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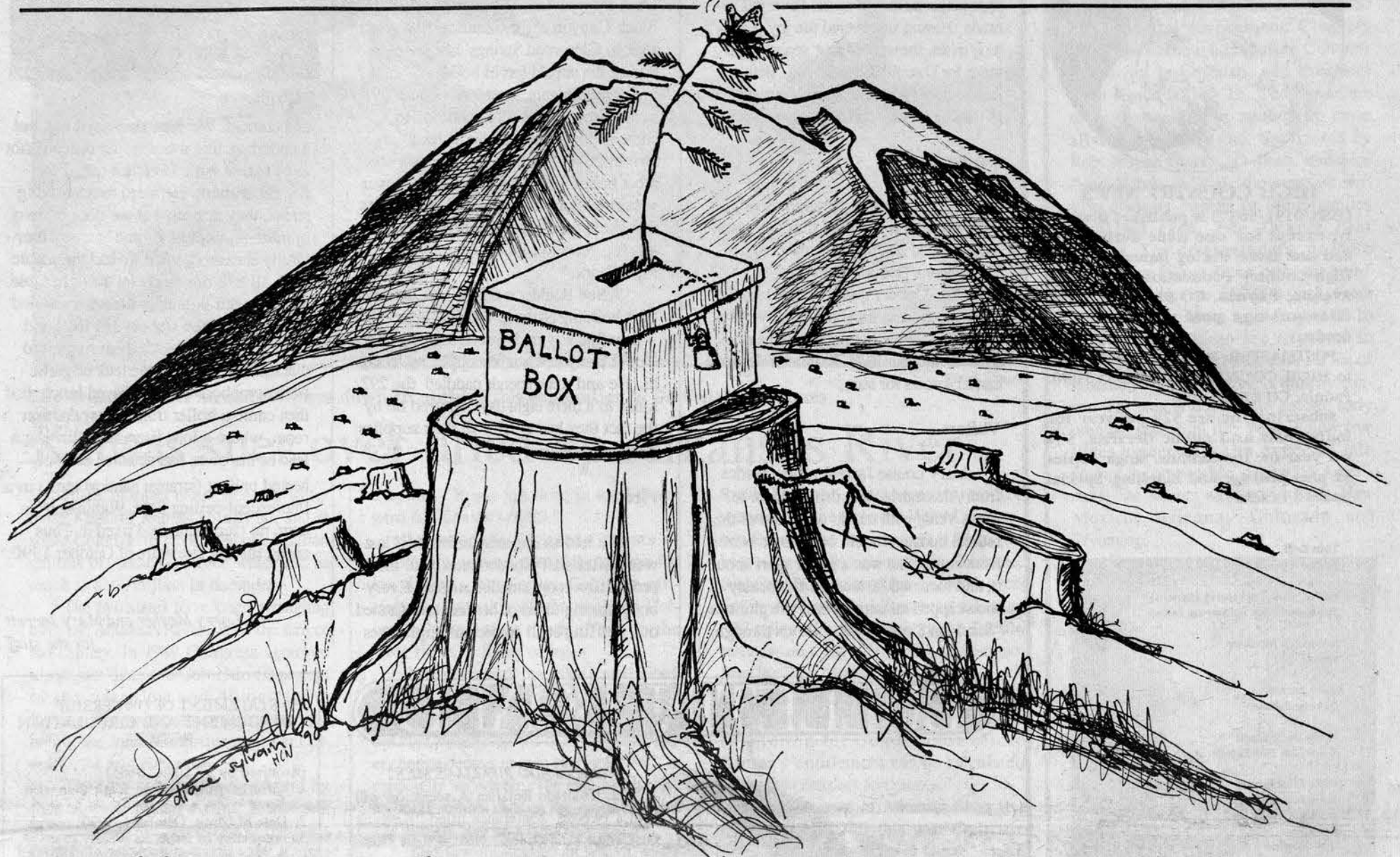
# High Country News

Vol. 22 No. 20

October 22, 1990

A Paper for People who Care about the West

One dollar



## Will 1990 bring a greener West?

by Steve Hinchman

**A** growing grassroots concern for the environment is driving the West's 1990 elections. With a decidedly greener electorate and more environmental initiatives on the ballot, Western politicians are being forced to react.

Many are espousing environmental sensitivity and balanced economic development in the wake of the 20th anniversary

### State-by-state pre-election coverage begins on page 10

of Earth Day. Using waterfalls, wild rivers and wildlife as backdrops for their advertisements, cowboy-hatted politicians are jockeying to appear in a favorable green light. But others are painting their opponents as environmental extremists to make their own positions look more moderate.

Admittedly, much of the green campaigning is little more than standard election-year rhetoric. But nearly every Western state has a major race that will turn on a pivotal environmental question, such as wilderness, old growth, nuclear waste or energy policy.

On issues too hot for politicians to touch, citizen activists have put nine green initiatives on the ballot in five states. Their targets are rapid urban growth, hazardous waste and large landfills, nuclear power plants and surface mining. These initiatives could also provide millions of dollars in new taxes

to purchase new state parks, green belts and open spaces.

As a testament to the power of the new environmental awareness, politicians who never seemed to care before now give lip service to environmental causes. And many others have scrambled to cover poor environmental voting records.

The exception is in the Northwest, where fights over old-growth forests and timber harvesting have spawned ardently anti-environmental, pro-development tickets. But even there, the heated, informed debate marks a maturation of the environment as one of the West's inescapable bread-and-butter campaign issues.

The movement in the West appears to be independent of, and even ahead of, national politics. The Bush presidency, foundering over the budget deficit and distracted by the Persian Gulf crisis, has offered Republicans no leadership on the environment. Nor are local Democrats following a green party line from their party headquarters in Washington, D.C. Instead, the agenda is home-grown. Fierce local pressures are forcing politicians of all stripes to address the difficult environmental issues.

Nevertheless, Democratic candidates are far greener than their Republican counterparts. Take the wilderness issue. In three key races — the Senate contests in Montana and Colorado and the fight for northern Idaho's Congressional seat — Democrats favor more and stronger protection of wild lands, while the Republicans are pushing to open more acreage to development. In Montana, where Democratic Sen. Max Baucus is facing a tough chal-

lenge from Republican Lt. Gov. Allen Kolstad, a Republican win would probably tip the scales against wilderness.

But in Colorado and Idaho, wilderness will benefit no matter who wins. Senior Republican Sens. William Armstrong and James McClure, long known for their hard-line, anti-wilderness stances, are both retiring. Their likely successors, Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., and Rep. Larry Craig, R-Idaho, are far more moderate. The departure of Armstrong and McClure will change the balance of power for the West in Congress. The Republicans will especially miss McClure's powerful presence as the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Interior subcommittee and the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

In the Northwest, old growth is the pivotal issue. Two Oregon Democratic candidates — secretary of state Barbara Roberts for governor and millionaire businessman Harry Lonsdale for U.S. Senate — are hoping to break the odds and ride into office on a wave of discontent over federal timber-cutting policies. If Lonsdale wins, he would take out Sen. Mark Hatfield, a senior Republican and one of the timber industry's greatest allies in Washington.

On the other hand, Washington's Democratic Rep. Jolene Unsoeld is fighting a desperate battle against Republican state Sen. Bob Williams to keep her seat in Washington's heavily forested southwestern district. Williams has attacked Unsoeld's support for reducing timber harvests.

In New Mexico and Nevada, the hottest issue is nuclear waste. The Democratic candidates for New Mexico's governor, attorney general and land commission-

er posts have gained momentum in opposing the Waste Isolation Pilot Project nuclear repository proposed for Carlsbad. Nevada's Democrats, who have led the fight against the proposed high-level nuclear dump at Yucca Mountain, seek to retain their hold on the governor's mansion.

One of the most interesting races is in southeastern Utah, the traditional stronghold of the Sagebrush Rebellion. Six Native Americans have made a daring bid on the Democratic ticket to capture all of San Juan County's elected positions. A victory would make San Juan the first Indian-controlled county in Utah.

The only environmental black hole is in empty, economically depressed Wyoming. Republican Sen. Al Simpson and both gubernatorial candidates are pushing strong pro-energy platforms, hoping to capitalize on the new energy crisis and bring the boom back to Wyoming.

The new issues on the ballot are almost all in the form of initiatives. Washington state environmentalists have proposed statewide planning to control urban sprawl. In Oregon activists are again trying to shut down a nuclear power plant and control excess plastic packaging. Arizona and South Dakota have proposals to regulate solid- and hazardous-waste landfills, and Nevada and Arizona voters will decide whether or not to spend millions of dollars on new parks and wildlife habitat.

For the West, this November's election is not only greener. It also is a grassroots demonstration of political concern that has the politicians on the run.





**HIGH COUNTRY NEWS**

(ISSN/0191/5657) is published biweekly, except for one issue during July and one issue during January, by the High Country Foundation, 124 Grand Avenue, Paonia, CO 81428. Second-class postage paid at Paonia, Colorado.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to HIGH COUNTRY NEWS, Box 1090, Paonia, CO 81428.

Subscriptions are \$24 per year for individuals and public libraries, \$34 per year for institutions. Single copies \$1 plus postage and handling. Special Issues \$3 each.

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Articles appearing in High Country News are indexed in Environmental Periodicals Bibliography, Environmental Studies Institute, 800 Garden St., Suite D, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

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Advertising information is available upon request. To have a sample copy sent to a friend, send us his or her address. Write to Box 1090, Paonia, CO 81428. Call High Country News in Colorado at 303/527-4898.

**Dear friends,**

A new fall intern, Beth Jacobi, began Oct. 1 after a season of instructing for Colorado Outward Bound's river program. Beth is from Choctaw, Okla., but has grown attached to the West after spending the past five summers working in Colorado and Utah. In 1986 she was a volunteer BLM river ranger on the Arkansas River in Colorado. Having discovered the joy of running rivers, she worked four seasons as a guide for Dvorak's Expeditions. Beth's degree from Oklahoma State University is in wildlife ecology and communications.

**Correction**

Billings, Mont., correspondent Patrick Dawson reported that 569 bison were gunned down two winters ago in Yellowstone National Park (HCN, 10/8/90). Our computer recorded only 56 in the modem transmission over the telephone. What happened to the other 513? Only your long-distance telephone carrier knows for sure.

**Visitors**

Mary Louise Jarrett, a new reader from Alexandria, Va., drove down to Mesa Verde with us the weekend of the federal budget crunch, only to be barred from entry. She was a good sport about it, and focussed instead on the beauty of snowcapped mountains and the glorious "San Juan Skyway" that winds through

the San Juan and Uncompahgre national forests. The visiting Jarrett is the deputy editor's mother.

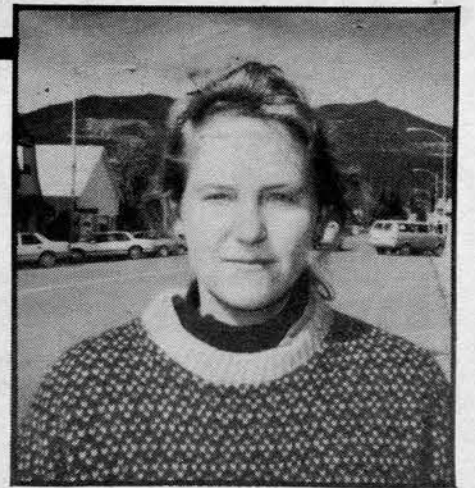
A few days later Andy Nettell, a U.S. park ranger, dropped in from Moab, Utah, where he works for Canyonlands National Park. Andy said his job was "fantastic, when they pay us!" He decided to see the Black Canyon of the Gunnison River and soak in Glenwood Springs' hot waters during his unpaid forced holiday.

Russ Sylvain, a subscriber and TV news director from Colorado Springs, came to Paonia to visit his sister Diane. Driving over Kebler Pass, they saw the most beautiful golden aspen they'd ever seen in Colorado, Diane said. She added that she's been experimenting with pastels for years to capture the colors of aspen bark.

When Boulder resident John Jaycox isn't building boats, he paddles them. He was on his way back from a trip down the Grand Canyon when he stopped by to say hi. He and some friends paddled the 292 miles in a mere eight days, spurred on by the fact they had to carry all their supplies in their kayaks.

**Fire!**

We had an impromptu fire drill last week after staff bloodhounds back in the production room smelled smoke. Everybody sprang to his or her feet and fanned out, sniffing at all suspicious appliances



**Beth Jacobi**

and corners. We didn't see anything, but a tinderbox like a newspaper office is not to be trifled with. Gretchen called the fire department. Heralded by screaming sirens, they appeared at our door in two minutes — with hoses and hatchets mercifully sheathed, since we had the whole issue all laid out nicely on the light table. Half a dozen volunteer firemen crowded into our "kitchen" (about 3x5 feet) and sniffed with us. One of them suggested that our fire was just the reek of garlic from somebody's microwaved lunch, but then came a holler from the production room, where a lone fireman, following a lead of his own, had detected an overheated ballast (strange nautical term) in a fluorescent ceiling light. Within half an hour, an electrician had fixed it. Thus ended the big fire scare of October 1990.

—Larry Mosher and Mary Jarrett  
for the staff

**BULLETIN BOARD**



**BIRDS OF PREY CLASS**

Hawks, owls, eagles and falcons will be the topic of classes given by the Colorado Division of Wildlife and the Rocky Mountain Raptor Program on Nov. 3, 10 and 17. During the Nov. 3 and 10 sessions, director of the Raptor Program Judy Scherpelz will discuss environmental issues, anatomy and physiology, courtship and breeding, migration, behavior and identification of birds of prey. The Nov. 17 session will be a local field trip from 7:30 a.m. to noon. Students will look for birds and learn to identify them. Classes are being held at the Division of Wildlife's Northeast Regional Office in Fort Collins, Colo. A fee of \$40 for the three sessions will benefit the Rocky Mountain Raptor Program. To register, call the Division of Wildlife at 303/484-2836.

**WATER MARKETING**

As water marketing transactions become more involved, complex legal, political, economic and public policy issues are surfacing. On Nov. 15 and 16, the University of Denver is presenting "Water Marketing 1990: Moving from Theory to Practice," its fifth annual conference on the marketing and transfer of water rights. The conference will cover law-of-the-river topics, Indian water rights, the local permit process and federal contract renewals. Registration, including course materials, is \$340; \$250 for nonprofit organizations. For more information contact the Institute for Advanced Legal Studies, University of Denver, 7039 E. 18th Ave., Denver, CO 80220, or call 303/871-6118.

**COLORADO RIPARIANS MEET**

The Colorado Riparian Association will hold a two-day conference titled "Keeping the Green Line Green," Nov. 8-9 in Glenwood Springs, Colo. The conference will examine livestock and big-game conflicts in riparian areas; water use by riparian vegetation; riparian areas in urban settings; and integrating grazing and restoration techniques. Current research and successful riparian management methods will also be discussed. The association, whose officers include representatives from the Bureau of Land Management, the Colorado Cattlemen's Association, the Environmental Protection Agency and The Nature Conservancy, focuses on maintaining wetlands while getting maximum productivity from the land. The conference registration fee, which does not include lodging, is \$15 for members and \$20 for non-members. For a registration form or more information write to: Colorado Riparian Association, 134 Union Blvd., Suite 125, Lakewood, CO 80228.

**ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION SUMMIT**

Robert Redford, EPA Administrator William Reilly, Sen. Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo., and other guests will speak at an environmental education summit to be held Oct. 26 and 27 at the Sheraton Denver Tech Center in Denver, Colo. The conference, titled "Earth Day to Earth Decade: From Dreams to Action," will give businesses, educators, government agencies, nonprofit organizations and individuals a chance to discuss development of community environmental plans. Representatives from Colorado communities and businesses such as Procter & Gamble, King Soopers and McDonald's that have successfully incorporated environmental values will lead sessions. Denver Mayor Federico Peña, actor Dennis Weaver and author John Naisbitt will also speak. The Colorado Alliance for Environmental Education and the state's Department of Education are co-sponsoring the event. Registration fee for the two-day conference is \$85. For more information call 303/779-1100, ext. 50.

**STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP  
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION  
NOTICE**

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication, *High Country News*
- Date of filing, October 1, 1990.
- Frequency of issue, Bi-Weekly.
  - No. of issues published annually, 24
  - Annual subscription price, \$24.00/\$34.00
- Location of known office of publication, 124 Grand Ave. (Box 1090), Paonia, CO 81428.
- Location of headquarters of general business offices of the publishers, 124 Grand Ave., Paonia, CO 81428.
- Names and addresses of publisher and editors: Edwin H. Marston, publisher, Elizabeth A. Marston, editor, Lawrence Mosher, managing editor, all at Box 1090, Paonia, CO 81428.
- Owner: High Country Foundation, Box 1090, Paonia, CO 81428.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 (one) percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
- Extent and nature of circulation:
 

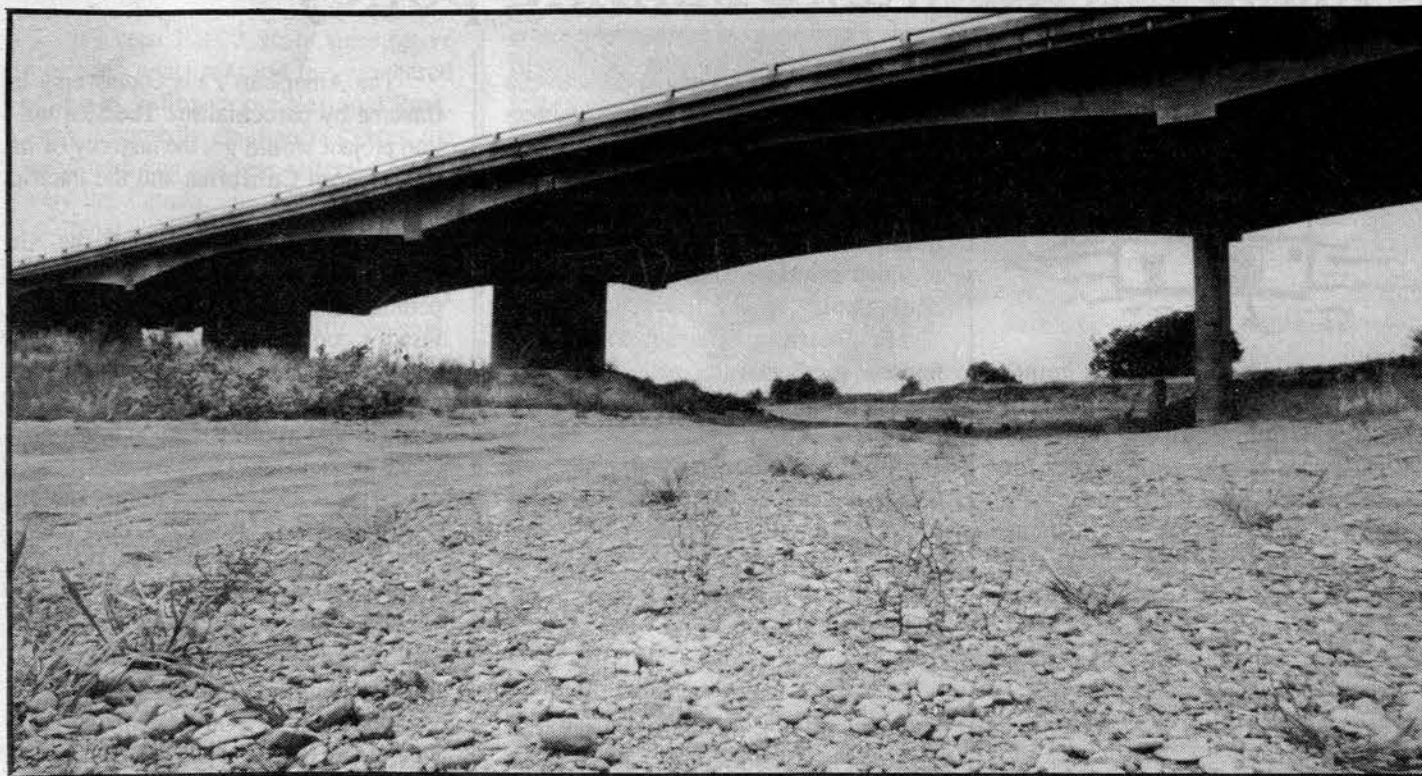
	Avg. #	Actual#
	Each	This
	issue	issue
A. Total # copies printed	10,530	9,700
B. Paid circulation		
1. Dealer/counter sales	140	156
2. Mail subscriptions	8,629	9,334
C. Total paid circulation	8,769	9,490
D. Free distribution — samples	1,620	135
E. Total distribution (C & D)	10,389	9,625
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over	137	75
2. Returns from news agents	4	—
G. Total (E & F)	10,530	9,700

I certify that the statements made by me are correct and complete.  
Linda Bacigalupi, Associate Publisher  
Published in High Country News Oct. 22, 1990.





## WESTERN ROUNDUP



Chuck Bigger

The Arkansas River streamflow was down to nothing this September in Garden City, Kansas

## Kansas sues over dried-up Arkansas River

Has Colorado been stealing water from Kansas? Kansas thinks so, and is suing Colorado to retrieve some 3 billion gallons of Arkansas River water and as much as \$100 million in damages.

The two states have been wrangling over the Arkansas River since the turn of the century. In 1949 Congress approved a compact that gave Colorado 60 percent of the river flow and 40 percent to Kansas. The apportionment is made just below the John Martin reservoir in Colorado, the upstream state.

The case, which is being heard by federal water master Arthur Littleworth in Pasadena, Calif., promises to become a duel between expert witnesses. Kansas will argue that Colorado is wrongly holding water in the John Martin and Trinidad reservoirs, and that it allowed too many wells to be drilled. Colorado will argue that Kansas has known about Colorado's water storage program for years, and that Kansas also have depleted groundwater on their side of the state line.

"I don't think this is accidental," says Kansas Attorney General Bob

Stephan. "It was just done in total disregard for Kansas's rights."

In response, Colorado points to recent dry years as part of the reason for lower flows into Kansas. Colorado officials also question whether wells in Colorado have had as much effect on the river flows as Kansas alleges.

Many water rights adjudicated along the river by Colorado courts could be rendered moot by a Kansas victory. Colorado Springs, which won one of the largest water exchange decrees in state history in 1987, is especially vulnerable. The city would like to build another dam on the Arkansas, and has already paid for a feasibility study.

The lawsuit also could affect water imported from Colorado's Western Slope. Colorado Springs now contributes thousands of acre-feet of water to the Arkansas River Basin that is delivered by pipeline from the western side of the Continental Divide. "Everything that is a source of water in the Arkansas could be relevant," Stephan said.

The Arkansas River's average annual flow is 543,400 acre-feet, according to

Randy Seaholm, a senior water resource specialist for the Colorado Water Conservation Board. The measurement is taken just below the Pueblo reservoir in Colorado. Seaholm also disclosed that the river's average flow drops to 81,140 acre-feet at Lamar, 120 miles downstream from the Pueblo reservoir and just a few miles downstream from the John Martin reservoir.

This suggests that most of the river's water — 85 percent — is currently diverted for Colorado use before Kansas's entitlement can be calculated under the compact formula.

One measure of Arkansas River use is evident. Earlier this year Colorado officials closed the Royal Gorge, which is near Canon City, to rafting because of too much water. Three months later and 300 miles downstream at Garden City, Kan., the river had disappeared.

The case is expected to extend into 1991. In an unusual move, the Colorado Legislature has appropriated \$2.4 million to defend the state. Kansas has already spent a similar amount.

— Barry Noreen

## AWDI now admits San Luis water damage

SAN LUIS VALLEY, Colo. — A proposal to pump hundreds of thousands of acre-feet of groundwater in this poor, rural valley has been amended to protect local irrigators, but opposition to the project still remains strong.

In 1986 American Water Development Inc. (AWDI) proposed to pump 200,000 acre-feet a year and divert 60,000 acre-feet of that to cities on the Front Range (HCN, 11/6/89). Last August AWDI filed an amendment to the plan in water court that for the first time recognizes potential injuries to other water users. The amendment calls for a phased approach. Phase One will involve pumping just 60,000 acre-feet per year, with half of that going to the Front Range. That level of pumping would affect about 225 of the 6,000 water wells in the valley, AWDI now admits.

The company plans to mitigate the problem by reimbursing people for increased pumping costs. For wells drawn down more than five feet, the company would reimburse both pumping costs and the costs of digging deeper wells. Additional mitigations proposed by AWDI include a promise that no water would be sold to people outside Colorado, and an augmentation of sur-

face waters by purchasing local farms and ranches, drying up their fields and letting their irrigation water remain in the streams for other users.

At a Sept. 7 hearing on the amendment, however, the company refused to commit itself legally to those mitigations and compensations.

AWDI also promises to get involved in local economic development, and has already entered a joint venture with a group of primarily Hispanic people around the town of Center. The company will lease farmlands and water to a co-op of 100 families and give them money and 200 head of cattle to set up operations.

A full-page ad in a local newspaper, however, listed 120 local citizens and businesses in and around Center who oppose the project.

The company has asked the Alamosa water court to enforce these plans by not allowing Phase Two to begin until the mitigations are completed. Phase Two would increase pumping to 200,000 feet and would impact "less than 500 wells," said an AWDI spokesperson. The company has reserved the right to claim still more water in the future.

The valley's farmers, towns and counties continue to oppose the proposal,

along with the State Engineer, the Bureau of Reclamation, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which oversees two refuges in the valley, and the National Park Service, which manages the Great Sand Dunes National Monument. Everyone fears that the deep pumping will dry up the valley.

The sand dunes about the company's 100,000-acre Luis Maria Baca ranch at the eastern end of the valley next to the Sangre de Cristo mountain range. Adams State College geologist Dion Stewart says the Baca ranch project would lower the water table under the sand dunes by 215 feet. This would cause the dunes to all but disappear, he fears. The college is now investigating the dunes' geology.

William Paddock, an attorney representing irrigators who farm half the valley's cultivated acreage, said AWDI's second phase could cause gross harm to water users. "AWDI says its water will come from salvaged evapotranspiration," Paddock said. "That means dried-up lakes, dried-up wetlands and dead plants."

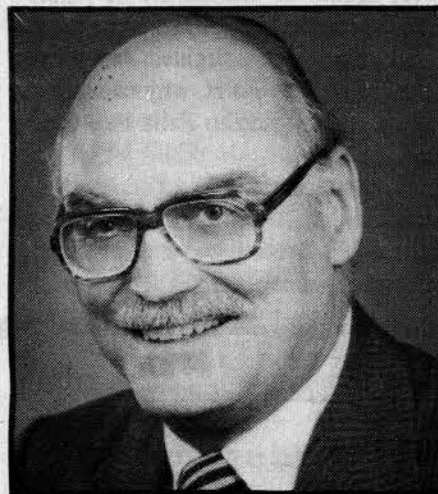
— Gary Sprung

Gary Sprung, a correspondent for *U.S. Water News*, is based in Crested Butte, Colorado.

## HOTLINE

### Congress compensates uranium miners

Victims of radiation from nuclear weapons testing and uranium mining in the Western states will be compensated by the federal government. Congress passed the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act last month, and President Bush signed it Oct. 15. The bill offers money as well as an apology to those affected by radon gas. Sponsored by Rep. Wayne Owens, D-Utah, and Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, the measure will give uranium miners or their families \$100,000 each, *The Denver Post* reports. The downwinders, or those exposed to fallout from open-air bomb testing, will receive \$50,000 each. From 300 to 500 miners and from 600 to 1,100 downwinders are expected to qualify for payments that cover a list of radiation-related illness, primarily cancer. The cancer death rate among early uranium miners in the West is now five times higher than the expected rate among a comparable group of Americans. The miners worked in Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Wyoming.



Scott Matheson

### Matheson's death linked to nuclear fallout

Former Utah Gov. Scott Matheson died early this month of multiple myeloma, a cancer of the blood-producing bone marrow that can be caused by exposure to radiation. He was 61. His son, Scott Matheson Jr., told *The Denver Post* that he finds it a "cruel irony" that his father died from a disease recognized by Congress in a radiation victims' compensation bill passed just weeks ago. As governor, Matheson battled the federal government to conduct studies on fallout, and his efforts helped pave the way for passage of the radiation-compensation bill. Although the younger Matheson admits that it is impossible to say anything conclusive about the link between his father's death and the open-air testing, he notes that his family lived less than 300 miles from the Nevada Test Site during the heaviest years of testing. From 1977 to 1985, while serving two terms as Utah's governor, Matheson successfully opposed placement of the MX missile system in the state's western desert, fought to continue funding of the massive Central Utah Project, opposed a nuclear waste repository near Canyonlands National Park and won high marks for decisive action when parts of the state were devastated by flooding in 1983. Gov. Norm Bangerter said, "I always found he was a man true to his word. In my view he had complete integrity. Scott Matheson never let politics get in the way of doing what was right for the people of Utah."



## Confusion marks Idaho's toxic waste burning policy

In Idaho Falls, residents fumed over the idea of an incinerator burning cancer-causing PCBs and dioxins in a salvage yard on the south end of town.

In American Falls, locals have done a slow burn over an incinerator that would destroy medical waste — body parts, syringes and gloves — on a site along the Snake River less than a mile from an elementary school.

The incinerator issue has come to eastern Idaho (*HCN*, 9/24/90). In June, the state reversed an earlier recommendation and turned down a PCB incinerator proposed by Tiffany Metals, an Idaho Falls salvage yard. Four weeks later, the state granted a permit for a medical incinerator in American Falls.

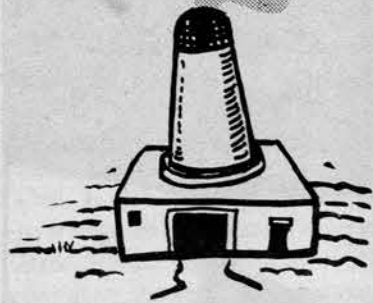
"They're just different animals," explains John Ledger, head of the state's Air Quality Bureau.

The Tiffany Metals incinerator was designed to burn electrical transformers to recover iron and copper. In the process, the incinerator was expected to release less than one ounce of PCBs and a small amount of dioxin per year.

Originally, the Air Quality Bureau proposed to allow the project, saying the burner "will not injure or unreasonably affect human or animal life or vegetation." Local opponents weren't so sure.

"If there's the slightest risk to the citizens of Idaho Falls, why should this risk be taken?" Idaho Falls Fire Chief Dick Hahn said.

"This is essentially a fireplace with a smokestack," said Russ Brown of Idaho Falls. Brown was one of several opponents who blasted the project on



technical grounds. He said the burner couldn't possibly meet a state "residence time" regulation requiring that hazardous wastes remain in a burner for only two seconds to be destroyed.

Tiffany Metals owner Fred Tiffany has said little about his proposal. During a two-hour public hearing in Idaho Falls in March, Tiffany sat in the last row of the hearing room and did not testify. Afterward, he said resistance to his project would keep him from handling wastes more safely. "It only keeps the good old bad ways in operation," he said.

Tiffany has had a combative relationship with city and state regulators. In October 1988, while investigating a fire at Tiffany Metals, the Idaho Falls Fire Department found that some electrical components had been burned in a wood stove. The state fined Tiffany \$1,200 for the infraction.

However, it took several months for Tiffany to agree to pay the fine. During that time, state Rep. Stan Hawkins, R, lobbied the state to lower the fine against Tiffany, threatening legislative action against the agency.

The Air Quality Bureau said the wood stove incident, and the fight over

Tiffany's fine had nothing to do with the state's decision to turn down the incinerator permit. Ledger said the state was responding to technical criticisms.

"The hearing process did just what it was supposed to do — provide us with as much information as possible on the draft permit," he said.

In American Falls, developers of a regional medical waste incinerator hit an unexpected firestorm of opposition. Originally, American Falls city officials courted the incinerator, which may bring 60 jobs — and 50 tons of waste per day — to the small rural community. The officials steered Enviro Health Inc., of Pocatello, to a site southwest of town, guaranteeing that the firm would get the local permits it needed.

"Had we not been invited there, we wouldn't have even considered it," Enviro Health president Jack Woods said. "Our intentions weren't to go somewhere where we weren't wanted."

But after this — and a shakeup in American Falls' city government — the tide turned against Enviro Health.

"They were surprised when they found the opposition to them," said Wayne Egan, the town's mayor since January. "They just figured they would get a permit, build the damn thing and not hear anything about it."

"It's a really poor site," said Kent Rudeen, a farmer who chairs a citizens' group opposing the project. "You just don't build something like this next to town." The site is upwind of a nearby elementary school, and also sits directly above the Snake River.

The American Falls controversy is flavored by parochialism. The \$3.8 million project would get the majority of its wastes from California and the Pacific Northwest.

Despite public opposition, the Air Quality Bureau granted Enviro Health's permit, but mandated that Enviro Health install a computer system with the burner that will allow the state to monitor emissions at any time. Developers say this will add about \$700,000 to the cost of the project.

"This is a very strict permit, and the design is state-of-the-art," Ledger said.

Opponents have appealed the state permit. Enviro Health, meanwhile, is considering moving its incinerator to Bancroft, Idaho, a small city about 100 miles southeast of American Falls.

But Aug. 13, Gov. Cecil Andrus, a Democrat, issued a moratorium on all new medical-waste incinerator permits, to allow the state Legislature to look at incinerator-siting issues during its 1991 session. "The impact of these facilities is of statewide concern," he said. "I believe we must have the opportunity to address the issue of where and under what circumstances these incinerators can safely be sited."

After initial confusion, Andrus confirmed that his moratorium applies to the American Falls project. Although a project permit has been granted, it has not yet been issued. Andrus's moratorium freezes the issuance process.

— Kevin Richert

### HOTLINE

#### Zuni Indians say U.S. caused erosion

The Zuni land in northwestern New Mexico is badly eroded, its watersheds stripped and 90 percent of its arable land gone. Led by Pueblo Governor Robert Lewis, the Zunis are blaming loggers, ranchers and a century of mismanagement by the U.S. government. "We are struggling ... to win relief from injustices which were done to us many years ago and which the government had not seen fit to rectify on its own," Lewis told *The Albuquerque Journal*. A bill sponsored by Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., would set up a \$25 million trust fund for the rehabilitation of Zuni tribal lands. Passage could come later this year. When New Mexico became a territory in 1846, the federal government attempted to "civilize" the Zunis' labor-intensive farming techniques. Black Rock Dam was completed in 1909 and immediately failed, spilling 72 million cubic feet of water into the river and surrounding countryside. Commercial loggers clearcut the Zuni Mountains and cattlemen overgrazed the land where trees had been, says Zuni attorney Stephen Boyden. The U.S. Justice Department claims that the erosion was not caused by government actions, and will recommend that President Bush veto the Zuni claims settlement bill if it is enacted.

#### Tornado reveals poison cache

In the aftermath of the Limon, Colo., tornado, cleanup crews discovered 600 gallons of banned pesticides in a damaged grain elevator. The elevator, owned by a company that went out of business in the early 1980s, contained drums of Endrin, D-con, chlorpicrin,

malathion and other chemicals. While the pesticides had not leaked, they had not been recorded with local officials as required by federal law, reports the *Colorado Pesticide Network News*.

#### Lake Catamount EIS delayed again

The U.S. Forest Service has again delayed the release of the Lake Catamount ski area Final Environmental Impact Statement. Forest Supervisor Jerry Schmidt told the *Steamboat Springs Review* that the document will now be released about Nov. 1. According to Schmidt, "clarifications and refinements" caused the unexpected delay, but critics of the Lake Catamount project charge that the release date was postponed so the FEIS would not be in public domain before the general election on Nov. 6. This election might include a county-mandated question about voter preferences on the Lake Catamount issue. However, Schmidt said he doubted that a question on the November ballot would affect his decision-making process. An earlier EIS said Catamount would violate federal clean air standards, destroy 140 acres of wetlands and displace 2,000 acres of habitat (*HCN*, 9/24/90).

#### Grand Targhee resort expansion delayed

A U.S. District Court has ruled in favor of Citizens for Teton Valley, a grassroots organization opposed to the proposed expansion of Grand Targhee Ski Resort in Alta, Wyo. The group claimed that the Grand Targhee National Forest did not follow correct environmental review procedures when it approved a land exchange that would have resulted in an expansion at the

resort. Mory Bergmeyer, owner of the resort, had attempted to trade nearly 700 acres along the Snake River in Idaho for 269 acres of Forest Service land at the base of the resort in the Tetons. The Citizens for Teton Valley argued that the Environmental Assessment that was completed for the exchange proposal did not adequately address the impacts of resort expansion on the surrounding rural area. Bergmeyer must now submit a new master resort plan to the Forest Service, which must then prepare a full EIS on the proposed land exchange and resort expansion. This will delay the resort's controversial expansion plans by at least two years, reports the *Idaho Falls Post Register*.

#### Snowbasin Ski Resort gains ground

The Forest Service will permit a 695-acre land swap in Utah's Wasatch-Cache National Forest to allow the Snowbasin Ski Resort to expand. Developers of the 49-year-old ski area outside Salt Lake City want to turn it into a four-season "recreation complex" (*HCN*, 2/12/90). The proposal has pitted conservationists against developers in one of the area's most divisive debates in years. Regional Forester Stan Tixier says the decision is a compromise between the 1,320 acres requested by Sun Valley Development Corp., the operators of the ski area, and the 220 acres approved for exchange by Forest Supervisor Dale Bosworth, according to the *Idaho Falls Post Register*. "Both Dale and I had the goal to balance environmental protection and economic development," Tixier said. Forest Service Regional Public Affairs Officer Wally Shiverdecker emphasized that the land trade is not a done deal. "All that's been approved is our willingness to swap 695 acres," he said, adding

that the Forest Service wants land suitable for recreation.



#### Yellowstone's crowds

Throng of tourists made their way to Yellowstone National Park this summer, but park officials are beginning to question just how beneficial these record visits are. "We've all grown up with the freedom of being able to go to parks whenever we want," Don Bachman of the Greater Yellowstone Coalition told *The Billings Gazette*. "Those days may be coming to an end; we may be crowding each other out." Despite high gas prices and the devastation caused by the 1988 forest fires, advertising campaigns have helped increase visits to the park by 8 percent over last year. By August, 2.3 million people had visited Yellowstone, an estimated 25,000 per day. According to the *Gazette*, 98 percent of the visitors never venture out of Yellowstone's developed areas, which make up 5 percent of the park's 2.2 million acres. Each year, record crowds take their toll on roads, services and wildlife. Visitors complain about traffic jams, long waits and the lack of available campsites. At the suggestion of watchdog groups, park officials will consider setting a carrying capacity this winter to determine the number of visitors the park can tolerate.



## Goats test notions of 'native' and 'exotic' species

It's been 10,000 years since native mountain goats roamed the weathered peaks in Yellowstone National Park. They supposedly disappeared about the same time that glaciers retreated northward into Canada.

Now a new invasion of mountain goats — and a plan to shoot them — is forcing Yellowstone resource managers to re-open the old debate over maintaining native and exotic species in America's oldest wildlife sanctuary.

Many compare this latest controversy in wildlife management to the recent decision to have uniformed park rangers shoot buffalo cows leaving Yellowstone this winter. However, there have been few, if any, instances in Yellowstone's modern history where wildlife managers have considered killing large, wild mammals migrating into the park.

According to guidelines established in 1968, goats migrating into Yellowstone across the western park boundary will be welcomed, while goats entering from the northeast or south may be shot on sight.

"This is ridiculous," charged Cleveland Amory, executive director of the New York City-based Fund For Animals. "We will certainly have our lawyers look into this one. Why should one group of goats be considered natural and another group shot for going into the park? It's a bunch of crap."

While Amory's outrage is shared by some conservationists and wildlife advocacy organizations, park officials say their policy is clear: Goats classified as exotic must be stopped before they destroy habitat important to bighorn sheep and rare plants already occupying Yellowstone's fragile high country.

Yellowstone's research chief, John Varley, says the park is mandated to protect native species like bighorn sheep and their habitat against exotic intruders. "The first thing you have to decide is what is a native species," Varley said. "There are a number of interpretations out there."

Since the retreat of glaciers from the greater Yellowstone region, goats have been expanding down the spine of the Rocky Mountain front, Varley said. Their range once extended from Canada into Mexico and as far east as central Wyoming. Evolutionary models adopted by the Park Service dictate that species recolonizing Yellowstone from the west are consistent with natural wildlife dispersal in the post-Pleistocene period and are therefore acceptable.

The arrival of mountain goats in Yellowstone, coupled with the recent discovery of goat bone shards at paleontological digs in the park, substantiates two conclusions: First, goats were once native to Yellowstone, and second, a population approaching the park from the west should be welcomed because it is part of a naturally expanding population.

Researchers, however, say the so-called "native" population of goats moving in from the west is not expected to reach the park for several years. The park's problems will begin with goat populations artificially introduced into areas of the ecosystem where they would not occur naturally for hundreds, if not thousands, of years.

### Goats were "planted" for hunters

Several decades ago, wildlife officials in Montana, Wyoming and Idaho transplanted mountain goats into a chain of peaks on the Yellowstone periphery. This was meant to build populations suitable for hunting on adjacent national



Kathleen Marie Menke

### A mountain goat browses in Montana

forest lands. The goats adapted well to the new terrain, and their numbers grew rapidly.

The Targhee National Forest on Yellowstone's western tier now has 150 goats, the Bridger-Teton to the south 370, the Shoshone on the east 120 and the Beaverhead to the northwest 290. Dozens of those goats are advancing toward Yellowstone across the Beartooth and Absaroka ranges on the northeast and southern corners of the park.

"They're already here, if you really want to know the truth," said John Laundre, hired by the Park Service to study goats and present a list of possible options for managing them. Laundre has taken several photographs of exotic goats already inside the Yellowstone boundary.

Varley said a decision will be made later this year on how to confront the earliest arrivals. The options include shooting the exotic goats, attempting to haze them out of the park, or simply leaving them alone and allowing them to cultivate their own biological niche.

Laundre said that even if Yellowstone is successful in stopping the advance of the exotic goats by shooting them, they would be back on the park border within 20 to 30 years.

"It's not a simple problem," he said. "The easiest thing to do would probably be to allow the goats to move into the park, but then they [Yellowstone resource managers] have to contend with habitat questions. They also have the Olympic [National Park] experience as a reminder of the type of resource damage goats can cause."

### Goats wreak havoc

Yellowstone officials say they are closely watching events unfold in Olympic National Park, where exotic goats have wreaked havoc. Goats were never native to Olympic; sportsmen's organizations introduced them to Washington's Olympic Peninsula outside the park between 1925 and 1929. The number of goats subsequently grew to a peak population of 1,000 and adopted the national park as a new home, said Chuck Janda, Olympic's chief ranger.

"It's one of the classic cases of what you call natural," Janda said. "We have

this myth that we can maintain a natural ecosystem. There is no way any national park can exist as an island."

Nevertheless, national park officials there cite erosion problems and the destruction of native plants and habitat as reasons for drastically reducing the number of goats in Olympic's back country. Janda said overgrazing and goat wallows, exacerbated by erosion, now represent a major problem on Olympic's steep mountain slopes.

To date, 407 goats have been removed in a live-capture, aerial-removal program, Janda said, but park

officials have deemed aerial removal too dangerous and are considering a plan to eliminate the goats by shooting them. Although Olympic's plan to shoot goats is not popular among animal-rights groups, it is considered one of the few viable options for protecting the park's natural resources.

Rich Day, executive director of the Montana Wildlife Federation, said it is premature for Yellowstone to recommend a solution without more research. The federation, Montana's largest and oldest statewide conservation organization, has 7,000 members, most of them hunters and anglers.

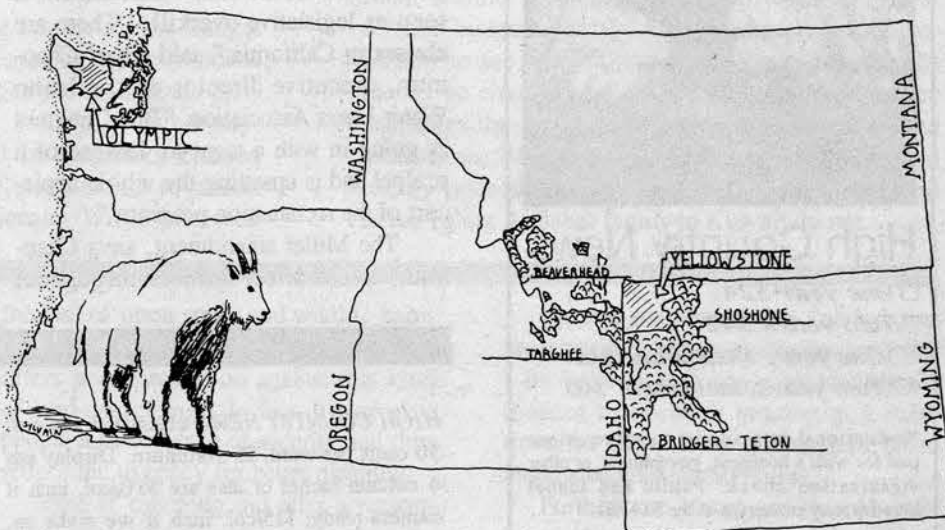
Day said his organization is awaiting completion of an environmental review of Olympic's proposed goat shoot, which may offer some guidelines for Yellowstone. "I do find it interesting," Day added, "that Yellowstone is concerned on the one hand about balancing habitat between bighorn sheep and goats, while on the other hand they show no concern about balancing habitat for their native bison."

Yellowstone's goats are likely to trigger a broader analysis of whether the park's notion of native and exotic species is now out of date, Varley said, and whether Yellowstone can realistically maintain an ecosystem composed only of native species.

"I don't envy their position," Laundre commented. "If they don't do anything and the goats impact the native flora and fauna, then they'll look like the bad guys to some people. But if they intervene early and shoot the goats to prevent resource problems, then they'll also be the bad guys. It's definitely a Catch-22."

— Todd Wilkinson

Todd Wilkinson is a free-lance writer based in Bozeman, Montana.



## HOTLINE

### Coal mine blamed for dead river

Sediments and chemicals released from a coal mine are poisoning Colorado's Crystal River, the U.S. Forest Service reports. The river, which flows north into the Colorado River at Glenwood Springs, no longer supports a natural fish population, and insects that can survive even sediment pollution have disappeared. The study says the pollution source is Mid-Continent Resources' coal mine, reports the *Aspen Times*. Four years ago the company was fined by the Environmental Protection Agency for illegally dumping PCBs. Last year the company was cited by the Colorado Health Department for releasing water with coal sediment into tributaries of the

river. Following last year's incidents, the White River National Forest began its study of the river's ecosystem.

### Wyoming leads again in mining revenue

Wyoming continues to lead the country in revenues and royalties generated by mining leases on federal lands. The state received \$175.8 million in fiscal 1989, or 40.6 percent of the \$433.4 million distributed to 27 states by the Interior Department's Minerals Management Service, according to *The Billings Gazette*. The amount for Wyoming, which produced nearly half the oil from federal lands in 1989, was up nearly \$12 million from the year before. Next were New Mexico with \$88.3 million, Utah with \$53 million and Colorado with \$32.6 million.



## HOTLINE

## It ain't art

A quarter-mile-wide Hindu meditation symbol etched into a dry lake bed in southeastern Oregon has landed its artists a \$100 fine. Bill Witherspoon of Fairfield, Iowa, who calls the etching "an artistic experiment on a grand scale," said that he and four companions made the symbol with an antique garden cultivator, according to *The Denver Post*. BLM officials weren't amused. The area is in a proposed desert wilderness just north of the Alvord Desert, and damage to the area was compounded by people who came to look at the symbol, the *Post* reported. Said Witherspoon: "We will write them a letter with the \$100 and applaud the action because we, too, are lovers of the land."

### Keeping you up on the West's prickly issues



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## CAPITOL HILL

## Closing Reclamation's loopholes

by Dena Leibman

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A water reform bill that may be enacted before Congress adjourns later this month has stirred hot debate up and down the Reclamation West. The ultimate question is whether Congress has the will to end an era of wasteful water practices that are increasingly out of step with the nation's budget deficit.

The Reclamation Authorization and Adjustment Act has passed the House of Representatives and is expected to win Senate approval. The Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, however, stripped the bill of two amendments that provide its primary bite. Rep. George Miller, D-Calif., the author of one of the amendments, has vowed to kill the bill if he cannot reinstate his reforms when the bill reaches the conference committee, where House and Senate differences are settled.

Miller's amendment would close a longstanding loophole that has allowed farmers to skirt acreage limitations. The other amendment, introduced by Rep. Sam Gejdenson, D-Conn., would deny federal water subsidies to farmers who grow surplus crops, such as corn, wheat, rice and cotton.

The Miller measure defines cooperatively run farms as just one farm — a statutory move that would prevent farmers from sidestepping the 960-acre limit for farms eligible to receive federally subsidized water. Large agribusinesses have gotten around the size limit by breaking large farms into smaller landholdings, while still managing the farms collectively. In one California case, a single "farmer" received millions of dollars in water subsidies to irrigate 23,000 acres of land.

In other parts of the Reclamation West, however, the Miller amendment is seen as legislative overkill. "There are abuses in California," said Sherl Chapman, executive director of the Idaho Water Users Association. "But Congress is going in with a meat ax instead of a scalpel and is upsetting the whole applecart of the reclamation program."

The Miller amendment, says Chapman, would affect farmers throughout

the Bureau of Reclamation service area, not just in California, Washington and Arizona, where there is the most flagrant abuse. The amendment could mean that family members sharing tractors and other equipment would be in violation of enforcement guidelines, said Chapman.

Further, many small growers often enter into a contract with one processor, who dictates when crops are planted and harvested. This common arrangement, said Chapman, could be considered a collective operation and therefore in violation of the acreage limitation.

"Total hogwash," says Daniel Beard, staff director of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources. Large growers are posing these arguments to oppose the Miller amendment, he said.

"They would have you believe the Bureau of Reclamation would go out and be overzealous with enforcement action," Beard said. "This is the Bureau of Reclamation, not the IRS. We've had 80 years of nonenforcement of the law."

Bureau water and land law specialist Gary Anderson also predicts the Miller amendment won't have much effect outside of California, Washington and Arizona, other than to require farmers to document their landholdings.

Attempts to reform the bureau's water subsidy program withered last year under an extensive campaign waged by California agribusinesses. But this year Congress's renewed concern about the budget deficit, and the environmental effects of dams and irrigation, have added fuel to the reform effort, says Elizabeth Birnbaum of the National Wildlife Federation.

"The reclamation program was designed to help small farmers settle the West," she said. "But it's come to the point now where we're subsidizing the destruction of rivers and wetlands to help huge agribusinesses and to support surplus crop production. This distorted policy should end."

Birnbaum said larger growers are now pulling out all the lobbying stops by urging farmers outside of California to attack the bill with arguments like those made by the Idaho Water Users Association.

The Gejdenson amendment, which would deny subsidized water to farmers growing surplus crops, would be phased in gradually. It would grant a grace period of two years to farmers who had just amended or renewed their contracts, and then require water payments of only 50 percent of full cost for up to four years after enactment.

The Agriculture Department estimates that in 1986 it paid \$730 million to limit crop production on federally irrigated farms. At the same time, those same farms received \$200 million worth of subsidized water to increase their surplus crop yields.

"This isn't fair to farmers outside the Bureau of Reclamation service area," argues James Hess, Gejdenson's legislative assistant. "It doesn't make sense from an economic, environmental or policy standpoint to pay this double subsidy."

In Idaho and other northern states, however, farmers are dependent on wheat as a rotation crop that restores the soil and reduces erosion, Chapman maintains. Only a few rotation crops can grow in the harsh climate of these states, which locks Idaho farmers into growing wheat even though it's a surplus crop, Chapman said.

"My point is that the Gejdenson amendment, while it has a fairly laudable goal, is going to have little effect on surplus crops but will end up costing people in the northern-tier states a lot of money," Chapman said. "We're the ones really getting hammered."

But no one really knows just how deeply Western farmers would feel the Miller and Gejdenson amendments. In fact, that may not be the real issue. What the legislation does is open up the broader question: Are farmers who have always received low-cost water entitled to water subsidies regardless of the cost to the environment and the taxpayer? For the Congress, the decision is whether it is now time to wean farmers away from cheap water.

Dena Leibman is the editor of *Conservation 90*, published by the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, D.C.

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## EDITORIAL

# On getting priorities straight in Washington

by Lawrence Mosher

Westerners have reason to be frustrated and angry about what is going on these days in Washington, D.C. While we fret about how to make a living without further despoiling our great natural heritage, some of our leaders are busily taking us in directions that can only hurt us more in the end.

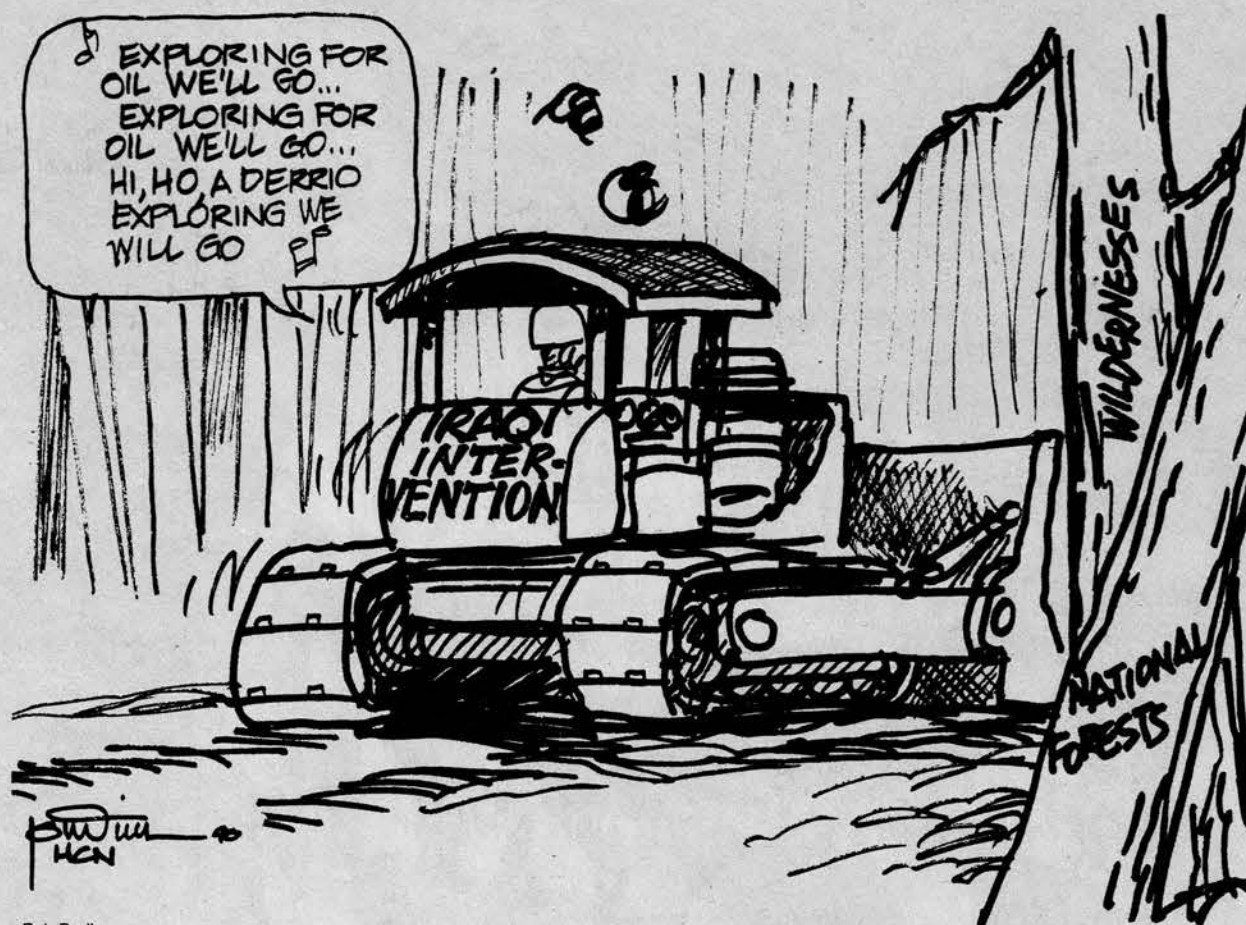
I am talking about President Bush's adventure in the Persian Gulf, Congress's budget debacle, and those in the federal agencies who would tear up Western lands afresh to continue our energy binge. These issues are all linked and should be considered together.

Let's start with the Persian Gulf. President Bush has yet to explain adequately why this deficit-ridden country should be spending \$2 billion a month to station 100,000 U.S. troops, two aircraft carrier battle groups, 245 combat aircraft and other military units in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. Nor has he told us why these 100,000 American soldiers should risk their lives fighting in the Middle East. If Mr. Bush's provocative deployment of American forces ends up bringing some of these soldiers back in body bags, he should be required to explain to each bereaved family what their deaths accomplished. Did they die to save their parents a dollar at the pump?

The tragedy unfolding in the Persian Gulf is not the invasion of a country (Kuwait) where less than 10 percent of the population was entitled to vote. Rather, it is the agonizing non-communication taking place between two cultures — ours and the Arabs'. While Mr. Bush talks about international morality and a "new world order," the Arabs talk about Western intervention and its moral hypocrisy. These agendas never meet, which is the classic pattern for how wars start. At the end of her six-week tour of the Middle East, *MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHour* correspondent Charlayne Hunter-Gault perceptively noted: "They speak a different language — not just Arabic, but a different mind-set."

This is not to agree or disagree with the Arab mind-set, but to question the wisdom of attempting to impose our attitudes on this troubled region now. The Middle East is undergoing a vast and painful transition, from feudalism and the still fresh wounds of Western colonialism to a still unclear future. The more the West is seen as interfering, the more we encourage such reactionary retreats as the Islamic fundamentalism now entrenched in Iran.

If an uninterrupted supply of crude oil is our obvious but still unstated goal, the way to assure a total disruption of that supply is to be drawn into a shooting war in the Persian Gulf. This is why talk of initiating a war with Iraq is so irresponsible, and why even station-



Rob Pudim

ing troops in the Persian Gulf creates a risk not worth taking. The most likely aftermath of any fighting in the Gulf is total oil disruption, skyrocketing prices and a wave of revolutionary new Islamic fundamentalist governments from Iraq to Oman.

This takes us to our most immediate concern in the West: the destructive impact of another energy crisis. What the West needs from the White House is a strong national energy policy that encourages conservation and renewable energy development. What the West does *not* need is the risk of another Mideast war that significantly diminishes or shuts off the world's major crude oil supply. But what we are getting is just the opposite. While President Bush vigorously opposes legislation to require 40-mile-per-gallon cars, he pursues a Persian Gulf gamble that is appallingly risky.

And this brings us to the last issue, the budget deficit debacle. The day the House of Representatives voted against the 1991 budget package (Oct. 5), I asked Sen. Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo., whether anyone on Capitol Hill questioned the wisdom of a nation deeply in debt spending \$2 billion a month to station troops in the Persian Gulf. Senator Wirth answered

that some on Capitol Hill did link the two issues, and that although the annual anticipated cost of \$24 billion was placed "off budget" — meaning the expense did not matter now — it still had to be paid someday. The senator, who said he had favored the budget package, called the House action "an enormous failure of public will" and "a breakdown of leadership at the White House."

Partisan politics aside, the budget mess also reveals a lack of realism in those making U.S. foreign policy. In dispatching American forces to Saudi Arabia, President Bush again displayed an American vision of itself as world policeman and moral watchdog that is no longer consistent with the nation's economic strength.

Rather than worrying about Saddam Hussein, Mr. Bush should be looking for more ways to cut the defense budget, which is still grotesquely out of proportion to the nation's post-Cold War needs. And he should be championing a new national energy policy that takes the threat of global warming seriously and protects the West from the plunder wrought by rapid energy price shifts. These issues matter. The fortunes of the ruling Al Sabah family in Kuwait do not.

## LETTERS

### MORMON-BASHING

Dear HCN,

I enjoyed reading the several articles discussing "Revolution at Utah's Grassroots: Navajos seek political power" (*HCN*, 7/30/90). However, I was disturbed by the mention of the Mormon allegiance of San Juan County residents (i.e., "uprooting the Mormon pillar," "Mormon-settled San Juan County," "as former Mormon bishop," "a rancher and devout Mormon.")

Having lived for 11 years in Utah, I am very aware of the pervasive influence of Mormon religion and culture. However, unless the purpose of the article is an analysis and documentation of the role of Mormonism on the present economic and political disenfranchisement of the Navajos, such references serve only to increase the hostility and polarization between Anglos and Navajos. My recent experiences in North and South Dakota have shown me that the American Indian situation here is, if anything, worse than in Utah, and therefore the causes are probably not

related to the Mormon religion.

Indiscriminate "Mormon-bashing" is unworthy of a publication of your stature.

Lucy A. Jordan  
Menoken, North Dakota

### 'SUBDIVISIONS DON'T DRY UP OUR RIVERS'

Dear HCN,

Chas. S. Clifton (*HCN*, 8/27/90) makes an argument that is frequently used to defend Western livestock production. If I have interpreted Mr. Clifton's argument correctly, he feels that subsidizing livestock grazing is better than allowing these same lands to be subdivided into ranchettes, because subdivisions are worse for the land than problems associated with grazing. If that were the real choice, I would agree. However, I think there is no real evidence to suggest that ranching prevents subdivisions.

Look at Jackson, Wyo.; Ketchum, Idaho; Vail, Colo.; the Bitterroot Valley in Montana, and a hundred other places to see that once demand for land rises, sooner or later most ranches are sold for subdivisions. If people want to prevent

the loss of open space and wildlife habitat, they must recognize that ranching offers poor protection against this kind of land-use change. In fact, it may give people a false sense of security and thus reduce the urgency for better planning.

Even if ranching did offer a reasonable opportunity to prevent subdivisions, one needs to ask if livestock production is in fact less environmentally damaging than subdivisions. Livestock are alien animals competing with native wildlife for space, forage and water — both on ranchlands and on public lands. Most of the water diverted from waterways in the West goes for growing livestock feed, not green lawns. If we eliminated ranching over substantial areas of the West and replaced it with subdivisions — assuming that there were enough people to fill all those subdivisions — the removal of water from our rivers would drop dramatically. Subdivisions don't dry up our rivers. Subdivision property owners don't lobby to kill predators. Subdivisions don't poison prairie dogs over millions of acres. And many subdivisions do not impact riparian areas nearly as much as livestock, especially if building in floodplains is prohibited.

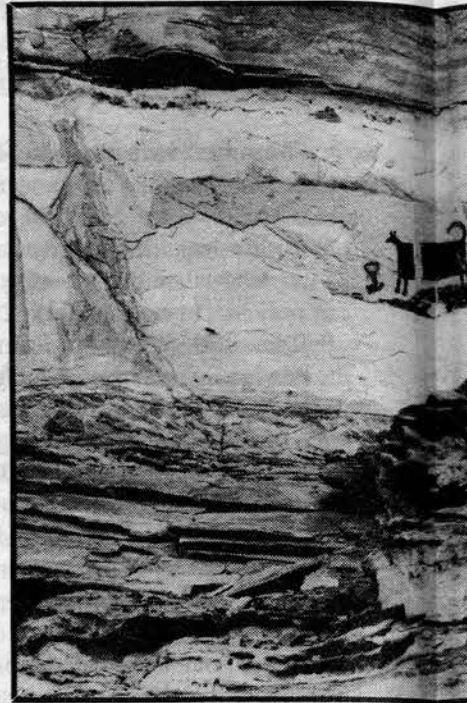
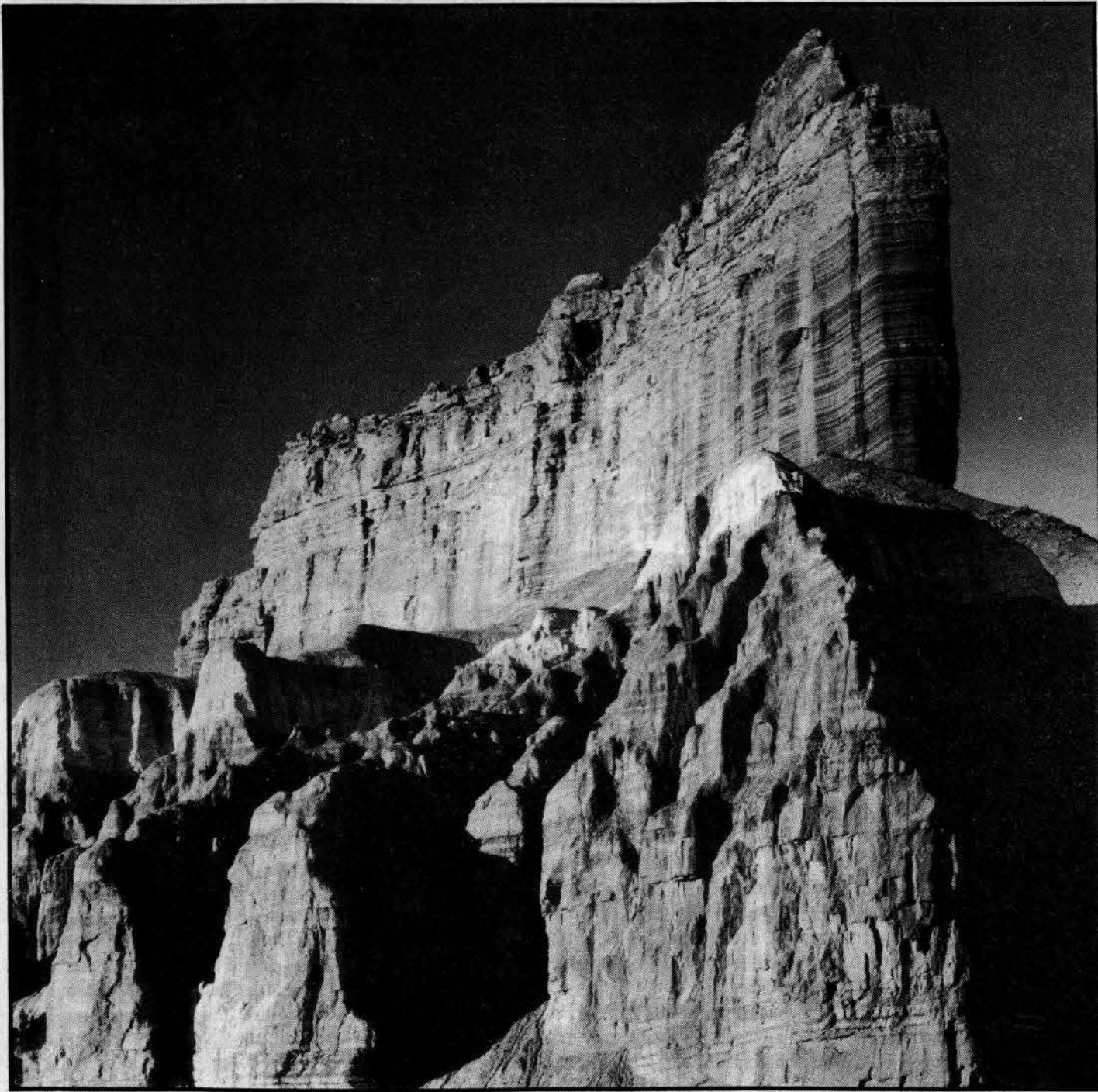
I'm not suggesting that subdivisions are a positive influence on the land. But I do believe that ecological changes induced by livestock grazing may influence far more total acres than those associated with subdivisions.

Furthermore, there are literally millions of acres in the West where little subdivision would occur even if ranchers wanted to sell out. We don't need to subsidize ranchers in places like eastern Montana, southwestern Wyoming or eastern Oregon to prevent subdivisions simply because almost no one would want to live in those landscapes.

Rather than supporting livestock abuses, we should concentrate our efforts on working for better land-use planning, as well as for greater outright fee purchase of lands with significant ecological, geological, recreational or scenic values. Considering the billions we spend subsidizing livestock production in the West, I would rather have that money spent purchasing ranches or development rights than continuing to prop up an inappropriate, ecologically damaging and non-sustainable industry.

George Wuerthner  
Livingston, Montana

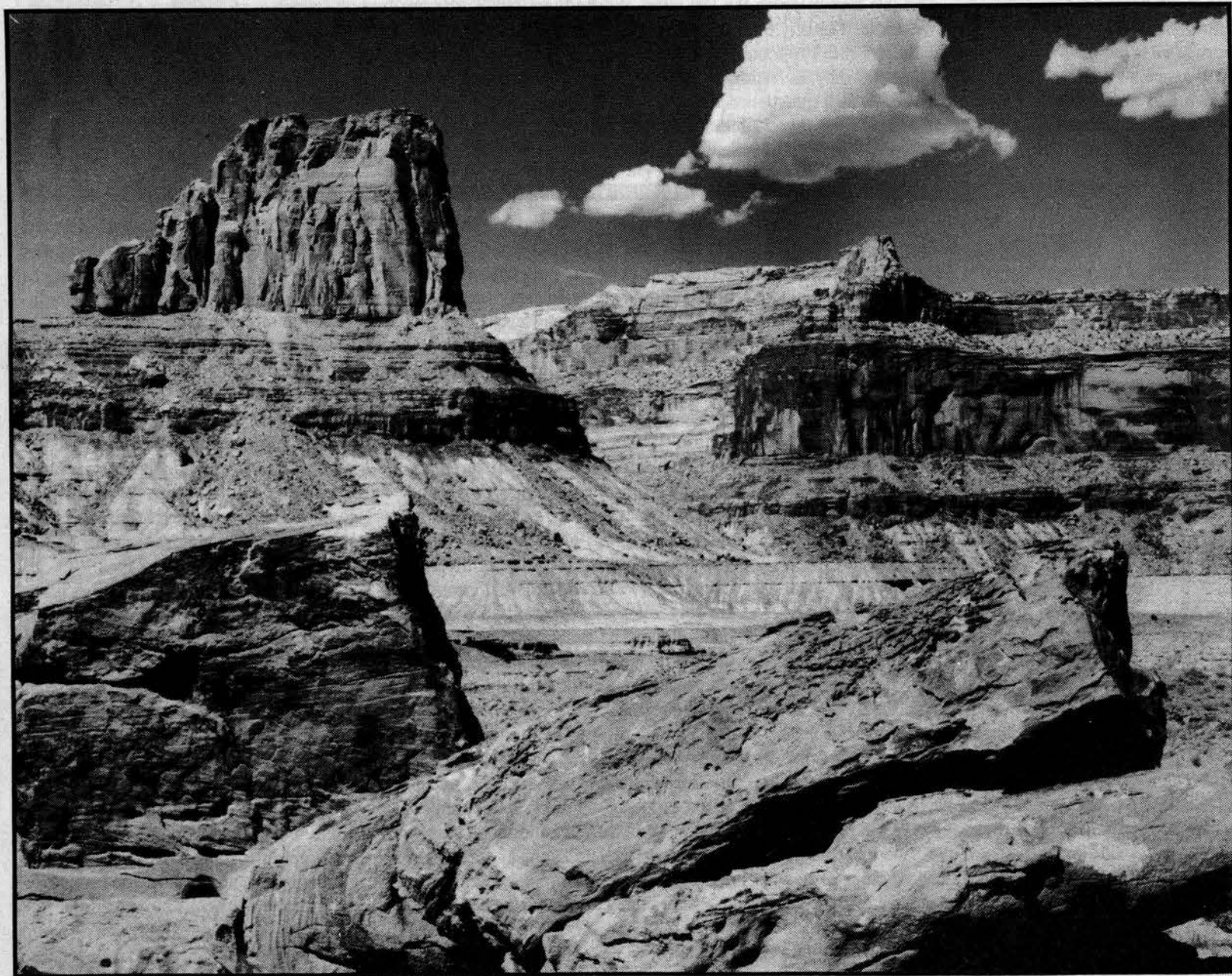




## The Stone H

The San Rafael Swell landscape shaped by erosion lions and desert bighorn endangered species such as home. A century ago outla Bunch hid out among the r years before that, the area v Native American culture. explored the region in 1871, the strange rock formations House Lands.

Photographer J.D. Marsto mid-September to document unique region, which conser for designation as Utah's sixth





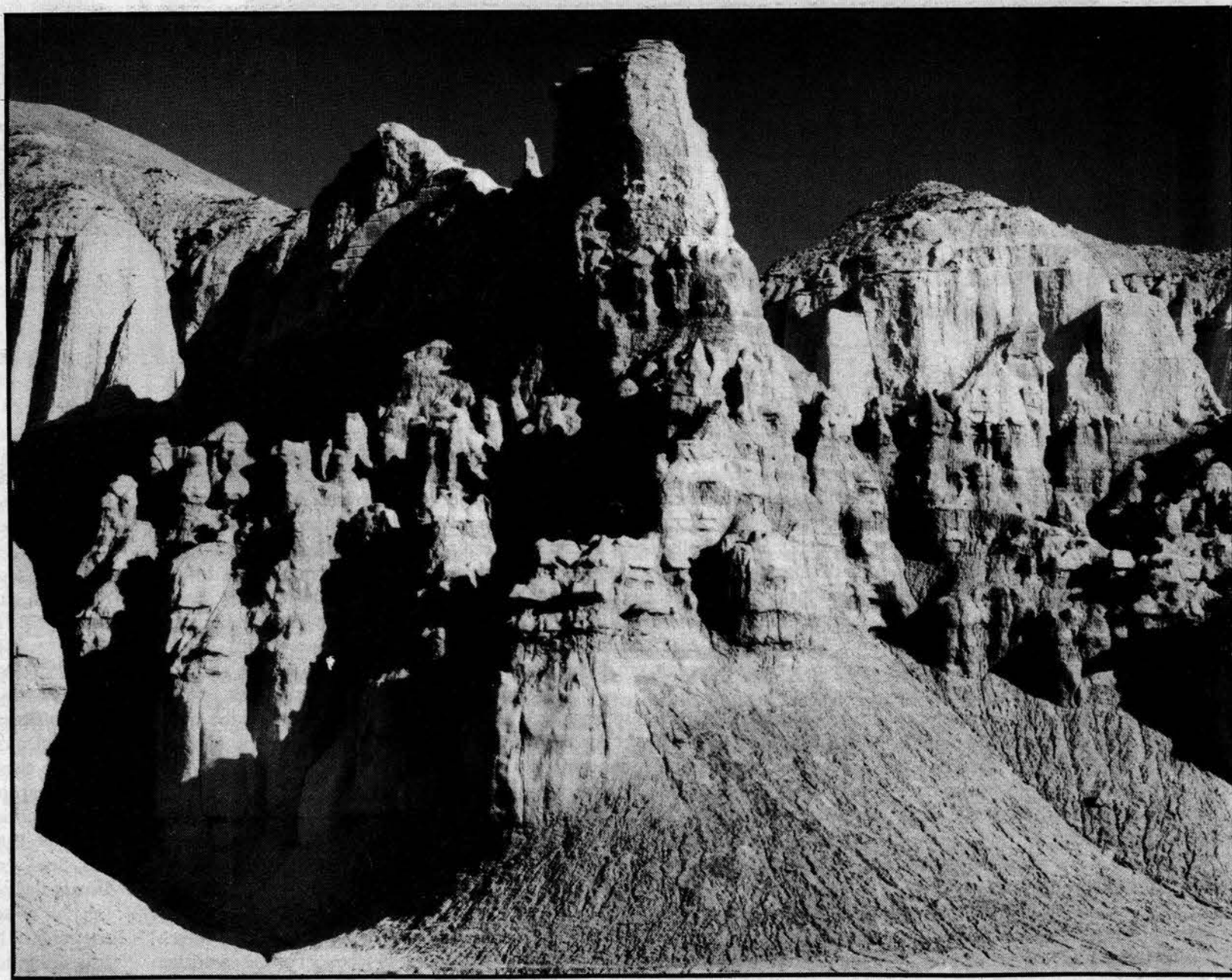
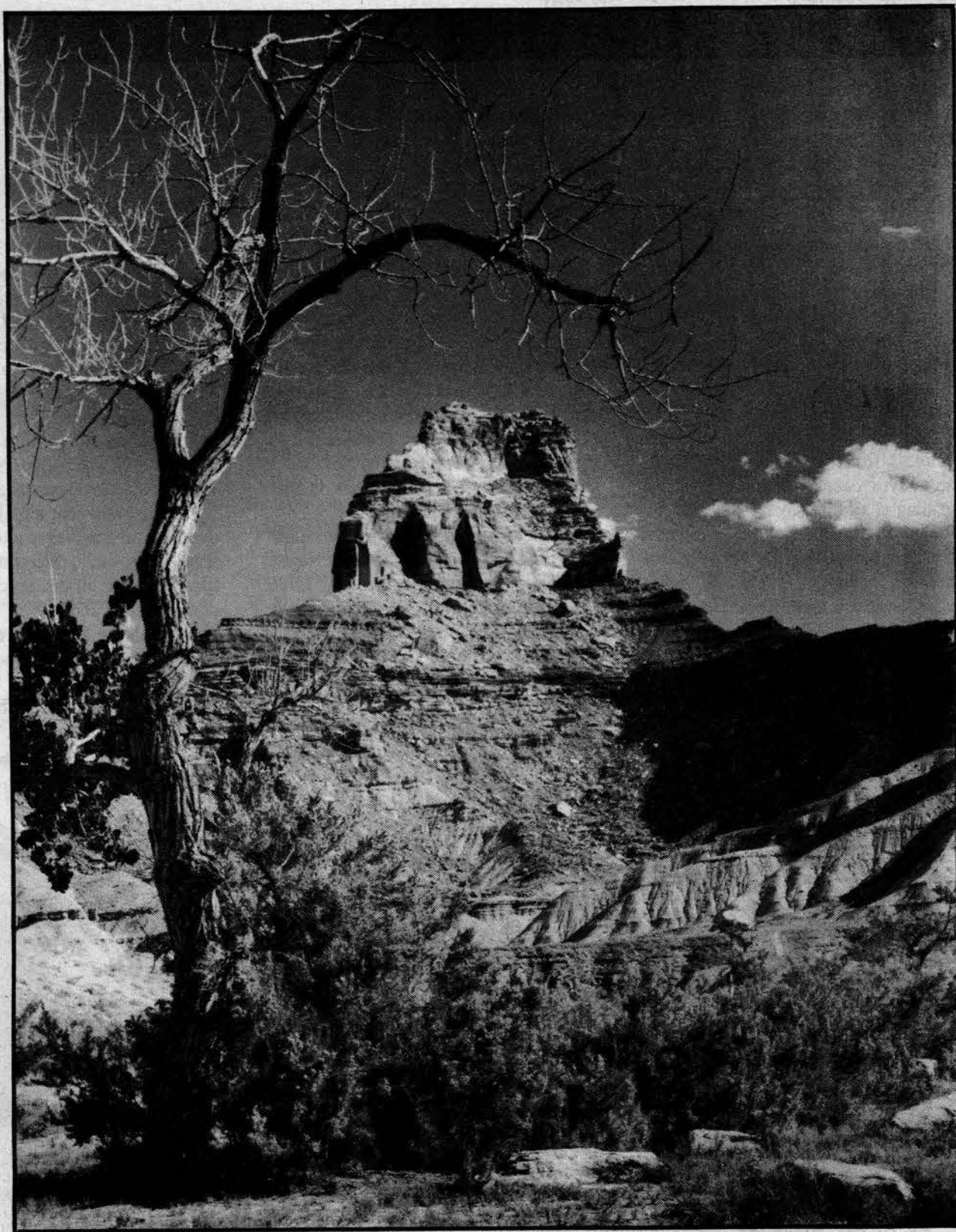


## House Lands

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sixth national park.

— Diane Sylvain





# NEVADA

## Politicos play with environmental rhetoric

With all the flowing water and trembling green leaves in political advertising this year, one might be excused for forgetting that Nevada is a desert in its fourth year of drought. Although the Truckee River now runs dry through Reno, camera crews caught the city's rushing river and fabled cottonwoods in spring.

So campaign commercials whisper Nevada's fondest mirages: abundant water, ever clear vistas and wildlife bounding in all directions.

Democratic Gov. Bob Miller, elevated to the post by appointment when Richard Bryan was elected to the Senate in 1988, is running against a token Republican candidate, Jim Gallaway, for the governor's seat this year. Even though Gallaway's chances are slim, Miller has opened his massive war chest to flood television with a green wave of campaign ads.

Like most Nevada politicians, Miller makes his main target the federal Department of Energy. One ad begins with the promise of gurgling creeks, majestic mountains and evergreen forests for future generations. Then comes the threat: a DOE truckload of high-level nuclear waste. "Enough plutonium to kill 1.7 million people," the announcer says, "more than the population of Nevada." A happy family on the screen is then engulfed in symbolic flames.

Not so long ago, "environmentalist" was a tag assiduously avoided by Nevada politicians. Not anymore. "To me," Miller declared in another ad, "leadership in the '90s means concern for the environment."

Politicians in the congressional and state legislative races have followed Miller's lead. Nearly everyone has adopted the easy rhetoric of Earth Day. But the

lack of controversy belies the high stakes at risk in the tough environmental issues, such as Nevada's explosive urban growth and its future water supplies.

Urban growth, however, is Nevada's sacred cow. Propelled by a booming Las Vegas gambling and retirement economy, Nevada had the highest growth rate in the nation last year. Statewide elections are now decided largely in Las Vegas, home to 60 percent of Nevadans.

Polls show that a majority of city-dwellers in Las Vegas and Reno favor slowing growth to protect their quality of life. Yet, save for one dark-horse county commission candidate in the south, no one is talking about the effects of the urban boom on local environments as well as the state.

The politicians talk about Nevada's clean air in exultant tones, but none dare

raise the ire of casino operators and developers with a call for limits to growth. And not one politician has broached the subject of where the water will come from to satisfy the growing urban thirst. Both Reno and Las Vegas have concocted massive, controversial rural water schemes for the next century. But the only plentiful water right now is on television.

"It's such a crock," says Bob Fulkerson, director of Citizen Alert, the state's home-grown environmental group. "All this greening stuff is just a PR veneer. We need environmentalists to raise the stakes, I guess, or come up with a new label for ourselves."

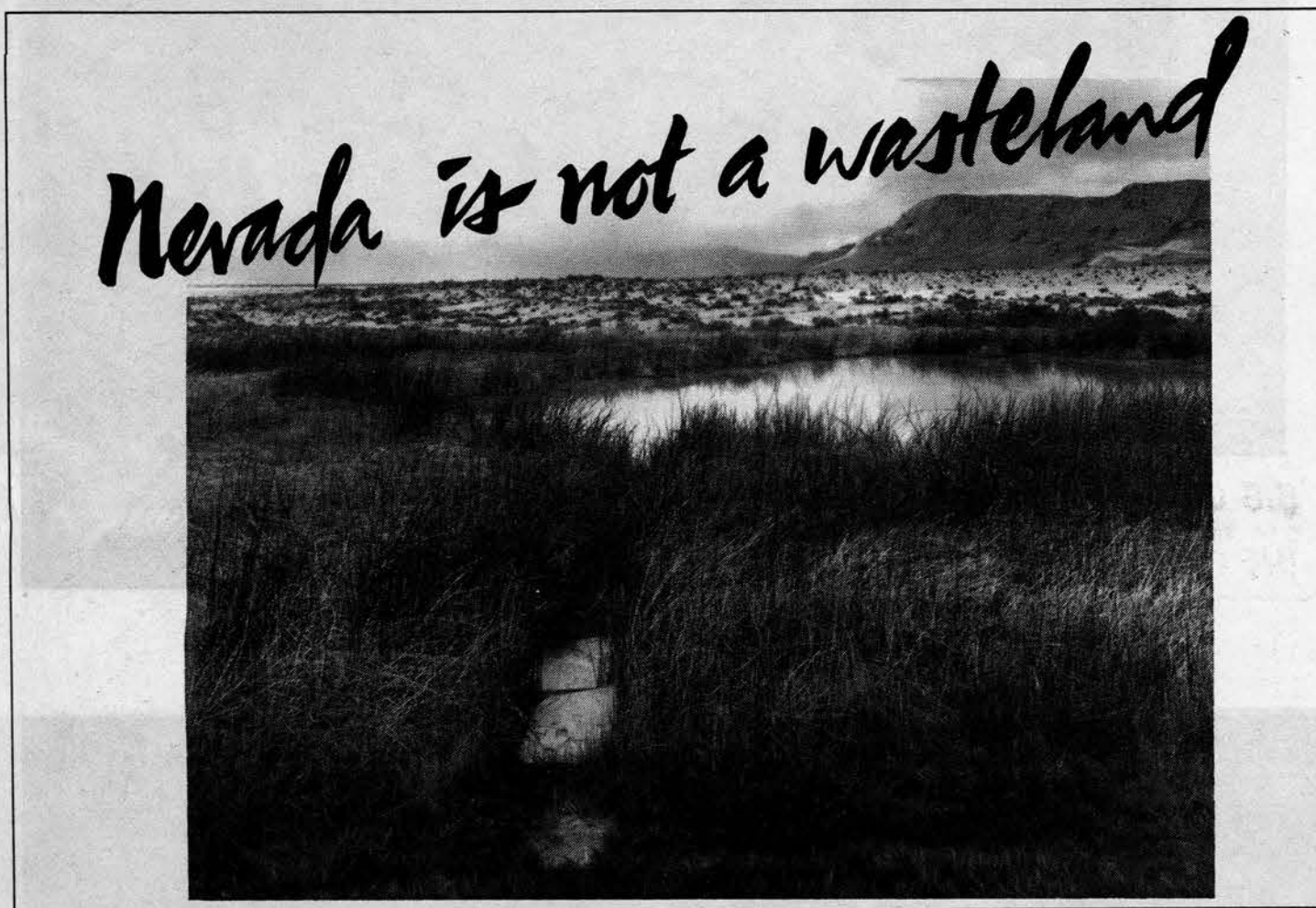
Two years ago, Fulkerson ran a close race against state Sen. Erik Beyer, R, of Reno. This year, Beyer's billboards feature the green mountain backdrop that was Fulkerson's trademark in the last election.

Beyer manages to cloak himself in a green mantle in spite of his record. He abstained from a legislative vote last year that made dumping high-level nuclear waste in Nevada illegal. He supported giving rural counties the ability to override the state Division of Environmental Protection to attract toxic incinerators. And he sponsored air-quality exemptions for a Reno-area firefighters' training center that burns diesel-soaked tires just outside the city. But Beyer's opponent has so far been unable to scratch his green veneer.

The only truly green issue on the ballot is Question 5 — a \$47 million parks and wildlife spending authorization that the Legislature ducked in the last session. Question 5 will test whether Nevadans are willing to spend greenbacks to support their newfound green politics.

A coalition of chamber of commerce members and conservationists — originally formed to back Sen. Harry Reid's Truckee River settlement bill, still languishing in Congress — is now backing Question 5. Endorsed by virtually every major urban constituency, and openly opposed by none, the parks initiative appears likely to pass.

— Jon Christensen



A Citizen Alert fundraising flier

Steve Davis

## NAVAJO NATION

### A 'weariness' haunts Tribe's election politics

TUBA CITY, Ariz. — Navajo voters will soon put to rest the long-running and bitter struggle for the leadership of their tribe. On Nov. 6, suspended Chairman Peter MacDonald, who is now in tribal court for the first of three corruption trials, faces former Chairman Peterson Zah in the first election for the newly created position of Navajo president.

For years the Navajo political scene has been described as having what amounts to two de facto political parties: those who support MacDonald and those who support Zah. After one win apiece in two previous battles, this should be the political rematch of the decade for the nation's largest tribe.

For Zah, it means reclaiming the office he lost by only 700 votes out of a total 61,000 cast in the 1986 election. For MacDonald, it's a chance to vindicate himself after being suspended from

office in February 1989, enduring two years of investigation and standing trial on charges of bribery, corruption and conspiracy.

Since political polls aren't practical on the reservation, the only gauge of the elections is attendance at rallies and fairs. So far Zah is this year's frontrunner. But because of MacDonald's campaigning skills, few people are willing to count him out.

MacDonald's chances also hinge on how his trial goes. A pre-election conviction would automatically remove his name from the ballot. If he is successful in the election and then convicted, tribal law would require him to forfeit.

Despite MacDonald's and Zah's longtime rivalry, this is not a normal Navajo election embroiled in raucous political partisanship. Many suggest that the general calm reflects a weariness

borne of a year and a half of fighting and factionalism, which has torn at Navajo society and faith in its institutions.

"This has been an unusually quiet campaign," says Bill Donovan, a long-time observer and correspondent for the *Arizona Republic* and the *Navajo Times*. "If you've been to any of the other campaigns, you would have noticed that the big people — MacDonald, Zah and others — would have a lot of people in front of their campaign trailers all the time. They would have loudspeakers blasting out their positions on everything all during the day and night. You don't have that this time."

MacDonald's alleged crimes — accepting bribes and kickbacks from building contractors and others, arranging to profit from the tribe's purchase of the \$33.4 million Big Boquillas Ranch and failing to report all of his campaign

contributions — were not new. They'd been reported for months in the reservation and state press.

MacDonald's suspension and departure plunged the tribal government into chaos for months. His supporters first refused to surrender his suite of newly renovated executive offices. In July 1989, the reservation was stunned when two MacDonald supporters were shot to death by Navajo police during a riot in which officers were attacked with clubs.

MacDonald denied any wrongdoing from the beginning. He also denied that he was responsible for the deaths. He said his political undoing was orchestrated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and U.S. Sens. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz. He accused them all of seeking to curtail the tribal sovereignty he claimed he had helped achieve for Indian tribes.

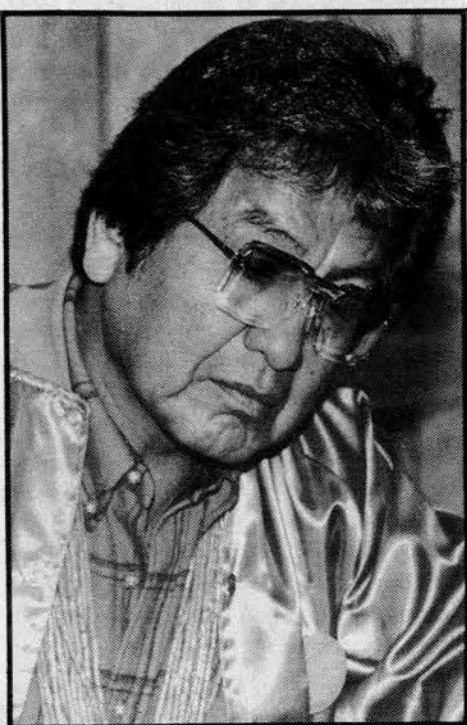


That episode has caused widespread Navajo dissatisfaction with their leaders. At the height of the turmoil in 1989, people clamored for a change from the old-guard politicians dubbed "MacZah-Ski" — a reference to MacDonald, Zah and interim Navajo President Leonard Haskie.

Navajos got a slate of 15 candidates in the August primary election. But some complained that the choices seemed too confusing. In the end, fewer than half the reservation's 95,000 registered voters cast ballots.

When MacDonald first announced his candidacy in December, it was generally expected he would at least take a rhetorical bashing. But that, too, hasn't come to pass. Most of the primary candidates, including Zah, resisted using MacDonald's troubles to promote themselves. Zah spokesman Duane Beyal says Zah made a conscious choice not to use negative campaigning, at least for now.

"From his point of view, that's part of the healing process," Beyal said. "In that spirit, he's talking to the people



Peter MacDonald

Patricia Guthrie

instead of criticizing and blasting MacDonald." Now, Navajos want basic values restored to politics and their govern-

ment, such as honesty, accountability, respect and dignity, Beyal says.

Others say it is time for the Navajos to move away from the patronage politics of the past. An effort toward this is apparent in the tribe's one-year-old reforms that, for the first time, truly separated the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The old position of chairman was abolished and replaced with a speaker of the tribal council and tribal president, perhaps setting the stage for future, equally powerful foes to wage new battles.

Another change was beefing up the tribal election code. No one can now hold office who has been convicted of "crimes of deceit, untruthfulness or dishonesty, including but not limited to extortion, embezzlement, bribery, perjury, forgery, fraud, misrepresentation, false pretense, theft, conversion or misuse of tribal funds or property..." and so on.

"I came out here in 1951 and to me this is the most important election since that time," said educator and author Robert Roessel. "It's got to translate into whether or not the Navajos will demand

honesty, and if they don't then I think they're in for a very difficult time."

With only three weeks left until the election, this general quest for honesty in the next tribal administration seems more visible than the usual campaign issues of jobs, veterans' benefits or scholarships.

Meanwhile, Leonard Haskie has quietly hoped to angle himself into position for a run at the presidency despite the voters' decision that left him in a tight third-place position behind the top two in August's primary. He garnered more support than anyone expected, even though his brief administration has been plastered by negative press and minor scandals, the latest being accusations that three of his top aides were drinking on the job.

His apparent desire for the presidency has even drawn criticism from both Zah and MacDonald in recent weeks. They, like others, say it looks like Haskie is trying to find a way to have MacDonald thrown off the general election ballot and move in himself.

— George Hardeen

# WASHINGTON

## Ballot initiative would limit state's growth

A controversial initiative requiring tough growth-control laws dominates the Washington ballot.

If voters approve Initiative 547, Washington will join a handful of other states that have statewide land-use planning. The immediate objective is to stop urban and suburban sprawl from gobbling up farmland, wetlands and productive timber land. Counties and cities will also be forced to do comprehensive land-use planning in accordance with the new state planning goals.

In the booming Puget Sound economy, open space is rapidly disappearing. The region has gained more than 455,000 new residents since 1980 and is expected to gain at least 600,000 more by the year 2000. New subdivisions, business parks and strip malls are springing up along traffic-clogged highway corridors. Many schools are overcrowded.

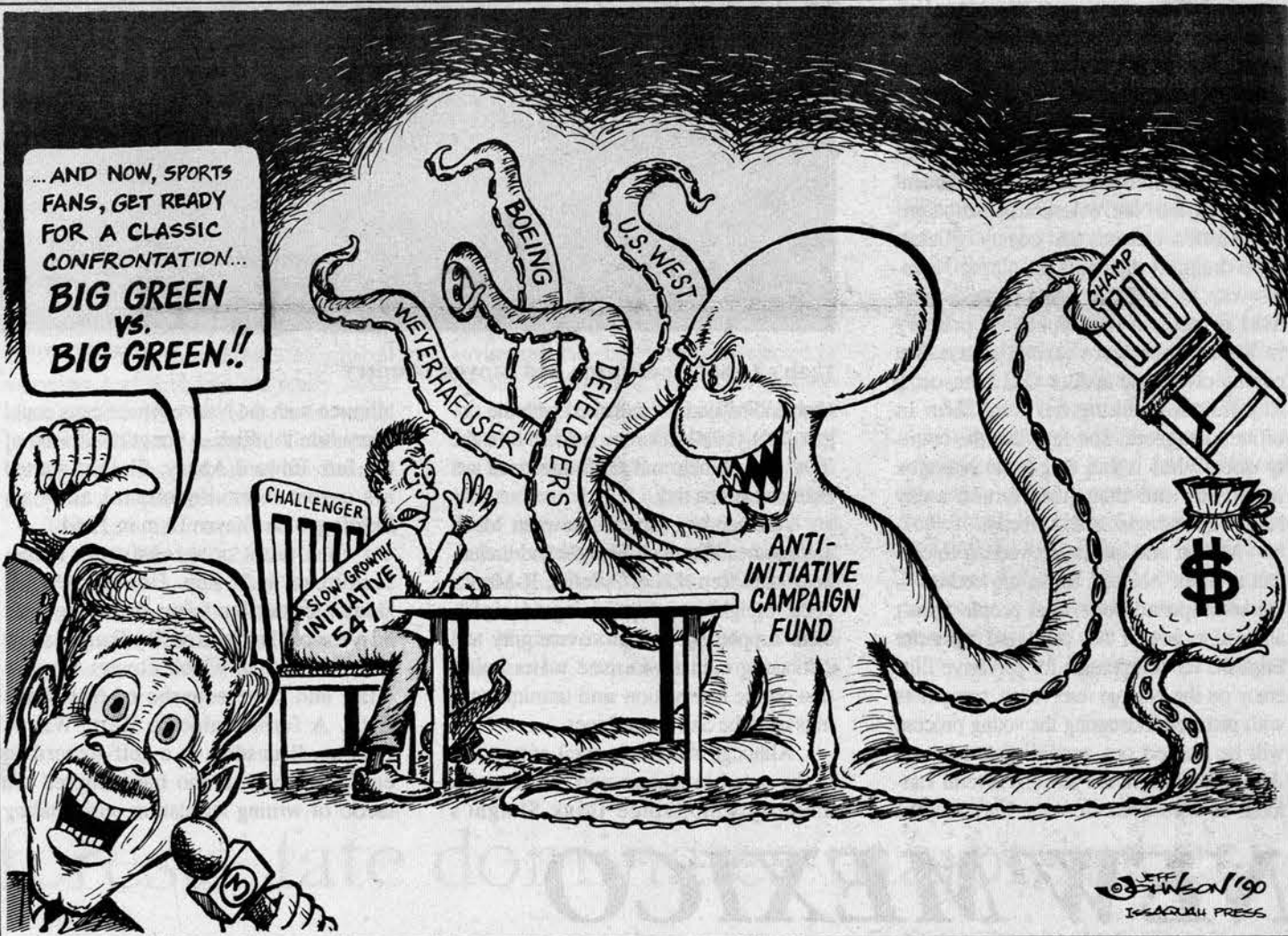
Environmental and community groups formed Citizens for Balanced Growth to craft the initiative after the state Legislature passed weak growth-management legislation last spring. Environmental attorney David Bricklin, co-chairman of the group, says the legislation applies only to the 12 fastest-growing counties in the state, which are all located west of the Cascades. The law also lacks enforcement provisions and would not take effect for two to three years, he says. The initiative's controls would take effect immediately.

"The bulldozers aren't waiting and neither can we," says Bricklin, who contends that growth is now "out of control."

The initiative would also restrict conversion of private forest land to subdivisions and other uses. In the last 10 years, 80,000 acres of forest have been lost to urban development, Bricklin says.

The proposal has drawn strong opposition from real estate interests and developers, who would be forced to share the costs of new roads and schools. City and county officials, who fear losing control of local decisions to the state, also are against it. In addition, the Boeing and Weyerhaeuser companies are heavy contributors to an anti-initiative group called Washington Taxpayers for Livable Communities.

Opponents also criticize the citizen initiative process itself. They say such



petitions, written by special interest groups, bypass the filters and balances of normal legislative procedures and result in bad laws.

Nevertheless, a recent poll by initiative backers showed three-to-one support for the growth-control measure. Late last month a Governor's Growth Strategies Commission recommended adopting many of the same measures found in the initiative, including confining future growth to urban areas and setting up regional growth commissions.

In congressional races, the battle for the 3rd District seat in heavily timbered southwestern Washington is drawing national attention. Bob Williams, a former five-term Republican state legislator, may succeed in felling incumbent Democrat, Rep. Jolene Unsoeld. Williams has courted timber workers frustrated by restrictions on old-growth logging.

Unsoeld barely beat another conser-

vative Republican for her first term two years ago, eking out a 618-vote victory in an election in which 218,000 votes were cast. This is a district that traditionally votes Democratic and has strong labor ties. Analysts for both parties see the race as vital in the Republican bid to control the House of Representatives.

Williams has portrayed Unsoeld as an ultra-liberal environmentalist who has failed to fight for her constituents. A former Weyerhaeuser accountant, Williams advocates modifying the Endangered Species Act to prevent lawsuits from interfering with logging and has called for setting aside large tracts of federal land for timber production. Unsoeld says the endangered spotted owl is a symptom and not the cause of the timber supply crisis. She faults overcutting on private lands and the export of raw logs. Recently, Unsoeld helped push through the ban on raw-log exports from state

lands as a way to increase jobs.

Unsoeld is an enthusiastic proponent of "new forestry" techniques — leaving an assortment of standing trees, snags and downed logs when logging old-growth stands — as a way of fulfilling the needs of both wildlife and the timber industry. However, neither loggers nor environmentalists agree.

Unsoeld did surprisingly well in the September primaries, garnering 52 percent of the vote among four candidates to Williams' 38 percent. Williams says he isn't worried. His pollsters show him and Unsoeld deadlocked at 42 and 43 percent, respectively.

In future elections, Washington will gain an additional representative. Because of big population gains — 700,000 people statewide — the state will get one more congressional seat, bringing its total to nine.

— Jeff Marti



# UTAH

## Mormon, male dominance at a crossroads

Utah's politics, long dominated by white, conservative Mormon men, may gain a variety of new players after next month's elections. A group of American Indians are running for county office in one of the most conservative corners of the state, and more women are continuing to seek positions in the Utah Legislature.

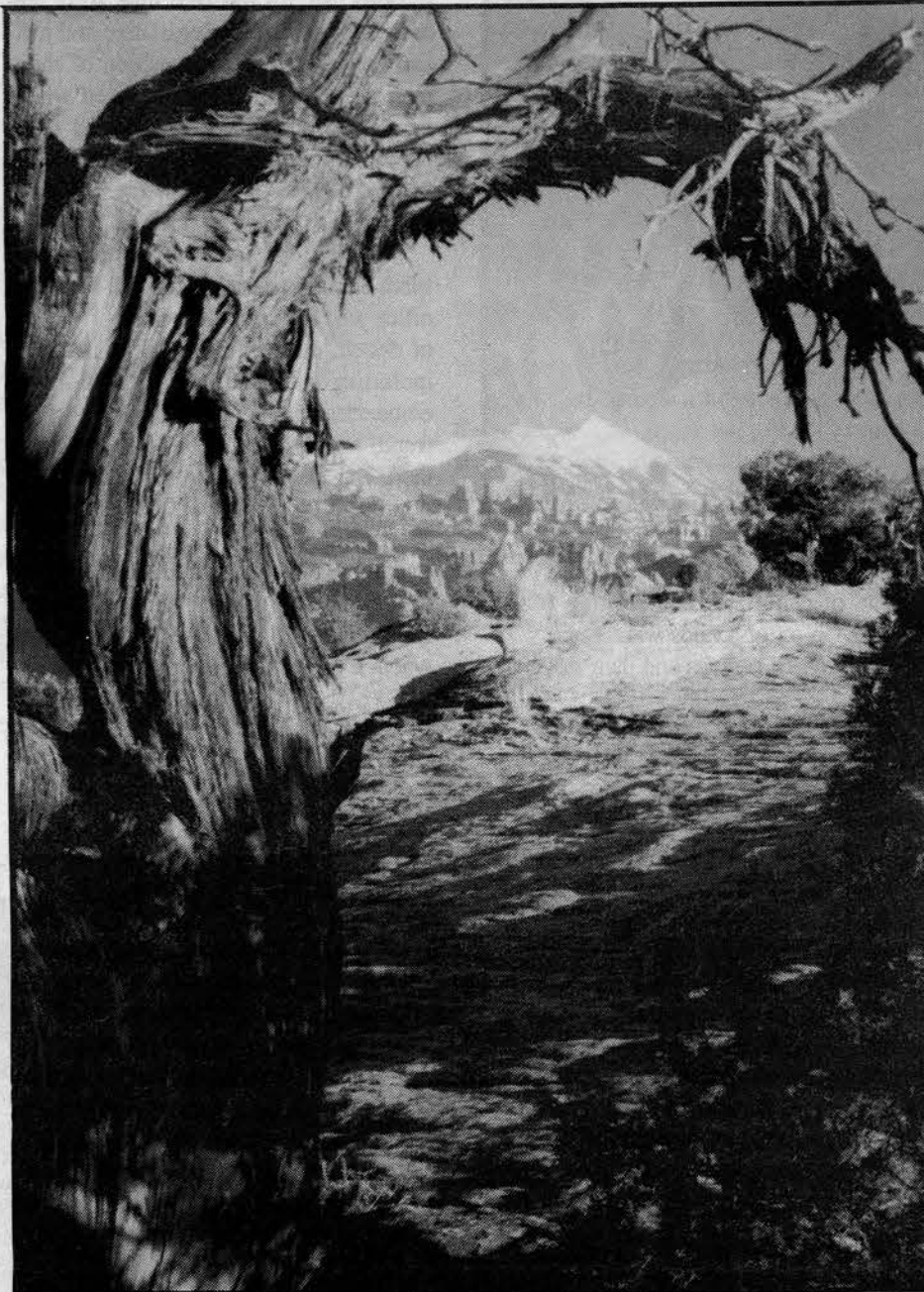
The environment also is emerging as an issue across the political spectrum. "There's a lot of environmental supporters in this state," said Lawson LeGate, director of the Sierra Club's Salt Lake City office. "Utah is a lot more complicated than many outsiders think."

The most significant race is taking place in southeastern Utah's San Juan County, where six Native Americans form the Democratic slate for county office. Mark Maryboy is seeking re-election as the state's first and only Native American county commissioner. Five others — Julius Claw, Ruby Nakai, Claudia Keith, Dan Nakai and Nelson Begay — entered the race for office just an hour before the filing deadline this spring. They are running for treasurer, clerk/auditor, recorder, assessor and sheriff, respectively.

They may succeed. The Navajos, who make up nearly half of the county's population of 12,000, are turning out in force to register to vote. Of the 6,352 registered voters in the county, an estimated 3,400 are Navajos, according to Jean Melton, a University of Utah law student managing the Native American campaign.

Melton charges that county officials have dragged their feet in helping Navajos vote, noting that some Navajos who tried to vote in the Republican primary in September were turned away. But county clerk and auditor Gail Johnson, a Republican seeking her third term in office, disagrees. She says that the county does what it can to get the Navajos involved, and that those turned away hadn't been registered correctly.

Melton and others are working to correct a major obstacle to Navajo voting — the widespread belief that people aren't allowed to vote if they can't read and write English. To compensate for pervasive illiteracy on the Navajo reservation, pamphlets with pictures illustrating the voting process will be mailed out, according to Melton. And at least eight lawyers and several vanloads of volunteers from the University of



Norm Shrewsbury

### Utah's La Sal Mountains and canyon country

Utah and beyond — recruited with the slogan "It's your last chance to live in the '60s" — will help out with directions and rides on election day.

Another key race is between Moab environmentalist Ken Sleight and incumbent state Rep. Dave Adams, R-Monticello. Sleight is campaigning on a platform supporting Indian sovereignty and criticizing industry-caused water pollution on the reservation and uranium tailings near the San Juan River.

Although Adams is well entrenched in the state Legislature and serves as the majority whip, some think Sleight's

alliance with the Native Americans could carry him to office. A longtime friend of the late Edward Abbey, Sleight started his career in environmental activism fighting Glen Canyon Dam in 1964.

In Utah's congressional races, incumbent U.S. Rep. Jim Hansen, R, faces a distant but feisty challenge from 33-year-old lawyer Kensley Brunsdale in the 1st District, which covers western Utah and some suburbs of Salt Lake City. A former aide to Rep. Wayne Owens, Brunsdale is a self-described environmentalist who has adopted the tactic of writing legislation and sending

it to Hansen to introduce. Brunsdale's first "bill" called for moving a proposed natural gas pipeline route away from urban Davis County. Three days later, Hansen introduced a bill moving the route, but his staff said the legislation was drafted before they knew Brunsdale was going to run. Brunsdale's 10 subsequent "bills" have been ignored.

Incumbent Democratic U.S. Rep. Wayne Owens is running against former state geologist and legislator Genevieve Atwood in the 2nd District, which includes most of Salt Lake City and is considered the least Republican district in a very Republican state. Owens introduced a 5.1-million-acre wilderness bill in 1988 that has attracted some 100 co-sponsors from outside the state, but none from Utah. His other bills include compensating "downwinders" and uranium miners, and providing for environmental mitigation in the Central Utah Project, a mammoth water scheme that has cost about \$2 billion to date.

A poll in early October put Atwood nine points behind Owens. However, the fact that she is female and Episcopalian may put her at an advantage with voters seeking a change from Utah's traditional Mormon and male politics. If Atwood wins, she will be the first woman Utah has sent to Congress since 1949.

Campaign manager Stanford Smith points to Atwood's scientific training and notes that "she has forgot more about the environment than Wayne will ever know." She is a fiscal conservative and has described herself as "squishy" on environmental and social issues. Her staff has since replaced "squishy" with "compassionate and caring."

The environmental community, however, still prefers Owens. "We're happy with Owens' performance," said the Sierra Club's LeGate. "No one else need apply. Nothing in [Atwood's] record even shows she can approach Wayne Owens on these issues."

More women are continuing to run for state legislature in a trend that increased the proportion of female legislators from 7 to 11 percent in 1988. Currently, one of the 29 state senators and 11 of the 75 state representatives are women. Nineteen women are running for the state House and three for the Senate.

— Lisa Jones

# NEW MEXICO

## GOP takes to smearing Democrats green

Green stances by New Mexico Democrats are making their Republican opponents see red in this year's elections.

A recent campaign brochure for New Mexico Democratic state land commissioner candidate Jim Baca said, "I don't want Earth Day to be forgotten." A fund-raising letter for Baca's Republican opponent, John Bigbee, then characterized Baca this way:

"He is now the anointed candidate of the wild environmentalists whose concern for raw power and self-perpetuation have long ago surpassed worry over preserving the natural splendor of New Mexico." The Sept. 5 letter was signed by Phelps Anderson, a Roswell oilman and son of internationally noted oil magnate Robert Q. Anderson.

Baca, who is endorsed by the Sierra

Club, was labeled a "green puppet" in the letter. It has become a symbol of an election campaign in which New Mexico Republicans have taken to environmentalist-bashing.

This year, Republican candidates or their supporters in three key state races have labeled their Democratic opponents environmental extremists, or have called the Democrats' environmentalist supporters extremists. So far, the strategy isn't paying off.

Polls by the *Albuquerque Journal* show the Democrats — Bruce King for governor, Tom Udall for attorney general and Baca for land commissioner — leading handily. Environmental issues aside, one possible reason for the Democrats' success is that they are far better known. Both King and Baca have been elected to

the same offices before, and Udall (son of former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall) narrowly lost a bid for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1988. The Republicans are Frank Bond, a former Santa Fe state representative running for governor, first-term state Sen. William Davis, who is running for attorney governor, and land commissioner candidate Bigbee.

In other races, neither U.S. Sen. Pete Domenici, a Republican up for re-election, nor the state's three congressmen face serious threats. The entire state House of Representatives, now controlled by the Democrats, is up for election. The Democratic-controlled state Senate is not.

Because of changes in state election laws, the results of the three races for state office may shape New Mexico politics

well into the 1990s. For the first time since the state switched from two- to four-year terms in 1970, the victors will be eligible to run for a second four-year term. The current incumbents, Gov. Garrey Caruthers, Attorney General Hal Stratton and Land Commissioner Bill Humphries, all Republicans elected in 1986, cannot.

Even in the short term, a Democratic sweep of the three key state jobs could transform New Mexico's environmental politics and make life more difficult for the long-delayed Waste Isolation Pilot Plant nuclear waste dump outside Carlsbad, N.M.

Throughout his administration Caruthers has been a vocal WIPP supporter. And Attorney General Stratton in 1987 signed a legal agreement with the U.S. Department of Energy allowing the



agency to bury up to 15 percent of WIPP's total waste load before the DOE proves it meets federal radioactive waste disposal standards.

Democrats Udall and King, however, say they oppose opening WIPP until it can prove that it meets the standards, which could take four more years. King has even said as governor he would close the state's borders to nuclear wastes, if necessary, to prevent WIPP from opening sooner.

Like King, Republican gubernatorial candidate Bond has opposed DOE's plans to bury a small amount of wastes at WIPP for experiments before the dump proves it is safe. But in late August, Bond blasted factions of the New Mexico Conservation Voters Alliance, which endorsed King, for their flat opposition to WIPP and attempts to

limit timber-cutting to save the spotted owl. And Bond's cohort on the Republican ticket, attorney general candidate Davis, is a strong WIPP supporter.

The land commissioner race also carries a lot of weight in New Mexico because the commissioner sets grazing fees as well as royalty tax rates for oil and gas extraction, and potash and copper mining on 9 million acres of state-owned land.

In his first term, from 1982 to 1986, Democrat Baca angered cattle ranchers and other private interests by pushing grazing fees and royalty taxes closer to market value. This election, Baca has taken strong environmental positions, favoring reform of the 1872 Mining Law, converting the state transportation fleet to natural gas fuel and pushing a bottle-refund bill.

Bigbee, his Republican opponent, says he supports protecting wildlife habitat and land for future generations, but is short on specifics. Bigbee is a Sierra Club member and ex-rancher who also serves on the governing board of conservation-minded rancher Allen Savory's Holistic Resource Center. He said in an interview that he had not seen the Phelps Anderson letter before it was mailed, and that he disapproved of its "name-calling."

As some Republicans see it, the underlying cause of their "environmental extremist" rhetoric this year is that environmental groups in the state virtually always endorse Democrats. This year, the Sierra Club picked Democrats in all three races it considered. The state Conservation Voters Alliance, a political action committee with nearly 1,800

members and donors, endorsed only two Republicans, both in state House races, and 17 Democrats.

Those groups are very liberal, says state Republican chairman John Latanzio. "They're in favor of more government control and regulation. We try to strike a balance between development and preservation."

But Lynda Taylor, spokeswoman for the conservation alliance, counters that the harsh anti-environmentalism of the Reagan era is what has made the environment a partisan issue. "Before Reagan, Republicans were more active on the environment, but the Reagan-Watt-Burford mentality is still simmering among Republicans," she said.

— Tony Davis

## MONTANA

### Wilderness issue clouds a hot Senate contest

The race to watch in Montana this year pits two-term Democratic Senator Max Baucus against Allen Kolstad, the state's current lieutenant governor.

Many observers are comparing their race to Montana's surprising 1988 elections. Two years ago, political newcomer Conrad Burns, R, won a stunning upset over veteran Sen. John Melcher, D. Burns's coup hinged on a late infusion of funds from the National GOP and a last-minute presidential veto of a controversial Montana wilderness bill that Melcher had helped pass.

This year the National GOP persuaded Kolstad to challenge Baucus, hoping to repeat its 1988 victory and sweep the Montana Senate delegation for the first time ever. Again, wilderness is a key issue.

Baucus introduced two wilderness bills this year. One is a statewide bill; the other covers the Lolo and Kootenai national forests and is based on the recent accords negotiated by some wilderness activists and unions representing western Montana mill workers (*HCN*, 9/24/90). Baucus's proposals won the support of some but not all wilderness advocates, while triggering intense opposition from groups representing

agriculture, mining, logging and snowmobile and trail-bike interests.

Kolstad supports Burns's wilderness bill, which releases four times as much land to development as it protects. That earned him the support of development interests. Kolstad has said he will pass a wilderness bill within a year of his election, albeit one based on Burns's model.

The Republicans have campaigned hard on the wilderness issue. Burns has slammed Baucus repeatedly, doing most of Kolstad's work for him. But Baucus predicts that his re-election will show Republicans that wilderness is not as potent a political issue as they believe it is.

The Senate contenders also have touched on other environmental issues. This summer Kolstad told the Montana Coal Council that threats of global warming and acid rain are really more scare tactics than actual environmental problems. He said he based his remarks on the summary report of the federal study on acid precipitation.

Baucus's environmental scorecard fell in 1989. His votes earned him a rating of 30 percent, well below his lifetime average of 69 percent, said Ali Webb, the League of Conservation Voters' election director in Washington, D.C. This

year environmentalists have been upset with Baucus for supporting provisions of the Senate version of the Clean Air Act's reauthorization that they say would allow air quality to be degraded in Western states.

While Reps. Ron Marlenee, R, and Pat Williams, D, are campaigning for re-election this year, they're looking more toward a 1992 race that may pit them against each other. Montana is expected to lose a seat in the House of Representatives as a result of the 1990 census.

Williams has represented western Montana for the past 12 years, winning re-election by comfortable margins each term. Williams's voting record was rated 80 percent last year by the League of Conservation Voters. "This shows you can be a pro-environmental voter and be re-elected in the state of Montana," said Webb. Williams has protected the Bob Marshall Wilderness from oil and gas exploration, led passage of the later vetoed 1988 statewide wilderness bill, and introduced a bill to require additional study before exploratory oil and gas wells are drilled on national forest lands in the Badger-Two Medicine area south of Glacier National Park.

Marlenee has represented eastern Montana for 14 years, but came within 3

percentage points of defeat in 1986. He is not likely to face a serious threat this year. In 1989, Marlenee's voting record was rated 10 percent by the League of Conservation Voters, placing him well below the House Republican average of 35 percent. "Even among his Republican colleagues, he's an environmental disaster," said Webb.

When opposing wilderness legislation, Marlenee has sometimes donned a hunting cap to represent "Joe Montana." He recently incited hoots of applause from an overflow crowd of timber workers during a hearing on a proposal to insulate federal timber sales from legal challenges.

"How many mills and logging crews have been put out of existence because of the litigation, because of the appeals process?" Marlenee asked. "I'm telling you, we're getting sick and tired of it."

Marlenee is opposed by Don Burris, a Billings attorney who worked as an administrative-law judge for the Social Security Administration. By mid-September, Burris had raised less than \$10,000 for his campaign. In contrast, Marlenee had spent \$73,500 on his campaign by mid-summer, out of a total raised of \$180,500.

— Bert Lindler

## OREGON

### Old-growth forests' fate dominates major races

Oregon will get a new governor and possibly a new senator and congressman this election. It may also lose its nuclear power plant and ban excess plastic packaging.

Since February, when first-term Gov. Neil Goldschmidt announced he would not run for re-election, Democratic nominee Barbara Roberts, Oregon's secretary of state, has staged a catch-up campaign against the Republican candidate, Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer. One of the major issues dividing the two is the fate of Oregon's forests. Frohnmayer has urged the state to fight the federal government's plans to slash logging, while Roberts has suggested that "the majority" of Oregon's old growth be preserved.

In the Senate race, Republican Mark Hatfield faces his first real race since he first won in 1966. His challenger is Harry Lonsdale, a newcomer to politics who became a millionaire by manufacturing high-tech environmental products such as

membrane filters and biological insect controls. In a flurry of TV spots and public appearances, Lonsdale has accused Hatfield of becoming a pawn of the timber industry.

Hatfield may be the person most responsible for the disappearance of Oregon's old-growth forests over the past two decades. He and Oregon Rep. Les AuCoin, D, have used their positions on their respective appropriations committees to pass bills requiring high timber cuts in federal forests in the Northwest. Several of Hatfield's bills banned environmentalists' appeals of timber sales — bans recently declared unconstitutional by a federal appeals court. Lonsdale, on the other hand, is a founder of the Native Forest Council, a group that advocates the immediate protection of all old-growth trees on public lands.

Four of Oregon's five incumbent U.S. representatives appear headed toward re-election, but Republican Denny Smith might be unseated by Mike Kopetski. Kopetski, who came within 700 votes of

beating Smith two years ago, has received strong financial support from the Democratic National Committee, which perceives Smith as particularly vulnerable. Smith, who has one of the most anti-environmental voting records in Congress, is targeted also by abortion-rights supporters and has come under fire for his oversight of the savings and loan industry.

Oregonians are getting another chance in an initiative to close the state's only nuclear power plant, Trojan, which sits on the banks of the Columbia River 40 miles downstream from Portland. A similar effort failed by a 64-to-36-percent margin in 1986. However, backers of this year's measure have been bolstered by a variety of new revelations: sloppy maintenance by Trojan's owner, Portland General Electric; faulty inspections by federal regulators; poor construction of the plant by the Bechtel Corporation; and geologists' warnings of a potential earthquake in the area. This year's Measure 4 stipulates that Trojan can't operate until a

federal repository for high-level nuclear waste is open, until the plant is cost-effective and until it can withstand a major earthquake without harm to the public.

The other major environmental ballot measure is an attempt to reduce the solid-waste stream. Measure 6 would require that all product packaging in the state meet one of three recycling standards by 1993. The packaging must either contain at least 50 percent recycled material; be made of materials that are currently recycled in Oregon at a 15-percent rate that will increase in steps to a 60-percent rate by the year 2002; or be reusable at least five times for the same or similar purposes. Proponents, led by Consumers for Recycling, claim the move would both conserve energy and reduce waste and pollution. But opponents, led by the Oregon Committee for Recycling, say the bill is too costly and complicated, and would become "a full-employment measure for lawyers."

— Jim Stiak



# IDAHO

## Land-use issues draw national interest

In Idaho, where wilderness and water are the top issues, national attention is focused on north Idaho's congressional race.

The national Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has ranked Idaho's 1st District the party's number one chance nationwide to capture a Republican seat. It would be the first Democratic victory in northern Idaho in 23 years.

Current 1st District Rep. Larry Craig, R-Idaho, is vacating the office he's held for five terms to run for Sen. Jim McClure's old seat. McClure, one of the West's senior Republicans, is retiring in January. In the race to replace Craig, Boise stockbroker Larry LaRocco won a tough three-way Democratic primary and is said by pollsters to hold a slim lead over the Republican nominee, state Sen. Skip Smyser, a Parma lawyer.

LaRocco, the former north Idaho field staffer for the late Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, ran for Congress unsuccessfully in 1982, giving Craig his toughest race to date. Since then, LaRocco ran unsuccessfully for the state Senate and in 1986 championed the ballot measure that brought a state lottery to Idaho.

Smyser served 10 years in the Idaho Senate, where he was chairman of the Transportation Committee and has been a strong anti-abortion voice. He was unopposed in the primary.

In this campaign, LaRocco has endorsed the 1.5 million-acre Idaho wilderness bill proposed by McClure and Democratic Gov. Cecil Andrus. Analysts say that could erode his support in traditionally Democratic timber towns, where the debate over the northern spotted owl

has unnerved loggers who fear wilderness designations will cost them their jobs.

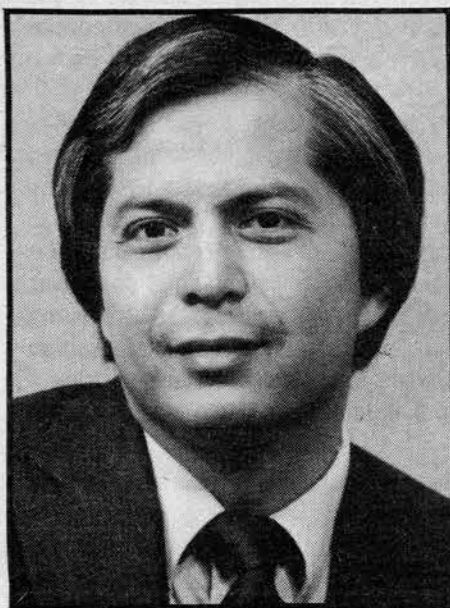
Smyser would bar new wilderness without equal acreage of federal land released for development. At issue in Idaho's wilderness debate are 9 million acres of roadless forest lands.

The two candidates for Idaho's attorney general seat have spent much of the campaign arguing over state land management. The race is getting more attention than usual because the Idaho attorney general sits on the five-member state Land Board, which makes grazing and timber harvest decisions on roughly 3 million acres of state lands. Currently, Republicans control three of the five seats on the Land Board.

Democratic candidate Larry EchoHawk, a Pawnee Indian, has drawn national support from people like Sen. Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii, who chairs the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. If he is elected — and polls indicate he has a good chance — EchoHawk will be one of the few Native Americans to hold a major elective office in the United States.

EchoHawk, 41, was a football star at Brigham Young University. He graduated from the University of Utah law school and served in the Marine Corps. He is a member of the LDS church, often considered a political advantage in southern Idaho, and represented the Pocatello area from 1982 to 1986 in the Idaho House of Representatives. He was attorney for the Shoshone-Bannock tribe in the early 1980s and, after his terms in the Legislature, was elected Bannock County prosecutor.

Running against him is former



Larry EchoHawk

deputy attorney general Pat Kole, 38. The two have clashed over land-use policy, with Kole opposing further wilderness designations in Idaho. EchoHawk supports the Idaho Legislature's attempts to mediate a settlement, but has not specified how many acres of Idaho wildlands should be set aside as wilderness.

When last required to report their finances, EchoHawk had raised nearly twice as much money as Kole. And he's not the only Democrat with a financial advantage. Gov. Cecil Andrus was all but declared the winner in early October when his Republican opponent, former Idaho Senate Majority Leader Roger Fairchild, said that his campaign was out of money. The state GOP has come up with just \$500 for the Fairchild campaign, a minor fraction of what the party has contributed in the past.

Fairchild got off to a rough start when his ex-wife appeared at his campaign kickoff to accuse him of abusing drugs and beating her. Fairchild denied both charges and offered to take regular drug tests. He overcame that debacle by winning a three-way primary, but has since failed to win the financial support he needs to wage a major television advertising campaign. He had raised just \$98,000 by mid-summer, while Andrus had raised more than \$500,000, much of it from large corporations in and out of the state.

The two have clashed over wilderness — Andrus wants about 1.5 million acres more while Fairchild wants none — and over financial disclosure.

Meanwhile, Idaho's relative financial health has stripped the Republican Party of its traditional complaint about Democrats: that they are bad for business. Since Andrus was elected in 1986, unemployment in Idaho has dropped from an annual average of 8.7 percent to 5.3 percent this year. During that time, the number of employed Idahoans rose from 432,000 to 466,000. With Andrus's financial strength at the top of the ticket, Democratic legislative strategists hope they can close the four-vote margin and take control of the Idaho Senate.

In other races, Craig is the odds-on favorite to win election to the U.S. Senate. Democrat Ron Twilegar, a Boise investment banker, has run a hard-hitting campaign, but has had less money than Craig. In addition, Craig is well-known in traditionally Democratic north Idaho and has been able to concentrate his attention on the southern half of the state while Twilegar has had to work statewide.

— Dean Miller

# COLORADO

## Senate race an easy call for environmentalists

In Colorado, there has been relatively little environmental dialogue this election season, even in the two statewide races most likely to affect conservation issues — the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races.

The race receiving the most environmental attention is the Senate contest between Republican Rep. Hank Brown and Democrat Josie Heath, a former Boulder county commissioner. The winner will replace Sen. William Armstrong, R, who is retiring after two terms.

Brown, a five-term representative of a district that includes most of eastern Colorado, is perceived as a moderate, especially by environmentalists who have been at odds with Armstrong for years. In his television advertising, Brown has capitalized on the fact that he helped establish Colorado's only wild and scenic river, a 75-mile stretch of the Cache la Poudre west of Fort Collins.

Heath has cited her record as a long-time supporter of Boulder's open-space program. In the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Heath has spoken out for a national energy policy.

Speaking to the Colorado Environmental Coalition Oct. 6, Heath questioned "whether we'll have the political will to look at the new energy crisis and realize that it's the same old energy crisis." Instead of drilling for oil in the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, Heath

said, the United States should impose a \$10-per-barrel import fee on oil to pay for alternative energy research.

Overall, the environment has been a relatively untraveled side canyon during the race. Instead, Heath has spiced her campaign with talk of the savings and loan bail-out, connecting it to Brown because of past campaign contributions. She also said she'd cut military spending in half.

Brown said environmental issues have played a small role in the campaign because he has "such a strong record in that area." Many environmentalists disagree with that analysis, pointing to Brown's support for Denver's mammoth Two Forks water project.

An Oct. 7 poll showed Brown comfortably ahead of Heath, who had yet to mount a television blitz planned for the last month of the campaign. Through the first week in October, Brown had outspent Heath by a factor of 4 to 1.

Colorado activists say Armstrong's departure is a victory in itself, regardless of who succeeds him. "Armstrong is an ideologue, Brown is a moderate," said coalition staffer Rocky Smith. The Wilderness Society's Darrell Knuffke singled out Armstrong as the single biggest obstacle to new wilderness in Colorado.

If there is a political litmus test on the environment this year in Colorado, it is wilderness. Sens. Armstrong and Timothy

E. Wirth have had opposing bills pending for months, stuck over the question of whether wilderness should have federal reserved water rights. Heath has supported Wirth's proposals while Brown has backed Armstrong's bill, which grants no explicit federal water right.

In August, Wirth proposed a five-year interim protection bill for 750,000 acres of Forest Service wilderness study areas. The bill is silent on water issues, aiming simply to preserve the lands while a compromise is worked out. Armstrong opposes the interim measure, but Brown straddled the issue. Brown supported Wirth's idea of not addressing water issues, but said more than 300,000 acres should be deleted from Wirth's proposal.

Heath recently picked up endorsements from the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters for her support of wilderness. The groups charged that Brown, who voted against the environment two-thirds of the time in his 10 years in Congress, has clothed himself in "green rhetoric" to hide his poor voting record.

Meanwhile, there has been even less environmental fire and brimstone in the gubernatorial race between Gov. Roy Romer and Republican John Andrews. Romer, 31 points ahead in the polls, did not air a single television ad until October. The GOP settled on Andrews after going most of the year without an announced candidate.

Andrews most recently was the executive director of a conservative think tank, the Golden-based Independence Institute. Allied with the Mountain States Legal Foundation, the institute has published several papers on environmental issues that generally espouse free-market thinking. Addressing the environmental movement in general, the institute once said: "If socialism and collective action are discredited in other parts of the economy and other parts of society, environmentalism becomes the last refuge for the true believer in a 'government-knows-best' approach."

Many Colorado environmentalists were disappointed with what they saw as Romer's noncommittal stance on Denver's Two Forks water project. The governor has been criticized for failing to enforce state health regulations in some cases. At one point, Colorado Attorney General Duane Woodard lamented that in the seven years he has been in office, the Health Department has yet to refer a single enforcement case to his office.

Still, environmentalists have generally praised Romer's leadership on Denver's air pollution issues. Also, Romer has pressured the Legislature to restore funding for inspectors for the state's Mined Land Reclamation Division.

— Barry Noreen



# SOUTH DAKOTA

## Garbage dumps and mining lead ballot

Voters in South Dakota will select a governor, a U.S. senator and a lone congressional representative. But the contests that have the most environmental significance are over two citizen-sponsored ballot initiatives. One would limit surface mining and the other would regulate large solid-waste landfills.

The garbage initiative targets landfill development schemes, such as the recent South Dakota Disposal Systems, Inc., proposal. Its 1-million-ton-per-year project has already been approved by the state's governor-appointed Board of Minerals and Environment (*HCN*, 9/10/90). The initiative takes permit responsibility away from the board and gives it to the state Legislature. Because the measure is retroactive, passage would require South Dakota Disposal Systems to seek legislative approval. The initiative also offers dump opponents the chance to overturn a legislative permit by allowing a project to be put to a public vote under South Dakota's referendum laws.

The surface mining initiative is a revised version of two similar measures that were soundly defeated in the 1988 elections. Those would have increased mining reclamation standards and raised state severance taxes on gold production.

This year's proposal would restrict surface mining impacts to 3,100 acres per mine at any one time. Once that ceiling is reached, reclamation must accompany expansion on an acre-for-acre basis. The measure would mostly affect cyanide heap-leach gold mines in the Black Hills. The number and size of heap-leach mines there has grown rapidly since 1982, causing massive surface disturbances, water pollution and cyanide poisoning.

Both initiatives are sponsored by the Surface Mining Initiative Fund, an environmental group based in the Black Hills. The group has a tiny budget and has done little advertising or campaigning. However, it faces well-financed opposition on both fronts.

The campaign against the garbage initiative is being led by South Dakota Disposal Systems and is underwritten by its Texas investors and Burlington Northern Railroad, whose trains would deliver out-of-state garbage to the proposed landfill. While there is strong public uneasiness about importing large volumes of



Richard Fort

A Homestake Corp. open-pit gold mine in the Black Hills of South Dakota

garbage, SDDS has stressed that the state will need the facility as new federal landfill regulations come into effect and force old community dumps to close.

The company warns that new jobs and additional state revenues will be lost if its landfill is blocked. It also has threatened taxpayers with legal action if the initiative passes and SDDS must get another permit. Lawsuits are not new to SDDS. The company has twice sued the Surface Mining Fund over the initiative. It also has sued South Dakota over its permit.

The mining initiative is being fought by the South Dakota Mining Association and its surrogate organization, People for Responsible Mining. The two beat the mining initiatives of 1988 handily, and are continuing the same campaign. Drawing on the century-old mining tradition in the Black Hills, the campaign promotes the industry's integrity and environmental commitment. Coupled with their effective pocketbook theme, the miners have protected their image and so far have thwart-

ed the environmentalists.

As in 1988, lopsided war chests characterize this year's initiative contests. Two years ago, the mining industry outspent environmentalists \$1 million to \$50,000. That ratio appears to be the same this year in both initiatives.

Most observers say the garbage initiative stands a better chance for passage than the mining measure. And mining critics worry that another overwhelming setback at the polls could jeopardize any hope of achieving meaningful controls over mining in the near future.

In South Dakota's gubernatorial race, Republican George Mickelson is seeking his second term. Though Mickelson portrays himself as a conservationist, his environmental track record and appointments to key state posts have come under fire.

Mickelson's opponent, cattle rancher Bob Samuelson, has taken surprisingly strong stands on environmental issues, but is considered a heavy underdog. As usual, environmental issues have played second

fiddle to the economy in this campaign.

Larry Pressler, the state's senior U.S. senator, is seeking his third term. The 47-year-old Republican has a poor voting record on the environment and seems uninterested in environmental matters. Pressler faces Ted Muenster, a Sioux Falls businessman. Muenster is waging an aggressive campaign, making strong commitments on environmental issues. That attention helped him secure the Sierra Club's endorsement despite his having helped the mining industry beat two environmental initiatives in 1988.

Pressler remains an enigmatic vote-getter. No politician in the state's recent history has been so broadly criticized. Other politicians describe him as inattentive and opportunistic, and columnists have called him one of America's most ineffective senators. Yet his popularity is high. In two races as a congressman and two campaigns for the Senate, he has never lost an election.

— Peter Carrels

# ARIZONA

## Industry landfill propositions a 'hoax'?

A bitter fight over solid- and hazardous-waste disposal is shaping up on the Arizona ballot.

Proposition 202 — The Arizona Comprehensive Waste Reduction and Management Act of 1990 — would solve the state's pressing waste problems and simultaneously protect Arizona's land and people, say its sponsors. But a coalition of critics charge that it is an industry-written Trojan horse that will turn Arizona into the solid and hazardous waste capital of the Southwest.

The proposition is sponsored by Arizonans for a Safe Tomorrow, which is backed financially by the waste industry supergiant, Browning-Ferris Industries. The measure would require a statewide recycling plan within one year after passage; set goals to reduce Arizona's annual volume of waste per person by 20 per-

cent by 2010; regulate medical waste; require monitoring of groundwater at all landfill sites; and regulate the importation of hazardous wastes.

The initiative also prohibits landfills within the 100-year floodplain of any major river unless liners, monitoring wells and leachate collection systems are installed. That exception would allow BFI to proceed with its highly controversial 191-acre landfill proposed for the banks of the Agua Fria River near Phoenix.

BFI's initiative has drawn the wrath of environmental and public interest groups and many elected officials, who say it is a hoax. Carole Carpenter, a member of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors, charges that Arizonans for a Safe Tomorrow has deceived voters by writing and selling pro-industry legislation as a citizen environmental initiative.

Carpenter says the real effect would be to repeal a law passed in the last Arizona Legislature banning landfills from river floodplains; to remove legal impediments to companies like BFI that want to import medical and toxic waste to Arizona; and to reduce the liability of companies that have leaky landfills that contaminate groundwater. Moreover, the recycling and waste reduction clauses are insignificant and already outdated by stricter state and federal laws.

"This is absolute environmental fraud perpetrated by a major waste industry on the people of Arizona," Carpenter says. The Sierra Club, Arizona Public Health, Common Cause of Arizona, the United Firefighters Association and the mayor of Phoenix also have opposed the measure.

Arizona's hottest statewide race is

the gubernatorial election. This summer millionaire Phoenix developer Fife Symington won a five-way GOP primary, placing way ahead of the second-place finisher, car salesman and ex-Gov. Evan Mecham. Symington faces the better known, three-term Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard, a Democrat.

Democrats also are challenging Republican control of the Arizona Senate. The key election is a neck-and-neck race for the Pima County (Tucson) seat between Ann Day, the younger sister of Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, and Democrat Katherine Jacobson. A Democratic win there would give them equal representation in the state Senate.

— Steve Hinchman



# WYOMING

## Cowboy-hatted pols offer voters little choice

For the environment-conscious Wyoming voter, most major 1990 races appear to be choices between the lesser of two evils. Only careful listening reveals any differences in the cowboy-hatted crowd of candidates.

While this season's contestants give lip service to the environment, their words are generally seen as disingenuous openers that mask their support for traditional economic development. A Mary-Mead-for-governor commercial shows loaded-down cars ostensibly driving out of the state because of its stagnant economy. Pete Maxfield, Democratic challenger for the state's lone U.S. House of Representatives seat, chides incumbent Craig Thomas for not pushing oil price supports that could boost and stabilize domestic production.

In the gubernatorial ring, incumbent Mike Sullivan, an anti-choice Democrat, has made a worn, white cowboy hat his campaign-trail trademark. He faces pro-choice Republican Mary Mead, a wealthy Jackson rancher who proudly

rides a steed through the sagebrush in her classy television commercials.

The daughter of a former Wyoming governor and senator, Cliff Hansen, Mead has close ties to the Wyoming Heritage Foundation, a strongly pro-development, conservative think tank. The group recently panned a move by federal agencies to manage the Yellowstone region as an ecosystem because it might slow mining, drilling and timbering.

While she remains on the foundation's steering committee, Mead has not promoted her connections to the group. Instead, she has sought a more even public tone, opposing (with almost everyone else in the state) an oil-drilling proposal next to scenic Brooks Lake in the Absaroka mountains (*HCN*, 10/8/90). But she also talks about the need to lure new industries to Wyoming.

Incumbent Sullivan does too, but he offers more environmental footnotes. Although he wants to speed up the permitting process for oil drilling on public land, he carefully adds that such "streamlining" should not jeopardize protection of sensitive resources.

During this year's legislative budget session, Sullivan battled, with only partial success, to retain inspectors in the state Department of Environmental Quality that legislators wanted to fire. He also was among the first elected officials to back wild and scenic designation for the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River and its rugged canyon

northwest of Cody. Bowing to the clout of agriculture and hunting interests, both Mead and Sullivan — as well as most other sitting state pols — oppose returning native wolves to Yellowstone National Park.

The congressional race pits moderate Republican Craig Thomas, the incumbent, against conservative Democrat Pete Maxfield. Their differences are few but significant.

Maxfield would support wolf reintroduction in Yellowstone on three conditions: that wolves are controlled outside the park; that there is a compensation plan for ranchers; and that the presence of wolves does not hinder public use of lands. Thomas is unequivocally against reintroduction. He says, "There are greater priorities right now in Yellowstone — roads, campgrounds, winter-use improvements — besides spending money to hear a howl."

Thomas did oppose a recent amendment to open wilderness areas to oil and gas drilling that was supported by Wyoming Senators and fellow Republicans Alan Simpson and Malcolm Wallop. But while Maxfield backs significant changes in the 1872 Mining Law, Thomas is less critical. "If there is to be reform," he says, "it must be done in recognition of all the good things the law has done."

Maxfield — formerly the state negotiator on the Wind River Indian Reservation water dispute — generally favors the environment more. He wants protected flow in the Clarks Fork to be decided by scientific study; Thomas has joined in the congressional delegation's efforts to legislate it. But neither wants any expansion of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management's paltry wilderness proposals in Wyoming.

The other major race is for the U.S. Senate seat held by down-home Al



Katherine Collins

Democrat Mike Sullivan

Simpson, whose commercials show majestic elk and coyotes on the Wyoming range. He consistently describes himself as an environmentalist, but often takes stands that make conservationists shudder.

Although Simpson says he supports the premise of the Clean Air Act, he has sought to weaken parts of it, such as the visibility standards for Western national parks.

But this may be irrelevant to the election. The Simpson family vaguely suggests a Wyoming Camelot (Al's father, Milward, was a governor and senator), and Al Simpson enjoys terrific support throughout the state. He has also amassed a campaign war chest of close to \$1 million, which puts his less-known challenger, Kathy Helling, to shame.

"If you'll excuse me now," Simpson told a recent gathering, "I need to go do some blatant political activity."

— Michael Milstein



Republican Mary Mead

### GUEST OPINION

## Greens get it together

by Matthew Gilbert

Is the United States ready for a Green political party?

Inspired by the Green parties of Western Europe, the American Greens appeared on the political scene for the first time six years ago. Since then they have been chided by mainstream environmental activists for being long on theory and short on pragmatism.

Last September, however, the U.S. Greens ended three years of argument over specific goals by hammering out a political platform. Some 150 delegates met in Estes Park, Colo., for five days to fashion an interesting mix of noble declarations and specific policies.

They called for a "complete phaseout of nuclear power" and the "dismantlement of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission," an end to the "use of pesticide poisons," a 75-percent reduction of the military budget, and many other planks to achieve "fundamental societal changes."

It is not yet a complete vision of how American policy should look, but it is a good start in the right direction.

Greens recognize the interrelatedness of our most pressing problems: rainforest destruction and land reform, urban decay and military spending, and landfill limits and consumerism, among others. Yet the fires of political discourse have not been lit

by such imperatives in the United States. Why?

History has not been kind to third-party efforts in this country. European successes have been a direct result of their system of proportional representation, in which Green parties have gained seats in parliaments with as little as 5 percent of the vote.

But the American Greens must share some of the blame as well. Members have been split between focusing on the political arena or promoting citizen education and direct action. The split is a classic example of strategy disagreements that have kept the group from becoming more visible.

Support for electoral work is now growing, however. The platform encourages the development of Green parties at the local and state levels, and local campaigns have been initiated. In California, the Green party is gathering the 80,000 signatures needed to place candidates on the 1992 ballot.

If the Greens are not successful in forming a national third party, then perhaps they could tip the scales in crucial legislative races while continuing to build a grassroots foundation for long-term change. This is their challenge and opportunity.

Matthew Gilbert was the site coordinator for the Greens national gathering in Estes Park, Colo. For more information, contact Green COC, P.O. Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112.

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