

The Northern Forest Forum

Working for Sustainable Natural & Human Communities

\$3.00

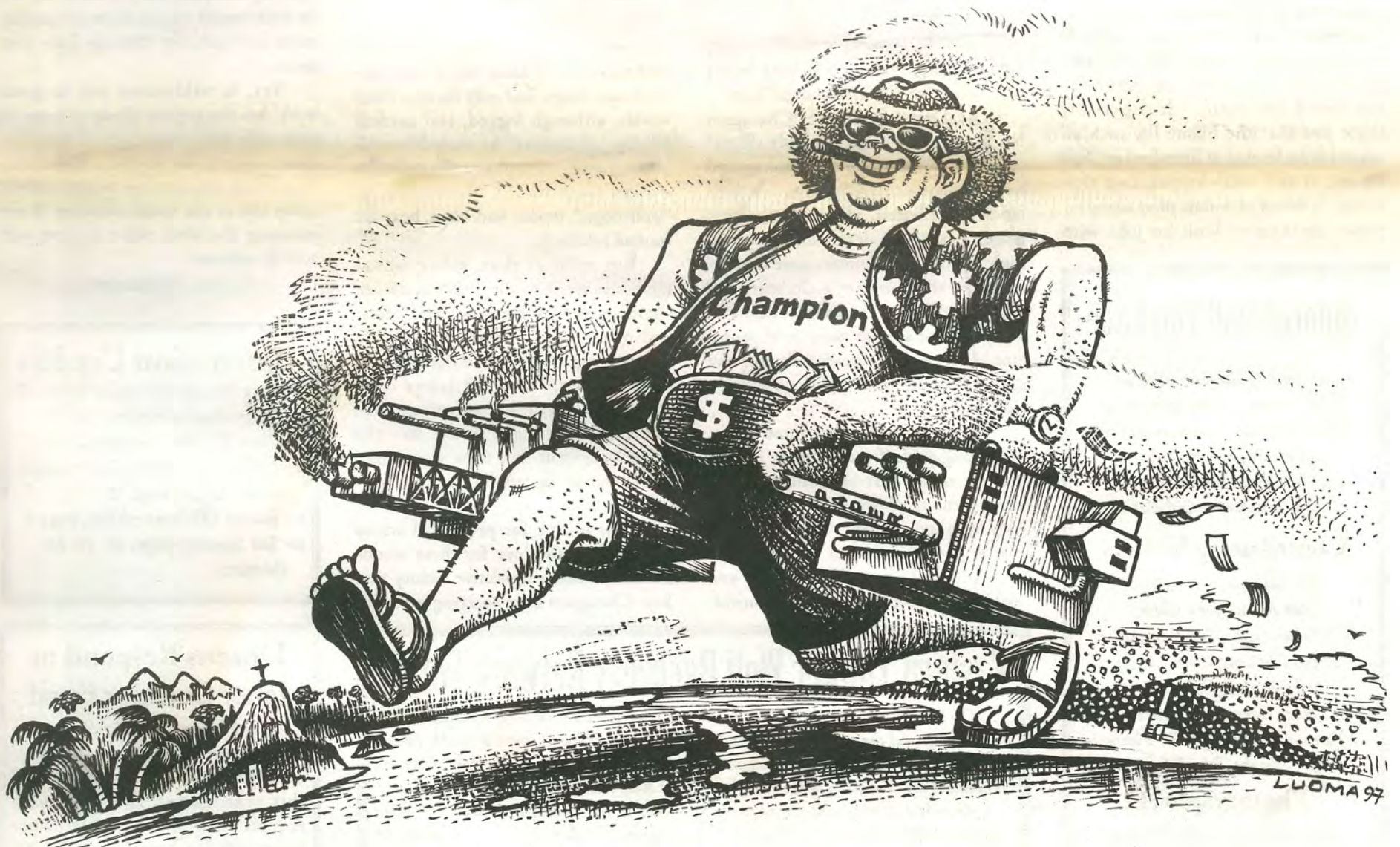
Mid Autumn 1997

Volume 6 No. 1

CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL TO SELL 330,000 ACRES

144,000 Acres in Adirondack Park
138,000 Acres in Northeastern Vermont
48,000 Acres in Northern New Hampshire

See page 4



Also Inside

➤ Green Mountain Planning Process by Jim Northup - page 3; ➤ Sierra Club & Maine Audubon Disagree on Maine Compact—More Compact News & Views from Jym St. Pierre & Bob Voight - pages 8-13; ➤ Mitch Lansky Writes on the Fallacies of Logic - page 18; ➤ Hancock County Low Impact Forestry Project Charts Course - page 20;

➤ *Special Energy & Agriculture Section beginning on page 21 includes:*

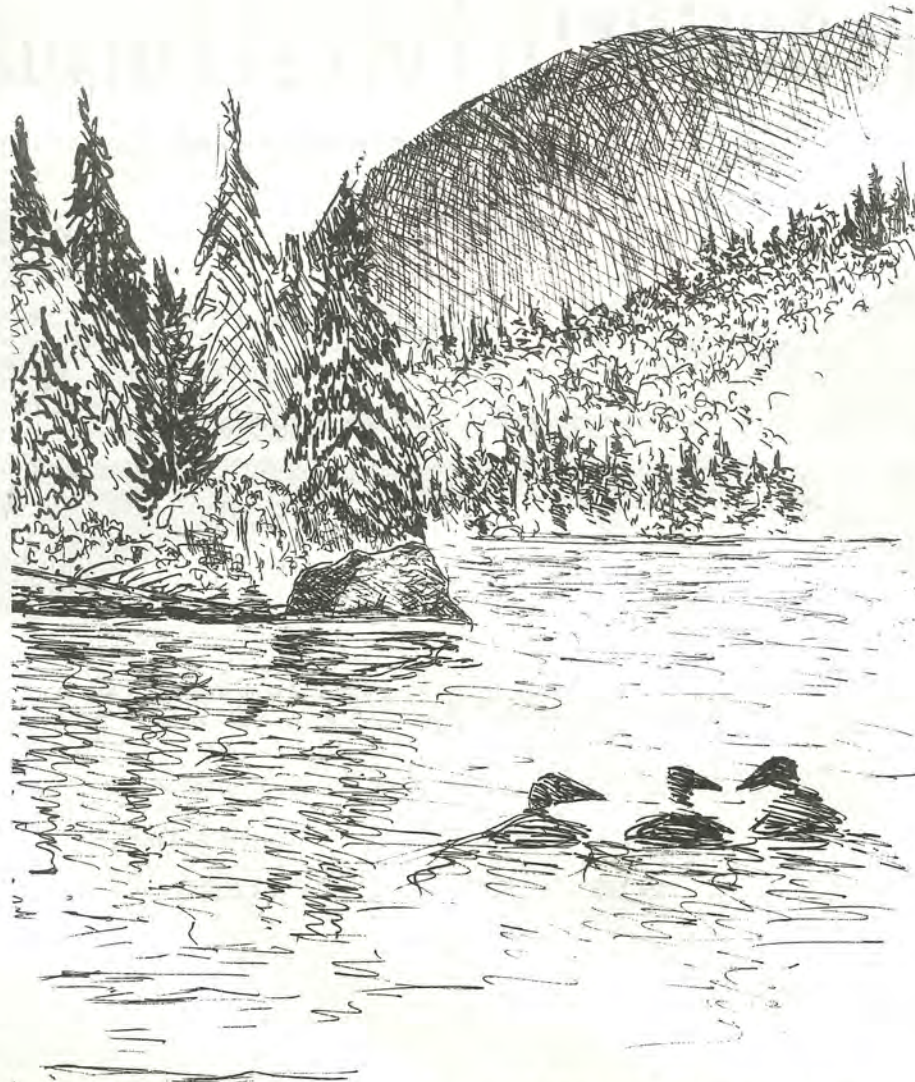
- Connecticut River Dam Agreement & Other Dam News from Quebec
- Food Irradiation & Herbicide Campaigns in Vermont & Maine
- Utility Restructuring—Corporations, Coops, Net Metering
- Forum Interview with Agriculturist Justin Brande

Champion Land Sale—Vermont Perspective

For some years, it has been a question of not "If" but "When" Champion International would unload its Vermont timberlands. Timber survey data suggest that these woods have had their softwood cut at twice the rate of growth during the 1980s; the current low level of logging activity confirms the visual sense that the company bit into its inventory here.

Vermont's clearcutting debate began here as well: Champion and predecessor St. Regis introduced large-scale clearcutting to Vermont and helped infect the wider landscape both directly, via connections to contractors, and indirectly through example. Since the late 1970s these woods have also been extensively roaded, to facilitate the removal of chips, with sandpits for roadfill gouged into hillsides a forlorn token of the pillage. While some apologists saw proposed herbicide spraying as a commitment to management, others saw it as a confused thrashing in hopes of "more wood."

Predictably, too much of our political leadership sings the song of "preserving a working forest" while ignoring twenty years of cash-out logging (and piece-meal land sales) that represents a company, ironically staffed by foresters, abandoning a long-term silviculture that could have, and should have, focused on the growth of sawtimber spruce and yellow birch, with balsam fir and fast-growing hardwoods used as intermediate "bread and butter." It is possibly more just that the blame for such an approach be leveled at Stamford or Wall Street; it is a well-known fact that young foresters abandon their inappropriate idealism or look for jobs with



government, rather than butt heads with corporate dictums (and get fired).

Local good feeling for Champion has much to do with its saintly (Regis) origins, and the culture of hunting and forest products employment to which its lands contributed. However, the past fifteen years have done much to erode such feeling. Deer hunters were the first critics of the company's clearcuts and high-grades that I ever heard—and justly so. Nor are too many local people employed on these lands—despite the dim assertions from politicians about a working forest.

The spiritual fact of these lands, pre-dating Anglo/French culture, may be lost on some, but certainly not the Larry Benois of Vermont, the hunters who have imbibed the woods' mystical nature each November, even as they were plucked apart. Wilderness and "wilderness people" were once consid-

ered alien, and of alien values here, perhaps, but simply and only because these woods, although logged, and roaded, felt like wilderness. As recently as the 1960s, horses and ephemeral skid roads worked these woods. Mountain lion, "wolf dogs," moose and black bear are spotted routinely.

But even at that, those whose memories reach to the 1920s or earlier, could speak of something even wilder and more grand than what was left a few years ago. "Oh, but you should have seen it then," one old timer once remarked to me. It is that heritage that, culturally, we ought to act on—the acknowledgment that these woods represent something very large in our collective psyche.

This is true for people all across Vermont, whose love for these woods translated into a legislative victory that kept Champion from spraying herbicide

on its clearcuts. This passion was under-estimated by those who supported spraying or were willing to compromise on the issue, or who still mis-comprehend or deliberately miscast the controversy as one of "the working forest" versus affluent, preservationist environs.

The political structure will view any resolution to the Champion sale that preserves the land as one piece and avoids inflaming property and industry reactionaries as a "victory." Acquisition of conservation easements and sale to a "green" timber company would, for such who mis-apprehend the true significance of these woods, be ideal. However, we will have failed, and will continue to miss the mark, until we act to give form to the two twin, compatible, and yet seemingly divergent cultural values these woods have embodied. We as yet have no effective models for achieving both local employment, through direct woods work and subsequent manufacture, and sustaining the wildness of the land. To do both would require an overall vision and assessment of land capability and geography, and deliberate consideration of how these lands fit the wider regional landscape. To do both would require a much higher commitment to long term silviculture than any company has yet exhibited. To do both would require more of government and industry than we have ever seen.

Yet, in wilderness and in good work, are the precise ideals of how we have collectively regarded the woods of Essex County. To do less than our history would command is to concede too much loss in our social character. If not pursuing the ideal, what is it we will actually achieve?

—Andrew Whittaker

Editorial Staff This Issue

Andrew Whittaker—Editor
Mitch Lansky—Assistant Editor
Pamela Prodan—Assistant Editor
Jamie Sayen—Publisher
Kit Kuntze—Advisor
Mary Stinehour—Circulation

Contributing Writers

Rob Baldwin, Peter Bauer,
Rob Bryan, John Clark,
Michael Colby, Lloyd Irland,
Alexis Lathem, Mitch Lansky,
Gene Logsdon, Jim Northrup,
Nancy Oden, Ron Poitress,
Pamela Prodan, Jym St. Pierre,
Robert Voight, Bren Whittaker

Photographers

Alex MacLean, Gary Randorf,
Gustav W. Verderber

Artists

Elye Alexander, Mary Azarian,
Gary T. Causer, Jon Luoma,
Rachel O'Meara, Sue Szwed

The Northern Forest Forum is published six times a year by The Northern Appalachian Restoration Project
A Non-Profit Organization

Eastern Timber Wolf Recovery Network Forms

On October 25, at a conference at Antioch College in Keene, NH, 18 local regional, and national conservation organizations that support the recovery of viable timber wolf populations in the northeastern United States and southeastern Canada announced the formation of the Eastern Timber Wolf Recovery Network.

As a first step toward the recovery of wolves in the region, the Eastern Timber Wolf Recovery Network is urging the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to complete an environmental impact statement (EIS) to analyze the potential for wolf recovery in northern Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York. The EIS would be done in partnership with the four states and ensure full public review and participation. This initiative follows successful wolf restoration initiatives around the country, including in Yellowstone National Park, Montana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The eastern timber wolf, once common from New England to Minnesota, was systematically eliminated from its original range by the 1880s. The wolf is now protected under the Endangered Species Act. Preliminary studies indicate that millions of acres in northern New England and New York seem to meet the basic requirements for wolf habitat, such as large tracts of wildlands, low human population density, and adequate prey populations.

For more information about the Eastern Timber Wolf Recovery Network, contact: Kristen DeBoer, RESTORE: The North Woods, 508 287-0320.

Illustration Credits

↳ Elye Alexander—pages 6, 18, 20
↳ Mary Azarian—pages 26, 28
↳ Gary T. Causer—pages 27, 29
↳ Jon Luoma—Front Cover, pages 3, 22, 23, 24 (top), 25
↳ Rachel O'Meara—Mast, page 2
↳ Sue Szwed—pages 10, 19, 24 (bottom)

Dozens Respond to Janet Cormier Fund

Janet Cormier, a Maine soil scientist concerned with forestry issues, died from cancer on June 23rd of this year. In response to Janet's request that money be left in her name with the Low-Impact Forstry Project, over 60 donors have sent in contributions. This fall, we will have a meeting with Janet's husband, David Cormier, and with foresters and scientists who knew Janet to decide how best to spend the money given in her name.

Although I have thanked each donor personally, I'd like to publically thank everyone who cared enough about Janet and her work to give.

—Mitch Lansky

REVISION OF THE GMNF MANAGEMENT PLAN HAS BEGUN

by Jim Northrup

The January 1987 adoption of the Green Mountain National Forest plan marked the end of an intensive, six year planning process and the beginning of the plan implementation process. Federal regulations require that National Forest plans be reviewed and, if necessary, revised every 10 to 15 years. This means it is time for the agency to take stock of what they learned during plan implementation, to respond to new issues and information that have come up, and to meaningfully involve interested citizens in setting new policies to guide management of our national forest at the start of the next millennium.

The Forest Service hosted a series of public meetings earlier this summer to launch the planning process. More public meetings are planned for this fall and winter. If all goes according to schedule, the agency will do the bulk of its analysis and planning during 1998, issue a Draft Plan and Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) in 1999, and adopt the Final Plan in 2000. Citizens will be invited to participate throughout the process.

Two primary sets of rules guide the agency's planning process: the National Forest Management Act regulations (36 CFR Part 219) and the National Environmental Policy Act regulations (40 CFR Parts 1500 -1508). Anyone interested in understanding and influencing the agency's plan revision process should request copies of these rules and the current management plan from the Forest Service. (231 North Main Street, Rutland, VT 05701, 802.747.6700).

Current Vision for the GMNF

The best place for the agency to begin a re-vision of the GMNF plan is to take a look at the vision expressed in the current forest plan. If the vision expressed in the current plan still reflects society's needs, wants and values then any proposed changes to the plan that would strengthen and promote that vision should be adopted, and any proposed changes that would be contrary to the vision should be rejected. Simple.

The Forest Service expressed society's vision for the GMNF in several places in the current plan. The following philosophy is at the heart of that vision:

We believe that public land in New England is scarce and precious: Our management philosophy reflects that belief. The Green Mountain National Forest should be managed to provide benefits that private land does not... With its large blocks of land in remote areas, the GMNF is particularly well suited to providing opportunities for backcountry recreation and wilderness. (GMNF Plan, p. 4.03).

If anything, the philosophy underlying the plan's vision is even more relevant today than it was ten years ago. The Forest Service needs to hear that we want the agency to continue to embrace this philosophy as it sets new policy and management direction for our scarce and precious public land. We need to hear that they intend to do so.

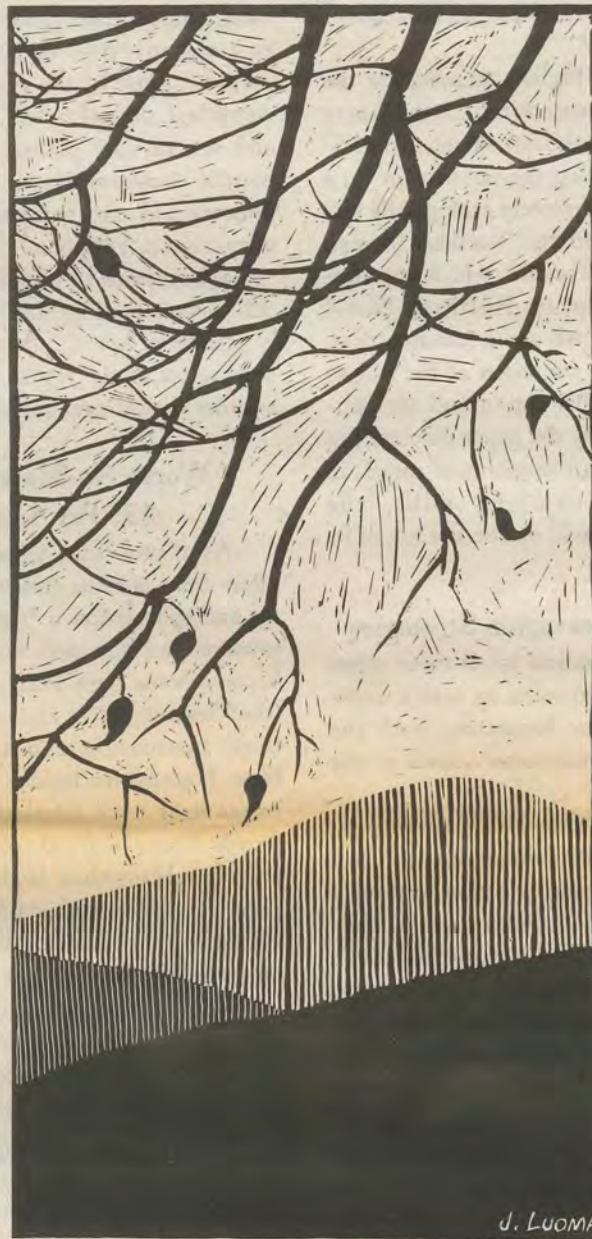
There are many things the Forest Service could do to promote society's current vision for the GMNF. A number of examples are listed below. Keep them in mind and add to them as you participate in the plan revision process.

- **Perform Timber Cutting Primarily for Demonstration and Education:** This plan recognizes that increased timber volumes can be removed from private land, while large, remote areas can only be provided by the Green Mountain National Forest. (GMNF Plan, p. 3.01). Private lands are more numerous, better able and better suited to meet timber demands. (GMNF Plan, p. 5.07). The Green Mountain National Forest should be used for research, education, and demonstration of various types and techniques of management. (GMNF Record of Decision, p. 4).

Over the past decade, the Forest Service continued its long-standing tradition of practicing industrial-style

We believe that public land in New England is scarce and precious: Our management philosophy reflects that belief. The Green Mountain National Forest should be managed to provide benefits that private land does not... With its large blocks of land in remote areas, the GMNF is particularly well suited to providing opportunities for backcountry recreation and wilderness.

—GMNF Plan, p. 4.03



forestry—relatively large, intensive cuts—even though it acknowledges that wood production should not be its primary goal. Old habits are hard to break.

As part of its planning process, the Forest Service should consider shifting its emphasis from production of wood to education of private woodland owners through demonstration of small-scale, sustainable forest practices on highly visible and easily accessible sites. If this were done, it could substantially increase the number of small private forest landowners who are managing for wood production. This, in turn, could result in substantially more high quality wood available for cutting than could ever be available from GMNF land.

- **Provide More Large Blocks of Undisturbed Forest:** Private lands are unlikely to provide "wildland" conditions in the future. The population will continue to grow and greater pressures will be placed on all lands to meet society's needs. Private lands are best suited to meet the needs for housing, lumber, minerals and roaded, natural appearing areas...Public lands in Vermont are best suited to provide large tracts of unroaded "wildlands." (GMNF Record of Decision, p. 19).

Many wildlife species thrive in patches of forest—big and small—that have been cut, roaded and disturbed in other ways by humans. These conditions are

amply provided on private forestland. Other species, however, need large tracts of relatively undisturbed, unbroken forest to ensure their survival. The national forest is the best, perhaps the only, place to ensure the protection of such habitats over the long term.

The Forest Service should look at the possibility of increasing the number and extent of large, unroaded areas on the GMNF. This could be done by halting the construction of planned roads, closing some existing roads, and adding newly acquired areas to the unroaded land base. A few potential additions to the unroaded landbase deserve particular attention—Glastenbury Mountain, the large unroaded basin along Lamb Brook, and areas adjacent to land now designated as Wilderness or Primitive.

- **Create an Ecological Reserve System Spanning Public and Private Land:** We share the public's belief that the Green Mountain National Forest has an important role to play in providing backcountry recreation and scarce wildlife habitats that private lands cannot provide. (GMNF Record of Decision, p. 38).

- **Create Close, Long-lasting Relationships Among Citizens, Loggers and FS:** Each segment of the public, indeed, each individual, has a unique relationship with this National Forest. The needs and wants of these groups often differ—sometimes dramatically...The interests and relationships of all people and all uses of the National Forest (must be) considered since the Forest Plan will affect management options for many years. (GMNF Record of Decision, pp. 6-7).

National Forest planning need not limit itself to considerations of land and resources. People are important too. As part of its planning process, the Forest Service has a chance to rethink and reshape its relationships with the individuals and groups and contractors that use and enjoy the GMNF.

There is much to be gained by creating new, ongoing social institutions and processes to promote dialogue, understanding, and cooperation among the diverse groups that have an interest in the whole National Forest. Establishment of a GMNF Citizen Roundtable could be very beneficial. Establishing small groups of citizens to advise the Forest Service about management actions in local watersheds and to monitor the results of those actions over time could also be helpful to the natural resources, the local communities and the agency.

Stewardship of the national forest might also be improved if long-term relationships could be created between loggers, local citizens and a piece of land. As it stands now, each timber sale must be bid on separately and this means that several different loggers could end up cutting timber in one local watershed over a ten year period. Lack of familiarity with and long-term accountability for the land by loggers may result in unnecessary environmental harm and taxpayer expense. The planning process should be used to design better ways to do business so that they may be tried on an experimental basis during plan implementation.

Citizen Involvement is Essential to Success

Woody Allen once said that, "Eighty percent of success is showing up." Well, the Forest Service has begun the process of revising the current GMNF management plan and it is essential that VNRC members and other conservationists show up when the agency hosts public meetings and asks for public comments—written and oral. This is the only way to keep the current vision for the GMNF alive and ensure that policies and actions are adopted to promote and strengthen that vision.

Please contact VNRC if you would like to be involved or want more information about the planning process. We'll keep you updated regularly and will let you know how you can help.

Jim Northrup can be reached at Vermont Natural Resources Council, 9 Bailey Ave., Montpelier, VT 05602.

CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL TO SELL 330,000 ACRES IN ADIRONDACK PARK, VERMONT & NEW HAMPSHIRE

Proposed Sale Highlights Decline of Northern Forest Timber Industry

by Jamie Sayen

On Wednesday, October 8 Champion International announced it was selling 330,000 acres of forestland in the Adirondacks, northeastern Vermont, and northern New Hampshire, along with its paper mill in Deferiet, New York, as part of a major corporate restructuring plan. Describing these lands and mills as "non-strategic", Champion CEO Richard E. Olson said in a press release that day: "Maximizing total shareholder return [is] our governing objective." Minimizing its worldwide workforce was a secondary objective, as Champion announced that it intended to reduce its workforce by approximately 34%, more than 8,000 jobs.

Champion is selling its entire land holdings in the Adirondacks (144,000 acres) and northeastern Vermont (138,500 acres). It is also selling approximately 48,000 acres in New Hampshire, including 25,000 in Stratford, Columbia, and Dixville Notch that abut the Nash Stream State Forest, and an additional 23,000 acres in Clarksville and West Stewartstown. It is not selling its softwood timberlands in Pittsburg, NH (approximately 143,000 acres) or its Bucksport, Maine paper mill and its eastern Maine timberlands (approximately 730,000 acres).

This is the sixth major timberland sale in the Northern Forest region in the last decade. Although the Northern Forest Lands Study/Northern Forest

Lands Council (NFLS/NFLC) was supposed to develop strategies to cope with such mega-sales, nothing yet has been done. The Northern Forest Stewardship Act, a very moderate bill sponsored by Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont has been stalled in Congress by western senators aligned with Wise Use/Property Rights extremists. Even if it passed, the Stewardship Act would not provide any money for a contingency fund to anticipate such sales. It would, however, make public acquisition more likely.

Thus, the highest priority for the region's conservation community remains the establishment of a contingency fund so that the public can—in a timely fashion—protect ecologically significant lands in the Northern Forest. While we can't predict which corporation will unload its Northern Forest holdings next, we can guarantee that, given the sorry condition of the industrial forest in this region and the conscious strategy by the paper industry not to invest adequate amounts of capital in the region's decaying mills, the Champion sale will not be the last of its kind.

State Conservation Strategies

Conservationists in all three states are scrambling to come up with a workable strategy for protecting both the ecological and economic values of the region.

In New Hampshire, residents of timber-dependent communities in Coos County are promoting a plan to protect the 25,000 acre east-west oriented parcel in North Stratford and southern Columbia as a memorial forest reserve honoring Vickie Bunnell, a beloved former selectwoman of Columbia and a

judge who was murdered by a gunman on August 19 in a rampage that left three others dead. The Coos County Democrat editorialized on October 15 in favor of the proposal. This tract provides critical connection between the Nash Stream State Forest and the Connecticut River, and then to Champion's Vermont holdings.

In Vermont, the 138,500 acres are in the heart of the Nulhegan and Victory Basins, an area identified by many conservation groups and agencies as a top priority wildlands zone. It includes most of the Nulhegan River watershed, critical boreal forest habitat, and several rare plants, animals, and natural communities. It is the largest undeveloped tract remaining in private ownership in Vermont.

Champion's holdings in the Adirondack Park include the ecologically significant boreal habitat lands of the headwaters of the Jordan River, as well as other critical river corridors.

Worth No More Than \$25 Per Acre?

As of presstime, Champion has no offers from another timberland company, and speculation is high that timber investors may shy away from these lands because some have been overharvested (the Vermont lands) and others are relatively inaccessible and unroaded (the New Hampshire lands). Timberland prices have been relatively flat in the decade since Diamond sold its Vermont and New Hampshire lands for \$212 an acre. An informed source says that Champion's Vermont lands should fetch no more than \$200 an acre.

Local foresters, loggers, and landowners familiar with Champion's Vermont lands say they are in very poor

condition. One logger said, "The forest has been knocked back into the stone age." Another forester said Champion's Vermont lands are worth no more than \$25 an acre as a long-term investment in sustainable forestry.

Another resident of Northeastern Vermont, a fourth generation timber industry employee, says that the previous owner, St. Regis, managed its Vermont and New Hampshire lands much less aggressively, although it did highgrade them in the 1960s and 1970s. Only in the early 1980s, as pressures from Wall Street intensified, did St. Regis begin to overcut these lands. Then, after Champion took over St. Regis lands throughout the Northern Forest region in 1984, the unsustainable cutting began in earnest. Today, he says, these lands have been "hammered." He and others estimate that there has been a roughly 50% reduction in logging jobs on Champion lands in the past decade because there simply isn't enough wood growing on these lands to sustain former employment levels.

This of course raises a prickly question. How will these Vermont lands sustain jobs in the future? The short-term answer is: they won't sustain many.

Good-Bye Vermont Hello Brazil

Before assessing the options for these lands and the region's economic and ecologic future, let's examine briefly the Champion press release because it is highly instructive about the values of absentee corporations such as Champion, Mead, Hancock and the like.

Champion headlined its October 8 press release as a "Plan to Maximize Shareholder Value." Sounds reasonable

Champion's Adirondack Holdings Include Critical Boreal Spruce-Fir Communities

Champion International announced that as of October 9 it plans to sell its 144,000 acres within the Adirondack Park and its paper mill in Deferiet, just outside the northwest boundary of the Adirondack Park. The Champion lands are located in Franklin and St. Lawrence counties and contain the northern corridors of the Grasse River, Oswegatchie River, St. Regis River and Deer River. Champion International also holds some of the largest low-elevation boreal spruce-fir communities in the Adirondacks, places long recognized for their special ecological significance.

The Champion mill in Deferiet makes both low grade coated stock (the paper used in *Time Magazine*) and various grades of uncoated stocks. The mill employs 600 people. Champion has stated it plans to sell the mill to another paper producer. The Deferiet mill is one of the oldest in New York and hasn't received significant investment or modernization for years.

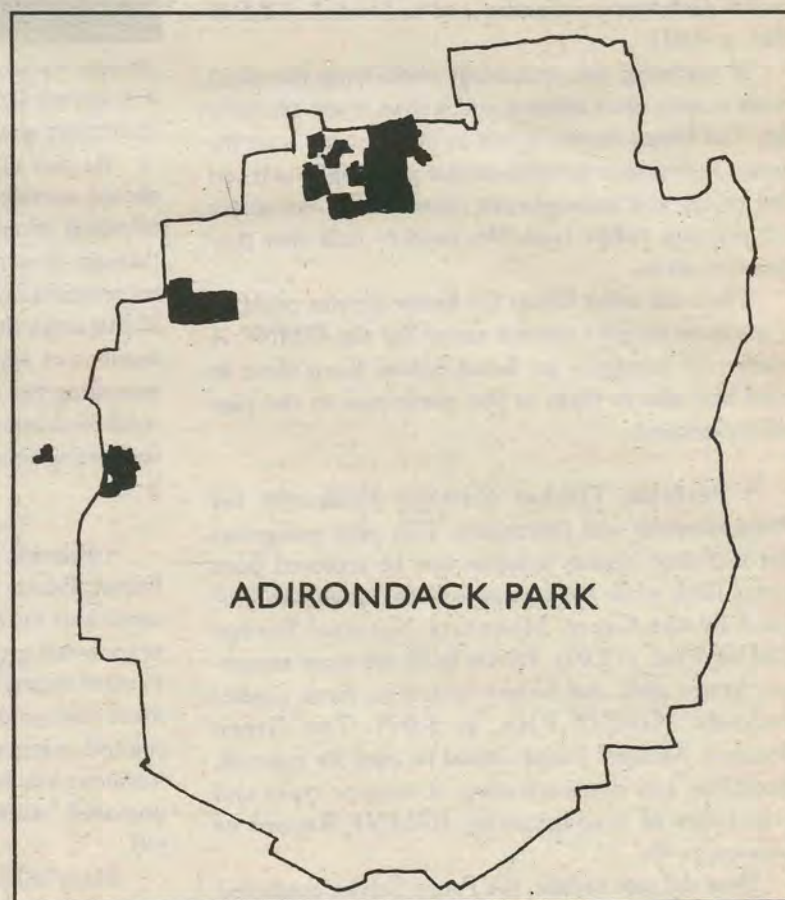
Governor Pataki has stated that his administration's top priority is the protection of the Whitney Estate lands, but that he's very concerned about any potential job loss. Much of the Champion lands are currently listed in the New York Open Space Conservation Plan, namely the northern river corridors and some

of the ponds and mountains as well as the most sensitive boreal habitat areas.

New York State currently has \$180 million on hand for land acquisition and will budget approximately \$30 million annually for land protection from the Environmental Protection Fund. The estimated value of the Champion lands is between \$200 and \$300 per acre in fee title and possess a conservation easement value of between \$100 and \$200 per acre. The total value for the 144,000 acres is approximately \$20 to \$30 million.

Public protection of the Champion lands is a top priority of the New York environmental community. There has been longstanding interest in purchase of Champion lands in Franklin County, including the ecologically-significant boreal habitat lands of the headwaters of the Jordan River, as well as the river corridors of the Grasse, Oswegatchie and St. Regis. These lands total somewhere between 40-50,000 acres. Another proposal that is being floated is that the state purchase a conservation easement on the remaining Champion lands. These funds could be used to modernize and convert the paper mill in Deferiet. This would also significantly reduce the carrying cost of the timber lands.

—Peter Bauer



Champion lands for sale in the Adirondacks

enough. But, as we read on, we discover that divesting \$1.4 billion in "non-strategic" assets entails:

- selling its recycled paper business which is based in Houston, Texas;
- reducing its worldwide workforce via the divestment and by other job cuts in its "strategic" assets (i.e., the assets it is retaining) by 34%, or about 8,200 jobs;
- abandonment of North American investment. "The company does not foresee building any new pulp mills or paper machines in North America. Champion will continue to evaluate opportunities in Brazil."

"Non-strategic" is an euphemism for saying "the land has been hammered and the corporation has refused to maintain adequate investment levels in its aging paper mills."

To maximize shareholder profits, Champion is getting out of the recycled paper business—a blow to efforts to reduce waste of virgin fiber. Champion is dumping thousands of jobs in North America and taking money earned by hammering the Northern Forest and investing it in Brazil. If you wonder why environmentalists and labor hate NAFTA, GATT, and free trade global-economy-style, Champion has provided the answers.

Meanwhile, Champion's decision-makers never consulted local communities affected by its decisions; it imposed its profit maximization plan on us. Suppose another absentee timber corporation—whether a paper company or a multi-billion dollar pension fund—rides in to save our local economy by

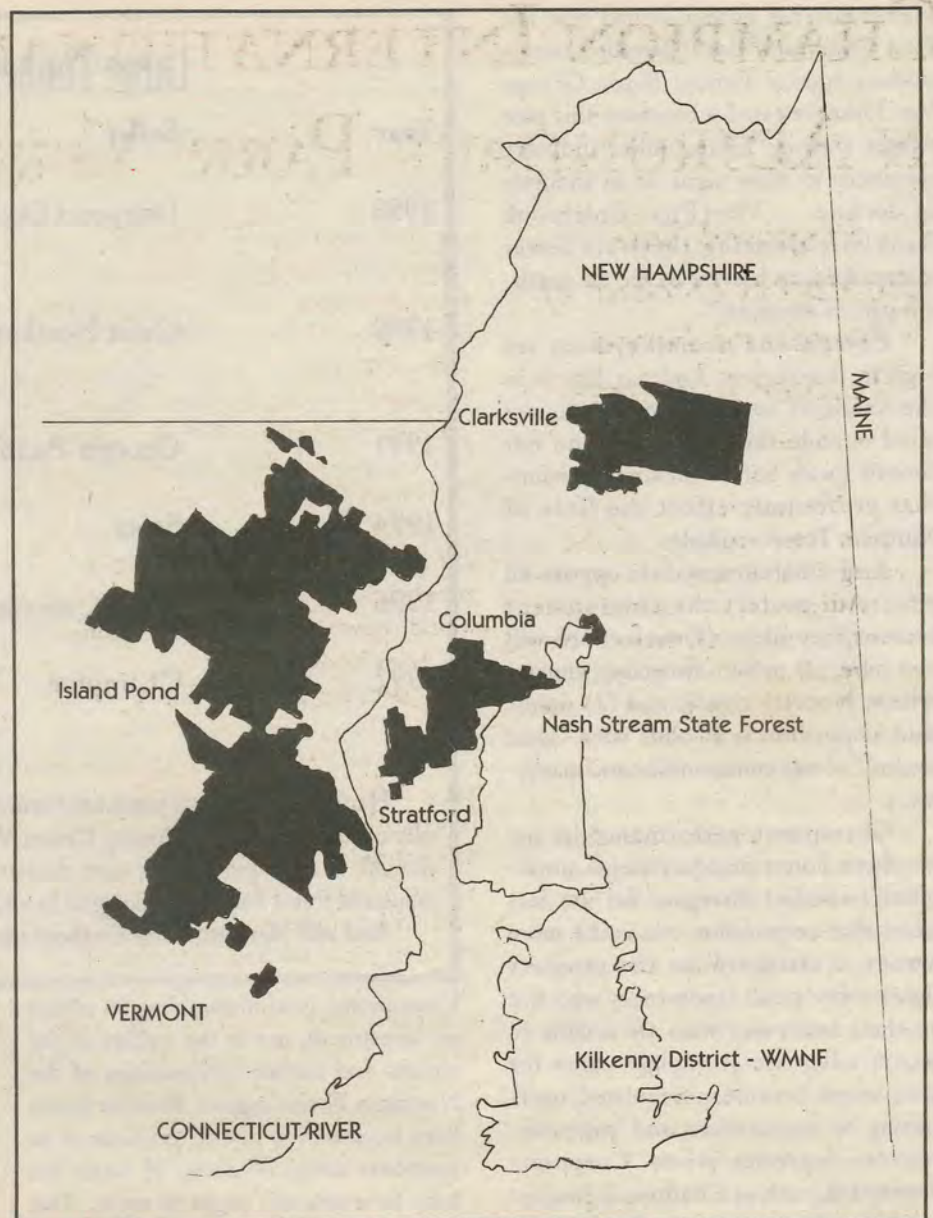
acquiring all or most of Champion's lands. Will this guarantee job security, sustainably managed forests, consultation with locals, protection of regional biodiversity? How long before it too heads for Brazil or Borneo?

Can We Prop Up the Status Quo? Should We Try?

The day the Champion sale was announced, Vermont's Governor Howard Dean said it was a high priority to keep the Vermont lands intact, not subdivided and developed. He deserves credit for this quick response. However, he then went on to suggest that an industry White Knight such as Hancock Timber Resources Group, might ride in, purchase the lands and maintain the status quo. Similar sentiments have been voiced by politicians, industry leaders, and some conservationists in New York and New Hampshire.

A desire to prop up the status quo implies that the status quo is desirable and can be sustained. Unfortunately, as discussed above, Champion has so seriously degraded its New York and Vermont holdings, caused significant job loss in the region, and fostered a global economy in which approximately 70-80% of its softwood sawlogs are exported raw to Canada. Very few of the potential quality sawlogs are allowed to reach maturity, and when they are cut, there are very few locally-owned value-added manufacturing operations—where the real potential for jobs creation lies.

The economy of northern New



Map of Champion Lands in Vermont & New Hampshire currently for sale. Map also shows Nash Stream State Forest and Kilkenny District in the White Mountain National Forest in New Hampshire.

Stratford Resident Proposes Public Protection of Champion's NH Lands to Honor Memory of Judge Vickie Bunnell

In the wake of Champion's announcement that it plans to sell approximately 25,000 acres in Stratford, Columbia, and Dixville Notch, NH, biologist Scot Williamson of Stratford has proposed that these lands be purchased through public and private funds to create a forest reserve to honor the memory of Judge Vickie Bunnell. Ms. Bunnell was murdered on August 19 by gunman Carl Drega, who also killed a local newspaper editor and two state troopers in a murderous rampage that will long haunt residents of northern New Hampshire and Vermont. Judge Bunnell was an avid outdoorswoman who lived just north of this tract in Columbia. Drega, also a resident of Columbia, murdered her because of a long-standing grudge he bore her from her time as a selectwoman of the town.

This mountainous region extends from near the Connecticut River in the northwest corner of Stratford into southeastern Columbia and thence eastward to the northwestern tip of the Nash Stream State Forest. It includes Goback Mountain in Stratford and Mt. Blue, Cleveland Notch, and Moran Notch in Columbia.

Williamson, a former NH Fish & Game deer biologist who now works for the Wildlife Conservation Foundation, was a close friend of Judge Bunnell. He and his wife Bonnie have been thinking of an appropriate way to memorialize their friend. Initially they thought of changing the name of Mt. Blue to Bunnell Mountain. As a courtesy, they approached Champion's Don Tase who directs Champion's West Stewartstown, NH office. Tase informed him that the company intended to sell off this parcel sometime in the next few years because it was deemed to be "non-strategic" to its long-term corporate strategy. This information inspired the proposal to purchase the entire tract and create a reserve to honor Judge Bunnell.

Williamson believes that this tract is ecologically significant and that it merits protection for purely bio-

logical reasons. "I think of this as a convergence of many interests: an ecologically important parcel with some unique wildlife habitat, as well as a memorial to Vickie."

Although it awaits a comprehensive ecological inventory, Williamson describes the land as a mix of softwoods at higher elevation and mixed hardwoods at lower elevations. While there are no lakes, it contains the headwaters of six streams and Cranberry Bog. There are 13 high elevation peaks in Stratford and six more in Columbia. A quarter of the tract is high elevation spruce-fir forest, a rare habitat type in New Hampshire. High elevation spruce-fir forests provide primary habitat for gray jay, boreal chickadee, spruce grouse, blackpoll warbler, white-winged crossbill, yellow-bellied flycatcher, and gray-cheeked (Bicknell's) thrush.

There is a 1989 report of a sighting of a peregrine falcon near the Lightning Mountain Cliffs in North Stratford. A lynx reportedly entered the area this year. There have been no confirmed sightings of lynx in New Hampshire in a couple of decades.

In addition to its ecological significance, this Stratford/Columbia tract is of enormous geographical significance. Running west to east, it provides vital connections from near the Connecticut River in Stratford to the Nash Stream State Forest, which in turn nearly connects with the White Mountain National Forest. In Vermont, Champion's holdings run from the Connecticut River west and south to the Victory Bog Forest. Linking other critical biological areas such as the White Mountain National Forest, the Nash Stream State Forest and Victory Bog is of the highest importance to a successful conservation strategy.

Following a flight over the tract in early October, Williamson told Caledonian-Record (VT) reporter Peter Riviere, "It's a big chunk of country, nice country with the high elevation forest areas in good condition.

There's a lot of continuity and the parcel isn't heavily roaded because the topography doesn't lend itself to extreme road building. It's a significant wildlife area." The reason for the light timbering in the past is due to its relatively inaccessible nature. Punching roads into the tract would be quite expensive, a factor that will probably discourage potential buyers.

Support for this proposal is growing in northern New Hampshire. On October 15, John Harrigan, a leader of the state's hunting and fishing community, editorialized in the Coos County Democrat: "A major, coordinated effort should be mounted at once to acquire this wonderful piece of country in the public's name, and thus assure that it will stay the wild and beautiful place it is for all time to come." The Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests has declared its support for the proposal: "The Society supports our friends in the North Country in their efforts to conserve key pieces of Champion's ownership. The goals of the proponents of a Bunnell memorial forest are wholly consistent with our own. We look forward to helping on this project if we can, as we look forward to looking at other conservation priorities in Champion's ownership."

Don Tase of Champion has responded very positively to the Bunnell initiative, although any decision Champion makes regarding sale of the Stratford-Columbia parcel will be made by corporate headquarters.

Probably the biggest potential stumbling block to local support is concern that Stratford and Columbia will lose property taxes if the tract goes into public ownership. However, Williamson and the people he is working with understand this issue and are making sure that these towns will lose no tax money. A likely solution would be to set up an interest-bearing trust fund to cover taxes which are extremely low—approximately \$1.25 in Stratford and \$0.43 in Columbia.

—Jamie Sayen

Hampshire has gotten so bad that the First Colebrook Bank, founded over a century ago by Timber Baron George Van Dyke, released a brochure this past winter stating: "The timber industry continues to show signs of an industry in decline. ... We [First Colebrook Bank] are noticing there are fewer mature trees to harvest in the far northern part of our state."

Poverty and unemployment are high in this region. And our fate is in the hands of corporations headquartered outside this region who do not consult locals before making decisions that profoundly affect the lives of Northern Forest residents.

Anti-environmentalists oppose all efforts to protect the environment because, they allege: (1) such efforts will cost jobs; (2) public ownership violates private property rights; and (3) public land acquisition is at odds with "local control" of our communities and economy.

Champion's performance in the Northern Forest demonstrates a corporation's cavalier disregard for job loss when that corporation can make more money; a disregard for the property rights other small landowners who live on their lands and who are unable to secure adequate stumpage value for their wood because unregulated overcutting by corporations and large contractors depresses prices. Corporate divestment, such as Champion's has just announced, makes a mockery of the notion of "local control."

Well, if it is a poor idea to try to lure another absentee paper company into this region, what about Hancock? Since 1993 Hancock has purchased about a half million acres in northern New England. It is reputedly working to acquire 85,000 acres in northern New Hampshire currently owned by Crown Vantage (formerly James River). Hancock has mounted a very effective public relations campaign to convince the public that it manages its land sustainably. Whether true or not, if we want land protection, Hancock is not the answer.

But, there is a greater danger in relying on Hancock. It is funded by pension funds. Its commitment, like

Large Timberland Sales in the Northern Forest Since 1988

Year	Seller	Buyer	Approximate Acreage
1988	Diamond Occidental	Various: Timber & Speculators	970,000
1989	Great Northern	Georgia Pacific (hostile takeover)	2.1 million
1991	Georgia Pacific	Bowater	2.1 million
1994	Scott	ASP	900,000
1996	Boise-Cascade	Mead	667,000
1997	Champion	???	325,000

Who's Next?

Hancock, which has purchased over a half million acres in the past four years, much of it former Diamond lands, is reputedly on the verge of purchasing Crown Vantage's 85,000 acres in New Hampshire. Rumors of mill closures in Maine and NH abound. If the region's mills were modern, had been invested in at adequate rates over the past two decades, and if the region's industrial forest had been managed in a halfway sustainable manner, would these companies be selling?

And still Northern New England has no contingency fund for such large timberland sales.

Champion's, is to maximizing its return on investment, not to the welfare of the natural and human communities of the Northern Forest region. Pension funds have to cash in to pay off pensions as its members retire. In about 15 years the baby boomers will begin to retire. This will put a huge crunch on Hancock's management options. How will Hancock maintain its self-described responsible forestry management when the boomers retire? When I asked a Hancock manager this question a couple of years ago, he answered that he hadn't thought of that scenario. Oops.

In conclusion, propping up the status quo is neither desirable, nor possible. Efforts to do so remind us of an observation once made by Einstein: "Insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result."

Ecological & Economic Questions We Must Answer

What sort of future do we, the resi-

dents of timber dependent Northern Forest communities, desire and require?

Local Control: Northern New England has been controlled for a century by absentee timber corporations. Our timber economy and the ecological integrity of our forests are both in poor and declining condition. We do not need more absentee corporations making decisions for us. Ironically, anti-environmentalists use this argument to oppose public ownership of land, somehow forgetting that as members of the public we all have a right to help determine management of public lands, while no one in his right mind expects corporations to extend us the same courtesy.

Many residents of Northern Forest communities are realizing that local control may best be achieved by a mix of publicly owned lands that protect the ecological integrity of the region and benefit a robust tourist economy and quality of life, while the working forest lands surrounding the public lands are

owned by people who reside on their lands and must live with the consequences of their timber management practices. If decent-paying markets exist for quality sawlogs, these small woodlot owners can and will manage their lands sustainably.

Taxes: Many residents of Northern Forest communities object to public lands primarily because public lands are taken off the property tax rolls. This is a serious problem in the impoverished communities that have been dominated by the paper companies this century. If towns with public lands in them do not lose any property taxes, many Northern Forest residents will support public lands where appropriate. Clearly, any successful strategy must cover these taxes. Fortunately, in the case of the Champion lands, this won't be very difficult. In Vermont, three-quarters of Champion's holdings are in unincorporated townships where the average tax is approximately \$0.60 per acre. In the incorporated town the rate is in the vicinity of \$2.00 an acre. In New Hampshire, Champion pays Stratford about \$1.25 per acre. Columbia receives \$0.43 per acre. A dedicated trust fund could be set up to pay the towns these foregone taxes.

Jobs: Opponents of any initiative to protect our life-support system invariably cite "job loss" to justify their stance. This is a very astute strategy. Everyone is concerned about jobs, and any proposal to create widespread unemployment, especially in a region with a stumbling economy, is certain to be unpopular.

In the current case: (1) the status quo is failing to provide adequate jobs that can be sustained indefinitely; opponents of job loss should, therefore, oppose the continuation of the status quo. (2) There are many alternatives to the current job opportunities in the region: value-added, woods product manufacturing; ecologically-benign recreation and tourism jobs; and agricultural jobs (the Northern Forest region may not be California, but it can grow much more of its basic food needs locally if it rewarded the effort). (3) The





The famous 'horse-raft' that was used to drag stranded logs off the ledges and banks in the Connecticut River near North Stratford and the Nulhegan River. From 200th Anniversary of Stratford, NH.

anti-environmentalists who attack protection strategies have been curiously silent as local mills have downsized repeatedly over the past decade; they have remained mum when logging jobs disappeared due to mechanization and overcutting; and they have not raised a peep about the export of raw logs and manufacturing jobs. They don't care about jobs; they simply want to sabotage efforts to protect every one's health and welfare by protecting our common habitat.

Rights & Responsibilities: A minority of property rights extremists will, of course, oppose any effort to protect our economy and our life support system as a violation of their private property rights. This loud minority has poisoned nearly every discussion over the fate of the Northern Forests for a decade. They enjoy disrupting democratic discussion through the use of threats, innuendo and intimidation.

The Achilles heel of the property rights zealots is their willful and selfish misinterpretation of the Constitution and US history. The Constitution protects individual property rights, but it also protects the rights of the community, which was a far greater concern of the most forward-thinking Founders. The Constitution was written by a generation that believed in civic virtue—a now all but forgotten concept as we slink toward the millennium. The highest form of citizenship in a republic, the Founders believed, was civic virtue—selfless service to community, understanding that rights only have meaning when tied to our responsibilities to our community and to future generations.

Transforming our local economy into one that rewards long-term, careful stewardship and local value-added manufacture, while punishing overcutting, clearcutting, and raw log exports is the keystone to both protection of property rights and promotion of civic virtue. It marks the beginning of the restoration of healthy, locally-controlled Northern Forest communities.

Regional Economy: The goal of our regional economy must change. Today's economy is highly elitist: the rich get richer; the rest of us take a second and a third job just to stay afloat, while the health of our forests, rivers,

lakes, air and soils is degraded by pesticides, pollutants, and clearcuts. This is the vaunted global economy. The other day President Clinton rebuffed criticisms of the global economy by saying "Like it or not, it's here to stay." By that reasoning, since evil and stupidity are here to stay, like it or not, we should give up trying to live in an intelligent and moral way.

A sustainable regional economy would meet basic needs of its residents—food, shelter, clothing, fuel—while assuring our basic rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A healthy forest and a healthy, diverse forest economy can provide these needs. What this new, locally controlled economy cannot sustain is huge profits for absentee investors and corporations to remove from the local economy.

Champion sale offers opportunity to create a healthy economy and to begin to restore forest ecosystem health. Given our current knowledge of ecology; given the poor condition of Champion's Vermont lands; and given the dismal prospects for our regional economy under the status quo, we must devise a strategy that simultaneously addresses the region's ecologic and economic crises. A focus only on jobs and continued economic subsidies to the economic elites assures continued degradation of the region's forests. A focus exclusively on land protection and ecological concerns risks perpetuating a dismal economic future, and provoking violent local political opposition.

What are the limits of physical and ecological reality? Very broadly, there are two: (1) protecting the timber resource requires that we cut less wood than grows, that we protect the residual stand, that residual stands be adequately stocked, and that we protect soil and water quality; and (2) protecting the biological integrity of the region requires that we protect viable, evolving populations of all species and communities native to the region through a system of ecological reserves and carefully managed private woodlots.

Naturally, the establishment of ecological reserves means that there is less land available for timber management. This should be viewed as an asset because it forces us to convert our

region's timber economy away from the failed status quo. We must build an economy owned and controlled locally, that practices long rotations, Low Impact Forestry that produces high quality timber and protects critical wildlife habitat. Sawtimber grown in the region must be processed locally and manufactured into a diverse array of useful wood products. Ecological reserves can be a cornerstone of an ecologically low impact recreation and tourism economy.

An additional consideration is that ecological reserves, which assure the long-term health of our forest systems, also assure a high quality of life for residents of this region—something that, like one's personal health, is more precious than wealth.

Public support for healthy forests and a healthy forest-based economy is strong. In January 1990 the Center for Rural Studies, the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, and the College of Agriculture & Life Sciences released a study entitled "Attitudes and Resource Use: A Study of North Country Citizens." Residents of the northernmost counties of Vermont and New Hampshire were asked a series of questions. Table 21 on page 29 of the report lists "Support for Public Land Acquisitions by State". Almost 85% of all respondents supported public land acquisition for wilderness protection. Almost 81% supported public land acquisition to maintain wildlife habitat. Public land acquisition to maintain recreational opportunities was supported by 80%, and 72% supported public land acquisition to assure timber supply (67% of NH residents and 75% of Vermont residents).

However, when the survey asked if they would favor public expenditures (i.e., subsidies) to improve business conditions for the wood product industry 59.3% said no. Only 40.7% said yes.

Given the long public dialogue fostered by the Northern Forest Lands Study and Council process, and given the increasing realization by residents of these timber dependent communities that the absentee corporations do not care about the welfare of our communities and that they are degrading our forests, it is unlikely that these levels of

support for responsible public land acquisition have significantly eroded despite the sustained campaign of disinformation waged by property rights extremists and some elected officials who are their kindred spirits.

Support Ideas Coming from Northern Forest Communities: Residents of Northern Forest communities have long felt that state governments are insensitive to their needs and wishes. As long ago as the 1830s a portion of Pittsburg, NH seceded from the United States for several years, calling itself the Indian Stream Republic. Similar secessionist feelings are gaining support in northern Maine due to a combination of inept political and conservationist leadership and disinformation from property rights extremists that feed on the legitimate fears and concerns of residents.

As we debate the future of the Champion lands and the future of our Northern Forest communities, politicians and conservationists should pay attention to ideas emanating from these communities. The proposal to honor the memory of Vickie Bunnell by protecting the Stratford-Columbia tract comes from within the affected communities. It is gaining in local support. The politicians and conservationists of Concord will serve the North Country best by supporting this beautiful and generous proposal that promises to do much to help heal the scars of the senseless murder of a beloved friend and community leader, while helping to heal ecosystem damage and assuring the protection of one of the last remaining wild areas. Similarly, Vermont politicians and conservationists should listen to the dialogue developing in Vermont in the wake of the announcement by Champion. The locals may not be privy to insider information, but they possess a healthy dose of common sense; they understand that the status quo is not the hope for the future. They are discussing their options in a thoughtful manner.

The Champion sale offers everyone in the North Country an opportunity to participate in shaping their own destiny. There is no surer way to restore the ecological, economic, and cultural vibrancy of this wonderful, but battered, region.

Highlights of the Forest Compact

by Rob Bryan
Maine Audubon Society

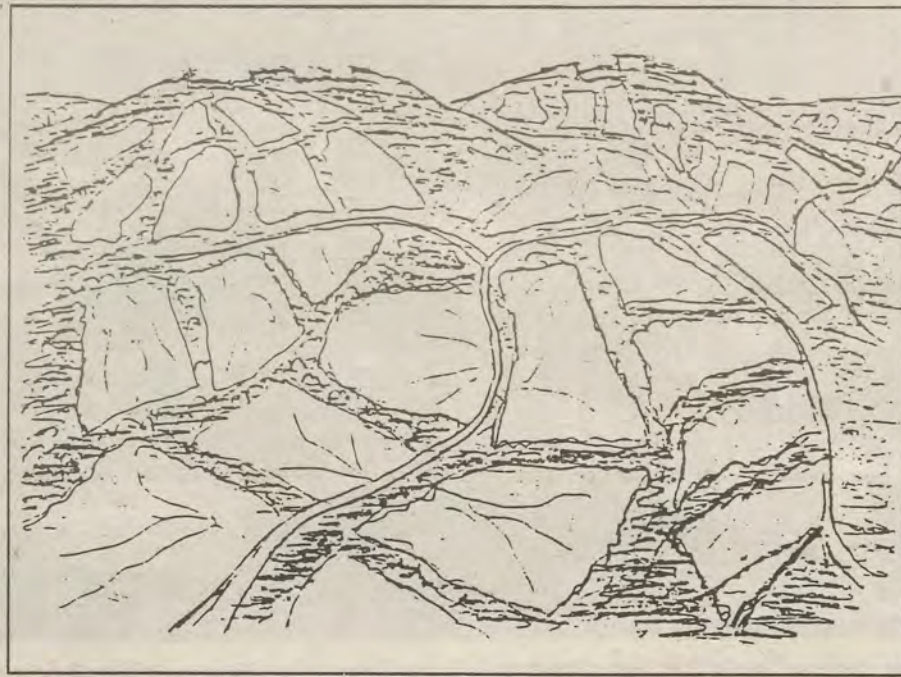
Maine Audubon supports the Forest Compact because it will be a significant step forward in improving the health of Maine's forest ecosystems, watersheds, and wildlife habitat. The Forest Compact:

- Limits the amount of land that can be clearcut by Maine's large corporate landowners. This provision repeals Maine's current "no limit" clearcut policy with a national precedent-setting clearcut cap. The new cap will prevent the runaway clearcutting that denuded much of the Maine Woods in the late 1980's.
- Requires a permit for clearcuts and documentation that clearcuts are being used to improve the health and productivity of the forest. Clearcuts will no longer be allowed for purely economic reasons.
- Reduces the maximum size of clearcuts from 250 to 75 acres and reduces forest fragmentation by removing incentives to create large "patchwork" clearcuts separated by ineffective beauty strips.
- Creates an oversight Audit Board of forestry experts. Maine's large corporate landowners have "volunteered" (see below) to take part in an ongoing Sustainable Forestry audit process. The Audit Board will hold large corporate landowners accountable by monitoring their actions, establishing standards to maintain and enhance biodiversity, and issuing public reports on the sustainability of industrial forestry practices. Standards to safeguard wildlife habitat, soil health, water quality, and forest composition, will, for the first time, be a required part of large landowners' forest management practices.

Some Questions and Answers

Will the size of clearcuts will increase under the Compact? The Forest Ecology Network has charged that because the average clearcut now is only 33 acres and the Compact would allow up to 75 acre clearcuts (down from 250 acres in the current law), the average size will actually increase to the maximum 75 acres allowed by the Compact. This misrepresents reality, and assumes that every clearcut in Maine will be the maximum allowable size! The current law creates incentives for multiple cuts of less than 35 acres each separated by narrow, ineffective buffer strips (hence the 33-acre average size). These "patchwork clearcuts," although by definition averaging less than 35 acres in size, are in essence clearcuts several hundred acres in size that contain thin strips of trees. Wildlife researchers have warned about the fragmentation effects of many small clearcuts, and the Compact removes the incentive to fragment the forest with patchwork 33-acre cuts. In addition, the state's major industrial landowners will be audited to see that they are leaving meaningful habitat - not beauty strips - when they use clearcuts.

How much clearcutting will occur under the Compact? All clearcuts, except on certain small non-industrial ownerships, will need a permit, and the permit will only be granted if the



The Compact will eliminate incentives that create large patchwork clearcuts such as these.

clearcut can be shown to maintain or improve the productivity of the forest. Clearcutting simply for economic expediency will no longer be allowed. Maine's largest landowners, who are responsible for most of the clearcutting, would not be allowed to cut more than 1% of their ownership in any give year. This means that a given acre could not be clearcut more than once in a 100 year period. The Forest Ecology Network has charged that clearcutting up to 580,000 acres could occur under the Compact. This is an absurd figure considering that Maine's total harvest, including partial cuts, is less than 500,000 acres, and last year - with no regulatory limits - clearcutting accounted for less than 8% of harvest acres, or about 37,000 acres. At the current rate, it would take over 400 years to clearcut Maine's Northern Forest.

Equally important will be constraints placed on clearcuts and other heavy harvests for landowners enrolled in the Sustainable Forest Management Program. Standards will be developed

to assure that timber harvesting is conducted in an ecologically sensitive fashion in accordance with the best available science.

Won't the Compact encourage increased chemical spraying and monocultures? Maine Audubon believes that the forest should be managed using primarily natural methods, but recognizes that limited "high-yield" forestry is can free up other acres for permanent protection. However, the Compact includes no incentives for herbicide or insecticide use, contrary to claims made by the Forest Ecology Network. For the environmental groups negotiating the Compact, the minimization of herbicide and pesticide use in the forest has been a long and continuing campaign. Under the Sustainable Forest Management Audit Program, which the paper companies and large landowners have already agreed to join if the Compact passes, landowners will be held accountable for using Integrated Pest Management techniques that minimize the need for herbicide and pesticide use, and standards will be devel-

oped for the establishment of plantations. Thus, the forest industry will be held to a higher standard than agriculture and horticulture, which utilize eight times the amount of herbicides and insecticides.

What will the Audit Program accomplish? Feeling strong public pressure to demonstrate sound forest stewardship, all of Maine's large corporate landowners, who manage over half of Maine's vast forest, have volunteered to participate in the Sustainable Forest Management Audit Program. For the first time landowners must manage the entire forest, not just the trees. An Audit Board of the state's leading experts in forest ecology and management will adopt new cutting standards geared to enhancing biodiversity and timber sustainability. Independent experts will monitor the actions of the landowners and give the public accurate and up-to-date information on the health of their forests. If forest practices do not improve, Maine Audubon and other environmental groups will fight to establish stricter regulations, either through legislation or referendum, to ensure the health of the forest.

Wasn't this just an inside deal? Those who participated in drafting the Compact included the state's largest environmental groups and other key environmental leaders, non-industrial landowners, the Small Woodlot Owners Association of Maine, the Maine Forest Service, and municipal representatives. The Compact was discussed at three public hearings, was debated and revised by the Legislature's forestry committee, and was debated and amended by the entire Legislature. Now, all Mainers will have a chance to vote on it. The Audit Board will include members of the general public and will establish its forestry management standards through a public process. Audubon intends to make sure that all parties, including those who opposed the Compact, have a voice in that process.

Conclusion

If the Compact passes, it will be a mandate for change in Maine's forests and a challenge to Maine's industrial forest landowners. A bottom-line position of Maine Audubon is that the implementation of the Compact will be carried out in the spirit intended - with all stakeholders being involved and with full public disclosure. We aim to see that environmentalists including those who now oppose the Forest Compact but would be willing to work to develop a strong Audit Program will have a place at the table in determining the future of the Maine Woods.

This November, Maine voters have a unique opportunity to improve the health of our forests and secure a sustainable future for this priceless legacy. The Compact is a positive step toward this goal, and will establish a national precedent by setting clearcut limits and creating a comprehensive Sustainable Forestry program. The Compact is the best opportunity for change we will see in the near future. Please join us in challenging industry by voting Yes on Question 1 this November and working for a strong Sustainable Forestry Audit program after the election.

Lloyd Irland Supports the Compact

I am voting for the Compact for Maine's Forests at the November referendum. My reasons are that the compact:

- Fixes the real problem of clearcutting—that it has been too highly concentrated in a few local areas. Ten years ago, clearcutting was being used way too much, and I said so publicly. The annual acreage clearcut has fallen dramatically since then. The problem with clearcutting now is not that there is too much, but that too much is being done in limited areas.
- Provides an incentive for intensive management follow-up after cutting. The compact allows owners who plant, control competing vegetation, and conduct thinning to clearcut more. This is an excellent idea.
- Establishes an outside audit process. Independent audits of landowner performance will be precedent-setting and constructive. Building the audit program will be difficult and will take time. It will never provide all the disclosure that some will seek. But it will help.
- Identifies liquidation clearcutting as a significant issue. The compact directs the administration to recommend a procedure to control liquidation clearcutting. Liquidation is not only bad forestry, it is just plain wrong. But fixing this problem will not be easy. The Legislature was wise to direct further work on this, instead of proposing a single quick fix.

Adopting the Compact now will end a period of uncertainty. Even though it leaves important questions aside, the Compact can restore a measure of stability to the policy environment for Maine's most important industry.

If you want to keep the liquidation clearcutters in business, waste a historic opportunity for change, and prolong the uncertainty, vote "no." If you want to see progress in improving forest management for everyone's benefit, and initiate a credible process for further improvement, join me in voting "yes."

Lloyd Irland, former state economist for Maine, is currently a consultant to the timber industry.

COMPACT FUNDAMENTALLY INTERFERED WITH DEMOCRACY

by Robert Baldwin

Consensus is a decision-making process which incorporates the diverse views of participants into the final outcome. Maine can gather representatives from all constituencies on the forest issue and begin Roundtable discussions that will lead to mutually supportable decisions.

Last fall, democracy failed in Maine. Democracy involves rule of the majority AND articulation of minority views. Corporations are skillfully overriding minority viewpoints, nationally and locally, corrupting the will of the majority. David Karten, who wrote *When Corporations Rule the World* states in an interview that corporations are able to "hold public policy hostage" through economic and political power. Sadly, because of free market pressures, "it is virtually impossible to manage a corporation in a socially responsible way." Noam Chomsky informs us that "the Fortune 500 companies control almost two thirds of the international economy with an enormous impact throughout the political and ideological

institutions, and society and culture generally."

Maine's Ban Clearcutting Referendum of last year would have been democratic had it been allowed to reach the polls unmolested. The Compact, however, fundamentally interfered, and denied Maine the use of democracy.

A new model for managing Maine's timber industry could be consensus, wherein each participant has a voice. Each has power to equally influence the shape and content of the outcome, regardless of majority status, money or other forms of political power. Power resides in the eloquence, articu-

lateness, substance and content of a person's commentary.

The other form of consensus power is each participant's ability to block final outcomes. Therefore there is great incentive and responsibility to listen carefully, speak thoughtfully and craft proposals that represent the "sense of the group." Such collective unity is stronger than majoritarian decisions because there is no victory or defeat that disenfranchises minorities.

The Compact specifically eliminated from its negotiations those who supported the Ban Clearcutting referendum. The substantive debate that might

have led to supportable compromise was missing in the subsequent campaign.

We must abandon the Compact and move forward. Let us reconstruct the decision-making process. Starting now, we should:

- 1) Gather all interested parties.
- 2) Define a time period for discussions.
- 3) Have parties choose representatives.
- 4) Begin discussions that will lead to workable solutions.

Robert Baldwin and his wife Elizabeth of Surrey, Maine are instructors with the Audubon Expedition Institute; Rob also is a coordinator with the Forest Ecology Network.

Opponents - Proponents Debate Compact

The views on pages 8-10 & 13 on Maine's clearcutting Compact were solicited by the Forum as a service to our readers, who are already well familiar with our past coverage and editorial stance on both the Compact and the Ban Clearcutting Referendum. The question for Maine voters appears to be whether the Compact represents sufficient progress to overlook its deficiencies, or whether these will fundamentally impede workable forest policy.



"What me worry?"

Sierra Club Scores Compact—Proposes 'Forests For Maine's Future'

The Sierra Club is firmly opposed to passage of the "Compact for Maine's Forests." The Compact meets none of the objectives contained in our "Forests for Maine's Future" policy and has some serious political and policy flaws which further make it unacceptable.

- It encourages the destruction of natural forest and its conversion to chemically dependent tree plantations by offering credits for additional clearcutting for such conversion.
- It fails to eliminate the ecologically destructive practice of clearcutting and the resultant use of herbicides.
- Under the Compact, towns will be required to meet with representatives of the Department of Conservation, currently run by a former International Paper executive, to be briefed on that department's version of "sound forestry" before enacting its own ordinance. Many Maine towns have forestry ordinances, setting limits on clearcutting and minimum levels of trees to be left standing after harvest to protect soils and watersheds. A town's ordinance will be subject to being ruled "unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious," bringing local forest protection down to industry's low standards.
- It does not require adherence to any standards of sustainable forestry. Its Sustainable Forest Management Audit Board will pointlessly meet, at taxpayer expense, for five years to develop an audit program whose standards can be vetoed by industry and that no one is required to comply with. There are already independent forest audit programs available that several major Maine landowners participate in.

- It seeks to legitimize and develop public support for ecologically destructive forestry practices by creating a state financed Natural Resource Educator, lending state sanction to industry's forestry techniques, and setting the dangerous precedent for corporate influence in developing public school science curriculums.

The Sierra Club is interested in protecting Maine's forest ecosystem and the communities dependent upon it, not the public image of the paper industry. An initiative that does nothing to protect that ecosystem but is promoted as though it does, by a well-financed, self-interested public relations campaign, is a danger to our forests and political system as well. Enactment of the Compact will make it harder than ever to pass effective legislation to protect Maine's Northern Forest for our families and our future.

Maine Sierra Club Forest Policy 'Forests for Maine's Future'

Highlights from Maine Sierra Club's Northern Forest Policy:

- Forestry, a mainstay of Maine's economy, should be encouraged within ecologically sustainable limits.
- The establishment of large forest reserves, allowing no timber harvesting or development, is the only way to truly preserve the priceless wilderness of Maine's North Woods. Such areas will also provide the best opportunity to take advantage of the growth of the service, recreation, and tourism industries.

- Local forest economies and communities need to be strengthened through diversification of industry, employment opportunities, and value-added forest products.

The Sierra Club is interested in supporting initiatives that will rehabilitate the natural forest ecosystem, ensure its sustainability into the future, and improve current destructive forestry and economic practices.

We want to:

- Eliminate the environmentally disastrous use of clearcutting, except in specific ecologically justified situations.
- Eliminate herbicide and pesticide spraying except in specific, ecologically justified crisis situations.
- Require that harvesting operations retain the natural balance of tree species and age classes.
- Require that the number of trees left after harvest reflect standard guidelines for adequate regeneration and protection for forest soils.
- Require that the long term growth rate in Maine's forests not be exceeded by cutting rates.
- Encourage low-impact forestry techniques and selective cutting.
- Discourage the export of raw logs and other minimally processed forest products (i.e., whole log, chips) which cost local jobs.
- Move away from the present piece rate system of paying loggers toward a system of higher wages, better training and other incentives.
- Enhance the ability of the Northern Forest communities to take advantage of the growth in ecologically-based tourism.

Maine Woods Watch

by Jym St. Pierre



The Maine Woods is the greatest remaining wildland east of the Rockies. However, today this region is under siege. Maine Woods Watch is devoted to documenting the good, the bad, and the ugly affecting the Maine Woods, with an emphasis on opportunities for citizen action to protect and restore the essence of the region, its wildness.

2B or Not 2B? Heading into the last lap of the finals on the clearcutting issue the contestants are bunched in a crazed shoving and swerving dash for the finish line. You will recall that two years ago citizens concerned about out-of-control forest practices in the Maine Woods collected enough signatures to send to a statewide vote a referendum to ban clearcutting and restrain overcutting (Question 2A on the ballot). Public sentiment was overwhelmingly with the anti-clearcutting initiative. So, rather than risk an all or nothing fight, the forest industry, encouraged by the King Administration, struck a deal with a couple of conservation groups to formulate an alternative called the Compact for Maine's Forests (2B). By the fall of 1996, thanks to a \$6 million advertising campaign, the Forest Compact had overtaken the referendum. But those pushing the Ban Clearcutting Referendum, combined with anti-government zealots (2C) who were fighting both the Referendum and the Compact, prevented the Compact from getting a majority of votes. The Maine Constitution directs that a second vote will occur this November on the Compact alone.

When we last checked the race, the Compact supporters were staggering still trying to catch their breath, the Ban Clearcutting advocates were trying to trip up the Compact as it stumbled down the home stretch, and the 2C mob was lobbing rotten vegetables and threats from the grand stand. For those who want to update their playbooks here is the line up as of mid-October. Compact supporters have a new political action committee called Citizens for Sustainable Forests and Forest Jobs (PO Box 4690, Portland, ME 04112). Those pushing for the Compact include the Maine Forest Products Council, Maine Pulp & Paper Association, King Administration, Pulp & Paperworkers' Resource Council, Natural Resources Council of Maine, Maine Audubon Society, and Sportsman's Alliance of Maine. This year the PAC of the environmental opponents of the Compact is called Vote No On 1 (PO Box 2437,

Augusta, ME 04338). Conservation groups working against the Compact include the Forest Ecology Network, Sierra Club, Western Maine and Central Highlands Chapters of National Audubon Society, Clean Water Action, Maine Coastal Waters Project, Maine Greens, New England Environmental Voters, RESTORE: The North Woods, Friends of the Earth, and Save America's Forests. Private property rights groups working against the Compact include Common Sense for Maine's Forests (PO Box 111, Garland, ME 04939), Maine Conservation Rights Institute, Unorganized Territories United and the Maine Republican Committee.

There have been some interesting last minute switches and upstarts. After polling its membership this past summer, the Small Woodland Owners Association of Maine has withdrawn its support for the Compact as has the Maine Professional Logging Contractors and apparently the Maine Farm Bureau. Jim Robbins of Robbins Lumber last year had nothing good to say about the Compact. This year, as president of the Maine Forest Products Council, he has been convinced to back the Compact because it would preempt myriad local forestry ordinances. He wants companies such as his to not have to contend with different rules in different towns. So much for local control. A new group, MainePOST, modeled after VermontPOST (Property Owners Standing Together), sprang up just a month before election day. MainePOST organizers threatened to close their tens of thousands of acres of forestland to public access if the Compact passes. Gov. Angus King called that an outrageous scare tactic.

The stakes are high. All parties view this not just as a state matter, but as a national issue. And polls suggest so many voters are undecided, the vote could go either way. After a lackluster start, the multinational paper corporations have begun pouring big bucks into an advertising campaign heavy on television. They have finally realized defeat of the Compact would embolden environmentalists to push for even tougher, precedent setting rules in the legislature. Conservationists opposing the Compact have little money this year, but even the possibility of national support has scared the other players. The Vote No On 1 crowd has scraped together enough to air some TV spots and to blanket mail their literature to key districts. The anti-environmentalists, not

to be outdone, have been importing national leaders of the so-called Wise Use Movement. Ron Arnold was beamed over from the Pacific Northwest to rouse the rabble at a regional anti-Compact rally organized by Unorganized Territories United as well as at a statewide gathering pulled together by the Maine Conservation Rights Institute.

Incidentally, the rallying cry for the extreme private property rights opponents of the ban clearcutting referendum in Maine last year was "Remember the Spotted Owl!" By which they meant to imply that efforts to protect forest habitat of the spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest has caused the downfall of the forest products industry there. Various studies have shown the truth to be otherwise. The latest is from the University of Wisconsin which documents that logging jobs were crashing well before the owl was listed under the Endangered Species Act. Why? For decades the forest industry, encouraged by the US Forest Service, cut old-growth trees faster than they could regenerate. In fact, from 1964, when the Wilderness Act was passed, until 1993 statistics show environmental protection laws actually saved 51,000 jobs in the region.

Is Wilderness Management an Oxymoron? The world has changed vastly in my short 45 years. World population has exploded by three billion and in just the next decade will grow again by an amount equal to the combined populations of the United States, the former Soviet Union and western Europe. Most of the countries that now sit in the United Nations did not even exist when I was born.

Likewise, the place we call the Maine Woods has changed significantly since we created our best known wilderness areas, Baxter State Park (1931-62) and the Allagash Wilderness Waterway (1966). For the first time in at least a generation, the question of what wilderness means in Maine is being debated. And the Brothers Caverly are at the center of much of the debate. Irvin "Buzz" Caverly, director of Baxter Park, had never been to any of our western Wilderness areas until last spring, when he participated in a 10 day workshop in Montana with wilderness managers from across the country. Not only did he get to share philosophies and bug dope with wilderness experts from all over, when the keynote speaker failed to show up, Buzz was drafted to tell the

Baxter State Park story to the assembled group. It will be interesting to see if there are any management changes at Baxter Park in the next few years stemming from his wilderness experience. More worrisome is how management policies will be shaped by changes in the three member Baxter Park Authority and in the Park Advisory Committee. New Fish & Wildlife Commissioner Lee Perry has just joined the Baxter Park Authority. At the same time, the Advisory Committee is expected to undergo a shake-up to shed some dead wood.

A decision on how to manage 2,669 acres recently added to the southwest end of Baxter Park will be the first test of the reshuffled Authority. At public meetings over the past few months opinion has been split on the issues of vehicular access and hunting on the new lands. The Sportsman's Alliance of Maine (SAM) and Millinocket Fin & Feather Club want to be able to drive, shoot and trap in that corner of the park. RESTORE and the Natural Resources Council want the area managed the same as abutting sanctuary lands with foot but not auto access and all forms of life protected. Though the area represents only 1/100 of 1% of the land in Maine, SAM executive director George Smith has delivered an ultimatum that if the Baxter Authority does not allow hunting, his group will not support future state land acquisitions. Conservationists counter that Baxter Park is under a different management authority and policy plan than other state lands. Letters sent during October may still be timely since a decision on the issue will probably be delayed until November. (Contact Baxter Park, 64 Balsam Drive, Millinocket, ME 04462.)

Meanwhile, Tim Caverly, chief ranger for the Allagash Wilderness Waterway and Buzz's sibling, is helping to lead the first rewrite in nearly 25 years of a management plan for the famous river park. Creation of the Allagash Waterway in the 1960s reflected a variety of compromises. While the federal government wanted a national riverway, the state wanted to control the waterway. They split the difference (and the acquisition cost). The state got management; the feds got the area designated part of the national Wild & Scenic River System. While conservationists wanted a wide corridor of public land along the lakes and rivers, the large landowners wanted to minimize public ownership. The public got ownership

only of a 500 foot wide corridor; beyond that is a mile wide buffer zone of privately owned land where the public has very limited oversight. While the law establishing the waterway requires the state to "preserve, protect...the maximum wilderness character of the watercourse," it also mandates "development" of that wilderness character.

Similarly, there are some sharp differences of vision among members of the committee advising on the new plan. For instance, Sarah Medina, a forester for Seven Islands Land Company, says the Allagash should offer remote recreation within a working forest. She insists that the amount of clearcutting by large landowners within the mile buffer zone is down and that no new standards are needed on forest practices or development. Dave Basley, a regional state fisheries biologist, says that the Allagash is not a forever wild preserve, that access for fishing and boating should be expanded. Dean Bennett, author of a natural history book on the waterway, says that the wilderness experience of the Allagash needs to be improved, that better control of access and development is needed. Public hearings have not yet been scheduled on the revised management plan, but you might want to get on the list to be notified. (Contact Maine Bureau of Parks & Lands, 22 State House Station, Augusta, ME 04333.)

Other public lands are feeling the pinch too. Maine hosted 1,300 hikers at the 31st biennial meeting of the Appalachian Trail Conference in August. The big question on the agenda was "Are we loving the trail to death?" A poll of outdoor recreation trends from 1983-95 found hiking up 94% and primitive camping up 58%. More than four million people hike on the AT each year now. Clearly the answer to crowd control is not simply more restrictions, but expanding the supply of protected wilderness lands to better accommodate demand.

Appalachian Trail advocates have been pushing for acquisition of 900 acres on the ridge of Saddleback Mountain for a dozen years. It is the last unprotected piece of the trail in Maine. Saddleback Ski Area owner Donald Breen has refused to sell at a reasonable price. However, unable to compete against the giant ski resort corporations such as Les Otten's American Skiing Company, Breen has now put Saddleback on the market. The National Park Service expects to seek public input on land protection alternatives this autumn. (Contact AT Park Office, Harpers Ferry, WV 25425.)

News was made in October when John Brinda became the first person to hike from Key West, Florida, to Gaspe, Quebec. His trek encompassed all 2,160 miles of the old Appalachian Trail as well as 500 miles of the new International Appalachian Trail from Baxter State Park to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Chop Talk: More than a third of all manufacturing jobs in Maine are in the lumber, wood products and paper industries, and these are not fun times for workers. Stiff competition from newer American and Canadian mills is



AN APPARITION.

being blamed by Georgia-Pacific for the layoff of hundreds employees during a recent shutdown at its Oriented Strand Board mill in Woodland. This was the sixth shutdown involving GP's three local mills within nine months. Several positions have been permanently eliminated and another five month shutdown is expected starting in November. GP has also said it will reduce shipping in Eastport, just as the town is completing a new \$15 million pier for the paper company.

Kimberly-Clark has shut down a paper machine and is eliminating another 115 jobs, 27% of the workforce, at its Winslow mill. Texas-based KC has record level cash flow, but the plant is now considered to be old and not a strategic part of the \$13 billion company's plans to double earnings by the year 2000. The mill was acquired by KC when Al Dunlap dismembered Scott Paper a couple of years ago and will likely be sold or closed altogether.

In the past couple of years Bowater Inc., parent of Great Northern Paper, has cut costs by \$150 million, decentralized operations, and improved quality at its five paper mills in North America. These steps have helped Bowater make the list of top 100 best managed companies in the world. However, they have not convinced employees in Maine the future of the company is secure. In fact, most indications point south. Bowater has announced it will spend \$180 million to modernize its Calhoun, Tennessee, newsprint plant, including expansion of a thermo-mechanical pulp facility. It is also putting \$7.4 into its TMP plant in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Meanwhile, a decision on whether to build a TMP plant in Maine has again been delayed. But Great Northern president Don McNeil has already said the future will probably involve more capital investments and fewer jobs. Since 1986, nearly 2,200 jobs have been slashed at GNP's operations in Maine. Bowater is

also restructuring its woodlands and sawmill operations, which may result in longer rotations and older stands over the next half century. But the reorganization is partly to explore "opportunities to develop greater value from our woodlands assets." That is typically what landowners say when they are readying to sell prime shoreland real estate for development. Local scuttlebutt is that a foreign company is seriously looking at acquisition of GNP. Don't be surprised if, for the third time in a decade, many or all of the Great Northern forestlands are sold. Mill owners in New Brunswick, in particular, are facing a severe wood shortage.

Georgia-Pacific has gone a step further than Bowater. GP is decoupling its paper and lumber operations from its forestlands by creating a separately traded stock for its 5.8 million acres of timber holdings, including 440,000 acres in Maine. Forestland values are rising and GP wants to capture the increasing value. Making woodlands pay their own way could result in more value for stockholders, but it could trigger major land sales in states such as Maine with extensive corporate ownerships. Champion International was another company expected to consider separating its woodlands from its mills. Instead, the company is selling mills in Texas, New York, Ohio and North Carolina as well as 325,000 acres of timberland in New York, Vermont and New Hampshire. Champion is also cutting 11% of the workforce at its remaining facilities, though its Bucksport mill and 770,000 acres in Maine will be retained for now.

The town of Jay sadly remembered this past summer that it was precisely 10 years ago when a bitter strike began at International Paper. The company broke the strike. Many families have never recovered. IP intends to unload 155,000 acres of forestland in Pennsylvania and 20,000 acres in New

York worth about \$175 million. The sale raises the issue of IP's long-term plans for other lands in the Northeast, such as its 976,000 acres in Maine. IP is also cutting 9,000 jobs and selling a billion dollars of non-core assets as part of a restructuring, though none of the jobs chopped are supposed to be in Maine.

S.D. Warren, which is owned by South African Pulp & Paper, has finally agreed on a labor contract and has dropped a \$38 million law suit against its unions for alleged acts of sabotage. But Warren has new problems. Federal regulators have proposed a \$102,000 fine for safety violations at its Westbrook paper mill, and a sulfuric acid spill burned seven workers and a chlorine dioxide spill threatened hundreds at Warren's Somerset plant.

Mead Corp. has had it just as bad. In September, 21 tons of sulfuric acid and 39 tons of sodium chlorate leaked from storage tanks in Mead's Rumford mill. Three workers went to the hospital. Fourteen others were treated on-site. A few weeks later, 20 activists from the Native Forest Network and Earth First! hung a banner, stopped traffic and generally drew attention to their demands that the Mead mill (bought a year ago from Boise Cascade) convert to chlorine-free technology and make its logging ecologically based.

James River has merged with Fort Howard paper company to form Fort James Corporation. Union workers at the Fort James mill in Old Town have voted 449-8 to reject a five year contract proposed by the new company. Third generation owners of Yorktowne Paper Mills and its subsidiary Mercer Paper Tube have sold out to The Newark Group of New Jersey. In August, the new owners fired all employees at Yorktown's two mills in Gardiner, then said workers could reapply for their jobs. It saves money to wipe out seniority and accumulated benefits. After President Clinton ordered federal agencies to buy recycled paper there was a rush to build de-inked pulp mills financed with tax-exempt bonds. According to *Forbes*, most of those mills, including the Virgin Pulp Substitute plant in Auburn, now lay idle waiting for de-inked pulp demand to recover. The Eastern Fine Paper mill in Brewer has been shaken by the third explosion in a year.

High Powered: Maine's single nuclear power plant, Maine Yankee, is off-line and will never restart. As a result, developers and public officials are looking with newly energized interest at alternative sources of power. At the same time, deregulation of the energy industry is creating a free-for-all in the marketplace. The implications for Maine's landscape are profound.

Maine's big utilities are required by law to break up over the next couple of years. They will sell their generating facilities, but continue to be in the business of retailing power. Buyers from around the country and abroad are looking over the hydroelectric, wood- and oil-fired plants and power contracts of Central Maine Power Co. and Bangor Hydro-Electric Co. London-based Energy Group PLC, for instance, has offered to buy 30 hydroelectric

plants from Central Maine Power. Bangor Hydro is teaming with Energy Pacific in a \$35 million venture to supply homes and businesses with natural gas.

Where will the gas come from? Permitting for two natural gas pipeline projects in Maine is on the fast track. Small, localized opposition to the projects is simply being overridden. One line, the Portland Natural Gas Transmission System, which would cut through wildlands in western Maine from Montreal, has already been approved. The other, the Maritimes & Northeast Pipeline, which would cut through wildlands in eastern Maine from New Brunswick has preliminary federal ok. A competing proposal, the North Atlantic Natural Gas MarineLine, claims it can avoid the wildlands impacts by laying a pipeline across the ocean floor, but it does not seem the scheme is being taken very seriously. Several companies have announced plans to tap the new lines to fuel gas-fired power plants, including a 265-megawatt plant in Rumford, a 600-megawatt plant in Gorham, and a possible retrofit of an old electric plant in Veazie.

Some of the wood-fired biomass plants built in Maine in the 1980s and idled in the 1990s are coming back on-line. Ideck, an Illinois-based company bought a pair of plants in Enfield and Jonesboro a year ago. Now it is selling a share of those plants to Ridgewood Power, a New Jersey equity investment group which already owns 15 hydropower plants in Maine. Ridgewood is also eyeing at least three more energy facilities in the state. Biomass plants require fuel from an area equal to about 140,000 acres clearcut or 400,000 acres selectively cut each year.

Is FERC finally getting it? Since 1837 the Edwards Dam in Augusta has blocked passage up the Kennebec River of Atlantic salmon, sturgeon, striped bass, shad, alewives, blueback herring and rainbow smelt. It has also flooded

17 miles of spawning habitat. As a tradeoff for those losses the dam generates 1/10 of 1% of Maine's energy needs. The State wants to tear down the dam. In a stunning turnaround the staff of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission have recommended removal of the dam rather than relicensing for another 40 years. That recommendation is a national first. Because of the damage it would do to salmon and other fish runs, FERC staff have also recommended denial of a license for the proposed Basin Mills dam on the Penobscot River. And, while it is not the last word, FERC commissioners have rejected a request by dam owners on the Kennebec and Sebasticook Rivers to delay installation of fish passageways.

Whatever happens to dams in Maine, more hydropower capacity is likely to be developed in eastern Canadian provinces and wheeled to the New England Power Pool. That means more rivers dammed or sucked dry in the wilderness north country and likely more transmission lines impaling the Maine Woods. Hydropower imports from Quebec to the US. have tripled since 1990. Some of the mega projects that had been shelved a few years ago when we had a regional energy surplus are being revived. Since the beginning of this year Hydro-Quebec has announced plans to divert eight rivers into four reservoirs. To hear the Native viewpoint on this get to the University of Southern Maine on October 19 (contact Peace and Justice Center, 207-772-0680). Newfoundland politicians want a piece of the hydro action, too. Premier Brian Tobin has told New England governors he would like to see two more dams built on the Churchill River to produce 3,000 megawatts for the Northeastern United States.

Clearly there is major money to be made these days in generating, moving and selling power made from gas, biomass, hydropower and other sources. If Harley Lee of Endless Energy Corp., a

Maine firm, and Zond Development Corp., a subsidiary of energy giant Enron, have their way industrial scale windpower will become part of the mix as well. For now the two former partners are fighting, with Zond having beat out Lee in bankruptcy court to acquire the assets of the defunct Boundary Mountains project which was going to be developed by Kenetech Windpower until that company went belly-up last year. Watch for both Zond and Lee to seek approval to build large windpower projects in Maine's western mountains within the next couple of years.

Turf Wars: The decline of the forest products industry continues to evoke a sense of economic desperation in the Katahdin region. One manifestation of this are local efforts to assert jurisdiction over nearby lands so that those properties can be aggressively promoted for commercial and industrial development. The Legislature has approved annexation of more than 8,100 acres in Township 2 Range 8 by the Town of Chester in northern Penobscot County. Seeing the neat trick Chester pulled off, Medway residents have voted to annex 6,000 acres in adjoining Township A Range 7. That would add \$14 million worth of taxable real estate to Medway's tax rolls. About six years ago, East Millinocket attempted a similar land grab which failed due to a single veto vote from a resident of the unorganized township. As with Chester, Medway's effort to sweep new lands into its municipal boundaries will need legislative approval and jealous East Millinocket has vowed to fight it to the finish.

Passamaquoddy tribal members from Maine and New Brunswick are getting more aggressive about asserting territorial rights. This summer they paraded in St. Andrews, NB, to publicize their claims that local officials continue to perpetuate the illegal activities of their Loyalist predecessors by block-

ing tribal efforts to reclaim rights to their ancestral home lands. That covers about half of the province. The reception was not entirely friendly. Handed a statement by tribal members, many onlookers crumpled and tossed the paper. Several commented that "this is just a bunch of crap." Maine tribal state representative Fred Moore said "People from St. Andrews, business owners and residents, told us the police were going to kick our American asses back across the border if we marched here."

A lot of people in western Maine are kicking up a fuss about the Passamaquoddy too. They do not like a proposal to build a 2,000 seat, high-stakes bingo hall in Albany Township on tribal trust lands. With unemployment at 50% and per capita income at \$7,000, Maine Passamaquoddy tribal members are hoping to tap the same rich vein that other Native American groups around the country have mined, the American obsession with big time gambling. The Land Use Regulation Commission held a raucous hearing on the proposal in August.

The Debsconeag backcountry roadless portion of the Nahmakanta public land unit near Baxter Park has been violated. The Maine Bureau of Parks & Lands has given permission for a major snowmobile highway to be rerouted through a corner of the area. Nearby Nahmakanta Lake, which is surrounded by Appalachian Trail lands that prohibit motorized crossings, is also being used by thousands of snowmobilers. The drone of revving machines is drowning out the concerns of wilderness advocates who lament that the quiet is being shattered even in the few tiny places in the Maine Woods that are supposed to be protected from nonmotorized uses.

There is one more artifact of the Cold War for the history books. The \$680 million Over-the-Horizon Backscatter radar system built in the Maine wildlands in the early 1980s has been mothballed. At its peak, the system included three massive facilities in Maine: a transmitting antenna in Moscow, a receiving antenna in Township 19 MD BPP and an operations center in Bangor that employed 550. The radar provided coverage of aircraft from 500 to 2,000 miles off the entire eastern seaboard. Following three years of minimal "warm storage" status, at the beginning of October the computers were shutdown. Maybe Ted Turner will buy the facility so the UN can track its helicopter fleet.

Changes in Attitudes & Platitudes: Five years after leaders from 178 nations and 10,000 representatives from non-governmental organizations gathered for the first Earth Summit, more than 3,000 delegates and advocates converged at the United Nations this summer to review global progress on sustainable development. Soberingly, they concluded there has been more regress than progress since the original Rio de Janeiro confab. Alarmingly, they admitted that human caused emissions are expected to continue to contribute to climate shifts. The same week as the UN conference, a meeting was held in Boson on climate change in New England. While no one could prove



RUNNING THE RAPIDS ON WEBSTER RIVER.

what will happen if temperatures in our region go up by 2 to 6 degrees, the implications are stunning: a rise in sea level of 12 to 20 inches; drier, warmer springs with less maple sap production; higher summertime risk of mosquito-borne diseases; dieback of northern hardwood and softwood trees. A new report by the World Wildlife Fund says the effects of temperature increases are already being seen in many of our national parks. Our parks and refuges are becoming increasingly important as scientific benchmark areas to measure vegetation and other changes in the uncontrolled experiment of global climate change.

Another predicted effect of global warming is shorter ski seasons. That is not good news for ski resort mogul Les Otten. Otten is investing in a major way in his empire. Already his American Skiing Company owns Sunday River and Sugarloaf in Maine, Attitash Bear Peak and Cranmore in New Hampshire, and Sugarbush, Killington, Pico, Mount Snow and Haystack in Vermont. He has just bought Wolf Mountain (renamed Canyons) in Utah, Steamboat Springs in Colorado and Heavenly in California. He is spending \$3 million on Sugarloaf and \$23 million on Sunday River and plans to announce new developments for other resorts soon. Where does Otten get the money for these monumental acquisitions and expansions? American Skiing is going public, so he will be able to spend a lot of other people's money. Otten even made the finals for New England Entrepreneur of the Year. Watch for



GRAND FALLS—WEBSTER RIVER.

him to cash out in a few years and jump into politics. For now, managing a far-flung, publicly traded company and keeping an eye on global temperatures are not his only problems. His plans for a new hotel and conference center at Sugarbush hit a snag when the courts said a land swap he had engineered with the Green Mountain National Forest required an environmental review. And the Maine Department of

Environmental Protection is going to fine Otten for serious erosion at a Sunday River road construction site that "pretty well choked up" some streams.

Environmentalists, the King Administration, and editorial writers spoke with one voice for once when President Bill Clinton approved new air quality regulations this summer. They all cheered. The rules will require states upwind of Maine to reduce their smog

and soot emissions. Now Maine wants to convince the EPA to make the upwind states act first. The paper industry in Maine did not join the chorus because different companies sing different tunes. Forest landowners will benefit from cleaner air, but many of Maine's pulp and papermills are owned by corporations that will have to spend big time to clean up air emissions at their mills to the west of Maine.

Governance by NGOs: Can It Happen Elsewhere?

by R. O. Voight

President of the Maine Conservation Rights Institute

NGO stands for non-governmental organization. This is a concept developed, expanded, and emphasized by the United Nations. It is used in other areas but primarily in the expansion of environmental and socialistic control. The greatest growth and expansion of the environmental movement is fostered by the UN. Key to the expansion of NGO control is the Biodiversity Treaty which has been ratified by nearly 150 nations but not the United States.

Article 25 of the Biodiversity Treaty calls for a United Nations Global Biodiversity Assessment (UNGBA) upon which to frame the Treaty's implementing language. Section 10.3.2.3 of the draft UNGBA calls for "the increase of NGO programs to collect information." Section 10.6.3 says the legislation is essential to give the NGOs authority and standing to sue. Even more alarming is the statement in Section 10.6.3.4 that "the law should clearly establish conditions of participation in the decision-making process" for conservation NGOs. It concludes by saying, "Legal standing is necessary for NGOs."

In Section 10.6.4.2 it says, "Biodiversity is defined as 'diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems.' Parties (to the convention) must promote the conservation of ecosystems, natural habitats, and the maintenance of viable populations of species in their natural surroundings. Parties must adopt national strategies, plans and programmes for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity."

Since ecosystems cross political and jurisdictional boundaries, and since biodiversity is part of the "Global Commons," Section 8.8.5 of the draft UNGBA lays the groundwork for the "reallocation of property rights" to an institution known as the UN

Global Environmental Facility. Section 8.8.5 asserts that "property rights can still be allocated to environmental public goods, but should be restricted to usufructual or user rights." Usufructual is not a swear word, but it is a term coined during the Roman Empire in which all property rights belonged to Caesar and were allocated for use through his Governors by permit.

In the forest "Compact" just passed (6 September 1996) by the Maine Legislature, and driven by Governor King, you can find the language of the Biodiversity Treaty being duplicated and used. This document (the Compact) was created by some of the forest industry land owners and by three conservation organizations pulled together by the Governor. This is the first example of NGO official participation in government affairs in Maine—but also the country.

In 2C of the new legislation, it says that, "The natural resource educator shall work in partnership with the private sector and non-governmental organizations . . ." In Section 14, Ecological Forest Reserves, it says, "The legislature endorses the designation of ecological forest services to: provide for a wide range of forest conditions; preserve natural areas; preserve old growth; establish and maintain biological diversity; sustain the health and vitality of the natural environment for the State's many species of wildlife; and establish and maintain a broad array of habitat conditions for all indigenous species of wildlife, existing forest types, and other plant associations." This is identical to the ecological reserves mandated in Section 10.4.2 of the UNGBA, whose clearly stated goal is to place about one-half of Maine into these wilderness ecological reserves.

The Governor, using the threat of a Green Initiative to ban all clear-cutting on the November ballot, convened (by the power of his office) special interest groups to counter the clear-cut threat by (his word)

"negotiation." The NGOs, the Audubon Society, the Nature Conservancy, and the Maine Natural Resources Council brought their Green ideology to the table. The landowners brought their assets—the land, the forest. Under these circumstances, is this "negotiation" or "extortion?"

This convening of special interest groups and the resulting legislation not only places the NGOs in a powerful position to monitor, advise, and recommend all future forestry practices, but establishes them officially here in Maine. The legislation tells the landowners when, how, and how much of their natural resources they can harvest. There are two major infringements of our Constitutional rights here.

The first is the empowerment of these special interest groups to manage private property. Why isn't the Rotary Club involved, or the Elks, or the Boy Scouts? This is absurdity to the Nth degree. And its sole purpose is to put the Green ideology in place regardless of your rights as a citizen.

The other infringement is the violation of property rights. This land and these trees belong to the land owners. Their property can only be controlled if they are doing harm to their neighbors or threatening the health and safety of their neighbors. It is a far stretch of the imagination to say that harvesting trees somehow violates these established restrictions! No provision has been made to compensate the land owners for these infringements. This legislation creates the largest "taking" in the history of Maine.

This series of events here in Maine will establish a precedent for the rest of the nation to follow for granting official recognition of unelected conservation NGOs for participation in the government control of the environment and implementation of the Green agenda. Thus, NGOs have equal standing with that of taxpaying land owners in deciding legislation and policy in the State of Maine.

NH Forest Liquidation Committee Braces for 'Public Bitch Sessions'

Industry Retrenchment Erodes Progress in NH Forest Policy During Era of Good Feelings

by Jamie Sayen

Until recently, I had been bragging to my colleagues in other states that New Hampshire had been a model of responsible forest policy-making. From 1994-1996 NH forest policy was forged by a broad spectrum of interests. The NH Forest Resources Plan released in early 1996 and the recently published Good Forestry in the Granite State were products of this respectful and honest collaboration between industrial foresters, non-industrial foresters, agency representatives, ecologists, conservationists, preservationists and concerned citizens.

Alas, events of 1997 have largely undermined the progress we had made over the preceding three years. The NH Forest Advisory Board's (FAB) hostility to public participation in forest policy making (see Mud Season 1997 Forum, vol. 5 #4), and its rejection of a proposal to study clearcutting, liquidation logging, highgrading and other ecologically damaging practices, sent a message that industry reactionaries intend to reassert control of NH forest policy-making.

In April, new State Forester, Phil Bryce, attempted to undo the damage by establishing a "Forest Liquidation Committee" (FLC) (see Summer Equinox 1997 Forum, vol. 5 #5). Unfortunately, the charge the FAB gave to the FLC was so narrow, and the composition of the committee so dominated by individuals who have an economic conflict of interest, and/or an ideological bias against any regulation of anything, that the FLC was doomed from the outset.

Public Hearings in November-December

As of this writing, the FLC still intends to hold four public hearings between November 17 and December 2 to see if the public shares the strange outlook of the committee members. The hearings will be held in Lancaster, Laconia, Hillsborough, and Exeter. They will probably be a series of small group discussions with FLC members. This will give members of the public an opportunity to ask questions of the FLC members. One question I am dying to ask these folks is: what is the difference between a 500-acre liquidation cut by Teddy Ingerson and a 500-acre clearcut followed by herbicide spraying by Mead or Champion? The only answer I have come up with so far is that the ecological destruction inflicted by paper company foresters was intentional and part of a "responsible" corporate strategy, whereas the damage inflicted by a contractor such as Ingerson is not part of an intentional corporate strategy. The corporation is motivated by responsible motives of maximizing profits; whereas Ingerson is merely short-sighted and greedy. Will the salamanders killed by the paper company clearcut and spray plan will derive satisfaction from that distinction?

FLC Can't Define its Mission

The FLC has met every three weeks since early June. Each meeting rehashes issues that should have been resolved by the second meeting. The definition of liquidation cutting gets revisited each meeting by the same folks. Hostility to public participation in the FLC meetings is expressed at just about every meeting. One industry representative objected to allowing the press on a field trip to the large Ingerson clearcut in Whitefield and Twin Mountain this August. In September he objected to the public hearings, calling them "public bitch sessions." At every meeting one or more members complain that "regulations are persecuting landowners."

A majority of committee members have expressed contempt for the public's understanding of bad forestry. They maintain, in the face of no particular evidence, that the public's only concern is with "aesthetics." The silviculturally-ignorant public doesn't understand the great benefits of large clearcuts and is

offended by the ugly mess left behind. According to this line of reasoning, the only thing the FLC and FAB need to do is to educate the public about the blessings of deforestation and to get contractors to do a better job of hiding large cuts from public view.

There has been next to no discussion of ecosystem integrity, or any acknowledgment by most FLC members that there are serious ecological consequences to clearcuts, including so-called liquidation cuts.

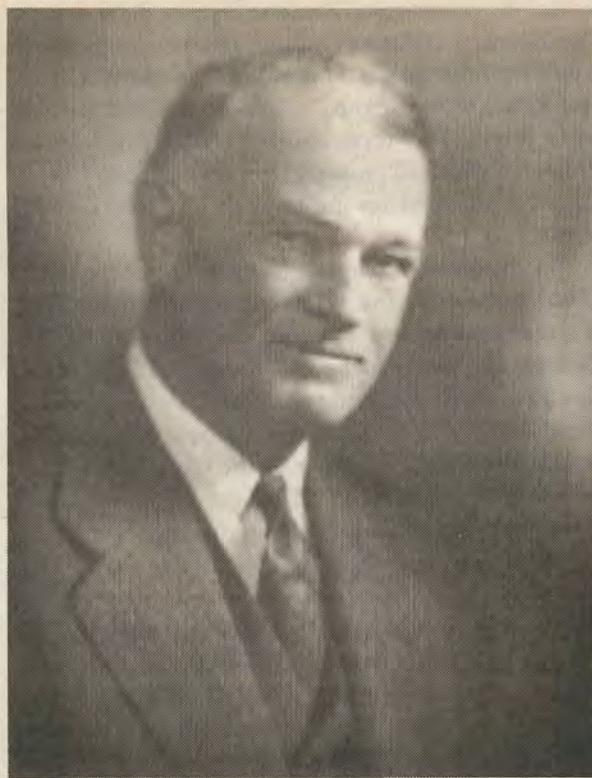
Although some interesting data have been uncovered by the FLC, it has not gathered data to support its preconceived notions. One member said at the September 18 meeting, "we have no data."

According to Phil Bryce, the FLC has been told there is a problem with liquidation logging and has been charged with developing solutions, or coming up with solid data that disproves the contention that there is a problem. The FLC continues to deny there is a problem and offers no data to back this up.

Public Testimony Critical

The public can have an impact on the FLC's report to the FAB. If foresters, contractors, landowners, ecologists, and citizens educate the FLC and FAB that the public understands the ecological consequences of that "valid silvicultural tool" of clearcutting, it will be that much harder for industry hardliners to continue to maintain the fiction that all's well in NH forests. Below are some of the important issues to consider in preparing comments (written or delivered at a public hearing) for the FLC:

1) **Inappropriate Mandate:** The FLC was doomed from the outset because it was given an ecologically inappropriate mandate and the committee composition was so heavily tilted toward people who had aggressively opposed the original proposal to study ecologically destructive logging practices. The FLC has adopted an attitude that the problem they should address is the public relations nightmare posed to the timber industry by large clearcuts visible from highways. With a couple of notable exceptions, members of the FLC are unconcerned with issues of ecosystem integrity.



John Holmes Hinman, born in North Stratford, NH in 1885, was CEO of International Paper from 1948-1959 and Chairman of the Board of IP from 1954-1961. In 1973 he offered his reminiscences to 200th Anniversary of Stratford, a commemorative book from which this photo was copied. Regarding clearcutting, Hinman wrote: "I suppose my deepest satisfactions have come from the revolution which has taken place in industrial forestry since I was a boy. When I was manager for the American Realty Company we operated on the basis of clear cutting, in order to procure as cheap wood as possible. As the industry became more profitable, we practiced better forest management and cut for growth."

Don't permit FLC to limit your testimony to their arbitrary and irresponsible narrow limits. Tell them what they need to hear.

2) **Ecosystem Integrity:** To protect forest ecosystems—whether out of ecological or economic motives—requires an honest assessment of the impact of forest management practices on the ecological integrity of a forest ecosystem. What are the impacts on amphibians and invertebrates? What are the impacts on nutrient and hydrological cycles? What are the impacts on soils and waters? Needless to say, the FLC isn't asking those questions. If you asked most members to explain what is meant by "ecosystem integrity" you'd get some interesting answers.

3) **It's not Aesthetics:** Sure large clearcuts next to the roadside look ugly and are certainly harmful to the economic interests of the tourism industry. But, the public is neither as misinformed nor as selfish as the FLC wants to believe. You don't need to be a Ph.D. to figure out that removing a forest is going to have profound impacts on forest health.

If the issue were solely aesthetics, then the public should be mollified by a policy of hiding 500 acre clearcuts so that our delicate sensibilities are not offended. The FLC should ask every member of the public that attends one of these sessions if hiding big cuts would appease them.

4) **Overcutting is not an isolated problem:** A favorite fiction of the FLC is that this is an isolated problem, that only two or three large, visible cuts are causing all the fuss. Accordingly, the committee intends to grill the public to name logging operations that the person testifying actually is familiar with. The key point is that the FLC definition is absurd, and we need to tell them about logging jobs that, while technically not a liquidation cut, have still degraded ecosystem integrity. This list is quite long. It is critical that those planning to testify at FLC public meetings be able to identify specific sites as well as some of the concerns (soil damage, erosion, destruction of habitat, loss of large dead trees, etc.) Maps and photos would be a smart idea because the FLC will try to ignore or downplay your testimony.

5) **The R-Word:** Regulations should punish the irresponsible players without interfering with the work of the responsible stewards. As State Forester Bryce told the Forest Resources Plan Steering Committee two years ago: regulations "level the economic playing field." We need regulations that severely limit clearcuts, ban herbicides, and protect soils and water. Responsible land stewards need have no fear of such regulations.

The FLC is terrified that towns will begin to enact local ordinances. Clearly, in the face of the stonewalling by the FLC and FAB, such regulations may be the public's only option.

6) **Property Rights:** Be prepared to discuss property rights. The FLC would rather permit ecological mayhem than to use the R-word. A majority of FLC members subscribe to the quaint notion that property

Continued on page 16

PUBLIC HEARINGS ON LIQUIDATION LOGGING

There will be four public hearings between November 17 and December 2 sponsored by the NH Forest Liquidation Committee. They will be held in Lancaster, Laconia, Hillsborough, and Exeter. As of presstime, locations and dates have not been announced

For information on dates & locations of Liquidation Logging hearings, contact:

Susan Francher
Division of Forests and Lands
POB 1856
Concord, NH 03302-1856
Telephone: 603-271-2214

Regulating & Reforming Vermont Forest Practices Promotes Healthy Debate

by Jamie Sayen

Vermont, in contrast to Maine and New Hampshire, is demonstrating that citizen participation in policy-making improves dialogue between the public and industry. Its diehard anti-regulatory element predicted increasing polarization if the public's constitutional right to shape policy were respected. In the wake of the herbicide moratorium and the heavy cutting bill, most of the Vermont timber industry is discovering that it can survive the effects of public participation in policy-making, and that, in fact, these acts have improved the climate for the sort of constructive public dialogue essential to healthy society and forestry.

For an example of how regulations actually foster such dialogue, see the Fall 1997 issue of *Vermont Woodlands* which asked a broad cross-section of 21 people connected to Vermont forests "What is the most serious threat to Vermont's forest?"

Taken as a whole, the responses cover most of the issues one normally hears in forestry debates. Concerns ranged from the ecological to the economic to political to philosophical. Here's a brief summary of these familiar concerns:

Ecological: Vermont Audubon Society's Jim Shallow says the real threat to our forests is that "We are unable to comprehend the complexity of the forest, the threats to it, and the potential solutions to its problems." Simple solutions are not adequate to the task. Andrea Colnes of the Northern Forest Alliance echoes this concern: "The greatest threat to our forest is our unwillingness to address the forest resource as a whole, to look at the interconnectedness of its assets and its problems." Representative David Deen, chair of the House Natural Resource and Energy Committee asks, "How do we keep our forests productive continually over the next 100 years?" His answer: "We need to think in the long-term, not solely in terms of short-term profit."

Kimberly Royar, a wildlife biologist with the Vermont Fish & Wildlife Department identifies three particular threats (among many): forest fragmentation, the introduction of exotics, and the alteration of ecological processes. Hub Vogelman, former professor of botany at UVM says bluntly: "I am not happy with the health of Vermont's forests. A lot of it has been high-graded. There's a lot of disease, and a lot of trees don't look healthy." Author Edward Hoagland worries that heavy logging has had an adverse impact on interior-dwelling native bird populations.

Wildlife biologist Susan Morse describes the recovery of Vermont forests over the past century and a half as nothing short of a "miracle." However, she cautions, although the reversion of old farm clearings to forest represents a great improvement, forests today are less wild than they once were. Further, she warns, many species, "including many species of forest song-



More than anything else, informed, responsible citizen participation in Vermont forest policy making has transformed the debate over herbicide use and unsustainable logging practices. Here, Mark Belisle of Bloomfield and Burlington, VT testifies to the Vermont Legislature on forest practices on Champion lands in northeastern Vermont. Photo © Gustav Verderber

birds, wood turtles and waterfowl, are declining." Both Morse and forester Deb Brighton celebrate the resilience of Vermont's forests, which offer us so much hope for restoring healthy, viable, wild populations of native species and communities, if only we allow them to recover.

Economic: Hub Vogelman, Farley Brown, Director of Vermont Woodlands Association, and Darby Bradley, President of Vermont Land Trust and chair of the Forest Resources Advisory Council (FRAC) all worry about the adverse impact of property taxes on a landowner's ability to maintain large forested tracts of land. Bradley, however, noted that "Fortunately, the property tax reform legislation that was just adopted by the Vermont legislature will return a sense of fairness and stability to the current use program."

Regulations are the greatest threat to Vermont forests according to Roberta Borland, Executive Director of Vermont Forest Products Association, an organization that supports property rights extremists who are posting their land in response to the so-called heavy cutting bill passed this year. Borland states: "Vermont has gained an anti-business reputation and is slowly gaining a reputation for aggressive environmental activism. This erodes the capability of us, the true environmentalists, to protect and maintain the 'treasure' which others are claiming to want to 'save'."

Human population growth and the resulting demand for consumer products poses the greatest global threat to Vermont forests, several people said.

Richard Carbonetti, forester and former member of the Northern Forest Lands Council, observes: "Threatening Vermont's forests is a poor understanding that mankind's requirements con-

flict with sustaining a viable forest resource." (Note: while I would substitute "desires" for "requirements", I agree that current economic pressures conflict with the limits of ecological reality.) Carbonetti, an architect of the heavy cutting bill that so angers Ms. Borland, offers a more constructive approach to resolving the conflict between economics and ecological limits: "We must challenge managers to meet higher standards, require land use policy that promotes cluster development, and direct a thoughtful and efficient public protection of unique forest elements. Strengthening policies that economically reward sustainable forestry will provide incentives for stewardship to bridge this lack of understanding. This will allow forests to continue to provide a full range of economic and ecological benefits to us all."

Politics: Not surprisingly, politics is seen as central to protecting forest health. Consensus and collaboration are key, said several people. Mary Jeanne Packer, a natural resources consultant, writes: "Are there solutions? Yes, but a willingness by all to work together, listen and seek to understand are essential. These are the first steps in building collaborative relationships. Without collaboration, the forest we know will not survive into the future."

However, Andrew Whittaker, editor of the *Forum*, cautions: "Many speak of the need to collaborate, cooperate and compromise. I would add to that the need to reason, to debate and to articulate basic values. There is so much in human behavior and economic thought that is contrary to wildness and its conservation that contentiousness may be a healthy sign."

Susan Morse offers a resolution to the above viewpoints: Participants in the development of forest policy must

strive to "reach a creative and realistic consensus"; but, she adds, consensus must be "based on basic biology for a change..."

Timber industry hardliners reject public participation in forest policy making. "The current trend toward expanded public influence in forest science and management will have long-term detrimental effects." Forester Jonathan Wood of Bell Gates Lumber Corporation attempts to stereotype all critics of current forestry practices as infected with an "urban environmental ethic". Such "extremist environmental thinking" will, he warns, lead to the "death of the sustainable rural culture in Vermont and worldwide."

An even more extreme—some might say paranoid—rejection of current efforts to protect the ecological integrity of Vermont's forests is provided by Bill Sayre, chair of the Forestry Policy Task Force of Associated Industries of Vermont, who warns the greatest threat to Vermont forests is: "The loss of liberty and property to a government consumed with the desire to own more land, and to overtax and overregulate the land it doesn't own and the people who do." Rural economies, which produce abundant resources for urban-dwelling populations have liberated urbanites "from the necessity and experience of subsistence living." These urbanites have repaid rural dwellers by using their free time to "protest the efforts of those who grow and harvest products that feed and shelter the nation."

Wood, Sayer and their ilk refuse to acknowledge that opposition to clearcutting, herbicide spraying, raw log exporting, and the like come from rural dwellers from throughout Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire. It's more convenient to stereotype opposition as

Continued on page 16

Taking Measures Across the American Landscape Exposes Illusion of Human Control

Taking Measures Across the American Landscape, by James Corner & Alex S. MacLean, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1996.

My understanding of the catastrophic consequences of two decades of industrial forestry in Northern Maine was born out of a flight I took with pilot-aerial photographer Alex MacLean in 1989. The bird's eye perspective afforded by flight in small planes transforms one's understanding of the context of a place and the activities of humans upon that place.

Alex MacLean has recently produced another stunning book of aerial photographs, in collaboration with James Corner, whose rather dense academic essays accompany MacLean's clear photos of the American landscape. The book, *Taking Measures Across the American Landscape*, is a beautiful, and quietly subversive, coffee-table tome. Careful study of the 119 photos in the book reminds the reader-observer of just how powerfully Earth resists even the most aggressive efforts by humans to control nature.

In his Introduction, Corner writes: "One of our intentions in this book is to show how actions taken upon the land can either precipitate or preclude the possibility for more wholesome and harmonious modes of dwelling. We wish to argue that to continue to relate to the land either as an exploitable resource or as merely a scenic phenomenon is to fail to recognize the dynamic and interactive connectedness between human life and the natural environment."

In his meditations upon "measures" and "measuring" Corner notes that Galileo, Bacon, Newton, and Descartes "severed, or abstracted, the world from the subject in order to dissect it..." The authors of this book use aerial photography as a means of restoring the subject to its context. They provide a number of photos of the seemingly square townships and road grids of North Dakota. But even here, appearances are deceptive. The earth is a globe, not a cube. Placing square townships on the surface of a globe requires periodic adjustments in the measurement of these

square townships as we move north (closer to the Pole). The photos provide a visual explanation of this situation that is far more clear and comprehensible than words could ever convey.

Across even this relatively flat landscape, all sorts of intrusions occur; railroads and rivers crisscross the grid. Glacial deposits play games with the grid. Photos of developments in California and Arizona deserts are surreal illustrations of human conceit. "[T]he engineering establishment," they write in the caption to photograph # 25, "continues to believe that it can control nature..."

Another theme of the book is that "[m]easures facilitate possession. They enable one to occupy, control, and manipulate the land." This statement accom-

panies a photo of a clearcut in northern Maine.

In a section called "Measures of Fit" they provide some stunning photos of wheatfields on tablelands cut by rivers in Montana. In these cut bank regions, the wheatfields are manicured right to the edge of the flat area between cutbanks. The shapes of the resulting fields testify to the limits of human control over natural features.

Corner notes: "There is some irony, then to, the fact that measures of land are the means by which an environment—one that was once so strange and unknown—reveals itself, for what we actually find is only an illusion of human order, a screen behind which lies the unceasing cry of the wild."

—Reviewed by Jamie Sayen



Cracked ice on pond, Brockton, Massachusetts. Photo © Alex S. MacLean, *Landslides*. From *Taking Measures Across the American Landscape*.

Liquidation Hearings

Continued from page 14

rights means absolute rights and no responsibilities. They need to hear that landowners who carefully manage their lands have property rights too, and that societal complicity in abusive cutting subsidizes the abusers and punishes the responsible stewards.

7) **Education and Volunteerism alone are insufficient:** Defenders of the status quo always resort to the anti-regulatory chestnuts of "more education is needed" and "rely on volunteerism". Well, we've been educating the public and the forestry community for decades and we know how effective a tool this is. The responsible stewards pay attention, learn something, and voluntarily practice it. Landowners driven by profit considerations alone don't. So, while education is a vital tool for stimulating excellent forestry, it isn't sufficient. *Good Forestry in the Granite State* is a terrific educational tool. But nothing in it requires a landowner, forester, or logger to make use of it. We need to compel the bad apples to meet minimum standards.

Education is a prerequisite for societal change and for promoting above-average practices; it is not an effective alternative to regulations.

Can NH Recover the Era of Good Feelings?

I am not optimistic. The problem goes beyond the loss of several of the

people who contributed to that remarkable period (Laura Falk, Pat McCarthy, and Tammara Van Ryn have all left NH in the past 12 months). There has been a loss of trust and respect, which was painstakingly built up during the years of work on the Forest Resources Plan and **Good Forestry in the Granite State**. The exclusionary attitude of the FLC and the FAB towards public participation in forestry policy has been a devastating setback to responsible and respectful policymaking. Bringing in a facilitator to run FAB meetings doesn't address the causes of the current crisis, it merely glosses them over.

When Laura Falk "facilitated" the Forest Resource Planning Process, she was a participant who had a spotless record of integrity, fairness, and knowledge about the issues. She worked hard to make a difficult process produce a meaningful plan. "Process-oriented" facilitation of dysfunctional groups may make meetings flow a bit more smoothly, but can't compensate for the fundamental defects of said group.

To restore the Era of Good Feelings, NH forest policy must again become inclusionary, respectful of the public, concerned with ecosystem integrity and the limits of physical reality, and it must revoke the timber industry's "right" to veto anything not to its liking.

The alternative is a replay of the last few years in Maine.

VT Woodlands Dialogue

Continued from page 15

know-nothing city-slickers. Then you don't have to treat them respectfully or seriously.

Conrad Motyka, Commissioner of the Department of Forests, Parks and Recreation, also sees "the urbanization of our culture" as a major "challenge" to protecting Vermont forests. He notes that this trend is reflected in the make-up of the Vermont Legislature: "That connection to the land by people who make laws is getting more and more remote, and it has a lot of influence on public policy. This is the crux of the property rights issue. There is a disconnect. Private landowners are saying, 'You have to pay attention to us.'"

John Meyer, a consulting forester, is more blunt. "Vermont's forestlands are in trouble," he says because of "the growing shift from private to public ownership and control." He accuses critics of current unsustainable forest management practices of disrespecting long-time landowners: "Landowners who are close to their land, work it, know it and who may have tended it carefully for several generations, apparently can't be trusted as good stewards for the future."

Echoing Meyer's contention that public ownership is the greatest threat to Vermont forests is Gary Carrier, vice president of Cersosimo Lumber Co.: "The biggest problem we face is to see to it that our forests are man-

aged. It is so important that they are kept as working forests, and that they are not locked up. I see the threat of them being locked up as being just as serious as being overcut. They both lead to the same undesirable situation, an unhealthy forest landscape. An unmanaged forest is a slow-growing forest that will not have the best species growing at an optimum rate." He too laments that non-Vermonters own more and more of the land and do not understand the traditional "working forest."

Jonathan Wood adds that restoring damaged ecosystems is a quixotic fantasy: "The earth and its forests are too heavily influenced by human activity for us to attempt to restore 'natural' ecosystems."

Edward Hoagland takes a different view: "I believe we need more public land. . . . And I'm in favor of the paper-company lands of Essex County and other large private tracts being bought, when available, for state or federal ownership. . ."

Conclusion

Fostering healthy public debate is essential for a healthy democracy. It is equally essential for assuring healthy forests and a healthy forest-based economy over the long-term. The debate occurring in Vermont provides many promising openings for discovering ways of addressing concerns of ecologists and economists. Sustaining this evolving dialogue is key.

Adirondack Park Report

by PETER BAUER



This installment of the Adirondack Park Report focuses on the story of ecological recovery in the Adirondack Park. This is seen best by focusing on the natural recolonization by moose of the Adirondacks. Today, wildlife biologists believe that a minimum of 60 moose live in the Adirondack Park, up from a confirmed population of one wandering bull arriving from New England in 1980 and deciding to stay. Prior to that there had been sightings of lone moose each decade from the 1930s through the 1970s, but none of these animals ever seemed to stay.

From 1850 through 1900 habitat to support moose, cougars, lynx, black bear, and wild turkeys was destroyed. Historic photographs from the late 19th Century show a treeless, near lunar landscape in parts of the Adirondacks. Areas such as Clinton County in the northeast corner of the Park were ravaged from the excesses of scores of charcoal factories. In the southern Adirondacks tanning mills for hemlock hides operated furiously and harvested millions of hemlocks. Whole sections of the Adirondacks were clearcut and logs transported either by railroads built through the Park's interior or by one of better than 50 rivers used for log drives; the last river drive was on the Hudson River in 1953. Great forest fires in 1904 and 1905 decimated vast acreage; some of which never recovered. While some remote forests in the Adirondacks were not burned or clearcut, all but about 250,000 out of six million acres were harvested to some degree, some clearcut, some selectively harvested for specific species.

While the forests of the Adirondacks were being cut and hauled off to make newspapers, stationery and wooden ships, the moose and cougars and wolves and black bears were being hunted by the legendary sports and guides of the last century for camp meat and trophies for the walls of the Great Camps. In combination with habitat destruction, over-hunting destroyed species' populations. The tales of hunting in the Adirondacks have been recounted in many books from the period. The sheer number of prey taken by 19th Century sportsman and women is astounding.

While there is an active debate among Adirondack historians about the extent of forest destruction in the 19th Century, the proof is in the pudding about the impacts. By the first decade of the 20th Century moose, wolves,

cougars, lynx, and black bear could no longer survive here. The creation of the New York State Forest Preserve in 1885, and passage in 1894 of a new state constitution that mandated all lands in the Forest Preserve to "be forever kept as wild forest lands," along with regulated hunting, actual game laws, and land acquisition by the state to expand the Forest Preserve all contributed to allow Adirondack forests an opportunity to recover.

When the Adirondack Forest Preserve was formed in 1885 it largely consisted of former cut-and-run lands; lands clearcut, abandoned, and allowed to revert to state ownership because of failure to pay taxes. These lands totaled roughly 680,000 acres. In 1895 the state purchased 75,000 acres, much of it had never been logged. By the 1930s, the Forest Preserve had been expanded to well over one million acres through steady land acquisition. Fifty years of recovery sponsored healthy forests throughout the Adirondacks; forests big enough, old and diverse enough to support a wide array of wildlife.

In Bill Mckibben's most recent book, *Hope: Human and Wild*, he writes evocatively of the recolonization of the Adirondacks in the mid-20th Century by those chased out decades before. In the 1930s it was a rare thing to see a black bear. Any sighting was

widely recounted. Twenty-five years later, in the mid-fifties black bears were everywhere (they were even being featured on postcards). Today the black bear population is estimated at over 4,000; the largest in the northeast. In the fifties wild turkeys were just starting to be seen. Any such sighting was an event. By the late 1970s wild turkeys were living throughout the Adirondacks, commonly seen and hunted.

The stories of return can be repeated about beavers (once a reintroduced species, though today the Adirondacks has some of the highest beaver population densities known on the planet), otters, fishers, and pine martens. In the last half of the 20th Century coyotes have moved into the Adirondacks and flourished. Here coyotes have grown in size, compared with their western counterparts, and have moved from diets predominantly of rodents and plants to those where beaver and deer are the mainstays.

Sponsoring these recolonizations is the ecological restoration that has transformed the Adirondacks within the last 100 years from a largely degraded natural area to a largely intact natural area: an area capable of once again supporting moose. Today there are somewhere between 60 and 100 moose in the Adirondacks. The real number is

unknown, but this range is the best estimate proffered by wildlife biologists with the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC).

Since 1980, when the first moose who arrived and stayed was tracked and fitted with a radio collar by the DEC, the moose population has showed a slow, but steady upward trend. By 1990, the year when the first calf was confirmed, the population was estimated at between 15 and 30. 1990 was also the year of the first moose road kill, an indication that the population was growing. Four calves were confirmed in 1994, four more in 1995, and nine in 1996.

Dan Hicks, the DEC wildlife biologist tracking moose recolonization in the Adirondacks, believes that the Adirondack moose population is approaching the critical mass necessary to take off. On Michigan's Upper Peninsula a moose reintroduction effort released 70 moose over a 3-year period from 1985-1987 and today the population tops 500. This population increase bodes well for the moose to establish a highly visible, viable population in the Adirondacks.

Immigration, mostly from Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, continues to significantly augment reproduction. Moose have existed continuously in Maine, where today there are 25,000 animals; over 1,400 were harvested by hunting there in 1996. Moose in Vermont and New Hampshire existed in small numbers in the northern parts of those states through the 20th Century, but didn't start to rise in numbers until the 1960s and 1970s and 1980s. Today, New Hampshire has a population of 4,000 to 5,000; Vermont 1,500 to 2,000. Both states have limited, lottery-based hunting seasons. In Vermont 75 moose were harvested in 1996; in New Hampshire almost 400. Immigration estimates are difficult. They are based on the number of sightings within 10 miles of the New York border. DEC officials believe that immigration levels are somewhere between five and ten annually.

Though no cougars have been confirmed to be living in the Adirondacks, sightings are regular. Two people where I live in Blue Mountain Lake in the central Adirondacks have seen cougars. Loggers between Blue Mountain Lake and Long Lake talked about seeing a mother with two young cougars on several occasions this past summer. It's possible these animals could be here in



Photo © Gary Randorf

Eco-Illogic: Or, How to Spot Irrelevant & Fallacious Arguments

by Mitch Lansky

The deliberate use of fallacious logic works. It sells products, it gains political support, and it can turn the real world on its head. The perpetrators become the victims. The mighty become the weak and powerless. The argument is won through appeals to sympathy, patriotism, prejudice, or force. Civil discourse gets lost along the way.

Many of these arguments can sound convincing—but they are not logically valid. The conclusions do not follow from the premises. Some of the most deceiving types of logical fallacies employed are those called “fallacies of relevance.” With these fallacies, the arguer makes points irrelevant to the conclusion, or comes to conclusions irrelevant to the premise. The first step in bringing back civil discourse is to be able to identify these fallacies when you see or hear them and to stop using them yourself.

Argumentum ad Baculum (appeal to force). There are many variations of this type of argument, but they all use some sort of threat as a response to a point that is disliked. The paper industry has long used *ad baculum* arguments in response to issues concerning regulations, taxes, or reserves. Although other arguments may be at the surface, underlying them is often the “It’s my rubber ducky” message. It goes something like this—“We own the land; we own the mills; we supply the jobs; and if you don’t like what we do, we’ll just close down shop, take our jobs and leave.” In these cases, the company has not refuted the need for regulations, reserves, or taxes. Instead, it has “won” the argument by forcing its opponent to withdraw through threat of force.

Sometimes this approach is used after the fact. When a particular bill to regulate the worst forestry abuses got passed in Vermont recently, property owners who were unable to prevent the bill are now trying to rescind it through pressure. They are posting their land to prevent public access. This type of hardball game could be carried to extremes if the public response is to say, “If you prevent all public access, we will eliminate all public subsidies...”

At the end of World War II at Yalta, Stalin is reputed to have made a rather clever use of this type of argument. Churchill told the others that the Pope had suggested that a certain course of action be followed. Stalin is said to have responded, “And how many divisions did you say the Pope had available for combat duty?”

Argumentum ad Hominem (abusive) With this



Another example of this type is the arguer identifying the listeners as a class, such as property holders, and then informing them that as members of this class they should oppose regulations because it violates property rights. This argument avoids discussing the actual merits of the regulations. It could be that by restricting certain behaviors of one property holder, it strengthens the rights of other property holders. How does it improve my property rights, for example, if my neighbor is allowed to spray pesticides that drift over my house or leach into my well?

fallacy, the arguer attacks the person, rather than the argument. One example would be for an industry advocate to claim that the leader on an effort to regulate forest practices is a jerk who doesn’t care about the working people. Though such a tactic may be politically effective, it distracts the public from the key issue: whether or not the ballot question is worth passing.

A variation on this theme is called “poisoning the well.” One performs this fallacy by attacking the other person’s character before he or she can even speak. The hope here is that anything the opponent says is disbelieved, whether true or not. A radio talk show host could claim, for example, that all environmentalists are power-hungry liars who want to take your rights away. By the time an environmentalist calls up on a certain issue, he already has zero credibility.

A further variation on this theme is the “straw man.” The “straw man” is a supposedly “typical” representation of the opposition, one that is easy to knock over. A property-rights advocate might claim, for example, that all environmentalists are evil and are trying to force a one-world government headed by the United Nations onto an unsuspecting public. Since the opponent is an environmentalist, he must be part of this plot. The problem here, however, is that local environmentalists do not fit into the mold of this “straw man.”

Argumentum ad Hominem (circumstantial) This type of argument, like the last, argues at the person, rather than the issue. But here the arguer tries to gain support by appealing to the opponent’s special circumstances. A company representative might argue, for example, that you have no right to argue against certain objectionable forestry practices because you consume paper. “Try wiping with plastic.”

People often get intimidated by such arguments. The argument, however, does not address whether toilet paper can be produced without objectionable forest practices. Indeed, almost all the trees being cut now were started without whole-tree clearcuts or herbicides since these practices are relatively new.

Another example of this type is the arguer identifying the listeners as a class, such as property holders, and then informing them that as members of this class they should oppose regulations because it violates property rights. This argument avoids discussing the actual merits of the regulations. It could be that by restricting certain behaviors of one property holder, it strengthens the rights of other property holders. How does it improve my property rights, for example, if my neighbor is allowed to spray pesticides that drift over my house or leach into my well?

Argumentum ad Ignorantiam (argument from ignorance) There is an old saying, “you can’t prove a negative.” Even though no one has verifiably found one, you cannot “prove” that ghosts do not exist—someone might find one later.

A chemical company may argue that because no

tests (that they approve of as valid) show any harm from their chemical, it must be safe. Of course, the company cannot prove a chemical is safe. It can only prove that it is safe for the given circumstances under which it is tested. Unfortunately, few chemicals have had the full range of tests—and the full range of tests is often not enough. Tests do not usually include the interactions of complete formulae with other drugs or chemicals likely to be present in the environment or a person’s body. Nor do they usually differentiate between impacts on adults and on young children who do not have fully developed immune systems.

Environmentalists are guilty of the same fallacy when they argue that, because a chemical company cannot prove that the chemical is safe, it must be dangerous. The most honest argument is to state what has been tested and what were the results. If the results are inconclusive, both sides ought to say so and find something more substantial to argue about.

Arguing from ignorance is a legal defense in a court of law. If you cannot prove that a person is guilty, he is presumed innocent. Chemical companies would like that same burden of proof for their products: a chemical is innocent until proven guilty. Unfortunately, this assumes that chemicals have as many rights as people.

Argumentum ad Misericordiam (appeal to pity). With this fallacy, the arguer appeals to the sympathy of the listener, rather than proves a point. With this type of argument our heart strings are tugged on the one hand by images of poor little baby bunnies with big eyes crying for their dead mothers who were killed by evil hunters. On the other hand are poor workers, starving because they just lost their jobs because of a heartless environmental regulation.

The classic illustration of *ad misericordiam* is also a classic illustration of what we in northern Maine call *chutzpah*: the young man who, after murdering both his parents, pleaded for the mercy of the courts because he was an orphan. When the paper industry pleaded for subsidies for budworm spraying on the grounds that they were heading for a shortfall—after decades of highgrading and overcutting, I considered this a form of *chutzpah*.

Representatives of some of these companies have gone before the Maine legislature, or even towns where they have mills, with completely straight faces and argued that they are barely surviving economically and need various tax abatements. These are companies with budgets greater than Maine’s. To the extent they pay fewer taxes, other people pay more. Somehow, the legislature is moved by the corporate plight more than it



is moved by the plight of older citizens on fixed incomes who have to chip in for what the companies pull out.

Argumentum ad Populum (snob appeal or bandwagon) The propagandist, the demagogue, and the advertiser are fond of appealing directly to the "people." *Ad populum* arguments are more prone to have slogans and buzzwords than careful reasoning. Political operators will point to polls and testimonials that show that "everyone" is supporting their cause, so you ought to as well.

Ad populum practitioners bombard the public with appeals to the Free Market, Democracy, God, and Patriotism. Companies wave American flags to sell hamburgers or gasoline. A paper company advertisement might show images of a deer standing amidst tall trees by a free-flowing stream while beautiful music plays in the background. A supporter of "property rights" might appeal to group prejudices against, for example, "government bureaucrats" or "red tape" to argue against changes in regulations.

The key here is to avoid discussion of the issue. That is, perhaps, why patriotism has been described as, "the last refuge of scoundrels." Once you have gotten the sympathy of the crowd by appealing to their strong beliefs on, for example, abortion, school prayer, or homosexuality, you only need to go a little further and (still waving the flag of righteousness) get a bigger military budget or tax breaks for corporations.

Argumentum ad Vericundiam (appeal to authority) Appeal to authority goes one step further than appeal to the "people." Instead of just your neighbor and all good Americans supporting the cause, with *argumentum ad vericundiam* you get testimonials from celebrities. These people may know less than you do, but they are famous, and people might identify with them.

A well-known comedian might inform us that, "Something good is happening in the Maine woods." A governor might weigh in with his opinion that a certain bill is good for the forest (even if his knowledge about forestry may be based more on what industrial advisors are telling him, than his direct experience).

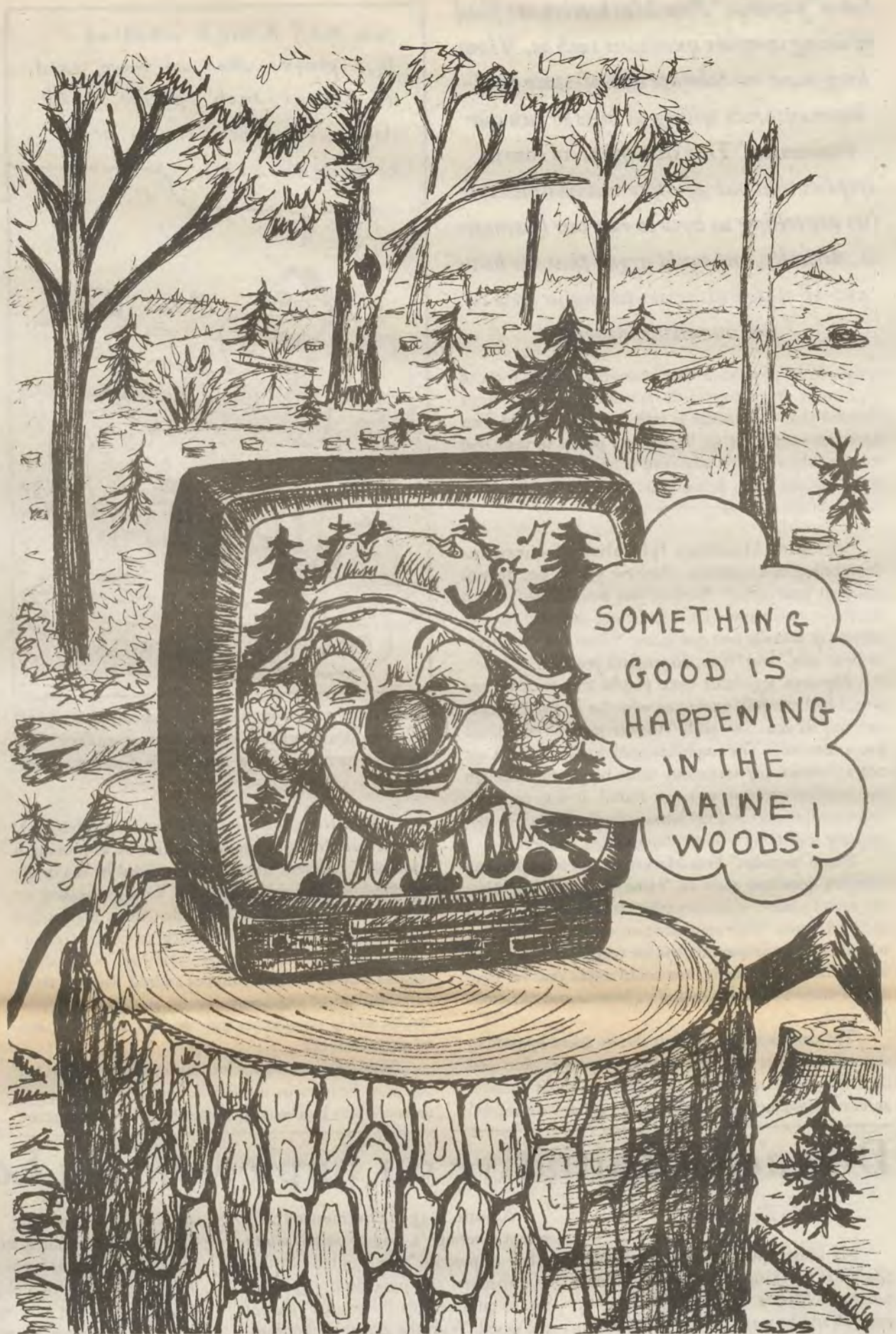
When someone is a genuine expert in her field, her opinion certainly has more weight than that of just a celebrity. Expert testimony is not necessarily an invalid affirmation of an argument. But often there are other experts who have different opinions. We are then left to judge the arguments on merit, rather than someone's say so.

Accident (apply a general rule to a particular case where the rule is not applicable). The fallacy with this argument starts with the initial premise. What should be a general rule (where things are true much of the time or even some of the time) is stated as an absolute rule for which all applications must be true. Thus a person could argue that: environmentalists are pagan, tree-hugger Communists; Albert Gore is an environmentalist; therefore he must be a pagan, tree-hugger Communist. The problem here is that not all "environmentalists" are pagan, tree-hugger Communists. Some are conservative-Christian capitalists who want to be able to breathe fresh air and drink clean water.

An industrial forester may argue that: legitimate forestry practices should not be regulated; clearcutting is a legitimate forestry practice; therefore it should not be regulated. Assuming for a moment that clearcutting is valid for some circumstances, this does not mean, however, that it is valid for all circumstances. Does it make sense, even for supporters of clearcutting, to allow whole-tree clearcuts on short rotations on steep, high-altitude forests? How about deer yards or riparian zones?

Converse Accident (hasty generalization). The hasty generalization starts with a particular case that may be valid and concludes that what is true for this case must be true for all cases. Hasty generalization is the basis for prejudice where all Blacks become criminals, all Irish become drunks, all Jews become money-grubbers, etc. Hasty generalization is also the foundation for justifying all uses of a practice that may only be valid in special circumstances. Hence, if a clearcut is valid for making a house lot, this shows that clearcutting is valid—so all uses of clearcuts must be valid.

Following the same logic, if eight years ago some-



one from an environmental group, such as National Audubon, made a speech, which, taken out of context, implies that he wanted the government to buy up 26 million acres of Northern Forest, then all environmentalists must have the same agenda—to take all the land from all the Northern-Forest people.

If property-rights advocates can find a few examples of over-zealous government agencies abusing citizen's rights, then the conclusion is that *all* government agents are over-zealous and *all* citizen's rights are abused. This type of logic becomes frightening when the consequence is that a government building gets blown up. The bodies that are dragged from the rubble are not symbols, they are real people.

False Cause (*post hoc ergo propter hoc* or *non causa, pro causa*). This fallacy is rampant with the social sciences, conspiracy theorists, character assassins, and self promoters. It posits that if one event precedes another, it must have caused the other.

Thus the great decline in clearcutting in Maine, because it occurred after the passage of the Forest Practices Act, must have been caused by that regulation. Actually, much of the drop in clearcutting happened in 1990, a year before the FPA was enforced. This trend did continue after 1991, but it was not forced. Under the FPA, landowners could actually cut the majority of their land in ten years. That they have

not done so is their own choice, not a victory for the regulation.

Regulation opponents sometimes point to a downturn in the economy and blame it on the mention of potential regulations. The downturn might just as easily have been part of a national trend that had little to do with local politics. Those arguing such tenuous causality have to come up with interesting theories to explain why things get better, even when the same "regulatory instability" persists.

Another example of false cause is the argument that because a United Nations agency is recommending ecological reserves to protect biodiversity and environmentalists in Maine later recommend ecological reserves to protect biodiversity, the Maine environmentalists must be promoting the United Nations' agenda. The reality may be that the two different groups may sound similar because they are both basing their arguments on the same science. Just because a Communist in China advocates the Law of Gravity and a housewife in Vermont later professes that Gravity does indeed exist does not mean that the housewife is a Communist dupe.

Petitio Principii (begging the question). Another name for *petitio principii* is "circular reasoning." The classic example is the "proof" that God exists because the Bible says so, and the Bible must be true because it

Some "populist" Free Marketeers are fond of using complex questions such as, "How long must we tolerate out-of-state environmentalists telling us how to run our businesses." This statement, of course, implies that out-of-state environmentalists are telling us how to run our businesses. Actually, one could argue that we have out-of-state businesses telling us how to run our environment.

is the Word of God. I have encountered this form of argument from pesticide promoters. They have claimed that a chemical is safe because all valid tests have shown it to be so. When one points to tests that show problems, the response is that these tests are obviously not valid. A valid test would show the safety of the chemical in question. Right.

Complex Question (plurality of questions demanding one answer). "Answer yes or no, do you still beat your wife?" Even if you answer "no," it still doesn't sound right. This question, demanding one answer, is actually two questions: "Have you ever beaten your wife," and "If so, do you still beat her."

My own legislator once played this trick on me after I had carefully explained why the Forest Practices Act was flawed. She said, "Answer just yes or no, are you a forester?" The implication here was that if I am not a forester, my testimony must be wrong. Though the implied premise was not stated, it was certainly there, and it was certainly wrong. It allowed her to dismiss my testimony without determining its merits.

Some "populist" Free Marketeers are fond of using complex questions such as, "How long must we tolerate out-of-state environmentalists telling us how to run our businesses." This statement, of course, implies that out-of-state environmentalists are telling us how to run our businesses. Actually, one could argue that we have out-of-state businesses telling us how to run our environment.

The complex question can also be asked by putting several concepts together in the same question and demanding one answer. Thus, someone could demand an answer to this question, "You are for environmental



protection, paganism, and communism, aren't you?" Or, "Are you another nutcase environmentalist?" The proper response, in these cases, is to divide the question.

Ignoratio Elenchi (irrelevant conclusion). *Ignoratio elenchi* is an argument directed at proving a conclusion different from that demanded by the original question. An environmentalist, during a hearing on forestry regulations, may argue that these regulations should pass, because good forest practices are important to wildlife and the state economy. While these reasons may be true, they do not address whether these particular set of regulations would lead to the desired results, and if so, whether they would do it better than an alternative bill.

Similarly, an industry lobbyist could argue that her company believes in sustainable forestry and supports research into biodiversity, therefore no regulations are

needed. While it may be wonderful to believe in sustainable forestry and to support research, this does not address whether current practices meet certain standards and whether the regulations would change this.

In these cases, the two sides are talking past each other. Neither is specifically saying what is needed, what is happening, and how the proposed changes would lead (or not lead) to the desired results. I have tried arguing logically at similar such hearings, but discovered, to my dismay, that legislators are often more swayed by the irrelevant conclusions. Irrelevant conclusions may not be logically valid, but they are can be emotionally convincing.

Undistributed Middle Term (guilt through association). This is a basic flaw in reasoning, not a fallacy of relevance, but it deserves mention none-the-less because it is so common in use. The *undistributed middle term* follows the form of: all "A"s are "B"s, all "C"s are "B"s, therefore all "A"s are "C"s. Thus, those advocating large reserves are environmentalists; the head of Maine Audubon is an environmentalist; therefore the head of Maine Audubon is advocating large reserves. The same form of argument can be used to "prove" that the head of Maine Audubon is a tool of the United Nations plot to take away people's land.

While in some forms this may sound plausible, other arguments in the same form show its absurdity. For example, following the same "logic" all property-rights advocates are religious Christians; the Ku Klux Klan are religious Christians; therefore property-rights advocates are Klan members. Or, even more telling, all mice are mammals; all elephants are mammals; therefore, all mice are elephants.

Conclusion Now that you possess the knowledge of these types of fallacies, you have a homework assignment. Read, and listen to political arguments over Northern Forest Issues and come up with three good examples of logical fallacies. If you find good examples coming from environmental groups, include them as well. We will print the choicest examples in coming issues (if there are any).

Sources

- Irving Copi, *Introduction to Logic*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1961.
- Also of interest is Darrel Huff's book, *How to Lie with Statistics*, W.W. Norton Company, New York, 1954.

Downeast Initiative on Implementing Low Impact Forestry

by Ron Poitras

My father spent most of his young adult life working with horses in the northern Maine woods. It wasn't an easy job and he was grateful when a better opportunity to earn a living became available to him at Loring Air Force Base.

I remember from my visits to his logging camps how much he cared for his horses, how carefully he laid out his skidding trails for them, and how the animals responded in turn. Mike, a large and very gentle Belgian, was his favorite. He could hook up a log to Mike and send him to the yard on his own. If Mike got tangled, he knew to back up and try again at a different angle. When Dad retired in Lewiston, he spent many of his days at the race track, not to wager, but because he wanted to be around horses.

Woodwork today is not any easier than it was during those depression years; it's become more difficult with bottom line economic pressures bearing on loggers who must cut more and more to simply make ends meet. Trends in logging techniques have been oriented towards productivity of timber removal, with large, increasingly sophisticated mechanical harvesters dominating cutting practices.

As one logger commented at a recent meeting, "a load of pulp is worth a bag of pennies." He pointed out that the nitrogen and potassium value of a ton of pulp exceeds the market value of the wood. With the global market forcing lower prices, there are many in Maine who want to know whether we can get off this resource-depleting, technology-driven treadmill. Most readers of *The Forum* are well acquainted with low impact forestry. Low impact forestry is a way of managing the forest to achieve multiple goals, to favor long-term resource conservation, local labor and markets, and value-added processes. Although certainly not a panacea, it's a direction that most of us in our hearts know must be taken; and there are many among the ranks of small woodlot owners who would agree.

Landowner Survey

According to the 1996 survey of small woodlot owners in Hancock County conducted by the Hancock County Planning Commission:

- 37% were interested in low impact logging services
- 52% look for a balance between the method of timber harvest and the economic return
- 43% do not allow large skidders to be

- used in wood harvesting
- 45% would be willing to receive less for stumpage in order to improve the land's future health and productivity (18% were willing to accept 50% less)
- 34% said they would be willing to pay someone to thin out sections of their woodlot to improve its future yield and economic return
- 66% wanted to work cooperatively with a logger over an extended period to maximize economic return and minimize environmental impacts

These survey results, coupled with the fact that during the last decade Hancock County has shown some of the highest growth rates in volume of wood per acre in Maine, are persuasive indication of the potential for low impact forestry in Hancock County. The results also suggest potential application to other regions of the state where there are many small woodlot owners.

Low Impact Forestry Conference

On May 3rd of this year, Hancock County's Planning Commission, working closely with members of the Maine Low Impact Forestry Project Team, organized a statewide low impact forestry conference. One hundred forty

persons attended. The purpose of the conference was to explore the potential for greater utilization of low impact forest harvesting methods in Downeast Maine. The conference featured experts from throughout the state as well as representatives of the New Brunswick Forest Products Marketing Board and the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin. During the conference the following were addressed:

- Can we meet the need small woodlot owners have for low impact forestry services?
- How do we provide these?
- Can low impact forestry create more jobs while maintaining and improving forest quality in Hancock County?

Many small woodlot owners seek a more environmentally benign approach to wood harvesting; they want their woods harvested with greater care. Machinery used in most commercial forest operations is often viewed by small woodlot owners as destructive. For many, wildlife, aesthetics and long term sustainability are as important as current economic yield in pulp and saw logs. Recent changes in the state's law is forcing small woodlot owners to manage more actively, to maintain eligibility for property tax relief under the Maine *Continued on page 21*

Forest Stewards Guild Forms National Network

by Brendan J. Whittaker

Early in the afternoon of Saturday May 17, 1997, at Asheville, North Carolina, a brand-new professional organization of North American forestland managers was voted into existence. Symbolically, the fifty or so founding members took the vote on the birth of "The Forest Stewards Guild" in one of the buildings on the Biltmore Estate at Asheville, which, from the days when Biltmore owner George Vanderbilt first hired the young forester Gifford Pinchot in 1892, has been known as the "birthplace of American forestry."

The May 17 action was the culmination of over three years' preparation fostered initially by the Forest Trust, a non-profit forestry and community self-help organization based in Santa Fe, New Mexico. At the Trust's invitation, a group from around the U.S. and Canada began meeting informally around the general themes of professional and personal dedication to the art and science of silviculture and their common disappointment at the perceived direction of the forestry profession in the 1980s and 90s. Most of the initial participants are on-the-ground practicing forest land managers. They have been sharing their experiences in what can be described as successful, long-term (some almost five decades), uneven-age management in varied forest types, ranging from the Pacific Coast, Northwest, Southeast, Lake States and Northeast.

The group has been meeting around the country (Asheville was this writer's first meeting; others had preceded in New Mexico, California and New Hampshire). A common thread that emerged in their conversations with one another was a sense of alienation from modern North American forestry practices, mainly with the U.S. Forest Service on federal holdings, or with the "industrial forestry" practiced by many corporations. Participants have also expressed professional loneliness in what they had been trying to do on their own lands or with that of clients and employers—and huge delight in discovering other land managers from different areas who shared a common vision of sustainable silviculture and had pursued it over the years with silvicultural and financial success. At the Biltmore meeting, this previous dialogue led also to the adoption of a mission statement and a set of six guiding principles as the Forest Stewards Guild now goes forward (see sidebar).

Inevitably, the creation of the Guild by professional land managers from such a background of discontent with the forestry status quo and the desire for better silviculture raises the question of the new entity's relationship with the century-old Society of American Foresters (S.A.F.). Reactions were varied, some (including this writer) have long since dropped S.A.F. membership, seeing it as an organization which has lit-

GIFFORD PINCHOT—



FORESTER

tle to offer progressive foresters. Other Forest Stewards Guild founders at Biltmore are loyal, long-time S.A.F. members, who declare they will remain so, seeking to work from within for the changes they desire in that group. One discussion point related to principle #4 (see box). A "humble and continuous learning" leads to the finding that professional foresters do not necessarily know all there is to know about forests, nor should they be the only policy spokespersons. Therefore, the Guild membership will welcome, in ways yet to be determined, other professions, such as soil science, wildlife management, botany, climatology, and other disciplines related to the forest.

A Trustees Board was voted in at Biltmore for the Guild and will begin work on framing up details of the new organization. A newsletter, named "Distant Thunder" has already been issued previous to last May, under sponsorship of the Forest Trust; this will continue. Board members from our Northern Forest region are Barrie Brusila c/o Mid-Maine Forestry, 1320 Western Road, Warren, ME 04864; and Ross Morgan, c/o Morgan Forestry, Box 32, Craftsbury Common, VT, 05827. New Hampshire contacts include: Charlie Moreno, POB 60, Center Strafford NH 03815; and Dan Stepanauskas, c/o Northern Forest Resources, HCR 62, Box 42, Silver Lake NH 03875. Forum readers are welcome to contact them for further information and their individual reactions to the new group, but be aware all this is brand new, and still forming. The Forest Stewards Guild for now may be reached c/o The Forest Trust, POB 519, Santa Fe, NM 87504-0519, telephone 505-983-8992 (fax 986-0798).

The Forest Steward's Guild Mission and Principles

Adopted at Asheville, NC May 17, 1997

The mission of the Forest Steward's Guild is to promote ecologically responsible resource management that sustains the whole forest. The Guild provides a forum and support system for practicing foresters to advance this vision.

Principles

These foresters base their practice on the following principles:

- 1) Responsible forest management places the highest priority on the maintenance and enhancement of the entire forest ecosystem while recognizing its dynamic nature.
- 2) The natural forest provides a model for management; responsible forest management imitates nature's processes and minimizes impacts when extracting products from the forest.
- 3) The forest has value in its own right, independent of human intentions and needs.
- 4) Human knowledge of forest ecosystems is limited. Responsible management that sustains the forest requires a humble approach and continuous learning.
- 5) The practice of forestry must be grounded in field observation and experience as well as in the biological sciences.
- 6) The forester's first duty is to the forest and its future. When landowner direction conflicts with the principles above and cannot be modified through dialogue and education, the forester must disassociate.

Adirondack Moose

Continued from page 17

small numbers and not be detected and formally tracked. There was a lynx reintroduction effort in 1989. While this was being investigated, researchers found that four lynx had been trapped in the Adirondacks since the 1950s, despite the fact that officially there were none here. Four wolves have also been killed in New York in the last thirty years. Local trappers talk of trapping coyotes and "brush wolves", animals bigger than coyotes, but not full wolves. Most likely they're a hybrid between wolves and coyotes.

Moose are also beginning, for unknown reasons, not to wander as much. Three cows in Perkins Clearing (all fitted with radio collars), in the south-central Adirondacks, are using reduced ranges this year. They're staying deeper in the woods. This may be because the higher population is forcing individual moose to establish home ranges or they've been sighted, but not reported.

Fully 90-percent of the plants and animal species that are found in the Northeast U.S. exist in the Adirondack Park. The Adirondacks is big enough and thinly populated enough that most animals are not seen by people and don't interact with people. The story of the Adirondacks is that the Park is much better off in some ways, namely forest health, at the end of the 20th Century than it was in the beginning. The Park is also worse off in many others: more roads; declining water quality from acid rain and accelerated nutrient loading.

The moose have followed the black bear and wild turkey and fisher and pine martin in their recolonization of the Adirondacks. Whereas the generation before me watched the wild turkey return, and my grand parents' generation watched the recolonization by black bear, I'm watching the moose return. Perhaps, this story will continue and the next generation will be able to see moose regularly and watch wolves and cougars establish viable populations.

Peter Bauer is the executive director of the Residents' Committee to Protect the Adirondacks and he can be reached at (518) 251-4257 or P.O. Box 27, Main Street, North Creek, NY 12853-0027.

Low Impact Forestry

Continued from page 20

Tree Growth Tax Law. Thus, there is a need for more information on low impact forest harvesting and management options.

Next Steps

To build on the momentum generated as a result of last year's activities, the Hancock Planning Commission has requested grant funds from the Rural Development through Forestry Grant Program for the following:

1. development of clear and specific criteria and standards defining low impact forestry
2. establishment of a low impact forestry network and education program with bulletins, demonstrations, forester and logger referrals and niche market information of interest to small woodlot owners. This

effort would rely on existing networks such as the Small Woodlot Owners Association of Maine (SWOAM) to distribute information.

3. preparation of a landowner information packet with guidance for low impact harvest. This might entail a model contract that could be utilized between a logger, forester, and landowner that would ensure a low impact harvest.
4. work with the Certified Logging Professional (CLP) program to incorporate low impact harvesting criteria and to provide for low impact training and possible certification.

These efforts will rely on continued partnerships with several organizations. The Low Impact Forestry Project team, originator of the overall project, will help arrange demonstrations

and develop training requirements for those interested in these methods. SWOAM, Downeast RC & D, and the Hancock County Soil and Water Conservation District have also agreed to distribute information to its membership about low impact forestry.

An advisory committee consisting of the project partners and other interested individuals will provide guidance and assistance. In short, as a result of this project effort, there will be a central place for people to obtain low impact forestry information. Results here should have potential for application elsewhere.

Ron Poitras is director of the Hancock County Planning Commission and the person most responsible for the successful conference on Low Impact Forestry held on May 3 in Ellsworth, Maine.

Cooperation & Demand Reduction to Achieve Sustainability in Energy & Agriculture



by Pamela Prodan

The intensity of energy input into our agricultural system is a key factor in its sustainability. Conventional agriculture is an energy-intensive industry, premised on the fossil fuel economy that evolved over the past two centuries. Inputs of fossil fuels to run equipment, produce and apply fertilizers and pesticides, manufacture, process, package and transport food products, all result in costs to the farming community, consumers and environment. Many costs such as pollution and the loss of small farms are externalized and never seriously accounted for.

U.S. petroleum reserves peaked out in 1970 and world reserves will peak by 2010. Still functioning with the 20th century injection of fossil fuels, the agriculture industry grinds on relatively unchanged. One has to wonder how a rural region like ours will survive without radical change when the fossil fuel infrastructure disappears.

Not being addressed is the fact that when the fossil age is over, cheap energy for transportation will be a thing of the past. Can we count on technology to develop more efficient, non-polluting ways of transporting food, say, using hydrogen? Or, for the most part, we will be left, literally, to our own resources? Only time will tell whether the so-called global economy, in which foods of all kinds are whizzed around the world to distant markets, will survive or collapse. The latter possibility would mean a world-wide return to locally-produced food, grown in season or in greenhouses and preserved. It would also mean less energy-intensive, traditional farming methods.

It's this way with the energy industry too. The nuclear age is over now, while the petroleum age winds down. Since coal is recognized as too polluting an alternative, many look to natural gas as a transition fuel, but the proposition begs the question: transition to what?

Can a hydrogen-based economy support continued wasteful and inefficient energy consumption on the scale occurring today? If humans are to survive, it is imperative that we return to a renewable, solar-based economy for the most part, with some use of non-renewable fossil and, in some localities, geothermal resources. Even more importantly, though, energy consumption must be reduced.

In the electric energy sector, there is a potential to capture efficiency gains and begin the shift now from nuclear and fossil fuels to locally controlled, sustainable energy systems through conservation programs and net metering for small commercial and residential renewable installations. However, in the Northern Forest region, it appears that our governments are welcoming with open arms the construction of new natural gas pipelines and a free market approach that encourages transmission of electric power from distant power plants whose environmental costs are easily concealed.

As more and more people become concerned about the ramifications of technology and their role as consumers, labeling is seen as important in the marketplace. Many people don't want to grow or eat NatureMark's genetically engineered NewLeaf potatoes. They want these potatoes and products made from them labeled because the potatoes themselves have pesticidal properties (they kill the Colorado potato beetle larvae because the gene for the B.t., *Bacillus thuringiensis* toxin has been inserted into the entire plant). Likewise, many people are concerned about the penetration of capitalism into the farthest reaches of the world and the loss of control of people over their own resources and development. People who understand that our consumption of energy can threaten the traditional lands of indigenous peoples want to know where a supplier's electric power comes

from so they can avoid Hydro-Quebec power.

The theory is that if more and more people demand products and services that are certified as produced using sustainable methods, the market will respond. But the truth is that by its very nature, consumption at the rate occurring today is simply not sustainable. The demand for material goods and convenience is what is driving the mining, deforestation and destruction of wildlands made possible by technology. It will not be enough to develop "niche" markets and labeling requirements for organic produce, green power or forest products. To some extent, people simply should not be allowed to make the unsustainable choices available to them today. Education has an important role to play. But as for the whole concept of "customer choice," the reality is that so-called free marketers want to limit it. Food giants don't want consumers to know whether food has been genetically engineered and energy marketers are already complaining about having to disclose their resources and about the potential for consumers to engage in "gaming" (industry's term for switching from one electric supplier to another at will.)

These are not totally gloomy visions. For one thing, they provide opportunities to use cooperation instead of competition to move away from environmentally destructive practices. Change will require all of the strengths that can be mustered through the building of greater community, democracy and local control. These are concepts that are easy to support, but difficult to achieve, especially in a profit-driven, free market economy.

For that reason, as people become disillusioned with what the free market has to offer, they will find the alternative that cooperatives offer to be appealing. Producers' co-ops have endured around the region as farmers find them to nurture a greater sense of community

in all of us. A consumers' energy co-op movement is being born. It's not by chance that organic producers and consumers, while fighting the same battle against corporate power happen to be better organized than renewable, decentralized energy advocates are. It is because, unlike the food industry, the electric industry has been highly regulated to date, giving most consumers some sense of security and measure of protection against corporate abuses and the failures of the marketplace.

All that is about to change and electric consumers should now seriously consider whether electric co-ops may be worth plugging into. With electric deregulation, energy consumers may have little assurance that their power originates from sustainably managed resources unless they control its production themselves. Cooperatives could assist members in obtaining energy efficiency services and financing to install solar panels. We can be grateful that cooperatives have a 150-year old history in this country and are already thoroughly established in all aspects of the economy. We don't have to reinvent the wheel. Not only do co-ops offer the opportunity for friends and neighbors to work together, they can offer alternatives to standard products and services at better prices. And while co-ops are not perfect and sometimes make decisions that do not further ecological values, at least people have a better chance of achieving systemic change with the non-profit, democratically-controlled cooperative model. It actually is possible to shift economic power from large corporations and monopolies to community-based institutions, where people own it and control it.

Pamela Prodan is an attorney who lives in Wilton, Maine and directs NARP's Renewable Energy Assistance Project. She has been an organic grower for 25 years and was a member of an art and craft producers' co-op for 15 years.

Connecticut River Dams Locus of Conservation & Restructuring Deals

On September 2nd, the governors of Vermont and New Hampshire signed a conservation agreement that anticipates federal re-licensing of the Fifteen Miles Project on the headwaters of the Connecticut River in 2001. In early August, New England Power Company (subsidiary of New England Electrical System) announced the sale of its Fifteen Mile Falls generating facilities to the California utility Pacific Gas and Electric. The impending sale accelerated negotiations then underway between NEPCO and stakeholder groups (see "The FERC Dam Relicensing Process" in NFF Summer Solstice 1997, p28).

Included in the agreement are land management and conservation measures for 4200 acres of forest around the Comerford and Moore Reservoirs. A side agreement on the Connecticut Lakes dams (which are non-generating) addresses management practices on an additional 3000 acres.

Water regulation, however, was the

main subject of negotiations, to which New Hampshire Trout Unlimited, the Connecticut River Joint Commissions, the US Fish and Wildlife Service, the Environmental Protection Agency and Vermont and New Hampshire state agencies were all a part. In addition to augmentation of flow, the dam operator will expend \$3 000,000 in studying downstream effects of discharges, oxygen depletion in waters behind dams, and mercury levels in reservoir fish. These studies will result in mitigation measures. Included will be an overall evaluation of flow and its effects on habitats.

Salmon restoration provisions of the agreement include: downstream passage for smolt at the McIndoes dam within two years of the completion of licensing, and future passage at Comerford and Moore if restoration proceeds northward. Upstream passage is contingent on successful return of Salmon (in numbers of 20 or more) and

the further discretion of the Connecticut River Atlantic Salmon Commission and fisheries agencies. "Truck and trap" is an agreed-upon option in lieu of ladders. Provision for eel passage may be mandated if Vermont, New Hampshire and the US Fish and Wildlife Service find it "necessary."

Minimum flows will also be enhanced below the Connecticut Lakes dams. Rapid increases and decreases in flow discharges from these dams was one contention in negotiation for Trout Unlimited, which dropped a request for regulated discharges, in consideration of dam removal efforts on the Ammonoosuc River. For trout fishermen, this may be the agreement's finest feature. Monies from a Mitigation and Enhancement Fund will support Ammonoosuc restoration efforts as a "high priority." The agreement does make some provision for returning to further discussion of flow discharge

rates. Rapid changes in water level can be a key variable in trout habitat. The Connecticut dams are used to augment water levels behind the downstream generating facilities. Another concern, not addressed in the agreement, is the temperature of released water. Cold water is generally discharged from dams lacking shutter gates; colder temperatures can stunt the growth of even cold water species such as Salmon and trout.

The conservation agreements were reached with fanfare, while the New England Electric sale of the Fifteen Mile Falls dams and 9000 megawatts of juice from a variety of sources to Pacific Gas and Electric has barely stirred the masses—save for townspeople up and downriver struggling with a reduction of their local tax base. Sale of dams has resulted in assessments diminished by sizable proportions in localities heavily dependent on this tax base.

Continued on page 31

LOSS OF NET METERING THREATENS MAINE'S SMALL SCALE RENEWABLES

by Pamela Prodan

Advocates for small scale renewables have discovered to their surprise that Maine's new electric restructuring law may have eliminated the net metering provisions of Maine law. Most people are not familiar with the concept of net metering or net energy billing. Yet, it is expected to play a crucial role in the feasibility of small-scale decentralized renewable generation.

Imagine you decide to put your money where your mouth is and invest in your own solar panels, wind generator or low-head hydro turbine on your own property at your own expense. Now, you are faced with two decisions: What are you going to do with the electricity you produce in excess of what you can use at any one time? And what are you going to do for power when the sun is not shining, the wind not blowing or the water not flowing?

The Value of Net Metering

The fact is that renewable energy is a variable resource, something that is not always available. Are you going to waste the excess renewable energy you are producing? Are you going to purchase storage batteries, which create a whole set of environmental problems in their production and disposal? Are you going to invest in backup power, possibly a polluting gas generator, for those times when your renewable resource or your battery storage is not giving you power? Or, avoiding all the above, are you simply going to use the existing wires system of the local electric utility as a giant storage battery and offset your consumption with your production? This is called net metering. It requires equipment to interface to the grid, and any excess renewable output beyond the total customer's consumption is paid for by the utility at the utility's avoided cost rate. Under Maine regulations, only facilities with 100 KW or less capacity can enter into net energy billing contracts, limiting the arrangement to residential and small business customers.

Utility Switches Ground

Central Maine Power Company (CMP), the state's largest utility, now says that the state's electric restructuring law allows it to refuse to enter into net metering contracts. CMP is refusing to connect renewable facilities to its system or renew existing net metering contracts, saying that it is following the legislature's expressed policy in favor of mitigating so-called stranded costs. According to CMP, gone is the opportunity for future sales of micro-generated power. Gone is the ability of small customers to install private renewable generation resources without the added expense and environmental consequences of battery storage and back-up generation. Without net metering, an inefficient, duplicative system of generation and storage, parallel to the existing electric utility system, will be necessary and inevitable.

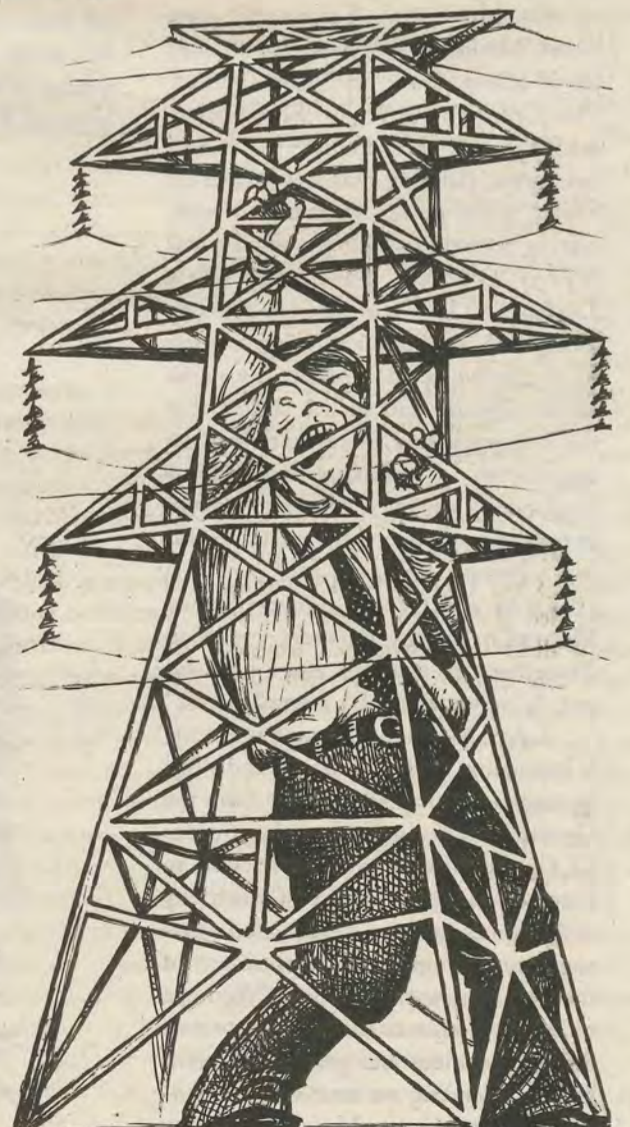
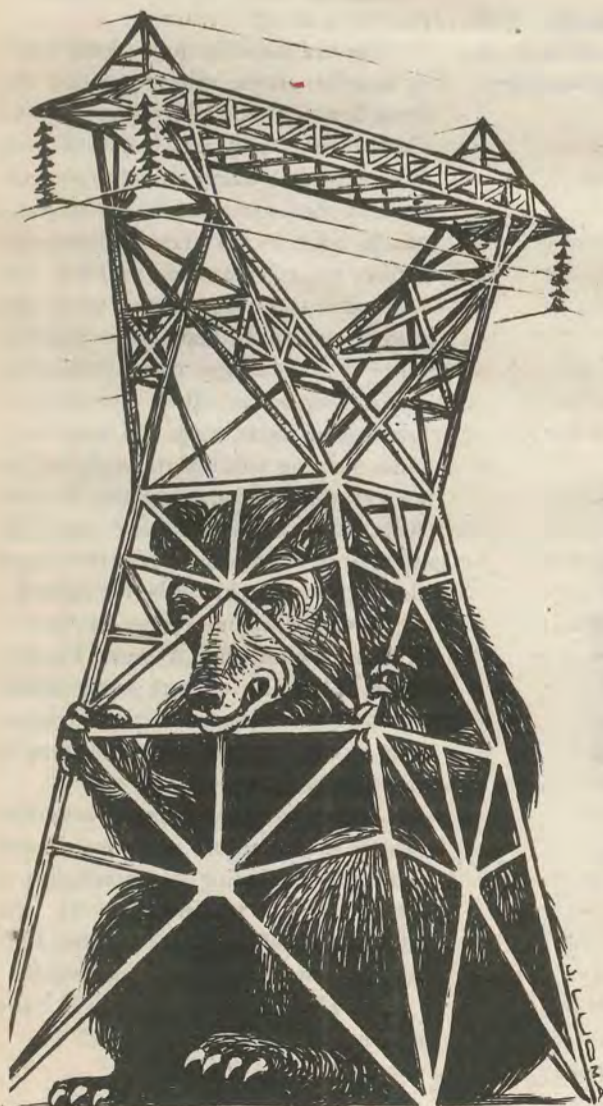
Big Money Talks

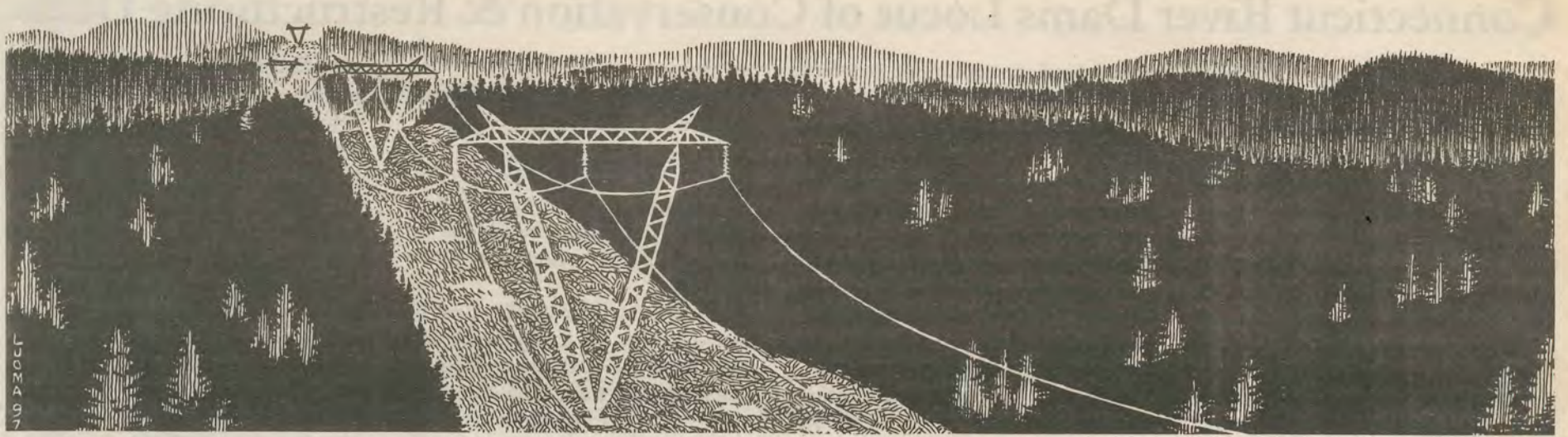
Ironically, for years some of Maine's largest energy consumers, including paper companies, have been able to force CMP to purchase power from customer-owned generation plants at profitable rates. Since 1978, the federal PURPA law has required electric utilities to purchase this power at a price that the utility would pay if it had to buy the power elsewhere or build its own plant. In more recent years, using the existence of customer-owned generation, industrial customers have threatened to leave the grid and self-generate unless they get reduced rates for utility-generated power. The result is that these industrial customers are guaranteed cut-rate utility power to consume while they sell what they produce at higher rates. This amounts to a subsidy to these industries by other con-

sumers and has caused part of the stranded cost problem in Maine. Small customers obviously have no similar leverage.

Perhaps the most challenging work of regulators and policy makers in restructuring the electric industry is to foresee and protect the public interest not represented by well-funded "stakeholders" such as utilities and industrial consumers. This net metering story is a perfect illustration of the pitfalls of deregulation — although net metering is a low-cost and easily administered way to encourage direct customer investment in small-scale renewables and has measurable benefits for the environment, Maine apparently jettisoned it. Legislation is expected to be introduced in an attempt to reinstate net metering in Maine next year.

Pamela Prodan is an attorney living in Wilton, Maine. She directs NARP's Renewable Energy Assistance Project.





Green Mountain Greenwash

by John Clark

Deregulation of the electric utility industry is being sold as a good thing for the environment. Introducing competition to the most rigid of public service monopolies is being touted as a way of bestowing the power of choice on consumers. However, early indicators of how this system will work show utility companies, through a series of mergers and acquisitions, positioning themselves on the playing field of free-market capitalism, a game in which environmentally-friendly companies are the first to be knocked out of the running.

The argument is that de-regulation will result in a greener system because most of us, given the choice, would support an environmentally benign alternative. In the New Hampshire pilot program—an indicator of how companies will exploit the public's 'power of choice'—clearly companies were tailoring their image to fit the public's growing concern for the environment. Even the utilities that were selling nuke-generated electricity were advertising "clean" energy. But all this was only marketing; no power company was offering a genuinely green alternative.

During 1996, Vermont's own Green Mountain Power started its new job of selling power for Hydro Quebec. The Company gave out blue spruce seedlings and "eco-credits" to its new customers, claiming that it was offering "clean" hydro power, without, however, stating anywhere that its source was Hydro Quebec. For many New Englanders, HQ had become synonymous with environmental degradation on a massive scale. In fact, the name Hydro Quebec had such a stigma that the company had to retreat from its aggressive marketing in New England—a market it desperately needs in order to continue with its dam-building schemes. But now HQ power is going by a different name—Green Mountain Energy Partners—with an altogether new eco-look and a new slogan: "Choose wisely. It's a small planet."

Green Mountain Power has recently teamed up with a Texas oil and silver mining family named Wyly to form the Green Mountain Energy Resources LLC, a company which intends to become a national retailer of electricity and natural gas in a deregulated environment. Douglas Hyde, president of the new company, explained, "We hope to assemble entrees that give customers different choices and provide different prices depending on their environmental appetite." Green Mountain Energy

Resources will enter the soon-to-be competitive market in January 1998, offering a smorgasbord of coal, oil, nuclear and large hydro, to satisfy the big appetites of our consumer society.

In other words, the Green Mountain State and its image is quickly being gobbled up by giant utilities, who are now free to behave like multinationals. Companies with bad environmental records like Hydro Quebec will be able to hide, and retailers will be further disassociated from their energy sources.

In an ironic twist, not untypical of the absurd workings of capitalism, while Green Mountain Power is using Texas capital to sell "green" power in California, a California giant, Pacific Gas and Electric—one of the most notorious monopolies in the business—has just invested in the buyout of the Connecticut River hydro-system projects once owned by New England Electric. (See related article)

The truth is, the only way to reduce our assault on the earth is to *save* energy rather than *produce* more of it. The utility industry is not going to reap huge profits by *not* selling power, which is why a system of unbridled capitalism, cut loose from any and all regulation, will never create on its own a greener system. It will only result in slicker and "greener" PR.

Environmental Claims in NH & Massachusetts Pilot Programs

In a deregulated electric industry, green marketing will be a primary tool to attract customers. Consumers need to be wary. A report for The National Council on Competition and the Electric Industry documented environmental claims made in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts pilot programs and found many to be unsubstantiated, misleading or false. For more information on full environmental disclosure and the Consumer Information Disclosure Project, visit the National Council's website at <http://www.erols.com/naruc>.

Environmental Claims Directly Related to Power Supply

Green Mountain Energy Partners — "There's no perfect way to produce electricity. That's why Green Mountain Energy Partners relies heavily on renewable energy sources, like hydroelectric power, that offer the most environmentally sound forms of electric generation." "More than 90 percent of the electricity in Green Mountain Energy Partners' supply comes from hydropower sources. These sources produce zero air emissions."

Northfield Mountain Energy—100 percent hydropower. "... we have an unusual approach to energy—making:

Water is pumped up the mountain at night and flows down during the day to drive our generators located deep inside the mountain. It's quite efficient. So much so that we pass the savings on to you."

A report for The National Council on Competition and the Electric Industry documented environmental claims made in the New Hampshire & Massachusetts pilot programs and found many to be unsubstantiated, misleading or false.

Working Assets — Working Assets Green Power does not rely on nuclear power, coal or Hydro—Quebec.

General Environmental Claims
Central Maine Power — "solid environmental record"

Granite State Energy — "only energy supplier in the pilot to receive the President's Environment and Conservation Challenge Award for our long-standing commitment to protecting the environment." "A company which, since its very first hydroelectric facility began operating in 1909, has treated our environment with the respect and care it deserves — planting more than a million trees; preserving our properties and their surrounding recreational lands, trails and water supplies; helping wildlife through habitat preservation; and much more. In fact, since 1987, we have invested over \$550 million in conservation efforts— more than any other utility in New England.

Green Mountain Energy Partners — "Choose Wisely. It's A Small Planet." "Now is the time to start saving money and saving the planet." "It's the beginning of our long-term commitment to you and the earth."

Public Service of New Hampshire Energy — "A history of environmental leadership, including the installation of 'clean coal' technology at the Merrimack station, which received EPA and Governor's Energy Office awards"

Working Assets — You'll save money, use cleaner power and..."

—Pamela Prodan





THE MURKY WATERS OF VERMONT'S HYDRO-QUEBEC CONNECTION

by Alexis Lathem

The finalization of the Vermont utilities contract with Hydro Quebec in 1991 was a watershed moment for the state's energy policy. Around the time of its negotiation, critics of the HQ deal maintained that a 30 year commitment to large power purchases from the utility giant would burden the state with an energy surplus that would discourage the development of energy conservation measures and alternative technologies, and would stifle Vermont's economy. The challenge that came from advocates of conservation and environmentally-friendly energy-alternatives, as well as from the Cree and Innu, was as noisy and energetic as it was articulate and informed. Nevertheless, the contract was signed and with this bitter defeat, the public energy debate died down.

Utilities Ask for Rate Hikes Yet almost as soon as the ink was

dry, the predictions made by opponents of the HQ contract proved true: energy conservation programs were cut, and electric rates went up. The decision to import power from HQ is costing Central Vermont Power Service (CVPS) alone \$48 million a year in excess energy costs. In October 1995, both Green Mountain Power (GMP) and CVPS requested significant rate increases, at 12.7 and 14.6% respectively. These rate increases followed GMP's 9.25% increase only four months earlier, and CVPS's 5.1% increase which was implemented in November. At the same time, conservation programs were cut.

Both utilities have attributed these increases largely to the obligation to buy HQ power, despite lack of demand. (Much of the imported power is returned to Quebec.) GMP has also proposed, as a means of unloading its surplus, a plan to offer reduced rates to customers who increase their electric

consumption. The Department of Public Service has publicly applauded the proposal, even though it flies in the face of conservation objectives.

Probing the Murky Waters

Vermonters are being asked to pay for something—amounting to millions of dollars a year—that no one needs. The situation is like that of a king sitting on top of a heap of riches demanding a tax on the poor, not because the royal kitty is empty but precisely because it is too full. It simply makes no sense.

The circumstances around the finalization of the deal are still largely obscure, but we do know of the close ties between government, utilities and their lobbyists. Governor Dean used utility lobbyists who pushed for the HQ deal in his transition team. Richard Saudek, the former chairman of the Public Service Board who helped negotiate the state's HQ contract, is now working for HQ.

There has been great resistance to any investigations into the case. CVPS has refused to open an investigation; Governor Dean used his executive privileges when called to turn over certain key documents in the case. Are there documents relevant to these questions hiding under the protective orders of the current proceedings, ostensibly protecting customer confidentiality? Mind you that this is a utility rate case, not an issue of national security.

What You Can Do

Quebec has recently entered a period of crisis with Hydro-Quebec and Quebec's Ministry of Natural Resources. These agencies wish to leap headlong into a deregulated U.S. electricity market, including greatly expanding electricity production for export. This expansion is almost entirely predicated on damming and diverting more rivers in Quebec and Labrador, homelands of the Innu and Cree peoples.

This year Hydro Quebec has mounted a full-scale offensive for more hydro-generating capacity. The provincial utility has made a 180 degree turn towards the American export market, reviving many of the hydro projects put on ice with the emergence of regional surpluses in the early 1990s.

HQ has become very aggressive about acquiring additional water for its existing reservoirs and for the SM3 dam now under construction. Since the beginning of the year HQ has announced plans to divert no fewer than eight rivers into four separate reservoirs.

In the past, Quebec environment minister David Cliche (subsequently reshuffled to has stated that such diversions should go through the public hearing (B.A.P.E.) process. He has also publicly supported declaring the Moisie watershed a Heritage River, and thus permanently protected from commercial development.

Friends of Nitassinan urges you to write Minister Paul Begin in support of protecting the Moisie. Fax your letter right away to: 418-643-4143. Send a copy to Premier Lucien Bouchard: FAX: 418-643-3924.

Thus far, it is reported that faxes and letters from outside Quebec have at least heartened the opposition and delayed the approval process. Please write!

For more information: Friends of Nitassinan, POB 804, Burlington, VT 05402; ph/fax: 802-425-3820 or contact Tom Holzinger <energie@netaxis.qc.ca>

Mishta Shipu (Moisie River): Keep It Wild

"Our people travelled up the Moisie into the interior. With this dam, the port of entry to our culture will be closed. The diversions they have planned will mean the annihilation of all the Creator has given us." —Evelyn St. Onge, Innu from Mani Utenam

"The decision to go ahead with the diversions constitutes the biggest experiment in the field of Atlantic salmon that has ever been undertaken in the history of the world, with all of the risks inherent in it. If we are not able as a society to preserve the Moisie as it is, what river in Quebec deserves to be so preserved?" — Association for the Protection of the Moisie River

Hydro Quebec is proceeding with its plans to divert the Pekans and Carheil Rivers, tributaries of the Moisie River. The Moisie River is North America's greatest Atlantic salmon spawning river.

In 1994, HQ's proposal to divert the rivers into the St. Marguerite as part of the St. Marguerite 3 (SM3) hydro-electric project, was not approved by the government. HQ was told to conduct further studies on the potential impacts of the river diversions on the Moisie Salmon.

HQ has completed its two-year studies and submitted them to a government-appointed commission. The Commission has concluded that the diversions will not affect the salmon. The report, through complex modeling, determined that the risk was

minimal. This model was severely criticized by biologists from the Atlantic Salmon Federation, who argued that the conclusions depended on unjustified assumptions, insufficient data, and implied unacceptable risk.

On April 14, the committee dismissed that opinion and advised the government that there was no evident risk. The Environment Ministry received their report and initiated the standard 60 day comment period, but without informing interested parties, suggesting that the government wanted to slip this project by its critics.

The government's authorization is imminent. Meanwhile HQ has begun negotiations with the Uashat/Mani Utenam Band Council for the "completion of the SM3 project which has already been approved." The Band Council is conducting these negotiations in spite of the opposition from the community. This is the same Band Council which placed a thirty year injunction over the community, prohibiting any form of opposition to its own power or to the SM3 project. HQ expects the negotiations to be completed within 45 days of the government's authorization for the diversions.

Meanwhile, construction of the SM3 project—including the river diversions—is proceeding ahead of schedule.

—Friends of Nitassinan

Hydro-Quebec to Divert James Bay Rivers for US Energy Market

To the Forum:

It appears that Public Relations and Lobbying pay off. Campaigns by highly paid lobbyists convinced New Englanders that Hydro-Quebec's grandiose electricity project in the northern Quebec wilderness was stopped. Meanwhile, HQ and New England utilities never stopped planning to produce more hydro-electricity in spite of damage to the wilderness ecosystem and the native people, who've been an integral part of that ecosystem for thousands of years.

Now, HQ has decided to divert major James Bay rivers, like the Great Whale and the Rupert, rather than dam them. Either way, the rivers will cease to exist as rivers and the whole ecosystem will essentially be gone as the rivers are essential to the plants and wildlife. Furthermore, these ecosystems are essential to the way of life and economy for native people.

Consequently, whether the rivers are dammed or diverted, they and the native people that depend on them are damned—unless the current scheme is stopped. It's all being done for the energy "market" in the USA, so Americans can stop it.

Sincerely,
Jim Higgins
Bristol, VT

Food Irradiation - Zapping Contamination Not the Answer

Michael Colby
Food and Water

The recent recall of 25 million pounds of hamburger meat processed by Nebraska's Hudson Foods has publicly exposed the bacterial contamination problems that plague the U.S. meat industry. In the discussion about how to solve the meat safety problem, proponents of the nuclear industry are advocating food irradiation, a controversial technology that carries a host of new problems with it.

Irradiation exposes the meat supply to radiation the equivalent of 100,000 rads, the equivalent of 10 million medical x-rays, to sterilize meat products. The materials used in irradiation facilities are cobalt 60 and cesium 137, both nuclear poisons.

Studies show that during the irradiation process, essential vitamins and nutrients normally present in foods are destroyed, especially vitamins C, E, K, and B complex. And when irradiated food is later cooked, the food's nutritional value is further depleted.

Still more scientific studies show exposing food to radiation causes the formation of new chemicals, some of which are carcinogens. For example, exposing beef to radiation forms benzene, a potent cancer-causing chemical. These new chemicals are called radiolytic products, some of which are completely unique to the irradiation process and remain unidentified and untested for safety.

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) approval of irradiation for some foods in 1986 was based on only five studies. The other 436 studies that were submitted for review were thrown out by the FDA because they were found to be improperly conducted and inadequate. These five studies alone do not prove the safety of irradiated foods and should not have been used to approve the technology. A petition for approval of beef irra-

diation is currently before the FDA, but to this day, long-term studies to prove irradiated foods are safe have not been conducted.

These health problems are compounded by a number of environmental risks. Past accidents at irradiation facilities, including radioactive leaks and worker exposure to radiation sources, have already endangered both workers and surrounding communities. If food were ever to be irradiated on a mass scale, hundreds of new facilities would be required and the potential for accidents in transporting nuclear material across the country would increase exponentially.

The health and environmental risks that irradiation creates are much too great to justify its use—especially when safe alternatives exist.

In the last several years, new steam technologies have proven effective against *E. coli*—so effective, in fact, that one of the country's largest meat companies, Cargill's subsidiary Excel, has installed steam vacuums in some plants. Other research shows that a combination of steam and other safe technologies, like knife trimming and warm water washing, are highly efficient in destroying *E. coli*.

Last year, the federal government passed new meat inspection laws to better monitor and eradicate contamination. But to ensure the long term safety of the meat supply, the industry must consider making significant structural changes. Large U.S. livestock farms house animals in over-crowded conditions that are breeding grounds for contamination. Line speeds at slaughter

houses are too fast to maintain cleanliness. At processing plants like Hudson where more than 400,000 pounds of meat products are processed a day, the scale of production has exceeded the industry's ability to ensure safety.

E. coli kills 500 people and sickens over 20,000 more each year, while millions more are infected with other harmful bacteria, according to the U.S. Center for Disease Control. There is no question that measures must be taken to make the meat supply safe, but food irradiation only brings additional health and safety risks.

Irradiation is not the answer. But that doesn't mean the public must be left with *E. coli*-tainted meat. Cleaning up and slowing down U.S. meat production can lead to some lasting solutions. It's time for all parties involved—consumers, the food industry, farmers, and government regulators—to work to get at the root of the contamination problem.

Irradiation Amendment Imminent

Pro-irradiation forces are aiming to reduce the labeling requirement for irradiated foods with an amendment to the FDA reform bill authored by Senator James Jeffords (R-VT). Call Senator Jeffords today at 802-223-5273 or 800-835-5500 and:

- Ask to speak with a Jeffords aid about the proposed food irradiation labeling amendment to the FDA Modernization and Accountability Act.
- Urge Jeffords to prevent the inclusion of this amendment in the FDA reform bill.
- Tell them you are opposed to food irradiation and will not support any law, or lawmaker, that could hide the truth about radiation-exposed foods from U.S. citizens.



Food and Water Launches Campaign to Ban Atrazine on Vermont Dairy Farms

The Walden, Vermont based, national organization Food and Water, has launched a campaign to halt the use of atrazine on Vermont's dairy farms. Atrazine use in the United States totals 75 million pounds; 53,000 pounds are applied to silage corn crops in Vermont, annually. The herbicide, manufactured by Ciba-Geigy, is of special concern to Food and Water, for its carcinogenic, hormone-disrupting and enviro-toxic properties.

Food and Water, in mounting a general Pesticide-Free Vermont campaign, has emphasized the importance of support for small-scale agriculture. Its 24 page report on atrazine stresses both the need for farmers to implement low input strategies—such as intensive rotational grazing—and for consumers to support local agriculture through direct market purchases from community-based farms.

The report targets atrazine for its potent toxic impacts. Atrazine residues can persist in soil and water for over a year and have been found in produce and meat from livestock which have fed on atrazine treated crops. Atrazine has been linked to incidence of breast cancer in animal studies. Food and Water reports that

an EPA study estimates that farmers mixing and applying their own atrazine have a one in 863 chance of developing cancer, a rate 1,000 times that of the general public. Other concerns include endocrine disruption and impact on reproduction success; and the question of synergistic reactions when atrazine is used in combination with other pesticides and nitrogen fertilizer. The EPA has only begun to respond to activists' concern about such synergies; studies suggest exponentially higher toxicities when chemicals are used in combination.

Food and Water also takes note of Ciba-Geigy's effective lobbying on the part of atrazine, which it has sold since 1958. The company has spent \$25 million since 1983 to defend its product's reputation and is currently at work to increase the allowable level of atrazine in water from 3 parts per billion to 20. Currently atrazine has been found in drinking water in Vermont, but at levels below the federal minimum.

A standard such as that proposed by CLEAN's Maine campaign—that pesticides not enter the waters of the state—would be an effective and immediate barrier to the use of atrazine, in Vermont, and nationally.

FUNDING OF CITIZEN, SMALL FARM RESEARCH

1998 Farmer/Grower Grants Call for Proposals

"The Farmer/Grower Grant Program is part of the Northeast Region Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education (SARE) Program. Its goal is to develop, refine, implement and demonstrate sustainable techniques, and to help farmers shift to production and marketing practices which will enhance the viability of agriculture in the region. Information gained from these farm-based proposals may be used to redirect research priorities."

The deadline for the next round of grants is December 5, 1997. For an application or more information, call: 802-656-0471.

Working Together to Market Maine Agriculture

Cooperative Conference

Thursday, November 12
Augusta Civic Center

An all-day informative conference on agricultural cooperatives and cooperative efforts. Participants will discuss different cooperative structures and brainstorm what kinds of cooperatives might be successful in Maine as well as the necessary support structures. There will be follow-up conferences.

For more information contact the Market and Production Division, Department of Agriculture, Food and Rural Resources, 28 State House Station, Augusta, ME 04333 or 207-287-7561.

CLEAN: Maine Answers Questions About Pesticide Referendum

1. Will this Referendum ban all pesticide use? No, but we're working towards major reductions in the use of pesticides, since there are CLEAN alternatives to all of them. This Referendum simply says no one may spray pesticides aerially or get these poisons into our water. We have too many sick children, birth defects, and cases of weird cancers to tolerate irresponsible use of poisons.

2. What is the actual question that will be on the ballot in November 1998? The Secretary of State wrote: "Should Spraying Pesticides from the Air or Putting Pesticides in Maine's Waters be a Class A Crime?" We disagree with the emphasis on punishment rather than the crime, but that's how it stands.

3. Isn't 'Class A crime' a bit harsh? No, chemical companies' poisons have caused such awful damage to all life on Earth that making it a lesser crime would be incongruous. Besides, basic Maine law states that contaminating certain Maine waters is a Class A crime. Industry and agribusiness have been exempted from existing law, but the law should apply to all equally.

There is no mandatory punishment for a Class A crime. Judge and jury will decide whether a minor spill was accidental, and may decide that a small fine or just a warning should be imposed. But if they find that poisons were introduced into Maine's waters deliberately, they may impose a fine from \$1 up to \$100,000 or jail/prison time from one day up to forty years. Currently, the maximum punishment a licensed pesticide sprayer can get for any offense, including spraying people directly, is a \$1500 fine.

It's like causing a fatality with your vehicle: if it's clearly not your fault, chances are good there will be no charges brought. If it's obvious that you meant to do harm, punishment will be harsh, and rightly so.

Every year pesticides kill tens of thousands of people, severely injure hundreds of thousands, and kill/damage untold numbers of fish, birds and other wildlife.

4. But isn't banning all aerial spraying extreme? No. There is no way to control the wind. Air moves, the pesticides move with it. The wind slows down, pesticides and other pollutants fall out of the sky, wherever they are. This is called pesticide drift or toxic trespass. It's an invasion of our space, our breathing air, drinking water, and our bodies by other people's poisons.

5. Will this Referendum put small farmers out of business? No, it should help them. Small farmers work the land themselves, and are quite flexible. Many of them already apply pesticides from the ground, the only difference is now they'll have to be careful not to get poisons in the water.

If small farmers decide to switch to CLEAN agriculture, they're in a better position to rotate crops, build up soil with natural nutrients, and use labor



instead of toxic chemicals (more jobs). Flexibility is their great advantage.

Organically-grown foods are in great demand, the industry is now worth billions, and small farmers are in the best position to take advantage of this need. Maine Organic Farmers & Gardeners Association (622-3118) is always glad to help farmers, large or small, change over to CLEAN agriculture.

6. Who else sprays pesticides in Maine? Dept. of Transportation along roadsides, electric utilities along powerlines through the woods and along roadsides, paper companies spray to kill hardwood, aquaculture industry pours pesticide onto caged fish (Atlantic Salmon) right into our coastal waters, City of Portland sprays its islands for Brown-tail moth, lawn care and pest control companies spray deadly poisons around homes, schools and golf courses. Individuals use many pesticides in their homes and gardens, unaware of the dangers since the poisons' labels do not list all ingredients or hazards.

7. What can I do to help?

- Volunteer to get signatures on Election Day, even if just for a few hours.
- Volunteer at our Augusta office (call 622-0094).
- Send money for expenses—we depend on your contributions.
- Call to join the CLEAN mailing list for the latest news and needs.
- No one will do this for us. We either get this done, or keep getting poisoned. Please call, write or e-mail today: CLEAN: Maine, PO Box 186, Jonesboro, Maine 04648, 434-6228 (Jonesboro) or 622-0094 (Augusta), cleanmaine@nemaine.com

Flaws in Vermont & EPA Pesticide Approval Process Arise—Again

As reported in the last issue of *The Northern Forest Forum*, an aerial herbicide application in Shoreham, Vermont in June of this year apparently went awry. Sulfonylurea herbicide sprayed on a silage corn crop apparently drifted onto a neighboring organic farm, causing ruinous crop damage and threatening the operation's certified organic status.

Soil sampling has as yet not demonstrated a definite link between the spray and crop damage—probably indicating the potency of minute, undetectable quantities of herbicide. According to an Associated Press article of July 21, 1997, Environmental Protection Agency staff had recommended in spring of 1994 that sulfonyl-ureas be prohibited in aerial applications, given reports of their potential to drift and cause harm to non-target plants. This recommendation was never implemented.

On the state level, the Shoreham incident represents yet another incidence of the Department of Agriculture issuing permits to apply aerial herbicides over the objections of Agency of Natural Resources personnel. Agriculture Commissioner Leon Graves signed the Shoreham permit despite questions raised about spray impacts on adjacent wetlands by fisheries, water quality and forestry specialists, records show. The same pattern occurred in 1995 when Commissioner Graves signed a Boise Cascade aerial spray permit despite questions raised by Vermont Pesticide Advisory Committee (VPAC) member and Department of Forests and Parks employee David McCallum.

Under existing statute, VPAC has no authority over agricultural uses of pesticides. A committee chaired by Department of Agriculture's Phil Benedict is supposed to review the permitting process starting this fall. VPAC itself meets on November 10, at 1pm, at the Department of Agriculture building, 117 State Street in Montpelier.

At a minimum, it would seem that a sound policy at the state level would:

- Give VPAC (or New Hampshire's Pesticide Control Board) widened authority over all uses of pesticides.
- Maintain the current membership of VPAC, which includes a citizen representative; give Agency of Natural Resources personnel wider input into the process of reviewing spray applications. Permits signed by the Commissioner must also be signed by the Secretary of the Agency of Natural Resources.
- Since EPA approval is interpreted as carte blanche for safety and use by many state regulators and industry lobbyists, state personnel should be conversant with EPA staff recommendations and internal debate, and carry policy options to the advisory board.
- Establish that chemical sprays shall not trespass on public waters or cross private property boundaries.
- Establish a dedicated fund for subsidizing mechanical cultivation that is based on sound soil conservation practices, with the goal of phasing out agricultural chemical weed and pest control by the year 2009 through a voluntary approach.

Why the Plow is Better

by Gene Logsdon

"Of what benefit is saving the land for a few rich herbicide spraying oligarchs, while destroying democracy and rural society?"

Over the past two decades, many farmers have adopted a new farming technique called "no-till," a method of cultivating crops where the soil is not turned over as it would be by a plow. Instead, the new crop's seeds are "drilled" directly into the debris of the plant residue of the previous year. Weeds are controlled with repeated and heavy application of herbicides. In June of 1992, *Time* magazine officially declared a "Revolution on the Farm" to replace traditional technology with no-till.

I am beginning to believe the attempt to abolish the plow is just another way the new landed oligarchy hopes to push small farmers out of business. The most irritating aspect of toxic, so-called no-till farming to me is its attempt to pose as a savior of farm soils. Toxic farming, say its perpetrators, leads to "green fields forever" as a promotional book defending no-till is entitled. Poisons are better than plows, the agribusiness establishment claims, because poisons are "the only way" to control erosion economically.

The plow is dead, long live the herbicide industry. Not to mention the implement industry, what with \$15,000 no-till planters and hulking 100 hp tractors to pull them, plus even bigger tractors and huge \$40,000 chisel plows when soil in continuous no-till becomes too dense for optimum plant growth.

The government goes right along with all this increased expense of farming by pegging farm subsidies to soil conservation specifications that favor no-till. My neighbor says he quit farming and rented out his land to a big cash grain farmer because he could not afford the machinery needed to convert to the type of conservation tillage required to qualify for subsidies.

It is true, of course, that the stupid use of the plow leads to problems, as the stupid use of anything leads to problems. As Wes Jackson notes, the plowing of the great plains in the first part of this century created the Dust Bowl. But intelligent plowing of suitable land can not only mean less erosion than so-called no-till farming, but also less energy and expense.

Most importantly, plowing, unlike chiseling or heavy offset disking, the darling methods of toxic conservation farming, can be done with small tractors or even a team of horses, and therefore is, as the Amish attest, more supportive of a vital rural culture. Of what benefit is saving the land for a few rich herbicide spraying oligarchs, while destroying democracy and rural society?

Toxic farming advocates always warn about the ancient nemesis of plowing, "plow pan," (a layer of compacted soil at plow depth). But plow pan is not a problem with intelligent plowing. Small scale farmers rarely are

forced to plow when the soil is too wet, which exacerbates plow pan. Moreover, small, diversified farms plant deep-rooted legumes as a major part of crop rotation, and these continually break up any forming plow pan. Actually, talking about plow pan is ironic, since the far more serious form of soil compaction today is from the weight of huge harvesters and grain wagons in wet fields at harvest time, a situation that doesn't occur in small scale farming.

In my own corn rotation, after the harvest a thick mantle of stalks remain to control erosion over winter, and supply wildlife with cover. In spring I use a disk harrow to turn the now brittle stalks into the soil, and plant oats and red clover. The soil is thick with bits of stalk which continue to check erosion while the oats and clover gain a foothold. After the oats are harvested in July, the red clover grows strongly for the rest of the year, and the two following years. At the time the oats are harvested I disk part of the field, and in September plant some wheat that grows into a thick carpet by November, and prevents erosion all winter. In spring I plant red clover with the wheat, and after wheat harvest in July the clover grows strongly, just as in the oats.

In other words, the field is completely protected from erosion all the time, and remains, summer and even most of the winter, as a green field—unlike the "green fields forever no-till, which are brown three seasons out of four, and where heavy rains wash the supposedly protective old crop residues off of the hillsides along with the soil.

With intelligent plow farming and a rotation system like the one I have described, weeds, insects, and fungal diseases can be controlled without using any toxic chemicals at all, and very little, if any, chemical fertilizer.

But that does not yet tell the whole story in favor of the intelligent use of the plow. Small, plow-dependent farmers in traditional diversified agriculture invariably must feed their grain to livestock, hogs, poultry, or non-meat animals to make a profit. Their focus is on animals, which means that pastures for grazing are just as important to them as grain. Therefore, hilly land—the kind that toxic farming encourages into corn and soybeans—is kept in more or less permanent pasture, which is the only true no-till farming.

This kind of farming is also the only way we shall see meadowlarks and bobolinks and bluebirds and pheasants and kingbirds and ground sparrows and bumblebees and honeybees and CHILDREN dancing over the fields. This kind of ecological diversity is in fact the only way to sustain "green fields forever."

*Gene Logsdon farms and writes in Wyandot County, Ohio. He has more to say about small-scale plowing and small farm practices in two books: *At Nature's Pace* (Pantheon Books, New York) and *The Contrary Farmer* (Chelsea Green Press, Vermont).*

FAST BREAD, DEAD EMPIRES & SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

by Andrew Whittaker

*Based on a reading of Edward Hyams, *Soil and Civilization*, Harper & Row, New York, 1976.*

Hyams' work belongs to that first wave of ecological writing that formed an early opposition to the technological imperatives that drove agriculture after the two world wars. Rural society now belongs to an era so thoroughly industrialized and commercialized that chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and crop monocultures are defended as the farmer's "traditional" tools—question them, and you attack agriculture, according to the agricultural establishment.

And yet it would also seem that mainstream society, urban and suburban, is so estranged from quotidian realities of wresting livelihood from the soil that it has no firm moral basis from which to presume to reform agriculture or forestry—nor any sense that the food production system from which it suckles has extirpated a rural society.

Fortunately, rural society has its own internal critics. "Traditional" agriculture conveys distinct meanings to such writers, thinkers and farmers as Vandana Shiva, Louis Bromfield, James and Richard Rodale, Wendell Berry, Wes Jackson and others, who consciously seek to maintain and extend for posterity a conservation tradition in farming reaching back to manorial Europe and the Roman Empire. Their ideal of cultural man as soil-builder, however, has always been in opposition to the reality of civilized man as soil-destroyer.

Hyams' analysis of history is that of agricultural and pastoral man lifting

himself out of animal balance with soil-plant communities, becoming parasitic upon soils, and, where soil fertility allows, building up civilizations. Civilizations which do not attend to soil fertility, however, destroy themselves—either ecologically, as in Mesopotamia and the Indus valley, or socially, as they take to empire building or warfare in response to domestic insufficiencies. Thus the Athenians, whose grape, olive and fig culture on thin Attic soils could not provide staples, instead undertook trade to supply their bread, built a navy and waged commercial wars—a pattern repeated on a grander scale by the Romans, who largely abandoned small scale, freehold agriculture in the aftermath of the Punic wars, and instead procured wheat through slavery, empire and conquest.

De-forestation has accompanied the great civilizations. In the Indus, where forests fueled brick-making, it took some thirty generations to deplete the semi-tropical forest there to the point that the Sind is even today desertified, and incapable of supporting its population. Climate change has occurred throughout the Mediterranean¹, where native timber once raised great navies, and barren hills now mock the native poor and tantalize the wealthy tourist. The oracle bones of northern China ask, Will it rain? and, reminiscent of our own summer torrents, also ask, Will it rain too hard? (Jamaicans note that de-forestation there has caused such rain as does fall, to fall too hard for soil to absorb, or catchments contain; a pattern noted recently here in northern New England, too.) An exodus from timber-starved England brought to North America the



culture that would plow the Plains and raise the dustbowl. Here in the Northern Forest, apologists for clearcutting argue that there are no impacts from the practice—for at least twenty-five more generations?

Thus, in Hyams view, the high achievements of civilization are the product of an essential evasion of the basic necessity that ought to drive culture: the necessity to conserve and indeed build, soil. Time and again, however, civilizations that outgrow their environment have outgrown common wisdom, and attain to a cosmopolitanism and intellectualism so disconnected from ecologic realities, that disasters—whether desertification, dust bowls or wars—are inevitable.

Hyams would have recognized the triumph of cosmopolitanism in a recent news clip from the wheat-producing Plains. National Public Radio covered a “fastest bread” competition at a modern wheat harvest. In seconds, machines had converted standing wheat to baked bread . . . a fitting symbol of the hollowness of modern agriculture which has somehow confused speed and technology with social good. Never mind that the US still unconsciously exports topsoil down its rivers or that, in former days, wheat that ripened in the shock and grew on fertile soils gained in vitamin content, flavor—and supported agrarian livelihood.

Here in the Northern Forest, we are in one sense at the margins, and in another, at the heart, of American civilization: our paper mills belching pollutants, our clearcuts baking in the summer sun, our grocery stores stocked with savorless, hollow calorie factory food—and, yet, the remnants of old agrarian society persisting in farmers’ markets, health food stores, and the gnarly hands and wise heads of our persisting rural folk.

There is a story of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne joining each other on a summer walking expedition in the Massachusetts countryside of the 1840s, going off in search



“The agricultural industrialist regards soil as an inexhaustible source of wealth, requiring only sufficiently powerful machines and quick-acting chemicals to extract it.”

of remnant practitioners of the old English “high farming” of manorial Europe: the culture of 49 year crop rotations, green manures, and general soil improvement. Reportedly, they were disappointed.

Even then, commerce had overtaken custom. An early history of Brunswick, Vermont records that early settlers had bumper crops, sown in the exposed duff of centuries’ accumulation of forest litter. But then yields fell off; settlers went from clearing to clearing, like the Cargill brothers, who moved through the area before heading to fame and fortune as merchants of grain in Minnesota. The lumbering industry became this region’s road to riches—albeit through wholesale export of the resource downriver—and agriculture largely thrived on such upland soils as had some native tilth—Devonian and

Silurian sediments—or in the annually replenished floodplains of the region’s rivers.

Western grainlands and urban manufacturing drew away generations of young people, and at the same time wrought changes in agriculture here: cheap grain could be imported and used to produce milk for urban consumption. Mixed farming all but died after the world wars; the modern dairy farmer is as likely to dine on tv dinners and go to town for milk and butter as his neighbor.

If anything, therefore, the legacy of the back-to-land exodus of the past decades has been a renewed impetus to build soil. Helen and Scott Nearing and Eliot Coleman are but three examples of a new commitment to the belief that it can be done, here in the Northern Forest. Hyams’ thesis provides some

measure of comfort to those who have similarly labored, and, in bleaker moments, wondered why, as general society has careered down an increasingly material, commercial and indeed violent path, one would commit oneself and family, too, to peasant-like grubbing in the earth. Hyams’ message is that, ultimately, a civilization that fails to recognize where its food comes from, or to pretend that its technology and materiel—whether videos, CDs, or nuclear bombs—has lifted it past accountability to the soil, is doomed to fail.

1 JV Thirgood in *Man and the Mediterranean Forest* finds that climate change in the basin has occurred principally on the micro level, in association with stripping of vegetation.

Notable Quotations from Hyams’ *Soil and Civilization*

Humans and Soil

“Out of soil entirely, plants wither, and so, perhaps, do human communities. At all events, something mortal happens to the spirit of civilizations when their relationship with soil becomes one of exploitation. Cosmopolitanism, and the disappearance of local character is, in a large measure, due to the breaking off by men of intimate contact with soil, and their consequent divorce from the influence of soil character.”

“Since man ceased to be a soil-member, a colossal amount of energy has been diverted to the work of trying to restore his ancient leisure, his ancient liberty, his ancient freedom from the endless labour of forcing the soil to support him, instead of allowing it to do so, of defying, in short, the primaevial curse.”

“[The husbandman] no doubt unconsciously, is aware that he is a symbiont in an elaborate and delicately balanced union of species, the artificial soil community.” “The agricultural industrialist regards soil as an inexhaustible source of wealth, requiring only sufficiently powerful machines and quick-acting chemicals to extract it. For him a field of wheat is a machine for transforming certain chemicals . . . into loaves of bread worth money.” “Such a point of view

cannot arise in the countryside itself: the state of mind from which it derives is one peculiar to highly sophisticated urban communities.”

Property Rights and Soil

“A community of traders tends to carry the idea of buying and selling, of absolute property rights, to extremes.”

“Personal freedom to abuse soil and other commodities in order to get a fortune, a state of affairs which is typical of the moral and social anarchy of declining civilizations, is not compatible with service to the community, or to any other social idea.”

“The problem of reconciling freedom, equity and order, while maintaining the progress of improvement, is so difficult, that it has never been solved. The Incarial system was perfectly orderly, very equitable, and progressive in making soil; but this was achieved at the expense of freedom, an indulgence which the ancient South American did without. The United States society has enjoyed unexampled freedom of the individual, but this, its greatest glory, has been enjoyed at the cost of frightful damage to the community’s heritage in soil, and at the cost of order and equity.”

Economies and Soil

“One of the major psychological dangers of a highly developed commercial economy, is that of losing sight of a fundamental and vital truth: that the products of industry, whatever their nature, ought, for the health of that community, to be valued as subsistence-substitutes.” [An interesting extension of Jane Jacobs’ thesis that economies grow by replacing imports with native products.]

“It is not, as the world was and is organized, safe to forget that trading for food which your land will not afford directly, is a precarious and vulnerable expedient . . . Athens had an empire to lose . . . [her] poor soil and relatively large population had forced this empire upon her.”

“Really serious soil-mining, however, could only be caused by the substitution of a money economy for payment of taxes in kind. At a certain stage in the growth of all civilizations this takes place: it is one of the symptoms of urban paramountcy, and its logical conclusions are the regarding of money as a commodity, dealing in money as such, [and] the manipulation of real wealth to suit a financial pattern.”

A Conversation with Cornwall, Vermont's Justin Brande: Farmer, Economist, Composter

Justin Brande (JB): I and my wife bought the house across the road in 1951. It was on its last legs in a way but I knew it was a sound house, big manure pile out back of the barn. The father had died, the boys tried to run it and the mother was ill. It was a typical rundown Yankee farm but we built it up and cleaned it up and had eight kids and filled it up well.

I was born in 1917 on my birthday, of course, which was Decoration Day. My mother and father were Middle Westerners. I was born in Chicago and they moved us East when I was three, to New York. I've grown up since then in New York and New England and went to Williams College, graduated in 1940 with a degree in philosophy, but even then very much interested in economics. I started reading particularly from a decentralist point of view such that my orientation was cast pretty well, even more specifically, as a distributionist which was the way English people spoke of it, those following G.K. Chesterton.

Farming

[After] a couple of years of law school studies I dropped out of that and went back to New Hampshire where my family had a farm and in the process of farming there I expressed to my mother that I didn't think I'd go back to law which was a medium for getting into public service. But it occurred to me that as I looked at farming and farming problems that's really where I should be because if anything needed to be worked out and "rehabilitated" it was farming. My mother was an avid reader, writer, editor and so forth. She'd just read a book about organic, biodynamic gardening and farming by Ehrenfried Pfeiffer. I went to work for Pfeiffer for two years starting at Kimberton Farms in Pennsylvania and western New York until I went back to New England.

I finally found myself at Putney School looking over New England farms. We liked ski country and I knew enough about soils that I knew I was looking for limestone soils and so we gravitated here and found this place. We moved in wearing our hearts on our sleeves, figuratively speaking—we were full of natural food, organic farming and gardening and natural childbirth, everything like that. We didn't make nuisances of ourselves at cocktail parties or anything like that (laughs) but we espoused those causes.

The big event here was back in 1953 when we heard that Lady Eve Balfour, in effect the high priestess of organic gardening and farming, capable as a farmer in her own right but also a student of Sir Albert Howard. She'd set up a test farm on organic principles, testing against conventional methods. We invited her here when we heard she was on American tour. This was a big event in this area and certainly put my name on the record as being of that persuasion. Later an editor, Devon Garrity, whom I had met at a Louis Bromfield meeting, got me on the board of the Natural Food Association and with that started the first organic garden group in Vermont which worked its way eventually into NOFA.

Conservation

58-59 I went into the conservation movement thinking I could bring it [agriculture] in later. I kept it very much on the quiet although there were other organic farmers like Sam Ogden. I joined the Lake Champlain Committee and Vermont Natural Resources Council and worked zealously. In 1964 I attended the first formal VNRC meeting and then became director during the Dick Brett-Perry Merrill-Jim Marvin period.

Perry Merrill was in an awful lot of conservation organizations and he was very careful to make sure that VNRC didn't go too radical; that was why he created it, matter of fact, seeing the conservation movement was pretty liberal if not radical in those days.

At the moment I consider myself a radical conservative to be sure—not just a conservative conservative or a reactionary conservative. The radical conservative is willing to look really at the roots of things, not just believe in the free market.

One of my heroes right now is

the purer form of Adam Smith and his commentators, there is no such thing as limits: we can always get beyond them; you go for whatever you can exploit, carve up and haul off. But it seems to me the really conservative and true economist's position is, you've got to maintain the source of your wealth as well as maintaining the recycling of wastes of your process. Only a few people seem to see that.

Andrew Whittaker (AW): Where does your radicalism enter in?

JB: We must look at the roots of these things. You just cannot take a theory as so many countless economists do and if something goes wrong—as Doc Pfeiffer said again and again, nothing can be economically, socially or politically sound unless you make it biologically sound. We cannot keep doing what we've done; we've spoiled many of the major ecosystems; we're creating deserts. Soil experts have said 3/4 of the world's deserts are man-made and we can do the same ourselves. We do not

lots. I went down to take some pictures. We decided we should get the governor to call a special session of the Legislature. This was a really serious threat.

As director of VNRC, I called a press conference and sought to do this. Art Gibb was our moderate and said we didn't need that. The Governor did not call for a special session, but he did set up the Gibb Committee [which laid the basis for Act 250].

Dean Davis was a wonderful guy in my view . . . what I think is so characteristic and good of Vermont is that you can have almost any idea you want, and a Vermonter, an old Vermonter, will tolerate it. They may not believe it. I can go to my neighbor's barn and say the most extraordinary, radical things and he may twit me or something like that but he'd never take offense. I think that's meant to be, what the Yankees were set up to do, which is take all these ideas and thrash them out in town meeting—if you can stand the grief.

AW: There's a pretty hard reaction from some quarters saying the [clearcutting] bill is a violation of traditional property rights. However, seems to me we all lose property rights unless we collectively address the resource issues.

JB: I think this is where the distinction between radical conservative and reactionary comes in. It seems to me a radical conservative really looks at this issue not just from the absolute rights of property but also the absolute duties of property. You have to look at everything. If you are one of the reactionaries you're saying I've got rights to it, I've paid taxes on it and I can do any damn thing I want to do because the market will dictate: if it's not profitable, it won't work. But on the other hand, before you find it won't work there's so much mischief that's done.

A true conservative it seems to me says you have a right to property, it's essential, but you also have absolute duties . . . The law is established by your fellow creatures. When you buy a property and pay your taxes you're subjecting yourself to the accepted modes and laws the community has decided.

The idea you have an absolute right to property . . . well, I lapse back to philosophy. Adam Smith was talking of a group of people as smallholders in the market—no one could dominate the other. He didn't like corporations and other means of monopoly. When I hear of Adam Smith, I wonder, do you mean the literal Adam Smith or his interpreters who have profited off him.

Most smallholders would probably agree growth has to be the "growth" of Nature—you can't keep growing forever. Nature has a system of limits: when an organism fulfills its implicit functions it stops growing. It's ought to be the same with human institutions.

We've got to learn to think Small. We've been thinking Big for 200 years. The Extension System said [to farmers] get big or get out, keep expanding. The future system has got to incorporate limits and moderation. When we start doing that and making the system accord with Nature, then we can say we



Justin Brande at work.

Herman Daly, author of *Beyond Growth*. He's the origin really of steady state economics as we know it today and has written extensively in that vein. But he's also alerted to and aware that a lot of what we call sustained yield or growth covers a multitude of sins. As he says, it's dangerous in that it's been adopted by so many people and it's so ill-defined. Daly had just spent six years at World Bank and now retired to academia. There the issues are rather sharply drawn—they are bright, intelligent people but they would have nothing to do with this idea of the biological demands of the world of nature into which you have to fit the world of economics, not the other way around.

Does land, labor, capital include Nature or is it external to the economic process.

I'm very concerned these days that we are eating up our natural resources. Two things we've got to amend the conventional free-market, capitalist theories with. One is the concept of moderation and the other is the concept of limits. In

return our rottable wastes.

If there is one thing I am really keen on it is compost. To paraphrase Thoreau, in compost is the preservation of the world. The quote I give frequently now is Justus von Liebig's who said the greatness of Rome was washed to the sea through the Cloaca Maxima—the water-borne sewage system. They took everything from North Africa and flushed it away. Rome took all the humus in effect, the rottable wastes, and poured it in the Mediterranean when it should have gone back to North Africa. We're doing the same thing. I hope it's not true; that our grandchildren will say our greatness was buried in our landfills.

Act 250

What really started it in a way was John Stevens, c.e.o. of the Conservation Society of Southern Vermont—the brainchild of a wealthy landowner down there. John and I were very much alarmed at the fact that Stratton Mountain had called in a large real estate company and it was developing

have a system we can keep going with. We can develop, improve endlessly, but we can't grow forever in a finite world.

AW: Do we try to introduce limits through the agency of government, and then do we have a problem because government is too big—

JB: I'm glad I have lived as long as I have because I have adopted a number of otherwise outrageous ideas and nowadays you can raise those in virtually any society and get an intelligent response. So I can at least take courage from the fact I can see people changing within my lifetime.

25-30 years ago Small Is Beautiful was sort of ridiculous, mentioned with a smirk or a smile, dismissing it in a sense, but now, people are beginning to realize thinking Small has its rules and regulations and priorities just as thinking big does today. . . .

AW: If we do re-orient to the small scale, there are inherent organizational limits—

JB: We begin to define them and we begin to realize all through our society taking any segment or facet you want to examine, its always driven and motivated by Big. Invariably, the people who profit get together and help to re-write the tax laws. International Paper here [Fort Ticonderoga] couple years ago to avoid straight piping pollution into Lake Champlain re-capitalized, got tax write-offs and employed 400 fewer people when they got done. The whole tax law helps you on a productivity basis—if you capitalize your industry and have fewer people producing more goods, that's "good"—the idea of employing more people is not "good," it's "bad," implicitly. But all that's not really because we've worked it out but we *think* it's the way to go.

AW: A system imperative as John McClaughry and Frank Bryan put it.

JB: Heilbroner said of Adam Smith if you were to subsume him into one word it would be *accumulation*. If you were to characterise me, it would be *distribution*. We know all about accumulation and productivity but how do you distribute, how do you get the people owning property to manage it—it's not just a matter of owning stocks and bonds, but owning and using productive property. That makes a stable productive society that can resist tyranny. I'll let you speak now [laughs].

Sustainable New England Agriculture Conference November 17-18

November 17-18: "Practical Partnerships: A New England Sustainable Agriculture." Portland, ME. Share information on existing and emerging sustainable farming practices and strategies for building community support. Sponsored by the Center for Sustainable Agriculture at UVM. Contact Kate Duesterberg or Deb Heleba at 802-656-0037 or 802-656-0233.



Justin Brande: "If there is one thing I am really keen on it is compost. . . . To paraphrase Thoreau, in compost is the preservation of the world."

AW: What is the Smallholders Association?

JB: A small rudimentary group that gets together simply because one of our co-founders Morris Earle ran for Congress on the Small Is Beautiful platform taking Schumacher at his face value. I approached him and said what we should be doing is getting those who are already there, already acting small, together. Today, we are acting on the idea that Vermont was formed by and for smallholders and that is what gives Vermont its character today. We should continue on that tradition and philosophy which was very definitely set opposed to the New York idea of landlords and tenants, fee entail, quit rents and the ongoing feudal system. The Yankees wanted fee simple, living on their own land and I think it's true this is what gives much of Vermont, New Hampshire and New England its character.

AW: Some see the biggest obstacle to that smallholding philosophy as government regulation—

JB: I submit that most people in a society ought to be owners of productive property, shops, trades, farms, whatever it may be. Not just exploiting it, taking income from it, being just *rentiers*. In the decentralists, 'smallholder type of society, not found very often in the world, you find an element of stability and a real ability to resist tyranny. The only way to do it without property is plebian, wage slavery [and then] you really have to riot and raise some sort of hell to resist tyrannical law.

This clearcut bill does raise that issue certainly but the question is, in a smallholders or even in the better feudal systems did they run it that way, run not just by the lord of the manor—but to get together and decide how many sheep and cattle to graze in the common and when to stint them if need be. They did put in their regulations in to manage their wood, the better of them. Some were tyrannical feudal systems to be sure, specifically when the system began to break down. At its best the manor system was one of distributed power, run by the people on the land.

AW: The society in which we are trying

to apply ideas of scale is so outrageously large, it is hard to be very hopeful . . .

JB: Is it not true as we go down the road, to mix the metaphor, the bottom of the barrel becomes more apparent. Many people *see* what we're doing can't go on. Kids can't play in the street anymore. They always need police and monitors. Everything is becoming monetized. Latest thing I heard was of some child having a birthday party catered.

AW: The economy proposes and government disposes. Industries can get as big as they please and government only steps in to limit the damage.

JB: A lot of things come to mind. We are farming unbiologically. To put it realistically, the more we industrialize farming, the more we destroy the origin of wealth. There are no economics on the moon or the middle of the Sahara. The only way you can create wealth is to keep the land healthy. Otherwise you make a desert. Even if you find gold, you need food for the miners. What we are doing is destroying the origin of economics.

AW: Modern agriculture is full of quick fixes, like food irradiation.

JB: Or pasteurization. The thing that needs to be seen, to take from it, this is a process, your McClaughry's system imperative. The free market capitalist system needs radical moderation and reformation to bring it into conformity with Nature. So long as it conforms to Nature's laws, you generate the wealth to put into the system to keep it going. The industrial farms can't spread sewage, they can't compost. I'm hopeful people are beginning to perceive that and change to conform to Nature.

Ideas are contagious. What "sold" democracy? I do think possibly people have seen the bottom of the barrel. I think that's true of European forestry where they had the lesson of the Roman Empire.

AW: Hopefully these ideas will still be around to discuss in 100 years.

JB: (laughs) I'll be around then.

Connecticut River Dams

Continued from page 23

The Wall Street Journal meanwhile took note of the sale's wider context: the utility restructuring shakeout that is resulting in mega-utilities spanning the continent. While the pay-off to consumers is a vaunted 15% rate reduction, the rewards to New England Electrical are \$1.59 billion in cash (including properties other than the dams). PG & E gains a further foothold in the Northeast; it is already New England's largest natural gas importer. PG & E also will benefit from a work-force reduction of about 15%. PG & E is under a directive from California regulators to sell its own generating plants; a similar mandate from Massachusetts drove the Fifteen Mile Falls sale. New England Power will now be a transmission company and retail vendor of electricity.

—Andrew Whittaker

SUBSCRIBE TO THE FORUM

*A one-year subscription to the Forum costs \$15 (US) or \$25 (Canadian) for six issues.

*We will send you a freebie if you can't afford to pay on the condition that you become actively involved in the search for sustainable natural and human communities.

*We urge our more affluent subscribers to send us \$30 or more to sponsor a freebie.

*Please consider becoming a lifetime subscriber with a donation of \$1000 or more.

**Enclosed is \$_____ to cover _____ subscription(s).

**_____ I can't afford a subscription right now, please send me a freebie. I promise to roll up my sleeves and get to work on behalf of the Northern Forest Communities.

**_____ Here's some extra cash to cover the cost of freebies.

**_____ Enclosed is \$1000 (or more). Please sign me up as a lifetime subscriber.

Name _____

Address _____

Town _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Contributions to the Forum are tax-deductible. Please make checks payable to:
The Northern Appalachian Restoration Project and send to:
The Northern Forest Forum, POB 6, Lancaster, NH 03584

Friends Propose Creation of
VICKIE BUNNELL MEMORIAL FOREST

In North Stratford & Columbia, NH



BOWBACK RANGE & LIGHTENING MOUNTAIN, NORTH STRATFORD, NH

Photo from 200th Anniversary of Stratford, N.H.

The proposal calls for purchasing 25,000 Acres, that Champion International recently announced are for sale in North Stratford, Columbia, & Dixville Notch, NH, and establishing a Vickie Bunnell Memorial Forest that connects with the northwestern corner of the Nash Stream State Forest

For more information about this proposal, see page 5 inside.