

Privately Protected Places

by Collette Ridgeway

photographs by Scott Ridgeway

Everybody has heard of Yellowstone National Park and even Tongass National Forest, the former under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service and the latter under that of the Forest Service. But how many people have heard of the North Maine Woods, the Maine Coast Heritage Trust, or the Eastern Pennsylvania Hawk Mountain Sanctuary, all of which are under nongovernmental control? Those and many other private parks, wildlife sanctuaries, and nature reserves are doing a much better job of preserving natural amenities than are the federal agencies.

Because of our shared interest in both environmentalism and liberty, my husband and I spent a year-long "working honeymoon" crisscrossing the country visiting private nature preserves and documenting their exciting and vitally important story. I focused on the writing, while my husband Scott, a professional fine-art photographer, recorded on film the lands that were quietly being preserved by individuals, conservation organizations, and business enterprises.

A year earlier, while studying geology at Pennsylvania State University, I had taken a course entitled "State of the World," after the annual publication of the same name. After many months of listening to unconvincing eco-statist rhetoric in class, I decided to do my research project on how free markets and private property rights could lead to more efficient and more permanent solutions to the many environmental problems facing the world today.

When I first presented my ideas in class, I found that most of the other students had never heard of a free-market approach to environmental policy. A few were skepti-



Boot Cove, part of the Maine Coast Heritage Trust, a nongovernmental organization protecting thousands of acres of pristine islands and coastal property.

cal; some were intrigued; but most were simply surprised. As my research progressed, it became clear why most of my classmates had never been exposed to free-market environmentalism. Even though I was actively looking for information on alternatives to government control, I found it difficult to locate the resources I needed. When I did find them, they were hardly as exciting as the message put out by the traditional environmental groups. Much of the literature on free-market environmentalism is couched in technical economics terms, such as externalities, transactions costs, opportunity costs, and capitalization. It was difficult for my classmates—as it seems to be for most people—to visualize how a market system based on property rights, contracts, and the rule of law can safeguard environmental amenities

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A Modest Proposal



Every four years, the combination of the Olympic games and the presidential election invites a conclusion that our process for selecting the president does not work well by comparison.

To get to the Olympics, the world's best athletes participate in a series of runoffs for the opportunity to compete in the final in each sport. On any given day, conditions may favor one athlete or another, but there is little doubt that the gold medal winner is at least one of the several best athletes

in the world in that sport.

The presidential primaries, in contrast, select a nominee from those who win a plurality of the party faithful in a series of state contests—rather than from those most qualified to build the broad national coalition necessary to win the presidency. That increases the relative influence of doctrinaire single-issue voters in each party. Moreover, the campaign finance laws favor two types of candidates: those who are effective in raising a large number of small contributions and those few with enough independent wealth to finance their own campaigns. The recent campaigns of Ross Perot and Steve Forbes, for example, were an artificial consequence of those laws.

The biases in our present selection process favor presidential candidates with characteristics that are only incidentally related to those necessary to govern. It is as if the winners in the 400-meter high hurdles semifinals were selected to compete in the shot put finals.

Two changes would allow us to select better qualified candidates:

My first suggestion is to restore the party convention as the only forum for selecting, as distinct from merely affirming, the party's

presidential nominee. The primaries would be limited to one in each of four to six regions and would serve mainly to test a candidate's campaigning skills. The primary state in each region would be selected by lottery, or maybe the states could bid for the primary. The total number of delegates selected by the primaries, however, would be smaller than that necessary for the nomination. Most of the delegates, I suggest, should be candidates for other elected offices and others who have a large stake in the election of their party's presidential nominee.

My second suggestion is to eliminate all limits on campaign contributions, both by contributor and by candidate. The only remaining requirement would be full and transparent disclosure of all contributions over some nominal amount. Most advocates of campaign finance limits are also advocates of big government; they want to maintain a large claim on the nation's economy but limit the role of money in politics. Given the important issues at stake in federal elections, we probably spend too little on politics. The only effective way to reduce the role of money in politics is to reduce the role of government in the economy.

It is probably already too late to avoid an unfortunate outcome of the present process for selecting the Republican presidential candidate in 1996. It is not too late, however, to avoid a repeat of this problem in 2000. On this issue, the beginning of wisdom is to recognize that the "democratic" reforms of primaries and campaign finance limits have seriously weakened our democracy.

—William A. Niskanen

“The biases in our present selection process favor presidential candidates with characteristics that are only incidentally related to those necessary to govern.”

Cato Calendar

UNIVERSAL SERVICE: SOCIALIZING THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE UNDER THE 1996 TELECOMMUNICATIONS ACT

Washington • Cato Institute • May 1, 1996

Speakers include Lawrence Gasman, Milton Mueller, and Wayne Leighton.

THE FUTURE OF MONEY IN THE INFORMATION AGE 14th Annual Monetary Conference

Washington • Cato Institute • May 23, 1996

Speakers include Rep. Michael Castle, Jerry L. Jordan, Scott Cook, Rosalind Fisher, Shalom Rosen, Lawrence White, and David Chaum.

LEVIATHAN AND THE NEW MILLENNIUM

New York • Waldorf-Astoria • April 26, 1996

Speakers include José Piñera, Roger Pilon, and Stephen Moore.

LEVIATHAN AND THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Seattle • Westin Hotel • June 17, 1996 • Speakers include José Piñera.

LEVIATHAN AND THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Redwood City, Calif. • Hotel Sofitel • June 18, 1996 • Speakers include José Piñera.

LEVIATHAN AND THE NEW MILLENNIUM

San Francisco • ANA Hotel • June 19, 1996 • Speakers include José Piñera.

A positive civil rights vision based on "empowerment"

Equal Opportunity, Not Quotas

The American civil rights vision has been shattered by proponents of divisive racial preferences, resulting in disastrous human consequences, according to a new book published by the Cato Institute. In *The Affirmative Action Fraud: Can We Restore the American Civil Rights Vision?* Clint Bolick argues for a positive civil rights agenda of individual empowerment. Only by returning to the classical liberal roots of the American civil rights vision—the notion that all individuals are equal before the law—can we begin to reduce the racial division brought about by affirmative action.

Bolick notes that civil rights advocates from Thomas Paine to Martin Luther King Jr. adhered to the principle of equality of opportunity. The transformation of that powerful liberal idea into race-based preferences has dramatically widened the racial divide in the United States.

"Anyone studying the civil rights movement from its genesis in our nation's infancy through the 1960s will be struck by the clarity and consistency of the moral vision adhered to by the movement's leaders through nearly two centuries—and struck by the sudden and complete abandonment of that vision since the '60s," writes Bolick. "In place of the vision that fueled the movement's great triumphs is a revised agenda that substitutes individual rights with group entitlements, color-blindness with race-consciousness,



Clint Bolick of the Institute for Justice at a Cato Book Forum celebrating publication of his new book on affirmative action.

freedom with coercion. The concept of civil rights has been transformed from those basic rights we share as Americans into special privileges for some and burdens for others. As a consequence, Americans are as racially divided as ever, with not nearly enough tangible progress."

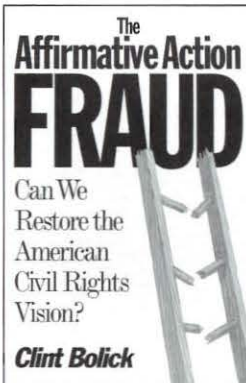
The Affirmative Action Fraud places contemporary civil rights challenges in their historical context by tracing the evolution, principles, and accomplishments of the civil rights movement and examining both the underpinnings and the consequences of the revised agenda that supplanted the original civil rights vision.

Bolick uses poignant examples to highlight the absurdities of the system of

imposed quotas. He reviews the record of the Clinton administration (the most "quota driven in history") and calls on members of the Democratic Party to return to the principles of individual liberty they once cherished. He also chides Republicans for failing to articulate clearly a vision of civil rights that would offer an alternative to the group-entitlement mentality of the left and for ignoring chances to expand opportunity for the disadvantaged.

The Affirmative Action Fraud outlines a positive civil rights vision based on "empowerment": the systematic removal of barriers to opportunity that prevent individuals from controlling their destinies. Abolishing slavery and securing equality for all under the law were the first two parts of the civil rights agenda, and Bolick argues that individual empowerment is its culmination. Freedom, not dependence, will truly make the American civil rights vision a reality.

While outlining strategies to reduce crime and welfare dependency, and advocating programs to make home ownership a reality for more Americans, Bolick identifies two pillars of an empowerment agenda: economic liberty and school choice. He writes that with the rollback of economic regulations and the availability of quality education for low-income citizens, the dream of two centuries of civil rights advocates will become a reality. ■



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Senator Gramm, former IRS historian Shelley Davis, Steve Milloy speak at Cato

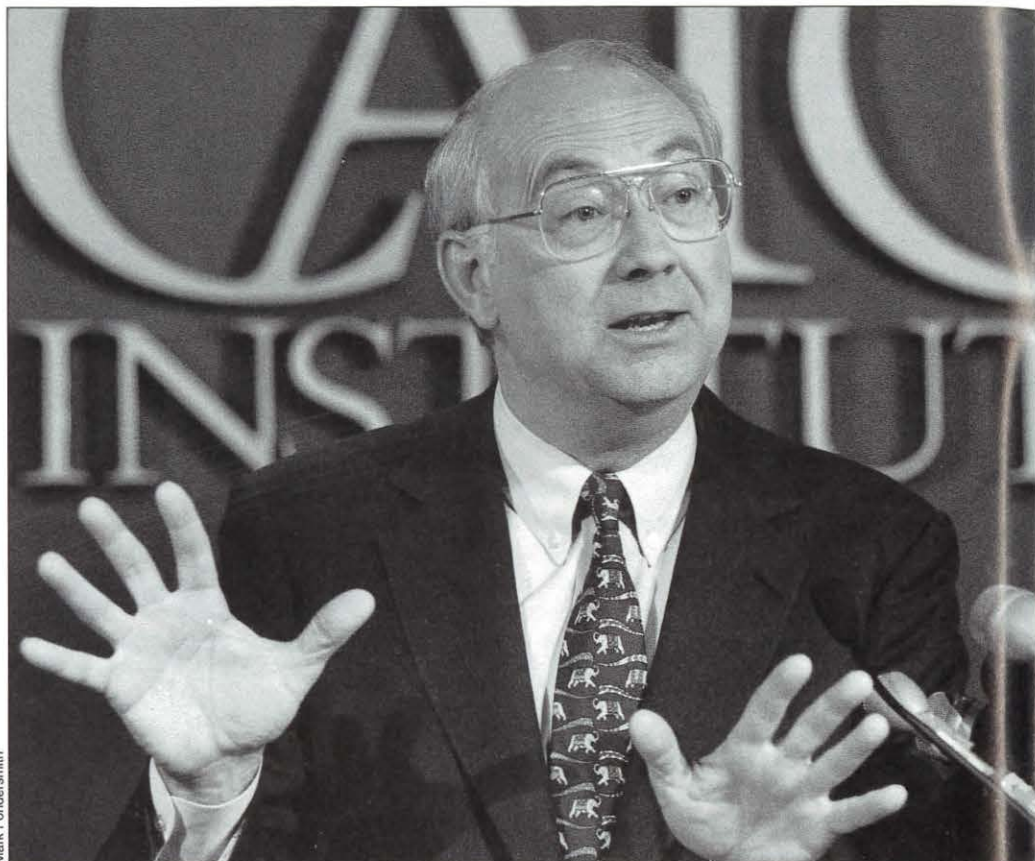
Taxes, UN, Computer Privacy at Forums

◆**December 11:** Julian L. Simon, professor of business administration at the University of Maryland, gave a Capitol Hill Briefing on his new study, "Immigration: The Demographic and Economic Facts." Simon pointed out that immigrants do not increase the unemployment rate for native-born Americans; total per capita government expenditures on immigrants are much lower than on native-born Americans; and educational levels of immigrants have been increasing. Mark Krikorian of the Center for Immigration Studies, Cato's chairman William A. Niskanen, and Richard Vedder of Washington University's Center for the Study of American Business commented.

◆**January 5:** At a Cato Policy Forum entitled "Who Won the Battle of the Budget?" pollster William McInturff of Public Opinion Strategies presented evidence that the public still supports the Republicans despite attacks on what the congressional majority wants to do with the budget. Gerald Seib of the *Wall Street Journal* argued that the Republicans in Congress are trying to do too much in the first year and ignoring the advice of gradualists such as William Kristol, publisher of the *Weekly Standard*. Edward Gillespie, director of communications for the Republican National Committee, maintained that the GOP will be able to make a credible case to the public that President Clinton was the impediment to a balanced budget. Cato fiscal policy studies director Stephen Moore, however, criticized the Republicans for surrendering to big government, noting that the Republican plan would still spend \$12.2 trillion over the next seven years.

◆**January 11:** At a Cato News Conference at the National Press Club, natural resource economist and Cato adjunct scholar Julian Simon unveiled his new book, *The State of Humanity*, a collection of studies by more than 50 scientists and economists showing that the overall trends in human well-being are universally positive.

◆**January 11:** At a Roundtable Luncheon, James D. Gwartney, professor of economics at Florida State University, discussed *Economic Freedom of the World: 1975-1995*, a new book that he wrote with Robert



Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas speaking at a Cato Forum, where he called for a free-trade zone throughout the Americas.

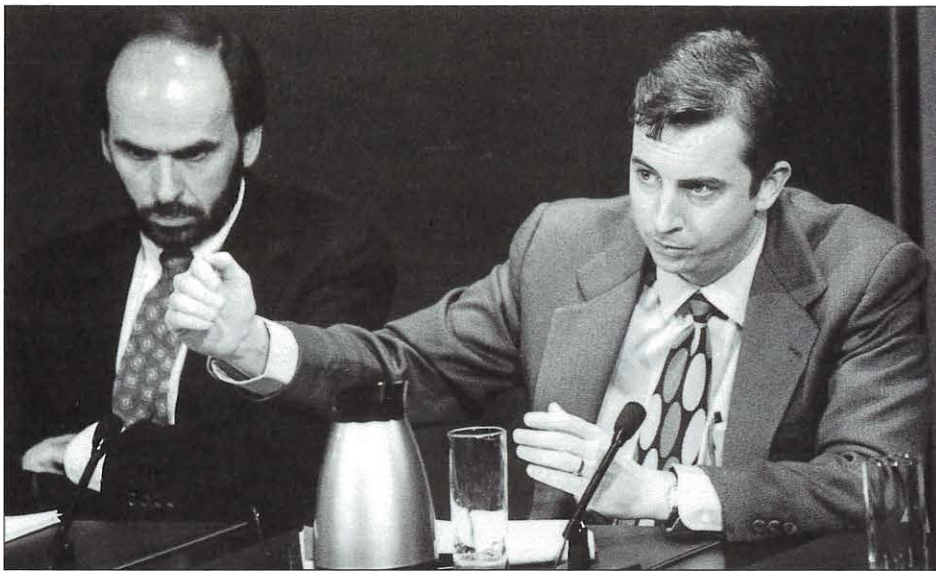
A. Lawson and Walter E. Block, that provides a country-by-country comparison of economic liberty. The book was published by Cato and market-liberal institutes in 10 other countries. Gwartney noted that the United States places fourth on the book's index of economic freedom.

◆**January 17:** Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) spoke at a Policy Forum entitled "An American Renaissance of Growth, Freedom, and Opportunity." Gramm called for a 16 percent flat-rate income tax, indexing of capital gains, repeal of the estate and gift taxes, and a free-trade zone throughout the Americas. He also called for a balanced budget by 2000 and a one-year moratorium on new regulations.

◆**January 18:** Former senator Malcolm Wallop, chairman of the Frontiers of Freedom Foundation, gave a Capitol Hill Policy Forum entitled "Dial 1-800-BIG

BROTHER? The Proposed Computer System to Fight Illegal Immigration." Wallop discussed pending congressional legislation that would require employers to check all hiring decisions through a new government-operated computer system that contains fingerprints, retinal scans, or other biometric data. Supporters say that such measures are necessary to fight illegal immigration, but Wallop argued that they seriously undermine individual liberty and illegitimately extend the powers of the federal government.

◆**January 23:** At a Policy Forum entitled "Searching for Truth at the IRS," the IRS's former historian, Shelley Davis, shared with the audience her own experiences with the service. Davis described how her examination of the IRS's administrative records revealed that the service exempted itself from congressionally mandated record-keeping protocol. Her discovery caused her to become the subject of an IRS investigation and led



Edward Gillespie of the Republican National Committee makes a point at a Cato Policy Forum about public perceptions of the budget conflict, as Gerald Seib of the *Wall Street Journal* looks on.



James A. Dorn (left) of the Cato Institute and Roberto Salinas León of the Centro de Investigaciones sobre la Libre Empresa, at a news conference in Mexico City to announce publication of *Money and Markets in the Americas* and a venture to publish Cato titles in Spanish.



Steven Milloy speaks at a Cato Book Forum on his new book *Science without Sense*, as Cato director of science and risk studies Michael Gough looks on.

to her resignation.

◆**January 25 and 26:** At City Seminars in Naples and Orlando, Florida, Walter Williams, syndicated columnist and professor of economics at George Mason University, joined Cato president Ed Crane and policy directors Stephen Moore and Roger Pilon in discussing how to place limits on Washington's power.

◆**February 6:** At a Book Forum celebrating publication of Clint Bolick's new Cato book, *The Affirmative Action Fraud: Can We Restore the American Civil Rights Vision?* the author told the audience that although civil rights originally meant the basic and equal rights of all citizens, it has come to mean instead a federally decreed entitlement to racial and other preferences. He called for an end to all government discrimination.

◆**February 22-25:** Ninety-five of Cato's Benefactors gathered at the Cato Benefactor Summit in Puerto Rico for a break from cold winter weather and to share ideas and strategies. Featured speakers included TCI cable mogul John Malone and Louis Rossetto, editor of *Wired* magazine. In addition, many of Cato's distinguished policy specialists briefed everyone on the progress of their work and on the latest cutting-edge policy research in such areas as Social Security.

◆**February 27:** A Book Forum featured Steven Milloy, director of the National Environmental Policy Institute, and Jonathan Samet, chairman of the Department of Epidemiology at Johns Hopkins University. Milloy discussed his new book, *Science without Sense: The Risky Business of Public Health Research*, a tongue-in-cheek how-to manual that details "everything you need to know about how to create a risk that will electrify the public, launch you into the pantheon of public health, and land those big fat research grants from the federal government." The book provides a biting critique of the misapplications of techniques and results of epidemiology, statistics, and toxicology. Samet responded to Milloy's description of the misuse of epidemiology and related disciplines and offered a spirited defense of science properly understood and used. ■

Entering the post-transformation stage

Czeching into Capitalism

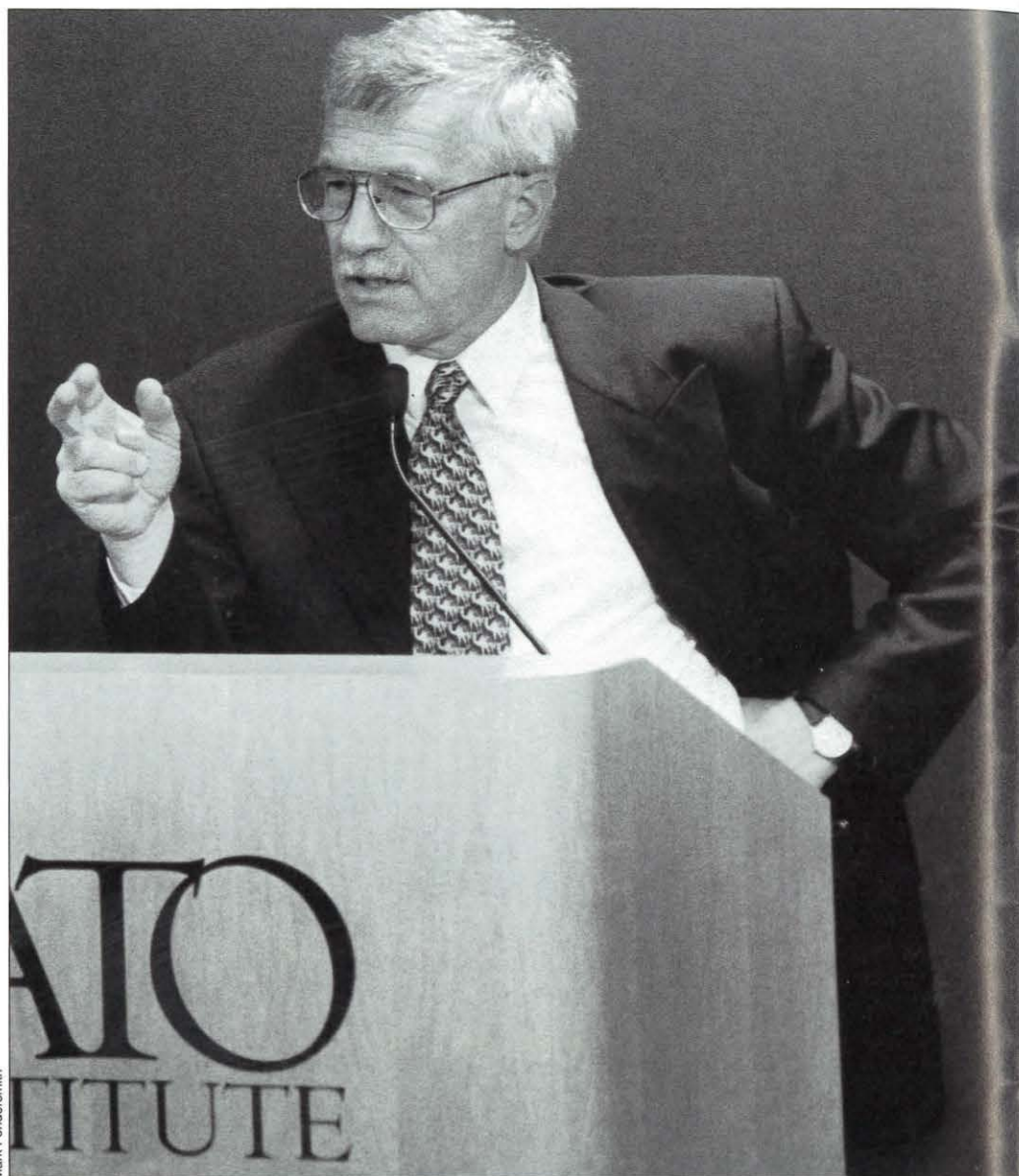
Prime Minister Václav Klaus of the Czech Republic spoke at a Cato Policy Forum in the Institute's F. A. Hayek Auditorium on December 4, 1995. Excerpts from his remarks follow.

I try to follow the work of the Cato Institute. I read your publications, and I find them really helpful. I was informed about your new building, but I didn't know it was as beautiful as it is. If the content is as good as the container, then it's absolutely great. In his introduction, Ed Crane mentioned my remark about the negative influence of advisers who come to my country from yours. Well, I have to rush back to Prague

“Vision is absolutely crucial, but vision alone is not sufficient. You must have a strategy to implement the vision.”

tomorrow night and go directly from the airport to the Czech parliament, because we start at nine o'clock the next morning to discuss the state budget for 1996. As you know, in the Czech Republic the budget must always be balanced, because we know that that's a rule of rational behavior. So we are presenting—for the sixth consecutive year—a balanced budget, which I think is an achievement.

Let me exaggerate slightly and suggest that we are ready to send some advisers to your country to explain how to balance the state budget. But I must tell you that there is nothing mysterious about it. There is no sophisticated economics behind it; it's simply the result of the ability of political leaders to say no to excessive expenditures. It is now almost six years after the fall—after the collapse—of communism. We have entered what we call the post-transformation stage. In this stage the basic transformation measures—the things that can be done by the government, by the politicians—have already been taken. There are now no



Václav Klaus, prime minister of the Czech Republic, making a point about the importance of private property rights at a Cato Policy Forum.

extraordinary measures that we expect to implement in the near future. As I like to put it, the operation is over, and now we are in the recovery room. The bold and enormous steps have already been taken. The main changes have been made. The challenges we face and the tasks we have to accomplish are now more or less familiar ones, which means that the elementary economics textbooks are more useful now than they used to be some five or six years ago.

As you know, we started the whole

transformation process with a very clear vision of where we wanted to go. And the terms that are very often heard in this auditorium were the catchwords that we were using even before the Velvet Revolution and that we tried to make real afterwards: laissez faire, or, as I always say, a market economy without any disqualifying adjectives; private property; small government; the rule of law; liberty; and individual responsibility. I know that those words may sound commonplace to this

audience, but I am sure you know that they are very uncommon, not just in the postcommunist world, but in many places in the Western world.

Vision is absolutely crucial, but vision alone is not sufficient. You must have a strategy to implement the vision. When I say strategy, I am not speaking about constructivistic blueprints for a transition or a transformation. As we are in Hayek's auditorium, I think it's not necessary to explain this point, because we know that it's not possible to introduce the invisible hand of the market by means of the visible hand of a very clever or sophisticated or omnipotent politician or intellectual. That's not possible. We knew that we had to liberalize, deregulate, and privatize at a very early stage of the transformation process, even if we might be confronted with a rather weak and therefore inefficient market. So our strategy was flexible and pragmatic. We didn't want to mastermind the transition from communism to a free society because such a complex system can and must evolve. It can't be dictated from above.

The matter was conceptually, at least for me, very simple. I believed in the basic principles we share, and I was pretty sure that it was not necessary to wait for the creation of a new science. You recall that several years ago there was a debate about a new science, or subsience, or subdivision of a science: the economics of transformation. That is nonsense. We don't need a special economics of transformation. I think it's sufficient to apply standard economic, sociological, and political science reasoning. I stress three elements: liberalize, deregulate, and privatize.

Privatization in our country was absolutely crucial, and you know we started from nothing, really from zero private property, not from 10, 20, or 30 percent of the economy in private hands. It is sometimes difficult to explain to audiences like this one what it means to privatize the economy from nothing, because everyone offers us the example of brave Margaret Thatcher. But as one of my colleagues recently put it in a very precise way, our task of privatization was to bring the economy to the point at which Margaret Thatcher *started* to privatize the British economy. That's a very important

point that is misunderstood, or at least not sufficiently understood, in the West. I have to laugh whenever I meet Western bank advisers, or consultants, or experts from this country whose first question is about privatizing the post. I say that that is the last question; the first question is to privatize the first grocery store or the first hairdresser or the first cafe or the first small car repair shop or something like that. Our task in the transition from communism to a free society was to privatize to the point where Margaret Thatcher started. The issue is not the same

“We know that the most dangerous state of affairs for the environment is to liquidate private property and to do away with prices as a tool for informing us about relative scarcities.”

as in your institute, where you have the luxury of discussing whether the U.S. Postal Service should be privatized, because that is a post-transformation task, so to speak.

I think that conceptually it's very important to distinguish the so-called transformation form of privatization from what we call the classical, or standard, form of privatization. Conceptually, those are two totally different things, and it is necessary to use for them totally different methods. Consider Great Britain. They succeeded in privatizing three or four firms a year. As I always stress, our task was to privatize three or four firms per hour; that's the crucial difference. Now we have reached a point where we can discuss whether to privatize the railway system fully or partly. That's really another stage, and I have to stress the difference because it's absolutely crucial.

At any stage, however, I am absolutely sure that a free market economy, with private

property and prices that are free to move and to reflect the real value of things, is the only way to preserve the world, to preserve humanity, and to preserve the environment. We know that the most dangerous state of affairs for the environment is to liquidate private property and to do away with prices as a tool for informing us about relative scarcities. I'm sure you know that the worst environmental damage occurs in countries without private property, markets, or prices. Of course there is some room for some government activity, but not for overactivity. I'm very much against excesses of environmentalism. At home I stress that private property with market prices is the precondition for solving environmental problems. What the government can do, in addition to defining and protecting private property, is a supplement, not a replacement.

Our task now is a common one, one that we share with you. Our task is to fight for economic freedom. Our task now is to avoid the reappearance of restrictive and unproductive state interventionism and dirigisme, which are advocated these days under new flags but are no less dangerous than in the past. Nobody's now marching with the communist flag in our country or, really, in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. There is little danger of introducing policies based on the old collectivist ideology; the danger is the introduction of new policies based on special interests, on the ideology of corporatism and syndicalism, on theories of so-called fairness, on aggressive environmentalism, on accusations of “social dumping,” on communitarianism, and so on. Those are the dangers as I see them.

Our heritage has made it possible for us to avoid some of those dangers. We in the Czech Republic definitely enjoy a different inheritance than do some other countries in the postcommunist world. I refer first to our inheritance from the prewar democratic Czechoslovakia. We also inherited something from the 1960s. As some of you probably know, we Czechs made our first attempt to transform—in today's terminology, to restructure—the communist system in the second half of the 1960s. It was at that time, not just in the last few years, that we discovered Hayek, Friedman, and other free-

KLAUS *Continued from page 7*

market thinkers and thinking. That was a very important experience for all of us. The generation that was in its postgraduate years in the second half of the 1960s had a unique opportunity to travel and to study abroad—to be in contact with other ideas. My wife, for example, spent 10 months studying in Amsterdam. Our ambassador to this country spent a year studying at a university in Montreal, Canada. I spent a term at Cornell University. During that time of relative freedom, my generation was very privileged to be able to learn about and to be in contact with the rest of the world. After that, we were not allowed to travel abroad. I was not allowed to travel to the West for the next 17 years, until 1986. The young adults who had traveled during the second half of the 1960s more or less created the first post-Velvet Revolution government and occupied the crucial posts.

Ironically, some of our strength is an inheritance from the hostility following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Our friends and counterparts in Hungary and Poland in the 1980s were able to visit Washington; for us that was merely a dream. To meet an American economist, we had to go on vacation to Hungary or to Poland to participate in a symposium. Those gatherings represented for us the only real chance to meet someone from your country.

In our country in the 1970s and 1980s, people like me were definitely on the other side of the barricade and had absolutely no chance to do anything in cooperation with the government. Such was not the case in other postcommunist countries. All our counterparts—in Hungary, in Poland—were members of various government and communist party commissions on restructuring and reforming the system. They were involved deeply in that process, which

“Ironically, some of our strength is an inheritance from the hostility following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.”

not only is time-consuming but influences your thinking because you are engaged in trying to reform the system. We were never involved in such activities. We had no chance to be involved. Nobody asked us for advice, and therefore our thinking remained clear and straightforward. We never considered reforming either the communist society or the economy. We knew that they had to be rejected.

Another very important part of our inheritance is a long tradition of prudence. The Czech Republic had a very low macroeconomic imbalance. We had practically no foreign indebtedness. Countries seem to have a propensity to be indebted, I discovered, when in 1980 I compared the per capita indebtedness of communist Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary and discovered that per capita indebtedness was 10 times higher in Poland and Hungary than in Czechoslovakia, and that the ratio in 1980 was the same as it had been in 1930.

As I've said, we have entered the post-transformation stage, so the dilemmas we face are more or less the standard ones—for

example, maintaining internal and external economic equilibrium and balancing growth and stability. We live in a period of very rapid post-transformation recovery. This is not the kind of macroeconomic cyclical behavior described in standard economics textbooks. This growth is occurring after several years of declining gross national product, of what I call the “transformation shakeout,” or shakeout of activities that are simply not viable under the new regime of unsheltered and unsubsidized markets, from which the old Soviet Comecon system of barter and trade is gone. There was a necessary decline.

Now, after that shakeout, has come a very rapid economic recovery. Economic growth this year is expected to be between 4 and 5 percent. We will present the budgetary figures for next year in the parliament Wednesday morning. Just before leaving the country three days ago I got the figures for October industrial output and output in the construction industry. The October figure for industrial output is an incredible +19 percent and for construction it is +21 percent. So we have very rapid economic growth and the standard dilemmas to accompany it: how to reconcile such rapid growth with continuing disinflation, which is a standard problem all economies face, not a transition or transformation problem, and how to reconcile very rapid growth with very low unemployment. As you may know,



Edward H. Crane, president of the Cato Institute, introducing Prime Minister Václav Klaus in the F. A. Hayek Auditorium.

“We want to be a member of the European integration process because we want to be a normal European country.”

the last figure for unemployment in the Czech Republic was an incredible 2.8 percent, which is definitely below the natural rate of unemployment, at a time of very, very fast growth of demand for labor and very fast restructuring. Another problem is the “Czech Phillips curve,” the so-called tradeoff between inflation and unemployment; again, this is a familiar dilemma. The rate of inflation is too high for us; the last figure for October to October was 8.1 percent, which is very high compared to the rate in your country, but as you know, it’s one digit less than in other postcommunist countries, which typically have at least double-digit inflation. So those are the standard dilemmas we now have to face.

In closing, let me say that we are and we want to be an open country in all respects. You may know, or perhaps not, that last Tuesday the Czech Republic entered the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; we were the first postcommunist country to do so. We consider acceptance in that very prestigious club another important international recognition of the achievements of our country. For me it would have been a dream several years ago to think about the Czech Republic as a member of the OECD. As you know, we intend to become a member of NATO. We intend to become a member of the European integration process, even with all our questions and sometimes objections to the form of the integration process and to the extensive regulation and control from Brussels. Nevertheless, we want to be a member of that group because we want to be a normal European country. ■

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“A market system can safeguard environmental amenities better than a command-and-control governmental system.”

PROTECTED PLACES *Continued from page 1*

better than a command-and-control governmental system.

To bring free-market environmentalism to the attention of more people in an emotionally appealing way, Scott and I decided to produce a coffee-table photography book showing the lands of private owners as protected places rather than as property requiring government protection. We contacted the Political Economy Research Center (PERC) and the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI), two leading free-market environmental groups, and got suggestions and a modest (but very much appreciated) grant to allow us to visit and photograph numerous privately protected areas around the country.

Although the experts at PERC and CEI offered some suggestions about places to go, there is no central listing of the myriad privately preserved places. Often owners have no desire to open their property to visitors, because their concern is to minimize the damage too many visitors cause (witness Yellowstone or other state-owned parks). Some privately preserved places, such as those owned by private conservation organizations or businesses, are better known than others, so we used them as a starting point.

Our first home as husband and wife was a 1987 Dodge van we had converted into a makeshift camper. It had neither air conditioning nor running water; but it did have a propane stove and a good stereo, and it was already well broken in with an odometer reading of 115,000 miles. We added to those miles as we wound our way from Maine to New Mexico and from Oregon to Pennsylvania.

The East

We decided to start in the Northeast and follow the autumn color back to Pennsylvania, so we made our way to Maine. Our first destination was the North Maine Woods, almost 3 million acres of working forest. Although not a true wilderness, the woods have remained essentially the same as they were a century ago, with vast tracts of forest and lakes, some accessible only by canoe or floatplane.

A cooperative effort joining property owned by 25 different timber and paper com-



Privately maintained land along the Rocky Mountain Front visited by the Ridgeways on their coast-to-coast tour of privately protected places.

panies, the North Maine Woods are accessible through just a few user-fee stations. There are no visitor centers with park rangers, no gas stations or even paved roads. It is one of the few places where you can find true solitude. We would often spend days at a time with only moose, black bears, and beavers for company.

Next we made our way to the Atlantic coast to see some of the properties owned by the Maine Coast Heritage Trust. Lobsterman Jasper Cates lives along one of the most beautiful and pristine sections of Maine's rugged historic coastline. When developers threatened to build homes on one particular portion of rocky shoreline, Cates realized that the best way to protect it was, not to seek government intervention, but to buy the land. Gathering funding and support, he and a handful of concerned neighbors founded the Maine Coast Heritage Trust to purchase and protect what they could of Maine's remaining undeveloped rocky coast. What began as a plan to protect the historical and environmental treasures of a small community now protects thousands of acres of pristine

islands and coastal property all along Maine's Atlantic shore.

We also visited Maine's Acadia National Park. Although the park is quite beautiful, it was hard to ignore the roads, cars, countless people, and accompanying development. The property of the trust, on the other hand, looked just like it had 200 years and more ago, thanks to Jasper Cates and his neighbors.

As we left Maine and made our way south to New York State, we began to learn more and more about the Nature Conservancy, one of the most respected environmental organizations. As we talked with people, we learned that the conservancy is not always what it seems.

Many private landowners in the Adirondack Park region of New York State, such as David Howard, founder of the Land Rights Foundation, view the Nature Conservancy as a threatening entity set on purchasing the private land inside the "green line" borders of the park. Because of onerous edicts and bureaucratic commands, many small private landowners within the park boundaries

“When developers threatened to build homes on the shoreline, Jasper Cates realized that the best way to protect it was to buy the land.”



Rancher Tom Salansky explains his philosophy of land stewardship and the battle to defend property rights to author Collette Ridgeway.

feel pressured to sell their property to the state for inclusion in the park. Because of continual and punitive government harassment, many decide to sell to the Nature Conservancy instead. What they don't realize is that often the conservancy will turn around and sell their family property to the government, often at a very great profit.

With a new wariness about the intentions of some conservation organizations, we made our way to Pennsylvania and another privately owned preserve. The Hawk Mountain Sanctuary in eastern Pennsylvania lies along a natural migration route. In the early part of this century though, it was the end of the migration for thousands of raptors each year. At the time, all predators were considered undesirable. Hunters would stand on the rocky cliffs and shoot hundreds of birds a day as they slowly spiraled on the thermal updrafts.

Rosalie Edge, a leading conservationist of her day, finally stopped the slaughter by purchasing the mountain in 1934. Because of Edge and her sanctuary manager, Maurice Brown, both of whom literally risked

their lives to prevent hunting of the birds they treasured, bird watchers now gather where hunters once stood. Today the 2,000-acre reserve is considered one of the best birding locations in the world.

The West

After a brief rest at home over Christmas, Scott and I headed west on the next leg of our journey. This time we planned to visit lands owned by individuals and families, rather than by organizations or businesses as we had in the East.

When we approached ranchers to explain our project, we were greeted with gratitude and hospitality. We were welcomed into their homes, communities, and families. Most of them never get credit for the conservation and restoration work they do on their land. They were happy to, for once, be seen as friends of the environment.

We visited many landowners on the trip, but a few stand out. The Yamsi Ranch and Iram Wild Horse Preserve are both run by the Hyde family. Dayton Hyde is perhaps best known for his many books about his

experiences on his Oregon ranch and for breaking a seemingly unbreakable rancher's law—he welcomed coyotes on his land. Instead of killing them, he fed them. As a result, Hyde no longer needed to worry about coyotes attacking his herds.

Today, Dayton's wife, Gerda, and their grown children manage the Yamsi Ranch and continue the family tradition of holistic planning. On the afternoon we arrived, son John and his brother-in-law Scott Jayne were following in Gerda Hyde's footsteps by replanting willows along the banks of the Upper Williamson River. Over the years, Gerda herself replanted, by hand, over 250,000 trees on the ranch.

The Hydes have also made other improvements to their property. John Hyde explained to us the necessity of cattle in a brittle, arid environment, such as theirs. He showed us how, without grazing, the live grasses become choked with clumps of dead plant matter until the entire plant eventually dies. To keep the grasslands green, the Hydes graze each parcel intensively for a short period of time, followed by a long rest to allow the grasses to regrow.

Near the end of our tour of the property, John Hyde drove us to a natural spring that empties into the river. As we drank from the spring, John told us that, unlike many ranchers, they use no pesticides on their cattle that might contaminate this pure water. The Hydes have controlled the fly problem by selective breeding.

Although the Hydes have done a great deal of work on their own property, their influence can also be felt elsewhere. In addition to starting the Wildlife Stronghold program, an association of landowners dedicated to protecting the wildlife on their property, the Hydes took action to protect the delicate watershed surrounding their ranch. A five-year plan was worked out that brought together an interesting mix of Native Americans, ranchers, liberals, and conservatives to protect the watershed of the Upper Williamson River. Just as the program looked as if it might be a success, Forest Service regulations brought all efforts to a halt. Nothing could be done to the watershed that was on National Forest land. Without that vital part, all work was in vain.

Continued on page 13

Washington, D.C., and State Capitals are "parasite economies"

How to Clean Up Hazardous Waste

Superfund is not a program devoted to the protection of public health, says James V. DeLong, a lawyer and adjunct scholar of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, in "Privatizing Superfund: How to Clean Up Hazardous Waste" (Policy Analysis no. 247). It is, instead, an expensive mechanism for reclaiming a limited amount of land for general use. The number of parcels of real estate covered by the law or otherwise needing remediation runs into the hundreds of thousands (though the level of contamination of the vast majority is probably minimal), yet federal policy is to clean up the 1,238 sites on the National Priorities List to operating-room standards and ignore the others.

According to DeLong, "The effort to justify that policy results in exaggeration of the risks to public health posed by Superfund sites." Those risks are trivial and could be contained at low cost. Furthermore, the effort to "make the polluter pay" has enmeshed over 32,000 people in a regime of injustice, waste, inefficiency, and bloated transactions costs and is discouraging the redevelopment of properties.

The policy of concentrating on NPL sites ignores the arbitrary nature of the process by which sites are listed. There is no convincing evidence that those sites are significantly more threatening than are many non-NPL sites. The focus on the NPL also ignores the growing burden of private litigation, which is becoming an increasing drain on national economic resources and represents a significant reallocation of property rights.

DeLong concludes that "the present law should be repealed and site remediation privatized so that decisions are made by market processes, not bureaucratic ones." Existing federal sites and abandoned sites should be auctioned off to private parties for either a positive or a negative price. The buyers should be obligated only to contain the contamination and prevent harm to public health. Whether a site is cleaned up for use or left idle should be determined by the market for the property.

◆State Capitals as Parasite Economies

Washington, D.C., and state capitals are "parasite economies" that drain resources

from other areas, according to Ohio University economics professor Richard K. Vedder. In "Capital Crimes: Political Centers as Parasite Economies" (Policy Analysis no. 250), Vedder says that the "productive private citizens in outlying regions of our nation and states are financially burdened to pay for a parasite public economy of lawmakers, lobbyists, contractors, and bureaucrats in the political centers."

Vedder compares income, population change, unemployment, and working conditions in capital cities and surrounding areas and concludes that the former siphon wealth from the latter. For example, he finds that the "average annual pay of workers in the District of Columbia exceeds the national average by 48 percent," that "nationwide, income per person in counties with state capitals tends to be nearly 10 percent higher than in other regions," and that the per capita income levels in the capital cities of the poorest states are about 17 percent above the state averages. "Government is said to redistribute income from rich to poor or from young workers to older retirees," concludes Vedder, "but there is evidence that individuals use government to redistribute income from the general taxpaying public to themselves."

◆Smog Reduction

The 1992 amendments to the Clean Air Act mandated that local governments that violate federal ozone (urban smog) standards abide by a dizzying array of regulations, many of the most controversial of which—centralized state inspection and maintenance programs, carpooling requirements, zero-emission vehicle sales quotas, use of alternative fuels, and new-vehicle emission standards—are intended to control automobile emissions. In "The Smog-Reduction Road: Remote Sensing vs. the Clean Air Act" (Policy Analysis no. 249), Daniel B. Klein and Pia Maria Koskenoja, respectively professor and graduate student at the University of California, Irvine, show that both empirical evidence and candid reflection suggest that current approaches to vehicle pollution are extremely inefficient, economically costly, and of only limited help in improving air quality. They assert that "the use of remote sensors, mobile, roadside emission-sensing devices, could do more to

improve air quality than all other approaches combined at only a fraction of the cost."

A detailed examination of how such a program could be implemented in the Los Angeles region indicates that "remote sensing would prove far more effective and about five times less costly than the current decentralized inspection and maintenance program."

Klein and Koskenoja urge Congress to "amend the Clean Air Act to allow states to adopt remote-sensing programs in place of the unpopular and less effective programs currently required by the act." Such a reform would be a boon to drivers everywhere and would better meet environmental goals.

◆Avoiding Conflict with China

Relations between the United States and China are becoming frayed, with serious risks for both countries, says Leon T. Hadar in "The Sweet-and-Sour Sino-American Relationship" (Policy Analysis no. 248). Hadar, a Cato adjunct scholar, contends that "a containment policy directed against China could easily provoke a military crisis in East Asia."

He warns, "Hard-line U.S. policies based on the assumption that China poses a strategic, economic, and cultural threat could create a tragic, self-fulfilling prophecy." The military threat is exaggerated; although China is modernizing its antiquated forces, military spending remains relatively modest, and Beijing's strategic policies (while sometimes troubling) do not pose a credible threat to America's security. The notion that China represents an economic or cultural threat misconstrues the complex roles of trade and culture.

Instead of adopting a confrontational policy, Hadar advocates that the United States intensify economic relations. Those relations have a liberalizing influence that increases the likelihood of additional economic and political reforms. U.S. officials should advise the Taiwanese not to provoke a crisis by declaring independence and make it clear that the United States will not intervene militarily to protect Taiwan. Finally, the United States should encourage the development of a balance-of-power security system in East Asia, with Washington playing a low-key, supportive role.

“Because of Rosalie Edge and Maurice Brown, bird watchers now gather where hunters once stood.”

PROTECTED PLACES *Continued from page 11*

Undeterred, the Hyde family continues to reach out to educate the community. By conducting school field trips, trail rides, and offering catch-and-release fly fishing opportunities, the Hydes make sure that word of their work spreads.

Lately, Dayton Hyde has turned his attentions to another project, the Iram Wild Horse Sanctuary, in the Black Hills of South Dakota. The sanctuary, founded as a nonprofit organization, provides a home for unadoptable wild horses on over 11,000 acres of spectacular land that are also home to scattered remains of Native American tepee rings and petroglyphs.

Dayton Hyde knows that public property rarely serves the best interest of the environment. Many National Parks face the constant problem of preventing the great numbers of visitors from damaging what they have traveled so far to enjoy. Trail erosion, litter, and even intentional destruction and vandalism of natural treasures are all unavoidable problems on public property. That “tragedy of the commons” does not occur on protected private property. Hyde told us that no additional damage has been done to the petroglyphs, or to any other part of the sanctuary, since it has been in his care. Because access to the horses’ habitat can be carefully controlled, the land and the horses can thrive.

Guided tours, trail rides, special western events, and overnight accommodations in authentically styled tepees attract many visitors to the sanctuary. Tourism is the driving force that allows the sanctuary to remain in operation.



Western Head, an inlet protected by the Maine Coast Heritage Trust.

The Southwest

As our journey continued farther south, we met a man who has brought new life to a ruined and dying landscape in the mountains of central New Mexico. Thirteenth-century petroglyphs of fish and beaver in the area gave a very different picture of the dry and barren tract of land that rancher Sid Goodloe had purchased in 1956. Through 40 years of hard work, Goodloe was able to successfully rebuild the natural savanna ecosystem historically found there.

By a combination of cutting, bulldozing, and prescribed burning, Goodloe removed water-hungry piñon and juniper trees that had taken root as a result of decades of overgrazing and unnatural, government-sponsored fire-suppression programs. His goal was to return the land to its natural state. Like the Hydes, he used his cattle as an environmental tool.

Whereas the natural fire cycle formerly removed excess brush, Goodloe now does

Continued on page 15

◆Risking a Second Cold War

The strong showing by Communists and ultranationalists in Russia’s parliamentary elections emphasizes that the current political environment in that country is extremely delicate, says Stanley Kober, a Cato research fellow in foreign policy, in “NATO Expansion and the Danger of a Second Cold War” (Foreign Policy Briefing no. 38). It is vital that the United States and its West European allies not take any action that might make an already bad situation worse.

Enlarging NATO to include the nations of Central and Eastern Europe would be an especially unwise step. Kober warns that “enlargement would undermine Russia’s beleaguered democrats, intensify Russian suspicions about Western intentions, and play into the hands of militaristic elements that argue that Moscow must restore the Soviet empire to protect Russia’s security.”

Expanding NATO would also require the United States to extend security commitments to the new members—

commitments that neither the United States nor the West European powers are prepared to fulfill. Kober cautions that “reliable security guarantees must be based on more than verbal declarations, which means that Washington would be pressured to station conventional forces in the new member states. The Russians have emphasized that they would regard that as a provocation requiring countermeasures on their part. NATO expansion, therefore, would risk recreating the division of Europe.” ■

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Carpenter New Cato Vice President

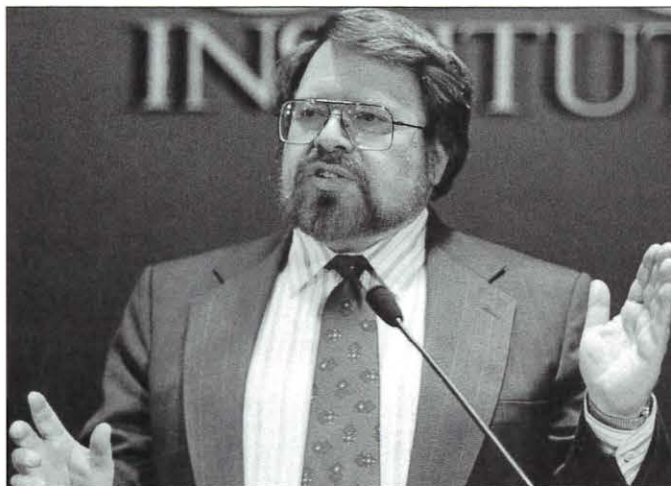
Ted Galen Carpenter has been named Cato's vice president for defense and foreign policy studies. Carpenter, who holds a Ph.D. in U.S. diplomatic history from the University of Texas, Austin, was previously director of foreign policy studies. Edward H. Crane, Cato's president, congratulated Carpenter on his promotion, saying, "Ted is both an outstanding scholar and a communicator who has been one of the few voices of reason in his field, defending authentic American interests and distinguishing them from needless interventions abroad. Ted's work is integral to Cato's approach, which emphasizes peace and security through strategic independence, the foreign policy appropriate to a constitutional republic."

Among Ted Galen Carpenter's current initiatives is Cato's new UN Evaluation Project, which is publishing studies on the United Nations and will sponsor a major conference on the reevaluation of America's role in the organization later this year. Carpenter is also expanding the Institute's output of research on U.S. involvement in East Asia, increasing the number of studies on U.S. trade policy, and writing with Ian Vásquez, director of Cato's Project on Global Economic Liberty, a book on the international drug war.

Carpenter has written three books and edited five others. He has published more than 100 articles in scholarly journals, newspapers, and magazines. A regular guest on radio and television programs, he has appeared on *CBS Evening News*, *NBC Nightly News*, *Crossfire*, the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, BBC television and radio, *Larry King Live*, and C-SPAN.

Carpenter's latest book, *The Captive Press: Foreign Policy Crises and the First Amendment*, was recently recommended for libraries by *Choice* magazine, which noted, "Journalists, both present and prospective, need to study and learn from the excellent and highly recommended critical analysis in this book."

◆Nicole Gray is rejoining the Cato staff after a stint with the Steve Forbes for President



Ted Galen Carpenter

campaign. Gray has a long history with Cato and had worked most recently as assistant to the president. She will be rejoining Cato as director of sponsor services, in which capacity she will work with Cato's 11,000 individual Sponsors.

◆David Quast has joined the Cato Institute as director of public affairs. Before joining Cato, Quast was press secretary and legislative assistant to Rep. James Leach of Iowa. Quast holds degrees from the University of Puget Sound and the University of Essex in the United Kingdom and has extensive experience in public relations. He is responsible for relations with the media and works with Cato's vice president for communications Steve Berchem and other staff members to disseminate the findings of Cato scholars to the media.

◆Mark Fondersmith has joined the Cato Institute as design director. Fondersmith has worked as art director on publications such as *Baltimore Magazine*, *Insight*, and the *Baltimore Sun*. He holds a bachelor of fine arts from Syracuse University and has studied design and fine art in New York, London, and Florence. Fondersmith is responsible for the design, illustration, and photography of Cato book covers, *Cato Policy Report*, and other Cato publications.



David Quast



Nicole Gray

◆**Free Competition** A Korean edition of Lawrence Gasman's *Telecompetition: The Free Market Road to the Information Highway* has recently been published by the Park Young-yul Publishing House in South Korea. The Korean title of the book is *Tong Sin Goa Bang Song Eui Ja Yu Gyung Jaeng Non Ri* (*The Rationale of Free Competition in Telecommunications and Broadcasting*).

◆**Leadership** The *Boston Globe* notes (March 3, 1996) that "colleges and universities, once the center of national thought, have ceded public leadership to the nation's think tanks and high-brow magazines." The *Globe* notes the influence of the Cato Institute, which "has lent libertarian thrust to issues like immigration, education, and entitlement reform."

◆**Web Site** The Cato Institute Web Site (<http://www.cato.org>) will soon have available for down-loading full text for all numbers of the Policy Analysis series, as well as all articles from back issues of *Regulation* magazine. All articles from back issues of the *Cato Journal* will also be available soon for down-loading to your home or office computer. This makes the Cato Web Site an excellent source of information and analysis regarding important public policy issues. If you have not yet visited the Cato Web Site, you will find it a useful and user-friendly way to follow the work of the Cato Institute and to keep yourself abreast of the latest in informed policy analysis.



Mark Fondersmith

“Today, trout thrive in a small stream beside Goodloe’s modest adobe house, just as they did many centuries ago.”

PROTECTED PLACES *Continued from page 13*

so by hand. Invading water-hungry piñon and juniper created an incredible demand on the area’s typically minute water resources. Once the piñon and juniper had been removed, long-dead springs came alive and water began to flow in the streams once again. Careful fencing of the stream banks allowed natural willows and cottonwoods to take root as silt re-covered the eroded bedrock of the stream. Today, trout thrive in the small stream beside Goodloe’s modest adobe house, just as they did many centuries ago.

Native grassland plants also began to thrive on the open prairie when the piñon and juniper were gone. Elk, mule deer, and turkeys now flock to the property from the surrounding National Forest lands to feed on the new bounty.

Ever since the original Smokey the Bear was found as a badly burned and injured cub just a few miles from Capitan, New Mexico, total fire suppression had been the unquestioned rule of the forest. Goodloe’s dramatic success with his property, however, finally gave Forest Service managers reason to question that policy. Ironically enough, when local managers tried to make the same improvements to abused and overgrown National Forest property, all attempts at change were halted by the Endangered Species Act: the National Forest contained habitat of the endangered goshawk.

On July 3, 1994, as Capitan celebrated the 50th anniversary of Smokey’s rescue, lightning struck the Patos Mountain National Forest bordering Sid Goodloe’s property. Years of governmental fire suppression had



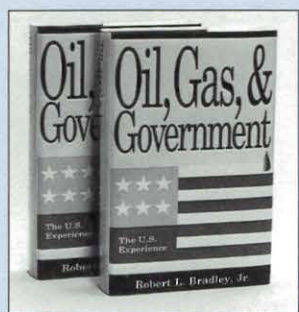
A naturally occurring bog in the 3 million acres of the privately owned North Maine Woods.

allowed an unnatural buildup of dead brush that encouraged the flames to climb high into the upper canopy of the trees. The goshawk habitat, along with much of the surrounding National Forest property, was destroyed.

In the end, it was Goodloe’s management practices that allowed the fire to be contained. The firefighters used as the edge of their back-fire his ranch, which sustained only a mild cleansing burn that recycled the biomass nutrients; rid the area of underbrush; and

left the larger trees, with their natural resistance to low-intensity fires.

When we started our trip, we had an intellectual grasp of free-market environmentalism. We knew about the incentives involved in private ownership and the economic realities of the market. We learned much more as we talked with, and worked alongside, individual landowners, the real environmentalists, who are motivated by love and respect for the land—their land. ■



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—*Oil and Gas Journal*

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"To Be Governed..."

◆Rent seekers deserve subsidies, too

Over a five-year period, one-third of all [Small Business Administration]-guaranteed loans [in New York City] went for taxi medallions. This is a regulated industry, so making those loans did not create one job. Medallions are easy to repossess, so there is no danger the bank will lose money even if the borrower defaults.

—*Crain's Small Business*, December 1995

◆Oh no! competition

The world's biggest car companies have decided to take different routes to develop electric vehicles.

Consumers will have a choice of at least two charging systems, both of which are being touted by their backers as the "best." The result could be confusion in the marketplace.

—*Washington Post*, Dec. 13, 1995

◆Otherwise, that money would just sit in the ground

Supporters argue a new capital [city] would boost Japan's sluggish economy. The massive construction project would create many jobs, and the ripples would be felt throughout the nation's economy, they say.

—*Washington Post*, Dec. 18, 1995

◆Indeed

Charles Murray . . . thinks we need to stop looking after the poor economically, but I'm not sure stopping dependency is the answer. I'd like more creative thinking on this because it's the great problem of the future. And so is our problem with the

aged, who live too long and exhaust us economically. We need a national corporate commitment to public service to look after them. We aren't able to provide the resources unless the young pay something for their patrimony through public service. I sound like a goddamned socialist!

—William F. Buckley Jr. in *Mother Jones*, January-February 1996

◆Can't break the habit

Two weeks after he reluctantly resigned under the cloud of a shoplifting conviction, a former [Minnesota] state senator was arrested and charged with swiping two shirts worth \$50.

—*St. Johnsbury (Vermont) Caledonian Record*, Jan. 25, 1996

◆So much for the right to private property

Facing the prospect that employees could secretly bring handguns to work, the Oklahoma City-based food processing company let its 5,300 workers know that weapons aren't allowed on company property and that violators could be fired. . . .

The National Rifle Association and many sponsors of the states' legislation contend that businesses shouldn't deny citizens their legal right to self-defense and say they expect legal challenges against business policies banning weapons.

—*Wall Street Journal*, Mar. 5, 1996

◆Oh, Lord, give me chastity, but not yet

U.S. Sen. John F. Kerry co-sponsored the Senate version [of legislation that

proposes to limit campaign spending for congressional campaigns]. . . .

. . . [T]he limit in Massachusetts would be about \$2.8 million. . . .

Gov. William F. Weld pledged from a seat in the audience that he would abide by the proposed law in his race for Kerry's Senate seat—if Kerry would do the same.

No way, Kerry responded later.

"The governor's playing to his own advantage," the senator said, adding that his own fund-raising had already surpassed the \$2.8 million limit, whereas Weld was far from it.

—*Boston Sunday Globe*, Jan. 21, 1996

◆All citizens are equal, but some are more equal than others

Vast lines of hundreds of people have started forming as early as 5 a.m. to obtain . . . tickets [to the Vermeer exhibition]. . . .

Unknown to most of the public . . . pre-approved admittees . . . have only to walk up, ask for their "courtesy passes," proceed to the head of the line and enter the exhibit without further ado. . . .

"I don't think we're looking at special treatment here," ventured Tom McMahon, press secretary to Sen. Howell Heflin (D-Ala.). . . . "In many cases a member's or staff member's time is limited, and to have the opportunity to go and see something like this is important." . . .

Christine Cimko, a spokeswoman for Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) . . . said, "I don't know how he feels. Probably the taxpayers have more time on their hands."

—*Washington Post*, Feb. 8, 1996

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