

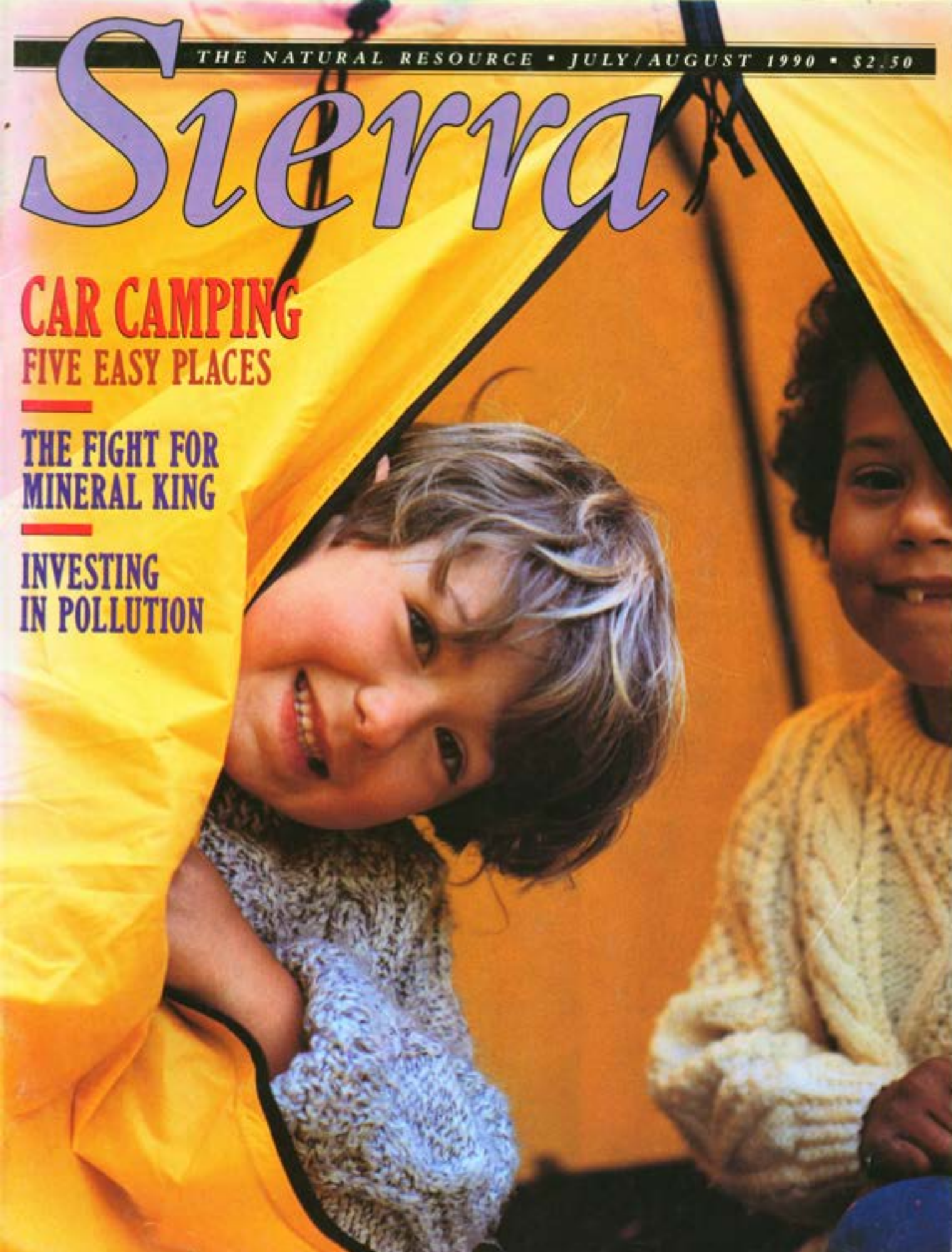
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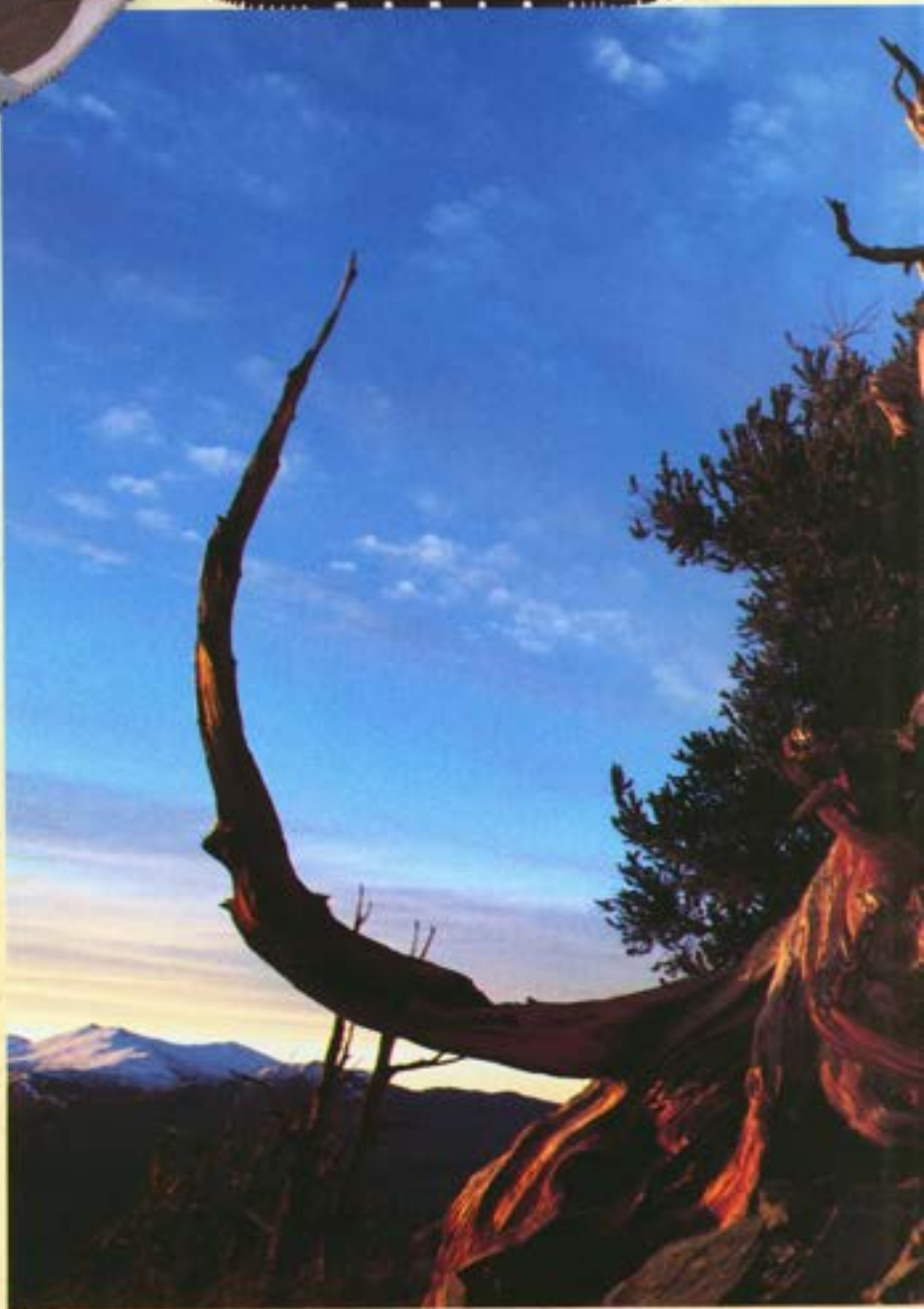
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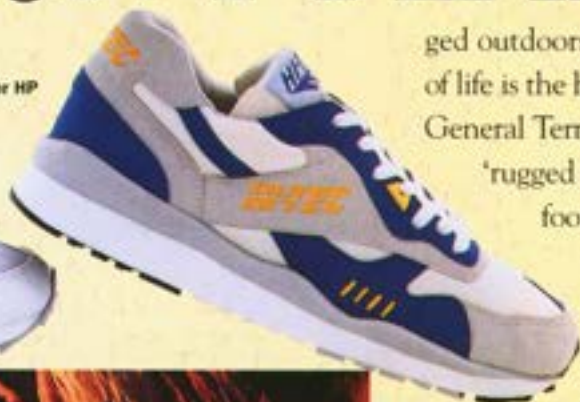
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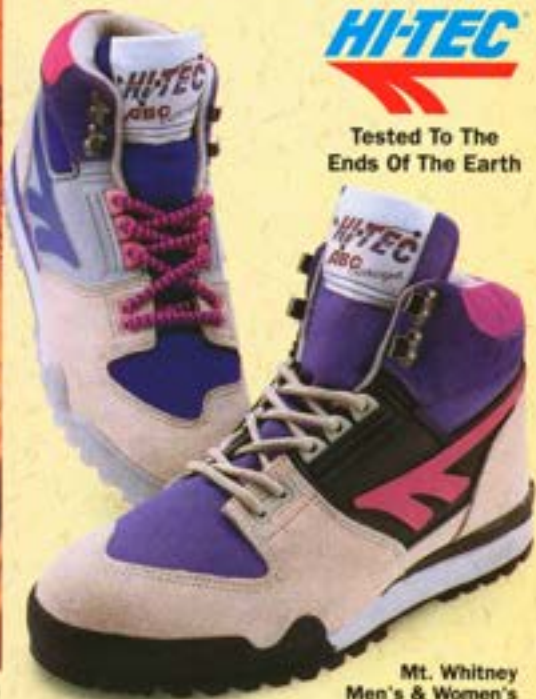
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COVER: You don't have to walk for miles to kid around in the woods. Five car-camping oases await you; see page 40.

Photo by Thomas Heinser.

12/LETTERS

We and McPhee, nuclear NIMBYs, people who breed people, and more.



18/PRIORITIES

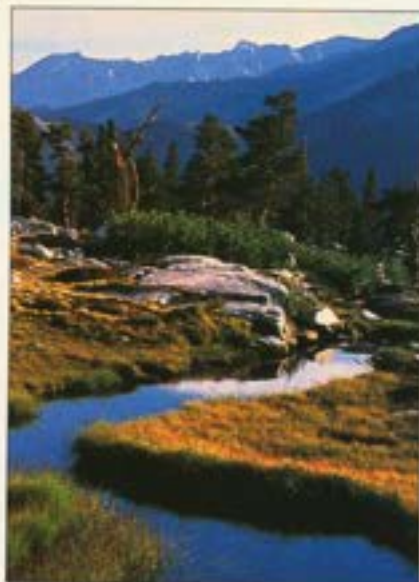
Social Responsibility: The big bright green investment machine needs a little fine-tuning.

Global Warming: When it comes to fuel-efficient cars, Detroit automakers are conspicuously stalled.

26/IN DEPTH

Jim Stiak

Long a target of conservationists' criticism, the Forest Service is now taking flak from within the ranks. The agency's managers talk of a New Dawn, but it could be the same old stump speech.



30/WHO SPEAKS FOR THE FUTURE?

Tom Turner

Walt Disney hoped to transform a pristine place called Mineral King into a huge ski resort; the Sierra Club fought him on every front. When the dust settled, it was the legal landscape that had changed.

40/HEY, I CAN SEE MY CAR FROM HERE!

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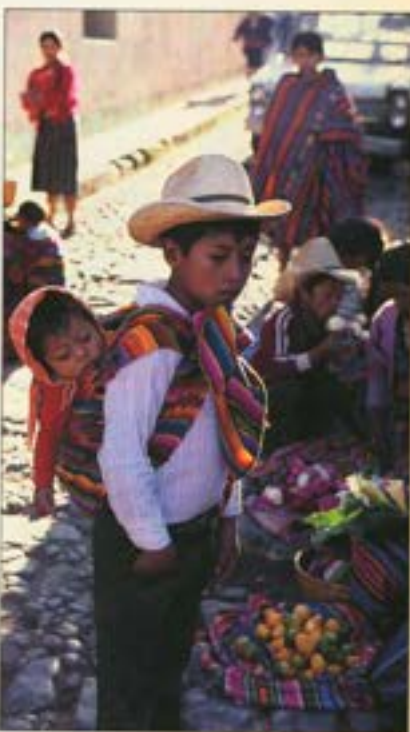
48/TRASH, TALK, AND POLITICS

Rebecca Solnit

Three activists whose art's in the right place.

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Tatshenshini and Alsek rivers, British Columbia; Headwaters Forest, California.



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62/BOOKS

The David Brower files.

78/QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

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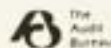
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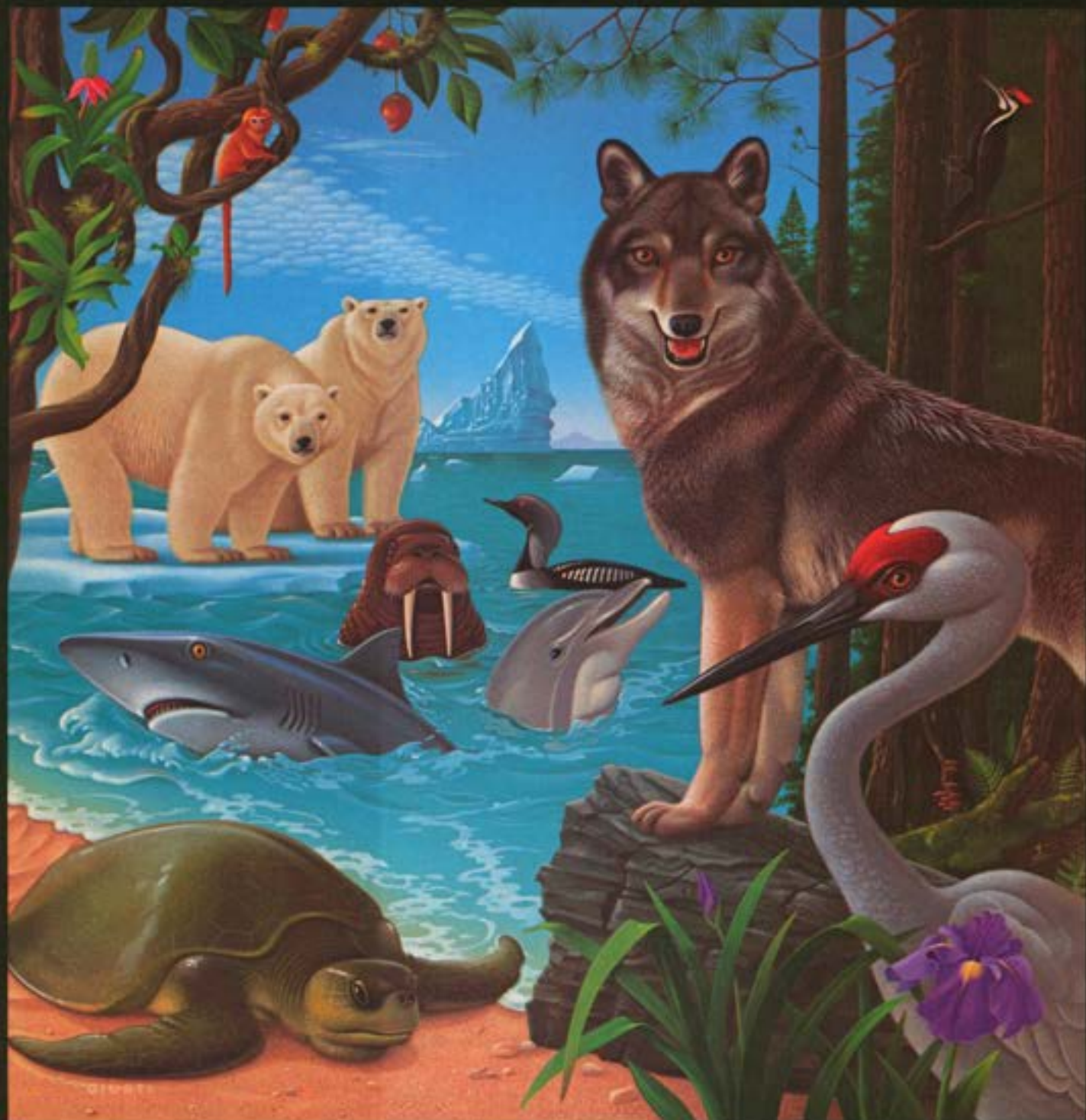
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LETTERS

WRITE SOON, AND OFTEN

I don't normally write letters to the editors of magazines. I don't consider my opinions important enough to require publishing. The May/June issue of *Sierra*, however, finally kicked me off my butt; Joan Hamilton's profile of John McPhee was the kick.

Hamilton's "piece of writing" (to use McPhee's phrase) is one of the finest I've read, by any standard: a joy and an education. Thanks for introducing me to the man behind my favorite books.

James W. Blilie
Seattle, Washington

LETTERS ABOUT LETTERS

David Lotz ("Letters," May/June) represents the "hate-mongering perpetuated by some segments of the environmental movement." He was writing about me. I am not ashamed to admit that I hate Exxon, Maxxam, and all others who rape the environment for profit. Exxon loves neither you nor me, Mr. Lotz, any more than they can deposit us in the bank.

Jeff Bailey
Berkeley, California

Berating the inclusion of *Bambi* in a list of films with ecological themes is akin to banning *Black Beauty* from children's libraries because it contains inaccuracies about equine behavior. Conrad Smith's letter of protest (May/June) was smug, humorless, narrow-minded, condemning in hindsight and irritating as hell.

Perhaps we will hear next from a herpetologist who will complain that Disney committed the sin of "mammalism" in his choice of animals to portray.

Janet V. Chandler
Portland, Oregon

WASTE NOT, DUMP NOT

As a Sierra Club member from a rural state that beat back a regional nuclear-waste dump (and which is now threat-

ened with a proposed dump in a Nebraska wetland five miles from our state line), I was dismayed by the comments attributed to Sierra Club board member Roy Hengerson ("Hot Spots," March/April). One hopes that Hengerson's sentiments—that the Club "doesn't want to see the decision-making process degenerate as a result of NIMBY arguments" and that "the Club is working to strengthen the regional dump-siting process"—were taken out of context and don't represent either his feelings or Club policy.

There is strong political pressure to put nuclear waste in relatively unspoiled, politically powerless rural areas. There is no better way to recruit new environmentalists than to organize against a backyard menace. If people all over the country are fighting to keep nuclear-waste dumps out of their backyards, that increases pressure to produce less nuclear waste. In fact, shallow land burial of nuclear waste in *anyone's* backyard is poor public policy, because of the inevitable contamination of groundwater.

Instead of supporting the "responsible" solution of hauling nuclear waste hundreds of miles to Upper Michigan or the Nebraska Sandhills, let's keep the heat on the nuclear industry, start producing a whole lot less, and dispose of what we do produce in a better fashion than by digging holes in the ground and filling them with atomic garbage.

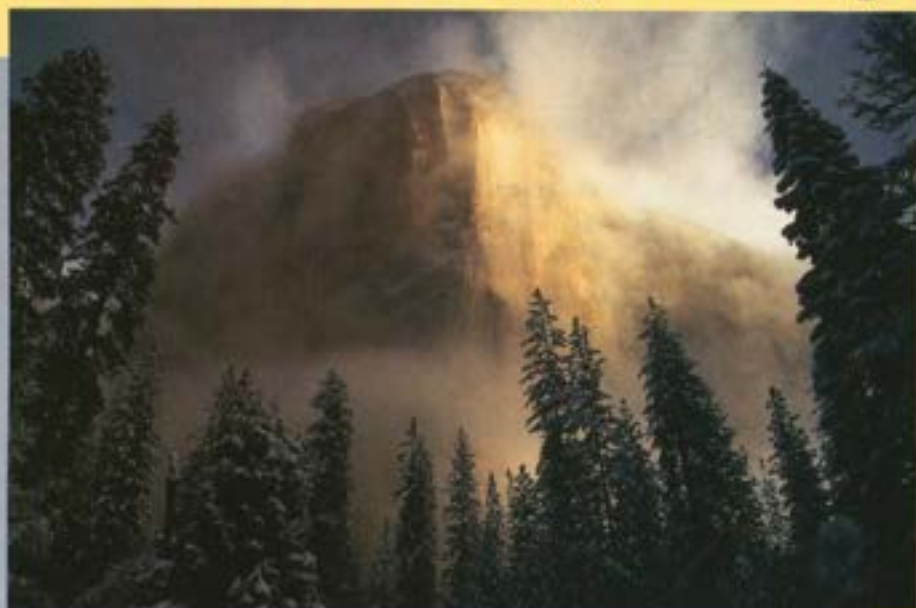
Jay Davis
Vermillion, South Dakota

Roy Hengerson replies: *Jay Davis' comments illustrate the difficulty the Sierra Club faces in dealing with issues arising out of the Low Level Radioactive Waste Policy Act, which thrusts states into the radioactive-waste-management business. I agree with much of what he says, but would make the following two points in response:*

It is fine for grassroots organizers to fight against nuclear-waste dumps in their backyards. However, as responsible environ-

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mentalists we need to take a broader view of these issues. Most of us continue to use electricity and enjoy the benefits of some scientific and medical uses of nuclear technology. Therefore, we should be part of a nuclear-waste solution that best protects human health and the environment. And that means having some radioactive-waste-management facilities somewhere, which will always be in someone's backyard.

The article implied that I was representing the Sierra Club on this issue. In the absence of any Board of Directors' vote on the proposed Michigan dumpsite, I would not want any remarks about the matter to be interpreted as Sierra Club policy.

VOX POPULI

With regard to Paul and Anne Ehrlich's "Growing, Growing, Gone" ("In Depth," March/April), it's clear that the major factor imperiling the environment is raw growth in human numbers, compounded by technological complexity. In my birth year of 1919, world population was 1.7 billion. Today it is 5.3 billion—a tripling over 71 years. With an annual growth of 88 million (and the annual increment keeps rising), the level will have quadrupled if I live to see 90. All this in but one lifetime.

Can the globe sustain such numbers? For how long?

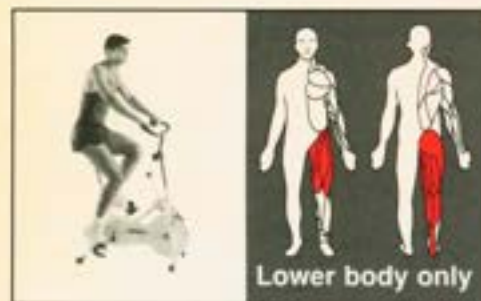
John M. Ely, Jr.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

The Ehrlichs' anti-Catholic bias contributes nothing to the environmental cause. It is wishful thinking to believe that poverty and pollution can be contraced away. I am thankful that the Catholic Church doesn't require that kind of faith.

Tom Kilcayne
Omaha, Nebraska

All efforts to save the environment are fated to fail if population growth is not arrested: This logic is inescapable, and it will be obvious to anyone who ponders the matter. Put another way, the conservation efforts funded by contributions to the Sierra Club will, in the end, be swamped uselessly by the swollen and inexorable tide of

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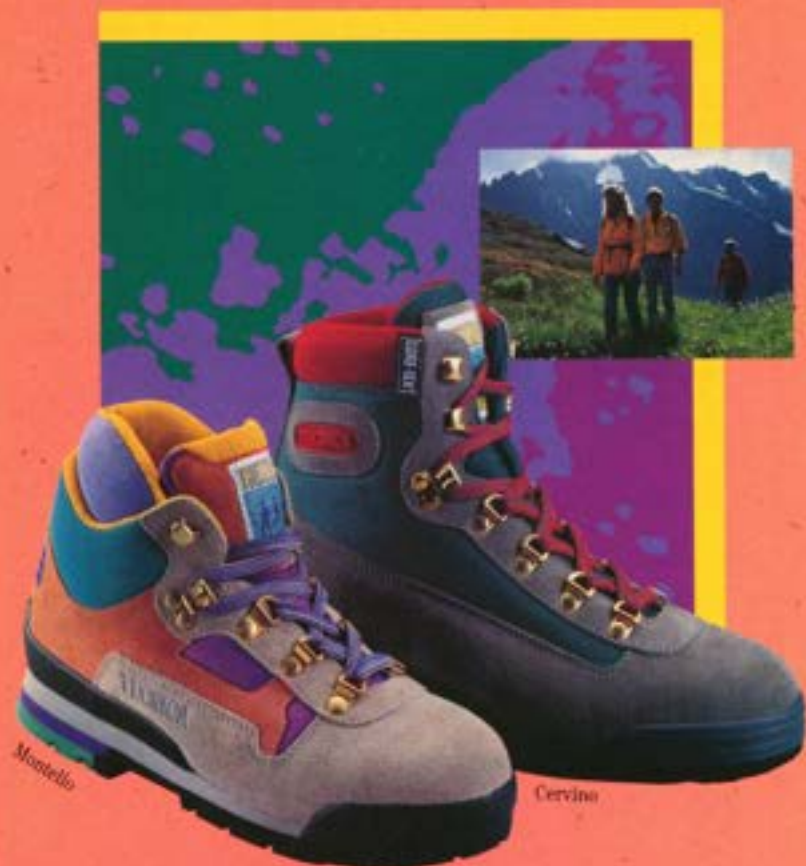
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human population growth. Still another way to put it is that even if all the conservation battles are won, the war to prevent disruption of the environment will be lost. That is because the present concept of conservation is one that deals with the symptoms but fails to recognize the underlying disorder.

Burwell Taylor
Sausalito, California

The writer was formerly Professor of Population Dynamics at the University of Wisconsin—Green Bay.

One way to curb birthrates now is to curb deathrates, particularly among young children. As a country starts to develop, the deathrate at first falls much faster than the birthrate, producing the population "explosion." But when the deathrate falls to around 15 per 1,000 births, the birthrate falls almost twice as fast.

Also, some 300 million couples in the developing world do not want any more children, but are not using any effective means of limiting family size. Estimates indicate that meeting the present strong demand for contraception would reduce world population by over 1 billion people in 35 years.

Sheena Pappalardo
Sudbury, Massachusetts

MISCELLANY

Merrill Nielsen of Los Alamitos, California, suggests that a landscape painting from the book *O California!* identified in our January/February issue as Edwin Deakin's "Owens Valley 1884" looks suspiciously like Utah's Salt Lake Valley, with the Wasatch Mountains in the background. The book's publishers, Bedford Arts of San Francisco, have confirmed the error (although the work is one of Deakin's), and say they plan to replace the painting in the next edition.

The September/October 1989 issue of *Sierra*, devoted to the public lands of the United States, was among the finalists for a 1989 National Magazine Award in the category "Best Single Topic Issue." That issue also won a "Maggie" award in the same category from the Western Publications Association in May.

RECYCLING AT THE SIERRA CLUB

The Sierra Club is committed to the goal of 100-percent usage of recycled and recyclable materials in all of its activities. We continue to make progress toward this goal—and we will provide regular updates on that progress for our members and supporters.

AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD EFFORT

Communication is the key to the Sierra Club's environmental advocacy, member services, and public-education efforts, so we do use a great deal of paper. However, we strive to minimize paper usage, avoiding unnecessary forms and copying. Our photocopy machines print on both sides; our copying paper is recycled; and our stationery, envelopes, computer paper, and many office forms are printed on recycled paper. We're also completing the transition to window envelopes in which the window material is not plastic but glassine, itself a paper product that is recyclable.

As a result of pressure from the Sierra Club, our outside copying contractor is using recycled stock for the Club's work and making it available to other customers. Recycled papers are used to the maximum possible extent for the Club's high-volume printing orders, too, such as the mailings sent to members and prospective members.

THE SIERRA CLUB'S PUBLICATIONS

Many members are originally attracted to the Club through its books, calendars, and magazine; millions more are influenced by them. Therefore, the Club sets a standard of state-of-the-art color reproduction for its pictorial publications.

Unfortunately, the high-quality, clay-coated "glossy" paper stock that meets our reproduction standards has not to date been made with a significant proportion of what most of us would consider "recycled" paper in the mix. (See "Caveat Emptor," below.) Even partially recycled stocks have not yet been available in the quantities we require and with the dependable delivery we insist on—though it does appear that a few paper suppliers are at last responding to customer concerns by undertaking research and development in this area.

The technical problems we face are considerable. Though some publication-grade paper made in part with recycled fibers has recently come on the market, it's more porous than paper made predominantly from virgin pulp. This paper absorbs both more coating and more ink than virgin stock does, which can mean poorer highlights and brightness, weaker reflective quality, and ink-dot spread that leads to loss of detail in shadow areas and reduction in clarity overall. At the same time, paper made without a significant proportion of virgin fiber has in the past caused problems on press because of its lower tensile strength. Our best judgment is that the technology necessary to produce recycled paper is only now catching up with the Sierra Club's standards for color reproduction.

Still, we have progress to report:

Books and Calendars: The text pages of all non-pictorial Sierra Club books are now being printed on recycled stock. The 1990-91 Sierra Club catalog will be on recycled paper, as will the Club's notecards and holiday greeting cards.

Photographic books and calendars present more difficult problems. Making the transition to recycled paper will take time, since an acceptable recycled stock was not available when the 1991 calendars were printed several months ago. However, we are working with Random House, the producer of the calendars, toward the goal of printing our 1992 calendars on substantially recycled stock.

Sierra: To be practical, any recycled stock that the magazine might consider must have adequate strength for high-speed presses, and must be dependably available. In response to consumer demand, the industry is moving faster toward that goal now—faster than most observers considered likely even a year ago. When this issue of *Sierra* was printed, we also ran press tests of three partially recycled papers—to test their strength and to judge the quality of color reproduction they afford. These samples are now undergoing careful evaluation. We are optimistic that we will be able to convert *Sierra* to recycled stock within the next year, and perhaps some portions of the magazine even sooner.

CAVEAT EMPTOR

The word "recycled" can be misleading, and is used inconsistently. We want to use recycled paper so we can save forests and reduce solid waste. Unfortunately, much of the so-called recycled paper available on the market today does not contribute to both these goals.

The most important element in recycled paper is post-consumer waste—that is, previously used waste paper that would ordinarily end up in the landfill or incinerator, and that must be de-inked before being made into new paper. *Much of the high-quality recycled paper available today contains little or no post-consumer waste.* It often contains as much as 50 percent virgin pulp, as well as paper-mill wastes, envelope clippings, and trimmings from the printing process—all pre-consumer wastes that were never part of the recycling loop. Most "recycled" papers probably contain a maximum of 10 or 15 percent post-consumer waste—if any. If we are really to move toward our linked goals of saving forests and reducing the solid-waste stream, we must push for greater use of post-consumer material in all recycled papers.

GUIDING THE CLUB

Helping the Club address this issue are a number of volunteers who have offered their professional advice and are working with our staff to help us accelerate the transition to recycled paper. Staff members from every department involved in printing operations constitute a Recycling Task Force that is working with our printers and suppliers to maximize the Club's use of recycled materials and to promote the rapid development of a wider array of recycled products. And of course, Sierra Club chapters, groups, and activists everywhere proudly continue to advocate the highest possible levels of waste reduction, reuse, recycling, and use of recycled products.

Douglas W. Scott

Associate Executive Director for Conservation
and Communications

The Stockbroker's Smile

In their eagerness to do good with their dollars, unwary environmentalists may be contributing to polluters' profits.



Paul Rauber

WHILE SEALS AND OTTERS have nothing to cheer about in the aftermath of the Exxon Valdez spill, the crocodile is smiling broadly. Amid the oily sludge of the country's worst environmental catastrophe, Wall Street has found a wonderful investment prospect.

"Worldwide shock at the consequences of the disaster in Alaska could increase efforts to protect the environ-

ment," Merrill Lynch tells its brokers. "Pollution is a problem, but for investors with a long-term outlook, it could be an opportunity."

"Daily environmental news was a sales booster for many brokers," reports Stephen Parker, chair of the John Hancock subsidiary Freedom Family of Funds. "We are confident that environmental action will be a major growth industry throughout the 1990s."

The environmental-services sector in the United States is growing at a

phenomenal 15 to 20 percent a year, with specialized sectors like hazardous-waste removal growing even faster. At the same time, a significant majority of Americans now consider themselves environmentalists. To take advantage of this situation, Merrill Lynch, John Hancock, and Fidelity Investments have all come out with new environmental sector funds—stock funds that feature companies expected to profit from the anticipated multibillion-dollar environmental cleanup of the '90s.

Brokers are making "cold calls" to environmentalists, trying to sell them on social responsibility. Hancock advises brokers to sell the Freedom Environmental Fund as "an investment you'll feel good about because it gives you a chance to invest your money in a 'socially responsible' way." The fund's prospectus promises to invest only in companies that "contribute to a cleaner and healthier environment" and even to help drive down the value of stocks of companies that, according to Hancock,

have damaged the environment.

The pitch appears to be working. Freedom's initial offering brought in \$46 million; Merrill Lynch sold out its initial \$50-million offering in three days, and \$83 million more came in before brokers got the order to stop selling. It might look as if Wall Street has suddenly turned green.

But then, green has always been the color of money. The portfolios of all three of these major "environmental funds" include some of the worst polluters in the country, companies whose

expansion is now being financed by the investment dollars of well-meaning environmentalists.

For instance, all three funds include the giant waste-disposal firms Waste Management, Inc. and Browning-Ferris Industries, which together have been forced to pay more than \$450 million in fines over the last decade for violating environmental and antitrust laws, and which have received more than a thousand citations for dump-site violations. Both companies have pioneered new recycling methods: Waste Management by selling PCB-contaminated oil as home heating oil in Ohio, Browning-Ferris by mixing oil with toxic nitrobenzene and using it to surface dirt roads in East Texas. (Fines and bad publicity from this and other violations led Browning-Ferris to sell its hazardous-waste business in April.)

Moreover, Waste Management's "Recycle America" trucks have been spotted dumping recyclables in ordinary landfills. And the company's subsidiary, Chemical Waste Management—also part of the Freedom Environmental portfolio—is the only U.S. company engaged in the ocean incineration of toxic waste. Among Freedom's other nominal environmental investments is Combustion Engineering, which makes boilers for nuclear power plants. The Fidelity Select Environmental Fund includes Perkin-Elmer, a nuclear-weapons contractor, and Westinghouse, a manufacturer of nuclear power plants.

Based on Hancock's "green" prospectus, Peter Camejo, president of the socially responsible brokerage firm Progressive Asset Management in Oakland, California, initially recommended the Hancock Freedom Environmental Fund to his clients. He has since changed his mind. "People are investing in these funds, believing they're helping the environment, when they're not necessarily helping the environment at all," he explains. "Their money may actually be going to companies that are major polluters in the worst sense of the word."

Ruth Dyke, a client of Camejo's

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who bought into the Freedom Environmental Fund, has filed charges of false advertising and use of a misleading prospectus against the fund with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). "I am left with the impression that you want to appear as though you are concerned about our environment so that people like myself will invest in your fund," she wrote to David Beckwith, the fund's manager. "But in reality you will invest in any company, in certain industrial sectors, regardless of their environmental record. Just because Waste Management picks up garbage does not make them a contributor to our environment."

Beckwith, however, believes that it does. In a recent article in the *New Hampshire Business Review* he says that companies like Waste Management "are socially positive by definition. They contribute to a clean environment by what they do."

Freedom CEO Parker acknowledges that environmentalists may want a stricter definition of what constitutes a green firm. "We are going to have a problem meeting their standards," he says. And since neither the SEC nor the National Association of Securities Dealers regulates what makes a company "socially responsible," the guileless environmental investor is at risk of being taken in by the Wall Street crocodiles.

There is an alternative. Funds do exist that screen for polluters and go out of their way to find companies that are making a positive contribution to the environment. Three of these are sector funds investing exclusively in environmental companies: the New Alternatives Fund of Great Neck, New York, which specializes in alternative-energy firms; Progressive Asset Management's Progressive Environmental Fund; and Merrill Lynch's newest fund, Eco-Logical Trust '90, which promises a portion of its profits to the environmental movement. Other ethical funds that use environmental screens but also invest more widely include Calvert, Parnassus, Pax World, Dreyfus, and Working Assets.

An environmental screen does not,

however, absolve the investor of responsibility. The criteria employed by these screens tend to be subjective, and the degree of rigor varies widely. The Dreyfus Third Century Fund, for example, calls for examination of a company's "protections and improvement of the environment," a screen loose enough to allow Lockheed, Amoco, and Atlantic Richfield to slip through. At Parnassus, investment decisions are made by founder Jerome Dodson. "I actually can't tell you what our criteria are," he says. "Each one is different. All we say is that we take environmental protection into consideration."

Other funds have more formal mechanisms. Calvert's Social Investment Fund considers itself to be "among the most comprehensive and stringent in the socially responsible investment community." Its advisory board, which includes Sierra Club Executive Director Michael Fischer, makes general policy recommendations and attempts to resolve questions in the "gray areas" of corporate responsibility. One recent dilemma involved a pharmaceutical company that used endangered species, obtained illegally, to test AIDS drugs; the board deadlocked on the issue, and the investment was not made.

Calvert's screen includes consultation with local environmental groups, but that did not stop the fund from investing (along with Working Assets and New Alternatives) in Hawaii Electric, which is seeking to develop a 500-megawatt geothermal power plant in the Wao Kele O Puna rainforest on Hawaii's Big Island. (See "Hot Spots," May/June.) The project is being vigorously opposed by the Rainforest Action Network and the Sierra Club, among others. While neither Calvert nor Working Assets continues to hold Hawaii Electric stock, the decision to drop the company was made for economic reasons, not environmental ones.

"No one's going to be perfect," says Doug Fleer, an editor at *Clean Yield*, an ethical-investment newsletter. "If you had a really strict screening process, where anyone with an EPA violation

was out, you wouldn't have a fund."

One safe, socially responsible way to invest money is to leave it in a credit union, where funds often finance local projects. Investors who want the higher returns of a stock fund, however, must take it upon themselves to re-

search the social and environmental criteria used by each fund, and not rely on crocodile smiles. They don't call it filthy lucre for nothing.

PAUL RAUBER is a writer in Berkeley, California.

GLOBAL WARMING

The Lean, Clean Car Campaign

Are they big enough? Fast enough? The fight over fuel-efficient cars is being driven to new heights.

Mark Mardon

THE TIME IS PAST when "horsepower was status, and only wimps and four-cylinder snits worried about gas mileage and other irrelevancies," maintains Brock Yates, automobile critic for the *Washington Post Magazine*. An unreconstructed car-lover, Yates is by no means an apologist for people who consider cars to be rolling environmental disasters, but to him the trend is clear: "Efficiency is the byword of the future."

Still, many car owners refuse to consider driving anything but overpowered, overweight machines. And that stubbornness, environmentalists say, poses a threat beyond oil shortages and smoggy cities. As climatologist Stephen H. Schneider points out, virtually all scientists in his field agree that carbon dioxide, principally from fossil fuel combustion, is gathering in the atmosphere, trapping more and more of the sun's heat. The likely result of this accumulation is a gradual warming that could lead to worldwide climatic change.

Most environmental-policy analysts agree with Schneider that more fuel-efficient cars would help slow the rate of global warming and minimize its effects. And according to Dan Becker, director of the Sierra Club Global Warming and Energy Program, the United States should be the first nation to enforce fuel efficiency, since it ranks as the world's largest producer of carbon dioxide. Every gallon

of gas burned spews about 19 pounds of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, Becker says. For that reason, he and the Sierra Club believe that the most effective single action Congress could take right now to curb global warming would be to enact a 45-mile-per-gallon standard for new car fleets.

According to Becker, Detroit can meet a 45-mpg standard by using mostly "off-the-shelf" technology. He notes that aerodynamic designs, front-wheel drive, and engine and transmission changes are among the options available for producing fuel-efficient vehicles.

In a major step toward fuel savings and carbon-dioxide-emission reductions, Senator Richard Bryan (D-Nev.), chair of the Consumer Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, last fall proposed legislation that would require a 40-percent improvement in fuel efficiency for all new cars made in the United States during the next decade. The bill (S. 1224) is expected to come to a vote later this year. If it passes, new cars would have to average 40 mpg by the year 2000.

But in January, the Big Three automakers—Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors—began a campaign against Bryan's proposal. The three hired FMR Group Inc., a consulting firm in Washington, D.C., to organize grassroots opposition to Bryan's bill.

In early February, citizens in Bryan's home state began receiving letters from a group calling itself Nevadans

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for Fair Fuel Economy Standards (NFFES). Proposed efficiency increases, said the letter, "will have the direct effect of limiting automobile and truck choices, and may have a negative impact on safety." Recipients of the letter, which bore the names of several Nevadans, had no way of knowing that the apparently home-grown association had been conceived, organized, and funded by Detroit's carmakers. Not all of the signatories knew it, either. When contacted by the

Detroit Free Press, some said they were unaware that the automakers had set up the organization.

Outraged by what he considered an attempt to distort the issues, Bryan fired off letters of his own to the automakers. "Your firm came into my community under a false flag," he informed Chrysler president Robert A. Lutz. Not only was the NFFES letter "highly biased" in its assessment of the costs of new fuel-efficiency controls, Bryan told Lutz, it "did not explore the

greater costs to the public" of the alternative: "deteriorating environmental quality and our increasing dependence on foreign oil."

The technologies for producing fuel-efficient cars and small trucks without sacrificing safety, performance, comfort, low emissions levels, or affordability already exist, according to Deborah L. Bleviss, executive director of the International Institute for Energy Conservation. In an article published in the November/December 1988 *Technology Review*, Bleviss noted that Volvo has produced a prototype that gets 81 miles per gallon on the highway and 63 in the city, seats four people, and withstands crashes better than U.S. law requires.

Nonetheless, the automakers persist in arguing that mandating fuel efficiency means making smaller cars. "The only way to reduce a car's fuel consumption is to reduce its weight," says Bill Noak, a spokesman for General Motors. "Customers point to fuel economy relatively far down on their list as a motive for buying. Their priorities are comfort, luggage room, and space." That would lead drivers to keep their older, larger cars or switch to small trucks, he maintains. The Sierra Club's Becker counters that Detroit's own advertising campaigns, which seldom emphasize fuel efficiency, are driving the market toward gas guzzlers.

Becker also believes that the Motor City is hiding behind a smokescreen. Automakers, he says, are conveniently ignoring or discounting a recent Energy Department report, which concluded that the industry could meet a 40-mile-per-gallon standard while producing cars of the same size and class mix as existed in 1987.

The demand for large, inefficient vehicles remains strong in part because oil is plentiful and cheap. "Currently OPEC is pumping more than 24 million barrels a day," *The Economist* reported in April, "2 million more than a world glutted with stored oil can absorb." By mid-April the price of a barrel had tumbled to \$16 from January's \$22 peak. Last year, the magazine



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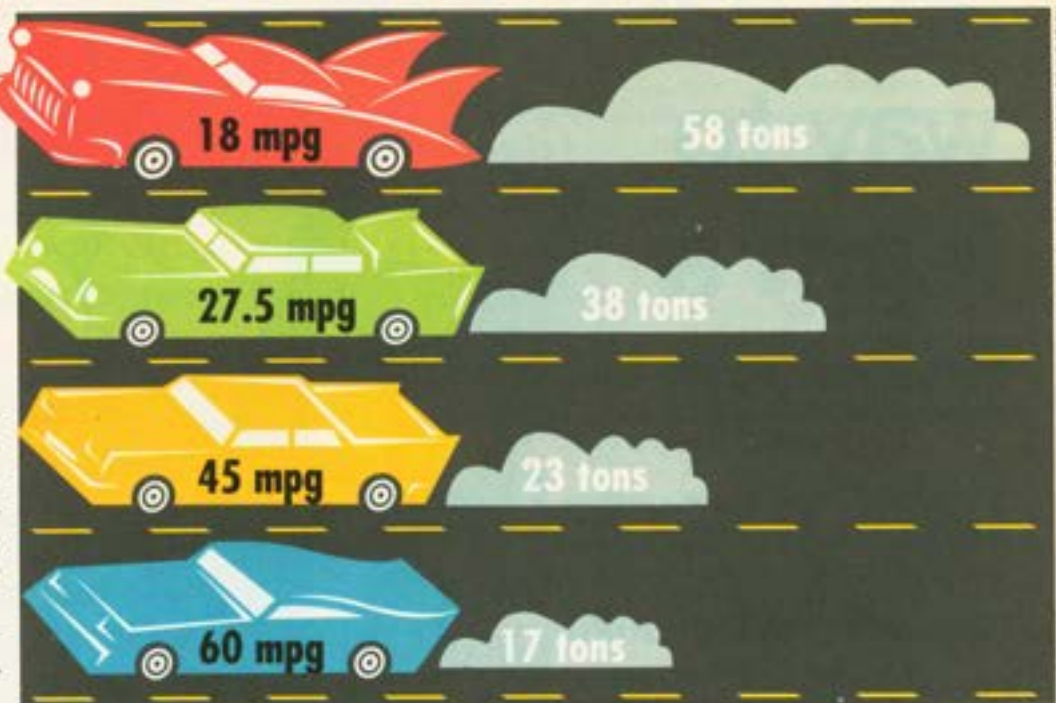
noted, the world discovered five and a half times as much oil as it consumed.

Low oil prices also encourage U.S. dependence on foreign oil and discourage energy conservation. But as Becker points out, "Getting more miles out of a gallon of gas means lessening our reliance on oil imports, lowering levels of urban pollution, reducing pressure to drill in sensitive environments, and lowering costs to consumers. Increasing fuel efficiency is like finding a new source of oil under Detroit." ■

MARK MARDON is Sierra's assistant editor.

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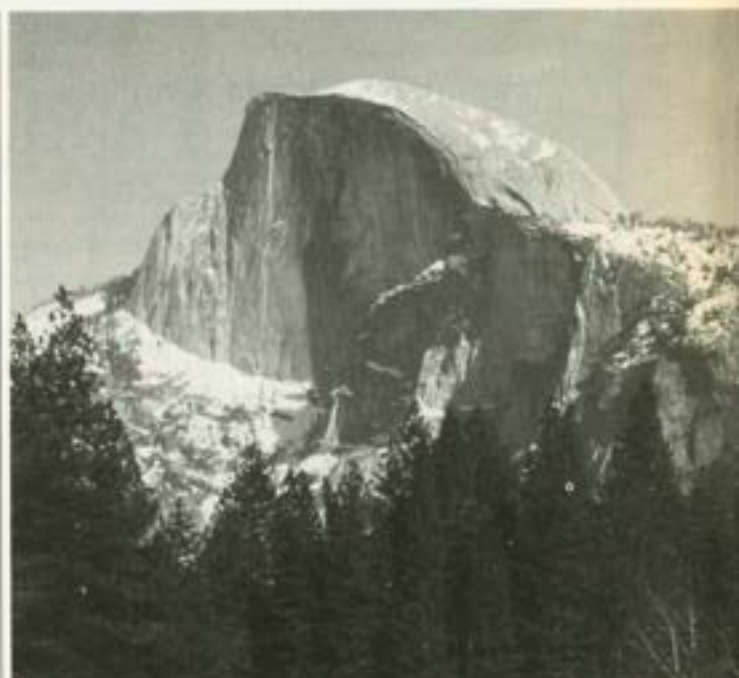
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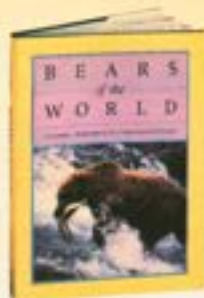
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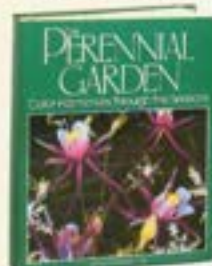
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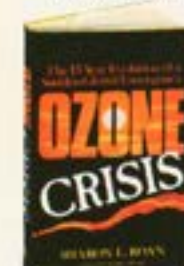
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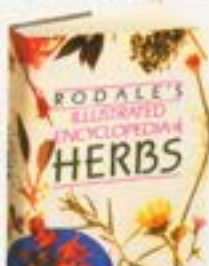
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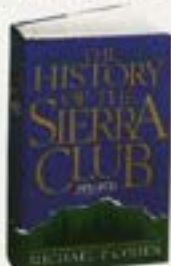
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The Forest Service, 85-year-old child of Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, is entering the environmental decade shaken and penitent. But is it contrite enough to change?

Memos to the Chief

Jim Stiak

IN JANUARY 1989 a timber-sales planner for Oregon's Willamette National Forest, Jeff DeBonis, sent a letter to his boss, U.S. Forest Service Chief F. Dale Robertson. "We are overcutting our national forests," wrote DeBonis. "We are incurring negative, cumulative impacts to our watersheds, fish-

eries, and wildlife in our quest to meet our timber targets." That same winter DeBonis announced the formation of the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics, whose purpose would be to push for reforms in the agency. Within a year more than 1,500 of the Forest Service's 39,000 employees had joined.

That summer, James Torrence, re-

tiring after three years as head of the Forest Service's Northwest region, told a Seattle newspaper that too much timber was being cut from Northwest forests. Even the 20-percent reduction in logging called for by the region's draft forest plans would cause degradation, he said.

By the end of 1989 forest supervisors in the Rocky Mountain region had sent Chief Robertson two memos with similar messages. "Past and present forest practices do not meet the high-quality land management expectations of the public and our employees," one of the memos read. "There is a growing concern that we have become an organization out of control."

Calls for change are buffeting the U.S. Forest Service. Veteran foresters of the timber-first school are retiring, and they're being replaced by hydrologists, biologists, and other scientists and technicians who speak a different language. Talk of board feet and harvest levels must now compete with discussions of biological diversity and ecological sensitivity. The new crew is challenging the prevailing practice of clearcutting, which has been called the most devastating system of forestry ever devised, and proposing less-ruinous techniques. And Chief Robertson has embraced a program called New Perspectives, intended to "maintain more of the ecological values of natural biological systems, while still meeting some of society's needs for natural resources."

Bold as these words may sound, many forests have yet to feel the difference. "The talk hasn't hit the ground yet," says DeBonis, who recently quit the Forest Service to devote more time to his association.

Rick Johnson, associate



Northwest representative for the Sierra Club, believes the Forest Service has a problem of leadership. "We have glasnost coming up from within the ranks of the agency," he says, "but as yet no Gorbachev."

Turning from the highest administrators to the managers of individual forests, environmentalists see some encouraging signs:

- Tom Kovalicky, supervisor of the Nez Perce National Forest in Idaho, has won awards from conservation groups for shifting his forest away from what he calls the "insanity of the past, cutting trees down at any cost." He has limited clearcutting to a quarter of his forest, protected rivers and fisheries from erosion, and involved the public in the forest-planning process. He has taken these steps despite the state's timber interests, backed by Republican Senator James McClure. As Sierra Club lobbyist Jim Blomquist puts it, McClure "has a bullet with Kovalicky's name on it."

- Bill Morden, supervisor of the Idaho Panhandle National Forest, has instructed his staff to look at alternatives to clearcutting. "The time is right to treat the forest with a lighter hand," he says. "If we don't do something creative and constructive, we won't have any timber left to manage."

- New plans for the Bridger-Teton National Forest in Wyoming call for a 29 percent timber-cut reduction to meet "wildlife and recreation objectives," says staff officer Larry Warren.

- Tennessee's Cherokee National Forest plans to reduce clearcutting by 30 percent. "It probably would have been a higher reduction," admits staff officer Mike Murphy, "except for very strong timber interests."

- In California, Regional Forester Paul Barker has announced that "in response to public concerns," clearcutting may be reduced to about 30 percent of timber sales over the next several years.

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our forests, however, is uncertain. "They can leave two or three trees an acre and say that it's not a clearcut," says DeBonis, "when it's really not much different." And even though the Forest Service says it is eschewing clearcutting, it is turning to logging practices that still result in forests with trees that are all about the same age. Such "even-aged" management eliminates much of a forest's native flora and fauna. What's needed, many critics say, is "selection" management, where only individual trees or small groups of trees are logged.

One management system that encourages forests with trees of varying ages is gaining adherents, especially among foresters in the Pacific Northwest. Although it is called the "new forestry," many of its practices are similar to those used in national forests before the 1960s, when clearcutting and slash burning became the norm. Its principles include leaving live trees and dead snags for wildlife, and downed logs and woody debris to replenish the soil; clustering clearcuts (instead of dispersing them evenly through the forests) to minimize fragmentation of the remaining old-growth groves; cutting less frequently (at intervals of up to 350 years in the Pacific Northwest, for instance, instead of the previous 60- to 80-year cycles); and leaving wider buffer zones along streams to protect fish and wildlife habitat.

The new forestry rejects the practice of setting aside certain lands for logging and other areas for wildlife and recreation. "We must learn to share the sandbox," says Forest Service researcher Jerry Franklin, one of the chief architects of the system.

Others, however, think there's not enough sandbox left. "The new forestry is certainly not a substitute for preservation," says the Sierra Club's Johnson.

"It's too little too late," says DeBonis. "It would have worked if they'd

done it 50 years ago, but now we need all uncut Forest Service land for gene pools and wildlife corridors. I'm not sure we can continue cutting and ensure biological diversity."

The concern with biological diversity, a concept almost unheard of in the Forest Service until recently, underlies the agency's New Perspectives program. The idea, explains program director Hal Salwasser, is to look at management plans in terms of ecosystems rather than individual forests. In the Yellowstone region, for example, the Forest Service and the National Park Service are working with three states, 12 counties, and citizen and industry groups to formulate long-range plans for an 11.7-million-acre area. The Forest Service is leading a similar study in the Rocky Mountain region, which contains 12 national forests.

The New Perspectives program is also at work in southern Oregon's Siskiyou National Forest, where citizens are part of a planning process that looks at 20,000-acre chunks of public land. "We're not doing any clearcutting," says Siskiyou public-affairs officer Warren Olney. "We're leaving some or all of the old Douglas firs and, for biodiversity, a selection of other tree species—a 'multi-culture' rather than a monoculture."

In these experiments, Salwasser says, "we're trying to maintain healthy ecosystems, rebuilding forests with two or three age classes, imitating the way a wildfire would leave them. We'll learn from these demonstration areas, and get the information out to other forests. I hope that 100 percent of the national forests will be making similar efforts in three years."

But change has been slow so far. Many of the ecological principles of the New Perspectives program, he admits, were set forth in the 1976 National Forest Management Act. They weren't implemented then for the same reason they're likely to encounter roadblocks now. As Salwasser diplo-

Wildlife Refuge

matically puts it, "If you decide you're going to maintain the ecological structure of a given area, the obvious implication is that less timber can be taken from it."

And there's the rub. If Congress keeps timber quotas at the high levels set during the Reagan years, the forests will continue to suffer. "Industry captured the process," says DeBonis. "They got these ultra-high cuts to eliminate the last of the old growth, so they could fully amortize their old mills before switching over to second-growth technology. The senators for the big timber states, such as Hatfield of Oregon and McClure of Idaho, took charge, and the rest of Congress, which sees the Forest Service as only a blip in a huge government, followed. But now people are realizing what's happening to our forests. They're starting to write their members of Congress, and the power is shifting."

In recent years the Sierra Club and other conservation groups have lobbied for reducing both the agency's quotas and its road-building budget. They have not made much progress, however, because timber brings home the agency's bacon. Even projects such as wildlife-habitat improvement are funded with money from timber sales.

"The Forest Service can change," says Randal O'Toole, an economist who works for an Oregon-based forestry group called Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants. "But as long as the incentives stay the same, the changes won't be big."

O'Toole, author of *Reforming the Forest Service* (Island Press, 1988), favors financing the agency through fees paid by all users, including loggers, miners, hunters, hikers, and anglers. Under this system, O'Toole reasons, forest officials wouldn't have the same incentive to log. They could be rewarded instead for building trails, protecting wildlife habitat, or restoring rivers.

O'Toole's aren't the only revolution-


ary ideas being tossed about. The Dallas-based Forest Reform Network is pushing a bill to ban clearcuts on most national-forest land. The National Audubon Society's Brock Evans has proposed putting some Forest Service lands into a separate "U.S. Logging Agency" and giving the rest—all lands important for their wilderness, wildlife, or recreation values—to "an agency interested in protecting them—perhaps the National Park Service."

The Sierra Club is focused on more local efforts—trying to ensure that laws are enforced in individual forests and trying to win wilderness, park, or other protective designations for significant areas. "I think there's tremendous resistance in Congress to changing the forestry laws again," lobbyist Blomquist says. "The National Forest Management Act battle was fought in the 1970s, and if we reopened the process I doubt that we'd get a better law. Besides, with most laws, what's crucial is who administers them. An agency full of environmentally minded people means more protection for the forest than any rewrite of the laws."

Robertson, for his part, has said that the Forest Service is trying to make more changes faster than at any time in his career. "The chief has recognized that harvest levels need to come down," says Len Carey, spokesman for the chief's office. "He has also instructed the Forest Service to look at alternatives to clearcutting, including the new forestry techniques. But it takes time to make a lot of changes."

Meanwhile, our national forests continue to fall at near-record rates. "The discouraging thing for people in the agency, especially biologists, is that day-to-day operations aren't changing," says DeBonis. "Everybody's milling around the starting line, but nobody wants to start the race." ■

JIM STIAK is an Oregon-based journalist who writes for High Country News, The Amicus Journal, and Sierra.



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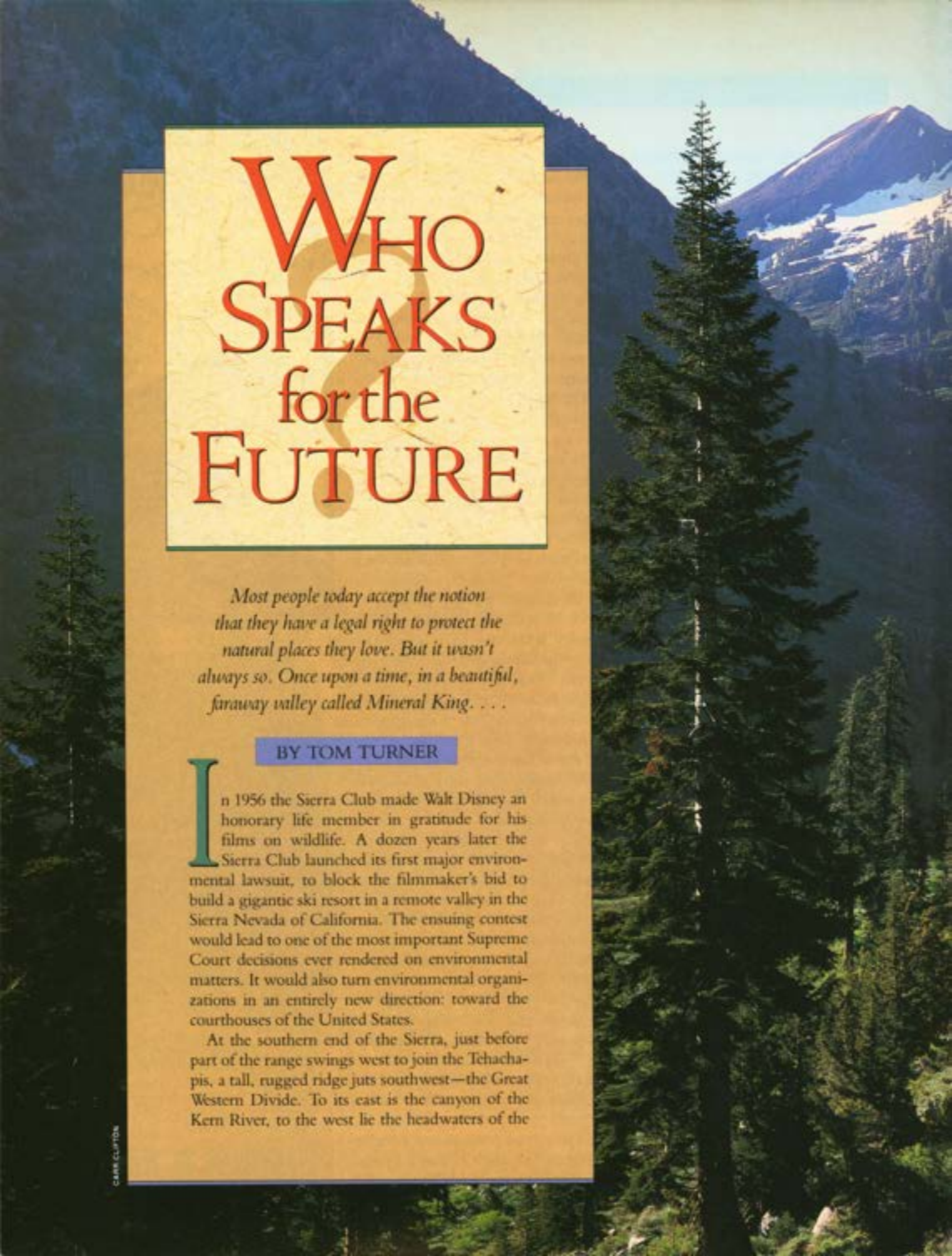
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WHO SPEAKS for the FUTURE

Most people today accept the notion that they have a legal right to protect the natural places they love. But it wasn't always so. Once upon a time, in a beautiful, faraway valley called Mineral King. . . .

BY TOM TURNER

In 1956 the Sierra Club made Walt Disney an honorary life member in gratitude for his films on wildlife. A dozen years later the Sierra Club launched its first major environmental lawsuit, to block the filmmaker's bid to build a gigantic ski resort in a remote valley in the Sierra Nevada of California. The ensuing contest would lead to one of the most important Supreme Court decisions ever rendered on environmental matters. It would also turn environmental organizations in an entirely new direction: toward the courthouses of the United States.

At the southern end of the Sierra, just before part of the range swings west to join the Tehachapis, a tall, rugged ridge juts southwest—the Great Western Divide. To its east is the canyon of the Kern River, to the west lie the headwaters of the



East Fork of the Kaweah. The valley drained by the creeks that join to form the East Fork is known as Mineral King.

The valley comes by its name through a bit of wishful thinking. In 1873 a farmer named James A. Crabtree entered the valley from the south, guided, he said, by Indian apparitions. He discovered a deposit of silver ore in what came to be known as White Chief cirque, and rushed to town to file a claim. He recruited four men to return to the valley; they filed more claims and formulated bylaws for what they dubbed the Mineral King Mining District. Silver fever swept through Porterville, the county seat, and then rolled north through the valley, eventually attracting prospectors

Despite the high hopes for the Mineral King silver deposits, however, the entire enterprise went bust by 1882. Cold and snowy winters made the mining season short and access treacherous. Avalanches made the work hazardous. The silver ore was said to be "rebellious," with an unusually high lead content, which necessitated roasting before milling, a prohibitively expensive process. The valley was abandoned by the miners, and nature began in its deliberate fashion to dismantle the cabins, fill in the shafts, and oxidize the trams and culverts and smelters and mills. Soon flowers and grasses and trees began to reappear on the bare, abandoned slopes. The valley still beckoned to campers, hikers, and anglers, and a small resort community

Sierra—6,400 square miles—in order to control the grazing, logging, and prospecting that were already playing havoc with the mountains. A dozen years later the U.S. Forest Service was formed, and in 1908 the unwieldy Sierra Forest Preserve (by then renamed Sierra National Forest) was divided into three parts. Mineral King was now located in Sequoia National Forest.

Muir and the Sierra Club then mounted a major campaign to expand Sequoia National Park to include the high granite wilderness of the central and southern Sierra. The struggle was a lengthy one, with heavy resistance from miners, loggers, would-be dam builders, and the Forest Service. The original grand plan was whittled back several times. When the park finally was enlarged in 1926, to approximately twice the original size, Mineral King was again left out. The valley, however, was transformed into the Sequoia National Game Refuge, to be managed in a manner that would protect wildlife and habitat.

A 15,000-acre U-shaped valley carved by glaciers and forested on its lower slopes, Mineral King harbors a diverse community of plants and animals, including such scarce species as bald eagle, peregrine falcon, spotted owl, and wolverine. It is well within the range of the California condor, should that now-incarcerated bird ever again soar through the skies of the state.

The floor of Mineral King lies at about 7,800 feet above sea level. Sawtooth Peak, the highest on the ridge that surrounds the valley, reaches 12,343 feet. Trails leading from the valley floor into the high country in three directions range from fairly gentle to strenuous.

Since the 1860s, hunters, hikers, and fishermen had visited Mineral King in the summer, just as Indians had done for hundreds of years before them. Visitation in winter was rare, however, because of heavy snows that usually fill the valley from October through May. The road into Mineral King is still the old miners' wagon route, which



*The days before knickerbockers:
Women on the 1903 Sierra Club
Outing stop in Mineral King on
their way to Mt. Whitney.*

from as far away as San Francisco. At the peak of mining activity at Mineral King, in 1879, there were as many as 300 miners working claims in the valley and the high bowls above it, another 100 people improving an old stock trail to handle the expected heavy traffic in ore wagons, and perhaps 200 more milling lumber, building cabins, and providing other services for the miners.

flourished into the 20th century, but the heyday of the King had passed.

Little is left now to evoke the short boomtown history of Mineral King, but what remained in 1890 was more than enough to keep the valley from being included in Sequoia National Park, established that year mainly to protect the groves of giant sequoias growing west and north of Mineral King at somewhat lower altitudes. In 1893, at the urging of John Muir and the year-old Sierra Club, President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed a vast Sierra Forest Preserve that encompassed most of the western slope of the



Mosquito Creek in Mosquito Lakes Basin. Ski lifts in the Disney proposal would have moved hundreds of people an hour through the basin.

snakes its way about 25 miles from the town of Hammond up the East Fork canyon into the valley. Only the most ambitious cross-country skiers visited the valley after October, yet the hardy souls who did ski into Mineral King reported a spectacular spot for skiing: high bowls that border the valley on three sides, deep powder snow, spectacular views.

After World War II, the Sierra Club decided to explore the Sierra in search of areas suitable for development as alpine ski resorts. By that time the Donner Pass area was well served with resorts, as were Sonora Pass and Lake Tahoe. But only Mammoth Mountain, on the east side of the Sierra, provided wide-ranging skiing opportunities for Southern Californians, and it took nearly eight hours to drive there

from Los Angeles. Accordingly, in 1947, David Brower and Richard Felter conducted an aerial survey of the range for the Club, and determined that the best possible site for a new resort was a remote valley in the southern Sierra known as Mineral King.

The Forest Service, meanwhile, was also looking for new ski-area possibilities, and it too was drawn to the area. In mid-1949, the agency issued a prospectus calling for bids "from individuals or firms who can show ability to develop and operate a resort and ski facility at Mineral King." The Forest Service prospectus called for a hotel accommodating at least 100 people, a mile-long chair lift, a 2,100-foot T-bar lift, and other features, including "over-the-snow" transportation from Three Rivers to the valley.

The Sierra Club Board of Directors, acting on the recommendations of its study team, resolved that the Club "finds no objection from the standpoint of its policies to the winter sports development in Mineral King as pro-

posed by the U.S. Forest Service."

Despite the call by the Forest Service and tepid endorsement by the Sierra Club, the agency received not one bid in response to its prospectus. Interest remained in Mineral King as the site for a ski resort, but it would be some time before a package was put together that promised sufficient return to warrant the substantial investment necessary, especially considering the difficult problem of access into the valley in winter.

Quiet prevailed at Mineral King until 1961, when a young geologist from Bakersfield happened upon an intriguing rumor. Hiking in the basin over the Fourth of July weekend, he fell into conversation with a ranger who said he had heard that Walt Disney was planning a ski resort for the valley, with access to be provided by a monorail.

The rumor proved well-founded. Over the next several years, Disney employees studied the valley carefully for its ski potential. They also secretly

began to buy out the owners of private property in and near the valley. At the same time, Sierra Club members gathered their own information on the geology of the valley, and on its flora and fauna. They aimed to assess the potential impact of a ski resort, not knowing for certain what was in the wind.

In February 1965 the Forest Service published a new prospectus and request for proposals. The prospectus described a resort with overnight accommodations for at least 100 people, trams or chair lifts capable of serving 2,000 people an hour, parking for 1,200 automobiles, sanitary and safety structures, and so forth. It was looking for a company or individual to invest at least \$3 million in the resort in addition to upgrading the access road to all-weather standards.

The Sierra Club took a look at the

At this point the State of California got into the act, eliminating for a time one of the more difficult unresolved issues: who would pay the estimated \$30 million to upgrade the road. On July 16, 1965, the legislature incorporated the existing road into the state highway system and appropriated \$3 million for preliminary construction. Further funds would be sought from the federal Treasury.

On August 31, 1965, the Forest Service announced that it had received six bids for development of Mineral King, two of which were considered the leading candidates. One was from Robert Brandt, a Beverly Hills film producer and investment banker. The other was from Walt Disney, one of the best-loved people in the country.

At this point, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman wrested the decision-

in part, "Considerable slope preparation [dynamite] will be required in the forested portions because of large boulders in some areas above an elevation of 8,000 feet. . . . Below timberline, trails of varying widths must be developed. . . ."

Disney also proposed two hotels and a dormitory to accommodate up to 3,000 overnight guests plus a thousand employees, a maximum ski-lift capacity of 11,400 per hour, ten restaurants and snack bars, a gas station, a theater, a chapel, a skating rink, and parking for 3,600 cars in a ten-story, five-acre garage beneath the valley itself. All this, save the parking garage and service station, would be designed to look like a village in the Swiss Alps. In short, Disney promised to build the world's greatest ski resort.

For summer visitors—who would actually comprise more than half the



Club trekkers take a rest at Farewell Gap, 3,000 feet above Mineral King valley.

new prospectus and, after a rather rancorous year of internal argument, pronounced itself opposed to the project. It asked the Forest Service to withdraw the prospectus and convene public hearings on the matter.

The Forest Service was not pleased by this unexpected development. It replied that there had been a public hearing on the matter already—in 1953, a dozen years earlier. Another hearing was not necessary. The Forest Service had made up its mind to find a developer for Mineral King.

making power from Forest Service officials and appointed a committee to advise him. In December, Freeman announced that the Disney proposal had been accepted.

The Disney plan was decidedly ambitious. Where the Forest Service had called for an investment of \$3 million, Disney planned to spend \$35 million, and proposed to build as many as 27 chair lifts. The entire valley would be clogged with trams and lifts, ski jumps, sled runs, chalets, and snack bars. Check dams up to 20 feet tall would be built on all the major creeks to keep debris from washing down to the valley floor. A notation that particularly disturbed conservationists read

total each year—there would be fishing, hiking, tennis, golf, horseback riding, and swimming, in addition to camping in the backcountry of the national park, which could be reached easily by slinging one's backpack onto a chair lift or gondola.

Repeated pleas from the Sierra Club and others for a public hearing on the project were denied or ignored. The Forest Service issued a formal three-year planning permit to Disney on Oc-

Once upon a boomtown: Mineral King today. In 1879 at least 500 people sought their fortunes in the village.



tober 10, 1966. Two months and five days later, Walt Disney died at age 65.

Attention then turned to the Department of the Interior. For the ski resort to become reality, the access road would have to be widened, straightened, and paved to accommodate more than a thousand cars per hour. This was a daunting technical challenge and would be very expensive, with an estimated cost in excess of a million dollars a mile. It also presented legal problems, in that eight miles of the road would cross Sequoia National Park.

When the Forest Service issued the planning permit to the Disney concern, the Park Service had not given permission for improvement of the road segment through the park. There was a matter of principle involved—allowing the building of roads through national parks simply to get to the other side was generally forbidden—and also the prospect that a new road would carve massive gashes up the valley of the East Fork of the Kaweah and

losing battle. California wanted the resort, the Agriculture Department wanted the resort, and Udall had some political debts to pay.

On December 26, 1967, the Bureau of the Budget announced that the state would get its right-of-way through Sequoia National Park. Udall delayed formally approving the right-of-way until the following November, when he gave preliminary approval. The last possible block in the way of the project had been removed. There was nowhere else to turn.

Nowhere, that is, except to the courts. On December 14, 1968, the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club authorized the filing of a lawsuit to prevent the development of Mineral King.

Until the mid-1960s, the federal courts had firmly rebuffed attempts by conservationists to bring cases to court to protect natural resources. In order to establish the neces-

body that assisted the Club with legal affairs, had noted the Storm King decision with interest and had begun to mull over the possibility of taking advantage of it in pursuit of other conservation objectives.

Following the Board's December resolution on Mineral King, Michael McCloskey, the Sierra Club's conservation director, approached a young attorney named Robert Jasperson, of the Conservation Law Society of America. The Society was the brainchild of long-time Club director Richard M. Leonard, who had established it to provide low-cost legal services to conservation organizations. Jasperson was its only employee. McCloskey asked him to take a look at the Mineral King dispute.

Jasperson and another lawyer, Greg Archbald, researched the matter and suggested that the Mineral King project could be illegal in at least three respects. First, according to Forest Service regulations, 30-year leases could cover no more than 80 acres. The For-



When they arrived by stage in 1903, Club members found an unspoiled alpine valley.

threaten hundreds of giant sequoias.

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall was distinctly cool to the whole idea of developing the valley. It was his firm belief that Mineral King was logically and ecologically a part of the national park and no place for a giant commercial development. Udall stonewalled the Forest Service and the state for more than a year, but he was fighting a

sary "standing to sue," the courts held that injury to financial interests had to be demonstrated. In 1965 the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in New York found that in certain circumstances an "aesthetic, conservational, or recreational" interest could suffice to establish standing. The case involved a proposed reservoir at Storm King Mountain on the Hudson River. The Sierra Club had participated in that litigation as a friend of the court, and lawyers on the Sierra Club Legal Committee, an all-volunteer

est Service was skirting this problem by saying it would give Disney a 30-year lease for the 80 acres the hotels and other permanent structures would occupy. The rest of the necessary acreage—which would run into the thousands of acres for ski runs—would be committed via revocable one-year leases. This, Jasperson and Archbald suggested, was a patent attempt to make an end run around the 80-acre limit.

A second possible "cause of action" would be against the Park Service, whose regulations require that roads in



Lodgepole pines, ancient inhabitants of Mineral King.

national parks be simple, narrow, and built solely for the convenience of visitors to the park. Roads are not to be allowed if they are meant only to convey people from one side of a park to the other. The Mineral King road surely fit the latter description.

Finally, a major resort development was clearly incompatible with the purposes of a national game refuge.

Jasperson and Archbald gave their report to McCloskey, who turned to the Legal Committee, the chairman of which was another young attorney, Phillip Berry of Oakland. Berry had recruited Fred Fisher, a friend from Stanford Law School, who in turn had brought in Don Harris, an avid fisherman who had been active in conservation, particularly of streams.

Fisher and Harris studied the Mineral King report and determined that it contained the seeds of a worthwhile lawsuit. Neither man had time to take

on the case just then, but they enlisted the services of the firm Feldman, Waldman & Kline, which had offices across the street from the Sierra Club headquarters. Leland J. Selna took the lead in building the case.

The Disney team handed its master plan to the Forest Service on January 8, 1969. On January 18, in the waning hours of his tenure as Interior Secretary, Stewart Udall issued new road-building rules for the Park Service: The agency could no longer approve any road through a national park without first holding public hearings on both the route and design of the proposed road. On January 21, the day after Richard Nixon took the oath of office, the Forest Service announced its formal approval of the Disney master plan in language redolent of Madison Avenue:

On the site of the old, decaying mining town of Mineral King will rise a new self-contained village bearing the same name. Imaginative in concept and contemporary in design, this carefully

planned development will create one of the world's major outdoor recreation facilities in a spectacular valley of the California Sierras (sic). Free of cars and skillfully blended into the alpine setting, Mineral King and its attractions will provide wholesome enjoyment for thousands of American families.

On April 21, Walter Hickel of Alaska, who replaced Udall as Secretary of the Interior, revoked Udall's road rules. Formal granting of the right-of-way was thought to be imminent.

Lee Selna filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California in San Francisco on June 5, 1969. The case was assigned to Judge William T. Sweigert. Sweigert had no record in environmental matters, though he was known as something of a maverick, having once ruled that the Vietnam War was unconstitutional.

Selna asked the court to issue an injunction that would block the Forest Service and Park Service from allowing any work on the resort or road realignment until the merits of the

Club's case could be determined by a trial. Those claims were refinements of the theories propounded by Jaspersen and Archbald: that the road was illegal, the leases were illegal, and the resort would violate the game refuge. Selna argued that an injunction was necessary, because if work were allowed to begin, any damage incurred would be irreparable. The case would never be tried on its merits, however; what would occupy the courts for many months to come was the critical issue of standing to sue.

In its brief to the trial court, the Sierra Club had argued that it should be granted standing simply because its very purpose for existence was the preservation of the Sierra Nevada. The plaintiff asked rhetorically:

If the Sierra Club may not be heard, then who speaks for the future generations for whose benefit Congress intended the fragile Sierra howls and valleys to be preserved? If the Sierra Club does not have standing, then who may question the threatened illegal acts of the secretaries to whom this unique and irreplaceable natural resource has been entrusted? Who may challenge their breach of trust when they sell for money government land which is literally priceless in aid of a project for private profit?

The eloquent statement persuaded Judge Sweigert. Nowhere, however, did the Club claim that its interest as an organization or the interests of its members would be harmed by the development at Mineral King. The Club was trying for a far broader affirmation of standing—that it had a right to bring suit to defend public lands simply because its principal purpose as an organization was that defense. Whether the Club had overreached its grasp was the question that would be thrashed out over the next three years.

Judge Sweigert was not at all bothered by the Club's broad claim to standing, and he thought the Club had a strong case. On July 23, 1969, he issued a preliminary injunction halting all further work on the project, pending trial. The bold stroke had paid off, at least for a time. The story ran in all

major newspapers and elicited editorial comment in many of them. Reporters and editors were intrigued by both the battle over Mineral King and the relative novelty of involving the court in such a fight.

The injunction forced the Forest Service—and the Justice Department defending it—to make a strategic choice. Should they continue to fight the case before Judge Sweigert, who had left little doubt that he considered the Sierra Club's objections to the development sound and well-grounded in the law and in federal regulations, and then appeal if necessary? Or should they go straight to the Court of Appeals and ask that court to overrule Judge Sweigert on the procedural question of the Sierra Club's standing to bring the case in the first place?

The defendants chose the latter course, and five months later—on December 29, 1969—challenged the plaintiff's standing before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, asking the court to lift the injunction and allow the project to go forward. On September 17, 1970, the Court of Appeals, by a vote of two to one, overruled Judge Sweigert and dissolved the injunction.

The court went through the case systematically. First, it found that the Sierra Club had not claimed a substantial enough interest in the dispute to warrant its bringing the case at all—in other words, that it had no standing to sue. "The proposed course of action [the ski resort] does not please the Club's officers and directors and through them all or a substantial number of its members. It would prefer some other type of action or none at all. . . . We do not believe such Club concern without a showing of more direct interest can constitute standing in the legal sense."

The court then rejected all the Sierra Club's legal arguments—against the size and duration of the leases, against the road right-of-way, and against the misuse of a game refuge.

Fortunately for the Sierra Club, the

Court of Appeals had not been asked to review the merits of the case—only whether the Club had standing and whether the injunction issued by Judge Sweigert was proper. The Club immediately announced that it would ask the U.S. Supreme Court to review the decision of the Court of Appeals, and on October 6 the Appeals Court agreed to leave the injunction in place until the Supreme Court could be heard from. Briefs were filed by the various parties—Tulare County and the Far West Ski Association had by now weighed in on the side of the ski resort—and the high court announced on February 22, 1971, that it would review the case.

The Disney organization, incidentally, never became a party to the legal battle over its proposed resort, preferring to stay above the fray. The Disney attitude seemed to be that, while it would build the resort as a service to the country, its government, and its citizens, it was not begging to do so and would not stoop to fighting over the project in the courts. Disney's public statements throughout the long battle tended to be restrained and sober. In fact, its spokesmen insisted that they favored allowing the Club's legal challenge to be tested in court. As Disney project manager Robert Hicks said to the California State Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles on January 15, 1970: "Citizens should have a place to go to test arbitrary and capricious agency actions. The judiciary affords a safety valve which in my judgment is pretty vital to the preservation of this tripartite system of government. This is not all bad, even on my side of the fence. The Sierra Club is doing a lot of people a favor, since these streets must run both ways." Just as the county and the skiers had entered the arena on the side of the development, three environmental organizations had chimed in on the side of the Sierra Club. Jim Moorman and Bruce Terris of the

Continued on page 67

False hellebore at Upper Mosquito Lake, now part of Sequoia National Park.



“Hey, I Can



See My Car From Here!™

**THE BURDENS
OF BACKPACKING
ARE EASED
FOR THOSE
WHO CAMP BY
THEIR CARS.**

To people who enjoy spending time in wilderness, "car camping" is an oxymoron. Camping means getting away from civilization, and to get away from civilization, you've got to get away from its movable storage bin, the automobile. One look at Yosemite Valley's car-choked campgrounds in midsummer and you may be convinced that the only true camping experience can be had deep in Alaska's Brooks Range, where your only competition for a choice campsite is a flock of Dall sheep.

But there are plenty of good reasons for seeking out wilds within strolling distance of your hood ornament: You're traveling with friends who don't want to take up backpacking. Your kids have attention spans as short as their legs. Or (pride be damned) you just don't want to work too hard. With a few days off, all you care about is getting away—to think, read, take walks in beautiful surroundings . . . anything but slog your way up and down mountains with a load on your back, wondering if you brought enough to eat.

The obvious problem is that the contraption that gets you to that special somewhere can get other folks there just as easily. (More than 280 million people visited national parks in 1988.) To find peace near pavement, you've got to do a little legwork, figuratively speaking.

Check out campgrounds on Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management lands, which are usually far less congested than national parks and other high-profile destinations. "Primitive" campgrounds (those without such amenities as running water, but often with picnic tables and pit toilets), "walk-in" campgrounds, and destinations along unpaved roads tend to discourage campers who demand all the comforts of home.

Recreation maps (publicly or privately produced) and guidebooks will help you hone down your choices, but they rarely help you sort out such qualitative factors as remoteness and peacefulness. Go straight to the source: Most land-use agencies have recreation officers whose job is to know what's available on their turf.

Even after careful sifting, you've got to be prepared for what automobile-accessibility can bring: Today's idyllic campsite may be buzzing with idling engines tomorrow. Despite that admonition, car camping, as the following pages show, can provide a refreshing respite from urban woes.



THOMAS HEINER PHOTOS

ABRAMS CREEK

TENNESSEE

One of my family's all-time favorite photos depicts my mother-in-law leaping from one rock to another amid the rushing waters of Abrams Creek in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The shot captures her at the top of her arc, and no bluejean-clad ballerina could appear more elegant. A click of the projector brings up her husband standing in the stream, pant legs rolled up, with the sheepish look of a five-year-old caught playing in the water.

These two images symbolize to me the lure of my favorite easy-to-reach campsite in the Smokies. At Abrams Creek Campground I can admire the grace and beauty of the largest wilderness area in the East and have plain old fun as well. Located in the western end of the park, the campground has only 16 sites, each with a picnic table, and restrooms without showers: just the place to go in a park where "getting away from it all" usually becomes "getting away from them all."

Most of the visitors to the Smokies—and this includes backpackers as well as conspicuous consumers—head for the heights, the former seeking the perfect backwoods

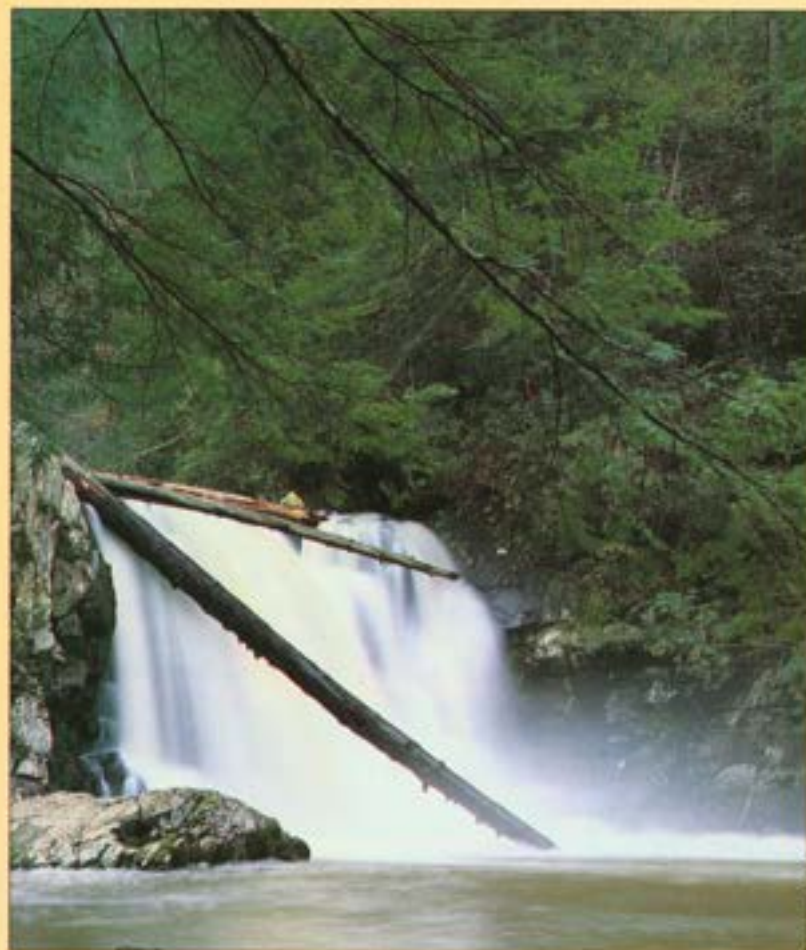
vista and the rest settling for another roadside attraction. Abrams Creek Campground, by contrast, has no "must see" feature; those who come here find nature on a more approachable level.

Although Abrams Creek is one of the larger streams in the park, being up the proverbial creek without a paddle is the only way to go here. Walking upstream from the campground, the visitor enters a cathedral-like glen of towering hemlock and pine trees. Even on the most scorching summer days, cool air flows down the valley, and the air is scented by needles live and underfoot with a smell that inspires deep, head-clearing breaths.

A few hundred yards upstream lie dense patches of rhododendron that hide the forest's skittering multitudes. More than one stroller has been summoned from a mid-morning reverie by mysterious rustlings in the impenetrable bushes, only to see a red squirrel scamper across the trail. Others experience the heart-stopping thrill of a ruffed grouse exploding into flight right in front of them.

Although you can hike to the tops of nearby ridges and smaller mountains, I prefer to expend my energy, or dissipate that of my kids, by continuing up the creek. Twenty-foot-high Abrams Falls is approximately five miles upstream, but along Abrams Creek I don't need a specific destination. Depending on the weather, one of my greatest pleasures is to settle myself into a properly fitting boulder in the middle of the creek and listen to the water. Thoroughly refreshed, I saunter back down through the rhododendron and into the conifer cathedral that forms a gateway to the campground.

In fact, no matter where you go in the park from the Abrams Creek Campground, one of the delights of every return to home base is that the hike is all downhill. —*Jeff Bradley*



EUREKA DUNES
CALIFORNIA



MARK WRENCH/ALISTOCK

Looking for some wilderness-flavored R&R that doesn't require expedition-to-Everest skills? Feel like bagging some peaks in your bare feet, stalking rare flora and fauna just a few steps from your campsite, and exploring rugged wilderness canyons? Or maybe you'd prefer just stretching out on some warm, soft sand. If so, pack up a camera and binoculars, sunblock, an Indiana Jones hat, a good spare tire, and lots of extra water; then (if it isn't midsummer) head for the Eureka Dunes, one of my favorite far-out answers to a car camper's prayer.

Arranged tastefully between the Saline and Last Chance ranges near the top of California's Great Basin Desert, the Eureka Valley and its dunes are just a few miles off the road leading to Death Valley National Monument's northernmost attractions, Ubehebe Crater and Scotty's Castle. At almost 50 miles from the nearest town (Big Pine), no one can truthfully accuse these spectacular 700-foot sand mountains of being fraught with the usual urban annoyances. Access via 20 miles of gravel road is another plus for aficionados of the semi-remote.

Here at the dunes, you and any lucky kids who happen to be along can indulge yourselves in sand-between-the-toes adventures of the gleeful kind. In fact, until you've scrambled up, slid down, and sat atop the Eureka Dunes at sunrise and sunset, you've probably not experienced the best the California Desert has to offer by way of sensational thrills and views. The dunes, by the way, top out at 3,564 feet—and there are plenty of false summits.

Even if you're not a scrambler and slider, the dunes bestow plenty of other favors. In the early morning and late afternoon, get out your camera or sketchbook and try

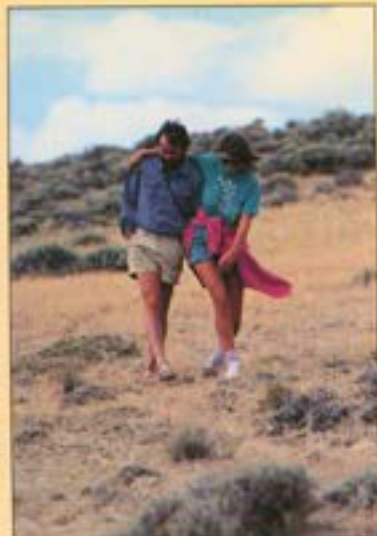
capturing the pale, rhythmic forms against the richly colored Last Chance Range. Soon after dawn, put your dignity aside and creep about the sandy hummocks at the foot of the dunes looking for signs of the previous night's wildlife dramas. Examine closely the tiny footprints of mammals and reptiles. Notice the abstract and repetitive patterns made by night-hunting insects. Search for the gracefully wavelike trails of snakes. And don't forget to look around for some of the several dozen dune plants that thrive on the moisture percolating through the dunes even in the driest years. Several, like the white-flowered Eureka primrose, are found no place else in the world.

Hikers will probably want to explore some of the canyons in the nearby Last Chance Mountains. Although there are no trails to speak of, the beacon of the dunes makes it hard to get lost, and the colorful canyons are well-sprinkled with dry falls and cliffs. Watch out for places that are easy to get up but not down. Discretion is definitely called for when you're so far from civilization.

As for camping spots, try the acres of hard clay to the north of the dunes. Just before the main road goes on to dead-end at the dunes' northwest "corner," bear left at a "Y" onto a narrow dirt road. At some times of the year there are chemical toilets near the dead end, but don't count on them. There's no water at the dunes.

When the weather's on the hot side, try camping at the northern end of Joshua Flats, about 23 miles east of Big Pine and only 17 miles from the dunes. Look for clumps of piñon and a nearly invisible dirt track on the north side of the road. You are now at 6,000 feet; when the valley below gets too hot, this shady, undeveloped camping area is a welcome oasis.—*Lynne Foster*

RED DESERT
WYOMING



WINE WILLOW PHOTO

Car camping has not been a high priority for me since the summer just after high school, when I traveled cross-country with a friend in a red Chevrolet van. I still remember the smells of that trip: not the honeysuckle along Highway 61 or the evergreens of Yellowstone, but the odors of two months of continuous vehicle habitation.

Despite these memories, the brougham bivouac is back in vogue in my household. One reason is a new van, still as fragrant as a car dealer's aftershave. The other reasons are ages nine, eight, and four. We're lucky to have an area, not far from where we live, that is both wild and reasonably well suited to car camping: the Red Desert.

Just south of Wyoming's Wind River Range, sharp, snowy peaks drop away to high plains. This is where emigrants on the Oregon Trail found their way through the wall of the Rockies 150 years ago. The Red Desert is part of the Great Divide Basin, where the Continental Divide splits and encircles a shallow, arid bowl from which water cannot escape to either the Pacific or Atlantic Ocean. In this sump you find a delicious variety of environments and features: volcanic spires and mountains clad in limber pine, harsh winds and sudden weather, shales of subtle colors, and the giant footprints of traveling sand dunes.

To the westward-bound wagons of the 1840s, it seemed the most perilous sort of country, with its driving snow or parching heat. And it still turns an inhospitable face to many who drive by it on a lonely stretch of highway north of Rock Springs . . . but that makes it a nifty, uncrowded place for those with the time to take a closer look.

Turning off Highway 28 into the desert just south of the Sweetwater River, we chose on a recent family outing to head for the Honeycomb Buttes, which run about 20 miles northwest-southeast across the desert. You can reach the Honeycombs on a ridge road that rounds Continental

Peak, or by a less reliable choice of jeep roads that follow along the front of the badlands.

The varied topography of the Red Desert creates ecological islands, each with its own particular beauty. There are stands of aspen on the flanks of hard sandstone buttes, and bright blooms that spring from the pale landscape—lupine, scarlet gilia, desert primrose. The fauna is varied too: elk on the mountains, antelope by the springs, ferruginous hawks diving off the steep east side of Steamboat Mountain. Certain biotic wonders in the region are so rare that locals are secretive about them—as I will be.

Hiking along the face of the Honeycombs, I stop now and then to pick up a chunk of sandstone and break it open in front of my children. Sometimes the heart of a rock holds fish fossils from the bottom of a lake that dried up eons ago. We hear a sound like someone beating a rug, and a moment later three wild horses emerge from their shelter in the badlands and race off. Little hands scuff the ground in search of arrowheads, and there are shouts of discovery—I'm not so certain, but, sure, that could be a chip. . . .

You won't hold a four-year-old's interest for long by pointing out 50-million-year-old shales, sniffing vetch for selenium, or describing shiny oolites found amidst the gravel. We retreat to the car, set up tents, pull out the cumbersome Coleman stove, and put on a cassette tape. Sorry, kids, no Bon Jovi tonight: As the light falls, we hear the words of Francis Parkman describing a journey along the Oregon Trail. The four-year-old plays hide-and-seek among the craggy fingers of the Honeycombs, and when it grows dark he sticks his head out of the tent to see grazing antelope on the plains below us, and a hatful of stars above. The new van is just another dark shape down the hill. Perhaps in a four-year-old's mind it is a wagon, and perhaps it dreams, too, its own vanny dreams about mud and broken axles.—Geoffrey O'Gara

BAXTER STATE PARK MAINE

Every car that enters Baxter State Park in Maine becomes a time machine. This 200,000-acre wilderness park is a step backward from freeways, stereos, and televisions. When you come here you leave the world of the 1990s behind.

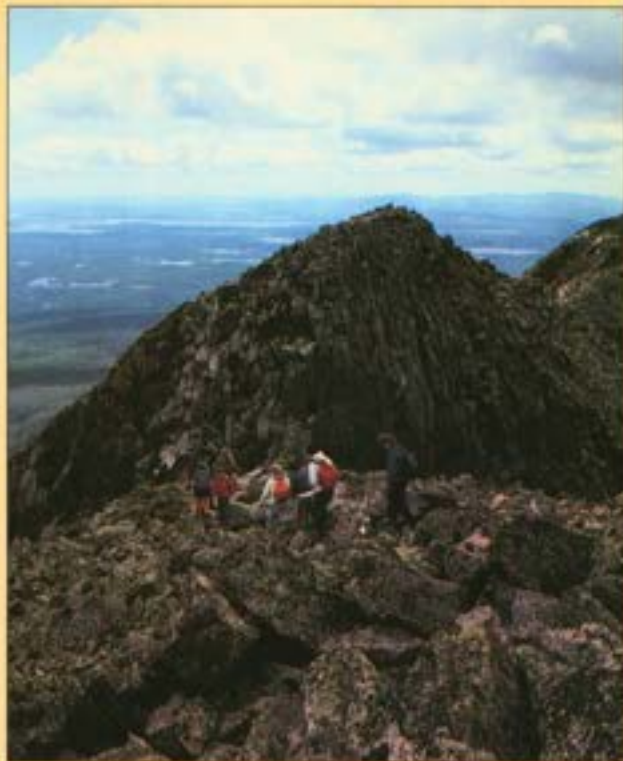
Instead you are greeted by the far northern reaches of the Maine woods. Rising from the forests and lakes is the 5,267-foot granite monolith of Mt. Katahdin. More than 300 miles from Boston, Baxter is a long way from anywhere big, but that's not too far when you figure that you're going back at least 30 years.

As you cross the park's boundary, the road turns to dirt. And when you set up camp at night, you won't hear dueling radios or televisions, because they're banned. Instead, as the dark creeps in, you'll feel a relaxing solitude enveloping you, making you a part of these deep, quiet forests.

There are lots of things that stand out when I think of Baxter. Close to our campsite at Roaring Brook Campground is a pond where you can go to watch the moose feed—guaranteed. Once, a moose and her calf strolled not five feet from my hiding place off the trail.

I've never fished in Baxter, but there are hundreds of streams and lakes that I could have dropped a line into. Usually I just watch the water rush by or lap against the shore. One hundred and fifty miles of trail crisscross the park, including the Appalachian Trail, which begins on the summit of Baxter Peak.

I came here with my father to hike the trail one summer. Starting at Roaring Brook, we hiked for hours, first through pine forest, then through boulder fields and over numerous false peaks above treeline. The day was over-



© MARC BEHNKAU/THE IMAGE BANK



CLYDE W. SMITH

cast, and a stiff wind blew large drops of rain into our faces. We reached the Knife Edge, a mile-long, narrow ridge that falls away more than a thousand feet on each side. The wind picked up, so we inched along the serrated ridge—just five feet wide in some places—on all fours. Midway, the blue blazes that we were following disappeared down an almost vertical wall. For a moment the mist cleared to reveal a chasm 40 feet wide and 20 feet deep. We inched across it, blue blazes leading the way.

My most striking memory of Baxter State Park, though, is of Chimney Pond. From the shore of the pond I stood looking into a low cloud. I knew Mt. Katahdin hovered over the pond, but I couldn't see much above 100 feet. Once again the mist cleared, and in place of sky were massive granite walls rising to the summit. The sight nearly took my breath away. After a few days I got used to it. It happens a lot around here.

—David Smethurst

SAWMILL CAMPGROUND CALIFORNIA



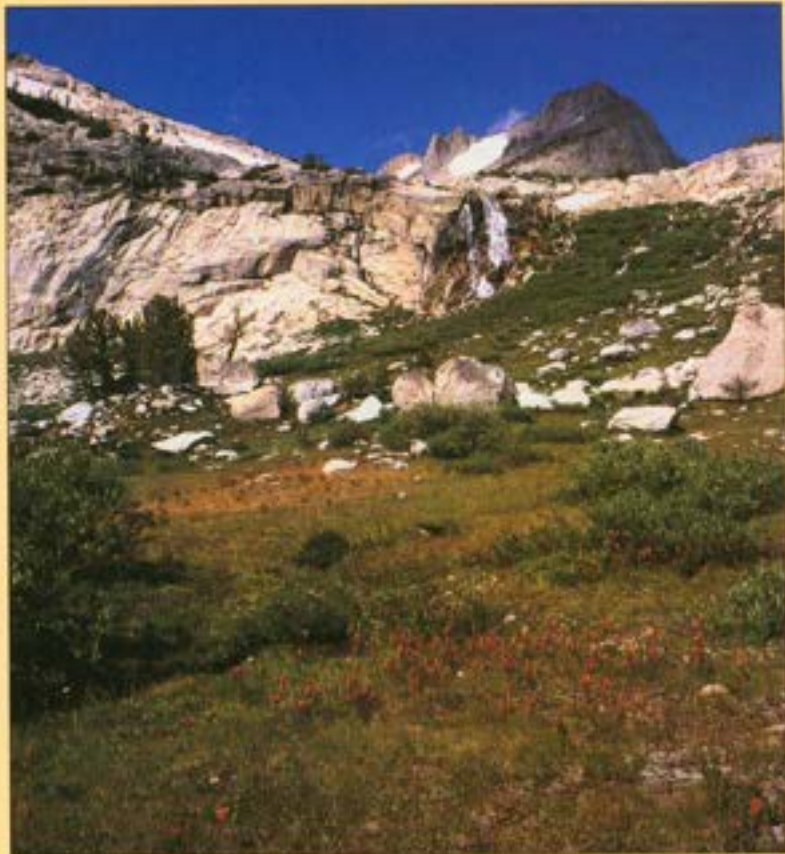
THOMAS HEWLER

The best way to go car camping is to leave your car behind. Not *way* behind, of course, but bless the heart of whoever came up with the idea of walk-in campgrounds. These are campsites within a quarter-mile or so of roads and reachable only by foot.

That short distance is an astoundingly effective buffer that separates man from machine and offers the kind of serenity you'd normally find only in the backcountry. You can sit around your campfire at night without that deer-in-the-headlights feeling as a late arrival slowly circles the campground looking for the best (or any) place to park, and you can sleep well knowing that you won't be awakened by early-morning anglers warming up their rigs before heading off.

The quarter-mile walk might as well be the Great Wall to campers who expect their personal Conestoga to be right there, aimed head-out for a quick getaway. To reach a walk-in, you've got to leave behind the bulkiest items (like lanterns and ice chests and folding chairs and bug zappers and two-burner stoves), and tote your gear to the site on your back or in your arms.

To backpackers, the short walk provides a refreshing opportunity to break all the parsimonious rules of their sport. Instead of paring your food and gear, Colin Fletcher-like, to the bare essentials, you can indulge yourself a little. Like Triscuits? Take the whole box! Here, have a few bottles of beer! Tired of sleeping on thin Ensolite? Grab that bulky foam pad and prepare for an afternoon snooze. You can return for what you've forgotten, and schlepp back what you haven't used. All of which sounds silly to a committed car camper, but it's wonderfully decadent to a backpacker used to meting out each day's allotment of Ak-Mak crackers like communion wafers.



LEWIS KETNER

A case in point: In summer, parts of Yosemite National Park resemble a parking lot. Yet 20 minutes east of Tuolumne Meadows Campground's "Sorry, Campground Full (of Lumbering RVs)" sign is Sawmill Walk-in Campground, a car-free mecca just outside the park at about 10,000 feet in elevation. Wilderness wannabes leave their cars at a locked Forest Service gate along Saddlebag Lake Road and walk (or saunter or skip) to the campground's seven sites overlooking Lee Vining Creek.

The reward for this minimal effort is an uninterrupted view of the precipitous eastern slope of the Sierra. The snow-filled cirques and granite peaks that face the campground are destinations along the Sierra High Route, an arduous, unmarked hiking track that traverses 195 miles of rugged timberline country. From Sawmill up to the escarpment, lush meadows sprinkled with pocket lakes are a dayhiker's delight—surprisingly gentle and all part of the 3,883-square-mile Hall Natural Area, where camping is prohibited. Looking back from the jumbled blocks of granite at the base of some of the Sierra's highest ridges, you take in the rounded, red-slate mountains on the dry, eastern side. Saddlebag Lake Road is only a couple of miles away, but from this vantage point it might as well be hundreds. —Reed McManus

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TRASH, TALK

WHEN ART LENDS STRENGTH TO

Most of us tend to compartmentalize our experience of life, rather than let it flow seamlessly. The practical result is that we don't always know how we affect the world or where we belong in it.

Ecology, the science of the whole, is a reaction against this fragmentation. But scientists and environmentalists are not the only ones working to unify our vision of the natural world. In the work of ecological artists we see one of the bolder attempts to reconnect the



Passage Ramp (above), the first element in Mierle Laderman Ukeles' three-part project at New York City's Marine Transfer Station, is made of 20 tons of recyclables, including glass (background). The panels at right were part of *Recycle Works*, her mixed-media exhibit at the Bronx Museum last year. "I am in a relationship with the Department of Sanitation," says Ukeles. "I'm totally dependent on its services or I would get sick and die. I'm caught in the net; as an artist I'm making the net visible."



WORK AND POLITICS

CONVICTION • BY REBECCA SOLNIT

parts and infuse the whole with the care that was formerly reserved for a small compartment called art.

Mierle Laderman Ukeles, Helen Mayer Harrison, and Newton Harrison are all artists whose ecological concerns changed their art into activism. Their work is as much a part of the real world as a reflection on it. Like other artists who work in unusual places and in unusual ways, they are evolving beyond the position that art is a beautiful irrelevance.

**MIERLE
LADERMAN
UKELES**

W

hen the revolution's over, who's going to clean up the garbage?"

Mierle Laderman Ukeles asked herself two decades ago. A new mother, she realized that the world was held together by labor that often went unrecognized and unrespected. Her artistic attention, initially focused on women's work, expanded to encompass all maintenance work, and finally to consider the power, water, garbage, and transit systems that make our lives possible. Over the years, the artworks she produced increased in scale, paralleling the widening scope of her environmental and social concerns.

As the unpaid artist-in-residence at New York City's Department of Sanitation since the late 1970s, Ukeles has created public events meant to awaken urbanites to the unheroic work that sustains our cities. She has placed such materials as workers' worn-out gloves and piles of shredded tires in galleries and museums, organized a parade in which sanitation executives and other city officials swept the streets, staged a ballet with garbage-barge towboats, and choreographed a year-long project that included shaking hands with and thanking each of New York City's 8,500 sanitation workers.

Continued on page 52



PHOTOS COURTESY NOMALIE BELLMAN FINE ARTS, NEW YORK

NEWTON AND HELEN MAYER HARRISON

The Harrisons create works that are as wide-ranging geographically as Ukeles' are focused; they have addressed ecological problems in the Great Lakes, West Berlin, São Paulo, and California's San Joaquin Valley.

Collaborators for two decades, the Harrisons most often begin a new work with an invitation from a school or city. They visit the site, explore it, discuss it with the people who live, work, or study there, then deliver a performance that's a report—and a report that's a performance. They then write and draw their ideas on huge maps, diagrams, and photographs that become the exhibited works of art. A written dialogue between the two of them is an integral part of each piece.

"We go to a place—anywhere—and engage in its story," state the Harrisons. "We add our story to it. Our work is, as best we can make it, the poetry of the whole." In California, for example, their

Continued on page 52

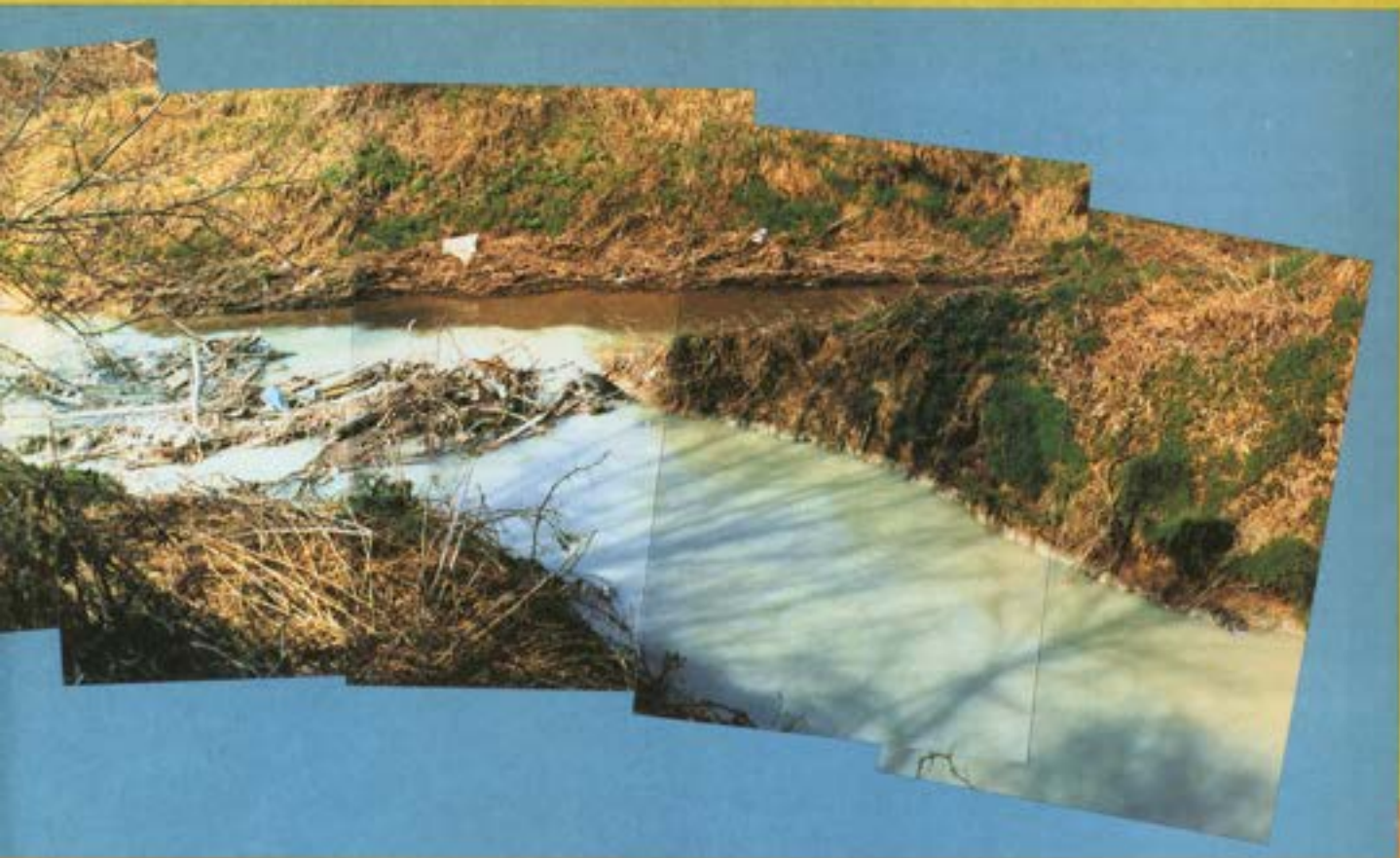
Yugoslavia's Sava River is the focus of the Harrisons' most recent project. The mounted photographs at right show the polluted waters that flow through a nature preserve into the river. In the dialogue that accompanies the exhibit, the Harrisons note with a mixture of sorrow and hope that "There is still time for a new history for the Sava, since the shape of catastrophe is also the shape of opportunity."



*And the refugia disappears
though the tractor is not graceful on the land
and the buffalo will yield to that tractor
although the buffalo
finally
is more efficient
and its dialogue with the land
more lucid*

*Clearly there is something about
technology that does not like that
which is not itself*

*Yet this is not
a necessary condition
this unfriendliness
to the land*



The two photographs and dialogue at left are part of *The Lagoon Cycle*, a magnum opus created by the Harrisons over a period of 12 years. Using hand-colored photographs, visionary maps, satellite photos, and an extended conversation between two imaginary characters, the artists tell global stories of creation, conflict, and will.

"Pay attention to the cost of belief," the Harrisons admonish the viewer/reader; as they suggest in these panels of a water buffalo and a Sri Lankan farmer, the choices we make have consequences far beyond the field in which we live.

In 1983 Ukeles was invited to work directly with the architects designing New York City's new Marine Transfer Station, where 3,000 tons of garbage were to be trucked in and dumped onto barges every day. She seized the opportunity to make a civic museum out of a municipal garbage-disposal facility. Now nearly complete, her *Flow City* contains three elements. *Passage Ramp* is a block-long tunnel made of discarded materials—glass, rubber, aluminum and other metals, and newspapers—that form interlocking spirals. *Beyond Passage Ramp* is *Glass Bridge*, a clear platform from which visitors can look down and see the trash plummeting onto the barges. Further along is *Media Flow Wall*, a bank of closed-circuit televisions that show the garbage being shipped away down the Hudson River.

"Sanitation is a human system and the river is natu-

ral, but they're both cleansing agents," Ukeles says. "They're both circulatory systems for the city." By calling attention to the ebb and flow of the Hudson, the journey of the trash, and the continuing spiral of recyclables, she hopes people will recognize that cities, too, are part of the systems and cycles of the planet.



Ukeles' art brings us face-to-face with the systems we depend upon. *Recycle Works* included panels of glass, rubber (left), earth, aluminum, piled steel shavings from subway wheels, and strips of plastic (background).

PHOTOS COURTESY RONALD FELDMAN FINE ARTS, NEW YORK

photographs and diagrams pointed out the questionable benefits and immense drawbacks of massive agricultural irrigation. In Florida they explored the replacement of mangroves by Australian pines, which fail to hold the riverbanks or nurture wildlife in the way that made the mangrove so crucial a part of the ecosystem.

In an exhibition in Germany, they documented the endangered wetlands of the Sava River, a tributary of the Danube, and suggested reasons—and means—to preserve the riparian habitat there. The Yugoslav government expressed great interest in the Sava River exhibition and narrative, and has given the Harrisons a stretch of swamp to begin restoring.

The Harrisons are artists, however, not land engineers,

and the primary territory of their work is always the imagination. The job of the artist, Newton Harrison says, is "to search, to discover value, and to value discovery." Having become artists out of the conviction that the beautiful is necessary, ecological artists such as the Harrisons and Ukeles became ecologists by recognizing that the necessary is beautiful. If the ecological crises they address arose out of indifference or ignorance, then making art out of those crises suggests that attention and imagination are ways to start changing the world. ■

Rebecca Solnit teaches at the San Francisco Art Institute and works with the environmental/disarmament organization Bay Area Peace Test.

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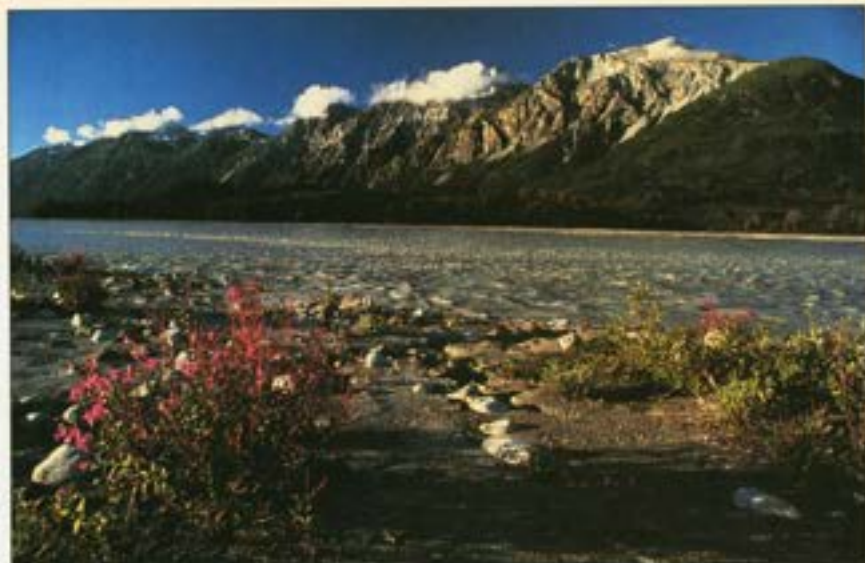
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JAMES KATZ

Wilderness—or big business? Ore trucks may soon be skirting the Tatshenshini River.

Undermining a Mountain

BRITISH COLUMBIA

AS RIVER RUNNERS approach the confluence of the Tatshenshini and Alsek rivers in the extreme northwest corner of British Columbia, they glide past a mountain called Windy Craggy. That peak is now 6,200 feet high. But a Canadian mining company, Geddes Resources Limited, plans to transform Windy Craggy into a pit at least a third of a mile wide, a mile long, and more than a thousand feet deep. From the pit and adjacent underground shafts, the company hopes to extract some 100 million tons of ore containing copper, gold, silver, and cobalt. Geddes hopes to begin construction sometime next year; full production at the mine is planned for 1994, when there will be more than 600 permanent employees.



"The project poses unacceptably high risks to fish, wildlife, and other wilderness values of the region," says Rosemary J. Fox, a member of the Sierra Club of Western Canada's Board of Directors. In late April the directors approved a resolution oppos-

ing the mine, based on an extensive review of its likely ecological impact.

The Club's primary goal, says Fox, is to keep the region's wilderness pristine by having it designated as a 2.7-million-acre national park. The headwaters of the Tatshenshini (known as the "Tat") are in the St. Elias Mountains of British Columbia, about 100 miles northwest of Haines, Alaska. The river flows through a region that is

de facto wilderness, with no formal protection. The Alsek, meanwhile, starts in the Yukon Territory's Kluane National Park. It flows southward, over cliffs and across meadows, finally joining the Tat in B.C. The two then race as one toward the southwest, issuing out into the Pacific Ocean at Alaska's Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the Windy Craggy Project will come from a 70-mile-long road to be constructed from the mine site to the Haines Highway. The road, requiring 11 bridges, will follow the Tat for some 12 miles, accommodating as many as one hundred and fifty 55- to 80-ton trucks a day. Geddes President Gerald Harper

claims that the road is "absolutely essential" because of the large quantity of ore to be removed. But the B.C. Ministry of Parks, which opposes the road, notes that the area contains "the only significant, unroaded recreational river in British Columbia."

The ministry also fears that exploratory roads will proliferate once the major access road is built. Not only would secondary roads scar terrain and disrupt animal pathways, the ministry maintains, but they would admit increasing numbers of poachers. The Tat-Alsek region is home to one of the densest concentrations of grizzly bears in Canada, as well as to Dall sheep, whose only winter range in British Columbia is in the Tat drainage.

Conservationists worry about the impact the mine itself will have on the Windy Craggy ecosystem. Mine tailings, which contain acids and heavy metals, are a common cause of stream poisoning, says Phil Hocker of the Mineral Policy Center in Washington, D.C. And Windy Craggy's massive sulfide deposit, he says, is a chemical time bomb. Once disturbed, the mountain's ore will oxidize, creating sulfuric acid or sulfur dioxide gas.

Harper dismisses such worries, claiming there will be "zero discharge" from sealed waste-rock dumps and mine-tailings ponds at Windy Craggy. But in 1979, developers of a state-of-the-art tailings dam near Churchrock, New Mexico, made a similar claim. That dam broke, spilling 93 million

gallons of radioactive materials into the Rio Puerco and the Colorado River.

Today some two dozen conservation groups representing as many as 1.5 million people in Alaska and western Canada are calling for protection of the Tatshenshini and Alsek rivers. Among the area's staunchest defenders are river runners, who have long understood how much is at stake. "In 1978 I had the privilege of rafting the Tatshenshini and Alsek rivers," says Edgar Wayburn, chair of the Sierra Club's Alaska Task Force. "I can personally attest to their magnificence." The temporary gains to be had from mining Windy Craggy Mountain, Wayburn believes, would never outweigh the permanent loss of a potential 2.7-million-acre preserve: "It's the only missing link in what could become the largest contiguous national park in the world."—Eric Holle

The Sierra Club urges U.S. activists to write to Governor Steve Cowper, State of Alaska, P.O. Box A, Juneau, AK 99811, and to their congressional representatives (House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515; and Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510) about the threat posed to Alaska by the Windy Craggy Project. Concerned Canadians should write to Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6, and to William N. Vander Zalm, Premier of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., Canada, V8V 1X4.

Last Stand for the Redwoods

HUMBOLDT COUNTY, CALIF.

Some five miles from the bustling logging town of Fortuna in northwestern California lies the world's largest unprotected redwood grove—the 2,900-acre Headwaters Forest. Here stand redwoods up to 18 feet in diameter and some 300 feet tall. Deep within the woods nest marbled murrelets—one of the few remaining populations of the small seabird in the state.

This lush woodland is at the center

of an intense controversy in the region. To most workers in the forest-products industry, the Headwaters Forest is "timber" whose value is monetary. To conservationists, the forest's worth is more intangible: It's both a place of beauty and a haven for wildlife.

No matter how the Headwaters is perceived, the fact remains that 130 years of logging have eliminated 95 percent of the state's giant coast redwoods (*Sequoia sempervirens*). Fewer than 100,000 acres are left—mostly in

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state and federal parks—which is why
the battle over privately held redwood
stands has reached fever pitch.

On one side of the dispute is Pacific
Lumber Company (Palco), a
subsidiary of junk-bond king
Charles Hurwitz's Maxxam
Corporation. Since 1985 the
company has logged nearly
1,000 acres along the Head-
waters' periphery. Now Palco is await-
ing permission from the California
Department of Forestry and the Cal-
ifornia Court of Appeals to log two
sizable parcels in the heart of the grove.

Contesting Palco's timber-harvest
plans are several local conservation
organizations, including the Sierra
Club's 8,500-member Redwood
Chapter, the Environmental Protec-
tion Information Center (EPIC), and a
band of Earth First! activists.

Currently, the Sierra Club and EPIC
are appealing a suit brought against
the California Board of Forestry for
failing to make Palco submit adequate
information about wildlife in forest
areas designated in previous timber-
harvest plans. As a result of that failure,
says Sierra Club forest activist Gail
Lucas, "the Fish and Game Depart-
ment can't properly evaluate whether
logging would endanger the long-
term survival of old-growth-depend-
ent wildlife."

In January, three Northern Califor-
nia lawmakers met with Maxxam
Corporation's Hurwitz at a so-called
"timber summit," which produced a
two-year moratorium on logging the
Headwaters Forest. Conservationists
condemned the deal, noting Palco's
stipulation that the moratorium would
be annulled if opposition arose to its
plans for logging the rest of its 200,000
acres. This loophole in the unwritten
agreement leaves vulnerable 7,000
acres of low-elevation virgin Douglas
fir, 2,000 acres of additional virgin red-
wood, and 40,000 acres of "residual"
old-growth species left from previous
selective-logging operations.

On March 1, three Earth First!
hikers discovered a bulldozer cutting a
28-foot-wide road into the Head-
waters Forest, in apparent violation of

the summit agreement. Palco claims
the road is needed to provide access
for wildlife observation. Soon after
discovery of the road, the Sierra Club

filed contempt-of-court
charges against Maxxam.
Palco's road is illegal, the
Club and co-plaintiff EPIC
say, because it borders on an
area that is off-limits to cut-
ting while one of the company's log-
ging plans is being legally challenged.

Conservationists realize that court
actions won't be enough to save the
old-growth forests, so they are gearing
up to take their case to the voters.
Most local environmental groups, in-
cluding the Sierra Club, have endorsed
two ballot initiatives: the California
Environmental Protection Act of 1990
("Big Green"), and the Forest and
Wildlife Protection and Bond Act of
1990 ("Forests Forever"). If approved
by California voters in November, ei-
ther measure would require the state to
purchase the Headwaters Forest and to
make sweeping changes in the way
logging is regulated.

The current controversy over the
redwoods is a test of values; the mode
of thinking that prevails is sure to affect
California's forests for a long time to
come. —Greg King and Mark Mardon



Slated for the saw: The Headwaters
Forest, where marbled murrelets nest.

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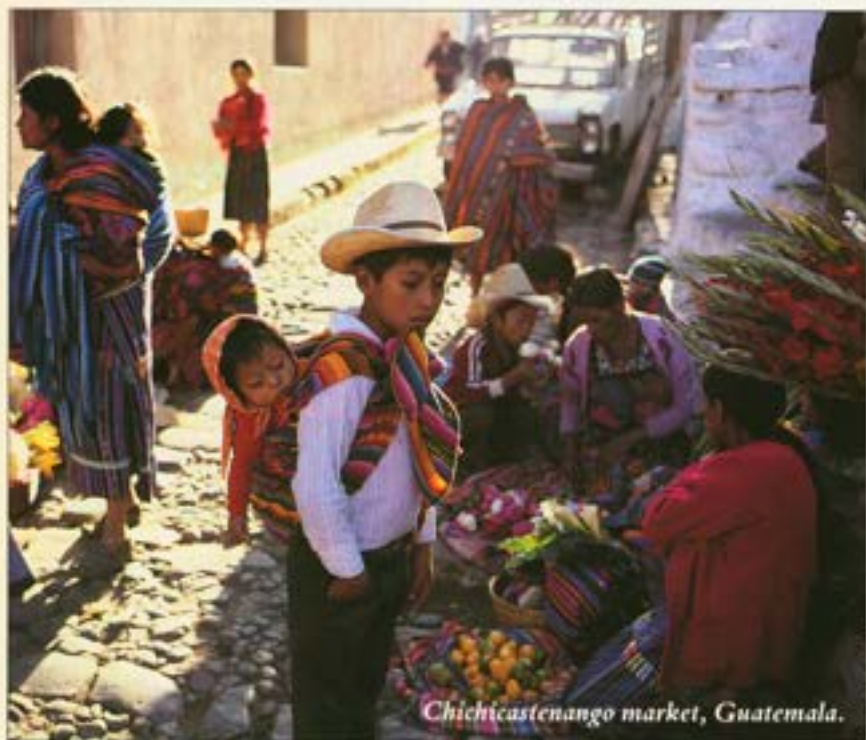
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1990-1991 FOREIGN OUTINGS



Chichicastenango market, Guatemala.

Beijing, we fly to Nanjing and bicycle through the Yangtse Valley and along the Grand Canal to Hangzhou, visiting many cities and villages, each with its own wonders, crafts and industry. We end our trip with a train ride to the historic port city of Shanghai. *Leader: Bob Anderson. Price: \$3,420; Dep: \$200. [91750]*

Ganesh Himal, Nepal—October 8–November 3, 1990. Come join us on a trek into the heart of the Himalaya. Named after Ganesh, the elephant-headed god who casts aside obstacles, this seldom-visited region contains some of the highest, most beautiful mountains in the world. Beginning in Gorkha, our moderate 23-day trek will camp no higher than 13,000 feet, at the foot of Toro Gumpa Glacier. *Leader: Cheryl Parkins. Price: \$1,915; Dep: \$200. [91755]*

Langtang Trek, Nepal—November 5–24, 1990. Just south of the Tibetan border is Nepal's spectacular Langtang National Park, site of our moderate trek among high Himalayan peaks, Yosemite-like rock formations and waterfalls, glaciers, and alpine lakes. The Laurebina Pass (15,100 feet) is our maximum elevation. Sacred Gosain Kund Lake and local cheese factories are highlights of our itinerary. *Leader: Bette Goodrich. Price: \$1,630; Dep: \$200. [91765]*

Annapurna Sanctuary, Nepal—November 24–December 13, 1990. The Annapurna Sanctuary (13,500 feet) is a high glacial basin surrounded by Machhapuchhare (22,958 feet) and the Annapurna peaks (26,041 to 26,504 feet) and the midpoint of our trek. Starting in Pokhara, we hike through villages and forests of oak, rhododendron, and bamboo above the Madi Khola River. We'll return via Ghorapani and Chandrakot, with views of the high peaks along much of the route. *Leader: Pete Nelson. Price: \$1,610; Dep: \$200. [91770]*

Gorkha Holiday Trek, Nepal—December 17–31, 1990. Extraordinary scenery and many new Nepali friends await you on this 12-day, culturally ori-

island-hopping in Greece, hiking in Guatemala's Cloud Forest Reserve, or touring a proposed national park in the Soviet Union are among the adventures that await you on a variety of **Sierra Club Foreign Outings** this year and next. For more information on these trips, and about our **1991 Domestic Winter Outings**, send in the coupon on page 60. Please refer to the 1990 Outings Catalog (January/February *Sierra*) for our reservation and cancellation policy and an application form. Prices are subject to change and do not include airfare. Note that a trip with an asterisk (*) is tier-priced. If sign-up for the trip meets 80% of capacity, the lower of the two prices will apply. Leader approval is required for all foreign trips.

AFRICA

Africa's Great Wildlife Preserves: A Leisurely Holiday Safari, Tanzania—December 17–31, 1990. Often in sight of Mt. Kilimanjaro, our safari takes us to six wildlife preserves, including Serengeti, home to more than 3 million large animals. We'll travel to Ngorongoro Crater and Olduvai Gorge, meeting the Masai in their villages. Expect to see elephants, giraffes, wildebeests and countless birds.

We'll travel by jeep and stay in tents or lodges. *Leader: Dwight Taylor. Price: \$3,400; Dep: \$200. [91780]*

ASIA

China by Bicycle: The Yangtse Valley and Grand Canal Tour—September 24–October 14, 1990. Bicycling with millions of cyclists in China is an experience never to be forgotten! After touring the Great Wall and the Forbidden City in

OUTINGS

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ented trek to a seldom-visited part of Nepal. Expect views of Annapurna, Lamjung, Ganesh, the Langtang peaks, and Manaslu (26,760 feet), as well as visits to Gurung, Tamang, and Brahmin-Chhetri villages. Our highest camp is at 11,000 feet. *Leader: Peter Owens. Price: \$1,190; Dep: \$200. [91775]*

Face to Face, Hand in Hand, Nepal—December 17, 1990–January 7, 1991. The Himalaya dominates the view on our trek from Kathmandu toward Pokhara. Accompanied by college-age English-speaking Nepalis who will share our holiday festivities, the emphasis of our trip is on cultural exchange. We'll stop along the way to see villages, *gombas*, and temples and to meet the Nepali people. With democracy replacing an absolute monarchy, this is an ideal time to observe Nepal in transition. Our trek is leisurely to moderate. *Leader: Dolph Amster. Price: \$1,890; Dep: \$200. [91785]*

EUROPE

Winter in Austria: Cross-Country Skiing—January 18–February 2, 1991. Our time is divided between Altenmarkt and Oberau, two small villages seldom visited by Americans. Cross-country tracks literally start at the doors of our cozy family inns; and, as we ski, delightful cafes along the way provide refreshment. Mid-trip we tour Salzburg. Trip price includes ski equipment, lessons, and extras like sledding, curling, and a sleigh ride. Appropriate for all levels of skiing. *Leader: Carol Dienger. Price: \$2,500/\$2,245; Dep: \$200. [91791]**

LATIN AMERICA

Holidays in Belize: Reef and Ruins, Central America—December 22–31, 1990. We'll stay at a rustic ranch amidst lush vegetation and exotic wildlife in the interior of Belize, with a daytrip to the magnificent Mayan ruins of Tikal in neighboring Guatemala. Our next stop will be a Caribbean island with rooms on the beach, where we can snorkel in clear waters off the barrier reef and feast on fresh seafood. *Leader: Mary O'Connor. Price: \$1,430; Dep: \$200. [91786]*

Holiday Kayaking in the Sea of Cortez, Baja California, Mexico—December 24–30, 1990. Explore the sandy coves and hidden canyons of Espíritu

Santo and Partida islands in the Gulf of California. We'll spend our days swimming, fishing, and hiking. A highlight will be a visit to Los Islotes, a sea lion rookery. Inexperienced to expert paddlers are welcome. Airline schedules require arriving in La Paz a day before the trip and leaving a day after. *Leader: Sallee Lotz. Price: \$1,095; Dep: \$200. [91787]*

Sea-Kayaking and Tropical Wildlife, Costa Rica—January 26–February 3, 1991. Costa Rica is unsurpassed in its wide variety of plants and wildlife. In our kayaks we'll blend with our surroundings as we explore otherwise inaccessible rivers, estuaries, and beaches for marvelous views of monkeys, exotic birds, and turtles. By bus we'll visit the Monteverde Cloud Forest and other wildlife habitats. Basic paddling experience is required. *Leader: Paul Barth. Price: \$1,715/\$1,595; Dep: \$200. [91792]**



Guatemala: Land of Eternal Spring—February 3–17, 1991. Come join us for an exploration of the most fascinating country in Central America. See the charming colonial city of Antigua; beautiful, volcano-rimmed Lake Atitlan; the bustling Indian market at Chichucastango; and the Cloud Forest Reserve of the resplendent quetzal. Traveling by van, we'll also visit remote highland villages where Mayan people still wear traditional, handwoven clothing of ex-

quisite design and color. *Leader: Wilbur Mills. Price: \$1,755/\$1,585; Dep: \$200. [91793]**

Belize: Reef and Ruins, Central America—February 16–25, 1991. Using a ranch as our base, we'll explore Belize's lush interior and visit the magnificent ruins of Tikal in neighboring Guatemala. Moving to the Caribbean coast, we'll stay on a palm-studded island near a fascinating barrier reef. There we'll snorkel in crystal-clear water, learn about local conservation issues, and feast on fresh seafood! *Leader: Lola Nelson-Mills. Price: \$1,720/\$1,540; Dep: \$200. [91796]**

Sea-Kayaking and Whale-Watching, Magdalena Bay, Baja California, Mexico—February 17–23, 1991. Spend an idyllic week exploring the waters of Magdalena Bay and the uninhabited shorelines and dunes of the barrier island. Great birding, beachcombing, and whale-watching await our arrival. Suited for the novice and expert paddler, this trip will give us a close-up look at the California gray whales in their winter home. Basic paddling instruction is provided. *Leader: Gary Dillon. Price: \$1,215/\$1,095; Dep: \$200. [91798]**

Amazon Villages and Machu Picchu, Peru—June 29–July 11, 1991. Begin your Peruvian adventure with a trip up the Amazon River to visit Yurapa Indian villages. With local guides, we'll trek into the rainforest for wildlife observation and visit pristine Devil's Lake. Then we'll fly to Cuzco, spend a day and night in Machu Picchu, and tour the Sacred Valley of the Incas. Our trip concludes in Lima, where we'll visit archaeological museums and Indian marketplaces. *Leader: Sallee Lotz. Price: \$3,065/\$2,810; Dep: \$200. [91830]**

MEDITERRANEAN Hiking and Island-Hopping in Greece—May 11–26, 1991. Zorba, here we come! From Athens, our exciting journey will take us as far south as Santorini in the Aegean Sea and as far north as Thessaloniki. In between we'll see a wealth of natural beauty, ancient ruins, and a spirited people with a fascinating culture. Travel will be by van, ferry, and

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on foot. Accommodations will be in hotels or family pensions. *Leader: Carolyn Castleman. Price: \$2,865/\$2,630; Dep: \$200. [91815]**

SOVIET UNION

Lake Baikal Adventure, Siberia—September 11–28, 1990. The jewel of Siberia is Lake Baikal, the deepest freshwater lake in the world, where we'll spend six days exploring by boat and hiking along its pristine shores. Our trip includes a two-day ride on the Trans-Siberian Railway and three days in Novosibirsk, the capital of Siberia, where we'll attend the State Opera and Ballet Theater and meet members of the Nature Protection Society. *Leader: Bob Madsen. Price: \$3,240; Dep: \$200. [90635]*

Feel the Winds of Soviet Change—May 12–28, 1991. Witness *perestroika* in action and Russian history in transition. In Byelorussia we'll stay with families on collective farms, and we'll visit a proposed national park near Minsk with Soviet environmentalists. Our tour includes a walk in the Carpathian Mountains, sightseeing in the ancient Ukrainian communities of Lvov and Uzhgorod, Leningrad's opulent Hermitage, and Moscow's Kremlin. Evening theater performances cap the daily drama of Soviet life. *Leader: Bud Bollock. Price: \$3,235/\$2,980; Dep: \$200. [91820]**

Trans-Soviet Adventure—June 17–July 5, 1991. From lakes to mountains, yurts to palaces, cathedrals to mosques, we'll satisfy our curiosity about life in the

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Soviet Union by sampling its great cultural and geographic diversity. Starting our tour in Moscow, we'll travel to the mountainous regions along the Chinese and Mongolian borders to see Lake Baikal (the world's deepest freshwater lake), alpine Tien Shan, and Lake Issyk-Kul before concluding our trip in magnificent Leningrad. *Leader: Dolph Amster. Price: \$3,705/\$3,450; Dep: \$200. [91825]**

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Everglades National Park Family Trip, Florida—December 28, 1990–January 2, 1991. Come enjoy this unique ecosystem with the members of your family. We will canoe through dense mangrove, in man-made canals and on Florida Bay, and hike on jungle trails and along the coastline. Learning about the "River of Grass" through guided self-discovery, we will emphasize developing our observational skills. This trip is suitable for children six years and older. *Leader: Martin Joyce. Price: adult \$280, child \$185; Dep: \$100 per family. [91365]*

Desert Winter Backpack: Big Bend

Park, Texas—January 27–February 8, 1991. If your idea of backpacking doesn't include snowshoes, cross-country skis or frostbite, then this trip is for you. Big Bend National Park contains a variety of landforms and ecosystems. Our route will begin high in the Chisos Mountains and wind through fantastic volcanic monoliths down to the rugged canyon of the Rio Grande. Water and food caches will help lighten the load on this strenuous cross-country trip. Leader approval required. *Leaders: John Lemon Sellers and Sid Hirsh. Price: \$630; Dep: \$100. [91367]*

Cross-Country Skiing, Copper Harbor, Michigan—February 3–10, 1991. Experience the beauty and tranquility of wilderness cross-country skiing at the tip of Keweenaw Peninsula on Lake Superior—where the average yearly snowfall is 250 inches! There are trails for all levels of skiers in this remote winter wonderland—trails that go through the woods, by the shoreline, and into the mountains. Instruction is available. Accommodations include cabins with rustic charm and a clubhouse with fireplace and sauna. Leader approval required. *Leader: Donna Small. Price: \$455; Dep: \$50. [91369]*

For More Details on Outings

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on foot. Accommodations will be hotels or family pensions. *Leader: Lyn Castleman. Price: \$2,865/\$2,635. \$200. [91815]**

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Sierra Club members re-elected incumbent Edgar Wayburn of San Francisco, California, to the organization's Board of Directors in April. Rebecca Falkenberry of Birmingham, Alabama, Phillip S. Berry of Lafayette, California, Ann Pogue of Solana Beach, California, and H. Anthony Ruckel of Denver, Colorado, were also elected. Each will serve a three-year term.

At its May meeting in San Francisco, the Board elected Susan Mellow of Colchester, Connecticut, to a one-year term as Sierra Club president. The Board also elected Freeman Allen of Claremont, California, vice-president; Richard Fiddler of Seattle, Washington, treasurer; H. Anthony Ruckel, secretary; and Ann Pogue, fifth officer.

The membership defeated a proposed amendment to the Club's bylaws that would have required any director who had served two consecutive terms to sit out a two-year period before becoming eligible for reelection. Currently the bylaws call for a one-year absence from the Board.

The Sierra Club Annual Dinner was held May 5 at San Francisco's Hyatt Regency hotel. The featured speaker was U.S. Representative George Miller (D-Calif.), chair of the Water, Power, and Offshore Energy Resources Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Miller, who has long worked to reform federal water and forest-management policies, led the congressional investigation of last year's Exxon Valdez oil spill.

Volunteers, chapters, and friends received the following awards:

■ The William E. Colby Award (for leadership, dedication, and service to the Sierra Club) to Sally M. Reid, Sierra Club director, and Leslie V. Reid, former Club director, for their embodiment of the spirit of Will Colby, who served as the Club's secretary for 46 years beginning in 1900.

■ The Edgar Wayburn Award (for service to the environmental cause by a person in government) to U.S. Representative George Miller for his work to preserve our nation's resources.

■ The David R. Brower Environmental Journalism Award to Henry Muller, managing editor of *Time*, for his efforts to create a better public understanding of environmental issues through consistent, accurate, and innovative reporting.

■ The Walter A. Starr Award (for continuing support of the Club by a former director) to Joseph B. Fontaine for his leadership in the Club's development program and in campaigns to protect public lands.

■ Susan E. Miller Awards (for exceptional contributions to chapters by individual Sierra Club members) to Roy Anderson, Ventana Chapter; Jane Burns, John Muir Chapter; and Roger Diedrich, Virginia Chapter.

■ The Ansel Adams Award to Edward Schell for combining photography with conservation advocacy.

■ The Oliver Kehrlein Award (for service to the Club's outings program) to Dolph Amster for improving the National Outings Program.

■ Special Achievement Awards (for commitment to conservation over an extended period of time) to Tom Billecci for helping to expose the dumping of toxic materials into San Francisco Bay; and to Stephen M. Fenton for his work on developing the Club's Global Warming media campaign.

■ Special Service Awards (for efforts of singular importance to conservation or the Club) to Barbara Shaw for promoting solid-waste disposal and recycling programs in Alabama; and The High School Hikers of the Hawaii Chapter for promoting environmental education among Hawaiian youth.

■ The Chapter Newsletter Award (for creativity and impact in a chapter publication) to Patty Kupchak, editor of *Malama I Ka Honua*, newsletter of the Hawaii Chapter. ■

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BOOKS

A Hero's Story, Poorly Told

For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower

David R. Brower

Gibbs Smith, Publisher

\$24.95

Roderick Frazier Nash

DAVID BROWER is a great man, but this is not a great book. The problem is that Brower does not write books. His literary specialty is the humorous aphorism, the graceful foreword, the borrowed quotation. He has the ad writer's knack for concentration, a talent that has helped save wild places for half a century, but that does not create original, 500-page books.

For Earth's Sake is offered as an autobiography, but a more accurate description would be an edited anthology. Though I didn't count words, it seems that at least half of Brower's book consists of previously published pieces—many of them good, but not adding up to the carefully crafted analysis of a man's life and times that one expects in an autobiography. For example, Chapter 6, "Why Wilderness?" contains excerpts from essays and book forewords published in 1947, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1964, and 1976. The 1990 material amounts to just a few paragraphs of anecdotes. Readers will find the same pattern in Brower's chapters on national parks, national forests, wildlife, and Alaska.

An honest man, Brower is not oblivious to the shortcomings of *For Earth's Sake*. His prefatory remarks dwell on the rationalizations involved in producing a book that is not really a book. Brower knows he came up short of his literary ideals, despite the help of lap-top computers, Tanqueray martinis, energetic editorial assistants, and a publisher with Olympian patience. There is a sense of desperation here. Faced with the need of coming

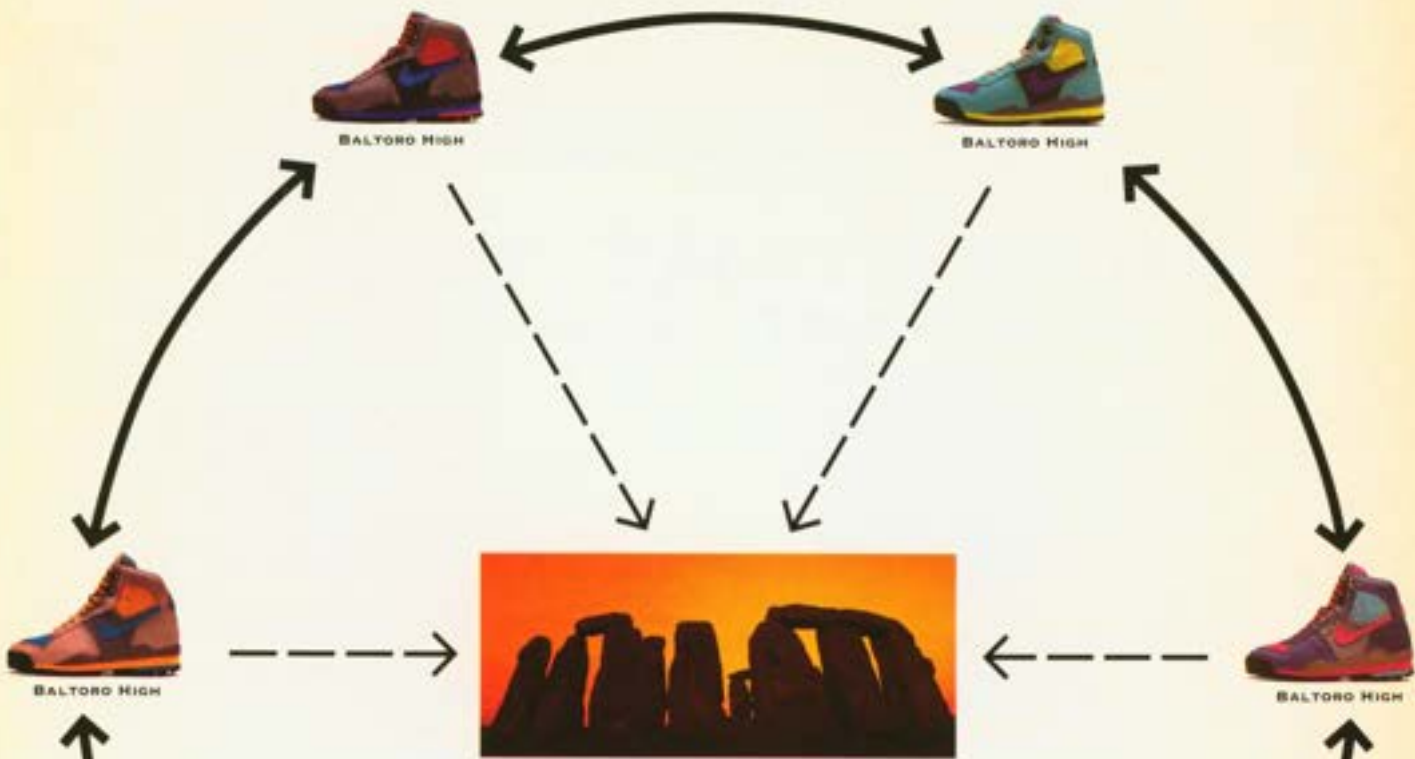
out with something after a decade of wheel-spinning ("I know no one who can procrastinate better," he writes of himself), Brower simply mined his files. *For Earth's Sake*—the first volume in what publisher Gibbs Smith promises will be a two-volume work—contains neither a fresh analysis of the American environmental movement nor an application of Brower's wisdom to problems present and future.

So what is in the book? It begins with an account of Brower's early years, told in more detail (if less skillfully) than in John McPhee's *Encounters With the Archdruid* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1971). Subsequent chapters on Brower's mountaineering and World War II exploits make for exciting reading, just as they did when the bulk of the material was published in the 1930s and '40s: One understands how the man first fell in love with wilderness before he became its champion. The sections concerning Brower's ancestors, wife, and progeny are freshly written, but are not what the average reader is seeking here.

The best feature of the book, Brower's collection of some 25 vignettes about his closest friends and associates, from Ansel Adams to the Aldo Leopold family to Rachel Carson, are historically fascinating, but then follows the disappointing anthology: seven chapters, 70 percent of which were originally published elsewhere. Finally comes the 13th and last chapter, "Wilderness and You," which is new material, although it is only seven pages long. Excitement builds as Brower seems to head into his famous sermon on the meaning of civilization in an eons-old wilderness. But quickly he veers off course, and the book ends with an account of a family outing to "Brower's Bench" in Yosemite. The ringing, forward-looking call to action is nowhere to be found.

There are other disappointments. I

STONEHENGE



A BARREN DESERT BESIDE A BLUE RIVER, AND A TINY TOWN CALLED BIGGS. SOME THINGS DON'T MAKE MUCH SENSE IN SOUTHERN WASHINGTON ALONG THE COLUMBIA. AND YOU FULLY REALIZE THAT WHEN YOU LOOK ACROSS THE WATER AND UP IN THE DESERT HILLS YOU SEE STONEHENGE. NOW, YOU KNOW STONEHENGE IS IN ENGLAND. SO YOU HIKE ACROSS THE BRIDGE AND UP ON TOP OF THE BLUFF THERE REALLY IS A STONEHENGE THERE AND NEARBY THERE'S A BRASS PLAQUE THAT TELLS THE STORY. THE STORY OF A RAILROAD TYCOON NAMED SAM HILL WHO ERRECTED THE STRUCTURE AS A PROTEST AGAINST WORLD WAR I, BECAUSE OF SOME UNUSUAL BELIEFS HE HAD ABOUT THE WAR AND STONEHENGE IN THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE BECAUSE OF SOME HAIRBRAINED THEORIES. AFTER ALL, IF HE HAD ERRECTED THE BIGGEST TOURIST ATTRACTIONS IN THE COUNTRY. AND AFTER YOU FINISH READING THE PLAQUE YOU WALK AROUND SAM'S MONUMENT SOME MORE AND THERE IS NO ONE ELSE AROUND AND IT DOESN'T REALLY BOTHER YOU THAT SAM BUILT AROUND SAM'S VACANT WAR MEMORIAL IN THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE BECAUSE OF SOME HAIRBRAINED THEORIES. AFTER ALL, IF HE HAD ERRECTED JUST ANOTHER STATUE OF AN INFANTRYMAN YOU NEVER WOULD HAVE HIKE UP THE HILL AND ENJOYED THE VIEWS FROM THERE. AND YOU NEVER WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THE THOUGHTS YOU THOUGHT AND, ANYWAYS, NOW YOU KNOW WHAT IN SAM HILL IT'S ALL ABOUT.

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suspect that the first thing *Sierra* readers will look for is a detailed account of Brower's epoch-making ouster from the Sierra Club's executive directorship in the late 1960s. We have McPhee's version of this event and Michael Cohen's, published in 1988 in *The History of the Sierra Club: 1892-1970*. Now it would seem to be Brower's turn to document and defend his controversial policies. The story might have been told with the rising tension of a Greek tragedy. Instead we

are given a few understated paragraphs tacked on to an anecdote about Dick Leonard, one of Brower's friends-turned-opponents. Even Brower's touching farewell address, delivered to the Club on May 3, 1969, is missing, though it would seem to be an obvious component of this anthology-cum-autobiography. Brower says it is lost somewhere in his house. Also lost, at least in his book, is any reference to his second "divorce"—from Friends of the Earth in late 1985.

There is no question that David Brower was a key player in the battle to protect the parklands along the Colorado River. Historians have documented his effectiveness in halting construction of the Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument in the early 1950s, and a decade later in the fight to prevent dams in the Grand Canyon. Brower's anguish over the compromise that drowned Colorado's Glen Canyon is well known. His autobiography might have given him an opportunity to fill in the details, as he started to do in his 1979 Sierra Club oral history, edited by Susan Schrepfer under the title *David R. Brower: Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet*. Brower knows the facts; he has written me 11-page letters about them.

Unfortunately, *For Earth's Sake* falls back again on the easy out of reprinting forewords and selections from Brower's testimony before congressional committees. One looks in vain for him to pull it all together in a real accounting of these tumultuous years.

American environmentalists, as well as those in other lands, have long looked to David Brower for leadership in the ongoing fight to save what he calls Earth Island, and he has long responded to that need. Yet there is little in this first volume of his autobiography to suggest that Brower is still on the cutting edge of global environmentalism. The closest Brower comes to offering guidance is in a July 1989 letter to the conservation director of the Sierra Club, who at that time was Douglas Scott.

The theme of the eight-page letter is that the Sierra Club should not compromise on environmental issues. "We are to hold fast to what we believe is right, fight for it, and find allies and adduce all possible arguments for our cause." Brower says we should not argue about the degree of rape, but oppose it entirely, everywhere, at all times. He goes on to attack reasonableness and conventional wisdom among mainstream conservationists, while three times bestowing favorable mention upon Dave Foreman, co-founder and leader of Earth First! and a

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mainstay of radical environmentalism.

I would guess that half the readers of *Sierra* regard Foreman and his monkey-wrenching colleagues as counterproductive to the environmental cause. But Brower, young-thinking in his late 70s, applauds Foreman for his "courage which gives the Club a field to be bolder in."

Brower understands that if your ethical philosophy extends to nature as a whole, you cannot remain content with letters to the editor and the conventional politics of compromise. He understands the revolutionary nature of deep ecology. But does this mean Brower condones violence in the defense of nature? What if business-as-usual politics and economics do not work—would Brower protect an old-growth forest from rape in the same way he would protect his wife or daughter? How far does one go in striving for a greener future? A generation of younger activists is waiting for answers to such questions from the John Muir of our time, but David Brower has not given them here.

In the late 1960s, Brower defended one of the world's greatest wildernesses with lapel buttons that stated simply, "Save the Grand Canyon." They worked. In 1969, when Brower was under fire from the Sierra Club establishment, I appeared at a Club conference with a box of buttons that read "Save Dave." Those failed. The point is that David Brower is a hero to me and, I think, to many other environmentalists. He indeed wears the mantle of Muir. For that reason I choose to think of David Brower, not as an author—for this volume would earn him only a passing grade—but as a man of extraordinary idealism, energy, and charisma, whose life and times I would rate straight-A. ■

RODERICK FRAZIER NASH, *professor of history and environmental studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara, is the author of Wilderness and the American Mind (Yale University Press, 1982) and The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics (University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).*

MINERAL KING

Continued from page 38

Center for Law and Social Policy, writing on behalf of The Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, and the Izaak Walton League of America, did what the Sierra Club had declined to do: They recited at great length the Sierra Club's historic and specific interest in Mineral King—the use of the valley by the organization, its use by individual Sierra Club members for recreational purposes, and the injury both the Club and its members would suffer if the resort were built.

During this time, Don Harris and Fred Fisher had applied to the Ford Foundation for funds to establish the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. In order to qualify for tax-deductible support, the new organization was kept independent of the Sierra Club, which had recently lost its tax-deductible status. In the spring of 1971 Ford awarded a grant of \$98,000 to support the Legal Defense Fund for two years. The board was made up principally of lawyers.

At the group's first meeting, held at Harris' home in Berkeley in May, Harris was elected president, Fisher vice-president. The board then embarked on a search for an executive director. They knew of Jim Moorman through his suit against the trans-Alaska pipeline, and they invited him out for an interview. The three men liked each other immediately, and Moorman agreed to begin work in August.

In the meantime, Supreme Court arguments were being prepared in the Mineral King case. Moorman appealed to Lee Selna to embrace the standing arguments he had articulated in the friend-of-the-court briefs, but Selna was firmly committed to the original approach, arguing in favor of a broad concept of standing to sue.

On November 17, 1971, at 11:06 a.m., the court sat to hear the arguments in the Mineral King case.

In his opening argument, Selna tried

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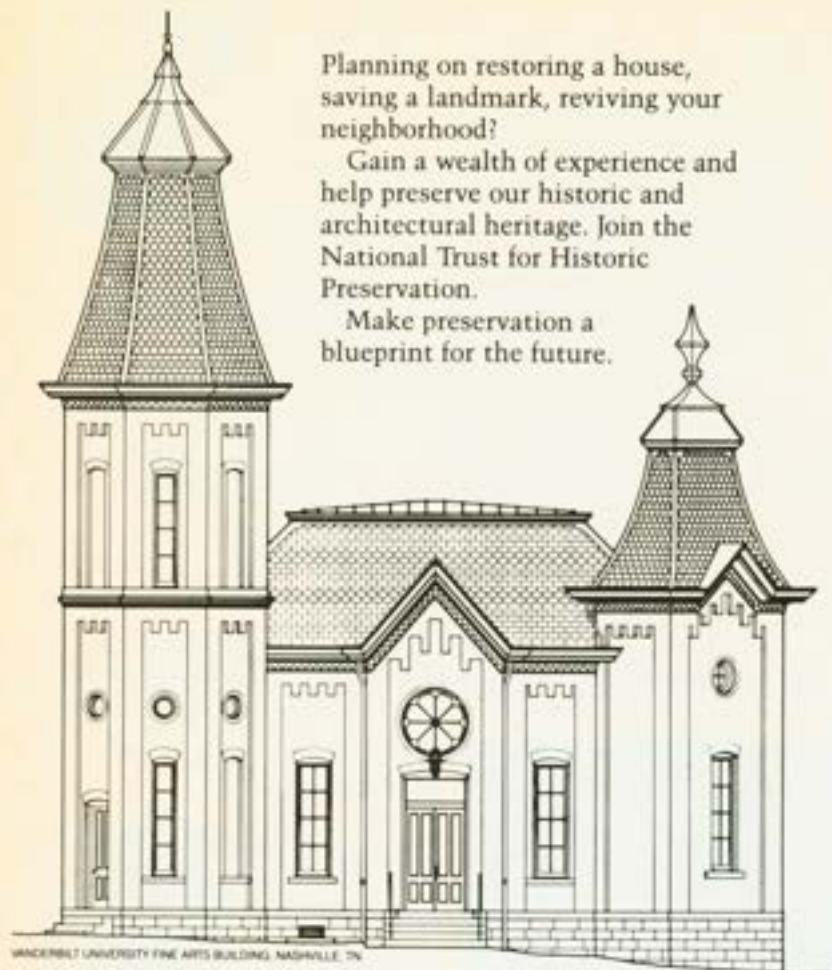
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to establish the Club's right to standing. "As an incident of the Club's interest in the area, some of its members use Mineral King," he said.

"Does the record show that?" asked Justice Harry A. Blackmun.

"The record contains a letter which is written by a member of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club, in which he in turn refers to his trips to Mineral King," Selna replied.

"But there isn't any direct testimony by members of the Club anywhere in the record, is there?" Justice Blackmun continued.

"Direct testimony concerning their use, Mr. Justice Blackmun? No, there is not."

Justice Potter Stewart was skeptical. "I was just wondering how far your argument would go. I'm reminded of these so-called clubs that get chartered airplane flights across the Atlantic Ocean, these ad hoc organizations. Could I form a club, Friends of Walt Disney Productions, and come in on the other side as a party?" (Selna thought not.)

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger wanted to know if John Muir could be a party to the case as an individual. (Selna thought he could.)

Justice Blackmun tried again to help. "If an organization like the Sierra Club is not qualified to bring litigation of this kind, who would be?"

"Nobody," Selna answered.

Erwin N. Griswold, Solicitor General of the United States, represented the government. He called the case "the ultimate case on standing. If the petitioner here has standing, then I believe it's fair to conclude that anyone who asserts an interest in a controversy has standing."

Griswold went on, "Should judges be dealing almost continuously with heated social and economic controversies? Will not the courts be in a better position to decide the many difficult and important questions which only the courts can effectively resolve in our constitutional system if they do not undertake to decide all the legal questions that anyone—anyone—wants to present to them?"

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In his rebuttal, Selna insisted that finding in favor of the Sierra Club would not throw the court open to cases by "anyone."

"It should be clear from our argument that we do not urge that the doors of the courts be opened wide to anyone. We've argued that there are criteria that should be applied by a court, by which organizations' or individuals' qualifications for standing should be tested.

"The Club in this case did, in fact, allege its special interest in the area involved, and no one in California, at the District Court level, had any question in their mind as to the deep involvement of the Club with Sequoia National Park and Mineral King."

At 1:15 p.m. Chief Justice Burger gavelled the hearing to a close.

The Supreme Court issued its ruling in *Sierra Club v. Morton* on April 19, 1972. By a vote of four to three (Burger, Stewart, Marshall, and White in the majority; Blackmun, Brennan, and Douglas in the minority) the Court sustained the Court of Appeals in dissolving the injunction, and ruled that the Sierra Club did not have standing to sue.

It was clear, however, that the Court majority simply felt that the Club had tried to reach just a little too far, that its claim to standing was a bit too broad. The Club, in short, had failed to allege that it or its members would be injured by the development of Mineral King. "Nowhere in the pleadings or affidavits," Justice Stewart wrote, "did the Club state that its members use Mineral King for any purpose, much less that they use it in any way that would be significantly affected by the proposed actions of the respondents."

Stewart then dropped the broadest possible hint, in one of the most famous footnotes in environmental jurisprudence: "Our decision does not, of course, bar the Sierra Club from seeking in the District Court to amend its complaint."

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One senses a vast change gathering momentum. People are coming, very slowly, to recognize that environmentalism is not an issue for dilettantes, but rather the central process for addressing the future of an imperiled world. In the kingdom of the blind, the environmentalists are gaining respect.

But there is a problem. **At any given level of conservation and of technology, the scale of environmental and resource problems is roughly proportional to the size of the population being served.** (There are thresholds and non-linearities, but the generalization stands.)

Most environmentalists ignore that connection. Let us cite three examples that arrived in one day's mail.

- An Earth Day solicitation from Morris Udall offered thirty "Earth Day Solutions" whereby we could help to save the planet. It told us how to brush our teeth but it said nothing about how many children we should have or advocate.

- The Tropical Forestry Action Plan was criticized for "ignoring cross-sectoral policies related to deforestation, such as agricultural land use, land tenure, and equitable distribution . . .". Even those who grasp the idea of connections apparently did not see the fundamental connection between population pressures and deforestation.

- The NRDC's twentieth anniversary report included 13 columns of NRDC accomplishments and "environmental milestones and events" since 1962. The word "population" does not appear. Not even the World Population Plan of Action of 1974. NRDC knows better.

We have simply got to open that other eye.

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we leave the Supreme Court, however, it is interesting to look briefly at the dissenting opinions.

Justice Blackmun wrote:

The case poses—if only we choose to acknowledge and reach them—significant aspects of a wide, growing, and disturbing problem, that is, the nation's and the world's deteriorating environment with its resulting ecological disturbances. Must our law be so rigid and our procedural concepts so inflexible that we render ourselves helpless when the existing methods and the traditional concepts . . . do not prove to be entirely adequate for new issues?

Justice Douglas contributed his celebrated dissent:

*The critical question of "standing" would be simplified and also put neatly in focus if we fashioned a federal rule that allowed environmental issues to be litigated before federal agencies or federal courts in the name of the inanimate object about to be despoiled, defaced, or invaded by roads and bulldozers and where injury is the subject of public outrage. Contemporary public concern for protecting nature's ecological equilibrium should lead to the conferral of standing upon environmental objects to sue for their own preservation. . . . This suit would therefore be more properly labeled as *Mineral King v. Morton*.*

On June 2 the Sierra Club, represented now by Moorman and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, marched back into Judge Sweigert's courtroom and asked for permission to amend its suit. The revised complaint had several new features. It described in considerable detail the Sierra Club's interests in Mineral King and how those interests would be injured by the Disney project. To be safe, it added as plaintiffs nine individuals who visited Mineral King frequently, plus the Mineral King District Association, a group whose members owned property in and near the valley.

And, in what proved to be the *coup de grace*, it added a new claim under the National Environmental Policy Act, which had been enacted after the original suit was filed. The law orders federal agencies to prepare an environ-

mental impact statement (EIS) for "major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." Moorman asked the court to order the government to prepare such a statement on the resort and requested that the injunction be reinstated until the impact statement was completed and a trial could be held on the allegations in the original suit.

The government argued that the case should be dismissed because the Court of Appeals had already rejected it on its merits, even though the majority opinion of the Supreme Court had said specifically, "We intimate no view on the merits of the complaint." Judge Sweigert, who was still irked at having his reasoning spurned by two higher courts, rejected the government's plea, noting that the new claim under NEPA was enough to reinstate the case and reimpose the injunction.

The draft EIS was issued on January 3, 1975. Comments on the draft were filed by 4,400 individuals, 14 federal agencies, six state agencies, seven local government agencies, and 35 private organizations. The California Department of Fish and Game worried about the impact on wildlife; the Interior Department retained reservations about the impact on Sequoia National Park. Public comments were overwhelmingly anti-resort.

By 1975 Mineral King was one of the most prominent national environmental issues. All major national environmental organizations had endorsed the idea of adding the valley to Sequoia National Park, and legislation to accomplish the transfer was rapidly gaining supporters. The Forest Service was still firmly committed to the resort project, but the Disney organization was growing weary of the fight and uneasy as public opposition grew.

Moreover, there was still the matter of the road. Disney had always insisted that it would not pay the cost of improving the road to all-weather standards. The federal government had never agreed to undertake the project itself, and in August 1972 California rescinded its earlier pledge to pay for it. In signing the bill that took the access

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*Fortune magazine, March 26, 1990



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road out of the state highway system, Governor Ronald Reagan insisted that while he supported the resort, it was improper for the state to pay for road improvements.

The final EIS was released by the Forest Service in February 1976. The project by that time had shrunk considerably. Projected daily visitation was down from 14,000 to 8,000 in winter and 6,000 in summer. The capacity of the parking lot had dropped from 3,600 to 2,200. No ski lifts would border the national park; all ski activity would take place in the bowls on the west and south sides of the valley, well away from the Sequoia backcountry. Oddly, despite the reduced size of the project, the price tag had remained at roughly \$35 million, which raised questions about how Disney expected to turn a profit with slightly more than half the customers it had originally anticipated. A visit to the alpine Disneyland was looking like a rather expensive outing.

The legal effort on behalf of Mineral King came to an end on March 11, 1977. Judge Sweigert was preparing to retire from the bench, and since the case had lain dormant on his desk for four and a half years, he dismissed it himself for "lack of prosecution." The judge's order left the Sierra Club the opportunity to resurrect the case if that became necessary, but in fact the case was closed. An attempt to revive the project was made at the beginning of the Carter administration, but it went nowhere.

In October 1978, as part of a monumental national-parks acquisition and expansion bill, Mineral King was made part of Sequoia National Park, where it belonged from the start. ■

TOM TURNER is staff writer for the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, an independent, non-profit law firm serving the entire environmental movement. This article is excerpted from his book Wild By Law, which will be published by the Legal Defense Fund and Sierra Club Books in October. For further information contact the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, 2044 Fillmore St., San Francisco, CA 94115.

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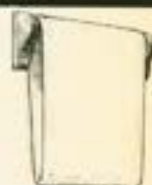
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QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

Are there any creams I can buy to protect myself from poison oak? (Dan Almon, Butte, Montana)

The best barrier cream is about 70-percent effective against the oils of poison oak and ivy, but it's available only through industrial-supply houses and is used primarily by outdoor workers, according to William Epstein, professor of dermatology at the University of California at San Francisco.

A much better barrier, rated at 90- to 95-percent effective, has begun its long journey through the federal drug-approval process, but Epstein estimates that marketing may still be one to five years away.

Unfortunately, in the interim not many options remain. Barrier creams currently available in pharmacies work only 50 to 60 percent of the time, Epstein says. "Basically," he explains, "a barrier is anything that protects you against the oils of poison ivy or oak," so in a pinch you may as well use spray-on deodorant, which contains a clay that coats the skin, or Vaseline.

"If I were going hiking, I'd use some oil or wax preparation on my shoes," Epstein says. Most important, wash off everything that may have touched the plant—clothes, shoes, dog—*outside* the house. The plant oils are easily transferred from outerwear to the relatively immune palm of the hand to other parts of the body, bringing on the savage itch.



What effect is the drought having on national parks in the West? (Larry Dougherty, Baltimore, Maryland)

Although the current drought, now in its fourth year, has led to water rationing in some parts of the West, the National Park Service is not concerned about lasting effects on the parks, says ecologist Mietek Kolipinski of the agency's Western Regional Office.

"These droughts have been occurring for thousands of years," he says. "They're part of a natural process. Some vegetation will dry out, of course, and some seedlings may not make it, but populations do rebound."

One thing the Park Service does worry about is the

effect of global warming on the ratio of wet to dry years. It's not known whether the current drought is connected to global climate change, but Kolipinski says the federal government has allocated \$3 million for the Park Service to conduct an inventory of climate change in the parks.

As for forest fires, which some press reports suggested had been worsened by the drought, Kolipinski says the Park Service considers these to be natural processes as well. He attributes the massive fires in Yellowstone National Park in 1988 to the fact that for many years the agency suppressed natural fires caused by lightning, leading to a buildup of combustible dead matter on the forest

floor. "Now we are trying to bring fire back to its natural role," he says.

Does washing fruits and vegetables really remove pesticides? If not, how can I make sure my produce is safe? (Joel Kohn, Providence, Rhode Island)

Soap and water won't remove all pesticide residues, but most experts recommend washing everything you cannot peel, using a mild dishwashing soap and water.

If that advice sounds unpalatable, or if you're concerned about pesticides that can't be removed by washing or peeling, avoid foreign-grown produce, and buy only that which is "certified" as having been grown organically.

Beyond these guidelines, certain fruits and vegetables are particularly vulnerable to lingering poisons, especially those with edible parts in contact with the soil and those that must "look good" to sell. A Food and Drug Administration survey found residues on 70 percent of domestic strawberries, compared with only 1 percent of the corn sampled.

The most oft-sullied items? Celery, cherries, strawberries, grapefruit, peaches, and lettuce: Pesticide residues were found on more than half the samples tested. When imported produce is also considered, the list includes bell peppers, cucumbers, tomatoes, carrots, apples, and cabbage. ■



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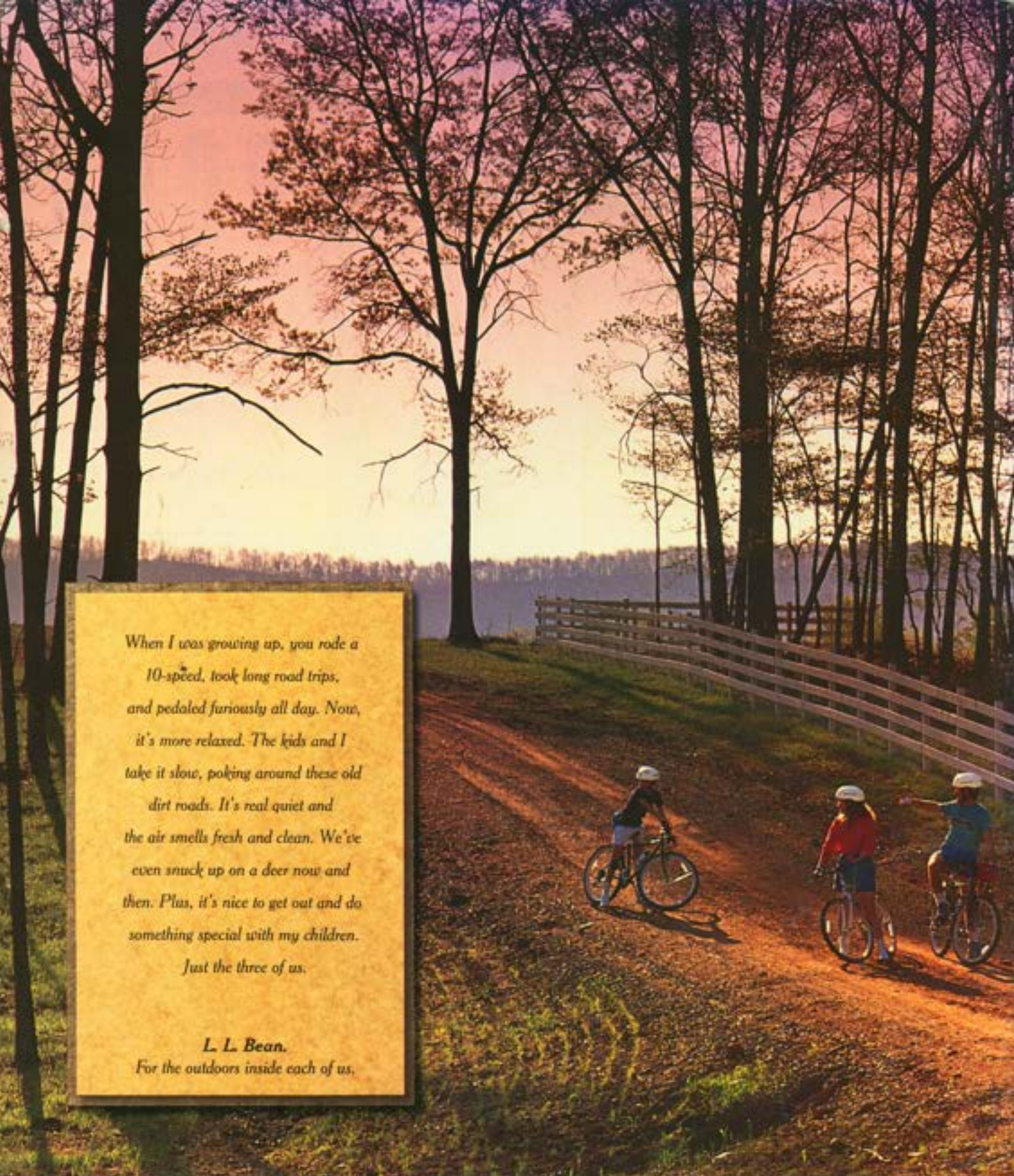
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