some sensitive areas and forbade it in others. Neither side was content with the deal, but both vowed they'd live with it.

Then last year, Congress tipped the shaky balance. In an obscure bit of lawmaking known as the "timber salvage rider," Congress temporarily suspended all environmental

laws for certain kinds of logging on federally owned land.

The blanket exemption applies to trees being salvaged because of concerns about the forests' health. But it also applies to roughly 8,000 acres of healthy old-growth forests in Oregon and Washington, where planned timber sales had been halted because either the administration or the courts found the proposed logging violated environmental laws.

Congress' action opened those once-protected stands to immediate logging, and closed off virtually all legal challenges. Some stands in Oregon and Washington have already been clearcut under the new law. Some are being clearcut right now. Several more are slated for logging as soon as the snow melts in the high Cascades.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

The law has been a short-term boon for loggers such as Hirons, who chafed under the restrictions of the Clinton forest plan. "The salvage rider has kept me working all winter long," he said.

But it is a disaster for environmentalists who saw beloved woodlands going under the saw. Most conservationists are especially angry at President Clinton, who signed the rider into law.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

"There's definitely anger, rage even," said attorney Marianne Dugan of the Western Environmental Law Center. "When people started making the laws work, the laws got taken away from them."

A conservationists' repeal effort failed last week when the Senate voted 54-42 to let the law stand. Now some environmental groups are pressuring the president to veto an upcoming budget bill if it doesn't contain a rollback of the rider. Others say they'd rather use civil disobedience to slow down the logging until the rider expires at the end of August.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

Even middle-of-the-road groups like the local Audubon Society chapter now say there can be no compromise with the timber industry, that all logging on federal lands must cease until the government can figure out a way to successfully combine logging and environmental protection.

So many Audubon members have been arrested at logging sites recently that the chapter's conservation chairman, David Stone, jokes that the group's image "has gone from little old ladies in tennis shoes to little old ladies in tennis shoes and handcuffs."

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

A lot of Oregon environmentalists say they're prepared to be arrested to save places such as Warner Creek, a stand of 200-year-old trees bordering a roadless area and a protected wilderness. Until 1991, the Forest Service intended Warner Creek as a wildlife haven, and allowed no logging there.

Then someone set the woods ablaze. Nearly 9,000 acres burned. The arsonist was never caught, but the Forest Service decided to open Warner Creek to salvage logging, removing some damaged trees and cutting small firebreaks.

Environmentalists sued to stop the sale, and won the first round of court battles. Then in September a federal judge ruled that Congress' rider stripped away the courts' authority to stop logging at Warner Creek and elsewhere.

That night Garvin and a few friends drove up to Warner Creek. They dug a hole in the middle of a logging road, lowered a 55-gallon drum into the hole, filled the drum with steel bars and poured in concrete. When rangers arrived the next morning to post off-limits signs, they found the demonstrators in the middle of the road, padlocked to a buried hunk of steel.

The Warner Creek encampment has been fortified with a palisade fence, moat and drawbridge. Behind the palisades are two blue tarpaulin teepees, one for cooking and the other big enough to sleep about a dozen people. The camp's occupants have ranged from a dozen people to over a hundred at times.

The standoff there mystifies Hirons, who points out that only a few dozen acres are initially slated for logging.

"I think the environmental community is really making

Murray offers bill to end woods war

Plan OKs only salvage logging

BY ERIN KELLY
Jannett News Service



Patty Murray

stop the sale of healthy old-growth trees from forests to timber companies. At the same time, it would create a permanent salvage timber system to permit sale of trees that are dying from insect, fire or wind damage.

stop the sale of healthy old-growth trees from forests to timber companies. At the same time, it would create a permanent salvage timber system to permit sale of trees that are dying from insect, fire or wind damage.

Unlike the current timber rider, Murray's bill would require those salvage sales to comply with environmental laws. However, her legislation would speed those sales so timber mills could get the trees before they are rotten and useless.

President Clinton, in a recent trip to Seattle, said he made a mistake in approving the timber salvage rider and now supports Murray's attempt to "fix" the legislation. Murray introduced similar legislation as an amendment to the timber rider last year, but her amendment failed by one vote.

"With the anger and public sentiment against the timber rider, I think I have a much better chance this time," she said.

However, both environmentalists and pro-timber lawmakers found fault with Murray's legislation. Environmentalists said salvage logging endangers roadless wilderness areas, and Republican Sen. Slade Gorton said Murray's bill will cost jobs.

WASHINGTON — Hoping to end the "war in the woods," Sen. Patty Murray said yesterday she will introduce a bill to halt the controversial logging of healthy old-growth forests in the Northwest while continuing to permit the harvest of dead and dying trees on public lands.

The bill by the Washington state Democrat is an attempt to find a compromise between environmentalists who want total repeal of the so-called timber salvage rider, and timber companies that want to preserve the sweeping legislation.

The rider, passed last summer by Congress, opened tens of thousands of acres of public forests in the West and South to logging and renewed a bitter battle between conservationists and loggers. The rider is scheduled to expire in September, at the end of the 1996 fiscal year.

"People say this issue is too controversial to resolve, and that over the years it has become too polarized," Murray said.

"To watch the debate, you might think that's true. Any person's idea is immediately rejected by someone else. And that may be the case with my bill. But if we keep rejecting everything, we will be left with nothing, except more chaos."

Murray's bill would immediately

Sen. Murray's good 'timber rider' plan

Sen. Patty Murray has introduced sensible legislation to undo the damage contained in the controversial "timber salvage rider." Congress ought to adopt it forthwith.

The Seattle Democrat's bill would cancel the harvest of healthy old-growth trees in environmentally sensitive areas and give companies that had bought the timber the right to log elsewhere in the national forests or buy back their logging rights from the Forest Service.

The controversy was set in motion by congressional passage of a measure masquerading as a means to quickly harvest sick or dying trees.

Sponsored by Republican Sen. Slade Gorton, the salvage rider expanded the definition of salvage and re-opened to logging healthy areas that had been put off limits to loggers after the sales were made because of endangered species habitat restrictions.

But little interest was shown by the timber industry in felling the sick trees that supposedly are threatening healthy stands. They have until September, when the rider expires, to rid the woods of this menace.

An unfortunate feature of Gorton's legislation was that it allowed "salvage" harvesting without regard to environmental law, so the sales could not be appealed in court.

A critical feature of Murray's legislation is that it restores existing environmental laws to the harvests. That feature must be preserved.

There is no persuasive argument to be made for suspending environmental laws in national forests. Gorton's own bill to cope with the furor caused by his rider also envisions buy-backs and exchanges that would allow logging on less environmentally sensitive lands.

But Gorton would force the Forest Service, already reeling under budget cuts, to eat the \$100 million it may take to buy back the trees. That doesn't make real-world sense.

President Clinton initially — and rightly — resisted the salvage rider but relented and signed it when Republican lawmakers attached it to a budget bill he wanted. On a recent visit to Seattle, Clinton admitted the rider was a "mistake."

It was a huge mistake, as all the guilty parties now seem to realize. The sooner they make it right and put it behind them, the better off they'll be.

The Post Intelligencer
Seattle 3/6/96

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

07-Mar-1996 07:58am

TO: Martha Foley
TO: Barbara C. Chow
TO: Elena Kagan
TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor

FROM: T J Glauthier
Office of Mgmt and Budget, NRES

CC: Kathleen A. McGinty

SUBJECT: Murray Bill Introduced... (Greenwire story yesterday)

SALVAGE LOGGING LAW: MURRAY INTRODUCES REPEAL IN SENATE

Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA) yesterday introduced her version of a bill to repeal the portions of the salvage-logging law signed last summer by Pres. Clinton. Murray plans to attach it to the continuing resolution expected to come to the Senate floor later this week (GREENWIRE sources).

Murray said her bill would put an end to controversial timber sales that were reissued to logging companies under the law, and reimpose all existing environmental laws. In exchange, the US Forest Service could offer those timber companies the right to log less sensitive areas or buy back logging rights (Leslie Brown, Tacoma MORNING NEWS TRIBUNE, 3/5).

Murray said the original law was intended to speed up the logging of diseased and dying trees, but "it turned out to be legislative overkill on the environment" by opening up sensitive tracts to logging (Brent Walth, Portland OREGONIAN, 3/5).

Sen. Slade Gorton (R-WA), who sponsored the original law, "blasted" Murray for trying to repeal a law "that has provided the only hope of jobs for Northwest timber communities this year" (Brown, Tacoma MORNING NEWS TRIBUNE). Gorton has proposed an amendment that would allow buy-backs and timber exchanges but continue suspension of environmental laws (GREENWIRE 3/1).

Gorton's proposal could take as much as \$100 million from the USFS's existing budget. "Murray, who says the Forest Service already is facing financial problems, would have the federal government's claims settlement act -- a separate fund set up to cover government liabilities -- cover the cost of the buy-outs" (Brown, Tacoma MORNING NEWS TRIBUNE).

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) is planning to offer his measure supporting full repeal of the law today. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) is also expected to introduce language today to be added to the continuing resolution that would extend the expiration of the salvage law (GREENWIRE sources).

USFS REDUCES CUTS ON AK NAT'L FOREST

Citing public concern and economic feasibility, the US Forest Service has reduced the amount of logging that will occur under the salvage-logging law on Alaska's Chugach National Forest. Critics had said the "controversial" cut would ruin views and destroy popular recreations spots (GREENWIRE 1/31).

About 20% of the 5,525 acres planned for logging have been eliminated from the proposed cut on the Kenai Peninsula, according to USFS's Fred Prange. Forest Supervisor Larry Hudson characterized the acreage reduction as a normal step in the USFS's assessment of timber sales. But Jay Stange of the Alaska Center for the Environment called the reduction a victory for citizens' groups "that opposed logging some of Alaska's most accessible scenic areas" (AP/Medford [OR] MAIL TRIBUNE, 3/3).

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002/004

Timber rider 'a mistake'

SEATTLE P.I.

By JOEL CONNELLY
PI NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE - As his jet flew over snow-covered Cascade clearcuts en route to Puget Sound Saturday afternoon, President Clinton promised to heal a major grievance that environmentalists have with his administration.

Clinton said he erred last summer in signing legislation that exempted certain sales of old-growth timber from environmental laws. The provision "has to be repealed," Clinton said in an interview with the Post-Intelligencer.

"This timber rider, as it applies to the old-growth forests, has been a bad thing," Clinton added. "It has undermined our balanced approach to growing the economy, having responsible logging and preserving the environment. It's just a mistake. It's not good over the long run for other economic interests of the Northwest, especially salmon."

Environmentalists have argued that the Clinton administration allowed itself to be "taken for a rider" when it agreed to the provision in an appropriations bill last summer.

The rider was supposed to allow for salvage logging of diseased trees or burned-over forests. In federal court lawsuits, however, the timber industry has used the rider as a legal bulldozer to open up sales of old-growth trees. The sales were planned by the U.S. Forest Service before Clinton's 1994 forest plan put in new environmental protections on federal timber lands.

One such sale, a 55-acre stand of old-growth trees in the Dosewallips watershed of the Olympic Peninsula, saw anti-logging demonstrations and



INSIDE

■ Dole fires advisers in hopes of reviving his presidential campaign. A3



GRANT M. HALLER/P-I

President Clinton mingles with the crowd Saturday after a round-table discussion and speech at Shoreline Community College.

Clinton wants to repeal law on old-growth cuts

See CLINTON, Page A4

2/26/96 FRONT PAGE

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02/26/96

Clinton: Exemption to environmental law 'a mistake'

From Page 1

more than 100 arrests over the Presidents' Day weekend.

Clinton recently made the environment — along with education, job-training, Medicare and Medicaid — a cornerstone issue on which he is battling with the Republican-dominated Congress.

The GOP Congress has moved to bolster the West's traditional natural-resource industries by easing environmental restrictions, putting brakes on federal studies and giving loggers, miners and livestock grazers increased control over federal lands.

In his interview with the Post-Intelligencer Saturday, however, Clinton echoed a view — increasingly heard from some Northwest economists — that a healthy, protected natural environment can be an asset to economic growth in a new, technology-driven economy where businesses can choose where in America to locate.

But the president stressed that resource-dependent towns must not be left in the lurch.

If the timber rider is repealed, said Clinton, he will ask Congress to ease short-term impacts by letting the Forest Service find other trees for mills to cut, or have the option of buying back timber sales.

In the long run, argued Clinton, preservation of unspoiled natural assets — air and water quality, fish and wildlife, scenery and recreation — will help the entire Northwest grow and prosper.

"What's the fair answer?" he asked rhetorically. "If you were to cut all the old-growth trees, it would bring more money in the short run to those (rural) areas. But it would be devastating to Washington and Oregon. Why? It would contribute to the pollution of the water. It would make the salmon problem worse. It would undermine why a lot of people want to live in the Northwest, and undermine your quality of life.

"One great challenge, however, is to find a way to preserve the environment in a way that does not hurt these communities in the short run, that allows them to make a transition."

The president discussed a variety of national and regional topics as he flew from Los Alamitos, Calif., to the Snohomish County Airport, close by the Boeing plant where Air Force One was built.

In the early forays of his re-election campaign, Clinton has tried not to mention his Republican foes, but is responding intensely to the protectionist "America First" themes of Pat Buchanan's campaign for the GOP nomination.

Buchanan has bolstered his case against free trade by posing outside plants shut down by American manufacturers who moved to Mexico. Clinton responded Saturday by arguing that trade agreements and exports create exactly the kind of high-paying jobs the nation needs.

"Our exports are at an all-time high," Clinton argued. "For the first time in many years, exports are climbing faster than imports, not just in Washington state but in the entire country.

"If we stay on this course . . . we will bring our trade deficit into bal-

related jobs pay on the average 20 percent more than nontrade-related jobs. One problem with America's wage stagnation is the need to get people jobs where wages grow year in and year out. That is generally the case with trade."

Clinton is acutely cognizant, however, of discontent over stagnating wages and feelings among Americans that their economic futures are no longer secure.

Economic discontent put him in the White House four years ago. While the nation has since created 7.7 million new jobs — and piled up a bevy of optimistic economic indicators that Clinton ticks off — the president acknowledged that the rising tide has not lifted all Americans.

The president noted that about half of American workers have not seen a rise in their real incomes. Rural areas and inner cities haven't received a fair share of new jobs. And big companies are downsizing, laying off people who are hard-pressed to find new work with the same income levels and benefits as before.

"The question for America is this: How can we sustain the dynamic nature of an economy that has given us nearly 8 million new jobs, a record number of new businesses, with home ownership at a 15-year high — and build in a new economic security?" asked Clinton.

The president rejected Republicans' strategy of sharply reducing the federal government and cutting away the regulatory strings from business. Clinton argued that a pro-active gov-

ernment, and action by Congress, is still needed on several fronts.

"Keep doing everything you can to keep growing the economy," he said. "Invest in the education and training of the work force. Invest in technology. Provide for some of the security problems people face when they are forced to change jobs.

"Pass the bill, now before the Senate, saying that you can't lose your health insurance when you change jobs or when somebody in your family gets sick. Provide means for small businesses to set up pensions. Develop a system where people can carry their pensions with them from one job to another."

Clinton reiterated his call for a voucher in which people who lose their jobs would get a grant from the federal government and decide for themselves what form of retraining to seek.

"Finally, raise the minimum wage," said Clinton. "It is about to drop to a 40-year low in purchasing power. It is inexplicable why Congress will not schedule a vote on the minimum wage. It is just wrong. It affects millions of people, not just those at the minimum wage but those just above it."

Clinton gave an oblique answer when asked if he will renew China's most-favored-nation trading status, a decision he must make by June.

The president is widely expected to renew trade advantages for China, despite its human rights record and recent foreign policy belligerence. But he may hold off on MFN status for

Vietnam in order to avoid fighting two battles with conservative critics in Congress.

"What I hope we can do is continue to integrate China into the family of nations, and continue to work toward more open and more fair trade," said Clinton.

The issue is of high importance locally. China is experiencing a rapid increase in air travel and needs to replace old Russian-made passenger planes. But the Seattle area has seen protests against China's suppression of dissidents as well as its iron-fisted rule of Tibet.

Air Force One is likely to make more stops in the Northwest this year. As Clinton napped before his interview, aides reiterated that Washington and Oregon are vital to the president's re-election strategy in November. Clinton has been in the region eight times since taking office in 1993. Saturday marked the fourth time that he has spent all or part of a weekend on public activities.

One previous Democratic president used Washington as part of a political comeback strategy. But in 1948, before presidents jumped around the country by jet, Harry Truman was able to take an afternoon off and go salmon fishing.

Told of what Truman did, Clinton remarked that salmon fishing sounds like a good idea — if he ever gets the time.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

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The voice of the Northwest since 1863



Timber rider 'mistake'

It's good news, as far as it goes, that President Clinton says the timber salvage rider legislation he signed was "just a mistake" and should be repealed.

The rider expires at the end of this year. The timber companies therefore are hurrying to make lumber of healthy old-growth trees in endangered habitat zones, not merely diseased or fire-prone ones the law supposedly was

meant to address.

So by the time political outrage and the tortuous machinery of Congress can be brought to bear on this matter, the old-growth trees that are the center of the dispute may well have vanished.

In that case, all we're likely to be left with thanks to this monumental blunder is renewed warfare in the Northwest woods and more delightful vistas of sawed-off stumps.

3-14-1995 2:48PM

FROM

FEB-28-96 WED 14:44

Slade Gorton

UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR WASHINGTON



N E W S R E L E A S E

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

February 27, 1996

Contact: Heidi Kelly

202-224-6209

CLINTON'S GOAL — ZERO TIMBER HARVEST

Broken Promises and Latest Policy Stance Leave Clinton's Views Clear: No Timber

Washington, D.C. -- U.S. Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) said the President's call for a repeal of the "salvage timber" legislation coupled with his legacy of broken timber promises have sent the Northwest a clear message: the President wants a zero timber harvest level.

"It's a cynical way to treat Washington's timber communities. Our timber communities have been greeted with one too many Clinton handshakes that turn into a slap in the face," Gorton said.

In a weekend trip to the Northwest, the President assured a group of his political supporters that he shared their goal of repealing timber legislation he signed into law last spring. He also renewed his request for legislation giving him "flexibility" to restructure some timber contracts -- after rejecting such a proposal less than a month ago.

The legislation the President now wants repealed allows for a harvest level that is a fraction of what it was ten years ago. It represents only one-tenth of the traditional harvest level.

Some members are working behind the scenes to try and repeal the legislation. They too seek a zero harvest level, and support the goals of radical environmental groups.

Gorton says their efforts will not move forward and pointed out that just last week, at the Seventh American Forest Conference, 1500 individuals comprising a true "citizen congress" met and voted on whether or not to repeal the legislation. The group voted overwhelmingly against repeal.

"Our timber communities realize that we will never see a return to historic harvest levels in the Northwest. What they don't accept -- and what I don't accept -- is the President's view that a balanced timber policy means bringing the timber harvest level down to zero," Gorton added.

-end-

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INCONSISTENCIES IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

[1] The President says "First, the old growth provisions must be repealed." Why? The President states that, "We are losing ancient forests."

The facts:

24 million acres in WA and OR are covered in the President's Forest Plan.

19 million of these acres are protected in wilderness, parks, research, old growth and riparian areas.

2.5 million acres of the President's Forest Plan are marbled murrelet habitat.

6,300 acres of the 2.5 million are covered in section 2001(k) or 318 timber sales, which is roughly *one-fifth of one percent of total murrelet habitat.*

These facts hardly support the president's statement that we are losing ancient forests, in fact it proves the opposite. The sales under the 2001 (k) provision constitute one-tenth of the region's traditional harvest level.

[2] The President says, "The timber rider has reopened wounds that were just beginning to heal under my Northwest Forest Plan."

The President's Forest Plan may have healed the wounds of extremists who want to see absolutely no timber cut from federal lands, but it has done little if anything to heal the wounds of people in timber communities. The President's promise of a set, annual timber harvest level has never been met.

[3] The President says that the timber and salvage provision has "shut the courtroom door to citizens."

The timber provision did put an end to the multitude of *frivolous* lawsuits filed by extremists to stop timber sales, but the timber provision does provide an expedited legal process if a lawsuit is successfully filed. We've streamlined the process.

[4] The President says, "we need to be able to address a number of the old growth sales the courts have already forced us to release. Therefore, I am calling on Congress to give us broader flexibility in offering replacement timber, and for extreme cases, buy out authority."

The President wants authority to replace the timber sales with other sales, or to buy out the sales. A month ago, Gorton offered the President the flexibility he asked for, but the President rejected it.

How does one work with an administration that asks for something, gets it, rejects it, and then asks for it again? How would a parent handle a child who asks for something, gets it, throws it on the floor, and then demands that the parent give it back to him?

FEB-28-96 WED 14:45

The president proposes to buy out some of the timber sales, but has neglected to provide the offset, or the dollar amount needed to purchase the timber sales. The president has been at this job for nearly four years, and he still has not figured out that money doesn't grow on trees. Rough estimates show that it would cost hundreds of millions of dollars — money federal taxpayers can't afford to cough up.

Furthermore, the administration has not yet approached individual timber sale holders to discuss "objectionable" sales and the possibility of offering replacement timber. If the administration were truly committed to protecting sales it finds objectionable and fulfilling these contracts, one would think that it would have taken the time to discuss the objectionable timber sales with the sale holders.

[5] The President states that "we need to take a hard look at the salvage program.... including repeal."

People in timber communities have every right to be confused by the President's conflicting statements on the issue of "salvage" timber. Administration officials stated in 1994 that the administration would implement an "aggressive" timber salvage program, but its track record proves that the administration cannot walk the talk it talks so well.

This administration has not even met its own salvage volume targets, volume targets developed before the enactment of the salvage program.

[6] SEVENTH AMERICAN FOREST CONFERENCE

Last week the Seventh American Forest Conference met to discuss timber related issues. The meeting brings together a diverse group of interests ranging from environmentalists, university professors, state agency heads, industry, labor, land owners, tribal representatives, and others — truly a "citizens congress" on timber issues. The conference brought together 1500 individuals (17 from out of the country) to DC to discuss timber issues. During the conference votes were taken on several issues, including the repeal of the timber and salvage provisions. Our views were supported by a vast majority of the participants at the conference. Here are a few of the votes on some relevant issues:

- Item #61: Repeal the timber-salvage law. Defeated 711-252 (113 undecided).
- Item #25: No logging on public lands. Defeated 987-47 (53 undecided).
- Item #26: No timber road construction on public lands. Defeated 976-51 (58 undecided).
- Item #27: No logging in roadless areas. Defeated 631-185 (259 undecided).

The legacy of broken promises:

** In 1993, the President promised the region an annual harvest level (1.1 billion board feet per year) following his "Forest Conference." The President completely failed to deliver. Harvest levels remain a mere fraction of what Northwest timber communities were promised.

** In 1995, the White House negotiated and agreed to a timber/salvage amendment to give the region a small timber harvest — a modest degree of relief.

** Upon signing it into law, the White House refused to implement it, forcing supporters of the legislation to go to court in order to compel the White House to implement the law.

** A month ago, the President claimed that he did not know what the legislation entailed, despite committee hearings on the subject, congressional debate and countless hours of careful negotiations.

** The President further stated that the legislation didn't give him enough flexibility to opt out of old growth sales and he wanted Congress to fix it. But when offered legislation to address his concerns, the President rejected it.

** Last weekend he changed course again, renewing his call for the very legislation he rejected last month.

** He went a step further and called for a total repeal of the legislation, placing himself firmly on the side of radical groups whose goal is a zero harvest level.

EDITORIALS

Timber salvage bill was clear-cut bait 'n' switch

THE NORTHWEST timber wars have been joined again, with chain saws whining in the ancient forests of Washington and Oregon while environmentalists resort to civil disobedience and street demonstrations in an attempt to stop them.

All this due to a little congressional bill called the "Emergency Salvage Timber Sale Program," passed by Congress last year.

President Clinton, who eventually signed that bill, now says he believed that it would apply only to diseased or fire-prone forests — not to what's left of old-growth forests. Timber interests, including Republican Sen. Slade Gorton, say that's hogwash; he knew, or should have known, what he was signing.

The record favors the president. Nearly a year ago, last March 3, Gorton faxed to The Times a six-page press release laying out eight arguments for his timber bill. His document refers repeatedly to "salvage logging." There is no mention of old-growth timber.

"We're not talking about clear-cuts in the Olympics," Gorton argued in his release. "These operations will pull dead, dying, burnt, diseased, blown-down and bug-infested timber out of the forest, and reforest the salvaged areas. It's an important part of restoring these forests to health."

Gorton's arguments made sense. That's why he won support from the White House and others who were willing to relax environmental laws to allow salvage logging, generate much-needed jobs and reduce the fire danger in Northwest forests.

Only later was the bill expanded to include long-delayed sales of old-growth timber. A year later, Gorton's plan has generated little or no salvage logging. Instead, loggers are attempting to clear-cut an ancient stand of Douglas firs in the Olympics, where fire is not an issue. Gorton's backers, including this newspaper, feel lured into a bait-and-switch game.

The amount of timber at issue is modest — certainly not enough to undermine the biological health of Northwest forests. And Gorton makes a reasonable argument that the old-growth timber is being cut under 6-year-old contracts that should be honored.

The point is this: Gorton won initial, bipartisan support by peddling his salvage rider as one thing. And the Northwest is being asked to live with quite another. This puts President Clinton on solid ground to reconsider his agreement to a good deal gone bad.

Seattle
Times

2/26/96

Timber rider 'mistake'

It's good news, as far as it goes, that President Clinton says the timber salvage rider legislation he signed was "just a mistake" and should be repealed.

The rider expires at the end of this year. The timber companies therefore are hurrying to make lumber of healthy old-growth trees in endangered habitat zones, not merely diseased or fire-prone ones the law supposedly was

meant to address.

So by the time political outrage and the tortuous machinery of Congress can be brought to bear on this matter, the old-growth trees that are the center of the dispute may well have vanished.

In that case, all we're likely to be left with thanks to this monumental blunder is renewed warfare in the Northwest woods and more delightful vistas of sawed-off stumps.

2/27/96 A/J

Seattle
P-I

2/27/96

Clinton: Exemption to environmental law 'a mistal

From Page 1

2/26/96 A4

more than 100 arrests over the Presidents' Day weekend.

Clinton recently made the environment — along with education, job-training, Medicare and Medicaid — a cornerstone issue on which he is battling with the Republican-dominated Congress.

The GOP Congress has moved to bolster the West's traditional natural-resource industries by easing environmental restrictions, putting brakes on federal studies and giving loggers, miners and livestock grazers increased control over federal lands.

In his interview with the Post-Intelligencer Saturday, however, Clinton echoed a view — increasingly heard from some Northwest economists — that a healthy, protected natural environment can be an asset to economic growth in a new, technology-driven economy where businesses can choose where in America to locate.

But the president stressed that resource-dependent towns must not be left in the lurch.

If the timber rider is repealed, said Clinton, he will ask Congress to ease short-term impacts by letting the Forest Service find other trees for mills to cut, or have the option of buying back timber sales.

In the long run, argued Clinton, preservation of unspoiled natural assets — air and water quality, fish and wildlife, scenery and recreation — will help the entire Northwest grow and prosper.

"What's the fair answer?" he asked rhetorically. "If you were to cut all the old-growth trees, it would bring more money in the short run to those (rural) areas. But it would be devastating to Washington and Oregon. Why? It would contribute to the pollution of the water. It would make the salmon problem worse. It would undermine why a lot of people want to live in the Northwest, and undermine your quality of life."

"One great challenge, however, is to find a way to preserve the environment in a way that does not hurt these communities in the short run, that allows them to make a transition."

The president discussed a variety of national and regional topics as he flew from Los Alamitos, Calif., to the Snohomish County Airport, close by the Boeing plant where Air Force One was built.

In the early forays of his re-election campaign, Clinton has tried not to mention his Republican foes, but is responding intensely to the protectionist "America First" themes of Pat Buchanan's campaign for the GOP nomination.

Buchanan has bolstered his case against free trade by posing outside plants shut down by American manufacturers who moved to Mexico. Clinton responded Saturday by arguing that trade agreements and exports create exactly the kind of high-paying jobs the nation needs.

"Our exports are at an all-time high," Clinton argued. "For the first time in many years, exports are climbing faster than imports, not just in Washington state but in the entire country."

"If we stay on this course ... we will bring our trade deficit into balance and we will slowly create more jobs that are high-paying jobs. Trade-

related jobs pay on the average 20 percent more than nontrade-related jobs. One problem with America's wage stagnation is the need to get people jobs where wages grow year in and year out. That is generally the case with trade."

Clinton is acutely cognizant, however, of discontent over stagnating wages and feelings among Americans that their economic futures are no longer secure.

Economic discontent put him in the White House four years ago. While the nation has since created 7.7 million new jobs — and piled up a bevy of optimistic economic indicators that Clinton ticks off — the president acknowledged that the rising tide has not lifted all Americans.

The president noted that about half of American workers have not seen a rise in their real incomes. Rural areas and inner cities haven't received a fair share of new jobs. And big companies are downsizing, laying off people who are hard-pressed to find new work with the same income levels and benefits as before.

"The question for America is this: How can we sustain the dynamic nature of an economy that has given us nearly 8 million new jobs, a record number of new businesses, with home ownership at a 15-year high — and build in a new economic security?" asked Clinton.

The president rejected Republicans' strategy of sharply reducing the federal government and cutting away the regulatory strings from business. Clinton argued that a pro-active gov-

ernment, and action by Congress, is still needed on several fronts.

"Keep doing everything you can to keep growing the economy," he said. "Invest in the education and training of the work force. Invest in technology. Provide for some of the security problems people face when they are forced to change jobs."

"Pass the bill, now before the Senate, saying that you can't lose your health insurance when you change jobs or when somebody in your family gets sick. Provide means for small businesses to set up pensions. Develop a system where people can carry their pensions with them from one job to another."

Clinton reiterated his call for a voucher in which people who lose their jobs would get a grant from the federal government and decide for themselves what form of retraining to seek.

"Finally, raise the minimum wage," said Clinton. "It is about to drop to a 40-year low in purchasing power. It is inexplicable why Congress will not schedule a vote on the minimum wage. It is just wrong. It affects millions of people, not just those at the minimum wage but those just above it."

Clinton gave an oblique answer when asked if he will renew China's most-favored-nation trading status, a decision he must make by June.

The president is widely expected to renew trade advantages for China, despite its human rights record and recent foreign policy belligerence. But he may hold off on MFN status for

Vietnam in order to avoid fighting two battles with conservative critics in Congress.

"What I hope we can do is continue to integrate China into the family of nations, and continue to work toward more open and more fair trade," said Clinton.

The issue is of high importance locally. China is experiencing a rapid increase in air travel and needs to replace old Russian-made passenger planes. But the Seattle area has seen protests against China's suppression of dissidents as well as its iron-fisted rule of Tibet.

Air Force One is likely to make more stops in the Northwest this year. As Clinton napped before his interview, aides reiterated that Washington and Oregon are vital to the president's re-election strategy in November. Clinton has been in the region eight times since taking office in 1993. Saturday marked the fourth time that he has spent all or part of a weekend on public activities.

One previous Democratic president used Washington as part of a political comeback strategy. But in 1948, before presidents jumped around the country by jet, Harry Truman was able to take an afternoon off and go salmon fishing.

Told of what Truman did, Clinton remarked that salmon fishing sounds like a good idea — if he ever gets the time.



Duncan Livingston/The News Tribune

Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates, center, tells President Clinton the details of Gates' \$10 million donation to Washington community colleges in Shoreline on Saturday.

President backs repeal of salvage logging measure

News Tribune 2/25/96
By Audra Ang
The Associated Press **AI**

More than 1,000 environmentalists rallied with signs and speeches Saturday in Seattle to push for repeal of legislation that allows for logging of dead and dying timber. Hours later, they picked up the hoped-for support of President Clinton.

Rally organizers want Congress to repeal a measure approved last summer that they say endangers not only old-growth forests but the salmon industry. About five hours after the rally at West-

lake Park, White House press secretary Mike McCurry said Clinton informed Washington state officials Saturday afternoon that he supports repeal of one provision in the salvage timber measure that reopened old-growth logging.

"The problem in part is that the Forest Service expanded the definition of what is available for cutting," McCurry said during the president's appearance at Shoreline Community College north of Seattle.

He said the president also is seeking legislative authority to buy out timber contracts or provide replacement timber

to the companies in some cases.

"Patty Murray is going to help us fix it," Clinton said during his speech at the college, referring to the Democratic senator from Washington. He called it a mistake to log old-growth timber and blamed it on the "law of unintended consequences."

At the Westlake Park rally, the protesters also argued that the Forest Service is abusing the law and cutting down healthy trees in national forests.

"It's kind of ridiculous to be here trying to defend our forests from our govern-

ment," said Pete Soverel, who was speaking on behalf of anglers. "The main cause of salmon extinction in Western Washington is logging. This clearcut deal is bad for fish, it's bad for the forest, and it's bad for us."

The fishing and environmental communities contend that logging ruins streams and rivers where salmon live and destroys trees vital to maintaining the right environment for salmon breeding.

Staff writer Peter Callaghan contributed to this report.

Importance of retraining efforts

By Peter Callaghan
The News Tribune

SHORELINE — President Clinton stood next to one of the world's high-tech gurus here Saturday and told Americans to embrace change and accept technology "as our friend and not our enemy."

While acknowledging that many workers blame technology for the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs, Clinton said the American economic future depends on training workers to use technology and computers. The nation, he said, cannot "repeal the laws of change."

"The way to the future is not to back up on the technology revolution but to work through it and don't stop until every single American benefits from it instead of being punished by it," Clinton told a by-invitation-only rally at Shoreline Community College north of Seattle.

"We cannot go forward as a country where half of us are growing and half of us are stuck," he said. "But we have no choice but to do what Americans have always done, to take on the challenges of the future and to march right through them."

In a four-hour visit that was a campaign stop in everything but name, Clinton used the college as a prop to emphasize his administration's efforts in training and retraining. Nearly one-third of the school's 8,000 students are in occupational training programs that include a national award-winning automotive program, hazardous materials handling and a new biotechnology lab assistant program.

He called for continuing investment in technology partnerships with business, in student assistance programs and in economic transition assistance.

To emphasize and illustrate those points, Clinton first met with students and staff, including four students ranging in age from 38 to 50 who are learning new skills after being laid off due to business reorganizations or downsizing. Later, he watched as Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates described his vision of the computer as a communications machine connected to the Internet through



A Forbes win

■ Steve Forbes on Saturday won the Delaware presidential primary, which was ignored by all the other GOP candidates. Sen. Bob Dole finished second; Pat Buchanan was third. **A3.**

Please see Clinton, A7

Sunday

FEBRUARY 25, 1996

\$1.50

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Pining for grandbabies

Boomers' parents long for the kids their kids delayed

SCENE, I 1

Seattle's prince of talk

PACIFIC MAGAZINE



Sonics trounce Kings

SPORTS, D 1

Clinton campaigns on jobs

President pushes for technology-education link in Shoreline visit



ALAN BERNER / SEATTLE TIMES

jokes during a round-table discussion with Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates and Shoreline Community College students.

BY K. MATASSA
AND JANE K. VARNER
Times staff reporters

TERRY MCDERMOTT: As GOP marches right, president sidles into the middle ground. A 2

RELIN — Drawing on his Shoreline Community College setting as a metaphor for American life, Clinton yesterday said education and technology are the keys to the

nation's economic future. In both a speech and a roundtable

discussion preceding it, Clinton said institutions like Shoreline provide the sort of workforce retraining that people need in the changing economy.

But just as important, he said, the nation's vocational and community colleges set an excellent example of cooperation, ingenuity and grassroots community

spirit.

"They're thoroughly democratic — small 'd' — in the best sense of the word," Clinton said. "And that's important. It's how the country ought to work."

The president also opened his speech

PLEASE SEE *Clinton* ON A 2

Clinton

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

with a promise to work on repealing a portion of the so-called timber salvage rider, which has allowed some logging of old-growth forests in the Northwest.

Clinton said Democratic Sen. Patry Murray, who accompanied him throughout his visit, would work on a bill this week to repeal the old-growth provisions of the rider while continuing to allow some salvage logging.

The administration has made "one or two mistakes due to the law of unintended consequences. One is the way the timber rider has been carried out. Sen. Murray is going to fix it," he said to thunderous applause.

His appearance, which included a roundtable discussion with Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates and a group of Shoreline Community College students and staff and the invitation-only speech to an audience of 2,000, was part of a West Coast political trip paid for by the Clinton-Gore campaign.

As a political event, the visit had several benefits for Clinton and other Democrats.

In delivering his speech to an invitation-only audience, the president assured himself a warm reception. "Seattle loves Bill Clinton," said a typical sign, and the cheers were so long and loud that Gates, in his remarks, observed: "This may be the most lively audience I've ever spoken in front of."

While there were protesters in downtown Seattle and at the college, none could get close enough to compromise the live TV images of the president.

Also, he was able to hit on many of his presumed campaign themes — education as economic equalizer, the need for a strong environment, his record reducing the size of government — without seeming overtly political. There were no references to the election, for example; aides even taped over part of a welcoming banner that said "Paid for by Clinton Gore Primary '96 Committee Inc."

In his speech, the president introduced Monica Walker, a participant in the roundtable discussion, as an example of the sometimes painful forces of change in the economy.

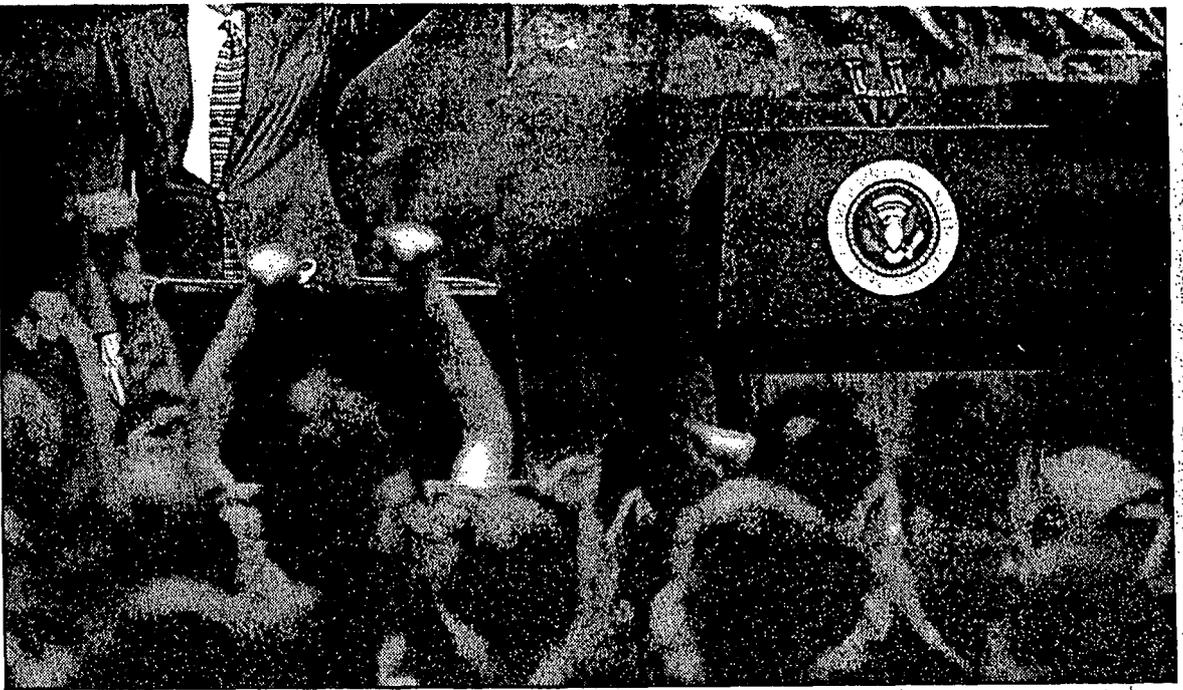
Walker, 38, worked for a large insurance company for 19 years before losing her job when her employer left the area. Using a grant intended for displaced timber workers — her job had been in a timber-dependent community, she said — she enrolled in Shoreline's award-winning Professional Automotive Training Center, and will graduate next month with a full-time job awaiting.

In the coming years, Clinton said, many more Americans will find themselves similarly needing training in a new line of work.

He cited statistics showing the country has more jobs and more new businesses, along with lower inflation and lower unemployment, than when he took office. "That sounds great," he said. "But if you're one of the people laid off... it doesn't feel great to you."

In many workplaces, he said, technology is something to be feared, because it often means it will take fewer employees to do the same amount of work. But in schools, he said, technology offers opportunity.

"Our great challenge is to take what we know is true in the class-



BETTY UDESEN/SEATTLE TIMES

President Clinton waves farewell to the crowd after speaking yesterday in Shoreline.

room — that technology is an equalizer — and make it true in the workforce."

During the roundtable in a service bay of the school's automotive training center, Clinton demonstrated what may be his greatest political gift: empathizing with the personal stories of ordinary Americans and using them to make his own points.

When forum participant Jerome Skorzewski mentioned that he likes to go fishing, Clinton said, "You would be amazed at how much time we've spent in the White House preserving Northwest salmon."

Outside the Shoreline gymnasium, environmental concerns were on the minds of many in the crowd.

Standing among a group of people who carried handmade signs that read, "Repeal the salvage rider," Lisa O'Connor, a Seattle graphic artist, said Clinton had been naïve to agree to the Northwest timber deal.

"Because Clinton agreed to their shabby deal, it's still business as usual for the timber companies," she said.

Gates used the appearance to announce that Microsoft will donate \$10 million worth of software to the state's community colleges.

Clinton thanked Gates for what he called "an important gift."

In a swipe at congressional Republicans, he said if the unfinished budget debate includes any tax cuts, "the first and most important ought to be for college tuition."

Along the president's motorcade route, residents stood outside their homes in the brisk air and more than a few held signs accusing Clinton of abandoning environmentalists.

Dozens of environment supporters picketed the gymnasium where Clinton was to speak and they pleaded with those who waited in the lengthy line to urge the president to repeal the logging provisions that have outraged environmentalists.

As Clinton began to address the crowd, a lone heckler yelled out, "We trusted you and you betrayed us," and was met by boos from the crowd and a sharp reply from the president.

"We've listened to you now it's my turn," Clinton said to the protesters.

Seattle Public Schools Superintendent John Stanford was in the audience and praised Clinton's emphasis on job retraining. He contrasted the Democratic president's stance with efforts by several Republican presidential contenders to eliminate training programs.

Roundtable panel

These were the participants in President Clinton's roundtable discussion on job retraining at Shoreline Community College:

- **Bill Gates**, chairman and CEO of Microsoft Corp.
- **Jeff Beltran**, 20, Shoreline Community College student body president.
- **Joan Keaunui**, 50, a former retail worker who returned to school to study applied sciences in health information technology.
- **Jack Carroll**, a local Chrysler dealer, a key fund-raiser for the Shoreline automotive education program.
- **Caralee Cheney**, professor of biology and hazardous materials management at Shoreline.
- **Abdul A-Leem Ahmed**, staff assistant for a joint Boeing Co.-Aerospace Machinists Union program for laid-off Boeing workers.
- **Jerome Skorzewski**, 49, a dislocated worker who is studying in the college's hazardous-materials-management program.
- **Monica Walker**, 38, another displaced worker who is now in the Chrysler Apprenticeship Program at Shoreline.
- **Chris Pena**, 45, a former printer who is now studying multimedia in the college's visual communications technology program.
- **Holly Moore**, director of professional/technical education and the workforce training programs at Shoreline.



TERESA TAMURA/SEATTLE TIMES

Environmental groups rally at Westlake Park in Seattle yesterday afternoon in advance of President Clinton's Western Washington visit. They urged Clinton to repeal timber clear-cutting legislation.

"We have got to succeed at this because not every child is going to go college," Stanford said.

President Clinton flew to Paine Field from Long Beach, Calif., landing at 3:20 p.m. He was met by a host of dignitaries who greeted him like an old college buddy.

Among the group were Gov. Mike Lowry, U.S. Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., U.S. Reps. Jim McDermott of

Seattle and Norm Dicks of Bremerton, King County Executive Gary Locke, Seattle Mayor Norm Rice, Snohomish County Executive Bob DREWEL and Mayor Ed Hansen of Everett.

Seattle Times staff reporter Florangela Davila and the Associated Press contributed to this report.

Vancouver, WA
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Columbian
(Cir. D. 52,227)

MAR 24 1995

Could salvage logging backfire?

□ Exemptions to environmental laws could result in legal challenges to logging as well as mining and grazing, president warns

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Clinton says a proposal in Congress to speed salvage logging on national forests by granting exemptions to environmental laws may end up backfiring.

A Senate panel today planned to consider a version of a House-approved measure ordering the Forest Service to produce certain levels of salvage harvests free from

the constraints of laws protecting fish and wildlife.

Clinton said in a letter to Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that the legislation insulating the timber sales from lawsuits could result in new legal challenges to all logging, grazing and mining allowed under individual forest management plans.

"Let me be clear that legislation to bypass existing environmental laws and mandate a minimum level of salvage sales may not increase the flow of timber," Clinton said in a letter delivered to Murray at her office Thursday night.

"In fact, the Department of Justice has advised that such mandates could reduce timber, grazing and mining activities because they

could result in new litigation over every land management plan, including the Forest Plan," the president said.

The House last week approved a comprehensive appropriations bill that included an amendment, offered by Rep. Charles Taylor, R-N.C., and backed by Western Republicans, ordering the Forest Service to log 3 billion board feet of salvage timber exempt from the Endangered Species Act and other laws.

A version of the proposal sponsored by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., was scheduled to be considered today by the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which both Gorton and Murray are members.

Clinton was responding to a letter earlier in the week from Murray, who said she was "very frustrated by the Forest Service's inability to deliver" on the projected logging levels in Clinton's forest plan.

Murray has been one of the few defenders of Clinton's year-old plan, "Option 9," which called for federal logging in the region to fall to about one-fourth the levels of the 1980s as a way to meet environmental laws protecting fish, wildlife and water quality.

Murray told Clinton on Tuesday her belief in Clinton's plan had "been shaken."

She said that "as a rule" she opposed the kind of exemption sought by Gorton. But she indicated

to Clinton she would have to support it unless she received assurances from the president "that the Forest Service will meet its Option 9 target levels by the end of this year."

Murray said in an interview Thursday night that the letter persuaded her to seek alternatives to Gorton's plan.

Clinton "makes a good point," Murray said. "It's been my question all along. I've been worried that the proponents (of the exemption) may not produce what they were promising and it may in fact backfire.

"I think it is very clear from this letter that not only may it not work, but it may create a lot of other difficulties," she said.

MAR 24 1995

Clinton wary of logging plan

2109
House proposal to exempt salvage logging could bring new legal challenges

By SCOTT SONNER
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — President Clinton says a proposal in Congress to speed salvage logging on national forests by granting exemptions to environmental laws may end up backfiring.

A Senate panel today planned to consider a version of a House-approved measure ordering the Forest Service to produce certain levels of salvage harvests free from the constraints of laws protecting fish and wildlife.

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Clinton was responding to a letter earlier in the week from Murray, who said she was "very frustrated by the Forest Service's inability to deliver" on the projected logging levels in Clinton's Northwest forest plan.

Murray has been one of the few defenders of Clinton's year-old plan, "Option 9,"

Supporters, foes of salvage logging disagree on effects

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Conservationists who oppose a salvage-logging proposal say national forests ravaged by wildfire should be left to heal themselves as Yellowstone National Park has since the big 1988 blaze.

Supporters of the legislation disputed characterization of that vast blaze as natural and said parts of the Yellowstone area still had not recovered.

The Senate Appropriations Committee was set to vote today on Sen. Slade Gorton's plan to exempt some salvage logging from environmental laws to ease fire threats and harvest dead wood before it loses its commercial value.

Two groups — the Idaho Sporting Congress and Save America's Forests — issued a report yesterday highly critical of the ecological damage caused by salvage logging, stressing the potential harm to fish from increased sediment in streams.

Fire, insects and disease are a natural part of healthy forests and should not be disrupted by artificial efforts to thin overstocked stands or retrieve dead or dying timber, they said.

"Within two years Yellowstone bounced back," said Ron Mitchell of the Idaho Sporting Congress, based in Boise, Idaho.

"The trout streams are doing well, in fact they are producing bigger fish than before the fire. The diversity of plant life has expanded," Mitchell said.

A timber industry official who supports the salvage logging disputed that assessment:

"Some areas have done quite well, but many areas in Yellowstone Park are still not revived and won't be for decades," said Doug Crandall, vice president of the American Forest & Paper Association.

Elk and buffalo populations were down 50 percent the year after the Yellowstone fire, he said, and mud slides filled several fish-bearing streams.

Crandall also disputed characterization of the 1988 fires — which burned 1.4 million acres in and around Yellowstone — as natural.

The huge blaze was an unnatural phenomenon resulting from 100 years of fire-suppression policies allowing wood fuels to build up beyond natural levels, he said.

which called for federal logging in the region to fall to about one-fourth the levels of the 1980s as a way to meet environmental laws protecting fish, wildlife and water quality.

Murray told Clinton on Tuesday her belief in Clinton's plan had "been shaken."

She said that "as a rule" she opposed the kind of exemption sought by Gorton. But she indicated to Clinton she would have to support it unless she received assurances from the president "that the Forest Service will meet its Option 9 target levels by the end of this year."

Murray said in an interview last night that the letter persuaded her to seek alternatives to Gorton's plan.

Clinton "makes a good point," Murray said. "It's been my question all along. I've been worried that the proponents (of the exemption) may not produce what they were promising and it may in fact backfire."

"I think it is very clear from this letter that not only may it not work, but it may create a lot of other difficulties," she said.

Clinton's plan projected 1.1 billion board feet of timber would be sold annually over a 10-year period in federal forests in Oregon, Washington and Northern California.

Last year the Forest Service sold only 247 million board feet of timber from those forests. A board foot is one foot square by one inch thick. It takes about 10,000 board feet to build a typical single-family home.

Clinton said in the letter to Murray the Forest Service will sell approximately 600 million board feet in the region in the current fiscal year ending Sept. 30.

He said he had been assured by Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management officials "that we will meet our commitment under the plan of 800 mmbf in FY 1996, and finally 1.1 billion board feet in FY 1997."

Seattle, WA
(King Co.)
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
(Cir. D. 203,112)

MAR 24 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

Clinton promises to speed up salvage logging

2109

Pledge made as Gorton plan waits in the wings

P-I Staff and News Services

The Clinton administration, under fire from Northwest timber communities for the slow pace of logging in national forests, is promising to speed up the salvage sale of burned and dead logs.

President Clinton, in a letter to Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., said the administration will be "reducing the time it takes to prepare a salvage sale by about 30 percent."

Clinton's statement came on the eve of a Senate committee debate on a proposal by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., to set minimum logging levels for salvage

timber in national forests.

Gorton's measure calls for the harvest of least 1.5 billion board feet of timber each year in fiscal 1995 and 1996 under emergency salvage operations.

His legislation also would order cutting where harvests have been delayed by environmental concerns, and expedite logging on land that is home to the endangered northern spotted owl.

While she opposes Gorton's salvage proposal, Murray said she has been urging Clinton to step up logging in national forests that has been stalled by concerns over preservation of the spotted owl.

In an exchange of letters with Clinton this week, Murray told the president that her constituents in timber towns are frustrated by the slow pace of implementing his plan, called Option 9, to boost

harvest levels this year to 600 million board feet.

"I know you are as concerned as I about the seeming inability of the Forest Service to produce a reasonable supply of timber for Pacific Northwest timber communities under Option 9," Murray wrote.

In his reply yesterday, Clinton assured Murray that the Option 9 target would be reached, and he noted that the plan has "only been out of the courts since December."

While he pledged to speed up processing of salvage logging permits, Clinton said Gorton's proposal might trigger a new round of litigation against the federal government.

"Let me be clear that legislation to bypass existing environmental laws and mandate a minimum level of salvage sales may not increase the flow of

timber," Clinton wrote. "In fact, the Department of Justice has advised that such mandates could reduce timber, grazing and mining activities because they could result in new litigation over every land-management plan, including the Forest Plan."

Murray agreed, saying Gorton's legislation is likely to backfire and slow the flow of logs to depressed timber communities in the Northwest.

Murray said yesterday that she expects Gorton's language to pass out of committee. And she said it is "very unclear" whether she will be able to stop it on the floor of the Republican-controlled Senate.

Gorton could not be reached for comment last night.

Supporters of increased timber cutting for emergency salvage operations

contend that the health of U.S. forests has deteriorated and that the Forest Service needs to allow increased cuttings on public land of the damaged or dead trees to revitalize the forests and prevent devastating fires.

"Wildfires raged across the West last summer," Gorton said in an earlier statement. "Unless salvage operations are carried out soon, the dead and dying timber will serve as fuel for another round of devastating fires in 1995."

Conservation groups, however, decried Gorton's proposal as a backhanded move to weaken environmental laws and pander to the Pacific Northwest lumber industry.

"A quick read looks like it waives all environmental laws," said John Fitzgerald of the Western Ancient Forest Campaign.

MAR 25 1995

Allen's P. C. B. Est. 1888

...passed, Gaspara said.

Senate Bill 5841, Pelz said.

Salvage logging measure clears Senate panel

2109
Bill would exempt
some timber sales
from restrictions

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Forest Service could log some national forests free from the constraints of environmental laws under a bill a Senate panel approved Friday.

President Clinton opposes the idea and Democrats warned a fight awaits the proposal on the Senate floor.

"We should not sanction a move to place federal agencies above the law on this appropriations bill," said Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash.

The Senate Appropriations Committee approved a version of the bill already passed by the House, ordering certain levels of salvage logging on federal forests nationwide. It would exempt those operations from the normal regulations protecting fish and wildlife.

It also directs the Forest Service to set aside existing environmental laws as it works toward the logging targets President Clinton outlined in his year-old Northwest forest protection plan. The plan aims to allow some logging while protecting northern spotted owls, marbled murrelets and threatened salmon

species.

Murray told the committee she opposed the plan to insulate logging from legal challenges, but that she would wait until the bill arrives on the Senate floor to propose changes.

She said the proposal — intended to speed salvage wood to sawmills and ease fire threats posed by dead and diseased timber — could end up in a new round of court battles that would slow timber harvests in the Pacific Northwest.

"I have concerns it may backfire," Murray said.

Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., also raised concerns that salvage logging of dead and dying timber could occur in wild and scenic areas and roadless sections of national forests.

But Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., chairman of the committee, urged him to hold his complaints until the floor debate. Bumpers agreed.

Clinton said in a letter to Murray Thursday night the legislation insulating the timber sales from lawsuits could result in new legal challenges to all logging, grazing and mining allowed under individual forest management plans.

"Let me be clear that legislation to bypass existing environmental laws and mandate a minimum level of salvage sales may not increase the flow of timber," Clinton wrote.

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Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., the lead sponsor of the measure in the Senate, said all the exemption does

is allow Clinton to make good on promises he made in his Northwest forest plan.

"When it comes to timber, we get nothing but one excuse after another from this administration. They would rather have trees rot than put people back to work in our mills," Gorton said.

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Daily News
(Cir. D. 24,182)

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Est. 1888

Senate Demos promise fight over logging exemptions

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"When it comes to timber, we get nothing but one excuse after another from this administration. They would rather have trees rot than put people back to work in our mills," Gorton said.

Clinton's plan projected 1.1 billion board feet of timber would be sold annually over a 10-year period on federal forests in Oregon, Washington and northern California.

Last year the Forest Service sold only 247 million board feet of timber from those forests.

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Journal American
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Senate panel OKs plan to accelerate NW logging

2109
By Scott Sonner
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — The Forest Service could log some national forests free from the constraints of environmental laws under a bill a Senate panel approved yesterday.

President Clinton opposes the idea, and Democrats warned a fight awaits the proposal on the Senate floor.

"We should not sanction a move to place federal agencies above the law on this appropriations bill," said Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash.

The Senate Appropriations Committee approved a version of the bill already passed by the House, ordering certain levels of salvage

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MURRAY

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board feet of timber would be sold annually over a 10-year period on federal forests in Oregon, Washington and northern California.

Last year the Forest Service sold only 247 million board feet of timber from those forests.

Clinton said in his letter that the Forest Service will sell approximately 600 million board feet in the region in the current fiscal year ending Sept. 30.

He said he had been assured by Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management officials "that we will meet our commitment under the plan of 800 mmbf in FY 1996, and finally 1.1 billion board feet in FY 1997."

Everett, WA
(Snohomish Co.)
The Herald
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(Cir. S. 63,765)

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2109 Murray warns against logging mandate

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Senate

Appropriations Committee neared approval Friday of a measure that would exempt logging in national forests from environmental laws despite concerns raised by Presi-

dent Clinton and Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash.

Murray said during the committee meeting that she opposed the plan to insulate logging from legal challenges, but that she would wait until the bill arrives on the Senate floor to propose changes.

She said the proposal — intended to speed salvage wood to sawmills and ease fire threats — could end up leading to a new round of court battles that would slow timber harvests in the Pacific Northwest.

"I have concerns it may backfire," Murray told members of the committee. "We should not sanction a move to place federal agencies above the law on this appropriations bill."

Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., also raised concerns that salvage logging of dead and dying timber could occur in wild and scenic areas and roadless sections of national forests.

But Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., chairman of the committee, urged him to hold his complaints until the floor debate. Bumpers agreed.

The measure would order the Forest Service to produce certain

harvest levels of salvage timber free from the constraints of laws protecting fish and wildlife. It is included in a comprehensive bill that could cut \$13.3 billion in already approved spending for dozens of programs, including \$3 million the Fish and Wildlife Service intended to spend to protect species under the Endangered Species Act.

A vote on the Senate floor could come as early as next week.

Clinton said in a letter to Murray Thursday night the legislation insulating the timber sales from lawsuits could result in new legal challenges to all logging, grazing and mining allowed under individual forest management plans.

"Let me be clear that legislation to bypass existing environmental laws and mandate a minimum level of salvage sales may not increase the flow of timber," Clinton wrote.

"In fact, the Department of Justice has advised that such mandates could reduce timber, grazing and mining activities because they could result in new litigation over every land management plan, including the Forest Plan."

Kent, WA
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Valley Daily News
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MAR 29 1995

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2107 **Experts attack proposed salvage-logging measure**

WASHINGTON (AP) - Scientists and academics Tuesday criticized a proposal to exempt salvage logging on national forests from U.S. environmental laws, and at least three Democrats planned to fight the measure on the Senate floor.

Professors and researchers at 16 universities joined leaders of professional scientific organizations in a letter to President Clinton condemning the proposal to waive laws protecting fish and wildlife.

Several lawmakers have proposed the exemption to speed salvage logging and ease fire threats on publicly owned forests in the West.

But the more than 50 biologists, ecologists, geologists, and fisheries and wildlife scientists signing off on the letter urged strong restrictions for salvage operations.

"Fires and recovery from fires are part of the natural pattern in which Western species evolved and to which many Western species and ecosystems are adapted," the scientists wrote.

"Human disruption of the natural processes associated with recovery from fire, not the fires themselves, causes long-term damage to many of the resources in the region," including soils, fisheries, watersheds and wildlife.

The Senate is expected to vote as early as Wednesday on a comprehensive spending bill that includes a salvage-logging proposal from Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash.

The provision would order the Forest Service to allow salvage harvests of dead and dying trees without the constraints of the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws.

The House earlier approved a similar measure.

Clinton has indicated he opposes waiving existing laws for salvage harvests.

Democratic Sens. Max Baucus of Montana and Patty Murray of Washington said they would challenge the proposal on the Senate floor.

MAR 29 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

2109

Bad deal on tree-salvage

Senate should not exempt salvage sales from environmental laws

Legislation exempting federal timber salvage sales from all environmental laws is a wholesale oversimplification of reasonable resource-protection strategies. The full Senate, considering the matter in the next few days, should close the door its Appropriations Committee opened to poorly considered forest management.

Appropriations Chairman Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., could contribute substantially toward amending his committee's work into a better-crafted provision. Unfortunately, though, he appears inclined to support the wide-open environmental exemption produced by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash. Washington Sen. Patty Murray, a Democrat, plans to challenge the Gorton provision.

Gorton's amendment to the supplemental appropriations and rescissions bill would, as the House-passed version also provides, exempt Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management sales of fire- or insect-killed timber from all environmental laws.

The justification for such a broad-based exemption is based on a couple of flawed notions: (1) That logging dead or dying trees is the best prescription for restoring forests to healthy conditions and preventing unusually destructive forest fires; and (2) that federal forest managers need the exemption to get the job done.

A germ of fact does lie behind both notions. Salvage logging, properly done, often is a sound forest-health and fire-prevention prescription. And forest managers have been frustratingly slow in pursuing that course.

But the forest-health situation is far more complicated. Managers need to weigh, much more fully than the brief review this measure requires, whether logging a burned timber stand would do more good than harm —

harm through increased and stream-threatening erosion of already disturbed soils, for instance.

Environmental laws, frustrating as they are in a lawsuit-prone climate, are the assurances that careful, scientifically credible analysis will be done. Dozens of academic scientists, along with the heads of various professional organizations concerned with forest management, oppose the exemption.

Further, the Clinton administration, which recently announced a streamlining of its timber salvage program, says the exemption is unnecessary.

The Senate's best course would be to drop the salvage exemption altogether. But responsible middle ground does exist. One possibility is accelerating administrative and judicial consideration of challenges to planned salvage sales while maintaining the legal constraints. At the least, Congress should add legally binding requirements that other forest-related values — salmon and other fish, for instance — are protected.

In that regard, a separate exemption — for timber sales under the president's forest plan for Western Oregon and Washington — is less troubling than the nationwide salvage-sale one. The president's plan has been held by a federal judge as meeting environmental law requirements, and managers would be held to its terms.

No such terms underlie the salvage exemption, however. Some exemption backers argue that forest managers will see to those matters as they plan the salvage sales. No doubt this administration will try. But the exemption is a bad precedent that Congress probably will be tempted to pursue again. And it's no protection for the public against badly flawed, even if well-intended, decisions.

MAR 28 1995

Scientists testify against bill exempting some logging from eco-laws

2109

SCOTT SONNER THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON (AP) — Professors and researchers at 16 universities joined leaders of professional scientific organizations today in opposing a proposal to make some logging in national forests exempt from environmental laws.

More than 50 biologists, ecologists, geologists, and fisheries and wildlife scientists urged strong restrictions on salvage logging of publicly owned forests in the West.

They said in a letter to President Clinton that "indiscriminate post-fire salvage logging" threatens soils, fisheries, watersheds and wildlife.

"Fires and recovery from fires are part of the natural pattern in which Western species evolved and to which many Western species and ecosystems are adapted," the scientists wrote.

"Human disruption of the natural processes associated with recovery from fire, not the fires themselves, causes long-term damage to many of the resources in the region."

The Senate is expected to vote as early as Wednesday on a comprehensive spending bill that includes a proposal by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., ordering the Forest Service to log specified amounts of dead, dying and overstocked trees, and making those operations exempt from environmental laws.

The House earlier approved a similar measure.

President Clinton has indicated he opposes waiv-

ing existing laws to complete the salvage harvests, and Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., plans to challenge the proposal on the Senate floor, her spokesman Rex Carney said today.

Gorton said today he was "cautiously optimistic" his proposal would prevail in the Senate. He said the scientists signing the letter to Clinton were ignoring fire threats in the West.

"They are in favor of natural forest fires. That just simply is not a position that is consistent with the way in which people live in these areas," Gorton said. "It is appropriate for us to change nature. It is appropriate for us to fight forest fires."

Congress has heard conflicting testimony about the extent of wildfire threats in the West, and the benefits and dangers of salvage logging.

Doug Crandall of the American Forest & Paper Association said salvage logging is needed to reduce fire threats resulting from 100 years of fire suppression policies that allowed wood fuels to build up beyond natural levels.

"Fire is an important natural tool of these forests and we need to restore forests to the point where fire works the way it used to, not where it burns so hot it cooks the soil," Crandall said.

Victor Kaczynski, a fisheries scientist who began salmon research 25 years ago at the University of Washington, told a House panel, "Wildfires represent the largest single risk factor to many special-status fish populations today."

Today's letter to Clinton also was signed by fisheries consultants and government scientists, including U.S. Forest Service fisheries biologist Jeffrey J. Dose and seven fish biologists and ecologists from the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife.

The Endangered Species Act, National Forest Management Act and other laws "are safeguards meant to maintain the American public's natural resources," said Judy Meyer, president of the Ecological Society of America.

Norman Christensen Jr., the dean of Duke University's School of the Environment who served on a panel reviewing the 1988 Yellowstone fires, said in a letter to U.S. senators that salvage logging can be an important management tool but requires careful analysis and monitoring.

"Done poorly, the productivity and biological integrity of public forests may be permanently compromised," Christensen said.

Christensen said large-diameter trees are particularly important to healthy forest ecosystems.

"Leaving them in the forest, even when dead, should not as a general matter be viewed as a 'waste,'" he wrote. He said "applying terms like 'dying,' 'bug-infested' and 'diseased' to trees and evaluation of the status of forest fuels often involves considerable judgment and uncertainty."

The leaders of The Society for Conservation Biology, The Wildlife Society, the American Fisheries Society and the American Ornithologists Union said areas that have been thinned or salvage logged sometimes burn less intensely than surrounding forest, but sometimes more intensely.

"Consequently, perceived emergency conditions constitute a poor reason to abbreviate environmental review and compromise safeguards in connection with timber sales that apply these techniques," the four groups said.

■ Environmental leaders arrested during protest at Hatfield's office in Portland.
PAGE B4

Portland, OR
(Multnomah Co.)
Oregonian
(Cir. D. 335,102)

MAR 29 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

Experts blast logging exemption

2109
■ More than 50 scientists and academics protest the proposal to waive protections in areas where trees are dead or dying

By SCOTT SONNER

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Scientists and academics Tuesday criticized a proposal to exempt salvage logging on national forests from U.S. environmental laws, and at least three Democrats planned to fight the measure on the Senate floor.

Professors and researchers at 16 universities joined leaders of professional scientific organizations in a letter to President Clinton condemning the proposal to waive laws protecting fish and wildlife.

Several lawmakers have proposed the exemption to speed salvage logging and ease fire threats on publicly owned forests in the West.

But the more than 50 biologists, ecologists, geologists and fisheries and wildlife scientists who signed the letter urged strong restrictions for salvage operations.

"Fires and recovery from fires are part of the natural pattern in which Western species evolved and to which many Western species and ecosystems are adapted," the scientists wrote.

"Human disruption of the natural processes associated with recovery from fire, not the fires themselves, causes long-term damage to many of the resources in the region," including soils, fisheries, watersheds and wildlife.

The Senate is expected to vote as early as Wednesday on a comprehensive spending bill that includes a salvage-logging proposal from Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash.

The provision would order the Forest Service to allow salvage harvests of dead and dying trees without the constraints of the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws.

The House earlier approved a similar measure.

Clinton has indicated he opposes waiving existing laws for salvage harvests.

Democratic Sens. Max Baucus of Montana and Patty Murray of Washington said they would challenge the

proposal on the Senate floor.

"The Gorton amendment allows timber harvesting to take place in many of Montana's most special places," Baucus said in a statement that listed the North Fork of the Flathead River, the Rattlesnake National Recreation Area, the Gallatin Range, the Porcupine Creek Drainage near Big Sky and South Cottonwood Creek near Bozeman.

"Several other sensitive areas could all be opened up to timber harvesting," he said.

Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., voiced opposition at a Senate Appropriations Committee meeting Friday and was considering an amendment to strike Gorton's language from the bill, spokesman John Lyford said.

"There are a number of things he may decide to do on the floor. He is going to hold all of his options open," Lyford said Tuesday.

Gorton said that the scientists signing the letter to Clinton are ignoring wildfire threats in the West.

"They are in favor of natural forest fires. That just simply is not ... consistent with the way in which people live in these areas," Gorton said Tuesday.

Seattle, WA
(King Co.)
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
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Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

Gorton's logging plan ²¹⁰⁹ may not add new timber

It's a good idea for the Clinton administration to prod the Forest Service into more timely preparation of certain salvage logging sales of dead or dying trees where such harvesting is clearly appropriate.

And it's time for the administration to get the agency moving on Option 9 of its Forest Plan for sustainable harvest of live trees in the Northwest. It's in everyone's interest to make the timber available for harvest as soon as possible.

But the timber harvest approach proposed by Washington's Sen. Slade Gorton is likely to have exactly the opposite effect and may well result in local mills having an even longer wait for trees.

That is not helpful.

Gorton is sponsoring legislation that would expedite timber harvest on federal lands by exempting

them from troublesome ecological legal challenges by environmentalists. His bill would order cutting where harvests have been delayed by environmental concerns and expedite cutting in timber stands that serve as home to the northern spotted owl.

President Bill Clinton, in a letter to Sen. Patty Murray, said: "Let me be clear that legislation to bypass existing environmental laws and mandate a minimum level of salvage sales may not increase the flow of timber. In fact, the Department of Justice has advised that such mandates could reduce the timber, grazing and mining activities because they could result in new litigation over every land-management plan, including the Forest Plan."

Legal shortcuts will not result in more expeditious clearcuts in Northwest forests.

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MAR 29 1995

Allen's P. C. B. Est. 1888

Scientists oppose Gorton's salvage-logging plan

2109

By Christopher Hanson
P-I Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — More than 50 scientists voiced opposition yesterday to legislation backed by Sen. Slade Gorton that would waive environmental laws to let loggers harvest dead and dying trees.

The measure by Gorton, R-Wash., to waive the laws and require the administration to permit salvage logging may come to a Senate vote as early as today and is expected to prompt a showdown with Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., who, aides say, will try to block or weaken it.

A major issue in the controversy is the effect on forest health of harvesting downed and damaged trees after forest fires. Gorton says salvage harvesting would be good not only for the timber economy, but also for the forests, reducing risks of more fires.

But 50 wildlife and geological scientists from 16 universities and several agencies argued in a letter to President Clinton that "indiscriminate post-fire salvage logging . . . threatens the region's soils, fisheries, watersheds and wildlife. In many cases, that threat vastly exceeds the initial damage from the fire."

They said nature should be allowed to take its course after fires and urged Clinton "to avoid making hasty decisions in an atmosphere that exaggerates the extent and severity of the crisis."

Gorton said letting nature take its course is not the right approach because too much timber — and economic opportunity — is going up in smoke.

"I don't believe the absolute state of nature is the right thing," he said, noting that many professional foresters are in favor of salvage logging. He said his approach is a case of "putting people first."

Clinton is under pressure to provide more timber to Northwest mills under his forest plan. That plan is intended to preserve habitat of the threatened northern spotted owl and other species while allowing some logging to continue.

But Clinton is taking heat for not providing as much timber as initially promised. Gorton's measure would force him to do so, requiring he meet his promised quotas as well as permit the salvage harvests.

Gorton said yesterday that he is optimistic his measure will become law. A similar version has passed in the

House, with strong backing from Reps. George Nethercutt, R-Wash., and Norm Dicks, D-Wash.

"This proposal is primarily designed to allow the president to keep his own promises to the people of timber country," Gorton said.

Meanwhile, Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., announced his opposition to the Gorton measure.

"Someone once said there's a simple solution to every problem; unfortunately, it's usually wrong. I believe this adage holds true for the Gorton amendment," Baucus said.

Senate holds to salvage logging plan

2109
■ A narrow vote defeats an amendment that would have required agencies to follow environmental laws

By BRENT WALTH
of The Oregonian staff

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Thursday narrowly upheld a plan to suspend environmental laws over the next two years so the federal government can increase salvage logging in national forests.

The vote marks a victory for the timber industry and Republican leaders — especially Sens. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon and Slade Gorton of Washington — who want to keep increased timber sales from public lands out of the courts.

The vote all but guarantees that Congress will allow U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of

INSIDE

■ MEXICO BAILOUT: Sen. Alfonse D'Amato shocks the Senate with an amendment aimed at blocking the U.S. loan package to Mexico/A18

Land Management logging programs to ignore forestry and wildlife habitat laws through 1996.

The timber salvage legislation, while focusing on trees damaged by fire and disease, contains broad language that would allow unrestricted logging in healthy forests as well.

The plan is contained in a larger budget-cutting bill that faces a veto threat from President Clinton.

The bill must still be reconciled with a similar measure passed by the House.

Clinton has said he dislikes the bill's environmental law exemption, as well as its cuts to current spending for education and child nutrition programs. Environmental groups said Thursday they will pressure Clinton to veto the measure.

Lawmakers voted 48-46 to defeat an amendment offered by Sen. **Patty Murray**, D-Wash., that would have required federal agencies to follow environmental laws while speeding up timber sales.

Murray's plan failed on the close vote, but only after a charged debate led by Western Republicans who said the measure meant emergency help for damaged forests and relief for timber workers.

"We have had the status quo long enough," shouted Sen. Conrad Burns, R-Mont. "You're not doing anything for America, and you're doing worse for the people who depend on public lands for their living. You're making your check. They're not."

Murray said, however, that the federal government can still move timber to mills with-

Please turn to
LOGGING, Page A22



CONGRESS

Logging: Wilderness areas exempt

■ Continued from Page One
out flouting laws intended to protect national forests.

"There is a history of waiving environmental laws to solve timber problems, and that strategy has not worked," Murray said. "It has made the situation worse."

Supporters have pushed for the environmental law waiver this year by promoting the need for salvage logging in forests damaged by disease and last summer's savage fires.

Murray's amendment, while requiring that the laws remain in effect, also would have forbidden logging in roadless areas and forests under consideration for wilderness protection. The current plan exempts only forests contained within designated wilderness.

Congress waived environmental laws repeatedly in the 1980s to guarantee high logging levels from federal forests. The current waiver would be the first since 1989, when Hatfield pushed through timber sales that skirted concerns for the northern spotted owl.

But past violations of forestry laws led federal courts to all but

shut down logging in national forests in recent years. The Clinton administration's current timber plan has since won court approval and promises a cut of 1 billion board feet annually.

The cut has not reached that level yet, and impatient GOP leaders pushed their plan into the unrelated budget bill without public hearings.

Gorton said Thursday that the plan will knock down all legal roadblocks for logging that could prevent the Clinton administration from reaching its promised logging levels.

For that reason, Gorton said, the Clinton administration's opposition to the bill has disappointed him.

"It's astonishing that the administration itself does not want to keep its commitments," Gorton said. "Do we want the president to keep his commitments, however inadequate they are?"

The Senate plan applies to salvage logging nationwide but does not set a mandated cut level. The House-approved plan requires the federal government sell 6 billion board feet of timber by the end of 1996 — twice the amount the Forest Service says it can sell in that time.

Both the House and Senate plans clear the way for sales under the Clinton plan and lingering 1990 sales approved the last time Congress suspended environmental laws governing timber practices.

Opponents to the timber plan said they did not want the federal government returning to old practices by waiving environmental laws.

"It is a dangerous precedent," said Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark. "We don't know where we're headed. The pressure of the timber industry on the Forest Service will be irresistible."

Added Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., of the exemption: "It's becoming a routine and standard practice... To me, exemption of environmental laws is an extreme position that the majority of the American people would not accept."

Supporters said Murray's plan was little more than an effort to block salvage logging.

"Don't be misled by those who are of the extreme environmental bent who see this as an opportunity simply to stop the timber process," said Sen. Frank Murkowski, R-Alaska.

MAR 29 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

2109

New battlefield for forest war

Logging debate goes from courts to Congress; industry gains edge

BY ERIC PRYNE
Seattle Times staff reporter

After six years on the sidelines, Congress is jumping back into the Northwest's forest fight.

The desired outcome: More logging in federal forests than the region has experienced since the early 1990s, when court injunctions and the spotted owl brought the timber-sale program to a virtual halt.

The increase probably still would fall well short of the record harvest levels of the 1980s, but the timber industry is delighted nonetheless. Environmentalists are aghast.

The full House and the Senate Appropriations Committee have approved amendments that would boost logging the old-fashioned way, the way Congress did it in the 1980s: by overriding environmental laws.

That effectively would deny environmentalists access to the forum in which they have enjoyed their greatest successes: the courtroom.

The full Senate could vote on the issue as soon as today.

The Clinton administration, while supporting more logging, opposes both amendments. "Insulating federal timber sales would put the federal

government above the laws that everyone else has to comply with," said Tom Tuchmann, who heads the Clinton forest-policy office in Portland.

But that doesn't necessarily mean the president will veto such an amendment if it reaches his desk. It's likely to be part of a much bigger budget-cutting bill that hasn't yet assumed final form.

The debate over the logging amendments touches on law, economics and science. It also shows how last November's election has turned Northwest forest politics upside down.

Timber interests, after long years of frustration, are finding a receptive audience in the new Republican Congress. With just two exceptions, Sen. Patty Murray and Rep. Jim McDermott, D-Seattle, Washington's con-

gressional delegation is solidly behind the amendments.

Sen. Slade Gorton authored the Senate version. Rep. Norm Dicks, D-Bremerton, co-sponsored the House proposal.

Two prominent environmental leaders protesting the amendments were arrested for trespassing outside Sen. Mark Hatfield's Portland office Monday. Consummate inside players just months ago, environmentalists may soon find civil disobedience their only recourse, one protester suggested.

The amendments' central focus is "salvage" logging of dead and dying trees. Both the House and Senate versions exempt salvage sales from environmental laws, citing a growing

PLEASE SEE *Logging* ON B:

New edge in log war

Logging

CONTINUED FROM B 1

forest-health problem and a need to get timber damaged by last year's fires to market before its commercial value declines.

The Senate version sets no target, but an accompanying report says senators expect the Clinton administration to meet or exceed its goal of 3 billion board feet of salvage sales nationally over the next 18 months. About 30 percent of that total would come from Washington and Oregon.

The House bill goes further, ordering the Clinton administration to sell at least 6 billion board feet by October 1996 (the typical single-family home contains about 10,000 board feet of lumber).

Environmentalists say they don't oppose all salvage logging, but argue it often does more harm than good — increasing erosion and removing cover for wildlife. The amendments define salvage so broadly that many healthy trees also could be logged, they say.

Environmentalists also say an aggressive salvage program will lose money. Backers of the amendments disagree, but the House version would allow sales to proceed even if costs exceed revenues.

In the Northwest, the salvage provisions mostly would affect national forests east of the Cascade crest hit hard by fire last summer.

The largest proposed fire-salvage sales on the Okanogan and Colville national forests already have drawn

criticism from environmentalists, in part because they include roadless areas considered prime habitat for lynx. Appeals are possible.

The Wenatchee National Forest, site of last summer's huge Tyee and Hatchery fires, expects to propose salvage sales soon. They, too, are likely to be controversial.

Several lesser-known sections of the amendments could also boost logging in Western Washington. The Senate proposal, for instance, exempts all timber sales offered through September 1996 under President Clinton's new Northwest forest plan from environmental laws, again ruling out legal challenges.

Over the next 18 months the administration plans to offer 1.4 billion board feet for sale from the federal forests of Western Washington, Western Oregon and Northern California.

Both the House and Senate proposals also would override the Endangered Species Act, ordering the Forest Service to let loggers cut another 270 million board feet of old-growth forest in Western Washington and Western Oregon.

The timber is in 60 sales authorized by Congress and sold in 1990. The sales have been in limbo since 1992, when the marbled murrelet, a seabird, was listed as threatened.

Murrelets occupy 49 of the 60 sale sites, and may occupy the other 11. If the sites can't be logged, the government must buy back the timber. Cost estimates range from \$50 million to \$200 million.

The Senate amendment does let the Forest Service preserve the sites where murrelets nest, provided it gives loggers timber elsewhere.

Seventeen of the 60 sales are in Washington's Olympic and Mount Baker-Snoqualmie national forests, where little logging now takes place.

Such short-circuiting of environmental laws appears to be constitutional. The last time Congress did it, in 1989, the Supreme Court upheld the action.

Bill Arthur, Northwest director of the Sierra Club, said such proposals "trample the rights of the public to participate in the future of their public forests."

But supporters say forests and forest workers no longer can afford further delay. If exemptions aren't provided, said Chris West of the Portland-based Northwest Forestry Association, environmentalist appeals almost certainly will stall, if not block, much of the Clinton administration's plan for salvage logging and other harvests.

While the process plays out, he said, trees rot, forest health declines and unemployed loggers collect welfare.

"They (the administration) need the tools to get the job done," West said, "and that's what this amendment gives them."

But the White House, which promised environmentalists two years ago that its Northwest forest policies would comply with environmental laws, has been reluctant to back away from that commitment.

 The House legislation affecting timber is available on the News Plus area of The Seattle Times Extra. See A 2 for details.

2109

Spokane, WA
(Spokane Co.)
The Spokesman Review
(Cir. D. 120,107)
(Cir. S. 148,254)

MAR 29 1995

Allen's P. C. B. Est. 1888

Opposition builds against Gorton logging plan

209
**Sens. Murray
and Baucus,
scientists and
academics rip
legislation
to exempt
salvage
logging from
environmental
laws**

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Scientists and academics criticized Tuesday a proposal to exempt salvage logging of national forests from U.S. environmental laws, and Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., said he would oppose the measure.

Professors and researchers at 16 universities joined leaders of scientific organizations in a letter to President Clinton condemning the proposal to waive laws protecting fish and wildlife.

More than 50 biologists, ecologists, geologists and fisheries and wildlife scientists nationwide urged strong restrictions on salvage logging, which several lawmakers have proposed as a way to ease fire threats in publicly owned forests in the West.

"Fires and recovery from fires are part

of the natural pattern in which Western species evolved and to which many Western species and ecosystems are adapted," the scientists wrote. "Human disruption of the natural processes associated with recovery from fire — not the fires themselves — causes long-term damage to many of the resources in the region," including soils, fisheries, watersheds and wildlife.

The Senate is expected to vote as early as today on a comprehensive spending bill that includes a proposal by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., ordering the U.S. Forest Service to log dead, dying and overstocked trees free from the constraints of the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws. The House has approved a similar measure.

President Clinton has indicated he

opposes waiving existing laws to complete the salvage harvests, and Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., plans to challenge the proposal on the Senate floor, her spokesman Rex Carney said Tuesday.

Baucus announced Tuesday he too would resist Gorton's proposal.

"The Gorton amendment allows timber harvesting to take place in many of Montana's most special places," Baucus said in a statement. He listed the North Fork of the Flathead River, the Rattlesnake National Recreation Area, the Gallatin Range, the Porcupine Creek drainage near Big Sky and South Cottonwood near Bozeman.

But Sen. Conrad Burns, R-Mont., supports the measure. "We think those places are potentially in danger right now because of fire danger," said Burns

spokesman Dick Wadhams. The amendment would reduce wildfire threats by removing dead and dying trees while also making more logs available to Montana sawmills, Wadhams said.

Gorton said he is "cautiously optimistic" his proposal will prevail in the Senate. He said the scientists signing the letter to Clinton are ignoring the fire threats in the West.

"They are in favor of natural forest fires. That just simply is not a position that is consistent with the way in which people live in these areas," Gorton said Tuesday. "It is appropriate for us to change nature. It is appropriate for us to fight forest fires."

Congress has heard conflicting testimony about the extent of wildfire threats in the West and about the benefits and

dangers of salvage logging.

Doug Crandall of the American Forest & Paper Association said salvage logging is needed to reduce fire threats resulting from 100 years of fire suppression policies that have allowed wood fuels to build up beyond natural levels.

However, Norman Christensen Jr., dean of Duke University's School of the Environment, said in a letter to U.S. senators that salvage logging can be an important management tool but requires careful analysis and monitoring.

If salvage logging is "done poorly, the productivity and biological integrity of public forests may be permanently compromised," Christensen said. "I urge you to reject exemptions for this kind of logging from the laws and regulations that guide stewardship of public lands."

Mount Vernon, WA
(Skagit Co.)
Skagit Valley Herald
(Cir. D. 20,000)

MAR 31 1995

Dillon's P. C. B Est. 1888

C2 Skagit Valley Herald

NORTHWEST

Friday, March 31, 1995

Environmentalists livid over OK of logging legislation

By SCOTT SONNER
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — Conservationists say Senate approval of a measure exempting some national forest logging from environmental laws should serve as a wake-up call for Americans who cherish fish and wildlife.

"I view it as a clear victory on a very close vote for extremists in Congress who plan an all-out war on the public lands," said Nathaniel Lawrence, legal counsel for the Natural Resources Defense Council in San Francisco. "I can only hope this is a wake-up call for anybody who cares about public resources."

2109
But Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., says the provision was a long time coming for loggers and mill workers who have been put out of work by dramatic logging cutbacks in the West.

"Communities have been devastated. Families have broken up. Small businesses have failed," he said.

The Senate yesterday narrowly backed Gorton's plan to exempt some logging from environmental laws in an effort to ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.

Gorton and other Western Republicans have been pressing for such legislation since the northern spotted owl was declared a

threatened species in the Pacific Northwest five years ago.

"It's the first time since 1990 the Senate has voted for any kind of relief for timber communities," Gorton said last night after the vote.

On a 48-46 vote, senators rejected an amendment by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that would have required the salvage logging and thinning of overstocked forests occur largely within the confines of existing laws.

A final vote on the comprehensive budget bill, including the logging provision, was expected as early as today. The House already has approved a similar logging measure.

Gorton aide apologizes for 'spike' remark

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Sen. Slade Gorton's press secretary apologized to an environmental group after saying that key opponents to Gorton's logging proposal "are the same people who would 'spike' trees to kill loggers."

The Wilderness Society demanded a retraction yesterday and press secretary Heidi Kelly said she apologized to the group for "confusion" surrounding her

statement.

She said the line in a memo issued Tuesday was a reference to an Earth First activist arrested on Monday while protesting Gorton's logging proposal at Sen. Mark Hatfield's office in Portland, Ore.

Earth First once advocated driving metal spikes into trees in an effort to keep loggers from cutting them for fear of injury or damage to saws, but the group has disavowed the practice since 1990.

Olympia, WA
(Thurston Co.)
The Olympian
(Cir. D. 27,876)

MAR 31 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

▶ **TIMBER** 2109

Senate backs logging exemptions

■ **Gorton plan:** The Senate measure exempts some logging in national forests from environmental laws.

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Senate narrowly backed a plan Thursday to exempt some national forest logging from environmental laws in an effort to ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.

Senators gave their tentative approval to the proposal by Sen.

Slade Gorton, R-Wash., which would insulate the logging from legal challenges under the Endangered Species Act and other laws protecting fish and wildlife.

On a 48-46 vote, senators rejected an amendment by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that would have required that salvage logging and thinning of overstocked forests occur largely within the parameters of existing laws.

A final vote on the comprehensive budget bill including the logging provision was expected today. The House already has approved a similar logging measure, although Pres-

ident Clinton has indicated he opposes the idea.

Backers of the Gorton plan say expedited salvage logging free from the constraints of the laws is needed to remove dead and diseased timber from Western forests where fuel buildups raise the threat of catastrophic fires.

"The Forest Service is absolutely incapable of addressing this in an expeditious manner," said Sen. Frank Murkowski, R-Alaska, chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

Critics say the salvage operations actually increase fire threats. The

harvests also promote soil erosion, damaging fish habitat by clogging rivers and streams with sediments, they say.

"We must not give the agencies free reign to cut timber without regard to environmental consideration," Murray said in a floor speech.

Gorton, a staunch defender of the timber industry, led the charge for the legal exemptions to carry out the salvage logging as well as the timber harvests called for in President Clinton's year-old forest plan for Oregon, Washington and Northern California.

(Snohomish Co.)
The Herald
(Cir. D. 52,500)
(Cir. S. 63,765)

MAR 31 1995

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209 Gorton prevails in timber showdown with Murray

McClatchy News Service

WASHINGTON — Washington state's two senators went toe-to-toe on the Senate floor Thursday over salvage timber sales in the national forests. In the end, Republican Slade Gorton beat Democrat Patty Murray by a razor-thin, two-vote margin.

While the two have had their differences previously, Thursday marked the first time they had wrangled directly over legislation the other had proposed. Murray sought to remove language that would have insulated the sales of dead, dying and diseased trees from federal environmental laws.

Murray admitted her amendment was a long shot and Gorton was confident going in that he had the votes.

"It was closer than I expected," said Gorton.

Murray said she had hoped for 40 votes.

"This was much closer than I expected," Murray said.

Gorton moved to table Murray's amendment and the suspense built as, for a time, it appeared the vote could end in a tie.

The key to Gorton's victory appeared to be support from Sens. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, R-Colo., and Harry Reid, D-Nevada.

Campbell at first voted to support Murray but switched his vote after being surrounded by his Republican colleagues. Campbell was elected as a Democrat but earlier this month switched parties.

Murray had expected Reid's support and was stunned by his defection.

Southern Democrats, led by Sen. J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, bucked their timber interests and supported Murray. Three Republicans, John Chaffee

of Rhode Island, James Jeffords of Vermont and William Cohen of Maine, also supported Murray.

The final vote was 48-46, with six senators not voting. Of those six, Murray said three were Democrats from whom she had expected support.

Both Murray and Gorton support salvage logging as a way to supply timber to hard-pressed Northwest mills and to reduce the chance of catastrophic fires in the forest.

The Forest Service has estimated up to 2 billion board-feet of salvage timber is available in the region and had planned to cut about 1.5 billion board-feet during the current fiscal year.

Gorton, however, insisted those sales would be tied up in court by environmentalists. Gorton inserted language in a bill cutting \$13 billion in spending which would deem salvage sales prepared under his provision "sufficient" to meet all environmental laws.

Gorton also inserted language requiring the administration to sell the 1.1 billion board-feet envisioned in its Northwest forest plan and insulated those sales from the environmental laws as well.

The administration opposed the Gorton provisions, insisting it would touch off new lawsuits and tie up timber sales at a time when the logs were starting to flow.

"It's astounding the administration doesn't want help in keeping its commitments," Gorton said during floor debate.

Murray was dead set against the sufficiency language and instead proposed an expedited appeals process.

"I believe the language proposed by my colleague will cause a blizzard of lawsuits, cause political turmoil within the Northwest, and take us tight back to where we were four years ago," Murray said.

Seattle, WA
(King Co.)
The Seattle Times
(Cir. D. 228,562)

MAR 31 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

Senate backs Gorton's logging bill

2109

BY ERIC PRYNE
Seattle Times staff reporter

By just two votes, the U.S. Senate has endorsed a proposal to exempt most logging in the Northwest's federal forests from environmental laws and court challenges.

Yesterday's vote, coupled with similar action by the House earlier this month, almost guarantees such a provision will land on President Clinton's desk as part of a larger budget-cutting package now before the Senate.

Clinton has expressed opposition to the logging amendments, but it's unclear whether he will veto the entire budget bill.

The logging-exemption issue provoked a showdown on the Senate floor yesterday between Washington's two senators. Republican Slade Gorton authored the proposal. Democrat Patty Murray led the opposition.

The Senate Appropriations Committee approved Gorton's amendment last week. On the

floor, Murray sought to replace it with language that would have streamlined the process for reviewing and appealing timber sales, without exempting them from legal challenge.

"We must not give the agencies free rein to cut timber without regard to environmental considerations," Murray said.

"Do we care about our supply of lumber and paper products," Gorton countered, "or do we only care about the well-being of certain environmental organizations and their lawyers?"

Murray's substitute was rejected, 48 to 46.

Gorton's amendment was supported by timber interests and opposed by environmentalists, who were criticized in a written



Sen. Slade Gorton



Sen. Patty Murray

statement issued Wednesday by Gorton's press secretary.

"The environmental groups leading the charge against this amendment are the same people who would 'spike' trees to kill loggers," the statement said.

That drew an angry reply from Steve Whitney, Northwest regional director for the Wilderness Society.

"Sen. Gorton's desperation is evident in his embarrassing attack on the integrity and motives of Northwest environmental leaders," Whitney said. "He seeks polarization when the people want dialogue."

Gorton's proposal would rule out court challenges to three categories of federal timber

sales:

- So-called "salvage" logging of timber damaged by fire, or prone to disease or insect infestation. The Forest Service plans to offer salvage sales totaling 837 million board feet over the next 18 months in Washington and Oregon, mostly from forests east of the Cascades. (A typical single-family home contains about 10,000 board feet of lumber.)

- Sales offered under President Clinton's Northwest forest plan, adopted last April. The Forest Service plans to sell about 800 million board feet by October 1996 from Western Washington and Western Oregon, some of that in salvage sales.

- Sixty sales, totaling 270 million board feet of old growth in Western Washington and Western Oregon, that were sold to loggers in the early 1990s, but have not been cut because they provide habitat for the marbled murrelet, a threatened seabird.

Tacoma, WA
(Pierce Co.)
The News Tribune
(Cir. D. 128,051)
(Cir. S. 146,630)

MAR 31 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

THE NEWS TRIBUNE, Friday, March 31, 1995

Gorton wins salvage-logging battle

5 709
Murray's attempt to block is 2 votes shy

By Les Blumenthal
News Tribune Washington (D.C.) Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republican Slade Gorton beat Democrat Patty Murray by a two-vote margin Thursday as Washington state's two U.S. senators went toe-to-toe over salvage timber sales in the national forests.

Gorton won.

While the two have had their differences previously, Thursday marked the first time they have wrangled directly over legislation the other proposed. Murray sought to block sales of dead, dying and diseased trees.

Proponents of the sales, like Gorton, have argued that allowing such logging would benefit areas, especially in the Northwest, that have been hurt economically by logging bans caused by environmental laws protecting endangered species like the northern spotted owl.

Murray admitted her amendment was a longshot, and Gorton was confident going in that he had the votes.

"It was closer than I expected," Gorton said of the 48-46 vote.

Both Murray and Gorton support

salvage logging as a way to supply timber to hard-pressed Northwest mills and to reduce the chance of catastrophic fires in the forest.

The Forest Service has estimated up to 2 billion board of salvage timber is available in the region and had planned to cut about 1.5 billion board feet during the current fiscal year.

Gorton, however, insisted those sales would be tied up in court by environmentalists and inserted language in a bill cutting \$13 billion in spending which would deem salvage sales prepared under his provision "sufficient" to meet all environmental laws.

Gorton also inserted language requiring the administration to sell the 1.1 billion board feet envisioned in its Northwest forest plan and insulated those sales from the environmental laws as well.

The administration opposed the



Gorton provisions, insisting it would touch off new lawsuits and tie up timber sales at a time when the logs were starting to flow.

"It's astounding the administration doesn't want help in keeping its commitments," Gorton said during floor debate.

Murray was dead set against Gorton's proposal and instead proposed an expedited appeals process.

"I believe the language proposed by my colleague will cause a blizzard of lawsuits, cause political turmoil

within the Northwest and take us right back to where we were four years ago," Murray said.

While the Senate measure orders the Forest Service to sell as much salvage timber as possible, language in the House version of the bill requires 6 billion board feet be sold during the next two years.

The differences will have to be resolved in a conference committee.

President Clinton has threatened to veto the entire package of spending cuts if they take too much from social programs.

Vancouver, WA
(Clark Co.)
Columbian
(Cir. D. 52,227)

MAR 31 1995

711 1st P.C.R. Est. 1888

Logging proposal survives challenge

2100
WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. Pat Williams urged President Clinton today to veto a bill allowing logging of national forests exempt from environmental laws, saying it threatens more than 1.5 million acres of Montana's "last remaining wild places."

"This reckless, extreme proposal has left no middle ground for those of us in Congress who support reasonable, careful salvage logging as an appropriate tool to help maintain forest health," the Montana Democrat said.

The Senate on Thursday narrowly backed a plan by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., to exempt some logging from environmental laws in an effort to ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.

"Our best hope now appears to be a veto by President Clinton and I'll be urging that he do just that," Williams said today.

"This legislation presents no less than an immediate crisis to more than a million and half acres of



Sen. Slade Gorton

"It was a little bit closer than I thought it might be."

Montana's last remaining wild places," the nine-term congressman said.

Environmentalists condemned the vote.

"I view it as a clear victory on a very close vote for extremists in Congress who plan an all-out war on the public lands," said Nathaniel Lawrence, legal counsel for the Natural Resources Defense Council in San Francisco. "I can only hope this is a wake-up call for anybody who cares about public resources."

Gorton and other Western Republicans have been pressing for

such legislation since the northern spotted owl was declared a threatened species in the Pacific Northwest five years ago.

"It's the first time since 1990 the Senate has voted for any kind of relief for timber communities," Gorton said after the vote.

By 48-46, senators rejected an amendment by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that would have required the salvage logging and thinning of overstocked forests to be done largely within the confines of existing laws.

"It was a little bit closer than I thought it might be," said Gorton.

The Senate was scheduled to continue debate today on the spending bill that includes the logging provision. The House has approved a similar logging measure.

President Clinton has indicated he opposes the idea of insulating logging from legal challenges under the Endangered Species Act and other laws.

"For me, it is another notch in

the belt of Congress this year making short-term decisions that are going to hurt us in the long run," Murray said after the vote.

Backers of the Gorton plan say expedited salvage logging is needed to remove dead and diseased timber from Western forests, where fuel buildups raise the threat of catastrophic fires.

"We have had the status quo long enough," said Sen. Conrad Burns, R-Mont. "The status quo means we don't log any of our salvage timber. If it goes another year, it's not worth anything."

Critics say the salvage operations actually increase the threat of fire and promote soil erosion, damaging fish habitat by clogging rivers and streams with sediment.

Sen. Harry Reid of Nevada was the only Democrat to vote with Gorton. Four Republicans sided with Murray — John Chafee of Rhode Island, William Cohen of Maine, James Jeffords of Vermont and William Roth of Delaware.

MAY 3, 1995

Gorton beats Murray in ²¹⁰⁹Senate logging battle

**Environmentalists say vote
should serve as 'wake-up call'**

SCOTT SONNER THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Conservationists say Senate approval of a measure exempting some national forest logging from environmental laws should serve as a wake-up call for Americans who cherish fish and wildlife.

"I view it as a clear victory on a very close vote for extremists in Congress who plan an all-out war on the public lands," said Nathaniel Lawrence, legal counsel for the Natural Resources Defense Council in San Francisco.

"I can only hope this is a wake-up call for anybody who cares about public resources," he said.

But Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., says the provision was a long time coming for loggers and mill workers who have been put out of work by dramatic logging cutbacks in the West.

The Senate on Thursday narrowly backed Gorton's plan to exempt some logging from environmental laws in an effort to ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.

"It's the first time since 1990 the Senate has voted for any kind of relief for timber communities," Gorton said Thursday night after the vote.

On a 48-46 vote, senators rejected an amendment by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that would have required the salvage logging and thinning of overstocked forests occur largely within the confines of existing laws.

"Do we care about our supply of lumber and paper products, or do we only care about the well-being of certain environmental organizations and their lawyers?" he asked during his Senate floor speech.

This morning, Rep. Pat Williams urged President Clinton to veto the bill, saying it threatens more than 1.5 million acres of Montana's "last remaining wild places."

A final vote on the comprehensive budget bill, including the logging provision, was expected as early as today. The House already has approved a similar logging measure.

President Clinton has indicated he opposes the idea of insulating the logging from legal challenges under the Endangered Species Act and other laws protecting fish and wildlife.

*It's the first
time since
1990 the
Senate has
voted for
any kind of
relief for
timber com-
munities.*

**Sen. Slade
Gorton**
R-Washington

MAR 31 1995

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

TED M. NATT EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Close call 2129

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Logging of burned and dead trees on federal forest lands in the Pacific Northwest moved a step closer to reality Thursday when the Senate rejected an effort by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., to strip so-called "sufficiency language" from an appropriations bill.

In a tight Senate floor battle that pitted Murray against Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash., the sponsor of the sufficiency language, the Murray effort failed on a 48-46 vote to table her proposal.

Gorton is waging a major battle to get appropriations approved so timber sales of burned, dead and diseased timber can proceed while the wood still has some economic value. Burned and dead timber is quickly infested with insects, rendering it useless for commercial purposes. Salvaging it, on the other hand, permits the wood to be used for chips and other commercial purposes. It also clears the timberland so it can be replanted with a new generation

Please see **VIEWS**, Page A2

VIEWS

▼ CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

of healthy young trees.

There are several billion board feet of dead, diseased or burned timber on federal lands.

Why a big fight over cutting burned or dead trees? Shouldn't it be obvious that the smart thing to do is get the dead trees off so new trees can be planted and the forest regenerated?

Yes, it should. The fight really wasn't over the burned or dead trees, however. It was a fight by the environmental crowd over the sufficiency language. They absolutely fear it because it takes away their power to use administrative and legal appeals to delay, delay and delay any timber sales.

If the radical environmentalists cannot use the legal system to stop timber sales, then their power to control the federal forests is largely gone. They know it. They know the U.S. Supreme Court has approved sufficiency language as being constitutional.

Sufficiency language means some logging on federal lands would actually happen. See why the radicals are upset?

Furthermore, keeping the sufficiency language in the appropriations bill sets a precedent for subsequent use of the same language. The radicals understand that too. So today's vote was critical to them and their continued dominance over the federal forests. It was close

but they lost, something that is most unusual for them.

Now the appropriations bill moves forward with language that says all the environmental studies done prior to calling for a timber sale shall be deemed sufficient to meet the requirements of various federal environmental laws and no further appeals are permitted.

Now that is a real step ahead.

Help BPA too

A FEDERAL regulatory commission wants privately owned power companies to have to open their transmission systems to competition, just as Bonneville Power Administration has been forced to do.

It's a good idea. It would put everyone in the electricity business on the same competitive footing. The idea is more competition will either help keep rates down or perhaps lower them long term.

The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission is proposing something for the privately owned utilities that ought to also be available to the public utilities.

FERC recognizes that by opening power lines to competition, some big users might switch providers or start their own generating plants, leaving a power company with transmission lines that cost lots of money but no revenues coming from them. These are what's called "stranded costs."

FERC proposes two means for utilities to recover such costs. One would be an exit fee. It would require a customer leaving a transmission system to pay the owner a fee for leaving. The other would be to permit a transmission fee to be charged so the utility would recover its investment in lines, tower and switching yards as it sends power to its customers.

If it is fair for private utilities to be able to recover their investment costs, then the same ought to go for BPA. When it builds transmission lines, it does so with public funds. The public is as entitled to get its money back as stockholders in privately owned utilities.

So FERC needs to expand its proposed rule to include public utilities on the cost recovery mechanisms. Fair is fair.

Bellevue, WA
(King Co.)
Journal American
(Cir. D. 35,176)

MAR 31 1995

Allen's P. C. B. Est. 1888

Slade vs. Patty on timber

2109
By McClatchy News Service

WASHINGTON — Washington state's two senators went toe-to-toe on the Senate floor yesterday over salvage timber sales in the national forests. In the end, Republican Slade Gorton beat Democrat Patty Murray by a razor-thin, two-vote margin.

While the two have had their differences previously, yesterday marked the first time they had wrangled directly over legislation the other had proposed. Murray sought to remove language that would have insulated the sales of dead, dying and diseased trees from federal environmental laws.

Murray admitted her amendment was a long shot and Gorton was confident going in that he had the votes.

"It was closer than I expected," said Gorton.

Gorton's bill approved

Murray said she had hoped for 40 votes.

"This was much closer than I expected," Murray said.

Gorton moved to table Murray's amendment and the suspense built as, for a time, it appeared the vote could end in a tie.

The key to Gorton's victory appeared to be support from Sens. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, R-Colo., and Harry Reid, D-Nevada.

Campbell at first voted to support Murray but switched his vote after being surrounded by his Republican colleagues. Campbell was elected as a Democrat but earlier this month switched parties.

Murray had expected Reid's sup-

port and was stunned by his defection.

Southern Democrats, led by Sen. J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, bucked their timber interests and supported Murray. Three Republicans, John Chaffee of Rhode Island, James Jeffords of Vermont and William Cohen of Maine, also supported Murray.

The final vote was 48-46, with six senators not voting. Of those six, Murray said three were Democrats from whom she had expected support.

Both Murray and Gorton support salvage logging as a way to supply timber to hard-pressed Northwest mills and to reduce the chance of catastrophic fires in the forest.

The Forest Service has estimated up

to 2 billion board-feet of salvage timber is available in the region and had planned to cut about 1.5 billion board-feet during the current fiscal year.

Gorton, however, insisted those sales would be tied up in court by environmentalists. Gorton inserted language in a bill cutting \$13 billion in spending which would deem salvage sales prepared under his provision "sufficient" to meet all environmental laws.

Gorton also inserted language requiring the administration to sell the 1.1 billion board-feet envisioned in its Northwest forest plan and insulated those sales from the environmental laws as well.

The administration opposed the Gorton provisions, insisting it would touch off new lawsuits and tie up timber sales at a time when the logs were starting to flow.

Gorton, Murray clash on timber

By LES BLUMENTHAL
Herald Washington, D.C., bureau

3/31/95
A-3

WASHINGTON — Washington's two senators went toe-to-toe on the Senate floor Thursday over salvage timber sales in the national forests, and in the end Republican Slade Gorton beat Democrat Patty Murray by a razor-thin two-vote margin.

While the two have had their differences previously, Thursday marked the first time they wrangled directly over legislation the other proposed. Murray sought to remove language that would have insulated sales of dead, dying and diseased trees from federal environmental laws.

Murray admitted her amendment was a longshot. Both said afterward the vote was much closer than they had expected.

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The key to Gorton's victory appeared to be support from Sens. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, R-Colo., and Harry Reid, D-Nevada.

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The U.S. Forest Service has estimated up to 2 billion board feet of salvage timber is available in the region and planned to cut about 1.5 billion board feet during the current fiscal year.

Gorton, however, insisted those sales will be tied up in court by environmentalists. He used a broad bill that cuts \$13 billion in spending to insert language that would deem salvage sales prepared under his provision "sufficient" to meet environmental laws.

Gorton also inserted language that would require the administration to sell the 1.1 billion board feet envisioned in its Northwest forest plan, and insulated those sales from environmental laws also.

The administration opposed the Gorton provisions, insisting it would touch off new lawsuits and tie up timber sales at a time when logs are starting to flow.

Murray was dead set against the sufficiency language and instead proposed an expedited appeals process.

"I believe the language proposed by my colleague will cause a blizzard of lawsuits, cause political turmoil within the Northwest and take us right back to where we were four years ago," she said.

While the Senate measure orders the Forest Service to sell as much salvage timber as possible, language in the House version of the bill requires 6 billion board feet be sold during the next two years. The differences will have to be resolved in a conference committee.

President Clinton has threatened to veto the entire package of spending cuts if they take too much from social programs.

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Timber Plan Amendment Is Defeated

Senate Votes to Table Environmental Checks

By Dan Morgan
Washington Post Staff Writer

A plan for expediting the harvest of timber across vast areas of the Pacific Northwest narrowly survived an attempt yesterday in the Senate to modify it in ways that would make it more acceptable to environmentalists.

Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.), who offered an amendment that would have allowed organizations to challenge federal timber sales in court, said the defeat showed that "it's going to be difficult to do environmental, safety and health laws in this Congress."

The Murray amendment, which was offered on a bill rescinding \$13.5 billion of spending commitments made by previous Congresses, was tabled on a vote of 48 to 46.

Murray, whose state is a major timber producer, made clear that she favors stepped-up logging in areas where legal challenges have kept communities from reaching their targets. But she argued that timber provisions in the measure on the floor would hurt, rather than help, timber communities.

She said that allowing logging to go ahead without environmental checks and balances was "the wrong way" to increase timber harvests.

The Senate bill would provide for timber companies to cut dead, burned and diseased timber on federal lands at a pace that would reach previously agreed-on targets, and would expedite the harvesting of live timber in Northwest forests inhabited by the northern spotted owl. Timber interests have contended that lawsuits and other restrictions are preventing them from reaching the targets.

The provision, as well as a House version that would allow even more extensive cutting of dead and diseased trees, does not provide for court review of federal timber sales and effectively sets aside environmental and other regulations, critics charge.

Although the overall Senate appropriations bill cuts nearly \$4 billion less than the House's bill does, Democrats were determined yesterday to push for further improvements, using what leverage they had from the threat of a presidential veto.

Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) planned to offer an amendment restoring \$1.3 billion to programs such as Head Start, elementary and secondary school aid, school lunches and housing.

Yesterday, Democrats offered a series of amendments to the bill, which the Senate will take up again today.

Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) proposed taking \$11 million from defense spending to restore two small educational programs targeted for cuts. That initiative was tabled on a vote of 48 to 46.

But the Senate passed on a voice vote a Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) amendment deleting \$5 million worth of spending for 35 government buildings in 21 states and the District. Many of the projects were in the states or districts of influential House and Senate members and had been spared from cuts by the appropriations committees.

The \$13.5 billion in cuts in the Senate bill is less than the \$17.1 billion House version, which President Clinton has said he would veto, even though it provides \$5.7 billion of disaster relief to 40 states, including \$3.9 billion for vote-rich California.

The three-cornered politics among the White House, Senate and House also emerged yesterday in deliberations over a supplemental appropriations measure for the Pentagon, which has passed both houses.

Negotiations to resolve differences between the House and Senate broke off for the weekend with both sides close to an agreement to give the Pentagon between \$2.4 billion and \$2.6 billion in additional funds to meet the costs of peacekeeping operations in Haiti, Bosnia, North Korea, Rwanda and Somalia.

The original House version provided the Pentagon \$3.2 billion, offset by savings from cuts about equally divided between defense and nondefense programs.

The administration stepped up pressure on Congress to release the funds by letting it be known this week that it might have to pay some bills by shifting as much as \$1 billion from other Defense Department accounts—presumably including some added to last year's defense bill at the behest of members.

The House, in the supplemental bill it passed earlier this year, was able to build in some protection for member projects by providing the Pentagon with more money than it had requested. However, House negotiators are now being forced to scale back that bill to bring it closer into line with the smaller \$1.9 billion Senate measure.

At the same time, the House cut a number of military programs favored in the Senate, such as funds for the electronic warfare version of the F-111, and the SR-71 spy plane.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982



David Mazzarella
Editor
Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the
Editorial Page
Thomas Curley
President and Publisher

Selling out the forests

The worst decision made by Congress Thursday was in the Senate, where lawmakers voted 48-46 to transfer even more of the nation's forests from public stewardship to the timber industry.

To accomplish this, lawmakers voted, in essence, to suspend all federal environmental controls on "salvage" logging of dead and dying trees in our national forests. And to make sure only a few old-growth stands would be excluded, they defined "salvage" so that almost any tree, regardless of age or health, fits the bill.

Result: a quick bonanza for logging companies; a quick loss for taxpayers, who already lose millions of dollars a year because the Forest Service sells timber rights too cheaply; and a further degradation of natural balances in dry Western forests.

Sponsors say salvage logging can help reduce fires, which feed on weakened trees and snags. But if so, it is also true that the fire hazard is high in part because of logging, not for lack of it.

Decades of fire suppression have prevented smaller fires from clearing out the forest floor. Huge piles of slash wood left by clear-cut operations have compounded the fuel load and fire risk. And as always, logging means roads, which means public ac-

cess, which means more fires.

Salvage logging isn't always a bad thing. It may help protect roads and homes, and it may reduce the intensity of some fires, which last year burned 3 million acres and killed at least 17 firefighters.

But that's not what this amendment, attached to a messy recisions bill, is about.

Instead of stabilizing the forests so they remain productive, the law eliminates all but the most perfunctory environmental safeguards. In many areas, you can forget about protecting the forests for other environmentally sensitive uses — from camping to hunting and fishing.

There is something deeply cynical about using the deaths of firefighters to sell out our national forests, shortchange taxpayers and abridge popular environmental goals. Yet the House recently passed an even more aggressive law, so it appears that only a Clinton veto can prevent enactment.

Alas, former Rep. Dan Glickman was unanimously confirmed Thursday as the new Agriculture secretary, in part because he promised to maintain the "economic vitality" of the nation's forests. That's vague enough to justify anything that politics may demand, including willy-nilly salvage logging of the nation's greatest forests.

Foes of logging exemptions push for veto

By Scott Sonner
Associated Press writer

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Congressman Pat Williams of Montana urged President Clinton today to veto a bill exempting some salvage logging in national forests from environmental laws.

The Democrat said the bill threatens more than 1.5 million acres of his state's "last remaining wild places."

"This reckless, extreme proposal has left no middle ground for those of us in Congress who support reasonable, careful salvage logging as an appropriate tool to help maintain forest



Murray

□ *The Senate rejected an amendment by Patty Murray and narrowly backed Slade Gorton's plan to exempt some logging from environmental laws in an effort to ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.*



Gorton

health," the Montana congressman said.

The Senate on Thursday narrowly backed Washington Republican Slade Gorton's plan to exempt some logging from environmental laws in an effort to

ease fire threats and harvest dying trees before they rot.

On a 48-46 vote, senators rejected an amendment by Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., that would have required the salvage logging and thinning of over-

stocked forests occur largely within the confines of existing laws.

"It was a little bit closer than I thought it might be," said Gorton, adding that two other unidentified senators who

missed the vote were willing to vote on his side if he needed their support.

Gorton says the provision was a long time coming for loggers and mill workers who have been put out of work by dramatic logging cutbacks in the West.

"Communities have been devastated. Families have broken up. Small businesses have failed," he said.

"Do we care about our supply of lumber and paper products, or do we only care about the well-being of certain environmental organizations and their lawyers?" Gorton asked during his Senate floor speech.

Conservationists were appalled by the vote.

"I view it as a clear victory on a very close vote for extremists in Congress who plan an all-out war on the public lands," said Nathaniel Lawrence, legal counsel for the Natural Resources Defense Council in San Francisco.

"I can only hope this is a wakeup call for anybody who cares about public resources."

The House earlier approved a similar proposal that is even more objectionable to environmentalists. The logging provisions are included in bills that would cut billions of dollars from current federal agencies, including money for housing

See LOGGING, A-10

Logging

Continued from A-1 and public broadcasting.

A House-Senate conference committee will settle on a compromise in the coming weeks after the Senate completes action on the overall bill, perhaps as early as today.

The House bill grants the legal exemptions and orders the Forest Service to log 3 billion board feet of salvage timber in each of the next two years — twice as much as the agency had planned.

The Senate measure does not specify a logging level. Rather, it insulates from lawsuits whatever logging plans the Forest Service adopts in regard to salvage timber nationwide as well as the live "green" timber sale program in Northwest forests with northern spotted owls.

The House has a much more stringent version than we have," said Gorton, who will serve on the conference committee as chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on the interior.

"I think the closeness of this vote means the final bill will be very, very close to the Senate position," Gorton said.

He said his proposal orders the administration to expedite logging that President Clinton himself has advocated under his year-old Northwest forest plan.

"I think it would be awfully difficult for the president to veto a bill that essentially says he will do what he says he wants to do," the senator said.

Sen. Murray said she hadn't decided whether to urge Clinton to veto the measure, but said she is "disappointed with a lot of what is in the bill."

"It's the first time since 1990 the Senate has voted for any kind of relief for timber communities," Gorton said Thursday night after the vote.

President Clinton has indicated he opposes the idea of insulating the logging from legal challenges under the Endangered Species Act and other laws protecting fish and wildlife.

Backers of the Gorton plan say expedited salvage logging, free from the constraints of the laws, is needed to remove dead and diseased timber from Western forests where fuel buildups raise the threat of catastrophic fires.

2109

Allen's P. C. B. Est. 1888

Murray fails to 2109 topple Gorton over logging

By Christopher Hanson
P-I Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — After a bitter duel on the Senate floor, Sen. Patty Murray failed yesterday to kill legislation sponsored by Sen. Slade Gorton that would waive environmental laws to allow more logging on federal lands in the Pacific Northwest. Gorton prevailed by two votes.

It was the first major parliamentary clash between Washington state's two senators. Much was at stake — jobs, the environment and votes in the next election.

And rhetoric was harsh as members debated how to cope with the economic pain caused by logging curbs imposed to preserve habitat of the threatened spotted owl and other species.

Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., accused Republican

See **TIMBER**, Page A7

TIMBER: Leahy would undercut existing laws

From Page 1

Gorton of taking "an extreme position that the majority of the American people would not accept." Sen. Conrad Burns, R-Mont., snapped at Democrat Murray: "You're not doing anything for America and doing worse for people who depend on public lands for a living! You're making your paycheck. They're not!"

Gorton declared that the issue between him and Murray boiled down to this question: "Do we care at all about the people who live in timber country . . . or do we only care about the well-being of certain environmentalist organizations and their lawyers?"

Gorton's provision, attached to a budget bill, waives environmental laws to allow harvesting trees that are dead, dying or at risk of being consumed in forest fires.

It would also waive environmental laws and restrict lawsuits so the Forest Service can meet quotas for sale of healthy timber the administration has set but fallen far short of meeting.

The Endangered Species Act and other federal law now requires logging limits on federal lands to preserve habitat of threatened or endangered species.

Murray introduced a measure to scrap Gorton's approach and substitute a less sweeping one. Her bill would have required the Forest Service to speed up timber sales, provide resources to accomplish this, and expedite judicial appeals of timber sales — but without waiving environmental laws.

It was rejected 48-46. One Democrat, Nevada's Harry Reid,

voted with Gorton. Four Republicans — William Cohen of Maine, John Chafee of Rhode Island, James Jeffords of Vermont and William Roth of Delaware — sided with Murray. Sen. Benighthorse Campbell, R-Colo., voted Murray's way but switched during a last-minute flurry of jawboning.

The House has passed a similar provision. Differences between the two are likely to be hashed out in committee.

"The White House now has the opportunity to end more than two years of broken promises. This (provision) allows the administration to do what it says it wants to do," Gorton said after the vote.

Jim Geisinger, president of the Northwest Foresters Association, said: "I think today's floor vote was a major step forward. . . . (Murray's) amendment is not going to buy her any votes in timber-dependent communities because it would not do anything to expedite a solution to a catastrophic situation."

In the intense debate preceding the vote, Murray said Gorton's measure would "short-cut environmental checks and balances . . . cut people out of the process (and) invite a mountain of lawsuits." She said Gorton's measure "allows agencies to build roads in pristine roadless areas and harvest trees along wild and scenic river corridors" and said her alternative would prevent this.

Murray argued that Gorton's approach, while waiving environmental laws to allow specific timber sales, would not stop environmental groups from going to court to block the overall timber plan. She predicted this would happen if Gorton's measure became law and "take us right back where we were four years ago," when timber sales were stalled in federal courts.

Nonsense, Gorton replied, arguing in a statement his measure "specifically insulates the administration from . . . lawsuits" while Murray's could not guarantee that more timber would be harvested.

Another issue was the scope of the harvesting of dead, dying or insect-infested timber that should be allowed. Murray's measure confined this to severely damaged trees. Gorton's goes further to allow "trees imminently susceptible to fire or insect attack." Sen. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., said Gorton was opening the door for harvesting in any area "where the trees are still made of wood."

The clash pointed up dramatic differences in the ways conservative Gorton and liberal Murray grapple with the timber crisis. Murray, who needs the support of both environmentalists and timber workers, emphasizes safeguarding environmental laws and providing as much timber as possible under them. Gorton, working to scale back environmental laws, has written off environmentalists.

Gorton spokeswoman Heidi Kelly said in a memo this week that "environmental groups leading the charge against this amendment are the same people who would 'spike' trees to kill loggers." That prompted Richard Hoppe of the Wilderness Society, which has been fighting the Gorton measure, to demand a retraction. Yesterday, Kelly said she had not been referring to the Wilderness Society.

**The White House
now has the
opportunity to
end more than two
years of broken**

Senate Narrowly Upholds GOP Plan To Speed Timber Salvage on U.S. Lands

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The Senate narrowly upheld a Republican-backed plan to expedite timber-salvage operations on federal lands by suspending appeals available to environmentalists.

The 48-46 vote killed a Democratic alternative that promised to speed the awarding of contracts but retained more of the customary judicial and administrative reviews governing sales.

The outcome reflected strong lobbying by the lumber and home-building industry, working in tandem with the GOP leadership. The home-builders trade association is an active part of the business coalition helping Speaker Newt Gingrich advance his broader "Contract With America" in the House. Republicans see the timber proposal as a means to solidify their political gains in the West and help them challenge President Clinton in next year's election.

By suspending the appeals process, logging companies hope to move quickly to recapture wood damaged by forest fires in recent years. Billions of board feet of timber are at stake. Sen. Frank Murkowski (R., Alaska), Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee chairman, said the Forest Service is "absolutely incapable of moving expeditiously" without the waivers and "the timber will be left where the bugs and the fire last left it."

But in what could be a sensitive allusion for environmentalists, the Alaskan said the depressed industry could now "break into the pipeline."

Nathaniel Lawrence, a senior lawyer for the Natural Resources Defense Council, charged that "extremists in Congress have won the opening battle in their war on public lands. . . . It will make logging at all costs the sole governing law on our national forests."

The debate came as the Senate worked into last night on \$13 billion spending-cut bill to which the timber proposal is attached. The size of the endeavor has made it a ready target for senators seeking to raise other issues. Senate Banking Committee Chairman Alfonse D'Amato set off alarms at the Treasury by proposing a rider to cap the president's ability to draw down from the Exchange Stabilization Fund to assist Mexico.

In other major votes last night, the Senate:

- Rejected a Democratic attempt to restore education funds by cutting from defense. The vote was a victory for Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark Hatfield who is locked in negotiations with the House about its proposed transfers from domestic programs to replenish the Pentagon. Before talks broke off yesterday, the Oregon Republican offered to relax some accounting rules but wants any military replenishment to be financed from the broad defense budget, including Energy Department weapon programs, or foreign aid.

- Slashed spending for new federal buildings by \$1.8 billion. Sen. Bob Kerrey (D., Neb.) opened the bidding with a \$324 million cut that survived a tabling motion

and even won a vote from presidential contender Sen. Phil Gramm (R., Tex.). The GOP then countered by wiping out dozens more building projects on a 79-15 vote as a ploy to blunt Mr. Kerrey's more direct—and realistic—attack.

- Reached agreement to take up today a major Democratic proposal to restore \$1.34 billion in education and housing cuts by trimming elsewhere from disaster aid.

In the timber debate, Colorado Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who recently switched parties to the GOP, seemed to embody the conflicting pressures as he first voted against the proposed waivers and then switched to uphold the Republican plan. In what proved the final pivotal vote, Sen. Harry Reid (D., Nev.) was the sole member of his party to oppose the Democratic alternative offered by Sen. Patty Murray (D., Wash.). ✕

Separately, in the wake of the House defeat of term-limits legislation Wednesday night, the GOP leadership moved aggressively yesterday to isolate critics in the movement and focus political pressure instead onto the Democrats.

Mr. Gingrich spoke to television cameras while flanked by representatives of friendly business and conservative organizations gathered under the banner, "The Term Limits Coalition." Within the group, the Term Limits Legal Institute here in Washington has a long track record and credibility on the issue. But many of the others — including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors, and National Federation of Independent Business—have a larger pro-business agenda that allies them with the same Republicans who helped kill term limits, such as Majority Whip Tom DeLay of Texas and House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde of Illinois.

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THE COLUMBIAN'S VIEW

2109 Gorton wins fight to cut any tree made of wood

Workers in the wood-products industry have lately shared a one-liner that expresses their frustration and takes off from the slogan of the most radical environmentalists:

"Earth first! We'll clearcut the rest of the planets later."

The irony was on the other foot last week in a battle between forces led by Washington's two U.S. senators, Republican Slade Gorton and Democrat Patty Murray. At issue was Gorton's plan to exempt from environmental laws, including the Endangered Species Act, logging in damaged or jeopardized woods.

Gorton and his allies won by two votes, 48-46. The measure has similar intent to one already passed by the House. Although a lot of steps remain before the notion gets to President Clinton, the vote last Thursday was pivotal. It shot down an amendment proposed by Murray that would have kept some modest restraint on the salvage gimmick. Clinton has hinted he will veto the measure, but its proponents in Congress can probably slip it past him by hooking it to something he cannot do without.

The theme of the Gorton pitch has been a steady public drumbeat with the industry advertising suggesting the tragedy of starving timber towns while perfectly good downed trees rot away in nearby forests.

As Gorton put it in his little victory strut following the defeat of Murray's amendment, "Communities have been devastated. Families have broken up. Small businesses have failed. ... It's first time since 1990 the Senate has voted for any kind of relief for timber communities."

So, supposing the courts don't forestall the pillage, little towns like Forks and Morton and Stevenson will be able to get out into the burns and blowdowns to pick up enough logs to save the rugged pioneer way of life. By the way, huge companies with their highly productive, non-labor-intensive machinery will be able to gobble up vast tracts that nurtures murrelets, owls and salmon.

The rule really isn't about a few logs in bug country and blowdown territory. The provision applies to any timber deemed endangered by fire, disease, insect infestation, rot and so on. As Sen. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., pointed out during the debate, the measure essentially covers any tree still made of wood.

Gorton's game would maybe keep a few timber towns going a little longer, boost the bottom line of forest companies, maybe even lower the price The Columbian pays for newsprint. But what are we saving for our grandchildren to enjoy while they struggle to pay off our debts and repair our damages?

APR 10 1995

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

2109 Can we agree?

Washington's two senators are at loggerheads

On the face of it, Slade Gorton and Patty Murray have nothing in common beyond a place in the U.S. Senate. How uncommonly difficult it would seem for two such opposites to find areas of agreement.

Sen. Gorton is a veteran politician. He hails from a moneyed East Coast family, was raised a Midwesterner, educated in private colleges, gainfully employed as an attorney. Generally considered a moderate Republican, Washington's senior senator has labored long and hard against the modern tide of Democratic politics in Washington state and the nation.

At 67, Sen. Gorton is clearly an intelligent, principled, hardworking man of means. He presents himself as confidently in jogging clothes as in his well-suited Senate attire.

When you consider the concept of a "ruling class" it brings to mind a man such as Sen. Slade Gorton, born and comfortably bred to run the show.

Sen. Murray is just as obviously a middle-class, middle-aged new wave politician. The WSU grad, former school board member and state senator from Shoreline campaigned for national office as the "Mom in tennis shoes," and more than two years now after she moved to the nation's capital, it's an image she hasn't kicked. She cultivates it, in fact. With two teen-agers and her husband both settled nearby, Murray still tries to get home for dinner — often to cook. She is yet determined to put a more human face on the U.S. Senate rather than turn her own visage to stone. She's struggling upstream, of course. It's not bad enough that she is one of just eight women in the U.S. Senate; worse luck now, she is a Democrat in a Republican-controlled body.

State voters have strong feelings about these two senators. If the more conservative Republican senti-

ment holds until Murray's Senate term expires in less than four years, this woman will surely be gone. Republican Rep. Jennifer Dunn appears to be the model pin-up of a U.S. senator at the moment. But fickle voters can't be counted on to maintain any particular philosophy four years down the road.

Until the last election, where Gorton overwhelmed black King County Councilman Ron Sims, the state's veteran senator had himself routinely fought tough races with down-to-the-wire results.

In a state that found its strength in the dynamic duo of Democratic Sens. Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson, such contradiction as Gorton and Murray seems somehow unnatural.

The uncomfortable certainty of Washington politics today is that our two state senators can generally be counted on to cancel out each other's votes. But no where has the divide been more obvious than in the timber debate that engaged the Senate at the end of March.

Gorton and Murray both would look out of place in a flannel shirt, yet the two fell upon the timber issue because they both agree that Northwest timber towns are suffering while the region and the country debates and litigates jobs versus the environment. That's about as far as they go into the woods together, however.

Sen. Gorton introduced legislation last month to exempt most logging in the Northwest's federal forests from environmental laws and court challenges. Along with that, he wants previously approved timber contracts to be honored and, as an emergency measure, wants timber quickly salvaged from fire damaged areas, before summer strikes again.

Gorton, Murray — and most of Washington — are

tired of delays in the Option 9 agreement hammered out two years ago at the Clinton administration forest conference in Portland.

Still, Murray did not join, but countered, the Gorton amendment. Her proposal favored some streamlining of the process, but took exception to putting the federal government above the law. And so the floor fight commenced.

"Let's be clear about this," Murray told her fellow senators, "everybody dislikes Option Nine. The timber communities felt it was inadequate. The environmental groups felt it allowed too much harvesting."

Murray has aligned herself closely with the president on the issue, but she shows the strain, pain, and perhaps no small embarrassment, at the lack of movement on the Option 9 agreement. She stresses, however, that the issue has only been out of the courts since December.

In any case, Option 9 is not enough relief, Gorton said in a conversation in his office at the end of March. But "inadequate is better than nothing at all. I don't want a bill that's going to be vetoed. I'd much rather test the waters."

Gorton is pressing for "interim relief while we get to the other laws." His own revamping of the Endangered Species Act will be ready later this spring and has been under some recent attack for concerns that its language came straight from special interest groups — as if both sides of any issue don't deal with lobbying groups.

This timber talk, though, was the first time that the sharp edge of difference was so apparent on the floor of the Senate. When Murray stood to oppose Gorton's timber legislation with her own amendment, the line was drawn. The flip sides of Washington politics chose two teams on the Senate carpet.



DALE PREBOSKI
Assistant Editorial Page Editor

At the end of that Senate display,

the Murray amendment lost 46-48, tabled by the

Senate on a two-vote margin. Honestly, that was far better than Murray expected, and worse than Gorton anticipated, all things considered.

There's this much more to remember: Murray knew she wouldn't win. Three months of a Republican-ruled Senate has taught her a few things. The day before the Senate vote, the senator said she expected about 40 votes in her favor. Introducing environmental, safety and health issues in this Congress won't get you far, Murray concluded. Nonetheless, Murray also believed her amendment was the right thing to do, and she did it. Not particularly politically savvy, maybe, but better than rolling over to play dead.

"I'm frustrated that he has made it political, making it a wedge issue," Murray said, off the floor, after making her own very political move.

Timber advocates and lobbyists, environmental action groups and concerned individuals have yet to come to a reasonable agreement on any of this. Nor, obviously, have Washington's senators. Loyalties are clearly divided, as happens when two very different people are sent to Washington, D.C., to represent the state's interests.

Like a marriage of opposites, Murray and Gorton have promised voters they'll do their duty, for better or worse. Residents of the state will alternately cheer one or the other, occasionally both.

And on this much, perhaps, we can agree: Sens. Gorton and Murray are doing the job exactly as their supporters elected them to do it.

Tacoma, WA
(Pierce Co.)
The News Tribune
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Gorton beats Murray in battle over timber salvage, but just barely

1109

WASHINGTON – From the beginning, the goal was 41 votes, enough to let the conference committee know that Sen. Slade Gorton's effort to shield timber salvage sales from federal environmental laws and maneuver the White House and Democrats into a political box could backfire.

Sen. Patty Murray believed that the 41 votes would represent a threat to final passage of the Republicans' rescission bill. With 41 votes it would be impossible to cut off debate when the bill came winging back to the Senate floor from conference. The night before the vote on the floor, however, Murray and her staff realized that not only were 41 votes doable, she might actually have a chance to win outright.

Murray, a Democrat, and Gorton, a Republican, have been at odds before. They have a working relationship that can be downright chilly. But never before had they clashed so openly on the floor. As chairman of the Senate interior appropriations committee, it was easy for Gorton to insert his language into the \$13 billion rescissions bill.

Gorton's initial proposal called for the Forest Service to sell 1.5 billion board feet of

salvage during the current and next fiscal years. That was half what the House bill contained. The timber industry preferred no volume target rather than a bad one and persuaded Gorton to strip out all numbers and then support the House position in conference.

The industry also was upset with Gorton's language that would insulate from environmental laws not only the salvage sales, but the White House's Option 9 timber plan for the Northwest. Industry officials feared that Gorton's effort could be seen as tantamount to a Senate endorsement of the controversial forest plan.

Gorton didn't back off, in part because the politics were too tempting. "I'm not validating Option 9," Gorton said. "We are just trying to help a very green, very environmental administration reach what it says are its own goals."

Buoyed by strong support in the House and the muscle of the timber industry, Gorton was confident going into the vote.

Murray supported the idea of logging dead and dying trees in the national forests, but felt Gorton had gone too far in protecting the salvage sales from such laws as the Endangered Species Act and the National Forest Management Act. Gorton had inserted what is known as sufficiency language into the bill, language that would declare all salvage sales prepared under his provision sufficient to meet environmental laws.

Murray had two choices – either seek to strip the Gorton language entirely, or amend

it to drop the sufficiency language and compress the appeals process for the sales roughly in half. Her decision to pursue the latter was in part politically motivated. As the vote approached, Murray and her staff went into overdrive to round up votes. The White House was told what the senator planned, and Vice President Gore was put on standby in case he was needed to break a tie vote.

The first hurdle for Murray was to garner the support of Southern Democrats. The key was crafty Sen. J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana. Johnston, who has announced that he will not seek re-election next year, still wields considerable power, especially with his colleagues from the South. He is not particularly close to Murray but does not like Gorton. Murray knew that a simple motion to strike Gorton's language was probably not sufficient to bring Johnston on board, so she had crafted what she considered a credible alternative.

At a Democratic Caucus luncheon before the vote, and on the floor as the vote was called, Murray pressed Johnston. Democratic loyalty won out, and Johnston supported Murray. Almost immediately, Democratic Sens. John Breaux of Louisiana and Howell Heflin of Alabama voted to support Murray. While several other Southern senators took more work, including Sam Nunn of Georgia, Robert Byrd of West Virginia and surprisingly Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, they eventually gave Murray the solid South she needed in order to have a chance.

Going into the vote, Murray thought she had support from four Republicans – John Chafee of Rhode Island, James Jeffords of Vermont, Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado and William Roth of Delaware. She also thought she had a shot at Maine's two

surrounded by Republican senators, including Gorton and Larry Craig of Idaho. Minutes later Campbell switched his vote. "He got gang-tackled," said one Senate aide who was on the floor. Murray was furious when Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) broke his commitment to support her.

Procedurally, Gorton had moved to table Murray's amendment. Gorton's motion to table won on a 48-46 vote. If Campbell hadn't flip-flopped or if Reid had voted with his fellow Democrats, the vote would have been tied. In a tie vote, the motion is defeated. The Senate would have then had to vote on Murray amendment with the possibility of a 47-47 tie. In that case, Gore would be needed.

The administration had previously said it opposed Gorton's sufficiency language but would have found itself in a difficult situation if Gore had to cast the decisive vote. The White House was reluctant to split too openly with timber workers, and Gore is a close friend of Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.), who was instrumental in getting the salvage language through the House.

In the end, Gore wasn't needed. While Gorton won the battle, Murray picked up some respect for almost pulling off the upset.

"It was closer than I expected," Gorton said. A Democratic aide responded, "It was frustrating. It shows we are in the minority."

Les Blumenthal covers matters of interest to Washington state and the Northwest in Washington, D.C.



Les
Blumenthal

The News Tribune
Washington, D.C.,
bureau

The final vote demonstrated
Murray's legislative
prowess – and her new
minority status.

Republican senators, Olympia Snowe and William Cohen, and perhaps John Warner of Virginia and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

Murray has been trying to develop a good working relationship with Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Hatfield was less than enthusiastic about the Gorton proposal and would have preferred a more comprehensive approach to the timber issue. He sat quietly in his chair during the debate.

In the end, Murray got Chafee, Jeffords, Roth and Cohen. For Murray, there were two turning points. When Campbell first strode onto the floor to vote, he supported Murray. Even though he had recently switched parties to become a Republican, Campbell had indicated he would vote with Murray.

But after Campbell voted, he was

conversion."

As for the political implications of Bliley's speech, the source said, "He's not being critical of Dole. Now understand he's Gramm's Virginia coordinator and he doesn't want this to be confused with presidential politicking because it's completely divorced from that. As a matter of fact, some of Gramm's biggest supporters are the ones hammering this thing and calling it a \$70 billion giveaway. What he is suggesting is that Dole may want to more carefully look at the issue."

- o Administration still hoping for "fix" on timber harvest issue in Northwest. The Clinton Administration is attempting to engage members of the Washington and Oregon congressional delegations in a "fix" of the salvage logging rider to the Rescissions Act of 1995. The Administration has argued that the legislation, which the President signed last summer, was never intended to allow harvests of substantial volumes of timber that were not affected by fire damage and disease. However, a series of court orders by Federal judge Michael Hogan -- most recently on January 10th -- has required the government to sell off all Federal timber sales in Oregon and Washington that were offered since 1990 but halted for environmental reasons.

A White House source said, "There's been some interest expressed that Pacific Northwest members may be amenable to a fix. The question is what that fix would be. They are looking at a very narrow fix. We may be looking at a broader fix." The source added, "We're not proposing to do anything with the salvage side. [Rep. Elizabeth] Furse would repeal the entire timber rider, but right now we're not proposing to do that. A second part is what's known as the [Section] 318 sales. Those are old growth sales. Not by anybody's stretch of the imagination are they salvage. ... The third part of the rider also forbids us from amending the President's forest plan. So we want to get rid of that so that we can take in account the changes from the timber rider." Said the official: "In terms of the old growth sales we're talking about language that goes back to what we thought the original intent of the bill was which was to release a particular group of sales that had been held up...and to clarify the science on marbled murrelet nesting areas and to give us a greater tool box of administrative mechanisms to deal with sales we've already released or sales we don't want to release...through modification or exchange. Right now we are obligated to release them according to the original terms."

An obstacle to reaching a compromise on this issue, according to Republican congressional sources, is the amount of contract liability the Federal Government would have if the timber sales were not allowed to go forward. According to a 1994 Forest Service memo that was sent by Gray Reynolds, Deputy Chief, National Forest Systems to Assistant Secretary of Agriculture James Lyons, "An estimated \$110 million is projected to be needed in FY 1995 to compensate timber sale contract holders for contracts requiring cancellation for environmental reasons." The memo further states, "An additional \$200 million may potentially be needed in FY 1996." A Senate Republican source noted, "On the one side of the scale you

are talking about the open ended assumption of liability starting at \$300 million and going up from there with nobody being able to explain how we are going to find money to be able to pay for it. But on the other side of the scale you are talking about environmental destruction to 6,000 acres out of a 24 million acre system. Certainly there must be a way to readjust, to accommodate the impacts of 6,000 acres." But the White House source said the amount of government liability and the amount of acreage losses are moving targets, with estimates of the liability ranging anywhere from \$34 million [Congressional Research Service] to \$300 million [industry estimates], and with the acreage losses going up with the new judicial orders.

- o Former Rep. Barbara Jordan dies. Former Democratic Rep. Barbara Jordan died today at the age of 59.
- o Political notes: Buchanan announces Alaska organization. As GOP presidential candidate Pat Buchanan prepares to visit Alaska this weekend, his campaign has announced former Rep. Jerry Ward will chair Buchanan's operation in that state. A group of about 20 grassroots activists have also signed on to help run Buchanan's Alaska campaign. ### Presidential candidates' schedules. Phil Gramm delivers a speech at the Cato Institute. Pat Buchanan holds a press conference in Alexandria, LA; participates in a luncheon in Ruston; and hosts a reception in Monroe. Lamar Alexander meets with employees of Principal Financial Group and students of Valley High School in Des Moines, IA; and then holds a press conference and attends a forum in Council Bluffs. Morry Taylor meets with employees of Meyer Wrecker & Parts in Clear Lake, IA; and then attends a reception in Northwood. Dick Lugar delivers remarks at Iowa State University in Ames, IA. Bill Clinton attends a funeral for Ambassador Larry Lawrence at Arlington Cemetery; and meets with Republican budget negotiators at the White House.

POLLWATCH:

According to a CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll of 1,039 adults conducted January 12-15:

- 46% "approve of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president;" 47% disapprove.

Budget battle

- 45% think President Clinton "has acted more responsibly in the negotiations over the budget," while 38% think Republicans have acted more responsibly.
- 49% "approve of the way Bill Clinton has handled the budget negotiations;" 49% disapprove.
- 45% "approve of the way Bob Dole has handled the budget negotiations;" 45% disapprove.
- 29% "approve of the way Newt Gingrich has handled the budget negotiations;" 61% disapprove.
- When it comes to "plans to balance the Federal budget in seven years," 43% say they prefer "the one proposed by Bill Clinton" and 41% say they prefer "the one proposed by the Republicans in Congress."

Clinton's timber truce cracks, reigniting battle in Pacific Northwest By Hugh Dellios Chicago Tribune

SALEM, Ore. The commotion at the federal office building here last week was remarkable mostly for how absent such scenes have been in and around the Pacific Northwest's forests as of late.

Inside, a room full of flannel-shirted loggers had snuck in to bid for the right to chop down prime timber. Outside, dozens of rain-soaked environmentalists danced and chanted and blockaded the road. Between them, a swarm of pistol-toting police scowled and readied to haul the protestors off.

"No laws! No logging!" the protestors' soggy signs screamed.

So much for the calm and decorum that President Clinton's presence brought to the Northwest's long battle over trees.

Two years after a daylong forest conference in which the president promised a new model for resolving environmental conflicts, the timber wars are raging once again, featuring demands that federal officials be jailed, sit-ins in treetops and too many lawsuits to count.

The collapse of the timber truce, the product of a new Congress and an old resistance to compromise, is a setback for Clinton in a region important to his re-election hopes next year. But the president is getting some of the blame himself, given his recent signature on a "salvage logging" bill that opened up swaths of protected forest to buzz saws.

"We had reached a point where there were not going to be many more battles," said Kristen Boyles, an attorney for the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund in Seattle. "But this has drastically changed the balance in the Clinton forest plan. We're back to where we were."

Though neither loggers nor environmentalists have been happy, a relative solitude has ruled the Northwest's forests over the last two years as the Clinton administration worked to implement the forest plan that grew out of its 1993 summit meeting.

The plan was approved last year by U.S. District Court Judge William Dwyer, who in 1991 had virtually shut down logging operations in the region's 24 million acres of federal forests after determining that a decade of extensive logging threatened the Spotted owl and other wildlife.

Under the new plan, the officials' goal is to set aside 80 percent of the region's remaining "old growth" trees and place protective corridors around salmon streams. At the same time, they seek to deliver 1.2 billion board-feet of timber to area mills each year, down from a yearly 8 billion board-feet in the 1980s.

But with Republicans now in control of Congress, dissatisfied timber company executives persuaded lawmakers to pass a "salvage logging" bill earlier this year aimed at increasing the flow of lumber.

The measure was billed as a means to allow the salvage of burned and rotten timber that made forests more susceptible to wildfire and disease. But it also included a paragraph that would lift environmental protections on healthy, centuries-old trees so they could be harvested without court challenges.

As they have done with other environmental measures, Republicans tucked the logging legislation into a congressional budget bill that also included funding relief for the victims of the Oklahoma City terrorist bombing and the 1994 California earthquake.

Clinton at first vetoed the budget bill, citing the logging provision as a giveaway to industry. But he later signed it after changes were made that he deemed adequate.

Within days, however, federal forest officials were regretting the signature after industry officials went to court and received a ruling from U.S. District Court Judge Michael Hogan that the one-paragraph provision applied to more timber than originally thought.

Federal officials now believe it could force the cutting of enough timber to build 60,000 average homes, much of which would have been protected by the Clinton plan. In some cases, the trees will fall under

controversial "clear-cutting" practices that were eliminated under the new plan.

When U.S. Forest Service officials balked at approving the increased logging, industry officials asked Hogan to arrest two high-ranking federal officials. The administration is now exploring ways to persuade Congress to go back and amend the new legislation.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

"We do not believe that this extreme expansion of ancient timber sales was authorized by the (salvage bill)," Clinton said after the judge's ruling. "The decision forces the release of timber that may lead to grave environmental injury to chinook salmon and other wildlife, and damage our rivers and streams."

Shut out of the courtroom, environmentalists have gone back to the forests and streets to denounce what they call "logging without laws." They have dug trenches across forest roads and staged sit-ins atop trees. Thirty protestors were arrested trying to disrupt a job site in southern Oregon.

Many of them say they feel betrayed by the Clinton administration, even as they criticize the president for being outsmarted by Congress.

"There's certainly no middle ground anymore. Industry is now getting everything they want," said Mark Hubbard, conservation director for the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "The president needs to push for the repeal of the (law) or he'll see the years of work put into the forest plan go down the drain as he is coming up for re-election."

Chris West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association, said the new law was intended to keep loggers and millworkers in business while the Clinton administration struggles to meet the timber harvest goals in its plan. So far it has come up short.

Much of the timber in question was purchased five years ago but, until the new law passed, was being held up by the Clinton plan and lawsuits seeking to protect an endangered seabird called a marbled murrelet, which nests in large trees that are most valuable to loggers.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

"It was an opportunity to get some wood flowing," West said. "For them to cry foul as if somehow they were tricked is just pure politics. It's obvious the president is more concerned with the environmental vote than fulfilling past promises."

Politically, the renewed fighting is an unexpected headache for the president. Carrying the vote in Oregon and Washington helped Clinton win in 1992, and lots of votes next year will depend on his perceived progress in solving the forest wars.

Tom Tuchmann, director of the U.S. Office of Forestry and Economic Development in Portland, said the president's timber plan was crafted flexibly enough that it could still meet its goals despite the new law. Whether the administration still has the patience and cooperation of Northwest residents, he said, was a different question.

"This region was shut down three years ago, and we moved it along," Tuchmann said. "While there are people out there now suing and protesting, there are still people sitting down and working out their differences. Time is going to tell on that one."

X X X

Federal proposal seeks 'religious equality,' would redefine 1st Amendment By Janan Hanna Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO Michael McConnell was a young lawyer at the Justice Department when the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed a government-funded educational program because it aided parochial school children.

The justices ruled that the program was unconstitutional because it violated the separation of church and state.

To McConnell, now a constitutional scholar at the University of Chicago Law School, the ruling amounted to discrimination against people with closely held religious beliefs. It was OK for public school students to get the

aid, but not private ones.

That was in the early 1980s, and since then, McConnell has devoted much of his career to reversing what he says has become such a chasm between church and state that it amounts to religious discrimination.

Today, he has some congressional allies in his efforts.

McConnell helped draft a proposed constitutional amendment that would let the government fund religious organizations. Introduced by Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill., the proposed "religious equality" amendment would redefine a 200-year-old constitutional provision and wipe out a litany of court rulings that have built walls around government and religion.

Though passage is unlikely amending the Constitution is formidable, to say the least the proposal will give Hyde and his supporters a chance to square off with secularists on a topic that has sparked national debate.

For example, late last month the Supreme Court refused to hear a case from Tennessee in which a high school student was barred from writing a research paper on the life of Jesus. Her teacher rejected the paper, saying the assignment required students to pick a subject about which they had no strong opinions. The girl's lawyers said the teacher's decision represented bias.

"The principal function of this proposal is to draw attention to the problem of discrimination against religion and influence the course of jurisprudence," McConnell said.

Opponents of the Hyde proposal say the measure would improperly merge church and state by allowing government funding for religious missions, including parochial schools, religiously affiliated organizations and student groups.

"Religious schools have important missions, but they're not ones that should be funded by the government and paid for by tax dollars," said Michael Sandberg, Midwest civil rights director for the Anti-Defamation League in Chicago.

At issue is a mere 16 words in the First Amendment of the Constitution, known as the Establishment Clause: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ..."

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

Under the historical interpretation of the clause, a Wauconda, Ill. school district barred students from handing out religious leaflets in a decision that was upheld by U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago. The U.S. Supreme Court earlier this month refused to hear the case, letting the district's decision stand.

A professor at a public university was barred from talking to students about his religious beliefs, and another professor was ordered to remove a Bible from his desk.

In Wisconsin, a state school voucher program that would give poor children the right to attend parochial schools has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union as a violation of church-state separation. The case is pending.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

"Religion is being crowded out," McConnell said.

He added that, far from wanting special conditions for religious individuals and institutions, he is seeking neutrality and equality.

"Equal access is the proper principle across the board," he said. "We shouldn't have one set of constitutional rules for one public benefit and a different set for another."

Under Hyde's proposed amendment, religiously affiliated organizations that perform a public service would be able to receive government funding if similar secular groups did. School voucher programs could be used for public and private schools.

The proposed amendment says, "Neither the United States nor any state shall deny benefits to or otherwise discriminate against any private person or group on account of religious expression, belief or identity; nor shall the prohibition on laws respecting an establishment of religion be construed to require such discrimination."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

Douglas Laycock, a professor at the University of Texas Law School, testified before a congressional subcommittee on the proposed amendment before it was introduced. Laycock, a constitutional scholar, cautioned congressional leaders not to pass a "school prayer" amendment in disguise.

"When the government sponsors religion, it oppresses religious minorities and dilutes the content of the religion of the majority," he said. "Our constitutional tradition has rightly rejected such sponsorship. The committee should reject such sponsorship today, even under the appalling name of 'religious equality.'"

U.S. to avoid arming the Bosnian Muslims directly By Terry Atlas Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON In signing the U.S.-brokered peace treaty this week, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic will open the way for his outgunned military forces to obtain weapons they were denied throughout the war.

The Clinton administration is promising to help narrow the gap between the Muslim-led government army and the better-armed Bosnian Serbs, who used an 8-to-1 edge in tanks and 4-to-1 advantage in artillery to take control of half of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Defense Secretary William Perry, citing the lopsided military imbalance as one cause of the war, told Congress that "we do not want to leave Bosnia a year from now with that kind of instability left behind."

The dilemma is how to have American peacekeeping troops perceived as evenhanded by the Bosnian Serbs even as Washington is publicly arming their erstwhile enemy, the Bosnian Muslims. There are potential perils for the U.S. troops in Bosnia; they could face Serb reprisals as well as political perils for the president who sent them there.

Already, a Pentagon assessment team has been to Bosnia and will give Perry its preliminary report this week. However, administration officials have had second thoughts about directly arming the Bosnians, and so neither American peacekeepers in Bosnia nor other troops associated with NATO's Implementation Force will be involved.

On Capitol Hill, Perry said the administration instead would organize a separate international effort to "equip and train" Bosnian government forces.

The administration decided to turn to sympathetic third countries, such as Turkey or Saudi Arabia, after strong objections from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which warned that a more direct role would risk Serb reprisals against American peacekeepers.

Senior administration officials said the United States could direct the rearming, and perhaps even indirectly provide surplus weapons, while still being seen as evenhanded in peacekeeping operations.

"We will coordinate this, but they will not see Americans doing this (providing arms), and I think that does make a practical difference on the ground," said President Clinton's National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.

Both Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Perry gave Bosnian government officials a verbal "equip and train" commitment during the Dayton, Ohio peace negotiations, which was critical in persuading the Bosnians to accept the treaty.

However, according to Richard Perle, an informal adviser to the Bosnian government and a senior Pentagon official in the Reagan administration, the Clinton administration was unwilling to provide a written commitment and now seems to be backsliding by expecting others to take on those tasks.

"I don't have much confidence that the president of the United States will keep this commitment," Perle said.

In Congress, there is strong bipartisan support for helping to arm the Bosnians regardless of points of view about deploying American peacekeepers.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

The Senate resolution supporting the deployment, being drafted by Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and John

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The Register-Guard

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SECTION C

Judge clears way for logging

■ Ruling: U.S. agencies get "complete discretion" to log Northwest old growth forests.

By LANCE ROBERTSON
The Register-Guard

A federal judge in Eugene has given government agencies "complete discretion" to log the Pacific Northwest's old growth forests without fear of court challenges by environmentalists.

U.S. District Judge Michael Hogan said in a nine-page order issued Tuesday that a law Congress passed last July exempts President Clinton's new forest plan from both environmental laws and legal challenges.

In addition, Hogan said in ruling that four

timber sales in the Umpqua National Forest can proceed, the law does not require the U.S. Forest Service to even follow the strict environmental standards spelled out in Clinton's forest plan, which attempts to guide future logging of the region's federal forests.

"No one imagined that this (law) could allow unlimited logging of healthy, old growth forests," said Laura Ziemer, an attorney for the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund.

However, a timber industry official said that while Hogan's ruling gives federal agencies discretion over how and where logging is done in the future, "they aren't going to offer anything that doesn't meet the strict standards and guidelines in the president's plan."

Clinton himself has ordered the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management to

follow those standards, and agency officials have promised to do so.

Tuesday's ruling was the second major opinion issued by Hogan on how the law — passed as a rider to a budget-cutting bill — should be interpreted. The ruling is part of a series of legal challenges filed by the timber industry and environmentalists over various aspects of the law.

Touted by supporters as a way to salvage dead and dying trees throughout the West to reduce the chance of catastrophic fires, the law actually reopens thousands of acres of old growth forests to clear-cutting.

In September, Hogan ruled that the law forces government agencies to clear-cut their backlog of unharvested timber dating to 1990.

Turn to LOGGING, Page 2C

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LOGGING

Continued from Page 1C

Nearly all of the logging is in healthy old growth forests west of the Cascades summit.

Tuesday's ruling affects new timber sales now being prepared and offered under Clinton's forest plan.

Hogan said it is clear that the purpose of the law "is, for better or worse, to facilitate the harvesting of timber" by giving the Forest Service "complete discretion" to log timber and insulating it from legal challenges.

Hearings on various aspects of the logging rider have become almost a weekly event in Eugene federal court.

Wednesday, Hogan refused to block a controversial old growth timber sale in the Siskiyou National Forest that the Forest Service had withdrawn in 1990 because it could lead to sediment damage in the salmon-rich North Fork of the Elk River.

Wednesday's hearing was a forerunner to another hearing next week in which environmentalists, the government and the timber industry will argue again over the scope of the logging rider.

Environmentalists say the law could require the government to harvest timber offered for sale, but then withdrawn or canceled, as far back as the turn of the century.

The industry, however, denies that it is trying to expand the scope of the rider that broadly and accuses environmentalists of trying to whip up opposition to the logging rider.

Hogan also is set to rule on another side issue: Whether the law forces the government to log more than 4,000 acres of old growth along the Oregon Coast unless an actual marbled murrelet nest is found.

Government scientists have said the coast logging may jeopardize the survival of the murrelet, a seabird that nests in old growth trees up to 50 miles inland.

Tuesday's ruling focused on proposed logging in the Umpqua National Forest that the forest's own fish biologist said could wipe out a dwin-

Judge doesn't let nostalgia interfere

U.S. District Judge Michael Hogan had more than a professional interest when he asked during a court hearing Wednesday to look at a map of a Siskiyou Mountains timber sale that environmentalists were trying to block.

After studying the map, Hogan surprised attorneys by disclosing that when he was a young lad, his grandfather used to take him on hiking and camping trips to the very area the U.S. Forest Service now is trying to clear-cut.

In fact, Hogan said Barklow Mountain — around which most of the logging would take place — is named for his grandfather, a former county commissioner in Southwestern Oregon.

"Personally, I wish the Forest Service had never sold any of that (timber)," Hogan said from the bench.

Nevertheless, Hogan denied environmentalists' attempt to temporarily halt the Boulder-Krab timber sale, most of which lies within the salmon-rich Elk River watershed.

Hogan allowed Scott Timber Co. to begin logging just over the ridge, in another watershed, as soon as today.

Hogan is presiding over several lawsuits filed by the timber industry and environmentalists over the Clinton administration's interpretation of a logging rider passed by Congress last July.

Company lawyers promised that no logging would take place in the Elk River watershed before Hogan has a chance to rule next week on whether the logging rider forces the government to log the Boulder-Krab sale.

The Forest Service withdrew the sale in 1991 in the midst of a lawsuit brought by environmentalists to protect the Elk River. Boulder-Krab is about 30 miles east of Port Orford.

ding population of cutthroat trout in the Umpqua River basin.

During a court hearing last week, environmentalists had challenged the Forest Service's plans to clear-cut about 800 acres of old growth and mature forests in the upper North Umpqua River, one of the nation's premier fly-fishing streams.

Tuesday, Hogan ruled against environmentalists, paving the way for the logging to begin within days or weeks.

Ziemer said Hogan's ruling means that federal agencies now are "not accountable" to follow any en-

vironmental laws, nor do they have to follow the advice of their own experts.

But Cary Jones, director of Roseburg-based Douglas Timber Operators, said the timber sales follow the strict standards for streamside buffers and other environmental protections contained in Clinton's forest plan.

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, which represented the Oregon Natural Resources Council and Umpqua Watersheds, plans to appeal Hogan's ruling to the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

HYUNDAI

Continued from Page 1C

This vertical strip contains several small advertisements and notices. At the top, there is a small illustration of a house. Below it, there is a logo for 'Fine Lin' with the letters 'N' and 'N' on either side. Further down, there is a logo for 'Sierra Club' with the text 'You Can Save a Tree' and 'Sierra Club' below it. At the bottom of the strip, there is a large, stylized graphic that resembles the number '5' or a similar symbol.

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

The
Blockades
Of Taiwan

TAIPEI, Taiwan — They come almost every day now — the military threats to this island country from the Communist Government in Beijing.

Chinese Army commanders order repeated amphibious landings at the mainland coast nearest the island — the precise kind of operation that would be needed to invade Taiwan — and "tests" of missiles in the straits dividing China and the island. In recent days there has been a series of leaked reports that Beijing is considering a naval blockade of Taiwan.

Nobody knows whether the threats are meant only to frighten all Taiwanese into abandoning any thought of independence, however distant, or whether Beijing is readying its people and the world for an attack. If it does take place it is likely to be in the spring of 1996 before or after Taiwan holds its first direct presidential election.

But the evidence is that the military command is beginning to operate and plan independently of the civilian leadership in the Politburo.

This much seems clear from here: The West is operating on the assumption that if it says and does nothing, why, any dangers will vanish in a merciful blip.

The studious silence arises from the fundamental China policy of the West: Rock no Chinese boat lest Beijing throw easy Western access to the Chinese market overboard.

The West manages to maintain its silence because a Chinese blockade of Taiwan already exists: the political and diplomatic blockade created by Beijing after it took over the China seat in the U.N. in 1971.

The government on Taiwan was not only ousted from the U.N. but from the international community. Taiwan, one of the largest trading nations in the world, has been cut off

from normal diplomatic and political relations with almost the whole world.

The U.S. maintains an "institute" in Taipei headed by a "director." But no flag is flown outdoors to save Beijing a fit. In Washington, representatives of Taiwan cannot suitly the State department or White House by their presence. So far, separate drinking fountains for Taiwanese representatives have not been set up.

Taiwan is not only barred from the U.N. but from all its many specialized agencies, including those supposed to deal with such universal subjects as health and agriculture — say, AIDS or starvation.

The blockade is so obsessively enforced that it even excludes aid to refugees. Last year the U.N. appealed for funds for Rwandan refugees, among the most suffering of God's human creatures. Taiwan offered \$2 million; refused. The Taiwanese did manage to get their gift accepted — by channeling it through an American committee for Unicef.

Correspondents from Taiwan are not permitted to enter the U.N. As a former reporter at the U.N., in its early days, I have thought of slipping my pass to a correspondent from Taiwan, to annoy U.N. authorities, but I decided it wouldn't work.

Before Beijing commanded the U.N., correspondents from non-member peoples were allowed in. I learned more about North Africa and Indonesia from independence-movement reporters than I ever did from the colonial French or Dutch.

North Korea and South Korea are members and so were East and West Germany. The Palestine Liberation Organization was given representation at the General Assembly with only a vote lacking.

But when China decided that any dreams of independence, sovereignty or even dignity that Taiwan might harbor were too dangerous to tolerate, this special apartheid was created for the island. The U.S. and most other U.N. members meekly kissed Beijing's iron shippers.

That means Taiwan cannot use the U.N. or any normal diplomatic channel to raise an alarm that had to be officially heard about the open military threats from Beijing. If any other country had threatened another so blatantly the case would immediately have been on the U.N. agenda.

Now of course most U.N. members, including the U.S., would be paralyzed with economic terror at the very idea of proposing that Taiwan as well as China be represented at the U.N. But perhaps Washington, London, Paris and Tokyo will dredge up enough courage to increase their own diplomatic contacts with Taiwan as a warning to China. Perhaps. Until now the Chinese diplomatic blockade and Western submission to it have been merely disgusting. Now they are getting dangerous. □

Victims of Family Values

By Richard Rhodes

The social welfare system failed Elisa Izquierdo, dead at age 6, not only because it is overburdened and cynically underfinanced. It failed Elisa and fails many other abused and indigent children nationwide by romanticizing family values.

A family-centered view of child welfare — a view that assumes that the child's best interests and her family's best interests are identical

Richard Rhodes and his wife, Ginger Rhodes, are editing a collection of narratives by survivors of child abuse.

— is dogma in social welfare circles. This should not be surprising: family is our most enduring romance.

I learned a more realistic view of family as a child. A stepmother beat, starved and tortured my brother Stanley and me for two and a half years while our father, happy to be married after a long widowerhood, passively acquiesced. Only after Stanley, a brave 13-year-old, went to the police were we removed to the safety and relative beneficence of a private home for boys, the Andrew Drumm Institute, in Independence, Mo.

In 1949, Drumm was thriving, with up to 40 boys at a time in residence. I lived there for six healing years. Later, after I won a scholarship to Yale and met my prep school classmates, I realized that institutions like Drumm were essentially boarding schools for indigent children.

There used to be many such schools. Today, they're closing their doors or struggling to redefine their missions.

Despite a severe shortage of foster homes, Drumm has to fight to persuade social welfare agencies to place qualified children there. (It cannot take severely psychologically damaged children because it does not have suitable services for them.) Today, only a half-dozen boys are in residence on the 300-acre campus, most of them placed there by family court judges.

Drumm would gladly take more and keep them until they finished high school. But by limiting the financing available for putting kids in Drumm and comparable homes, agencies force them back to their families or into short-term foster care. As a Drumm trustee, I see that the wall of resistance against which the executive director continually butts his head is the family service system's dogmatic belief that family is best and that institutions by definition are places of last resort.

It costs Drumm about \$25,000 a year to give a child a good home.

When we ask Midwestern foundations for support so that we can do more — to house girls, for example — their officers often laugh. We're too expensive, they say, and, besides, no one believes in institutions anymore. I ask these officers if they send their kids to boarding schools (and point out that it costs \$25,000 or more yearly to support a felon in prison). There are fads in foundations as in any other kind of work.

I cite my personal experience of child abuse and recovery and my experience on the board of a beleaguered institution to challenge the reigning dogma that family is always better.

Children suffer, cruelly and unnecessarily, because of such dogma. They are abused because they're vulnerable. They're vulnerable primarily because under the law they have limited and diminished rights. If you hit an adult, it's assault. If you hit a child, it may be abuse or discipline. Most of us hesitate to "interfere," even when a child is assaulted openly in a supermarket or a shopping mall, so long as the assaulter appears to be a parent. The screams coming through the walls paralyze us: they're a family matter.

Defending and supporting a child may well keep a family together — but doing so should not be the bottom line.

Serious abuse is seldom ambiguous and serious abusers aren't merely normal parents who have fallen on hard times. They are criminals knowingly engaged in criminal behavior, which is why they typically blame the child and hide the brutal results. Giving them the benefit of the doubt, letting them off with warnings, propping them up with social services in the name of family values tells them they can escape responsibility for their crimes. Violent people take such acquiescence for approval, and escalate the abuse.

Every child is a new beginning. One bright new beginning, Elisa, found an early and terrible end. Her mother is accused of killing her, but the dogmatism of family values certainly contributed to her death. She should have been removed from her home much earlier. Drumm would have welcomed her. □

The Last Stand

By George Brown
and Pete Stark

WASHINGTON
America's only significant privately held stand of ancient redwoods might soon be destroyed by a failed Texas savings-and-loan owner. Only President Clinton can save it.

For more than a century, the family-operated Pacific Lumber Company, which owned the forest in Humboldt County, Calif., was a model corporation. Its conservative logging practices left its nearly 200,000 acres of forests healthy long after other companies' trees had been "liquidated." It was especially protective of Headwaters Forest, the 45,000-acre area that includes the ancient redwood grove.

But in 1986, a Houston financier, Charles Hurwitz, orchestrated a takeover of the company using junk bonds. Soon after that, Mr. Hurwitz's United Savings Association of Texas failed, costing taxpayers \$1.6 billion — the sixth largest savings-and-loan collapse in American history.

What happened next was widely condemned as a national scandal, but one that the public was powerless

George Brown and Pete Stark are Democratic Representatives from California.

Only Clinton can save a priceless redwood grove.

to do much about. To pay his debts, Mr. Hurwitz tripled the rate of redwood logging in Headwaters, concentrating on the profitable old-growth trees. He has clear-cut more than 40,000 acres of redwood and Douglas fir. By logging so feverishly he has nearly exhausted the forest's resources. Pacific Lumber has only 5,500 acres of virgin redwood and 5,000 acres of virgin Douglas fir left.

Several court decisions have kept Mr. Hurwitz from doing more damage. And yesterday a California Forestry Department panel recommended that Pacific Lumber not be allowed to build a road into the pristine 4,400-acre grove in the forest that is home to most of the ancient redwoods, because the road might threaten nesting sites of an endangered seabird, the marbled murrelet. Still, this is just a temporary victory. So long as the land is in private hands the trees remain in danger.

If the courts and state government can't permanently stop Mr. Hurwitz, perhaps the White House can. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corpora-

tion has filed suit against Mr. Hurwitz for his role in the failure of his S.&L. If successful, the F.D.I.C. could force him to pay back \$250 million of the \$1.6 billion he owes taxpayers. This gives Washington leverage to save the trees through a debt-for-nature swap.

Under such an arrangement, the Government would acquire the Headwaters Forest in exchange for relieving all or part of Mr. Hurwitz's debts. This is similar to what has been done in Brazil and other countries to protect rain forests. The F.D.I.C. has said it would be willing to explore a settlement. Not only could this save one of nature's greatest treasures, but it may also be the only way for taxpayers to recover losses on the Houston savings and loan.

Because a swap would involve the F.D.I.C., the Interior Department and other executive branch agencies, only the White House could coordinate it. (Because such a deal would involve no Federal appropriations, Congress has no power to organize a swap.) This is a win-win deal for the White House. It gives Mr. Clinton a chance to initiate the sort of creative and fair government he talked about during the 1992 campaign.

Old-growth redwoods once covered more than two million acres of California. Today only 4 percent of the ancient trees remain. We can't allow this important part of our California and national heritage to be lost. □

As Clear-Cutting Returns, Motives Are Questioned

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1995

Clinton Draws Disfavor of Conservationists

By TIMOTHY EGAN

PORTLAND, Ore., Dec. 1 — Loggers have returned to the old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest this fall, bulldozing roads into pristine areas and leveling 200-year-old trees in a manner that was illegal until four months ago.

The leveling, or clear-cutting, will damage rivers and streams, set back a \$1.2 billion Federal program to restore overcut national forests and could eradicate some runs of Chinook salmon, President Clinton has said.

But, whether by bad fortune or design, the President now finds himself in the position of criticizing something he helped to create. The act he recently attacked for its potential to cause "grave environmental damage" is one he signed into law last summer, after initially vetoing it. It has turned out, Mr. Clinton said, to be far more damaging than he or many members of Congress anticipated.

The green light to cut big swaths of centuries-old trees came about because of a Congressional rider to a popular budget-reduction bill that suspends all environmental laws in some areas of national forests in Washington and Oregon through the end of next year.

The rider was promoted by Western Republicans, like Senator Slade Gorton of Washington, as a way to cut fire-scarred or bug-infested salvage timber and promote forest health.

But a single paragraph in the rider had nothing to do with damaged trees. It directed the Government to lift all environmental laws in a few areas so that some old-growth timber could be cut.

The timber industry, which, along with other development interests in the West, has strongly opposed Mr. Clinton as being too sympathetic to environmentalists, asked Congress for a suspension of the laws, saying they were being used in court to virtually shut down logging in national forests. After Republicans took control of Congress this year, they approved the rider.

Mr. Clinton initially vetoed the budget bill, saying the rider "would basically direct us to make timber sales to large companies subsidized by the taxpayers." After some changes were made — changes that the President said would provide adequate protection — he signed the bill with an amended rider.

A day later, the timber industry went to court, arguing that the crucial paragraph in the rider permitted unregulated logging of forest lands throughout the Pacific Northwest that were long thought to have been protected. A Federal court in Oregon has agreed.

Now, even as Mr. Clinton has embraced environmental values as a rallying cry for his re-election campaign — "I will not compromise on the environment," — he declared last week — environmentalists say the President has already betrayed them. Although the Administration says it was misled about the rider's intent, environmentalists say the intent was clear and by signing the bill, the President risked the very thing he now criticizes.

"Most of Congress, the President and the American people were duped," said Patti Goldman, an attorney with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. "A few watchful timber industry advocates knew exactly what they were doing when they wrote this rider into the law. This is political payback to the industry."

Before the President signed the bill, environmentalists had flooded the White House with more than 50,000 letters and calls urging him to veto it again. Ever since he signed it, on July 27, they have been furious.

"The timber industry bought Congress and in essence got them to remove all citizens' rights, barring them from the courthouse door," said Tim Hermach of the Native Forest Council in Oregon. "To be kind, you can say President Clinton was naive to go along with them. To be less than kind, you can say it was stupidity or a cave-in."

To critics in both parties, the twist of events shows the danger of using obscure side-amendments to change some of the nation's basic environmental laws. Republicans in Congress have attached riders to the budget reconciliation that would open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling and increase logging elsewhere.

The logging rider was attached this summer to a bill that cut 1995 spending by \$16 billion and that included money Mr. Clinton had urgently sought for relief of disasters like the Oklahoma City bombing and the California earthquakes.

Since then, the price of wood has declined due to a slump in the housing market, and the timber industry has not shown as much interest in cutting salvage timber. The Forest Service has offered thousands of acres but have not gotten a single offer in the last three months.

The real action is with the healthy, valuable stands of old-growth forest that had been protected both by the President's 1993 forest plan and by litigation, which has kept them off-limits to logging for the last five years. These stands are home to endangered fish and birds, and in some cases hold most of the water for entire river systems.

Now that they are exempt from environmental laws, including statutes that protect clean water, timber companies are trying to get as much of this wood as they can during the period when they do not have to comply with the law.

The Clinton Administration had said the rider applied only to a few select areas of some national forest, according to Jim Lyons, assistant Agriculture Secretary for forestry.

But Federal Judge Michael Hogan of Oregon, who is hearing the suit by the timber industry, agreed with the logging companies' interpretation. He ordered the Forest Service and other agencies to offer for sale old growth timber in areas of all national forests in Oregon and Washington. The Administration has appealed, but an appeals court has refused to grant an injunction.

So, after five years of relative peace, the timber wars have returned to the Northwest, with protesters blocking logging roads, and interest groups pointing fingers.

The Forest Service now estimates that nearly twice as many trees will fall under the special rider as was estimated by the Administration when the President signed the bill. They say more than 600 million board feet of mostly old-growth timber will be cut. By comparison, less than 100 million board feet of older forests have been cut in the last three years. About 10,000 board feet of timber are used to build the average house.

The numbers are crucial, say people who have been working to restore national forests in the Northwest, because more than 90 percent of old-growth forests, a term that describes ancient stands that have never been cut, have been logged.

"This is not what we had in mind when the President signed the bill," said Tom Tuchmann, who is overseeing the new forest plan for the Administration. "But you have to put this in perspective. These are the last of the big old-growth sales. Over all, it will have small impact. The President's plan still protects 80 percent of the remaining old growth."

Timber industry officials say Mr. Clinton is being disingenuous in his recent statements about the intent of the rider.

"The environmentalists for the first time are not getting their way," said Chris West, spokesman for the Northwest Forestry Association, which represents timber companies. "They are beating up on the Pres-

The President now criticizes what he himself did.

dent, so his recent statements are just a way to show them that he's green."

Mr. West said the old-growth logging is "a drop in the bucket" compared to years ago, and he said it will not significantly harm the environment. When asked whether loggers would comply with requests by Federal biologists that they try not to harm some streams with endangered salmon and trout runs, Mr. West said, "that's a call left up to the individual companies."

He said Federal environmental laws had been used to shut down virtually all logging in the remaining old-growth areas on public land and until the laws are changed, the industry is likely to need protection from lawsuits.

Logging company owners, after years of losing court battles to environmentalists, are happy to finally have some Federal timber back in the mills. The owners of Hull-Oaks Lumber in Monroe, Ore., say the new timber will allow them to keep their small mill — which depends almost exclusively on old growth — running for another five months.

Throughout the Northwest, much

of the new clear-cutting will take place in the very areas where the Government is spending millions of dollars trying to restore streams and woodlands to protect fish and wildlife. It is, for the most part, the old-style logging that the Forest Service, since the early 1990's, has condemned — felling every tree in a given area, logging right to edge of streams that may be spawning grounds for salmon and trout.

In southern Oregon, logging will begin taking place any day in forest areas near the Umpqua River, the centerpiece of a \$36 million sports-fishing industry. Federal biologists have recently written memorandums saying that the new logging in the area, because it does not have to comply with environmental laws, could severely damage cutthroat trout and salmon runs in the river basin.

Also, a thriving tourism business has developed around rafting and sightseeing along the Umpqua, portions of which are part of the nation's Wild and Scenic River system.

Gov. John Kitzhaber of Oregon said that much of the new Federal logging went too far and could damage the state's thriving economy.

Mr. Kitzhaber was one of several Democrats who earlier had said that they thought the rider would be relatively harmless.

After Mr. Clinton vetoed the initial version, some changes were made after negotiations. The period when loggers could ignore all environmental laws was reduced by a year. And Forest Service supervisors were told that they could enforce good stewardship standards in the sales of burned or insect-damaged timber.

With those changes, the President signed the bill, saying there were adequate protections.

But the key paragraph of the rider dealing with the old-growth timber was never changed. It is that section that has caused the furor.

"Somebody convinced the Administration that it wasn't such a big deal," said Mitch Friedman, head of the Northwest Ecosystem Alliance, an environmental group. "They disguised this all as salvage sales. As it turned out, there was a loophole big enough to drive a parade of logging trucks through."

Union Capitulation Shows Strike Is Now Dull Sword

By PETER T. KILBORN

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4 — Eighteen months after beginning one of the biggest and longest strikes of the 1990's, Caterpillar Inc. workers will soon be back making the company's giant yellow earth movers. By their own admission, they gained nothing by their walkout and, indeed, still face losing valued rights and benefits.

Over the weekend, about 80 percent of the 8,700 strikers voted to reject Caterpillar's last offer. But their union, the United Automobile Workers, still a rich and muscular giant within the depleted American labor movement, ordered them back. The union had spent \$30 million, all for naught, defending them. Caterpillar never flinched.

Today, the company said it would take the workers back in its own good time. A Caterpillar vice president, Wayne Zimmerman, said in a statement that management had requested a meeting with union leaders "to determine whether their offer to return to work is being made in good faith." In view of changes in operations during the strike, Mr. Zimmerman said, "an immediate return to prestrike staffing of nearly a year and a half ago is simply not practical."

Faced with the union cutting off their \$300-a-week strike benefits, the workers have little choice but to return when they are recalled to work.

Peter Feuille, director of the Institute for Industrial and Labor Relations at the University of Illinois, called the union's return "capitulation without surrender."

"The union has capitulated to the reality that Caterpillar has won the strike," he said. "They're not surrendering their quest for a fair contract. But when you're back at work as a union, what kind of leverage do you have?"

Union officials that said the rejection of the contract offer had proved the spirit of their workers. "We were elated about the vote," said Larry Solomon, president of Local 751 in Decatur, Ill., the site of a plant at which the union ordered an end to the strike. But he conceded that Caterpillar had won. "It's sickening to the stomach," he said.

Caterpillar's rout of the U.A.W. is a stark demonstration of the increasing futility of a weapon with which unions could once paralyze whole industries in promoting their members' interests. It also illustrates the might of the opposition confronting the new leadership of the 78-union American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, which promises militant new responses in trying to rekindle the labor movement.

Now and then, strikes can still hurt management and extract something for workers. A two-month strike by machinists against the Boeing Company is beginning to impede deliveries of new planes. But more and more often, companies succeed in devising strategies that blunt the power of strikes and unions.

Many companies permanently replace strikers, leaving union workers on the street even after a strike ends — or terrify workers merely by threatening permanent replacement if they attempt a strike. Caterpillar stopped short of that threat and found it could still beat a strike.

So workers instead lay low and take their lumps in an erosion of wages, benefits and union prerogatives. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service says that work stoppages — strikes, mostly, and lockouts — declined to 385 in the 12 months that ended on Sept. 30, from a record of 3,111 in 1977.

Caterpillar workers, said Mr. Solomon, of Local 751, will be returning to the plant under the terms of a management contract offer that, among other things, eviscerates union prerogatives, like grievances procedures, freezes wages except for increases to keep pace with inflation, denies amnesty to 150 strikers who were fired for hostile behavior and gives management more flexibility in scheduling workers' hours.

William Gould, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, which enforces the labor laws, declined to discuss the Caterpillar strike because the board had yet to rule on union complaints of labor practice violations. But he said strikes, however disruptive, helped to balance the interests of workers with those of management.

"This trend," Mr. Gould said of the decline in strikes, "has brought about a potential for a decline in orderly labor-management relations. Strikes are orderly in that they are a part of a process that produces some resolution." That, he said, raises the question of whether unions will remain credible representatives of worker interests.

Caterpillar invoked the usual reasons why industries shave work forces and wages — the pressure of foreign competition and the need to meet it with products that cost no more to make than they do in Mexico or Korea. The company also devised a strategy to undercut the union.

It moved white collar workers and temporary workers into its factories and proved the lie to its regular workers' claim that production quality would suffer and that customers would flee.

Two developments served the strategy. The forces of temporary workers, once mostly people with little skill, have grown with the addition of hundreds of thousands of skilled workers laid off in other industries, notably aerospace, and Caterpillar was able to draw on them.

Second, many manufacturing companies are less dependent on highly skilled workers than they used to be. Tobias Levkovich, a securities analyst at the investment banking firm of Smith, Barney, explained that Caterpillar once needed teams of tool-and-die makers, highly expert machinists who could take an engineer's drawing and fashion new ma-

chines and models of parts.

But these days, he said, much of human skill required of tool-and-die making has been replaced by computer-controlled machines. "All they need is a technician, not a skilled tool-and-die guy," he said.

So the strike, he said, "was kind of irrelevant." Caterpillar's production rolled along. Sales rose during the strike. Profits rose. And the stock rose. "From Wall Street's perspective," he said, "they've really done well."

Mr. Feuille, of the University of Illinois, said: "There's no evidence I've seen that products suffered any drop in quality. I never heard any news reports from customers saying, 'You're sending me junk.' The strike was obviously not putting economic pressure on the company. The pressure was on the union and the workers."

There's a worse alternative to returning, union leaders said. They point to cases of strikes, like the one in the 1980's at Eastern Airlines, that ended with the collapse of the company — and all its jobs.

The Other Logging Dispute Rages in the Forest Primeval in New England

By SUSAN SEAGER

WILLIMANTIC, Me. — Martin Leighton remembers the days when he hiked into the moist, mossy forest near his home and found a carpet of wild yellow orchids "so thick you could gather them by the armful." A fourth-generation Maine woodsman, he recounts canoeing up a favorite northern stream that was visited by Henry David Thoreau in 1857.

But the dainty orchids are long gone, trampled by loggers. His canoeing route, Ragmuff Stream, dried to a periodic trickle after the surrounding forest was razed in 1981 to feed paper mills.

"It's been a slaughter," said Mr. Leighton, a 69-year-old former logger who lives in a canvas tent in this northern Maine town, population 150. "The overcutting has been going on for a long time, but the destruction in the last 15 years is what scares me."

While public attention has focused on the battles to save the rain forests in South America and the old-growth redwoods in the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Leighton and others are waging a lesser-known battle to save the timberlands of northern New York and New England, 26 million acres that has become known as the Northern Forest. It is the biggest expanse of woodland in the eastern United States.

The balsam-scented forests of white pine, fir, spruce, oak, maple and birch stretching across Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and northern New York have repeatedly been reduced to stubble over 400 years of logging, farming and fire. They have been on the rebound in the last several decades, but have been battered again by an even more aggressive 20th century timber and paper industry, which owns more than 35 percent of the acreage, and modern real estate development.

"The train wreck we're trying to avoid is waiting until our forests are completely gone," said Andrea Colnes, executive director of the Northern Forest Alliance. The Ver-

Don't wait until the forests are all gone, say preservationists.

mont-based coalition of two dozen national and local environmental groups formed in 1990 to preserve the forest.

The alliance and other groups say modern logging practices like clear-cutting, or stripping an entire area of trees, create severe erosion problems. Runoff from the denuded hills is choking streams and lakes with silt and warm, oxygen-poor water, reducing the fish populations.

In Maine, an estimated 1.28 million acres of forest have been clear-cut since 1980, an area about the size of Delaware. Aerial views show large patches of landscape as barren as a western desert, with parched brown earth eroding into nearby lakes and streams.

"The north woods in Maine, in spots, looks like Brazil," said Bill McKibben, an environmental writer living in the Adirondacks in upstate New York.

The timber and paper industry dismisses the outcry about ecological damage as overblown. "In terms of the general health of the forest and certainly Maine's environment, forest practices have not been detrimental," said William Vail, executive director of the Maine Forest Products Council, an industry group.

But to the environmentalists, it is not just logging that threatens the forests. More than 10 million tourists, anglers, hunters and campers visit the region each year, and the four-state timberlands are within a day's drive of 70 million people.

The pressures of regional population growth and economic development, particularly tourism, have meant greater encroachment on the

timberlands and the small communities within them, environmentalists say.

"The forest resource and forest character is hemorrhaging out of these towns," Ms. Colnes said.

In north-central Vermont, a speculator recently bought 10,000 acres, began clear-cutting some of it and offering it up for sale for real estate development. Another project unusual for its scale is one proposed for 3,600 acres in northern Maine.

The market for such develop-

Hunters says the people in the north woods oppose a national park.

ments are refugees from the cities and suburbs who are flooding northern New England and upstate New York in search of a more rural life. The population of New Hampshire, for example, grew by more than 50 percent from 1970 to 1990; the nation's total population increased by 22 percent during the same period.

The warnings of irrevocable destruction have inspired a wide range of conservation campaigns in recent years. Many are grass-roots efforts led by the likes of Mr. Leighton: former loggers, forest dwellers and former mainstream environmental leaders grown frustrated with what they see as years of studies and very little action.

Mr. Leighton has joined one such group calling itself Restore: The North Woods, which is campaigning for a 3.2 million-acre national park and preserve in northern Maine. Among the other proposals are a Maine voter initiative that would ban clear-cutting in much of the state, a plan to create 10 state-managed wildlands in the four states and a bill introduced by Senator Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, to use Federal money to buy land in the region from "willing sellers" for preservation.

Environmentalists acknowledge that in the current political climate, many of these proposals have little chance of being realized. Jym St. Pierre, Maine state coordinator for Restore, said the group viewed the national park plan as a long-term effort.

"It's a long process," Mr. St. Pierre said. "It's going to take decades." He said 15,000 people had signed petitions to the National Park Service calling for a study of the proposal, which would set aside space for hunting and snowmobiling.

About 15 percent of the region's forests, or four million acres, are currently protected in public parks. These include Adirondack Park in New York, Green Mountain National Forest in Vermont, White Mountain National Forest in New Hampshire, and Baxter State Park in Maine.

The remaining 22 million acres are privately owned, including 9.7 million acres owned by foreign and domestic timber and paper companies.

As the preservation efforts have gathered steam, opposition campaigns are springing up from the paper and timber industry, loggers, mill workers, hunters, anglers and others.

In Maine, home to more than half of the forests, or 15 million acres, no violent confrontations between environmentalists and loggers, and no court orders to protect creatures on the Federal endangered species list, like the spotted owl, have grabbed headlines. But that is not to say the fight has failed to arouse passions on both sides.

"Maine says, No!" says one petition being circulated by the Sportsman's Alliance of Maine, a group representing 13,000 hunters and anglers who depend on the timber and paper companies for access to the privately owned forests.

George Smith, head of the group, said he had gathered 5,000 signatures in opposition to the national park proposal. The group says the proposal would affect hunters as well as place restrictions on the timber industry, which provides jobs for state residents. "There's no question in my mind that the people of the north woods want nothing to do with it," he said.

The Maine clear-cutting initiative would ban the practice in 10.5 million acres in the northern part of the state. Jonathan Carter of the Maine Green Party said the party had gathered more than 51,000 signatures in one day to qualify the proposed ban for the 1996 ballot. The signatures will be submitted in January.

The proposal would require loggers to leave trees for future growth, and future logging jobs, just as the old-time loggers used to do and some modern loggers do still, Mr. Carter said.

The emphasis on keeping jobs is intentional, as the conservation campaigns have prompted an inevitable jobs-versus-environment debate.

"The guys up here are very alarmed that their livelihoods will disappear," said Mr. Smith of the Sportsman's Alliance, referring to workers in the paper and timber industry.

To avoid the charge that environmentalists do not care about jobs, the Northern Forest Alliance proposes developing more diverse forest-related industries, like furniture manufacturing and tourism.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1995

Union Gets The Lowly To Sign Up

Home Care Aides Are Fresh Target

By PETER T. KILBORN

OAKLAND, Calif., Nov. 20 — Altha Kennedy received a tip that a home care aide wanted to join the union, so she drove to the prim gray clapboard house that the woman shares with a daughter and son-in-law.

The aide, Gertrude Martinez, recounted how the disabled woman whom she had bathed, shampooed and taken to doctors since May abruptly dismissed her from her \$4.25-an-hour job. Arriving for work a few days ago, Ms. Martinez said, she found her patient interviewing a prospective replacement.

"They were whispering," Ms. Martinez told Ms. Kennedy. "I went about my business cleaning up. And then she said, 'I don't want you to come in Monday because I don't need you any more.'"

Ms. Kennedy prepared to start her pitch for the union, Service Employees International. "Do you know they pay zoo keepers \$12.50 an hour?" she asked.

But the 58-year-old Ms. Martinez was already sold and immediately signed a card agreeing to join.

Organizing people like Ms. Martinez has become the No. 1 priority of the American labor movement's new leaders, as they try to rebuild after decades of decline. Ms. Kennedy, 34 years old, head organizer for Local 616 in Oakland, has helped her union to double in size to 1.1 million members in little more than a decade by tapping into the economy's vast and little-organized, 93-million-worker service sector. Health care in particular has been a rich target.

The union's growth helped propel its president, John J. Sweeney, to the presidency of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in an election last month. Mr. Sweeney is urging the 78 member unions of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to concentrate on the poorest service workers, like motel employees, store clerks, office building janitors and health care aides, many of them recent immigrants and women.

Health care is the fastest-growing service in the country, with more than nine million workers, or about half the number of manufacturing workers. Union leaders say the field is ripe for organizing because of mounting pressure among health care services, hospitals, nursing homes, health insurance companies and government to hold down the rise in costs.

Sal Rosselli, president of one of California's biggest service employees locals, No. 250, in Oakland, cites

emergency medical technicians, that is, ambulance crews.

"In the late 1980's, that was virtually nonunion," Mr. Rosselli said. "Workers were making \$7 and \$8 a day with no benefits. Now we have 2,000 emergency medical workers making up to \$50,000 a year. We've organized virtually the entire industry in Northern California."

Among health care workers, government-employed home care aides are especially inviting targets for organizers nationwide. The battle has begun in California, the most populous state and one in which the union says working conditions are particularly susceptible to organizing. California uses 160,000 aides like Ms. Martinez to care for 189,000 patients under a 16-year-old program called In-Home Supportive Services. In a drive that began earlier this year, the service employees union has organized 10,000 of these California workers, union officials say.

To qualify for care under the state program, a patient can have assets of no more than \$2,000 and typically receives Supplementary Security Income, the Federal welfare program for the indigent elderly, blind and disabled.

To keep down the costs of serving these patients, the state gives the aides no medical benefits, paid vacations, sick leave, family leave, over-

his check here, but he doesn't live here. He's out."

The man, Emmett Brooks, 60, comes down. "He does everything for me," he said. "Helps me set up my dialysis equipment. Goes with me in the van to the hospital. Does the shopping. He's been with me since 1982."

Promising to return in the evening, the union organizers make three more fruitless stops. At last in South Beach, Ken Doctolero, 71, an immigrant from the Philippines, invites them in to see his wife, Maxima, also Filipino and 71.

The Doctoleros have 12 children. Their living-dining shelves are layered with pictures of them in military uniforms and caps and gowns. One shows a beaming son Eddy graduating from a special school for children with Down syndrome.

Eddy, 25, is big and amiable, a fan of televised wrestling. He talks freely, with the inflections and gestures of an adult. But to the untrained ear, it's mostly gibberish. He is often incontinent. Out on his own, he gets lost. Without his parents, who never leave him, he would be in an institution.

The Doctoleros, the union organizers discover, are upset and confused. Without explanation, they say, the county reduced the time it decided Mrs. Doctolero needed to care for Eddy: to 70½ hours a month from 80, cutting her pay to \$300 a month, from \$343.

Then, someone else, they do not know who, has been counting Mr. Doctolero's \$389 pension from an 18-

year job as a cabin service worker for United Airlines in the calculation of Eddy's Supplemental Security Income payment. Federal guidelines say a completely unemployable adult should receive about \$458 a month. But he gets \$391.

"Right now," Ms. Osayande said to the mother, "you have no one to represent you. We want to sign you up for Local 250. There are union dues of \$7.38 a month. Do you feel that is something you can do?"

Mr. Doctolero fills out the card for his wife, who apologizes for having stopped school in the fourth grade.

Lately, the union has been making some dents in the home care program. It won state approval to withhold aides' union dues of \$7.38 a month, simplifying collection. It recently won a \$4 million settlement for 50,000 aides in a suit over delayed payment of the aides' wages during state budget crises in 1991 and 1992. The aides stand to receive \$123 to \$680 each.

The union was also the prime mover behind legislation permitting local governments to establish authorities to manage the program, set up registries of providers and patients, oversee the program and serve as management's bargaining agent in contract negotiations with unions on the aides' behalf. So far, three Bay Area counties, San Mateo, San Francisco and Alameda, have begun to establish the authorities.

This was a critical breakthrough for the union. In recruiting workers, it has been able to develop some services, like help in finding new clients when they lose theirs and opportunities to gather with other aides who unlike most workers never see a colleague.

Now, that it represents a sizable number of home health care workers, the union has begun its first contract negotiations for them in California, with Alameda County.

"Now, we have someone to bargain with," Mr. Rosselli said.

For unions that would represent them, the aides are elusive quarry. In Oakland and San Francisco, many aides speak little or no English. They work alone, going door to door, so there is no central workplace to corral them and often no publicly accessible rosters for unions to comb. Turnover is high.

Enrolling the aides requires a sizable commitment of resources that unions avoided until a few like Mr. Sweeney's determined that the labor movement's survival was at stake. Unions like his have been training corps of men and women to roam the nation's poorest neighborhoods, tracking down aides.

This is taxing work for Angela Osayande, 34, and Manuel Jimenez, 40, who are organizing for the service employees' union Local 250, which commits 18 percent of its budget to organizing, about four times the norm for unions. They hit the streets of San Francisco just after dawn one morning in Mr. Jimenez's rattly, 15-year-old Ford Mustang.

The first stop is a three-story apartment building in the Fillmore district. They ring. No answer. Another building. Again, no one home. At a third, in the Western Addition, a man peers out from the fourth floor.

"You Frank?" Ms. Osayande asks.

The man shouts down, "He gets

time pay, compensation for injuries on the job, or reimbursement for bus fares and gasoline to run errands for patients and take them to doctors.

The aides are designated self-employed independent contractors and are paid the Federal minimum wage of \$4.25 an hour.

These workers, mostly women 40 to 70 years old, receive no training or certification to do work that can include giving enemas and insulin shots, changing bandages and hooking up dialysis machines. Nothing protects a patient from an incompetent aide or an aide from an abusive patient.

No one in the government is accountable for the aides, although a few counties are establishing offices to manage their programs. For now, though, social workers for California's 58 counties set the hours the aides work for patients but little more. The state pays their wages but provides no supervision.

For an individual aide, the boss, to the extent there is one, is the patient. Patients hire aides, sign their time cards confirming hours worked, and can dismiss them without cause or explanation. Once out of work, the aide must rely on word-of-mouth to find a new patient.

"It's a good deal for the government," said Robert Barton, manager of the adult services branch of the California Department of Social Services, and the civil servant who oversees the program.

David Snapp, the union's director of organizing in Washington, said, "It's a scam."

It is clearly a boon to the state, county and, through Medicaid, Federal governments that share the program's \$950 million annual cost. Without these workers, taxpayers would have to pay \$30,000 a year to keep the patients in nursing homes. Home care aides, about half of whom work for family members rather than do other jobs, cost less than \$7,000 a year for a typical 30 hour-week.

Bill Schimeck, an adult services manager, added that raising the wages was a tough political decision for a state that is just now beginning to recover from years of acute budget deficits. And the lower the wages, the more patients the program can reach, Mr. Schimeck said.

A spare deal:
minimum wage
and no benefits.

U.S. OFFICE OF FORESTRY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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OREGONIAN 11-8-95
**Forest health report is a step
to improve forests, not fuel fights**

To the Editor: Your story on the Blue Mountain Forest Health Report, "Study fuels foes in forest debate" (Oct. 22), appears to promote the same sort of divisiveness that has characterized the Northwest forest debate for years. However, the report is a first step toward creating a consensus vision of how we can manage eastside forests for both harvest and ecosystem health.

The health problems that plague the forests of Northeast Oregon affect timber, streams and watersheds. Man-made causes, including fire suppression, harvest practices and land-use patterns are to blame for much of the situation.

Last March I asked a group of 10 top scientists from Oregon State University, the U.S. Forest Service Pacific Northwest Research Station and the University of Washington to help me define a strategy for managing these forests. My goal was not to find a political solution, but rather to find the best science that all could agree upon. Sound policy will eventually create sound politics.

This broadly diverse group of scientists achieved, remarkably, unanimity in their recommendations. The product of their work, the Blue Mountain Forest Health Report, concludes that active management is desirable to improve the long-term health of Oregon forests and watersheds and to reduce the risk of catastrophic fire.

Further, they concluded that relatively little ecological risk exists from those actions when conducted under the management guidelines now in place.

While I believe that active management will help the forest return to a healthier, more productive state, it will also promote my goals of enhancing fish habitat, water quality and late successional forests.

Historically, Eastern Oregon was home to thousands of acres of old-growth ponderosa pine forest that were relatively resistant to fire. Both private and public land-management practices have logged these forests so that now we are left with dense young forests that pose a significant fire risk. We need to try to use active management to guide these stands toward what we believe was their historic structure.

The report does not mandate logging. Nor does it advocate bypassing the environmental rules that are in place to protect public resources that have been damaged by past activities. What the report does do is set a new direction for management of these lands.

Techniques such as thinning, controlled burning, and rehabilitating or closing roads will help make the forests healthier. In many cases these activities will also provide wood and jobs for rural communities.

I am hopeful that the report will provide us with a vision of the way we want these forests to look in 50 or 100 years.

GOV. JOHN A. KITZHABER
Salem

Forest plan at mercy of judge

By DANA TIMS 11-8-95 B-4 Eastern
 Correspondent, The Oregonian

EUGENE — President Clinton's Northwest Forest Plan will be seriously undermined if a federal judge rules next week that vast amounts of land which shelter an endangered sea bird must be released for logging, a top administration official said Tuesday.

Lois Schiffer's assessment came after a hearing in U.S. District Court, where government attorneys battled timber industry representatives over access to an estimated 245 million board feet of timber.

Industry interests are seeking a federal order forcing the administration to release the timber, which is located in stands used for nesting by the marbled murrelet.

The small sea bird, which government resource agencies consider en-

dangered, flies up to 50 miles inland to mate and lay eggs in the deep, mossy depressions of limbs on old-growth trees.

At issue is the legal interpretation of the so-called salvage rider, an amendment to a much larger appropriations bill passed last summer by Congress and signed into law by Clinton in July.

Judge Michael R. Hogan said he would review the legislative history of the salvage rider to determine whether Congress intended the rider to release the targeted timber sales and that he expected to issue a ruling sometime next week.

Chris West, a spokesman for Northwest Forestry Association, the industry group that brought the case against the government, said he was pleased with the direction Hogan appeared to be taking.

Lumber broker admits defrauding bank

The case of Wayne P. Mertens raises questions about a way of business that traditionally has been based on trust

By ALAN K. OTA

of The Oregonian staff

11-8-95
C-2

A Eugene lumber broker has pleaded guilty in federal court to using fake sales invoices to get a \$1.3 million U.S. Bank loan in a case that could have wider implications for an industry based on handshake deals.

Wayne P. Mertens, 52, pleaded guilty Tuesday in the court of U.S. District Judge Michael Hogan to one count of bank fraud. Mertens, a veteran in the lumber brokerage business, faces up to a year in jail and a fine of up to \$1 million.

"What I did was a mistake. I'm kicking myself in the butt. I wish I

didn't do it. Now, I've got to pay the penalty," he said. Mertens said he did not think the bank fraud case would hurt his relationships with customers and added that he hoped to stay in business.

The federal probe began last June, Mertens said, when he approached federal authorities and admitted wrongdoing.

He said he had been advised by his attorney, Ted Carp, not to discuss other details of the case. Carp did not return a telephone call.

Chris Cardani, an assistant U.S. attorney, said an investigation was continuing into the case. He said no decision had been made on whether

to prosecute several of Mertens' customers who reportedly agreed to sign invoices for inflated amounts. The invoices were then used by Mertens as collateral for a line of credit at the bank.

The announcement of the plea caught veterans in the lumber brokerage business by surprise. One broker, who asked not to be identified, said Mertens had had an unblemished reputation and had been in business for more than 25 years.

Jon Anderson, an analyst for the lumber market trade newsletter Random Lengths, said Mertens was one of about 220 listed wholesale lumber distributors and brokers in Oregon. He said the lumber brokerage business accounted for a large portion of total lumber sales.

Cardani and timber industry ex-

perts said they were unfamiliar with other recent cases of bank fraud involving lumber brokers.

"It's a huge part of the industry in Oregon. And traditionally, the business has been based on trust. On a daily basis millions of dollars move based on conversations on the phone. After the fact, sales are documented. No lawyers are involved in legal contracts," he said.

Anderson said it was unclear whether the case would chill relationships between other lumber brokers and their banks, customers and suppliers. Cardani said U.S. Bank audits of Merten had been foiled by the fraudulent invoices.

"We're reviewing the case. We believe it's a unique case," said Karen Tolvsstad, a spokeswoman for U.S. Bank.

Administration Lifts Ban on Timber Harvest

Move Following Court Ruling Is Blow to Federal Management Plan for Pacific Northwest

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration, conceding it had run out of legal remedies, yesterday directed federal land management agencies to release for harvest thousands of acres of trees in the Pacific Northwest that it had sought to leave uncut to protect wildlife. The directive followed a decision late Wednesday by a three-judge panel of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals denying the administration a stay of a federal district court ruling. That ruling, issued last month, upheld the timber industry's contention that a timber sale is required under a law approved by Congress and signed by President Clinton last summer. The administration's loss in court is a blow to its plan for more careful management of federal forests in the Pacific Northwest. It also validates the

warnings of environmentalists dismayed by Clinton's acquiescence to timber provisions in last summer's budget rescissions legislation.

At stake in the court decision is some 230 million board feet of timber—enough to build 23,000 average-sized homes—that had been kept from sawmills during the early 1990s in order to protect threatened wildlife, primarily the marbled murrelet, a sea bird that nests in old growth trees.

"We fought this to the bitter end and this is the bitter end," said Peter Coppelman, deputy assistant attorney general. "The damage will be done. We now have to release the sales."

The administration had disagreed with congressional Republicans and the timber industry over the scope of the budget bill's language. The legislation released for harvest sales which were originally ordered by Congress in 1989 to skirt court

restrictions to protect the spotted owl, but which were subsequently held up to protect other species.

Congressional leaders and the industry argued the language covered not just the sales in the 1989 legislation, but all sales throughout Oregon, Washington and Northern California withheld in subsequent years. Their view has prevailed, and by the administration's estimate, an additional 62 million board feet of timber sales will now go forward. Roger McManus, president of the Center for Marine Conservation, said the decision "may be the death blow for the salmon industry in the Pacific Northwest" because the forests involved are adjacent to streams that provide critical habitat for spawning fish. "President Clinton has to assume the responsibility for what is going to happen to the Pacific Northwest now."

Despite Ruling, Clinton Vows To Find Way to Protect Forests

Associated Press

President Clinton promised yesterday to pursue legislation overriding a court decision that forces additional sales of old-growth timber in the Northwest.

"The decision forces the release of timber that may lead to grave environmental injury to chinook salmon and other wildlife and damage our rivers and streams," Clinton said in a written statement. "My administration will actively pursue a legislative remedy to correct this extreme result."

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco on Wednesday denied the Clinton administration's attempts to delay logging of some old-growth timber sales in the Pacific Northwest that had been released by Congress.

At issue are government sales of

mostly old-growth timber in national forests in Oregon and Washington.

The Forest Service refused to release the sales after environmentalists warned that logging the timber could jeopardize threatened and endangered species in the region.

U.S. District Judge Michael Hogan in Eugene, Ore., had ordered the sales released to their buyers based on the so-called salvage rider passed by Congress and signed by Clinton in July, but the government filed an appeal.

The rider suspended environmental laws through 1996 to expedite the sale of timber in national forests killed by fires and insects, as well as green timber in the Northwest. Clinton said the rider was intended to hasten only those sales that did not violate his administration's environmental standards.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

If a Tree Is Stolen From the Woods...

... Would the Clinton Administration Make Any Noise?

By Steven T. Taylor

THE PRODUCT is timber: old-growth trees from America's national forests. The recipients are logging companies. What did taxpayers get in return for their trees? According to the General Accounting Office, they got a bill for \$1 billion. That's right. While doing business with private logging companies between 1992 and 1994, the federal government spent \$1 billion more than it netted.

The GAO report on timber subsidies, released earlier this month, underscores the Clinton administration's failure to live up to its environmental promises. While environmentalists are screaming about the Republican Congress hacking away at environmental safeguards, they also know that the Democratic White House has betrayed them. With few allies in Washington, the environmental movement has taken to the streets—or in this case to the logging roads—in protest. And that's exactly what is happening: Demonstrations are breaking out all over the Northwest as the U.S. Forest Service launches its aggressive new "salvage" logging campaign.

In 1992, candidate Clinton and environmentalist-author-candidate Al Gore pledged to reverse 12 years of Reagan-Bush policies that depleted the nation's public forest reserves at a rate of 70,000 acres a year. They also said they would retool the way the U.S. Forest Service does business with the timber industry. "As president, I will protect our old growth forests and other vital habitats..." Clinton told a university audience on Earth Day 1992. "I'll rededicate the agen-

Steve Taylor is a writer based in Portland, Ore.

cies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic." Three years later, the Clinton-Gore team has caved-in to a troika of Western politicians (from both sides of the aisle), Forest Service bureaucrats and the timber industry with its big PAC money.

Below-cost timber sales are the most glaring example of the administration's acquiescence to industry. Even the conservative Heritage Foundation had complained in 1986 that such sales "serve the goals of special interest groups—in this case, the timber industry—and not those of the public, the taxpayers or the conservationists." White House officials said in 1993 they would end the practice, but it never happened. The resulting \$1 billion shortfall in 1992-94 continued the pattern of the past. Between 1978 and 1991, the Forest Service lost more than \$7.2 billion in administering below-cost timber sales, according to former Democratic congressman Mike Synar of Oklahoma.

The Forest Service says that below-cost sales benefit the forests and local economies. But most research on the subject indicates below-cost sales are a losing proposition for everyone except industry and the Forest Service (whose congressional appropriation has historically been based on how much timber is removed from public land).

Many thought the Clinton appointment of long-time Forest Service biologist Jack Thomas as head of the agency was a step in the right direction. His intention, Thomas said, was to restore accountability and usher in openness to an agency that for years balked at reporting and acknowledging waste, fraud and abuse. But nearly two years into Thomas's tenure, it appears, the Forest Service, in-

cluding the chief himself, is only posturing at reform.

Consider the fate of a proposal to bar logging in pristine areas on national forest land, a practice that costs taxpayers millions because new road construction requires expensive heavy equipment and hundreds of man-hours of labor. The measure had the support of a panel of scientists for its environmental benefits. Several Capitol Hill moderates, including its sponsor, Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.), had endorsed it for fiscal reasons.

Yet the Clinton Forest Service lobbied to kill the proposal. Thomas said such roads are needed on public lands because they are "used for hiking, horseback riding and other recreational uses." Such droll argumentation ig-

nores the fact that, according to the Cato Institute and the Progressive Policy Institute, the Forest Service has built 340,000 miles of roads, more than eight times the length of the interstate highway system, in the past 20 years. But Thomas's argument prevailed, and the measure died. Of the 15 biggest recipients of timber industry donations in the Congress, 13 voted against the Porter amendment.

A recent memo from Forest Service management shows the cozy relationship between the agency and the timber industry. In a Sept. 21 memo, David Hessel, director of timber management, wrote that because the agency has had to lay off some employees, regional foresters should rely on timber industry representatives to help get out the salvage cut:

"They have indicated they are more than willing to make suggestions, go in the field with your people, and provide input which will help achieve our objectives," he said. In other words, the agency responsible for protecting the national forests and regulating the timber industry is asking the foxes to help guard the chicken coop.

Hessel told the Associated Press that because of congressional budget cuts the Forest Service must lean on industry and its logging expertise.

In October 1993, Congress directed the Forest Service and its Timber Theft Task Force to crack down on the theft of an estimated \$100 million worth of trees annually from public lands. The result, according to 10 Forest Service law enforcement agents who wrote a letter to Thomas in September 1994, was outright defiance from the agency's management. The agents reported that their superiors had stripped them of crime-fighting resources, tipped off industry representatives to investigations and transferred them just as they were about to crack cases. The agents stated that 50 to 60 timber theft cases have gone stale under Thomas's tenure. The administration's response was telling. In the spring of 1995, the task force was disbanded. Forest Service management said that budget cuts had forced the move.

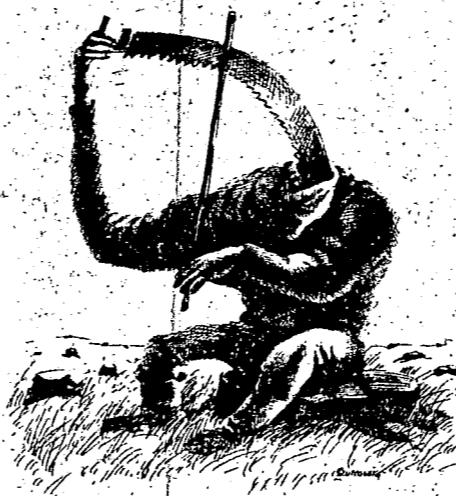
"The Clinton administration has left the forest issue behind [at the Forest Summit in 1993] and doesn't want to be reminded of it," said Jim Owens, former executive director of the Western Ancient Forest Campaign. He said the environmental community feels it has been "stabbed in the back" by the Clinton-Gore team it helped elect.

Particularly galling was Clinton's reversal of policy on salvage logging. Last May Clinton said he would veto legislation that would suspend environmental regulations on salvage logging sales. He said the bill "would basically direct us to make timber sales to large companies, subsidized by taxpayers, [and]... that will essentially throw out all of our environmental laws and the protections we have that surround such timber sales." But in July Clinton signed the bill that included the salvage logging rider.

Thomas denies that the administration has betrayed environmentalists. He says that the Forest Service deals evenly and equally with both environmentalists and logging companies. He rejects claims that the industry-agency relationship is too close. "It is mutually respectful," he told me last year.

Other environmentalists have turned to moderate Republicans to promote their cause. A seemingly odd marriage of fiscal conservatives and environmentalists has conceived the "Green Scissors" coalition, aimed at cutting programs that waste federal money and harm the environment, including several under Forest Service domain. The coalition has targeted both below-cost timber sales and logging in roadless areas.

However, it is by no means certain the Green Scissors alliance can counter the aggressive anti-regulatory campaign of the Republican Congress or prod the dormant White House into meaningful environmental activism. The timber industry PACs have given away more money than the environmental groups—and given it more skillfully. Without a reliable ally in the White House, the defenders of America's forests are lost in the woods.



BY G. SZUMOWSKI/INX

THIS LAND IS DOWN

From out of the West comes a strike force of Congressmen and Senators who

By RICHARD LACAYO

IF REPRESENTATIVE DON YOUNG OF Alaska ever decides to raise some extra income, he can always lease out his Capitol Hill office as a wildlife museum. A former trapper and riverboat captain, he works surrounded by his trophies: the heads of a ram and a wild boar, mounted moose horns and the prime exhibit, a towering Kodiak bear that he bagged on a hunting trip back home. You could say he was a man with a hands-on appreciation of nature. Or you could say he's a guy who prefers his wildlife dead.

Which description better suits him is a hot issue in Washington these days. Young, who once angrily flourished an *oosik*—that's the penis bone of a walrus—at Mollie Beattie, the director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, is among the most powerful of a group of environmentally unfriendly lawmakers from Western states. As chairman of the House Resources Committee, he has decisive say over a controversial rewrite—or gutting, as Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has put it—of the 1973 Endangered Species Act. Last week Young and his allies rolled over Democrats and even a few moderate Republicans on the committee to move a step closer to a less expansive version of the law. In one of its most controversial provisions, it would eliminate a requirement that the entire habitats of endangered species, not just the individual creatures, must be protected. Young says the change will protect property owners; environmentalists say it will doom animals. Even in his gentler moments, Young's distaste for elitist environmentalists is clear: he once called them a "waffle-stomping, Harvard-graduating, intellectual bunch of idiots."

In case you didn't recognize it, that's the sound of the Western-state rebellion as it rumbles into the Beltway. With it comes the region's ancient resentment of Washington's rule, the same discontent that has gone national in recent years. It also brings to Capitol Hill the West's most abiding issue, the land: who owns it, how to use it and who decides. Translated into Washington terms, that means ever more heated politics of the environment, as Western law-

makers tear through two decades of regulations. They are doing it with such success that many moderate Republicans—and even House Speaker Newt Gingrich—fear they are handing the Democrats a powerful issue. Democrats, including the President, couldn't agree more.

The Endangered Species Act is only part of it. The Wild Westerners have set their sights on the clean air and water laws, wetlands protection and the further acquisition of federal lands. They want to increase logging in parts of Alaska's Tongass National Forest, the nation's largest temperate rain forest and home of grizzlies, eagles and 800-year-old Sitka spruce. The Republican lawmakers envision victory in a 15-year battle to open part of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the 19-million-acre wilderness area that is a breeding ground for the porcupine caribou, to gas and oil drilling.

While Bill Clinton has threatened to veto some issues, last year's Republican sweep has put the Western lawmakers, many of whom are longtime members of Congress, into a position to make good on their agenda. In the Senate, for example, Alaska's Frank Murkowski heads the counterpart panel to Young's House committee on resources. Between them, the two ferociously prodevelopment Alaskans oversee most of the natural-resources legislation that comes before Congress. Alaska's other Republican Senator, Ted Stevens, runs the Governmental Affairs Committee. That gives him a line of fire on the U.S. Forest Service, which oversees federal woodlands.

From Utah, there's Representative Jim Hansen, compared by his detractors to James Watt, Ronald Reagan's steel-eyed Interior Secretary. Some of Hansen's proposals in Congress, like opening up lands near

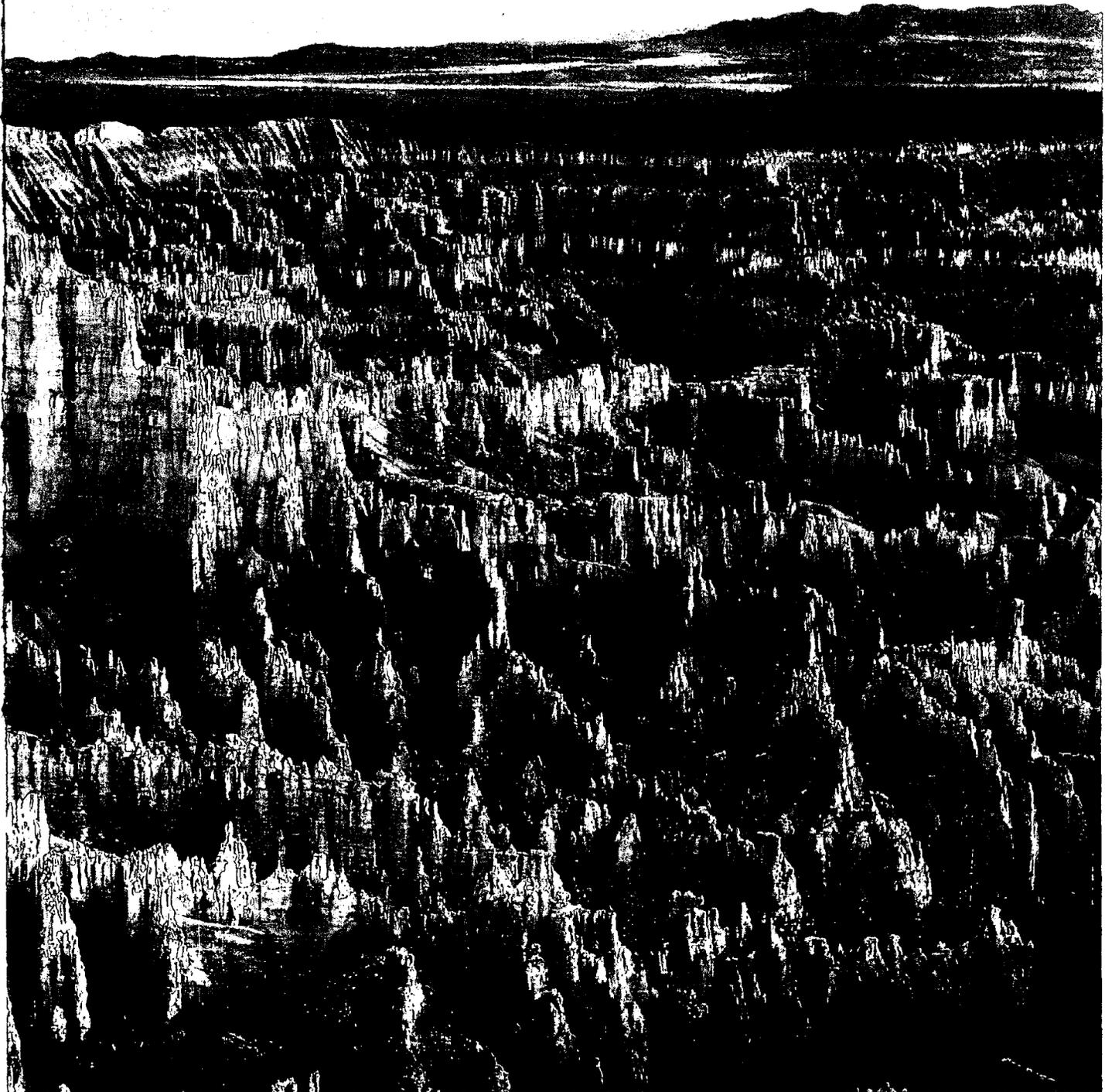


REP. JAMES HANSEN

Though he failed to get mining okayed near Bryce Canyon, right, he has come closer to his goal of closing some national parks. He asks, "Why keep putting money into problem parks when we can put it into high-visitation parks?"

HOSP LAND?

think natural resources ought to be exploited, not coddled



LARRY ULRICH—DAP PHOTO

Bryce Canyon National Park, have gone nowhere at all. But as the new chairman of the National Parks, Forests and Lands Subcommittee, the eight-term Congressman, who has been trying for years to reduce federal lands, has thwarted environmentalists hoping to designate 5.7 million acres of Utah as wilderness. A Hansen-sponsored bill that was adopted by his committee in August would limit the new wilderness to 1.8 million acres. It would keep much of that land open to dams and pipelines, Jet Skis and off-road vehicles.

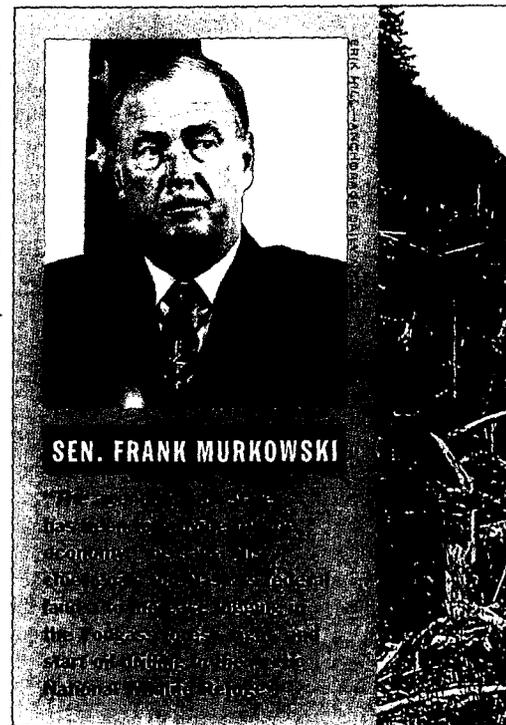
THE WESTERN-LED ATTACK ON environmental law proceeded quietly for much of this year, in part because, in a tactic that Democrats long ago raised to an art form, many of the changes were attached as riders to appropriations bills that fund federal activities, rather than stand-alone bills debated openly on the floor of Congress. And many more are tucked away in budget reconciliation bills that will whiz through Congress in the next several weeks. The riders include directives to the Environmental Protection Agency forbidding it to issue standards for measuring arsenic in tap water or to list new hazardous waste sites for cleanup. Hansen has sponsored a rider that sets up a commission to consider closing some of the 368 parks and other sites run by the National Park Service. He has said as many as 150 of them could go.

But with the spending bills heading for Clinton's desk, the quiet is ending. After months of searching for issues that will cut their way, battered Democrats have awakened to the political advantage of forming a Praetorian Guard around Mother Earth. Though Clinton has been accused of being

just pale green, especially after he retreated in 1993 from imposing new grazing fees on federal lands, the White House has got the message. Al Gore, a best-selling conservationist, two weeks ago denounced Republicans on the Hill for a "jihad against the environment" that had allowed lobbyists from "the biggest polluters in America" to rewrite environmental law. And Clinton has threatened to veto any provisions to permit oil drilling in the Arctic refuge.

Why the change? Democrats are looking at opinion polls that consistently show bipartisan majorities in favor of strong protections for the environment. In a recent TIME/CNN poll, 63% of those questioned opposed any reduction in protection for endangered species. Fifty-nine percent opposed the expansion of logging, mining or ranching on public lands. And 67% were against opening up the Arctic refuge to gas and oil exploration. One of the President's pollsters, Stan Greenberg, is advising Clinton that defense of the environment plays well with many Perot supporters, who are inclined to see any attack on environmental law as one more case of special interests getting their way in Washington.

When Democrats see opportunity, Republicans see danger. Fearful of losing the pro-green suburban voters who are crucial to their future, moderate Republicans, many of them from East Coast states, are voicing frustration with the rush on environmental regulations. "I think it's going to be a huge issue against some Republicans in '96," says Representative Sherwood Boehlert of New York, who five years ago helped amend the Clean Air Act to discourage acid rain. "[Voters in '94] damn sure didn't vote to dismantle the agencies that protect our water, our air, our land."

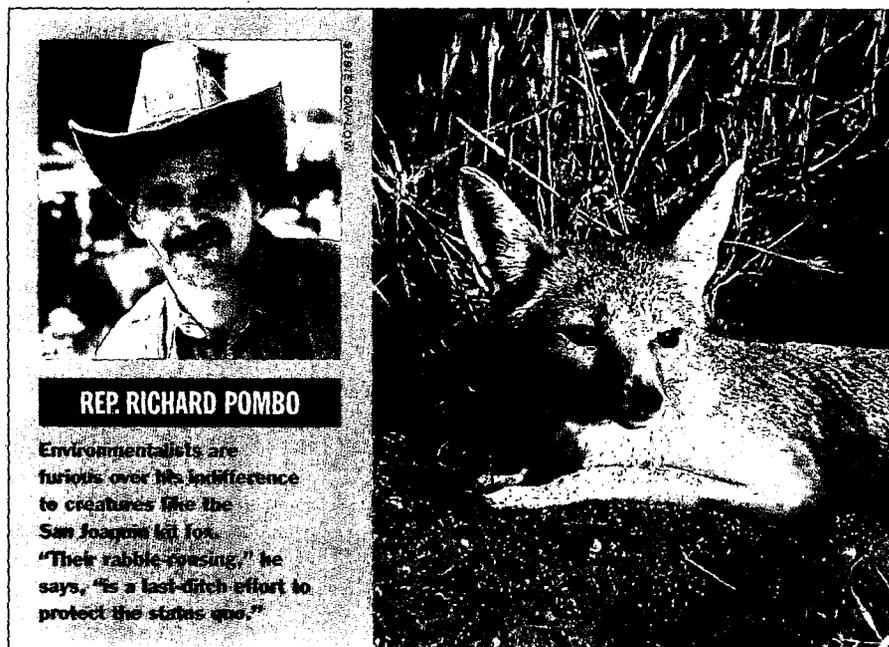


SEN. FRANK MURKOWSKI

Hoping to keep his party from being pegged as Earth bashers, Newt Gingrich, who once interrupted a day of foreign-aid budget cutting in the House to ask his fellow Republicans to restore money to protect the African elephant, has established a Republican Task Force on the Environment, manned by moderates like Boehlert and Maryland's Wayne Gilchrest. The group has yet to meet.

Then again, Republican pollsters know that while voters usually say they favor conservation, the environment is not one of their top concerns, particularly if the damage doesn't occur in their own backyard. And the Westerners are framing their attack in the terms of the Republican agenda that voters went for last year: smaller government, regulatory reform, budget cutting and property rights. In resource-dependent economies like Alaska and the Pacific Northwest, they are also stressing job creation. "Eventually," says Young, "the working class, the poorer people, will realize that [the Endangered Species Act] is saving crickets over saving babies."

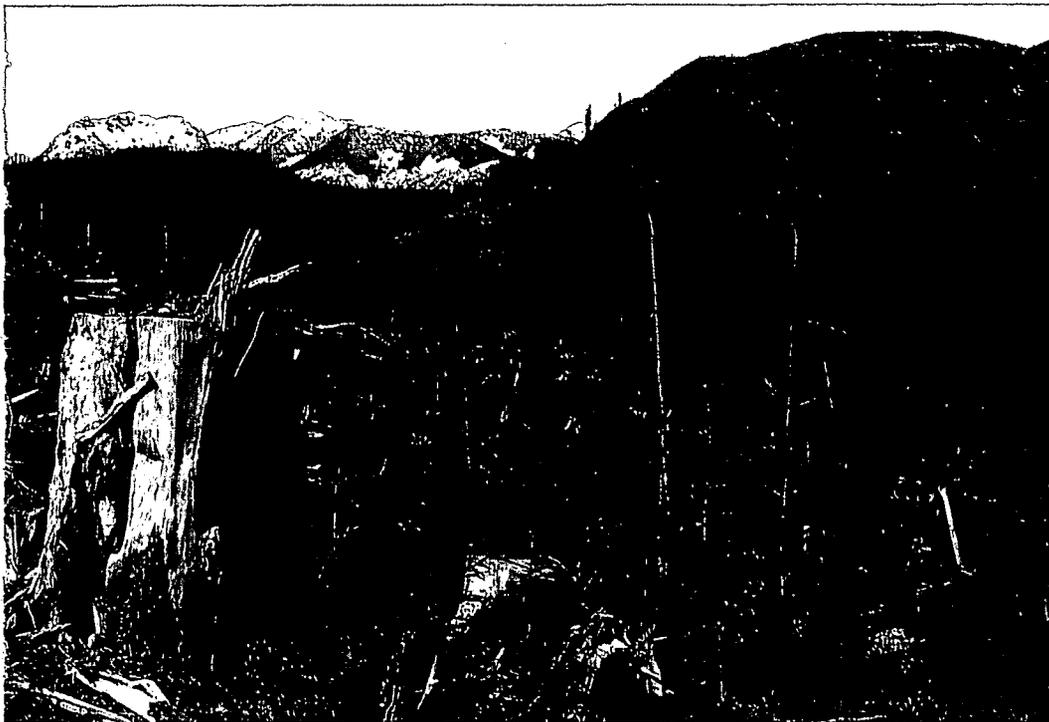
Young helped win his committee victory on the revised version of the act, which must still pass both full houses of Congress, by making sure that hearings showcased the hardships of property owners and "ordinary people." Another successful tactic was to make an end run around the subcommittee on Fisheries, Wildlife and Oceans, which is headed by Jim Saxton of New Jersey, a moderate Republican who favors the law. Instead Young formed an endangered-species task force and turned it over to Representative Richard Pombo, a fourth-generation rancher from California's Central Valley



REP. RICHARD POMBO

Environmentalists are furious over his indifference to creatures like the San Joaquin kit fox. "Their rabbit-raising," he says, "is a last-ditch effort to protect the states' quo."

STEPHEN KRASMAN—NATURE CONSERVANCY/PHOTO RESEARCHERS



TERRY ASHE FOR TIME

REP. DON YOUNG

...to create jobs... timber industry... "I am the one who believes in the environment, including the presence of man."

who is at war with the Federal Government over land-use regulations. At Young's direction, Pombo scheduled hearings in rural Western counties. Environmentalists complained that speakers sympathetic to the law were squeezed out. What Pombo heard in abundance were stories of local landowners who didn't see why they should lose the right to develop their property because an endangered species like the San Joaquin kit fox had made itself at home.

So whose West is it anyway? Critics of the rebellious Westerners in Congress say they really represent longtime monied interests. Records of the Federal Election Commission show that many of them are heavily financed by campaign money from oil and gas companies, mining and logging interests, developers and growers. A proposed Senate version of the Endangered Species Act, sponsored by Slade Gorton of Washington, was written with the help of timber lobbyists. According to the Western States Center, a campaign-finance research enterprise, Senator Conrad Burns of Montana got more than a fourth of his campaign funding last year from such sources, an unusually high percentage. The League of Conservation voters gave him a score of zero for his votes in the last Congress.

There are 17 million acres of national forest lands in Montana. Last year Burns introduced a wilderness-protection bill for his state that called for safeguarding 800,000 acres and easing commercial activity restrictions on 5 million acres. Fourteen energy companies worked to win exclusion of a key part of this acreage, a 100-mile-long strip of remote terrain in northwestern Montana, known as the

Rocky Mountain Front, that could allow them to stake drilling claims. "The matchup was exact. His big campaign contributors got precisely the acreage that they wanted," insists John Gatchell, conservation director of the Montana Wilderness Association. But Burns' eagerness to return federal land to state authority has also run afoul of sportsmen in his own state and party who support preservation of federal lands for hunting and fishing. "If the state gets the lands," predicts Republican state senator Al Bishop, "they will go on the sales block."

Burns says he's merely doing what his constituents want. In the last election, he

points out, "I got 62% of the vote." The constituencies of the West have been changing, however. Out-of-staters looking for a better life have flowed into places like Colorado and New Mexico, bringing concerns over development. Even as Utah's Hansen was pushing his bare-bones wilderness proposal, polls showed that a majority of his constituents wanted more wilderness set aside. Says Ken Rait of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance: "He calls what he's doing 'The will of the West.' But which West is he talking about?" For now, it's Hansen's idea of the West that is winning. —Reported by Michael Riley/Washington and Richard Woodbury/Denver



ROE BADGER—LIGHTHAWK



TERRY ASHE FOR TIME

SEN. CONRAD BURNS

Despite development in wilderness areas like this proposed mine near Yellowstone National Park, the Montana Senator says there is more wildlife in his state than ever.

Dole Calls for End to Most Bilingual Education **By Robert Shogan= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

INDIANAPOLIS Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole called Monday for an end to most bilingual education and denounced new proposed standards for teaching history as he sought to cast his presidential bid as a defense of the nation's cultural heritage against divisive assaults by Washington and "intellectual elites."

Attacking what he called the "embarrassed-to-be-American crowd," the leading candidate for the GOP presidential nomination told the 77th national convention of the American Legion that "if we are to return this country to greatness, we must do more than restore America's defenses.

"We must return as a people to the original concept of what it means to be an American," Dole said, adding that the goal required adherence to a common language and a long-agreed-upon version of the nation's history.

The Kansas senator's proposal to end most bilingual classes, if carried out, could uproot policies in most states under which children who have limited fluency in English are taught at least part of the day in their native language.

The impact would be particularly profound in California, with its growing population of Latinos and Asian Americans, home to roughly a third of the non-English-speaking school children in the nation. California schools spend an estimated \$400 million a year to teach some 1.2 million children in languages other than English.

Dole's plan, would eliminate bilingual education altogether except for language classes designed to help immigrants and their families learn English. He would ban courses aimed at "instilling ethnic pride, or as a therapy for low self-esteem" or inspired by "elitist guilt," Dole said.

In addition to denouncing bilingual classes, Dole also argued that English should formally be proclaimed the nation's official language.

As for the proposed national history standards a set of voluntary guidelines for teaching history in primary and secondary schools Dole complained that they suggest "concentrating on some of our worst moments," such as McCarthyism and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, without even describing George Washington as the nation's first president. The guidelines have been widely criticized since being released late last year by the UCLA National Center for History. They are currently being revised, and a new set is expected to be issued later this month.

Dole's speech here on values, together with another talk scheduled for Tuesday in Chicago in which aides have said he will espouse pro-growth economic policies, represent a double-barreled effort by the senator to provide his candidacy with the ideological definition and emotional inspiration which critics contend it has so far lacked.

Dole told his fellow legionnaires that adherence to a common language, history and code of values have held Americans together through the years despite their racial and ethnic diversity. Now, though, he warned, this unity is threatened by the "false theories" of the "embarrassed-to-be-American crowd," particularly in the arena of public education.

(Begin optional trim)

The speeches to the Legion here Monday and to the Economic Club of Chicago Tuesday come at what could be a critical moment in which the Republican Senate leader's third drive for the presidency badly needs a lift.

Though Dole still holds a commanding lead in the polls over his Republican rivals, his candidacy has recently seemed to be sputtering, a dangerous perception for a front-runner. He could do no better than a tie against Gramm in a recent straw poll of Republicans attending an Iowa party convention. His campaign

was further embarrassed when Dole's managers decided to return and publicly disavow a campaign contribution from a gay Republican group which they had previously solicited. Burdened with his responsibilities on the Capitol Hill, the candidate has had to face mounting complaints that he lacks a compelling message.

(End optional trim)

Dole drew a warm response from those in attendance at this city's convention center. "He thinks like I think, for God and country," said Norman E. "Pappy" Lamar, of Shreveport, La., a 73-year-old former second lieutenant who served as a bombardier-navigator on a B-26 Martin Marauder in the European theater of operations during World War II.

But other Americans, particularly those with Latino roots, took a dimmer view of Dole's advocacy of English as an official language. "Promoting intolerance, particularly at the presidential level, is not what this country is looking for," contended Raul Yzaguirre president of the National Council of La Raza, an umbrella group for more than 200 Latino civil rights and community development organizations with a total membership of 2.5 million.

New Timber Law Revives Debate Over Salvage Logging **By Frank Clifford= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

High in the El Dorado National Forest in California, overlooking Lake Tahoe, lumberman Cecil Wetzel eyed an 80-foot-high ponderosa pine that the federal government won't let him cut down.

"I'll be honest with you. I lust after a tree like that," Wetzel said, estimating its market value at around \$7,000.

For three years, Wetzel's company and the rest of California's timber industry have been shut out of much of the Sierra Nevada as a result of environmental pressures. Wetzel said he had to lay off 45 percent of his work force and across the Sierra 10 sawmills have shut down.

But the balance of power in the nation's forests is shifting. Congress has passed a law allowing the Forest Service to sidestep environmental regulations, barring review of logging decisions and sharply limiting the ability of opponents to block tree cutting in the courts.

Dubbed "logging without laws" by critics, its enactment last month marks the first major legislative victory of a Republican-led Congress intent on relaxing many of the landmark environmental laws passed during the last 25 years.

The timber law focuses on ailing national forests like those in the Tahoe basin that are full of dead trees largely the result of drought, disease, insect plagues and past forestry practices. Sponsors of the law insist that emergency measures are necessary to reduce the danger of catastrophic fire posed by huge accumulations of dead and dying timber in forests across the West.

But the law would also allow many of the large, live trees that environmentalists want left alone to be cut from the same forests. Indeed, Congress wants to double the amount of marketable timber that loggers are allowed to salvage from those forests.

There is more at stake than the size of next year's timber harvest. The new legislation, in effect, repudiates years of environmental thinking about forest health. Advocates of the law take the position that preserving trees isn't always good for the woods.

According to this theory, there are times when even the removal of cherished old growth the grandest trees in the forest is necessary to eradicate blight, let in more sunlight and promote the regeneration of healthy forests. The approach can even mean taking out mature trees that

currently provide homes for threatened and endangered species, such as the spotted owl.

President Clinton signed the law in July, but nonetheless ordered the Forest Service to abide by all environmental rules in setting how much timber could be removed. The order has the effect of cutting California's potential timber harvest under the new law by 30 percent, enraging the logging industry.

For years, the timber industry has complained bitterly that prohibitions against cutting the biggest, most valuable trees in the forest were costing thousands of jobs, closing hundreds of sawmills and wreaking havoc with the economies of rural, timber-dependent towns.

In recent years, for example, several Sierra Nevada counties have seen timber revenues, which finance school and road maintenance budgets, fall by 50 percent or more.

Yet, it was the weather, more than economics, that provided the impetus for a policy change.

After seven years of drought across much of the West, thirsty, nutrient-starved forests were unable to repel deadly insect infestations. Meanwhile, more and more people were moving to rural communities surrounded by national forests and lending a human dimension to the growing threat of wildfire.

The timber industry argued that legislation was needed to allow massive thinning of forests, to clear out flammable dead wood and to stop the spread of insects to still-healthy trees. But to make it all pencil out, the industry said it also needed unfettered access to more valuable live trees.

The only way to get the job done, the industry maintained, was to set aside burdensome regulations and to prohibit the kind of environmental challenges that had curtailed harvesting of timber in national forests.

"It was the only way we could figure out to move some volume out of the forests before the trees all rotted," said Don Crandell, vice president of the American Pulp and Paper Association.

No one denies that the abundance of rotten trees aggravates the fire danger. The Lake Tahoe basin is a good example of what can happen when too many trees vie for too little sustenance.

"Everybody is alarmed about the situation," said one local fire official. "You can hear people in the casinos talking about the dead trees."

Bristling like matchsticks from the mountain sides, an estimated 25 percent to 30 percent of the trees rising from the Tahoe basin are dead or dying, giving the green slopes a sickly brown pallor.

(Begin optional trim)

Tahoe's natural beauty along with its popularity as a tourist destination have made it something of a poster child in the campaign to accelerate logging.

"You've got a huge wildfire disaster waiting to blow up," said Neil Sampson, a scientist with American Forests, a Washington, D.C., foundation that has called for increased logging of national forests.

What worries people most is the prospect of 150,000 visitors and residents pinned down by the kind of explosive fire that roared through Yellowstone National Park in 1988.

(End optional trim)

In Sacramento, Calif., the governor's office regards the situation in Tahoe as serious enough to warrant the formation of a task force to expedite tree thinning on private property. But it's the condition of the three national forests that occupy much of the 6,000-square-mile basin that has officials most alarmed.

In its South Lake Tahoe office, the Forest Service has

a map illustrating the extent of the fire danger. It shows the lake tightly ringed by a series of tear drop-shaped red hot spots.

For the past several years, the Forest Service has been trying to get timber companies to log these hot spots but achieved only limited success.

"A lot of the time we get no bidders," said John Swanson, a Forest Service fire and timber specialist. "There's a frustration over wildlife protection, over water-quality issues. It's the perception by people in the business that they have to jump through too many hoops, and that in the end they can't take enough big, live trees to make a profit."

Environmentalists argue that the forests wouldn't be in such bad shape today if timber companies hadn't taken so many big trees in the past. In the absence of large hardy pine trees, they maintain, a dense growth of weaker and shorter fir trees sprouted to compete for nutrients that have become increasingly scarce.

In their view salvage logging, by continuing to allow the taking of large healthy trees, will only aggravate the problem.

Yet, Tahoe fire officials insist that salvage logging can reduce the fire danger without denuding forests.

(Optional add end)

They point to Incline Village, a small, well-to-do community on Tahoe's northeast shore.

A helicopter logging operation there removed most of the dead trees from steep slopes without destabilizing the soil or cutting down many big, live trees. But it cost the community about \$1 million to subsidize the job, and for that reason it is not considered a practical option for most of the basin.

"For a timber company to bid on a job, they are going to have to take some live trees," said Incline's fire marshal, Gerry Adams. "And there is always the danger that they will take out more trees than they should to make a profit."

But if the problem isn't dealt with soon, Adams said, there won't be enough live timber left to attract any bidders to the basin.

"There are places in the forests up here where there is 80 percent mortality," Adams said. "That means no value at all."

Outcome of Iowa Caucuses May Hinge on Gay Rights Issue By Bob Sipchen= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

DES MOINES, Iowa The morning before Bill Horn set off to establish his new missionary outpost, worshipers at the Springs of Life Ministries in Lancaster, Calif., asked God to give him courage.

Their prayers on that February morning in 1994 were not unlike those that church congregations across America offer as missionaries embark for Rwanda, Bolivia or the Philippines.

But Springs of Life parishioners believe that there is now a more important front in the war between good and evil.

So the next day, Horn and his wife, Staci, herded their five young children into their minivan and pointed it across the desert toward Iowa. Horn's mission: to make a stand against the moral decay he sees gnawing from the East and West coasts into the Heartland.

Eighteen months later, Horn has certainly made his mark.

Next week, Des Moines residents will vote in a school board election that Horn helped turn into a battle over what he terms "the homosexual agenda" to undermine the American family. The tone of that contest is reflected by the fact that one candidate wears a bulletproof vest.

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Dole Blasts Clinton, Calls Economic Strategy Obsolete By Tim Shorrock, The Journal of Commerce Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

WASHINGTON--Sep. 6--Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole Tuesday attacked President Clinton for appealing to "envy and class warfare" and promised to restore U.S. economic growth by overhauling the tax system and freeing entrepreneurs from the "heavy hand" of government regulations.

In a speech to the Economic Club of Chicago, the Republican front-runner hammered away at his evolving campaign theme of less government, arguing that his pro-business views are better suited to the 21st century than the "obsolete economic model" adopted by President Clinton.

Mr. Dole predicted a tough fight this fall in Congress over Republican proposals to slash the federal budget. President Clinton has vowed to veto spending bills that cut into education, worker safety and other programs he has championed.

"This will not be an autumn of compromise," Mr. Dole said. Much of Tuesday's speech appeared to be aimed at voters attracted by Mr. Dole's chief rival in the Republican presidential race, Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, who has cut into Mr. Dole's support with a radical program for business deregulation. Another Republican contender, Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., is pushing for a flat tax.

Mr. Dole didn't go that far. Instead, he proposed a sweeping tax reform that would release more capital for investment and require "little or no tax" for families earning \$30,000 a year and less. By lowering business taxes and ending the capital gains tax, the government would spark an "explosion" in job creation, investment and growth, Mr. Dole said.

Changes in capital gains treatment, he said, were badly needed so U.S. entrepreneurs can compete with their rivals overseas.

"When it comes to competition with countries like Germany and Japan --who hardly tax capital gains at all -- we're tying the hands of the most productive, most innovative people in our economy," he said.

Meanwhile, in a Labor Day speech Monday, President Clinton defended his economic programs, which he said have created 7.5 million new jobs and record corporate profits.

At the same time, he urged U.S. companies to "follow the lead of our best employers and share more of those profits with their working people."

The average executive, he said, now makes 120 times what the average worker on the shop floor makes, up from 12 times 30 years ago.

Workers "deserve their fair share of their own productivity and competitiveness," he said.

U.S. faces NAFTA challenge over logging program By William DiBenedetto Journal of Commerce

SEATTLE Environmental groups in Mexico and Canada have joined their U.S. counterparts in a claim that the United States undermined the North American Free Trade Agreement when it adopted a salvage logging program for Washington and Oregon.

The groups have taken their case to an environmental commission established by that agreement, where a finding in their favor ultimately could hurt Northwest timber harvests and sales of dead, dying or fire-damaged trees.

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, on behalf of 26 groups (including groups in Mexico and Canada), contends the United States violated NAFTA rules by suspending enforcement of U.S. environmental laws. That was done, it said, when Congress partially opened logging on federal land that had been closed for six years to protect the "endangered" northern spotted owl and the marbled murrelet.

The logging provision "is a far-reaching assault on U.S. public forests and environmental laws," the Sierra Club said in its petition. While the provision leaves environmental laws in place, it "eviscerates effective enforcement of those laws," it said.

The logging petition was filed with the North American Commission on Environmental Cooperation (NACEC), which was created by a NAFTA side agreement out of concern that the NAFTA signatories may use the pact to weaken or deliberately soft pedal on enforcing environmental standards.

The commission's mandate is to promote environmental protection and enforcement in North America.

The single petition on behalf of groups in the NAFTA countries is in line with efforts by North American environmentalists to coordinate their battles and avoid inundating the commission with separate cases. A similar joint effort occurred earlier this year when environmentalists, led by Mexican groups, asked the commission to investigate mysterious bird deaths in Central Mexico.

In the United States, James Geisinger of the Northwest Forestry Association said this shift of the logging issue to an international forum won't intimidate the industry in its long-running battle with environmentalists to increase timber sales.

Bruce Lippke, director of the Center for International Trade in Forest Products, added that environmentalists "obviously are just switching legal courts used to override recent attempts to release timber sales."

He said it is not so much the amount of timber involved in this case that is important a relatively small amount at perhaps 500 million board feet as much as the precedent the Sierra Club's action could set.

Last July, President Clinton signed a budget reduction measure that included the salvage logging rider drafted by Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash. The provision would permit timber companies to practice forest management techniques in 6,000 acres of timberland by harvesting and selling dead and dying trees.

It was backed by the Northwest timber industry, which has seen its production and export levels decline drastically since environmental laws were applied to species in the region starting in 1989. More than 240 mills have closed since that date and more than 30,000 primary mill and woods jobs have been lost. The Northwest's export share of forest products is down 24 percent since 1989.

But environmental groups said the logging rider goes too far because it also authorizes the cutting of healthy ancient forests in the Northwest and the cutting of healthy live trees across the nation under its broad definition of salvage logging.

Equally disturbing, they said, is the suspension of citizen appeals and judicial enforcement of U.S. environmental standards, including the Clean Water Act, Endangered Species Act, forest management laws and U.S. treaty obligations.

"This is exactly what the NAFTA environmental agreement is supposed to prevent," said Patti Goldman, attorney for the defense fund. "It is hard to imagine a clearer violation of the NAFTA environmental principles," she said.

Bill Arthur, another Sierra Club representative, said, "During the NAFTA debate, many Americans feared that Mexico might lead a 'race to the bottom' by lowering environmental standards to help its industries."

It is ironic, therefore, that the United States is the first North American country to try to suspend its environmental standards, in this case to help the timber industry, he said.

If commissioners from two of the three NAFTA countries approve, Nacec may investigate the charges and prepare a report. Its report could lead to further action, including government-to-government consultation and the creation of an arbitration panel that could impose fines against the United States or suspend trade benefits if a pattern of environmental "nonenforcement" is found.

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Randy Weaver will testify first in congressional hearings into Ruby Ridge By David Jackson Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON Randy Weaver's story is only the beginning.

Weaver is the first witness Wednesday as the Senate begins hearings into the 1992 siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, including the shooting deaths of his unarmed wife, their 14-year-old son and a federal marshal.

But the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Government Information has scheduled up to ten days of testimony, covering not only specifically the Ruby Ridge incident but also the general nature of federal law enforcement.

Subcommittee members plan to review "shoot on sight" orders that led to Vicki Weaver's death, as well as allegations that high-ranking FBI officials destroyed documents and lied to investigators about the origin of those orders. Five FBI officials have been suspended pending a criminal cover-up investigation.

Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, the subcommittee chairman who is also seeking the Republican presidential nomination, said the hearings also will whether the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms entrapped Weaver on illegal weapons charges.

Justice Department officials have asked the senator to delay the hearings until after a criminal investigation into allegations of a cover-up is complete. He has said his subcommittee would be careful not to hinder that probe.

The senator said he plans to seek testimony from the five suspended FBI officials. That prospect creates what some Justice Department officials called a public relations nightmare: FBI officials invoking their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination, or seeking immunity so that their congressional testimony could not be used against them in any future trials.

But first comes the testimony of Weaver, a white separatist who has become an icon to the anti-government militia movement. In 1991, he was charged with selling two illegally sawed-off shotguns to an ATF informant. Weaver has said the ATF charged him in retaliation for his refusal to become an informant himself.

After Weaver failed to make a 1991 court date on the weapons' charges, federal agents began a yearlong surveillance of his cabin in rugged Northern Idaho.

That operation erupted in gunfire on Aug. 21, 1992, as agents moved in closer, and Deputy U.S. Marshal William Degan and 14-year-old Samuel Weaver were shot to death.

The next day, an FBI sharpshooter fired at Weaver, wounding him in the arm. The shooter then shot at Weaver friend Kevin Harris as he raced toward the cabin. The bullet struck Weaver's wife as she stood behind the open cabin door.

Weaver surrendered nine days later. The local U.S. attorney prosecuted him and Harris for murder, but they were acquitted.

Early this year, FBI Director Louis Freeh initially disciplined 12 agents for Ruby Ridge, including a letter of censure for supervisor Larry Potts. But at the same time, Freeh recommended Potts' promotion to deputy director, a proposal that Attorney General Janet Reno approved.

This last May, one of the other disciplined agents complained in a letter to the Justice Department that the internal investigation was designed to shield Potts' role in approving the shoot on sight orders.

Potts has denied ever approving such an order. But because of the renewed controversy over Ruby Ridge, Freeh demoted Potts in July. He later suspended him and four other agents, including Danny O. Coulson, the special agent in charge of the Dallas office. Coulson also denies participating in a cover-up, Justice Department officials said.

Hillary Clinton rebukes China for violation of women's rights By Gayle Reaves Dallas Morning News

BEIJING First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Tuesday strongly criticized China's human-rights record and called on all countries to remedy violations of women's human rights.

Without mentioning the host country by name, Clinton told delegates to the U.N. 4th World Conference on Women that policies of forced abortion and sterilization, which China has long been accused of practicing, must be recognized as human-rights violations.

In the impassioned speech, she criticized Chinese attempts to silence and deny visas to some of the 23,000 participants at the non-governmental organizations' forum in nearby Huairou.

"It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend or have been prohibited from fully taking part," she said.

There was no immediate response from the Chinese government.

Clinton had been expected to tread carefully on subjects that might offend the Chinese hosts. Her visit has been criticized by some who think it legitimizes a government with a poor human-rights record.

U.S. delegates suggested, however, that her strong but diplomatic words had helped draw attention to China's repressive actions, and could increase pressure for change.

"I thought she was brave," said U.S. delegate Marie Wilson, director of the Ms. Foundation. "She gave the human-rights message but she did it artfully."

"She took the stand that most Americans hoped she would," said Sister Dorothy Ann Kelly, another U.S. delegate.

Even U.S. Rep. Chris Smith, R-Del., a frequent Clinton administration critic, had nice things to say. "I was encouraged that she raised a very serious litany of human-rights abuses," Smith said.

The congressman, however, said he wished that she had been more specific about countries involved in rights abuses.

It was not just Americans who gave Clinton a standing ovation.

"It was a speech the world needed to hear," said Cheryl Astwood Tull, a legislator and delegate from the Turks and Caicos Islands.

"I think she has woman in her heart," said Hafsatu Mormoni, a Nigerian journalist. Clinton addressed the concerns of women in all their roles, she said.

In her remarks, Clinton repeatedly returned to the idea of giving women their rightful voice, and of recognizing the problems faced by women as central to human rights concerns.

"It is time to break our silence," she said. "It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights," she said.

"Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words," she said. "The voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou must be heard loud and clear."

Clinton drew the strongest response from her audience when she began to list violations against women worldwide.

"It is a violation of rights when babies are denied food or drowned ... simply because they are born girls. It is a violation of rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution," she said.

"If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights ... and women's rights are human rights," she said.

One passage in the address appeared to refer to Chinese-American activist Harry Wu, who was arrested, tried and convicted by the Chinese government for documenting human-rights violations there, then ejected just a few days before the NGO Forum began. The Clinton administration waited until Wu's release before deciding

**Environmentalists Fight to Save Logging Rule,
Endangering NAFTA Expansion By John Maggs,
The Journal of Commerce**

Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

WASHINGTON--Aug. 31--Environmentalists this week may have handed the Republican-controlled Congress a powerful argument for resisting the Clinton administration's attempt to expand the coverage of a North American environmental commission to Chile and the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

The Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council plan to challenge a controversial suspension of logging rules under the provisions of that commission, created in connection with the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The new logging law, passed as part of a spending cuts bill signed by President Clinton, would ease limits on "salvage logging" on federal land.

The timber industry and its advocates on Capitol Hill say the easing would allow the prudent harvesting of dead or diseased timber now off limits under the Endangered Species Act and a number of environmental laws.

Environmentalists say the law puts almost no limits on what is deemed dead or diseased, and uses the label of "salvage logging" to roll back dozens of environmental laws to allow the clear-cutting of federal lands.

Their challenge rests on the fact that GOP congressional leaders chose to ease the limits on salvage logging by suspending the application of environmental laws in this case, instead of amending these laws. To avoid a full-blown debate on laws like the Endangered Species Act, the Republicans simply decreed in their legislation that, as far as future salvage logging was concerned, such laws are being complied with.

The North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation was set up to investigate complaints about countries that fail to enforce their environmental laws. U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said in 1993 it was needed to ensure that Mexico and Canada did not use environmental law enforcement to give its manufacturers a competitive advantage.

At the time, some Republicans wary of the environmental side agreement warned it could be used by U.S. environmental groups to block deregulation in the United States. The prospect of a major loosening in environmental law skyrocketed when Republicans took control of Congress last year, and the salvage logging law is one of the first examples.

Congress could be debating those issues again this fall if it considers legislation to expand the NAFTA to Chile. Mr. Kantor is insisting that the environmental rules for North America must be expanded to Chile as part of the trade talks. GOP leaders would be sensitive to claims that the commission could be used to challenge U.S. laws.

Legal experts who helped draft the NAFTA environmental side agreement were split about the potential for winning the challenge.

Several said that, notwithstanding the semantics of whether laws are being suspended or amended in this case, the agreement was never intended to challenge acts of national legislatures. "It seems to me that the commission will have no role when Congress has spoken," said Charles Roh, a former aide to Mr. Kantor who worked on the side agreement.

Another lawyer, who helped design the North American commission and who spoke on condition he not be identified, said that there might be room for the commission to decide that laws were simply being evaded by the salvage logging provision passed by Congress.

The position of the Clinton administration on this issue is complex. Mr. Clinton objected to the salvage logging provision. While in the end he signed the spending cut bill, his aides have made no secret of their opposition to the salvage logging section.

At the same time, officials from the Forest Service and the Justice Department were advising Republican leaders on how to avoid the Sierra Club challenge. In the final version of the legislation, a provision was added that declares that salvage logging is not in violation of any international agreements signed by the United States.

Perot suggests more issue events By David Jackson Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON Ross Perot, warning that voters will seek alternatives if the two major parties fail to address national problems, said Wednesday that he might follow the recent Dallas issues conference with a series of one-day sessions across the country.

"There's so much interest in the issues conferences that people have asked us to go on the road," the Dallas billionaire said after testifying before a Senate committee on the solvency of Medicare and Medicaid, a potential topic for the issues conference.

The founder of United We Stand America said voters were restless for a legitimate alternative to the two major parties, and, "They're mad at me for not doing it now."

Perot, who captured 19 percent of the vote in the 1992 presidential election, declined to say whether he personally would provide such an alternative in 1996.

"The facts are we need to stop and say, 'What is the best thing for our country?'" he told reporters, "If you could revitalize the two parties make it work then you could put everything back on track in a few months."

"If they are not going to be sensitive to the needs of the American people, then the other (alternative) will have to take place. And believe me, there is a firestorm out there wanting it."

Perot said United We Stand America did not want to fight the parties but rather to encourage them, perhaps through future issues conferences modeled on the one held Aug. 11-13 in Dallas.

That event covered a variety of issues and drew every Republican presidential candidate, House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt of Missouri and White House adviser Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty.

Perot said any future such events likely would be one-day affairs focusing on specific topics, such as Medicare.

"We're talking about it right now," Perot said. "But again, everything we do since we're spending real money, not taxpayers' money is to figure out: Is this the right thing to do? Is this something that people are really interested in?"

In his testimony to the Senate Finance Committee, Perot said the government needed to redesign the Medicare and Medicaid systems to cut costs and force recipients to be more disciplined about how they spend benefits.

Perot displayed charts from his new book, "Intensive Care," showing that Medicare and Medicaid are going broke because inflation in health care costs and projected growth in the number of persons eligible for benefits are outpacing revenues that pay for the programs.

Republican committee members praised Perot and his book. Their party's budget proposal would save a projected \$270 billion from Medicare and \$182 billion from Medicaid over seven years.

"I believe we can provide better service while restraining Medicare's projected growth," said Sen. William Roth, R-Del.

No Democrats appeared at the hearing. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services monitored the proceedings.

Victor Zonana, a deputy assistant secretary of Health and Human Services, said the Clinton administration, through pilot programs in various states, already was doing many of the things Perot suggested.

Zonana, calling Medicare and Medicaid "sacred trusts" that have helped people live longer lives, said the Republican plan would cut off benefits for too many people. He also said the Republicans would use the savings to finance tax cuts for the wealthy.

"There's a right way and a wrong way to bring these

costs under control," Zonana said.

Republicans accused the Democrats of fear-mongering and not facing up to the fact that the system is running out of money.

"We're basically shunning our responsibility and obligation if we don't address this and try to moderate the growth of this program and keep it solvent for future generations," said Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla.

Perot told committee members that the two parties have to work together, lest future generations inherit tremendous fiscal problems.

"Divided teams lose, united teams win," Perot said. "We can win one for the American people if we say, 'Bury the partisan bickering, bury the tricks and propaganda as we approach an election year.'"

Raids inflict major loss on Serb military, U.N. commanders say By Gregory Katz Dallas Morning News

BERLIN U.N. commanders said Wednesday that the sustained NATO bombing raids against the Bosnian Serbs had substantially reduced their ability to launch artillery attacks on Sarajevo civilians.

"We have made a serious reduction in the Serb artillery around Sarajevo," said Lt. Gen. Bernard Janvier, the U.N. force commander. He said the bombing runs, backed by the heavy guns of the Rapid Reaction Force, would continue until the Serb threat is ended.

The extensive aerial attack was launched in retaliation for the Bosnian Serb shelling of Sarajevo's central market, which killed 37 people on Monday. Western leaders had warned in July that such an attack would prompt air assaults against Bosnian Serb positions.

The air raids, which started before dawn Wednesday and continued after nightfall, damaged or destroyed vital Bosnian Serb air defense systems, ammunition depots, artillery positions, and communications facilities. The extent of the damage is not yet known.

"The operation looks very successful," agreed NATO spokesman Franco Veltri. "But it will take some time to have a real battle-damage assessment."

NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes said the raids the largest operation in NATO history may intensify in coming days if the Serbs don't withdraw from artillery positions threatening Bosnian civilian centers.

About 60 NATO warplanes at least 50 of them American conducted the raids. More than French, British and Dutch troops of the Rapid Reaction Force used howitzers to launch more than 600 shells at Bosnian Serb positions in the mountains outside Sarajevo.

A French Mirage 2000C fighter was shot down by a Serb missile during the assaults, which were launched from NATO air bases in Italy and from the USS Theodore Roosevelt, a U.S. aircraft carrier in the Adriatic Sea off Croatia.

U.S. officials said it is thought the pilot and co-pilot ejected and probably survived. The plane was destroyed over enemy territory near Pale, the Bosnian Serb headquarters.

NATO fighters also bombed Serb radar sites, army barracks and air defense systems near Pale, Tuzla and Gorazde, both U.N.-declared "safe areas" that have come under Serb attack in recent months.

The goal of the first NATO fighters was to remove the Bosnian Serb air defense system to establish regional air superiority. The Serbs had used the threat of surface-to-air missiles to challenge NATO planes in the last year.

After taking out the missile and radar sites, NATO aircraft began attacking the Serbs' military infrastructure. Sarajevans could see smoke rising Wednesday morning from an arms

WASHINGTON

HUD: Train tenants of public housing



AP
CISNEROS: Wants 'learning campuses'

The Clinton administration proposed converting public housing projects into "learning campuses," where tenants would take courses or participate in job training as a condition of living there. The idea is to replicate a college environment of living in dormitories while pursuing a degree, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros said Tuesday.

Unlike college, classes would be offered to all residents, from toddlers to the elderly, through day-care or life-enrichment programs.

The proposal would be funded through the \$1.5 billion HOPE VI

program. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is asking 32 cities now receiving HOPE VI money to incorporate the educational program into their plans for funds that have already been appropriated.

WHITewater PLEA: James McDougal, President Clinton's former partner in the Whitewater land deal, pleaded innocent Tuesday to federal fraud and conspiracy charges unrelated to their partnership in the land deal. McDougal is charged with wire, mail and bank fraud, and lying to regulators about loans from Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. He and his wife, Susan McDougal, owned the thrift until it was taken over by federal regulators in 1986, three years before it failed at a cost of at least \$65 million to taxpayers. He is free on his own recognizance. Susan McDougal's arraignment is Thursday. They face trial Oct. 10. If convicted, each could receive up to five years in prison.

REYNOLDS SEAT: Jesse Jackson Jr., son of the civil rights leader, has decided to run for Congress from Chicago, the elder Jackson said Monday. The younger Jackson is considering a bid for the seat held by Democratic Rep. Mel Reynolds, convicted last week of having sex with a minor, a former campaign worker. Reynolds is expected to announce Saturday whether he plans to resign. The elder Jackson, who has announced that he will enter his name in an 18-city "straw poll" of presidential hopefuls next month, told CNN that his son would make an official announcement on Sept. 9. "That's a great source of joy to me," Jackson said. "His generation assuming some responsibility of leadership is a good thing for America."

DRUG TRAFFICKING: Latin American leaders have a fresh "political will" to combat the narcotics trade even though the opium poppy fields are expanding and smugglers are finding new routes, White House drug policy director Lee Brown said Tuesday. Brown met with the presidents of Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia during a two-week South American tour. He toured drug fields and trafficking routes and visited Brazil, whose uncontrolled air space has provided a new smuggling route since Colombia's Cali cartel was disrupted. Latin American leaders are trying to step up enforcement and increase international cooperation to battle the renewed narcotics traffic, Brown said.

INTERIOR PUNISHED: The Environmental Protection Agency said Tuesday it proposed a \$266,025 fine against another federal agency, the Interior Department, for illegal storage of hazardous waste at a Yuma, Ariz., facility. The EPA said the Interior Department was cited for storing toxic waste without a permit between December 1991 and March 1995 at its plant in Yuma that removes salt from the Colorado River to lower salinity before the water flows to Mexico. The Interior Department was storing more than 60 containers of lead and several chemicals, the EPA said. The facility is being ordered to take all containers to an authorized hazardous waste storage facility within three months, and the department must submit a plan to ensure that wastes are quickly moved off the site.



By Mike Venso

FEDERAL FOREST LAND AT STAKE: A group created by NAFTA has been asked to referee a dispute over logging in the Pacific Northwest.

But Robert Ragon of Sun Studs logging and mill company in Roseburg, Ore., says businesses like his have waited long enough.

Sun Studs still hasn't been able to log four parcels it was awarded in 1990, he says. "We have a contract with the government and they've not allowed us to complete these contracts," Ragon says. "I guess we're going to go into full-fledged battle."

Logging feud lands in international arena

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

Environmentalists are turning to a little-known group created by the North American Free Trade Agreement to block a federal logging program in Oregon and Washington.

Frustrated with Clinton administration policies and nearly out of court options, 26 groups are asking the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation to referee a bitter feud over logging in Pacific Northwest forests.

The move is designed to put an embarrassing international spotlight on Congress. The environmental groups, including one from Canada and three from Mexico, claim Congress has violated U.S. laws and undermined NAFTA in allowing the renewed logging.

At stake: about 6,000 acres of for-

remedies left."

Administration officials had no comment on the petition.

Conservationists say they hope to stop the targeted timber sales and future attempts to avoid environmental rules. But the case may also test NAFTA as an environmental arbiter.

This is only the third petition to the three-nation commission seeking an environmental investigation since the treaty side-agreement was signed in August 1993. The U.S.-Canada-Mexico commission is relatively powerless to punish violators, but wields substantial power to embarrass environmental wrong-doers.

But the timber industry isn't intimidated by the shift to the international arena, says James Gelsinger of the Northwest Forestry Association.

"I don't think you can say this modest amount of timber will have irreparable harm on the environ-

ment," he says.

Congress first tried to lift environmental review requirements to speed up logging of dead and diseased trees that makes forests vulnerable to uncontrollable wildfires.

But then Congress widened the program to include healthy trees in parcels that were considered or approved for logging since 1990, but which may have been put on hold during the spotted owl controversy.

The problem is that many of those reopened timber parcels fall into "forest reserves" that were made off-limits to logging under Clinton's 1993 Forest Plan to save imperiled species. The administration has balked at opening those areas to sales. Lumber firms sued to get the timber.

In response, environmentalists also filed suit, arguing that even more sales should be canceled in order to save endangered habitats.

A quick test of the system

By Mark Memmott
USA TODAY

Signs that customer service had become a priority at the Social Security Administration first emerged about two years ago.

A USA TODAY test of the agency's ability to deal with customers shows some bright spots — and a few challenges that remain.

USA TODAY reporter Martha Moore called the agency's toll-free number — 800-772-1213 — asking if her 63-year-old mother (a full-time volunteer) would be eligible for benefits.

At 1:15 p.m., a Social Security representative answered the phone after three rings and quickly came up with an answer.

Mom was eligible at 62 to receive a benefit equal to 41.7% of the benefits Dad collects. At 65 she can collect 50% of his.

But because of high demand, not all calls are dealt with so smoothly. Tuesday, USA TODAY researcher Tammi Wark made 10 calls to the 800 number. After instructing the automated system to transfer her to a representative, Wark was:

► Placed on hold three times, for estimated waits of two to four minutes.

► Told seven times that "all circuits are busy now, please try your call later."

COVER STORY

Agency puts focus on its customers

Efforts focus on quick, friendly service

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — For knowledgeable, helpful, polite telephone service, a shopper can call that famous mail-order retailer in Maine.

Or, a taxpayer can call Social Security.

After two years of corporate-style reengineering, the Social Security Administration is emerging as the federal agency that's providing the best service to its customers — that is, to taxpayers. It's a favorite of Vice President Al Gore, the champion of reinventing government, and Michael Hammer, co-author of *Reengineering the Corporation* — the book that spurred the reengineering movement.

And in key measures of customer satisfaction, Social Security has outscored companies famed for service, such as Nordstrom and L.L. Bean. That's an "incredible" achievement, Gore says. "They're really transforming and reengineering their agency."

Reengineering, a term borrowed from the corporate world, means a start-from-scratch overhaul of the way an organization does its work, with goals determined by customers' desires and performance measured by comparisons against the best in the industry. Since 1993, when the Clinton administration kicked off its National Performance Review for government agencies, Social Security has pressed hard to improve customer service, through the agency's toll-free number (800-772-1213) for questions and information, and in its field offices. The changes that have been made are both obvious and subtle. For one thing, taxpayers are now referred to as customers.

As well they should be, says Stephanie Martin, a telephone representative at the agency's Jamaica (N.Y.) Telephone Service Center. "Social Security is a business, a business of insurance," says Martin, who handles 50 to 70 callers a day.

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NATIONLINE

Fla. welfare officials decry tot's death



By Marta Lavandier, AP
McGEE: Faces murder charge in death of 23-month-old daughter

The death of a 23-month-old Miami girl left alone with four other kids — ages 1 to 8 — while her mother went on a 10-hour shopping spree shows the need for church, business and neighborhood groups to get involved in neglect cases, Florida child-welfare officials said Wednesday.

"I'm stepping up to the plate and saying, 'Community, we cannot cope,'" said Anita Bock, administrator of the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services' Miami district.

"The community has to get involved."

Tiffany McGee, 24, and roommate Chiquita Jackson, 20, are jailed on charges of murder and child abuse. Four of the children, including the infant who drowned as another child bathed her, are McGee's. One child is Jackson's.

TIMBER RULING: The timber industry got the OK to cut 250 million board feet of mostly old-growth forests that previously were off limits to protect rare owls and other environmental concerns. The ruling by federal judge Michael Hogan in Eugene, Ore., is a major victory for timber interests. Hogan said a congressional act this year freed all Oregon and Washington national forest timber sales that had been awarded to the highest bidder but held up for one reason or another. A board foot is 1 square foot 1 inch thick.

MILITARY MARRIAGES: Higher pay, off-base housing and other perks for married couples are rushing many military personnel into bad marriages, says a researcher at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The study by Jeffrey Zaz found 18-year-old white men in the military were 79% more likely to marry than their civilian counterparts, but these marriages were 64% more likely to end in divorce by the time the husband is 24. Married personnel in the military get roughly \$220 more each month than singles.

VISITATION FIGHT: Grandparents do not have a right to visit their grandchildren, North Carolina's highest court ruled. Louise and Victor McIntyre of Statesville are estranged from their son and daughter-in-law, and have not seen their grandchildren, ages 10 and 7, for four years. At least nine states recognize grandparent visitation rights.

JAILED OVER A LIBRARY BOOK: A Kenton County, Ky., prosecutor defended his decision to have Tanya Goetz, 37, arrested because her son didn't return a library book and there was a \$3 fine. Goetz said she didn't know about the late book but was jailed for eight hours last month in a feces-and-urine-caked cell with a stripper and a husband-beating suspect. "Not returning a library book is a form of theft," said prosecutor Garry Edmondson. The book later was found, the fine paid and the charge dismissed.

ART FRAUD CASE: Lucio Ambroselli of Loomis, Calif., was charged with art fraud after collecting \$410,000 from State Farm insurance on two Italian Renaissance paintings he reported stolen — although the artworks have been hanging in the Vatican for centuries. An appraiser at Ambroselli's home had seen only photos of the paintings attached to crates that Ambroselli, 57, said held the paintings.

JFK RECORDS: The Assassination Records Review Board voted to release 54 more documents from the 1963 death of President Kennedy. At issue: 43 CIA papers about Lee Harvey Oswald's trip to Mexico City weeks before the assassination and 11 FBI documents about the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Oswald was a member. Some material is withheld to protect intelligence sources and methods. The panel earlier voted to release dozens of other documents.



AP
OSWALD: CIA papers track his trip

ALSO WEDNESDAY . . .

► **EXECUTION:** Arizona executed Jimmy Wayne Jeffers, 49, by injection for the 1976 murder of ex-girlfriend Penelope Cheney, who had told police of his drug deals.

► **TROPICAL WEATHER:** Hurricane warnings were posted for Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and the Grenadines as Tropical Storm Marilyn took aim at the Caribbean islands. Marilyn, with 65-mph winds, was expected to become a hurricane before hitting the islands today. Tropical depression 14 near Bermuda dissipated.

► **CHILD DEATH:** Judith Wilson, 37, of Vicksburg, Miss., was charged with manslaughter and child abandonment in the death of her 23-month-old son, whom she left in a hot car while she took a test at an employment agency.

► **BEAR MAULING:** Authorities closed all trails to Montana's Fifty Mountains region after a grizzly bear mauled Glacier National Park worker Lester Ashwood, 38, who was identifying flowers in a meadow Tuesday. He was taken by helicopter to a hospital and is in stable condition.

Kid's act of love brings a beating



By Danny Johnston, AP
DIFFICULT DAYS: Tracy Jernigan, son Joshua before haircut

A Pine Bluff, Ark., youth who shaved his head to show support for his mom — hairless because of breast cancer treatments — doesn't want to return to school because students beat him up in the mistaken belief he was a skinhead.

"Her looks were everything to her," said Joshua Martinez, 13. "I thought maybe, if I shave my head . . . (it) might be more comfortable for her." Instead he ended up with a black eye.

One student at Jack Robey Junior High School has been suspended in the incident. "It was out of love and compassion for me," said Joshua's mother, Tracy Jernigan. She wears a blonde wig. "It's just tragic that someone would have to take a beating for a haircut."

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Gary Fields, Patricia Rivera and Masud Khan.

*Eo re Alaska's Arctic
 Nuhil Wilalike Felipe*

Extortion now the least of its illegal activities

Billions in
\$100 bills
were sent
back to Russia
last year,
officials say

By Bruce Frankel
USA TODAY

AI

NEW YORK — The reputation of Brighton Beach, an immigrants' neighborhood, shadows it as much as the elevated subway tracks on Brighton Beach Avenue.

In Russia, Eastern Europe and cities around the world, Brighton Beach is famous as the U.S. hub of the Russian

mafija — an amorphous, multi-billion dollar global criminal network. It is the most thriving export of the post-Soviet economy, as brutal as it is innovative. And the *mafija* is spreading.

"They're the biggest, most brutal, potentially most-sophisticated and far-reaching criminal organization," says Gerard Burke, who is leading a task force on the *mafija* for the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

U.S. authorities are shocked by its rapid and ruthless expansion from extortion rackets — in emigre neighborhoods in New York, Denver, Seattle and Toronto among others — into a complex, far-flung criminal network of heroin trafficking, prostitution, health-care fraud, billion-dollar gas tax scams and money-laundering.

Just this week in Los Angeles, federal agents busted one of the most diversified Russian crime gangs seen so far. In August, federal prosecutors in New Jersey indicted 15 Russian immigrants as part of a \$140 million gas tax scam — the biggest in U.S. history.

The *mafija* was nurtured in the black markets of Russia, Armenia, Chechnya, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan.

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Continued from 1A

Its followers were taught to connive and survive by the corrupt Communist Party, and sometimes by the torturous prisons of the gulag.

They learned well.

The Russian gangsters, for example, didn't invent the gas tax scam, but they've come close to perfecting it.

Until recent changes in the law intended to stifle them, the *mafija* bought motor fuel from a supplier and then created an elaborate daisy chain of companies to buy and sell the fuel. One of these, the "burn," would supply receipts showing the motor fuel tax was paid. But when the government went to collect taxes, the "burn" company — often nothing more than a post box — had vanished.

Profits are financing rack-rents and buying real estate in California, Florida and New York, luxury car dealerships in Europe, and banks and resorts in the Caribbean.

The money is also going in a loop from Russia to North America and back.

A new Canadian police intelligence report says more than \$1 billion a month is pouring from Russia to the United States, Canada and other money laundering havens. Then much is sent back to Russia.

U.S. officials said earlier this year that an unprecedented \$20 billion in cash — most of it in crisp \$100 bills — was shipped back last year.

Authorities say the \$100 bills are used for bribery, to help camouflage widespread counterfeiting of other \$100 bills, and to aid in smuggling goods across borders.

Car dealers in Moscow say it's commonplace for gangsters to drop a stack of \$100 bills to buy a brand new \$150,000 armor-plated Mercedes.

Many worry that the marriage of the international Russian *mafija* and corrupt bureaucrats is destabilizing the fledgling democracies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

"The biggest and most fundamental question is whether democracy will survive," says Burke, who is also chairman of The Parvus Co., an international business security firm.

In Brighton Beach, many say stories about the Russian *mafija*'s presence there are tabloid fictions.

A stout waiter at the Winter Garden restaurant on the boardwalk in Brighton Beach, a short distance from Coney Island, shrugs off the annoyingly familiar questions with a firm exit gesture and an old Russian saying: "Sugar, sugar, sugar. And still my coffee isn't sweet."

He forgets Naum Raichel, a convicted extortionist who was shot three times in the chest by two men last year as he was leaving the Winter Garden, which he was then building. And the same day, police say, Raichel's brother, Simeon, was severely beaten on a street in Berlin.

One of the most prominent fears in the law enforcement and intelligence community is that Russian gangsters could get control of nuclear materiel and sell it to terrorists. By 1993, Germany had arrested more than 100 people for smuggling nuclear components from the former Soviet Union.

The FBI and other agencies are encouraged, however, that just one year after FBI Director Louis Freeh raised a national alarm and traveled to Moscow to open a two-man bureau there, law enforcement's efforts to work with Russian counterparts are paying off big-time.

The FBI's prime example:

The arrest June 8 of Vyacheslav Kirillovich Ivankov, 56, one of Russia's most powerful mobsters, at his Brighton Beach apartment. His trial on charges that he tried to extort \$8.5 million from two Russian investors is scheduled to begin next month.

Though well-known to Russian officials as an authoritative and influential *vory v zakone*, or thief-in-law, an honored category of criminal, he entered the United States on March 8, 1992 unnoticed by the State Department. Ivankov was sent here by an elite crime gang council in December 1991 to look after Russian organized crime interests and scout new "business opportunities," officials say.

But his lawyer, Barry Slotnick, says Ivankov was targeted by Russian police because he "has been a freedom fighter against the Communist system" and the KGB.

While Russian organized crime gangs are not ruled by a "godfather," Ivankov's arrest was important because it deprived one of the largest groups evolving here of a powerful boss, says James Kallstrom, head of the FBI's New York office. "He was top

dog on the watch."

Col. Yuriy Petrovich Gogolev, of the Russian equivalent of the FBI, says the FBI's information shows that Russian crime bosses traveled to Brighton Beach to get Ivankov's advice and blessings for criminal activities in at least 14 other countries, including Canada, Germany, France, Israel, Estonia, Senegal and the Bahamas.

The *mafija*'s stranglehold of banking and business in the former Soviet Union is now undisputed. But law enforcement officials are divided over whether it's a structured organization and just how much success authorities have had in combatting it here.

"Better late than never," says Stephen Handelman, author of *Comrade Criminal*, a new book that details the explosion of organized crime since the downfall of communism.

"While law enforcement was trying to figure out whether there was a problem, the Russian Mafia was spreading rapidly across North America."

Budget Pressure Eases for Public Colleges, but Relief May Be Fleeting

By Rene Sanchez
Washington Post Staff Writer

The severe aid cuts that have hit public colleges and universities across the nation this decade—and have sent tuition prices soaring—eased last year, but the relief may be too fleeting for students to benefit from it, a new study concludes.

The American Association of State Colleges and Universities, a Washington-based group that represents more than 400 of those institutions, said yesterday in a report that for the first time since the 1980s most states, including Maryland and Virginia, were financially stable enough last year to boost their higher education budgets

slightly and offset the need for large tuition increases.

Nationally, state spending on higher education increased by 4 percent last year and the average tuition at public universities increased by 6 percent, according to the report. The average annual cost of tuition and fees for in-state residents at a four-year public college or university is now \$2,590, the report said.

In recent years, college tuition increases often have exceeded 10 percent in many states, a rate much higher than inflation. Sharp decreases in aid to public colleges in other states such as California also have prompted widespread cutbacks in faculty and academic courses and have limited student access to some colleges.

“But states seem to be more fiscally sound right now, and so do the campuses,” said James B. Appleberry, the president of the association.

Still, the report cautioned that the newfound prosperity may be short-lived because the budget gains in most states are modest and because there is growing fervor in many statehouses to enact deep tax cuts.

“If state budgets are in danger, higher education funding is traditionally one of the first areas to feel the budget-cutting knife,” said John Ham-mang, who wrote the report. It analyzed higher education spending in every state.

It also noted that enrollment at public colleges and universities has declined for the first time since 1986. Although the decline is not large—

about 1 percent—researchers suggested that it is due in part to the rising cost of college this decade. Between 1986 and 1991, enrollment at public colleges nationally had been increasing about 2.5 percent each year. But in 1993, it dropped by 1 million students.

Another key factor in the enrollment decline, the report said, is that the pool of high school graduates is now at its lowest level in many years. But that demographic trend is about to sharply reverse course, particularly among minority students, who attend public colleges in large numbers and often rely on tuition aid.

“For the next 15 years, you’re going to see those numbers rise rather substantially,” Ham-mang said.

Federal Judge Opens Protected Timber to Loggers

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge in Oregon yesterday directed the Clinton administration to proceed with timber cutting on thousands of acres of forest in the Pacific Northwest previously set aside to protect wildlife and water quality.

The ruling by U.S. District Court Judge Michael R. Hogan stated that the sale of the timber is required by budget legislation passed by Congress in July. It represents a significant defeat for the administration and a blow to its comprehensive plan for managing forests in the Northwest and putting to rest years of public battle over old-growth timber in the region.

If the ruling stands, it also would be a victory for the timber industry and its congressional allies, who used the budget bill to mandate the harvest of hundreds of millions of board-feet of timber in Oregon and Washington

left uncut during the 1990s to protect the environment and wildlife, particularly a bird, the marbled murrelet.

At issue in the suit that led to yesterday’s ruling was how broadly to interpret a provision in the legislation directing the administration to release timber sales prepared under a 1990 congressional directive, but subsequently held back for environmental reasons. Republican congressional leaders and the timber industry argued that this year’s legislation applied not only to the specific sales covered in the 1990 bill, but to other sales awarded in subsequent years but held back for environmental reasons, throughout Oregon and Washington.

The legislation prohibits timber-cutting in stands actually occupied by nesting murrelets or other threatened bird species, but requires the administration to make up that volume elsewhere.

The practical effect of the decision, if upheld on appeal, would be the harvest of at least another 170 million board-feet of timber in addition to the roughly 270 million board-feet that the administration agreed was cov-

ered by the legislation. The additional volume would be enough lumber to build 17,000 houses.

Hogan’s decision was hailed by advocates of the additional timber harvest. Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), an architect of the timber legislation, said, “There was never any question as to what our legislation was designed to do. Today’s ruling puts people and jobs first.”

Lois J. Schiffer, assistant attorney general for environmental issues, said the administration is disappointed with Hogan’s decision, which if upheld “could jeopardize the careful balance that the president has struck between moving timber, improving commerce and protecting the environment.”

Environmentalists yesterday criticized the ruling. “The impact will be devastating,” said Adam Berger, an attorney with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. “We will likely see the extirpation of some salmon and steel-head runs, the destruction of numerous healthy stands of old-growth and mature forests and the degradation of municipal water supplies.”

Visitor Most Likely to Be Remembered

CLINTON, From B1

Presidential Talk At Md. School Is A Big Crowd Pleaser

By Peter Maass and Steve Bates
Washington Post Staff Writers

"Sit down! Everyone sit down!"

No matter how many times Denise Willoth issued the command yesterday, her students at Mayfield Woods Middle School in Howard County would not be cowed into submission. The governor and the national media were there, the Secret Service was everywhere, sharpshooters were hiding on the roof, attack dogs were combing the perimeter, the parking lot was crammed with satellite trucks, and, like a scene from a Vietnam War movie, a squadron of military helicopters clattered over the treetops, bearing the president of the United States of America.

Sit down? Are you kidding? This was, as one parent observed, a one-in-a-million day.

President Clinton's visit to Elkridge came halfway through a week in which dozens of administration officials have fanned out to attack Republican proposals to reduce federal education spending. While Clinton chose Mayfield Woods as a site to rail against proposed cuts in anti-drug education programs, Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown visited Mount Vernon Elementary School in Alexandria yesterday to blast plans to trim federal grants to encourage advanced technology training in schools.

"The purpose of balancing the budget is to lift the burden of debt from the young people in this audience," Clinton said to the outdoor crowd of about 1,000 students and parents, as well as to his national audience. "We cannot do that if we decide to balance the budget in ways that will undermine our economy or our quality of life. That is why I have said repeatedly, we do not have to cut education, and we must not cut our efforts to reduce the crime rate, to reduce violence and to give our children a safer, more secure future."

Clinton stayed for about two hours. For most everyone in the

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crowd, those hours will last a lifetime. A TV technician appeared more interested in his *Guns & Ammo* magazine, and some national journalists who had heard it all before listened instead to their cellular telephones. But for the students and parents in this prosperous and tidy Maryland community, the president was touching their lives.

The ceremony showcased Terrell Brice, an eighth-grader seated proudly between Clinton and Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening (D). Brice made a brief speech that included a plea for solidarity in the fight against drugs.

"All of us, my friends, our parents, teachers and community leaders, have to join together to make sure that more lives are not wasted or lost," Brice said. He then uttered a phrase that few other 13-year-olds on this planet have uttered: "I would like to introduce to you a very special person . . . the president of the United States of America."

After he spoke, Clinton, Brice and other students signed a poster-size pledge to "Be Healthy and Drug-Free." Then the president followed his political instincts into the crowd.

Brenda Brooks could not quite believe it as the president approached her daughter and shook her hand. Brooks's vocabulary diminished to a few words: "Oh, my God, yes, he's, oh, my God, yes, he's doing it, my God." A minute later, she got into the act herself and threaded her way forward to get her own presidential handshake. She emerged triumphant and, admiring her right hand, declared, "I'm not going to wash it."

Even though most of the hands were on the small side and belonged to Americans who will not be able to vote for several years (but have parents who can vote now), Clinton waded ahead and kept on shaking and smiling. He made his way over

to the band and chatted up Dale Perkins, who had a tenor sax hanging below his chin. The president wanted to know whether Perkins was playing a Yamaha; he was. Perkins, a minute later, seemed dazed and delighted and said, "Maybe he and I can hook up and play a little bit."

Miles away in Alexandria, Brown sounded the same theme as his boss as he visited more than a dozen students who have become Internet savvy through a federal program that helps schools buy and use computer and broadcasting equipment and other technology.

Mount Vernon fourth-grader Matteo del Ninno maneuvered his computer mouse deftly across the screen to bring up a photograph of the trash that was found in an alligator's belly—a graphic environmental lesson.

Nearby, third-grader Casey Smirniotopoulos scrolled through electronic options before calling up a log of the day's significant events, plus photos and biographies of Alexandria City Council and School Board members—a graphic political lesson.

"Look at these kids," Brown said. "This clearly demonstrates what's at stake in the budget fight."

"This is not about faceless numbers," Brown said. "This is about what happens to young people and their thirst for knowledge."

Meanwhile, in Elkridge, Susan J. Cook, chairman of the Howard County Board of Education, pronounced the president's visit a success.

"We have great kids here. Usually what you hear in the news about students is negative. This wasn't a negative thing here today. Their behavior is positive. Their [drug-free] program is positive. This is education at its best."

The commander in chief waved goodbye one last time, and a minute later, his Marine Corps helicopter was taking off. A teacher shouted to a few students, "Don't stand on the chairs!" But of course, it was a futile instruction on this one-in-a-million day. The president of the United States of America had come to their school.

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faceless numbers.
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—Ronald H. Brown,
Commerce secretary

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