An Activist's Guide to Helping People Protect America's Wild Places

"God bless America … Let's save some of it."

Olaus Murie (1953) and echoed by **Edward Abbey (1968)**

Produced by The Wilderness Society's Wilderness Support Center

"Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of ensuring the safety and continuance of the nation."

— President Theodore Roosevelt

Introduction

Every wilderness area that's ever been protected has a story. And every story starts with people who care. You, the grassroots stalwarts, are the ones who really make a difference.

This guidebook is a work in progress. Its aim is to arm you with the kinds of background information that will help you gain vital ground in your battle for wilderness designations. It is designed to be forward-looking to ensure that we are steadily making progress in securing lasting wilderness protections for our special wild places. Just as the quest for wilderness by law should move forward every year, we hope that we can continue to add to this guidebook in the future.

Many of the sections in this guidebook are based on materials we've prepared over the years for activist training sessions. Because we haven't included all of that information, we've added a reference section in the back. We hope you will overlook what will undoubtedly be some "purposeful redundancy" (as wilderness champion and former Congressman Mo Udall would call it) on important topics.

The Wilderness Act has just celebrated its 40th birthday. It has helped the American people protect 106 million acres, but there is much more to be done. We hope that this guidebook will help you in your wilderness work and that you will find it a useful and enjoyable publication that engenders teamwork, that has spirit and spunk, that sparks and strengthens wilderness campaigns, and that helps lead to more wilderness protection. We've also included throughout the guidebook a number of inspiring quotations from well-known, as well as unsung, wilderness heroes. It is these unsung heroes that truly are the backbone and the hope of the wilderness movement. As Wilderness Society co-founder Robert Marshall said, "*There is just one hope of repulsing the tyrannical ambition of civilization to conquer every niche on the whole earth. That hope is the organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom of the wilderness."*

Democracy at Work

Thoughts on Wilderness, Democracy, Freedom, and Patriotism

by Bart Koehler

When we strive to pass Wilderness legislation, what we are really engaged in is Democracy at work. We are taking the law into our own hands, working our political system, and helping shape a better future for our public lands -- by using the Wilderness Act.

Bob Marshall called for vigilant American citizens to "fight for the freedom of the Wilderness". Battling for the freedom of the wilderness in the halls of Congress is one of the purest forms of Democracy that there is. To defend this freedom of the wilderness, we express our freedom of speech at public meetings, while commenting on seemingly endless EISs, by writing administrative appeals and going to court, and by traveling freely across our great Nation to meet with our elected officials and to testify on Capitol Hill.

Every American owns our public lands. Owning our public lands is one of our greatest liberties and most deeply held freedoms -- rooted in a strong sense of place. Woody Guthrie was right when he sang about "This land is your land, this land is my land." It is our responsibility to safeguard this liberty and freedom every day.

Patriot. The word "patriot" means "one who loves his or her country, and who guards it from harm". Take a good look around this room. I am sure that we are all patriots for our country's wildlands. As patriots we work within our democracy and our "government by the people" to defend and protect our wildlands against all odds.

When it comes right down to it -- after all the strategies, tactics, proposals, campaign plans and other ideas have been discussed - the future of our American Wilderness depends on each one of us. Every acre of Wilderness protected so far has depended on the stalwart actions of big-hearted, strong-spirited people. People like you -- grassroots and bedrock citizens -- have made all the difference and you will continue to do so in the challenging times ahead. Rachel Carson said it this way, "Protecting our planet is our finest form of patriotism."

We can help change the face our American landscape. Working together we will make a big difference as we fight for the freedom of our great American Wilderness. We can help protect more acres of Wilderness by forging ahead with commitment, responsibility, perseverance, and - as true patriots - with an abiding love for our wild country.

"*A patriot must always be ready to defend his country against his government.*"

—Edward Abbey, author and conservationist

Section A: Grassroots Wilderness Campaigns

The Fundamentals

Every successful grassroots wilderness campaign has its own special character and nature. This section gives the basics of campaigns but should be considered only a guide as we recognize that each individual wilderness effort can and should be unique in its own way.

Develop Your Proposal

Build a solid proposal for one or more wilderness areas. Tell the story of these special places and why they should be protected. Conduct a good inventory, draw defensible boundaries, understand potential conflicts and arguments against your proposal (and prepare materials to counter them throughout the campaign), and have clear maps and compelling photographs. Put together a brochure or an eye-catching booklet, which will serve as your educational centerpiece for building support.

Build Support

Draw up a game plan to educate the public about the benefits of wilderness and to generate broad and deep support for protection of your special places. Implement this plan at the bedrock, grassroots level. This requires steady teamwork. (In some cases you will need to make your proposal a national issue; in others, once your congressional delegation supports your proposal, you will take wing. Either way, you will always need a deep and wide base of grassroots support.)

Organize in concentric circles, reaching outward from your natural core base of support, and then going beyond to build strong working coalitions of important allies. Go deep into the roots of your local governments (e.g., village and town elected officials, county commissioners, the governor) and work to gain their support, or at least to blunt their opposition. Find "grasstops" activists—those who mobilize "movers and shakers" to urge decision makers to take certain positions—who are friends and peers of your champion, and who are ready, willing, and able to make personal contacts at key times.

Develop Media Lists

Earned and paid media work—from letters to the editor to TV spots—all help to inform potential supporters and keep the momentum going. Develop media lists and get to know your media contacts. Lobbying them isn't much different from lobbying key staff members in Congress. Provide them with regular updates on your campaign. Smart media work is an integral part of your campaign.

Pressure the Administration

Urge the Forest Service, the BLM, or the relevant managing agency to provide needed interim protections for key areas until your bill is signed into law. Build a relationship

and seek their support. Make sure that they are aware of your proposal. Fight actions that would damage your proposed wilderness areas. Work with these agencies when you can, but battle them when you have to.

Work with Congress

Remember, the more support you have at home before your bill is introduced, and the more support your congressional delegation gives the bill as it's introduced and moves forward, the better off you will be**.** Grassroots advocates need to work Capitol Hill to effectively raise the profile of wilderness bills. Give your congressional champions the best information possible—regarding both the best arguments for your bill and the opposition (and best responses to that opposition) that the bill may face. Get to know your delegation's key staff people and work closely with them. Keep a steady presence through thick and thin and always be there when things are moving. Use fact sheets, photos, visuals, booklets, and brochures to tell the story of your special place and to gain growing support for its protection.

Our Approach

Take a good hard look at the wild places across your state that you want to preserve. This is the "big picture" proposal. We work within state boundaries because a state is a delineated area and generally is the focus of congressional action. Once you have a sense of the big picture, take a good look at both the physical and political landscapes. Then concentrate on the areas for which you can most effectively advocate. It could be that you decide to focus on an entire state, a region, or several counties. You may decide to run your campaign along congressional district lines. (In seven states there is only one district.) In other cases you may decide to push for one area. We then forge ahead with "Coyote Planning" and the "Art of the Possible."

The "Art of the Possible" means taking advantage of existing conditions to get where you want to go, or creating new conditions to help you get there—and sometimes doing both at once. "Coyote Planning" is when you see the possibility of protecting a special wild place, pounce on it, pick it up, run with it all the way to Capitol Hill, and then take it back down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. After you succeed, you go out and do it all over again!

Finally, throughout the ups and downs of your campaign, always remember to have fun.

"There is, of course, no guarantee of success. But politics is not about observations or predictions. Politics is what we create by what we do, what we hope for, and what we dare to imagine."

— Senator Paul Wellstone (Minnesota, 1991–2002)

Starting Your Campaign

A campaign will not succeed solely on the wings of an emotional "Our cause is right!" approach. To be effective, activists must prepare detailed, comprehensive game plans *before* setting them in motion. Respectful teamwork will get you to your goal.

An effective campaign should have the following elements:

- **Short, interim, and long-term goals.** A long-term goal would be the end result (i.e., designated wilderness). Short-term and interim goals (i.e., compiling a citizen's wilderness proposal, generating public support, gaining endorsements from key groups and decision-makers, introducing a bill) would be those clear and significant steps that keep volunteers, supporters, and grassroots campaigners motivated and focused. Sketch an expected time frame for your campaign to reach its successful conclusion. (Start at the hoped-for finish and work backward.)

- **Organizational considerations.** You need to consider the possible short- and long-term effects the campaign may have on the financial, organizational, and human resources of the organization.

- **Identification of appropriate groups.** Organize in concentric circles. This would be the identification of those individuals, organizations, and institutions that could help activists succeed in a wilderness campaign. The primary target would be decision-makers who can help achieve the goals set at the start of the campaign. Secondary targets would be groups or individuals who are prominent enough to influence the decision makers. The third target group would be the general public, which can help support actions to achieve your goal. You must also identify opposition groups that could slow or derail your campaign.

- **Strategies and tactics.** Strategies and tactics should not be set in stone. They constantly need to be reassessed, altered, and reapplied because foreseen and unforeseen circumstances often influence a campaign. Prepare for the worst and hope for the best. And keep hope alive!

- **Honesty and truth.** Any inaccurate or exaggerated information could seriously damage the credibility of your campaign. Use scientific knowledge to bolster your campaign and to thwart the opposition.

- **Teamwork.** Teamwork should be based on understanding, respect, and trust.

When you start planning your campaign, have a clear idea of where you want to go and how you want to get there.

While defining your campaign strategy:

- Identify your allies and use their experience and insight to enhance your campaign.

- Identify the champions and opposition leaders and determine their position on wilderness issues.

- Be aware of the financial capacity and limits of your organization, *always*.

- Make personal contacts with local political figures/decision makers and build relationships with them.

- Promote local pride in the place you are trying to protect.

- Document the possible economic advantages for the community of protecting the place.

- Have accurate and up-to-date knowledge of all the physical information (maps, fact sheets, etc.) that tells the story of the place. Include roads, watersheds, key habitats/areas, and other important geographical data.

- Have good photographs on hand. These could be used in presentations, brochures, etc. It's true that a picture is worth a thousand words, and seeing is believing.

- Understand the Wilderness Act, the procedures and process of the House and the Senate, and other associated laws, and use them to help your campaign—or find someone who knows these things and ask him or her for help.

- Consistently and constantly communicate with experienced campaigners, lobbyists, and friendly agency officials and incorporate their advice into your strategy.

- Become familiar with the workings of the media. Develop trusting relationships with key media contacts.

Once all the aims, goals, strategies, and organizational considerations have been addressed, the campaign should be set in motion with the clear understanding that regular reviews and adjustments will probably be necessary.

Types of Campaigns

Wilderness campaigns may involve both offensive and defensive tactics.

Defensive Campaign

In a defensive campaign, activists react to the threatening actions. This type of campaign emphasizes the threat facing the land and tends to be a series of activities blocking the opposition. An advantage of a defensive campaign is that it is easier to build coalitions and rally the grassroots to fight a major threat. Another advantage is that the opposition sets the agenda, and this gives activists a clear definition of what to work against.

Defensive campaigns define success by preventing something from happening; they do not, however, in and of themselves, lead to permanent land protection. If you are working on a defensive campaign, always have the long-term, offensive goal in mind. Think about how you can use your defensive efforts to educate the public, decision makers, and media about your issues. Once you are successful in stopping the immediate threat, you will be better prepared to move into an offensive campaign and keep the effort focused and ultimately successful. (Some campaigns could have quickly switched to an offensive campaign—capitalizing on their momentum—but they did not and therefore lost an opportunity to succeed.)

Offensive Campaign

In an offensive campaign, the activists set the goals and move forward together. An advantage of this type of campaign is that it keeps activists thinking positively. But they will need to revise plans regularly and stay creative. A disadvantage of an offensive campaign is that it can be time-consuming—a successful conclusion usually takes many years. Another disadvantage is that, because of a lack of urgency, as in a defensive campaign, the actions to take may not always be clear. It can be difficult to build coalitions in an offensive campaign because it is often harder for possible allies to see what's in it for them or to totally agree on a game plan or end result (e.g., How big? Which areas?). Remember: While offensive campaigns may be harder to start and keep going, when you are successful, you are making permanent change and having fun along the way.

Campaign Tactics

Once you are engaged in your campaign, activists should realize that most campaigns (particularly offensive campaigns, but sometimes defensive campaigns) involve some sort of compromise. Here are some useful tactics to consider as your efforts move forward:

- Take advantage of your opponents' actions. Don't remain in a defensive mode if you can use your opponents' actions as a platform for making meaningful progress with your own campaign. Set clearly defined objectives and mileposts.

Always keep your long-term goals in clear focus despite the tortuous trail that your campaign might take.

- Remind your supporters and colleagues that the victories of a defensive campaign do not necessarily mean that an area is actually protected. These victories should be used as tools to motivate wilderness campaigners.

- Every success (however small) in your campaign needs to be celebrated.

- Build a positive and nurturing working environment amongst your fellow campaigners and your allies. Never degrade or ignore the contributions of your colleagues. Remember that you are all on the same team.

- Maintain a civil relationship with your opponents and at the same time use their tactics and goals as a platform for planning and furthering your actions. Keep the lines of communication open to your opposition. You may actually learn something useful when you least expect it.

- Develop a sound relationship, based on trust, with members of Congress and decision makers who could help you protect wild places.

- Realize that an offensive campaign will involve risk. A list of priorities and actions should be established only after the potential risks have been analyzed. Understand that your intended actions may not be universally popular among your campaigners. Some may see any compromise as selling out. Always keep your supporters, staff, and coalition members informed of your actions. Constantly reemphasize the long-term goals as well as the step-by-step successes of your campaign. Do not allow the campaign to be needlessly bogged down in petty squabbles or negativity. Focus on the positive, and try to keep your sense of humor, even in the darkest days.

And always keep in mind these helpful hints from Bart Koehler's "Sagebrush Sayings"…

"Slow and steady wins the race."

"The most effective way to influence decisions is to be there."

"Be creative, consistent, and accurate."

"A good idea's only useful if you use it."

"Remember that no tactic can be used in isolation."

"All successful campaigns are built on strong, bedrock grassroots support."

Trends of Successful Wilderness Bills

The wilderness movement has had more than 40 years of experience in getting wilderness legislation through Congress. Our movement has tried a number of legislative approaches, ranging from designating one area of 77 acres (West Sister Island Wilderness in Ohio) to a bill designating more than 50 million acres throughout Alaska (Alaska Lands Act, 1980). We have worked on single area, statewide, and multi-state legislation.

There have been dozens and dozens of successful wilderness campaigns that have led to the passage of over 100 laws creating 677 wilderness areas. While each of these efforts was unique in its own way, some common threads emerged.

Common Features of Successful Wilderness Bills

- Support of the U.S. senators and representatives from the area(s)
- A passionate/knowledgeable champion in Congress
- A sense of inevitability/urgency/momentum
- Weaker or distracted opposition
- Strong local support (not necessarily a majority)
- Unwavering, continuous activist pressure
- A sound and forward-looking game plan
- Leverage (i.e., outside pressure/issue that brought opponents and proponents to the table)
- Strong support in both the House and Senate
- Compromise

Common Features of Stalled or Failed Wilderness Bills

- Large size (in politics, not necessarily acres)
- Strong/passionate/organized opposition
- Lack of grassroots support
- Lack of passionate/knowledgeable champion
- No strategy beyond bill introduction
- Sense that success is unlikely
- Mono-cameral strategy (i.e., considering only one body of Congress—the House or the Senate, not both)
- Unwillingness to compromise

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

- Margaret Mead, anthropologist

Organizing Overview

Often people think that organizing and mobilizing are the same, since they are both outreach actions. They do go hand in hand, but there is a difference. Mobilizing is garnering letters, phone calls, etc., from core members and allies to a particular decision maker at the right place at the right time. Organizing is garnering letters, etc., from *new* allies and individuals (who are not naturally part of your core of support) and getting them to support your efforts.

Mobilizing can include a postcard mailing, a phone bank, e-mail alerts, etc., to show strength. Organizing is part missionary work and part detective work, and it is most effective through one-on-one, face-to-face contact.

Regardless of whether you are organizing new constituencies or mobilizing your base support, here is a useful cycle of actions: seek, thank, inform; recruit, thank, inform; engage, thank, inform; urge action, thank, inform; follow up and thank. Then start again. The Sierra Club's excellent publication titled the "Grassroots Organizing Training Manual" details this approach and is a terrific resource for anyone developing a conservation campaign.

Groups often have many different titles for effective organizing. We call it "organizing in concentric circles," the "pebble in the pond approach," or the "resonating ripple effect."

Concentric Circles Organizing

1) Start grassroots organizing through teamwork with your core allies. You need to build a core team of volunteers, staff, and like-minded organizations that are prepared to help. (Remember that teams are built on trust and respect.) This team would involve people who will attend meetings, prepare mailing lists, draft letters, distribute those materials, work with the media, organize and mobilize, and advocate clearly stated positions to decision makers.

2) Build outward from core supporters. Build a list of influential businesses, associations, chambers of commerce, and any other organizations that could support wilderness issues. Start to meet with these entities, initially with those that are likely to be most sympathetic and build outward. Seek out grasstops activists to bolster your work.

3) Build support for wilderness by reaching out to new allies and supporters, thus constantly deepening and widening your circles of support. Academic endorsement of the area or the campaign could come from a wide range of professionals. These could include educators, historians, conservation biologists, archaeologists, medical professionals, and others. Additional support could come from those involved in

recreation. Hunters, outfitters, anglers, hikers, campers, and other sport representatives, as well as members of the tourist industry, should be included. Reach out to the ranching and farming communities. Further allies could include religious, political, business groups, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups not traditionally aligned with wilderness issues. Try to get resolutions of support from local communities, but be careful not to inspire anti-wilderness resolutions. In Alaska, commercial fishermen and women, commercial fishing groups, small-scale loggers, and many others have formed extremely effective forces for conservation.

Tailor your outreach to the area where you are working. In some cases, it may be more important to begin to build relationships with local ranchers or hunters *before* you do a lot of organizing of your base. Do your research, understand the communities you are working in, and seek advice.

4) Build a coalition. Activists campaigning for wilderness often find that their opposition is well funded and has greater resources. Activists can combat this by building strong grassroots support and forming coalitions. Needless to say, the decision to form a working coalition should involve careful planning and discussion. Organize in concentric circles, reaching outward from your natural core base of support, and then going beyond to build strong working coalitions of important allies.

There are various forms that these coalitions could take. Some consist of groups or individuals who endorse the campaign and give it credibility but who do not play an active role in managing the campaign. Others consist of partners who are actively involved in campaign work but play no role in the actual decision-making. A third version is a more formal and structured coalition where all the groups and members are equally involved in activities and decision-making.

Informal "working coalitions" work together without much structure or public profile. (This is often the case when dealing with Congress.) There are three cardinal rules regarding working coalitions:

a) Understand your role in the effort.
b) Understand and respect the roles and views of others.
c) Build and maintain trust.

If you don't have all three, you will go nowhere.

Questions to Ask Before Forming a Coalition

What type of coalition would you like to form and what is the best one for achieving your goal? Which groups should you approach? What would their motivation be for joining? Would they be committed to the cause? What impact would the coalition have on both the decision makers and the campaign as a whole? How would the public perceive the coalition?

How would the interpersonal relationships between members of the various groups affect the work ethic of the campaign? How will decisions be made by the coalition?

Once all of these questions have been answered, it is important to develop a clear procedure when contacting the proposed allies. Send a letter that spells out your aims, objectives, and strategies. Focus on the role that you would like that particular organization to play in achieving those goals. It is also essential that documentation about the proposed wilderness area be sent with the letter.

Whenever a group joins, clear and honest channels of communication must be instituted. The group should be informed in great detail as to the exact role that it is expected to play. Communication on this matter must be clear and precise. Members of the coalition must always be kept informed about the coalition's work. This can be done through phone calls, meetings, mailings, e-mails, or functions. The type of coalition formed and the pace of the actions will determine the nature and frequency of the information distributed.

Use the coalition and its members to regularly inform decision makers and the public about the activities and successes of the campaign.

Always keep in mind that a coalition exists to achieve a shared goal and is not an end in itself.

"Respect the basic human dignity of each and every human being. All of us have histories, traditions, and ways of life that are held dear."

— Congressman George Miller, Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1995

Community and Rural Organizing

Rural organizing involves working with salt-of-the-earth citizens whose very existence is tied to the land. Although they may disagree on how to manage public lands, they still care very deeply about them. In the end we need to help people understand that the best way to keep a special place "like it is" is to have Congress grant it lasting protection as a wilderness area.

Gaining support for wilderness in rural wide-open country (or in any community) takes time, great effort, careful listening, and, most importantly, trust.

Why Organize in Rural Communities?

People, including wilderness advocates, naturally gravitate toward easier tasks; for example, organizing people who already agree with us. But you simply cannot ignore the people who live closest to the areas you want to protect. Rural organizing is hard, labor intensive, and time-consuming, but it is absolutely necessary if you are to be effective in attaining your wilderness goals. Following are some of the main reasons for investing in rural community organizing:

- Wilderness, by its very nature, is usually located near rural communities.

- County commissioners hold considerable power concerning public lands decisions in the West. County supervisors are very influential in rural Virginia and other eastern states.

- Many members of Congress won't even consider wilderness legislation that isn't supported by county commissioners or at least is not opposed by them.

- Strong locally based county support is often the critical factor in a member's decision to carry legislation.

- The model of passing wilderness bills is changing as a result of both the reality and perception of local decision-making. We must be willing to adapt our strategies to work within the political reality.

- It helps us to gain the respect of local people in their home territory. Showing respect for local concerns and rural citizens is the right thing to do, in and of itself. Look people in the eye and listen.

- We can reach better compromises (and compromise is inevitable when dealing with any type of legislation) if we have the respect and trust of local people.

- Organizing in rural communities allows you to engender local respect, identify and address conflicts, and reach a compromise before an issue becomes polarizing.

- Rural folks value honesty and demonstrations of respect, even if they disagree with you.

- One of the most common complaints of local people is that we (wilderness folks) don't come talk to them and don't listen to them in the places where they live.

- Once wilderness is designated, we want local communities to take pride in the area, not disparage it.

How to Start Organizing in Rural Communities

Following are some basic tips on organizing in rural communities:

- Start local organizing with known wilderness advocates (they know the areas, politics, and potential supporters best), but seek to expand support sooner rather than later. Once you find supporters, they usually know others of like mind (e.g., a close relative, friend, or colleague). Build from there.

- Try to find common ground. Rural people care deeply about the public lands near them. Even though you may not agree on how to resolve an issue, at least acknowledge that everyone cares. Once you find common ground, work to find a common bond.

- Ask open-ended questions so that people are not forced into a polarized situation. Ask the people for their views. Speak to them in *their* language on *their* terms. Don't get on a high horse. Be respectful and honest. Keep folks informed with straightforward information.

- Put yourself in the boots of the people who live there. Learn! Volunteer to go out and help on a ranch or fix fences. Even if they say no they will recognize that you are sincerely interested.

- Strive to bridge the gap between traditional land users and work to reconnect these user groups to the wild places that you want to protect.

- Be down-to-earth. Listen and talk in a language that everybody understands. Get to know the community and their leaders. Have a heart-to-heart talk with one person at a time.

- As you find local supporters, work with them to recruit respected members of the community to stand up for wilderness.

- When drawing wilderness boundaries with your allies, hand over the pencil so they can share in drawing the lines and in being part of a bigger process that will help shape the future of their public lands.

- Find common ground/common interests and build slowly. For example, when talking to a rancher don't start by talking about coyotes and wolves; talk about the weather instead.

- We've often been asked: Is there a magic phrase or special message you can use in every given situation? Sorry. Not that we know of. One approach that's worked over the years goes like this: "*I am (name) and I work for the (state you're in) members of (group) and I'm here to listen to you. I'm hopeful that we can work together on this important issue."*

- Remember the Golden Rule and you'll do fine.

Finally, always remember why wilderness advocates should organize in rural areas. 1) That's where the wild places are. 2) That's where the people who live with the land are. 3) That's where the County Commissions and other local decision makers are and they can have a great deal of influence (positive or negative) as you move your campaign forward. The small communities and far-flung ranches is where you'll still find wild spirited people who truly can and will protect wild places as Wilderness.

Tips from a Rural Community Organizer

The following are some thoughts prepared by Sally Miller, a wilderness advocate and a longtime resident of a rural community in the Eastern Sierra Nevada Mountains of California. These are some successful approaches and tactics she has employed in rural organizing efforts in the Eastern Sierra in a quest to gain local support for wilderness designations.

Even though rural organizing is in some ways very different from urban organizing, there are some common themes in all the organizing work we do: listen; seek to empower others; and don't be afraid to be bold, impassioned, and visionary. That is what wins us supporters. A note of realism: What works for us in the rural Eastern Sierra may not work for you in your area. There is no cookbook method for successful organizing!

1) Be a part of your community. This is one of the most important components of what success we have had in our rural organizing efforts. When you are engaged in your community and are known beyond your environmental work, you have trust, respect, and credibility. People know you as someone besides that "enviro" who doesn't think like they do. You also gain important connections to people - and insights - that you might not get otherwise simply through your environmental work. Volunteer at the Fire Department, for your local planning group, on town cleanup days, or for schools. Reach out and get to know your "redneck" neighbors on issues where you have common ground. Talk about gardening, the kids, etc. You'll find it easier to talk to them about the difficult issues later on (like wilderness!) if you have established a good and real basis for communication.

2) Put others out front and center. Let's face it. Sometimes we—the labeled enviros in our communities—are not the best messengers for wilderness. As you develop new allies, ranchers, outfitters, business owners, local leaders, sometimes it makes sense to put these folks out front as advocates and to stay in the background yourselves. Put your volunteer activists out front, too, at meetings, in the media, working to get endorsements, etc. Your "traditional" volunteers may be labeled by some as tree-huggers, but they are also teachers, doctors, accountants, craftsmen and women, members of the local chamber of commerce, physical therapists, small shop-owners, moms with kids in schools, retired professionals, and Rotary Club members. They also have one thing over us which appeals to many conservative rural leaders—they are volunteers, not paid staff. They may also have other connections in the community through schools, their work, their church, and their kids that we don't have.

3) Listen to others. When we go to meetings with stakeholders, probably 75% of our time is spent listening to what they have to say. Through listening you can learn what motivates people, what issues are of concern to them, and where there may be common ground. Listening to people gives them a chance to vent their frustrations and can help diffuse the intensity of their opposition.

4) Know your surroundings. One thing we learned in our many meetings with rural stakeholders is that Libertarianism is alive and well in our region, even among those with more "progressive" views. If you go in talking about how great Senator XXX is or how we need more big government to solve our problems or how great the ESA is you probably won't get too far. Think about which arguments work; for example:

- Wilderness doesn't bring more government; it simply changes the focus of land management.
- Wilderness will help keep these places the way they are today and have been for generations.
- Wilderness will bring more tourism dollars into our county.
- Wilderness will make land management simpler than multiple-use management and ultimately cost less in taxpayer dollars.

Which arguments work will depend on the particulars of your region. Think about the socioeconomic fabric, etc.

5) Speak in terms others can understand. We need to simplify our language so that it is meaningful to folks who live in the areas in which we are doing our work. Messages developed for urban areas often will not resonate well with folks in urban areas and vice versa. Try your messages out on people and, if they don't work, revise them. Speak to an audience's values with genuine sincerity.

6) Meet with stakeholders on their terms. Once we determined all the grazing permittees, mining operations, businesses, private landowners, outfitters/guides, etc., within or adjacent to our wilderness proposals, we set out to meet with all the stakeholders one-on-one or in small groups. We initiated the contacts (unless, in rare instances, concerned stakeholders contacted us) and went to meet with them on their turf—on farms and ranches, at a private college, in homes, in businesses. This kept the type of contact personal and meaningful (even if contentious), and people were impressed by our willingness to meet them on their terms.

7) Don't ask for something from someone the first time you meet. We may be pressed for time and want instant gratification (e.g., a letter of support for a proposed wilderness area), but everyone else is equally busy. Slow down in your conversations with people, listen, and take time to develop a personal relationship with opinion leaders and others who are really, really important to your campaign. People, at least in rural areas, will be turned off by us blustering in and asking for something without taking the time to get to know them, hear their concerns, talk about things of interest to them, etc. Your greatest chance of success gaining nontraditional supporters will likely be with those you have taken the time to develop strong relationships with.

8) Meet with your opposition. The goal is not to win over our opposition (or perceived opposition), it is to educate them, to make them see that we are a reasonable people who care about others, and to <u>neutralize them</u> where possible. We can also learn a lot from them about their tactics—where our arguments are weak, what their concerns and

strategies are. And we can learn where we have common ground, which will help us tailor our messages and work out later compromises. (In our region, we have found common ground with some of the opposition over dislike of the noise and dust generated by ORVs, fears of the impacts of population expansion in southern California on our area, and concern about habitat destruction from hunters.) Some of the opposition may refuse to meet with you (in our case it was the ORV folks), but that only serves to marginalize them in the eyes of legislators. Several who had previously taken a position against our proposals modified that position to one of neutrality after we met with them (Bridgeport Indian Tribe, Bishop & Mammoth Chambers of Commerce). It pays in many ways to meet with your opposition.

9) Treat your opposition with respect. We scored points with county supervisors, other elected officials, Rotary Club members, and others by being respectful and professional with our opponents at all times, even when publicly attacked. We have not counterattacked our opposition (tempting as it may be sometimes); we have always taken the "high road."

10) Be sincere in wanting responses to your proposals (maps) and be willing to consider modifying your proposals. Throughout the lengthy public debate over our proposals we were very public when we made clear that we would consider every suggestion and concern that people brought to us (even though we didn't make every change that was suggested). This improved our standing in the eyes of local elected officials.

11) Be persistent! While we offered through the media to meet with all interested or concerned stakeholders, we had practically no takers. So we called people and asked to meet with them. Point being, people have other lives and won't necessarily come to you if they have concerns or views to share. You have to go the "extra mile" to seek them out.

12) Be creative with your outreach. Since we were getting such a beating in the local media (mostly through the Letters to the Editor (LTEs) section), we tried to think of ways we could get our message out to the public about how *responsible* our wilderness proposals were and that we were open to receiving views on our proposals (i.e., on routes/access). One successful tactic: we held open houses in several communities, staffed by volunteers. They were a smashing success. We not only got about 100 people at each event (a mix of opponents, potential supporters, and information-seekers; we even had a counter-demonstration on the church lawn!) but it really empowered our volunteers. A sign of our effectiveness: a month later the off-roader opposition held their own open house!

13) A picture is worth a thousand words. The old adage rings true! Your county supervisors may say that they don't want wilderness, but it's harder for them to say that when they see beautiful images of your places. For a key supervisor meeting (a vote on a resolution vs. wilderness), we blew up about 25 of our best images and mounted them on poster-board. Speakers in favor of wilderness paraded to the podium with these images.

We ended up with a neutral vote on wilderness. (The images weren't the deal-maker but they definitely helped!)

14) Be open and honest. Probably the most difficult thing to do is to put yourself "out there" and make yourself vulnerable to attack. Both we and our wonderful volunteer activists withstood many months of beatings in the media, particularly through hostile and relentless LTEs. While we did respond to erroneous information, we ignored the references to us as "the environmental Taliban," "Bin Laden operatives," "Nazis," and "terrorists." Our conduct won us additional supporters and much respect, even from those who didn't agree with us. Local elected officials have called ours a "model campaign" for the openness and professionalism we displayed, especially under difficult circumstances.

15) Remain positive in the face of adversity. Even though we've sometimes doubted ourselves, we've tried to maintain a positive message, especially with our activists and the media. People want to be part of a winning campaign. Save the uncertainties and the bitching for beers with your colleagues or for home.

16) Don't worry about who (what person or group) gets the credit. Just to state the obvious, our work is not about getting personal credit, it is about saving places and empowering people to make positive changes in their communities. If asked, give credit to your volunteers.

Words from an Independent Rancher

by Mike Evans

I am here to give you a rancher's perspective on wilderness. I doubt that is even possible, considering ranchers are fiercely independent and self reliant, standing together only to fight against federal grazing policy and to sign up for drought assistance. Ranchers as a group are actually no different than any other group. Some of both like the idea of wilderness and some don't.

As I see it, today in the west, there are two types of ranches. Note that I say ranches or pieces of land. There are places recently purchased with money earned elsewhere like from oil or from cyber space somehow. Then there are places that have been in the same family for the last 50 to 100 years.

In the first case, these are the places with the new keep out, no trespassing signs, and the big fancy signs across the road with the name of the ranch, like Grandview, Valleyview, Mountainview. Places where looks and money mean a lot. The people who own and live there, for at least part of the time, act just like they did when they were in town. Often they are active in the community and sometimes they are reclusive. The land use may continue to have something to do with cows or it may become a private nature preserve. If the land remains in agriculture, often you see new center pivot irrigation systems, all new tractors and big diesel pickups with the ranch name on the door. Sometimes locals are hired to work or even manage the place or sometimes people from Indiana show up to work there. Regardless of the land use, the people seem to change regularly. Which of course affects the land use. If we are lucky, the owners value the open space and don't subdivide. These ranches are also great development resources for the big name organizations ranging from the Republican and Democratic parties to the Wilderness Society.

The second kind of ranch may be larger or smaller, and if it has a sign out on the county road it probably needs painting. The land use on these ranches is still mostly livestock related. Some are still using traditional management practices and some are into Alan Savory's Holistic Resource Management or somewhere in between. Most folks on these ranches are active in the community, especially through their kids or families. There is a guy named Lee Pitts who wrote a funny book called *People Who Live at the End of Dirt Roads*. It is made up of several stories from his column. Basically he says that we are different, but good people. I would like to add that we could on occasion be further described as narrow-minded, bigots, racists, and we take pride in all sorts of social, sexual, and personal maladies. In other words the Cowboy Way. I live at one of these places.

To an individual, the wilderness experience desired by some gorp-eating, marathon-running, cyber nerd, with studded body parts, who drives clear out here in his sport utility from Indiana ...the pure sport, fun, challenge, solitude, and personal accomplishment of chasing horses and maybe by some stretch, ranching in general, is no different. This guy,

and there are certainly more than a few, has no wilderness or wildness traditions, although he dearly loves and supports the inclusion of more wilderness. Other than what he reads in Outside Magazine, his wilderness experiences last only a few days a year and his very presence detracts from the wildness. There is little connection to the land or its wildness. Too many of today's wilderness partakers leave little of their high tech world behind. They cannot afford to be gone very long from that world. They have no concept whatsoever of what it would be like to live out there.

Sometimes I wish I did not have concerns about the water quality of my watershed, non-point pollution, confined feeding operations, proper functioning condition of riparian areas, rangeland standards and guidelines, forest plans and allotment management plans. There are times when I wish I could just go to work in some concrete cubical all day, and I made lots of money producing some sort of wonderful high tech stuff that is good for mankind, and as I walk home every evening, I stop by the neighborhood grocery store and buy food for supper. Maybe there would be a really great micro-brew place nearby. But I don't think I could ever live like that! I really do need some loneliness that my traditions provide.

It does no good for any of us to convince ourselves that "*my sh-- don't stink.*" We all impact the earth and hopefully all of us here can combine traditions. To some extent, today's ranchers still live in a wild land. Every day of the year we choose, ranchers can have all the wildness in the form of blizzards, solitude, excitement, sport, drought, debt, recreation, and challenge we can stand.

Wilderness areas whether designated or not are good places to play. If I do make one suggestion, it is to say that many ranchers live in a wild land and we can do without designated wilderness. Some may not need a special place to make a special effort to go to. They can just go ride out from their corral.

If there is an effort to get more wilderness areas designated it would be good if you could enlist some of the neighborhood ranchers, regardless of type 1 or 2. Each individual will help only if approached as an individual whose traditions are respected and understood. In order to connect with folks that live at the end of dirt roads, you as wilderness advocates could offer to clean some sheds or build some fence if they want to see the cows off the creek. You would learn a little about a way of life foreign to you, yet not much different than those of you who desire a wilderness experience. You will actually find some who share your desire to build corridors and bridges and appreciate the concept of rewilding. So thanks for listening…. now get to work and shovel some sh--!

Excerpt from the Testimony of
Mr. Calvin Meyers, Moapa Band of Paiutes
Southern Nevada Citizen's Wilderness Hearing

"These are my lands. These are where I come from. We have tales of coming out of the desert, coming out of the ground. When we talk about wilderness, wilderness is different to me. Wilderness is my past, and my people's future… My teachings say I have to look seven generations down the road. Because if I don't protect what's here for them now today, when they come, when they come to this land, there may not be that beauty, freedom that they have, that we have today to go out and look in the desert."

"The desert is more to me than just a desert. The desert is plants and animals. The desert is myself and my people. The desert is not just one piece of the land. It's all of me. It's all of my history. It's all of my people's future. It's more than just a nice place to visit. It's more than just beauty. To me, it's…in my teachings, what I grew up with, it's a medicine that helps me live the life that I can."

"Life is about simple things. Life is being able to walk out in the desert and to be able to have that desert there."

"I've stood up in front of 250 scientists and told them a simple story of an eagle flying in the air, because that made it - that was great impact for me. Because the eagle flies, the land is good. All the whole chain for that eagle, for him to exist is good. It's well. He can use it. Without that happening, he's no longer there. And if he's no longer there… there's something wrong."

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"We win by working harder than the opposition, by presenting our champions with accurate information, and because our cause is right."

— Congressman Bruce Vento (Minnesota, 1977–2000)

Section B: Working With Congress

Introduction

There are many steps to passing a successful wilderness bill. It can take years of on-the-ground grassroots organizing and building support for your wilderness proposal before you reach the legislative phase of your campaign. Nonetheless, since only Congress can pass wilderness bills, how you educate and work with your Senators or Representatives must be part of any successful wilderness campaign. Understanding the basics of the legislative process and working with Congress and the White House is key to these efforts.

Before a bill begins its formal journey in Congress, it is imperative that activists begin to work with and develop good relationships with the members of Congress who are going to be championing the legislation or their staffs (i.e., the leaders who will strive to protect the area you seek to preserve that is near and dear to your heart).

The following is information on the basics of the legislative process. Included are lesser-known (but equally important) tips and strategies from seasoned wilderness advocates on how to effectively work on the Hill.

"Where does…[a wilderness] area begin? It begins where the road ends; and if the roads never end, there never will be any wilderness."

— Senator Frank Church (Idaho, 1957–1981)

The Legislative Process

The Congress of the United States is divided into two chambers: the Senate and the House of Representatives. Both of these chambers are responsible for the enactment of legislation. In order for a bill passed by Congress to be signed by the president and become law, an identically worded bill would have to be approved by both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Below is a summary of the basic steps in the legislative process. An excellent resource that details both the basic and complex workings of Congress is: *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process* (4th edition) by Walter J. Oleszek. (Published in 1996 by Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C.)

Step 1: Referral to Committee

The official legislative process begins when a bill or resolution is numbered (H.R. for a House bill and S. for a Senate bill), referred to a committee, and printed by the Government Printing Office. With few exceptions, bills are referred to standing committees in the House or Senate according to carefully delineated rules of procedure.

Step 2: Committee Action

When a bill reaches a committee it is placed on the committee's calendar. A bill can be referred to a subcommittee or considered by the committee as a whole. It is at this point that a bill is examined carefully and its chances for passage are determined. If the committee does not act on a bill, it is the equivalent of killing it.

Step 3: Subcommittee Review

Often, bills are referred to a subcommittee for study and hearings. Hearings provide the opportunity to put on record the views of the executive branch, experts, other public officials, and supporters and opponents of the legislation. Testimony can be given in person or submitted as a written statement.

Step 4: Mark Up

When the hearings are completed, the subcommittee may meet to "mark up" the bill; that is, make changes and amendments prior to recommending the bill to the full committee. If a subcommittee votes not to report legislation to the full committee, the bill dies.

Step 5: Committee Action to Report a Bill

After receiving a subcommittee's report on a bill, the full committee can conduct further study and hearings, or it can vote on the subcommittee's recommendations and any proposed amendments. The full committee then votes on its recommendation to the House or Senate. This procedure is called "ordering a bill reported."

Step 6: Publication of a Written Report

After a committee votes to have a bill reported, the committee chair instructs staff to prepare a written report on the bill. This report describes the intent and scope of the legislation, impact on existing laws and programs, position of the executive branch, and views of dissenting members of the committee.

Step 7: Scheduling Floor Action

After a bill is reported back to the chamber where it originated, it is placed in chronological order on the calendar. In the House there are several different legislative calendars, and the Speaker and majority leader largely determine if, when, and in what order bills come up. In the Senate there is only one legislative calendar.

Step 8: Debate

When a bill reaches the floor of the House or Senate, there are rules or procedures governing the debate on legislation. These rules determine the conditions and amount of time allocated for general debate.

Step 9: Voting

After the debate and the approval of any amendments, the bill is passed or defeated by the members voting.

Step 10: Referral to Other Chamber

When a bill is passed by the House or Senate it is referred to the other chamber where it usually follows the same route through committee and floor action. This chamber may approve the bill as received, reject it, ignore it, or change it.

Step 11: Conference Committee Action

If only minor changes are made to a bill by the other chamber, it is common for the legislation to go back to the first chamber for concurrence. However, when the actions of the other chamber significantly alter the bill, a conference committee is formed to reconcile the differences between the House and Senate versions. If the conferees are unable to reach agreement, the legislation dies. If agreement is reached, a conference

report is prepared describing the committee members' recommendations for changes. Both the House and the Senate must approve the conference report.

Step 12: Final Actions

After a bill has been approved by both the House and Senate in identical form, it is sent to the president. If the president approves the legislation he signs it and it becomes law. Or, the president can take no action for ten days, while Congress is in session, and it automatically becomes law. If the president opposes the bill he can veto it; or, if he takes no action after Congress has adjourned its second session, it is a "pocket veto" and the legislation dies.

Step 13: Overriding a Veto

If the president vetoes a bill, Congress may attempt to "override the veto." This requires a two-thirds roll call vote of the members who are present in sufficient numbers for a quorum. Only one wilderness bill has ever been vetoed (Montana), and that was a pocket veto by Ronald Reagan in 1988.

"The path of the wilderness legislation through Congress has sometimes been as rugged as the forests and mountains embraced by the Wilderness System."

— Senator Robert Byrd (West Virginia)

The Legislative Process: What You Didn't Learn In Civics 101

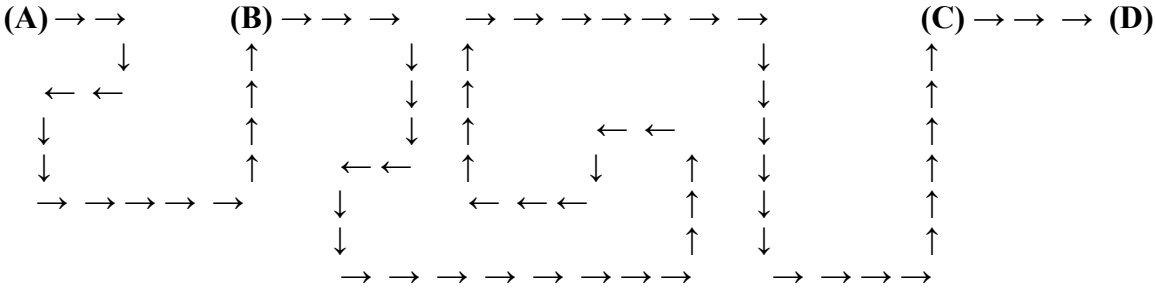
When you review the above section on the legislative process, you might easily come away with an impression that this is typically a pretty straightforward process. Well, there is a lot that takes place on Capitol Hill that you were never taught in civics class.

The House is basically a game of numbers where the majority rules. The Senate is a far different place, where a minority of one senator can stop a bill in its tracks by placing what is known as a "hold" on a bill or mounting a filibuster. Both of these things prevent any bill from being approved quickly. In the case of a filibuster, 60 votes are required to end debate and move the bill to a vote.

In theory, a bill moves this way: Point A to Point B to Point C to Point D.

(A) →→→→→→→→→→(B) →→→→→→→→→→→ (C) →→→→→→→→→→ (D)

In practice, a bill often moves this way:



Delays and backtracking can be caused by many different actions, and some bills move through the process more smoothly than others. No two wilderness bills have ever followed the exact same path through the legislative process. If you are successful in getting your wilderness bill moving through the legislative process you will learn more about the arcane procedural rules of the House and Senate that cause or create twists and turns. Once again an excellent resource for those who want to know more about the complex congressional procedure is *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process* (4th edition) by Walter J. Oleszek. (Published in 1996 by Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C.)

For examples of the twists, turns, and challenges that wilderness advocates have encountered when moving their wilderness bills through Congress, please contact the Wilderness Support Center.

Working with Members of Congress

Members of Congress have offices in their home states as well as in Washington, D.C., and they each maintain a staff that keeps them informed of pressing matters. This staff will investigate and research issues, draft position papers, and provide relevant information on issues they consider important enough for their boss's attention.

Most conservationists trying to work with Congress will probably end up dealing more regularly with these aides than the member of Congress. These aides are often more accessible than the elected official, more knowledgeable on a particular subject, and more likely to hold the key to your progress.

To be most effective in communicating with Congress, it is helpful to know the titles and principal functions of key staff.

Administrative Assistant or Chief of Staff

The administrative assistant (AA) reports directly to the member of Congress. He or she usually has overall responsibility for evaluating the political outcome of various legislative proposals and constituent requests. The AA is usually the person in charge of overall office operations, including the assignment of work and the supervision of key staff.

Legislative Director

The legislative director (LD) is usually the staff person who monitors the legislative schedule and makes recommendations to the AA and the member of Congress regarding the pros and cons of particular issues that are coming up for consideration on the House or Senate floor. In some cases, the LD may also have specific issues that he or she is responsible for monitoring. (The LD may also be called the senior legislative assistant or the legislative coordinator.)

Legislative Assistants

In most congressional offices there are several legislative assistants (LAs) who report to the LD. Issue areas are assigned to the LA staff. Most LAs will be responsible for monitoring a large number of issues. For example, depending on the responsibilities and interests of the member, an office may include a different legislative assistant for health issues, environmental matters, taxes, etc. When activists set up meetings with a staff member, they most often meet with the LA handling their issue.

Press Secretary or Communications Director

The press secretary's responsibility is to build and maintain open and effective lines of communication among the member, his or her constituency, and the general public.

The press secretary is expected to know the benefits, demands, and special requirements of both print and electronic media, and how to most effectively promote the member's views or position on specific issues.

Scheduler, Appointments Secretary, or Personal Secretary

The scheduler or appointments secretary is usually responsible for allocating a member's time among the many demands that arise from congressional responsibilities, staff requirements, and constituent requests. The appointments secretary may also be responsible for making necessary travel arrangements, arranging speaking dates, visits to the district, etc.

Caseworker

The caseworker is the staff member usually assigned to help with constituent requests by preparing replies for the member's signature. The caseworker's responsibilities may also include helping resolve problems constituents present in relation to federal agencies; e.g., Social Security and Medicare issues, veteran's benefits, passports. There are often several caseworkers in a congressional office. Caseworkers are usually found in a member's home district or state office, not in his or her D.C. office.

Other Staff Titles

Other titles used in a congressional office may include executive assistant, legislative correspondent, executive secretary, office manager, and receptionist.

"Respect, honesty, and courtesy will carry you far in lobbying. Lobbying succeeds through trust."

- Ernie Dickerman, Father of the Eastern Wilderness Areas Act

Tips on Contacting Members of Congress

The most effective way to make your voice heard by members of Congress is through an original, individual, personal letter (i.e., not a form letter or postcard). This can be mailed (if time permits), although in the post-Anthrax era where many letters are greatly delayed in reaching Congress, it might be better to send letters via fax or e-mail, especially if time is an issue. They can still be personal and handwritten. Or you could send a letter to the member's in-state office. A phone call is the second best way to contact your member, particularly if a vote or decision is imminent. While different offices treat e-mail in different ways, more and more offices are able to treat e-mail the same way they treat handwritten letters or faxes, and many offices actually prefer e-mail. The key is that the communication be as individualized and original as possible. While form letters, postcards, and other prepackaged communication can be useful in generating large numbers of comments to a member to show broad support, they are given less weight than individualized communications.

Writing to Members of Congress

The letter is the most popular choice of communication with a congressional office.
If you decide to write a letter, the following list of suggestions will improve the effectiveness of your letter:

1. Your purpose for writing should be stated in the first paragraph of the letter. If your letter pertains to a specific piece of legislation, identify it accordingly, e.g., House bill: H. R. ___, Senate bill: S.___.

2. Be courteous, to the point, and include key information, using examples to support your position.

3. Address only one issue in each letter, and, if possible, keep the letter to one page.

Addressing Correspondence:

To a senator:

Senator (full name)
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Begin your letter: Dear Senator _____:

To a representative:

The Honorable (full name)
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Begin your letter: Dear Representative _____:

Note: When writing to the chair of a committee or the Speaker of the House, it is proper to address them as:

Dear Mr. Chairman or Madam Chairwoman *or* Dear Mr. Speaker:

E-Mailing or Faxing Members of Congress

Generally, the guidelines for e-mailing and faxing are the same as for writing letters to Congress. You may find e-mail addresses and web sites for your senators and representative at www.house.gov or www.senate.gov.

Telephoning Members of Congress

Remember that a staff member, not the member of Congress, often takes telephone calls. Ask to speak with the aide who handles the issue on which you wish to comment (in most cases this will be the environment aide).

After identifying yourself, tell the aide that you would like to leave a brief message, such as: "Please tell Senator/Representative (name) that I support/oppose (S.___/ H.R. ___)."

You will also want to state reasons for your support of or opposition to the bill. Ask for your senators' or representative's position on the bill. You may also request a *written response* to your telephone call.

"The young people I know give me great hope. They do care about what's left of the wild world...I'm counting on the new generation coming up. I have to believe in their spirit as those who came before me believed in mine."

- Mardy Murie, author, TWS Governing Council member,
and recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom

Meeting with Congressional Staff

Meeting with a member of Congress or congressional staff is an effective way to convey a message about a specific issue.

If you can visit your congressional member in Washington, D.C., that is great. It also is good to contact the local offices to get the congressional member's schedule during recesses (now called "District Work Periods"). It's sometimes easier to meet with them in their home districts or states. If you cannot meet with the member, attend and speak out at public meetings or events that feature him or her. Below are some suggestions to consider when planning a visit to a congressional office.

Plan Your Visit Carefully

Be clear about what it is you want to achieve; determine in advance which member or staff person you need to meet with in order to achieve your purpose.

Make an Appointment

When attempting to meet with a member, contact the appointments secretary/scheduler. Explain your purpose and whom you represent. Ask how much time you will have. It is easier for congressional staff to arrange a meeting if they know what you wish to discuss and your relationship to the area or interests represented by the member.

Be Prompt and Patient

When it is time to meet with a member, be punctual and patient. It is not uncommon for a congressman or congresswoman to be late, or to have a meeting interrupted due to the member's crowded schedule. If interruptions do occur, be flexible. Be prepared to crunch your presentation down to a few minutes. When the opportunity presents itself, continue your meeting with the member's staff and don't be offended if you meet only with the member's staff. Members of Congress rely heavily on their staffs to keep them informed and to help them determine their position on issues. Treat the staff person with the same respect as you would the member.

Be Prepared

Whenever possible, bring to the meeting information and materials supporting your position. Members are required to take positions on many different issues. In some

instances, a member may lack important details about the pros and cons of a particular matter. It is therefore helpful to share with the member information and examples that demonstrate clearly the impact or benefits associated with a particular issue or piece of legislation.

Make Connections to the State or District

Members of Congress want to represent the best interests of their district or state. Wherever possible, demonstrate the connection between what you are requesting and the interests of the member's constituency. Describe for the member how you or your group can be of assistance to him or her. Where it is appropriate, remember to ask for a commitment.

Be Sure to Listen

While you are visiting your member, you may learn the most by listening to what he or she has to say. Be sure to listen to what *they* know, what *their* opinion is, and what concerns *they* have before you present everything you have to say. You may want to change your approach once you hear where they are coming from on the issue. You are not likely to convince someone to support you with one meeting, but, if you listen, you may learn important information you can take back and use to ultimately gain their support. (This is often the most important result of good Hill visits.)

Be Responsive

Be prepared to answer questions or provide additional information, in the event the member or staff person expresses interest or asks questions. If you don't know the answer, tell them that you will get back to them with the information they need. Follow up the meeting with a thank-you letter that outlines the different points covered during the meeting, and send along any additional information and materials requested.

Ask what you can do to help them.

More Tips

While much of what you need to know about working with members of Congress is straightforward, there are many nuances to this work. Following are some tried-and-true suggestions on working with your elected officials:

1. Members of Congress and their staff are busy, and your presentation will need to be concise, precise, and to the point. Their time is limited, and therefore *your* time is limited. When you call staff, the first thing to do is ask, "Do you have a minute?" If they say no, call at another time. When you meet with staff and/or the member, the first thing to do is thank them for their time and interest (and recent good deeds). The second thing to do is ask, "How much time do you have?" (This shows that you understand and respect the fact that they are always very busy.)

2. When possible, prepare a brief, well-written, factually correct document that clearly defines your position and (where appropriate) the position that you would like the member of Congress to take. Examples of effective materials include (but are not limited to) the following:

    - A concise, simple, one- to two-page document that highlights the relevant issues of your campaign (including contact information)
    - Local press clippings that support your issues
    - Local anecdotes—stories from the member's district or state that are relevant to your issue
    - Lists of organizations, local elected officials, businesses, prominent figures or leaders, and others who support your issue (i.e., a list of influential supporters of your wilderness proposal)
    - Simple 8.5" x 11" maps outlining your wilderness proposal(s)
    - Pictures of the areas you are working to protect—photos are compelling

3. Determine beforehand which staff member is the correct person to contact or influence regarding your cause. Make an appointment with that staff member and be on time for your appointment!

4. Be diplomatic, concise, and attentive during the meeting. Avoid being aggressive, argumentative, or confrontational, as ultimately you will hurt your cause.

5. At the end of your meeting, thank them again for their time and for any good stances that they have taken.

6. Develop a good relationship with these staff members. Make their job easier by providing them with accurate, timely information. Keep them informed about your issues.

7. Common courtesies combined with a concise, memorable presentation will enhance your reputation, possibly influence the course of your negotiations, and cast a positive light on future work.

8. After your meeting, write a handwritten letter thanking the member and/or staff for their time and effort. Be sure to reiterate the main points of the meeting and provide any additional information that the member or staff requested. Since the mails can be slow, either drop the letter off at the office or fax it to him or her.

9. Representatives and senators are people too. Put yourself in their place and treat them the way you'd like to be treated.

"*During the controlled panic of the final days of a congressional session, you may not believe me, but good things can happen and we have to be ready to act.*"

-- Larry Romans, former Chief of Staff to Congressman Bruce Vento

Public Testimony and Presentations

The details will be different for a hearing and a general meeting. The following are neither ironclad nor all encompassing; they are simply quick suggestions regarding public testimonies and presentations, including testifying before Congress:

- Be yourself and down-to-earth.
- Establish eye contact right away and thank the listeners for the opportunity to speak.
- When you read your statement (whether reading the sentences or working from notes) look up at the listeners every so often.
- You may want to say something like "Even though folks may not agree on everything, we're lucky to be able to live in a country where we can speak our minds and respect each other's views."
- Disarm your opponents if you can with self-deprecating humor.
- If you have firsthand knowledge of the area, say so.
- Take the high ground, so to speak. (But do not "talk down" to your listeners.)
- Be open and honest. Respect the listeners.
- If you're asked a question and you don't know the answer, don't fake it. Tell the questioner that you'll get the answer to them as soon as possible, and deliver on your promise.
- It's okay to show emotion. Still, be as calm as you can.
- If your presentation lends itself to slides, photos you can display, or a big map with photos, by all means use them.
- Stay within whatever time limits are set; don't ever run over the time limit and fail to finish the key points you worked so hard to make.
- Make sure that in your oral testimony, you make the key points you really want to drive home.

- Recognize that your written testimony will serve as a record of what you want folks to take home with them. It should have a long life of its own. Reporters, congressional staffers, and supporters may want copies, or you may want to send your statement out to help gather support.
- Be accurate. Your credibility is absolutely key over the short and long run.
- Recognize that there is a certain amount of theater involved here. Enjoy the experience and have fun.
- Prepare for the worst and hope for the best. Think about the toughest questions you'll get asked, and have the best answers you can muster ready. You may not get asked the questions, but you need to be ready.
- Practice. Some people like to practice before a friend and/or several friends. Or you could go off into a room and walk through your statement and time yourself. Be sure, either way you work it that you discipline yourself to talk more slowly than you normally do. Once you get started the adrenaline will kick in and you'll naturally begin to speed up. Deliberately slow yourself down, but be careful not to end up lumbering along and running out of time.
- Be sure to make copies of your statement and attachments for the officials at hand, and for whatever media people may attend, and be sure to send it to relevant staff.
- Try your best to have a friendly senator ask you a "softball" question or two. Respond by saying, "I'm glad that you asked that question." (And don't give the same question to more than one of your allies. That would not only wreck the flow of the hearing, it would also be very embarrassing.)
- Don't be disappointed if only one or two members of Congress attend the hearing. With all the demands on their time, it's rare when you see full attendance. Go forth with your statement since you're also presenting it to staff and the media. Also, by testifying at a hearing, you've gotten one step closer to passage of a bill.
- Often an opposition leader will make a number of wrongheaded statements at the event and won't be corrected at the time. If it is possible, you can say, "Excuse me senator, but with all due respect, I'd like to make it clear that..." and then correct the comment. Otherwise, you can do what we've done a number of times (and it's fun): The day after the hearing, deliver a series of correct comments (list the wrong statement, and then the real answer). You can also recycle the basic information in a letter to the editor to get double-duty from your efforts.
- When testifying before Congress, you need to have two testimonies: 1) the formal written statement that you submit for the record and 2) An oral statement, which should be a condensed version of your written testimony and which should take no more than five minutes to deliver. Your written statement will be much longer than what you can present in your oral testimony so be sure you highlight the key points of your position.

Words Of Wisdom from a Wilderness Warhorse

Following are some more homespun tips on working with Congress from Wilderness Support Center Director, Bart Koehler.

- Members of the House and Senate are people too. Pushing too hard on an issue can drive your champions away. Let a good idea become their idea.
- Don't make public predictions about what Congress or a member may do. Your statement will come back to haunt you.
- Don't talk tactics, etc., in elevators or bathrooms in D.C. or anywhere else where you can be overheard.
- Learn to read upside down; there can be interesting items on desks.
- In this high-tech world, nothing beats personal contact.
- Remember to say "thank you" for good deeds done. Members of Congress and their staffers never get thanked enough.
- Be yourself. No one else can do it better.
- You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink. You can help lead a member of Congress to the moment of truth, but you can't make him vote correctly.
- Follow-up work doesn't have the glory of testifying at a hearing, but it is still 90% of the work that really needs to be done, if you're going to be successful.
- Attack the issue/position/decision but not the individual.
- In general, the majority rules in the House of Representatives. But in the Senate, it only takes one person to stop a bill from moving. Remember, there are lots of things you never learned in civics class!
- Wilderness is not solely a Democratic Party issue and not solely a Republican Party issue. It is an all-American issue.
- Ideally, you will eventually be in a position to serve as the trusted right-hand man/woman of the champion's right-hand man/woman lead staffer.
- Remember Mo Udall's "purposeful redundancy" tactic. If something needs repeating, do so.
- The basic laws of physics (cause and effect) always apply in Congress.
- Always ride a buckin' horse uphill.
- The hottest action in D.C often occurs during the hottest months in D.C. and with lots of intense action during September/October in the even years.
- Don't overreach and remember…

"Keep your eyes on the stars, and your feet on the ground."

- President Theodore Roosevelt

A Tale Of Two Riders

A Little-Known Story About Our National Forests

This is an instructional tale about how a legislative rider gave the president the authority to establish national forests and how a rider ultimately took that power away. (A rider is a clause, usually having little relevance to the main issue, that is added to a legislative bill often at the 11th hour and behind closed doors.)

The following is taken from *These American Lands* (pages 68, 73–75, and 366) by Dyan Zaslowsky and T.H. Watkins, published by The Wilderness Society/Island Press (1994); and from *Public Lands, Public Heritage: The National Forest Idea* (pages 55–56) by Alfred Runte, published by Roberts Rinehart Publishers (1991).

> When Congress passed the General Revision Act of 1891 (*the General Revision Act of 1891 repealed the Preemption Act, reduced the acreage limitation under the Desert Land Act from 640 to 320 acres, and put limits on the auction sale of land. Section 24 of the Act, the "Forest Reserve Act," authorized the President of the United States to withdraw from settlement or exploitation any forest area of public domain that, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, required watershed protection and timber preservation.*), relief from the perils of unchecked deforestation was on the way. Not that Congress intended any such thing, for the act brought succor in a form most legislators had never seriously contemplated, and certainly wouldn't have condoned if they did. The only thing that they meant to do on March 3, 1891, was rescind some of the most ill-suited and fragrantly abused of the land laws. Instead, owing to vigorous arm-twisting by Interior Secretary John W. Noble, a conference committee attached a rider to the bill (later called the Forest Reserve Act) that altered the course of public land history. The rider authorized the President to "set apart and reserve… any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth whether of commercial value or not, as public reservations." Noble had been convinced of this measure's urgency by Bernard Fernow, who had succeeded [Franklin] Hough at the Division of Forestry.
>
> Fernow and others had tried for about two years to convince Congress of the need for federally protected forests, but had not even been able to get a serious hearing. Yet once Noble's rider slipped through, a "long chain of peculiar circumstances" kept most congressmen from noticing its presence, according to the historian John Isle. The only notable criticism was voiced by Arkansas Senator Thomas C. McRae, who denounced the rider as "an extraordinary and dangerous" power to give to a President. The bill with its provocative rider nevertheless passed, "not through the initiative of Congress," Isle wrote, "but rather because Congress had no good opportunity to act on the provision." Exercising his new authority, President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed the Yellowstone Timberland Reserve next to the park.

During 1903 and 1904—even before creation of the Forest Service—Gifford Pinchot had fifteen men fresh out of forestry school making field investigations to determine the proper boundaries of future reserves.

In two summers the boundary men walked and mapped about 150 million acres of potential reserve lands. When completed, the boundary men's work was to be put to a use as controversial as any in the annals of conservation.

The 65 million acres of forest reserves extant in 1905 were but a fraction of the territory that should be added to the system, according to Pinchot. Simply, the President must do more.

Initially, Theodore Roosevelt had been cautious; throughout three previous administrations, the custom had been to add modestly to the forest system, at least until the eve of one's departure from office. Now in his second term, and with the Forest Service firmly established, he would add another 86 million acres to the forest reserve system, exceeding his own first-term total by nearly fivefold. At 151 million acres in 1909, the system was more than three times larger than when Roosevelt had taken office.

It was, indeed, an unprecedented achievement, but it had not been accomplished without the opposition from Congress that Roosevelt had feared. In 1907, chafing under his initiative, Congress finally moved to prohibit the president from proclaiming new forest reserves in six western states. As part of a major legislative package, the bill was too important for Roosevelt to simply veto it. Approve the restriction he must, but he knew he did not have to sign the bill *immediately.* The Constitution allowed him ten days, and he intended to use that time to good advantage. Over the next week and a half, the lights at the White House burned far into the night. Gifford Pinchot pored over his maps that indicated which maps still required protection in the six affected states. Each time Pinchot pointed his finger, Roosevelt drew his pen. By March 2, 1907, and the close of congressional business, more than 16 million acres of new forest reserves (known ever since as the "midnight forests") had been established, each reserve in direct opposition to the bill still sitting on Roosevelt's desk. Only when the forests had been safely proclaimed did the president finally sign the legislation, and by then, of course, he only took away his power to do what he had already done!

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Useful Web Sites

The White House	**www.whitehouse.gov**
U.S. Senate	**www.senate.gov**
House of Representatives	**www.house.gov**
Library of Congress	**http://thomas.loc.gov**
C-SPAN	**www.c-span.org/resources/congress.asp**
League of Conservation Voters	**www.lcv.org**

"*We simply need that wild country available to us, even if we never do more than drive to its edge and look in. For it can be a means of reassuring ourselves of our sanity as creatures, a part of the geography of hope*."

—Wallace Stegner, in *Wilderness Letter*

Section C: Wilderness and the Media

Introduction

Wilderness is about values. It's about something real, something solid—an unwavering place people can count on. People trust the wild lands of the American landscape—their beauty, their ruggedness, their integrity. Communicating with the media and ultimately with the general public about wilderness should focus clearly on these values.

In this section, we will discuss many of the techniques and tools that wilderness activists can use to educate the public. Essential to all of these efforts is the need to deliver a clear and concise message about wilderness.

The conservation community needs to talk about what people will see, hear, and smell in a better world complete with an additional 200 million acres of wilderness.

A number of corporations, especially car manufacturers, have realized the benefit of using wild places to sell their products, banking on the images and values that wild, open places project onto their products. Most of the corporations have been quite successful at using wilderness to portray their products as fun, free, open, alive, real, reliable, relaxing, or an escape from the grind of the day-to-day world. The wilderness movement needs to take a page from these corporations' advertising campaigns to help their wilderness protection efforts.

Once you have defined your messages and integrated them into your daily communications, you can begin to use the media as a major tool for informing, educating, and mobilizing the general public and policy makers about wilderness issues. One thing to keep in mind as you begin your outreach campaign is that the media is a powerful tool, and if you don't use it wisely it could have a disastrous effect on your campaign.

This section will help define your message, identify the media, develop an outreach strategy, prepare outreach materials, and discuss successful media outreach techniques. Remember, every campaign is different and there is no "one size fits all" wilderness media plan.

"The idea of wilderness needs no defense. It needs more defenders."

— Edward Abbey

Wilderness Messages and Messengers

Clearly articulated and accessible messages and messengers are crucial to a successful wilderness outreach campaign. As mentioned above, it is crucial that you develop messages that express the values of the wild lands you are trying to protect. It is also important that those values are expressed in a positive and solution-oriented way. Successful wilderness outreach efforts are often image based, painting a picture of what the world would be like if a specific wild place were protected. Wilderness outreach campaigns should be designed to flow from:

Expressing Values →→ Defining the Problems/Threats →→ Offering Solutions

The Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance has been successful at expressing the values of wild places (spectacular one-of-a-kind red-rock wilderness), defining the problems (development and irresponsible off-road vehicle use), and offering a positive solution (protecting those spectacular areas as wilderness). Of course, a lot more goes into a full-fledged campaign, but this basic structure can help you outline your efforts more clearly.

Another critical factor is the messenger. It is essential that the messenger be easily available and appeal to a broad cross section of people. The messenger must also be able to deliver the message without being preachy. It is a fine line to walk but it is crucial to getting your message heard.

A number of factors are essential to developing a good messenger. You must take into account everything from the messenger's appearance to the organization the person represents (e.g., conservationists, religious community, business community).

For example, the Nevada Wilderness Project (NWP) has been successful at this type of messenger development. When the Black Rock Wilderness proposal was rolled out, NWP worked with a local (Reno, NV) casino owner to speak about the importance of wilderness in supporting the economy. This gave the campaign a huge partner in its efforts and helped to engage an influential new audience not often involved in conservation efforts (the gaming industry).

While it is true that corporations have used wilderness for years to help promote their products, you must not forget that wilderness is not just another product -- you can't just sell it like Fruit Loops. Protecting wilderness and wild lands is part of our tradition, part of our values and we must use this when developing and defining our messages and messengers.

The following ideas could help craft messages and identify messengers:

Develop your message: Develop a document (brochure, area write-up, or fact sheet) that describes the wild place—what people will see, smell, and feel and what the place does

for local communities and people. There are a number of great examples of these kinds of documents. The Nevada Wilderness Coalition has produced documents over the last few years that have helped sharpen and define their messages about specific places including the Black Rock Desert, Southern Nevada Wilderness, and Eastern Nevada Wilderness. For examples, contact Friends of Nevada Wilderness at www.nevadawilderness.org.

Distill your message: Wilderness campaigns can identify short slogans defining values and key areas that could be used as sound bites and tag lines to quickly define the campaign and the areas. The Washington Wilderness Campaign, in their effort to protect the Wild Sky wilderness area outside the Seattle area, chose to define their campaign and the region with the slogan "The Wilderness in Our Backyard." This message was based on the proximity of the region to the greater Seattle area and the values associated with protecting their "backyard." Nevada's "Wilderness on the Horizon" and Wyoming's "Red Desert–Wild Heart of the West" campaigns are good examples of clearly defined messages. For more examples, visit www.wildwashington.org.

Identify your vision: As you are pulling together your initial documents, whether they are glossy brochures, plain fact sheets, or simple one pagers, remember to include and identify what you would like to see and how wilderness designation is essential to that vision. Specifics are essential, but remember that you still need to be clear and concise. The Sky Island Alliance in southern Arizona has a great vision clearly defined in almost all of their materials. For more information, visit www.skyislandalliance.org.

Deliver a positive message: Be sure that your core messages are positive. A negative "the sky is falling" message will only turn audiences off, and they will not hear your message or understand your campaign. Identify early in your materials why the wilderness campaign is good for everyone.

Define the problem/threat: It is important that you define the problems and threats to areas so that you can make the case for why wilderness is the best solution to these problems. Identifying problems as growing, spreading, or sprawling can help exemplify urgency and set the stage for your solution. The Alaska Wilderness League has always done a great job of defining problems and offering solutions. For more information, visit www.alaskawildernessleague.org.

Develop your solution: All of your messages should bridge back to your solution. Your solution (wilderness designation) needs to be talked about in simple, reasonable, and responsible terms. You need to define your solutions in terms of their importance and their relationship to the vision you have laid out. Your solutions are the way to protect and ensure the values you have defined.

Identify the messengers: Messengers can often be as important, if not more important, than the message itself, and one of your biggest challenges will be to identify the right messenger. Organizers of campaigns need to recognize that they might not be the best messengers and that they might need other people to speak to their issues. Local

lawmakers, business leaders, and other community leaders are often better and more credible spokespersons than conservationists.

Successful wilderness campaigns often work in advance of rolling out a proposal to identify good spokespersons. Washington Wilderness Coalition members have been organizing mayors across the state to be spokespersons for wilderness proposals, and Idaho conservationists have been working with local ranchers to promote the Owyhee wilderness proposal.

Train your spokespersons: Practice makes perfect, and wilderness activists more than anyone need to practice delivering their messages. Activists should take turns interviewing one another to get prepared for public outreach efforts. Asking one another tough questions and working to deliver the key message is a great way to prepare. Developing general talking points for the campaign is a good way of getting everyone on the same page. While you want everyone to be on the same message, don't be heavy-handed with your message control. Often spokespersons can put a new spin on your issues that might appeal to a larger audience. While it is important to convey the facts about a wilderness proposal, it is also good to allow people to speak from their hearts—giving them a chance to talk about the values of the wilderness.

Make use of imagery: Perhaps the strongest tool in our efforts to protect wilderness is imagery. Whenever possible, let the images speak for themselves. A picture can be worth a thousand words, and you should use them to define your message whenever possible. Many successful wilderness campaigns have developed working relationships with local photographers. They work with them to make sure the campaign has the best images for promoting specific areas. The West Virginia Wilderness Coalition has great relationships with photographers and have been using images very well to support their campaign. For more information visit www.wvwild.org

Defining the Media

Long before you begin outreach efforts, identify, understand, and develop a working knowledge of the media outlets you are going to work with. All media outlets are not created equal, and if you are to be successful in communicating with them you must understand these differences and adjust your outreach accordingly. The other key to a successful media outreach campaign is developing a solid working relationship with your contacts at the different outlets. Having a good relationship with journalists and editors can make the difference in how they report on your issue. This is just as important as developing a solid understanding with key decision makers and their staff on Capitol Hill.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that the media feeds on itself. One story in a newspaper can spark stories on both radio and television. Successful wilderness campaigns will use one story to help generate others. The Wilderness Support Center refers to this as "chumming for stories." (Check with your local fishermen for details.) The idea is to keep putting out stories/clips until you cause a media feeding frenzy around your issue. Remember to save all your clips because you can use them in the future as lobbying, media, and grassroots tools.

The media is a living entity, evolving daily and changing almost as fast as we can define it. That said, for the moment we can break the media up into three general categories: print, broadcast, and electronic.

Print: This is the most traditional and "old school" part of the media. It is also often the media that is the most in-depth, giving our issues the most detailed coverage. Print media includes newspapers, magazines, periodicals, newsletters, and books. These outlets are often "gateway" outlets to other media. Broadcast outlets including radio and television often get their stories straight from the headlines of the morning newspapers. Print stories can help you educate other outlets about your issue, and it often has more credibility because it is seen as an outside, non-bias source of information.

Broadcast: This is the most heard and viewed form of media and is often cited as the most reliable source of information (people can see the moving images and hear the voices). This is also the most entertainment-oriented form of media and can frequently be accused of not giving issues enough detailed attention. (A national TV reporter once laughingly explained after taping 45 minutes of an interview for a 15-second news flash that his producer always said before each show: "Let's go out and scratch that surface!"). Broadcast media includes television, radio, and films. While we can often criticize broadcast outlets for not giving our issues an in-depth look, they are still the best way to use our strongest messenger—the images of wilderness. Broadcast outlets need to be approached differently than print outlets because they are so dependent on images and sounds. Wilderness activists need to remember that when preparing to do outreach.

Electronic: This is the "new kid on the block" when it comes to media, and it is seen as the fastest growing way for people to get their information about the world. Of all the outlets, the electronic ones allow the most flexibility and offer the most creativity.

Wilderness activists can blend images, text, sounds, and music when doing outreach to this media. Electronic media includes web sites, e-mails, virtual marketing, and text messaging. Many creative and successful campaigns have recently developed short animated films on the web that deliver their messages in a fun and creative way.
Others have used "action alerts" and list serves to get their messages out.

Behind all of these forms of media are support staff who receive thousands of calls, e-mails, and faxes from people/activists with stories. They are often completely overwhelmed and can miss your information if you do not understand the outlet, lack creativity in your pitch, and/or have no relationship with the outlets or the journalists. One key tip is to always keep an up-to-date media list and write side notes on it about the different journalists with whom you are in contact. Also, be creative in your outreach. Don't stick just to environmental journalists. Develop ways of appealing to other journalists (e.g., outdoor writers, cooking shows) as well.

Developing A Communications Strategy

Having a sound media strategy and a well thought-out message prior to beginning your campaign's outreach is critical. The media can provide a great megaphone for getting your message out, but it is also a very public place for a campaign to succeed, fail, or be irreparably damaged. It can make or break one's campaign and define everything and everyone associated with a campaign. A sound communications strategy needs to be flexible, versatile, creative, and unique. The following are a number of things to be considered when developing your strategy:

- ***Be a student of the media.*** Understand and know the outlets and journalist you will be pitching to. Make sure you've seen the last story the journalist did before you call.

- ***Define your message and messengers.*** As mentioned earlier, you want your message to be tight and ready and you want your spokespersons to be prepared.

- ***Be aware of timing.*** Timing can be everything. Make sure to look at the calendar and pay attention to local and national events. You don't want your efforts to be limited or overshadowed by another event such as a weekend, parade, huge trial, natural disaster, war, or other attention-generating event.

A communications strategy needs to be written out, and it needs to be an integral part of the larger campaign strategy. Your communications strategy should be built in and around your overall strategy and game plan. This means that your communications work and strategy will need to be balanced with legislative time lines and calendars. Start slowly and set incremental goals (remember: media feed on one another). Set initial goals of generating two to five print stories in the first six months of your campaign and build from there. Remember that media outreach and strategy is about incremental steps and building towards the future.

Getting Started

Talk with everyone working on the campaign before you put your communications strategy and time line in place so that you can identify important action dates, anniversaries, and other events. Once you have the "master" time line, you can start putting pieces together for your communications strategy. That said, remember that things can change quickly and you must be flexible.

Remember that *messages, messengers,* and *material*s are the cornerstones of your outreach and will help to define your campaign. That is why it is important that you spend enough time selecting the materials and spokespersons for your campaign. Begin identifying your media targets and developing a complete list of outlets, contacts, and correct contact information. This list will be your hotline to the media as the campaign evolves. You must keep this list as up-to-date as possible as the campaign moves forward.

At the same time, you should start identifying compelling photo images and gathering video footage to help support and build your story for other outlets besides the print media.

Starting the Drumbeat

This is one of the most important parts of your campaign. First impressions are important and you want your media contacts to see you as a solid, dependable, and reliable resource as you begin to move forward. Providing them with interesting, creative, and accurate materials on a consistent basis is essential.

Before you run to the phones, it is better to introduce yourself to media outlets through your information. Do a mailing before calling. Calling and following up are the only ways to generate the stories you want. This is not only the best way to truly establish a relationship with the outlet, it also gives them the information first and allows you to follow up with them later on.

Don't expect stories or coverage of your campaign after your first mailing and follow-up calls. This is a *process* and you are starting a drumbeat with the media that will help to educate and prepare your key contacts to write accurate stories in the future when you need them. The point is to be consistently accurate and to develop a strong relationship with the journalists with whom you are working.

In addition to having your time line and mailing schedule in place (we recommend one mailing a month), you also need to be flexible enough to react to issues that come up in the course of the campaign. This may require you to do more than your scheduled mailings.

Many wilderness campaigns have used this timing/drumbeat method to develop their media presence and to successfully engage the public in supporting their wilderness campaigns. Most of these campaigns keep an archive of mailings on-line after they have been sent out to media outlets. The Washington Wilderness Campaign has a number of good examples on their web site www.wildwashington.org.

Keeping It Fresh

Once you have established your presence and have successfully engaged the media in your campaign you will need to find new ways to keep the issue fresh. This will require some creativity. Many organizations over the years have used gimmicks to draw attention to their issues. Another tactic is attaching your issue to another topic; i.e., piggybacking your issue onto another. For example, the Alaska Wilderness League has done a great job over the last few years linking the debate over drilling in the Arctic Refuge to the Exxon Valdez oil spill. While there is not a direct relationship between these two issues, AWL has highlighted the parallels between what the oil industry has said about the spill in Prince William Sound (that it couldn't happen) and what they are

saying about drilling in the Arctic Refuge (that it won't hurt the coastal plain). For examples of this, please visit www.wildalaska.org.

The worst thing a campaign can do is allow journalists and the public to believe that nothing is going on, that the campaign has stalled, or that it is simply lingering without movement. A successful media campaign is always evolving and moving forward.

Two other things to keep in mind when you are developing your campaign:

- ***Consider costs.*** Good materials, outreach tools, photos, and video footage can be expensive, and you want to weigh these costs against the rest of your campaign costs. Media work, while important, can't replace good grassroots organizers on the ground.

- ***Be prepared for a reaction.*** Many opponents to wilderness campaigns will react to your efforts and may try to spin the issue in their favor. Don't panic or overreact to their spin. Take the high ground.

Preparing Communications Materials

Developing materials for your campaign is not something you want to do with all the members of the campaign. Establish a communications/materials committee to develop your materials. While it is good to get people's comments, having everyone working on the materials can make it impossible to develop good ones. (Too may cooks spoil the media stew.) If it is possible, get professional help with your materials. Professional designers, photographers, and video producers can help you package your materials in a professional and accessible manner. That said, you should also remember to keep things simple. While it is nice to have professional materials, you want your materials to be an honest representation of your campaign and the places you wish to save. It's important that they have a homegrown feel and look.

You can start by developing a simple press kit (a folder that has fact sheets, stories, and photos). This is an inexpensive way to get started and can help you define what is important to include in your other materials. A well-prepared press kit is an important asset to an organization. Although essentially designed to inform the press of an organization's aims and objectives, it can also be used to enlighten and educate agency officials, congressional staff, or the general public on various issues. (Reusing these materials helps prevent reinventing the wheel, so to speak.)

Remember, "less is often more" when developing materials. While we know that the facts are on our side, they are never as important to others. Images are the key to good materials. The text is important but more often than not people look at the images first and skim through the text. Don't get so wedded to your facts that you can't leave them out of certain materials.

Good communications materials should include:

- Fact sheets highlighting key issues
- A selection of appropriate news clippings
- Maps, photographs, or visual stimulus that will lend credence to the campaign
- Biographical profiles of the key spokespersons of the organization

Communicating through the Media

We have already talked about a number of tools/materials for communicating through the media, but there are a few more simple things that every media campaign should use:

Letters to the Editor (LTE): This is one of the most powerful tools we have for doing outreach and organizing. It allows us to get our message out directly without the filter of a journalist or editor. Sadly, many groups underestimate the value of having a strong LTE effort as part of their overall media campaign. Whether they are published or not the editors see them coming in and it raises the profile of your issues. Organizing activists to write letters to the editor on a regular basis is helpful to the campaign on an organizing level as well as on the media front. The Nevada Wilderness Coalition has used this as a successful organizing and media strategy for years. Always send these copies of the letters to decision makers whether they get printed or not. Visit www.wildnevada.org for more information.

Press Releases: This is the tool most used by activists and is perhaps the most abused form of communicating with the media. It is important to get your message out, and releases are a great way to get your most important messages out, but they should not be used to explain all of your campaign's argument. It is important to keep your releases short and to the point (one page—front and back maximum). Sometimes this is hard to do, but it is a good rule to help you be conservative and concise. Front-load your releases (most important information first). Given how many press releases media outlets receive each day, it is important to get your point across right away. Remember, releases should focus on facts (who, what, where, when), not opinions. There are other pieces you can use to make your case. (The Wilderness Society has some good releases on its web site www.wilderness.org.) Press releases that don't get covered can be recycled as letters to the editor, with a little creative removal of quotes.

Editorial Memos: This is a longer piece focused on making your campaign's case. It is an opinion piece and can be longer and include a lot more information than a press release. Most wilderness conservation groups have used these as tools to help editorial writers craft supportive editorials. In addition to being longer and more comprehensive, the editorial memo makes a request for editorial support and/or coverage by the outlet. The document should be focused on convincing the editorial writers to write about your issue. The Alaska Rainforest Campaign has done a great job using editorial memos to engage writers across the country. Visit www.akrain.org for more information.

Fact Sheets: This is a great tool for providing information on a specific part of your campaign; for example, "water and wilderness," "roads and wilderness," "recreation and wilderness." Fact sheets help you address specific questions that might be raised in the course of the campaign. It is good for campaigns to anticipate issues that might be raised as part of the effort and to put together materials that address them specifically. The Wilderness Society has a number of excellent fact sheets on a wide range of topics. For more information, visit www.wilderness.org.

Op-Eds: These are great tools for engaging and organizing VIPs as well as delivering your message directly to your audience. Op-eds are typically 600 to 800 words in length and give the author enough space to make his or her case. Equally beneficial to the campaign are using an op-ed to get a VIP on record supporting the campaign and as an organizing tool to get prominent people involved in the campaign. While you can't control all the ins and outs of editing an op-ed, you can and should help write the initial drafts with your author(s). This will help them stay on message and give them some confidence if the outlet(s) want to edit the piece.

Phone Calls: All too often activists are quick to go to the phone and start "chicken littling" with a journalist. While that kind of line can help generate some press, it is a bad way to approach a journalist and more often than not results in a story that is not helpful to the campaign. Practice first before you make your call. Do some mock calls with an office mate or quietly at your desk to script it out before you call. Write out your major points beforehand so you can remember the things you were hoping to get across. A good rule to remember is that when speaking with a reporter you are always on record and anything you say could end up in someone's story.

Paid Media: Paid advertising is a great way to get your campaign's message out. It is the most flexible tool that we have, but it is also by far the most expensive. In addition to the cost, paid media can also be problematic because you are competing with so many other advertisers for attention, and they will always have more money than you.

If you are in a situation where you need to do some advertising, try to stretch the budget as much as possible. Most outlets have special rates for nonprofits. You should also work with the outlets to do an ad buy that helps give the impression that you are doing more advertising that you actually are. Target specific shows, specific times, and specific audiences. You should also make sure that the paid media campaign meshes well with your overall strategy and your earned media strategy. Paid media can kill a campaign's budget quickly so it should be used judiciously.

Packets of Clips for Decision Maker/Champion: Experience has shown that delivering a periodic packet of news clips, LTEs, op-eds, etc., to your champions and key staff is well received and useful in aiding the efforts of key decision makers. A collage of headlines can be a powerful "information drop" on Capitol Hill.

More Tips on Working with the Media

The following are some quick additional thoughts about working with the media:

- To alleviate nervousness, make sure you are completely familiar with your subject matter and the particular points you wish to get across. Relaxation exercises can help relieve the stress of being "on the spot." Remember that you are working on this campaign because you want to find a solution to problems, and you want to protect your special places.

- Be concise and precise. Avoid speculation or any topic that may distract you from your agenda's points. Never try to tell both sides of the story.

- Before dealing with the media make sure that you have a clearly defined idea as to what you or your organization wants the public to think and do. If facts are not in your organization's favor don't lie. Don't be argumentative and don't use suspect delaying tactics. Admit the truth and provide immediate evidence as to how your organization is taking steps to rectify the situation.

- As a result of your preparation you should be able to speak with confidence and conviction. Explain intricate political or educational concepts in layman's terms and avoid using in-house jargon. Don't guess at answers if you are not sure of the facts. Don't speak off-the-record, become angry, or rush into responses that you, your organization, or your supporters may regret afterwards.

Communications is an integral part of any campaign and should be from the very beginning. If your communications strategy consists of putting out a press release after announcing your campaign's latest effort you should take a few steps back and start over.

A key to a successful media campaign must be a well thought-out strategy with an original approach. This will make the work fun for the campaign, journalists, and the public. It will also help keep your campaign fresh and in the spotlight.

The media is a fickle creature that is difficult to tame. However, if it is given the correct stimulus, the media can be a great asset. *Always* ensure that your organization is both professional and honest in its dealings with the public and the press.

Finally, like all the other parts of a positive and successful campaign, communications work is all about relationships. Developing strong relationships with journalists is critical to getting your message out.

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SECTION D: WILDERNESS INVENTORIES

The following article "*Guidelines for Ecological Design of Wilderness and Other Protected Areas"* was originally prepared by Dave Foreman, Director of The Rewilding Institute for the Sky Islands Wildlands Network (SIWN), but the criteria still holds true for most wilderness proposals.

Traditional Selection Criteria

Both conservation groups and land managing agencies have traditionally used standards of quality and purity to select candidate areas for protection and for drawing boundaries around such areas. For example, candidate national parks had to be of "national park quality"—possessing world-class scenery or natural wonders. Candidate wilderness areas needed to be of "wilderness quality"—scenic and inviting for non-mechanized recreation. Boundary selection has often carved out scenically "lower quality" portions of such areas. Often these "lower quality" areas were of greater ecological importance than the areas protected.

Purity has been a standard used by federal agencies ostensibly to limit protection of areas to only those that appear to be without human impact. Purity has also been used as a subterfuge by the agencies to eliminate areas with timber, minerals, or other exploitable resources. Both the Forest Service and BLM have set standards of wilderness purity not required by the Wilderness Act (Cutler 1977). For example, in the Forest Service's roadless area review and evaluation (RARE) 1971-1972, the Southwest Regional Forester decreed that areas had to be truly roadless. Consequently, tire tracks that remained visible into the next season excluded thousands of acres from being identified as roadless. In 1972, the Forest Service proposed to remove several thousand acres of the Gila Primitive Area from protection because of the faint sign of a long-abandoned airstrip.

In the early 1970s, the Forest Service stridently opposed designating wilderness areas in the East because of their purity dogma. Members of Congress, including the champions of the 1964 Wilderness Act, made it clear that purity had not been their intent. Senator Frank Church, the floor manager of the Wilderness Act, said that the Forest Service:

…would have us believe that no lands ever subject to past human impact can qualify as wilderness, now or ever. Nothing could be more contrary to the meaning and intent of the Wilderness Act. The effect of such an interpretation would be to automatically disqualify almost everything, for few if any lands on this continent—or any other—have escaped man's imprint to some degree. This is one of the great promises of the Wilderness Act. We can dedicate formerly abused areas where the primeval scene can be restored by natural forces (Church 1973).

Senator Henry Jackson agreed with Church, saying, "It is my hope to correct this false so-called 'purity theory' which threatens the strength and broad application of the Wilderness Act" (Jackson 1973).

Republican Senator James Buckley (brother of William F. Buckley and now a federal judge) quoted Aldo Leopold, who wrote "In any practical program the unit areas to be preserved must vary greatly in size and degree of wildness." Buckley then said, "The distortion of this approach by efforts to straitjacket the Wilderness Act into some kind of 'purer-than-driven-snow' standard has no merit at all" (Buckley 1973). Republican Congressman John Saylor, the prime sponsor of the Wilderness Act in the House, said, "The act they [the Forest Service] tell us is too narrow, too rigid, and too pure in its qualifying standards. Very frankly, those who take this position are wrong." (Saylor 1973)

There are many examples of less-than-pure areas being designated as wilderness. In New Mexico, several miles of constructed dirt roads were closed and incorporated into the Sandia and Manzano wilderness areas in 1978. An area of the Gila Primitive Area with two gas-powered water wells and over 1,000 acres of juniper chaining was added to the Gila Wilderness in 1980.

Even conservation groups sometimes have fallen into a purist view on what qualifies for Wilderness, largely due to ignorance about the meaning and history of the Wilderness Act. In the past, conservation groups have used "wilderness quality" to identify areas proposed as wilderness areas and have then used human intrusions (particularly roads and vehicle tracks) to determine proposed boundaries (Foreman 1976). Still today, many conservation groups use the same standards and process and instruct their field volunteers that, under the criteria of the 1964 Wilderness Act, a qualifying area "must be at least 5,000 contiguous roadless acres." This statement is in error. The Wilderness Act does not require candidate areas to be roadless. Under this misinterpretation, development of a wilderness area proposal can become a technical exercise of determining if a vehicle route is a "road" or a "way," even though the 1964 Wilderness Act does not require an area to be without roads or free of past human impacts to be designated as Wilderness (Dickerman 1973, Foreman 1998). Under federal definitions, a "road" has been constructed and maintained, while a "way" has been created merely by the passage of motor vehicles.

Ecological Selection Criteria

During the last 20 years, ecological values have begun to supersede scenery and recreation as the fundamental goals for wilderness area selection. Protecting an area for its ecological value, rather than its scenic or recreational opportunities, requires looking at a completely different set of characteristics and examining how an area fits into the context of the larger natural landscape.

Quality

Inspiring scenery, high-country lakes, splendid campsites, interesting trails, good fishing—all these were qualities looked for in candidate wilderness areas. Qualities more important today are habitat for sensitive species (including large carnivores), unusual plant communities, plant communities not well represented in protected areas, winter range, migration routes, and hot spots of biodiversity.

Purity

In the past, the appearance of naturalness was more important than naturalness. Signs of an abandoned airstrip were thought a greater intrusion on the wilderness character of an area than were sheet and gully erosion from livestock grazing or dog-hair thickets of pine resulting from fire suppression. A highly engineered, constructed pack trail did not detract from the purity of an area, but a fading Jeep trail did.

Emphasizing ecological values has led the Sky Islands Wildlands Network to select and design protected areas, including wilderness areas, with somewhat different standards from those used in the past. The following are standards used by the Sky Island Alliance:

Human Intrusions

Human intrusions, including constructed roads and unconstructed vehicle ways, grazing facilities, logged areas, power lines, and old mines, should be inventoried and carefully mapped and described. If intrusions are little used or substantially unnoticeable, they should be included within a wilderness area proposal. If an intrusion is noticeable or currently in use, its visual impact, level of use, purpose, and importance should be weighed against the ecological values that would be protected or restored by closing or mitigating the intrusion and including it in a wilderness area or other protective classification.

Size

The larger an area, the better. Size helps to buffer the interior of natural areas from edge effects and road impacts, provides greater habitat, protects a more diverse area, and allows an area to be returned to a natural disturbance regime. A small, isolated area requires more human intervention for a longer time to maintain natural processes of disturbance, top-down regulation, and so forth.

The relationship between the size of an area and the number of species it supports was a key generalization in the development of the theory of island biogeography (MacArthur and Wilson 1967). (Fig 2i.)

Rounded Boundaries

For the same reasons that size is important, so are rounded boundaries. A long, narrow area has little interior habitat and is poorly buffered from road effects, poachers, and edge effects. An amoeba-shaped area with many lobes is also compromised because of the relative narrowness of the lobes. (*Sometimes these odd-shaped pieces are way better than nothing and can be added on to later; for example, Mt. Charleston, NV.*)

Cherrystems

Both agencies and conservation groups have proposed many wilderness areas that have long, narrow exclusions for roads up canyon bottoms or along ridges. These "cherrystems" can compromise the protection of an area and effectively reduce its size, with all of the consequences discussed above. Note: Often cherrystems are necessary and

reduce, restrict, and contain conflicts, yet still protect as much wild land as possible. In many cases it is better to have a wilderness with a cherrystem or two than no wilderness at all.

Landscape Context

Agencies (and often conservation groups) have treated wilderness areas, national parks, and other protected areas as stand-alone units (islands) without regard to their landscape context. For protection of ecological values, context is highly important. Are other potential wilderness areas nearby? If so, boundary proposals should reduce the gap between separate wilderness areas to reduce fragmentation. Even if past human intrusions (logging) or roads separate the areas, wilderness boundaries should be brought as close together as possible. It is often desirable to propose closing a road to join two formerly separated wilderness areas.

Habitat

In many cases, existing wilderness areas or roadless areas are restricted to mountains or low productivity habitats. Habitat that is more important ecologically, despite the fact that it has dirt roads, Jeep trails, or other intrusions, may lie outside the boundary. Such areas should be considered for wilderness recommendation from the standpoint of the ecological requirements of focal species. For SIWN, proposed wilderness boundaries would close some dirt roads and ways up canyon bottoms because such areas are important habitat for the jaguar and riparian-dependent birds, mammals, fish, and reptiles that are vulnerable to road-borne poaching or disruption. Similarly, prime wolf habitat that may have dirt roads or other intrusions, such as high Montane grasslands in the Gila NF or rolling Madrean woodland in the Coronado NF, are proposed for inclusion in wilderness areas. Montane forests that have had some logging are proposed as wilderness areas because of their value as habitat for species such as Mexican spotted owl and the thick-billed parrot.

Riparian

In arid landscapes, riparian areas and available water are extremely important to a wide range of species. Skagen et al. (1998) recommend that all riparian areas, no matter how small, be preserved for migrating birds. Wherever possible, therefore, the Sky Islands Wildlands Network includes riparian areas in proposed wilderness areas, wild & scenic rivers, linkages, and other protected areas, even if they have suffered from some human impact.

Compiler's Notes

In the case of protecting smaller wild lands in the East, additional wilderness designations take on an added importance. In many cases we are seeing Congress adding more lower-elevation lands to existing wilderness areas and/or designating lower elevation areas and complete watersheds as wilderness.

Section E: Inspirational Quotations

The following are inspiring words on wilderness and its benefits from some wilderness heroes.

"Conservation is both practical and idealistic, as is well demonstrated in our concern with preservation."

"Working to preserve in perpetuity is a great inspiration. We are not fighting a rear-guard action, we are facing a frontier. We are not slowing down a force that inevitably will destroy all the wilderness there is. We are generating another force, never to be wholly spent, that, renewed generation after generation, will be always effective in preserving wilderness."

— Howard Zahniser, drafter of the Wilderness Act

"If you know wilderness in the way that you know love, you would be unwilling to let it go.... This is the story of our past and it will be the story of our future."

"The eyes of the future are looking back at us and they are praying for us to see beyond our own time. They are kneeling with hands clasped that we might act with restraint, that we might leave room for life that is destined to come. To protect what is wild is to protect what is gentle. Perhaps the wildness we fear is the pause between our own heartbeats, the silent space that says we only live by grace. Wilderness lives by this same grace. Wild mercy is in our hands."

— Terry Tempest Williams, author and wilderness activist

"Don't become despondent because those at the top show no signs of understanding the global crises or any real concern about solving the basic problems. The solution will come from the work and interconnections of people working where they live to keep their ties with the earth and its natural systems and with all the creatures that share this home with us. We have much to learn, but it's not too late."

— Celia Hunter, Alaska Conservation Pioneer and former President of The Wilderness Society

"Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter."

— Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights leader

"Wilderness itself is the basis of all our civilization. I wonder if we have enough reverence for life to concede to wilderness the right to live on?"

“If man does not destroy himself through the idolatry of the machine, he may learn one day to step gently on his earth.”

“I hope that the United States of America is not so rich that she can afford to let these wildernesses pass by. Or so poor that she cannot afford to keep them.”

— Margaret (Mardy) Murie, author, TWS Governing Council member, and recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom

“Wilderness is an anchor to windward. Knowing it is there, we can also know that we are still a rich nation, tending our resources as we should—not a people in despair searching every last nook and cranny of our land for a board of lumber, a barrel of oil, a blade of grass, or a tank of water."

— Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, in American Forests, July 1963

“Without wilderness, we will eventually lose the capacity to understand America. Our drive, our ruggedness, our unquenchable optimism and zeal and elan go back to the challenges of the untrammeled wilderness. Britain won its wars on the playing fields of Eton. America developed its mettle at the muddy gaps of the Cumberlands, in the swift rapids of its rivers, on the limitless reaches of its western plains, in the silent vastness of primeval forests, and in the blizzard-ridden passes of the Rockies and Coast ranges. If we lose wilderness, we lose forever the knowledge of what the world was and what it might, with understanding and loving husbandry, yet become. These are islands in time—with nothing to date them on the calendar of mankind. In these areas it is as though a person were looking backward into the ages and forward untold years. Here are bits of eternity, which have a preciousness beyond all accounting.”

— Harvey Broome, cofounder of The Wilderness Society

“If future generations are to remember us with gratitude rather than contempt, we must leave them something more than the miracles of technology. We must leave them a glimpse of the world as it was in the beginning, not just after we got through with it.”

— President Lyndon B. Johnson, on signing the Wilderness Act of 1964

“The wilderness and the idea of wilderness is one of the permanent homes of the human spirit.”

— Joseph Wood Krutch, Today and All Its Yesterdays, 1958

“Wilderness is the raw material out of which man has hammered the artifact called civilization. Wilderness was never a homogenous raw material. It was very diverse. The differences in the product are known as cultures. The rich diversity of the world's cultures reflects a corresponding diversity. In the wilds that gave them birth.”

—Aldo Lepold, author, biologist, cofounder of The Wilderness Society

“In wilderness I sense the miracle of life, and behind it our scientific accomplishments fade to trivia.”

— Charles A. Lindbergh, Life, 22 December 1967

“Wilderness is a necessity ... They will see what I meant in time. There must be places for human beings to satisfy their souls. Food and drink is not all. There is the spiritual. In some it is only a germ, of course, but the germ will grow.”

“Here is calm
so deep, grasses cease waving…
wonderful how completely
everything in the wild
nature fits into us.
The sun shines not on us, but in us.
The rivers flow not past,
but through us, thrilling, tingling
vibrating every fiber
and cell of the substance of our
bodies making them glide and sing.”

“Everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where nature may heal and give strength to body and soul.”

— John Muir, conservationist, founder of the Sierra Club

“The wilderness holds answers to questions man has not yet learned to ask.”

—Nancy Newhall quoted in John McPhee's Encounters with the Archdruid, 1971

“Beauty is composed of many things and never stands alone. It is part of the horizons, blue in the distance, great primeval silences, knowledge of all things of the earth… It is so fragile it can be destroyed by a sound or a thought. It may be infinitesimally small or encompass the universe itself. It comes in a swift conception wherever nature has not been disturbed.”

“Wilderness to the people of America is a spiritual necessity, an antidote to the high pressure of modern life, a means of regaining serenity and equilibrium.”

— Sigurd Olson, conservationist, author, and former member of The Wilderness Society’s Governing Council

“How much wilderness do the wilderness-lovers want? Ask those who would mine and dig and cut and dam in such sanctuary spots as these. The answer is easy: Enough so that there will be in the years ahead a little relief, a little quiet, a little relaxation, for any of our increasing millions who need and want it.” (This Is Dinosaur, 1955)

— Wallace Stegner, author and conservationist

“In wildness is the preservation of the world.”

—Henry David Thoreau, speech at Concord Lyceum, 23 April 1851 and subsequently in Thoreau's essay "Walking," Atlantic Monthly, June 1862, v. 9 no. 56

“It is imperative to maintain portions of the wilderness untouched so that a tree will rot where it falls, a waterfall will pour its curve without generating electricity, a trumpeter swan may float on uncontaminated water—and moderns may at least see what their ancestors knew in their nerves and blood.”

— Bernard De Voto, author

“Love is a powerful tool, and maybe, just maybe, before the last little town is corrupted and the last of the unroaded and undeveloped wildness is given over to dreams of profit, maybe it will be love, finally, love for the land for its own sake and for what it holds of beauty and joy and spiritual redemption that will make [wilderness] not a battlefield but a revelation.”

— T.H. Watkins, Redrock Chronicles: Saving Wild Utah, 2000

“Without enough wilderness America will change. Democracy, with its myriad personalities and increasing sophistication, must be fibred and vitalized by regular contact with outdoor growths—animals, trees, sun warmth and free skies—or it will dwindle and pale.”

— Walt Whitman, poet

“Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, not the trees.”

— Revelations 7:3

“I’m suffering from Hope.”

— Edward Abbey, author

“The heavens declare God’s glory and the magnificence of what made them. Each new dawn is a miracle; each new sky fills with beauty.”

— Psalm 19: Verse 1

“There I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell you and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw that the sacred hoop of my people was one of the many hoops that made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the center grew one almighty flowering tree to shelter all the children of one mother and one father. And I saw that it was holy…”

— Black Elk, Lakota Holy Man

“The earth laughs in flowers.”

— Ralph Waldo Emerson, author and philosopher

“Speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee.”

— Job 12:8

“Those who contemplate the beauty of the earth find reserves of strength that will endure as actual beauty in the migration of the birds, the ebb and flow of the tides, the folded bud ready for the spring. There is something infinitely healing in the repeated refrains of nature—the assurance that dawn comes after night, and spring after winter. The lasting pleasures of contact with the natural world are not reserved for the scientist but are available to anyone who will place himself under the influence of earth, sea, and sky, and their amazing life.”

— Rachel Carson, author and biologist

“There is not as much wilderness out there as I wish there were. There is more inside than you think.”

— David Brower, founder of Friends of the Earth and Earth Island Institute

“The supreme reality of our time is… the vulnerability of our planet.”

— President John F. Kennedy

"There is a limit to the number of lands of shoreline on the lakes: there is a limit to the number of lakes in existence; there is a limit to the mountainous area of the world, and … there are portions of natural scenic beauty which are God-made and … which of a right should be the property of all people."

— Arthur Carhart, Pioneering Forest Service wilderness advocate

"The great purpose is to set aside a reasonable part of the vanishing wilderness, to make certain that generations of Americans yet unborn will know what it is to experience life on an undeveloped, unoccupied land in the same form and character as the Creator fashioned it… it is a great spiritual experience. I never knew a man who took a bedroll onto an Idaho mountainside and slept there under a star-studded summer sky who felt self-important that next morning. Unless we preserve some opportunity for future generations to have the same experience, we shall have dishonored our trust."

— Senator Frank Church (Idaho, 1957–1981)

Excerpted from Red: Passion and Patience in the Desert (page 70) by Terry Tempest Williams. Published by Vintage Books, New York (2001).

"We can learn something from this redrock country as we stand on its edge, looking in. We can learn humility in the face of Creation, reverence in the presence of God, and faith in one another for exercising restraint in the name of what lands should be developed and what lands should be preserved.

This country's wisdom still resides in its populace, in the pragmatic and generous spirits of everyday citizens who have not forgotten their kinship with nature. They are individuals who will forever hold the standard of the wild high, knowing in their hearts that natural engagement is not an interlude but a daily practice, a commitment each generation must renew in the name of the land.

What we have witnessed in the ongoing struggle to protect America's Redrock Wilderness is that responsive citizenship matters. Individual voices are heard, and when collectively spoken they reverberate on canyon walls. This passion for the wild endures and can lead to social change long after a specific piece of legislation has been forgotten."

"If the desert is holy, it is because it is a forgotten place that allows us to remember the sacred. Perhaps that is why every pilgrimage to the desert is a pilgrimage to the self. There is no place to hide and so we are found.

Wilderness courts our souls. When I sat in church in my growing years, I listened to teachings about Christ walking in the wilderness for forty days and forty nights, reclaiming his strength, where He was able to say to Satan, 'Get thee hence.' And when I imagined Joseph Smith

kneeling in a grove of trees as he received his vision to create a new religion, I believed their sojourns into nature were sacred. Are ours any less?

There is a Mormon scripture, from the Doctrine and Covenants section 88:44–47, that I carry with me:

> *'The earth rolls upon her wings, and the sun giveth his light by day, and the moon giveth her light by night, and the stars also give their light, as they roll upon their wings in their glory, in the midst and power of God.*
>
> *Unto what shall I liken these kingdoms that ye may understand?*
>
> *Behold all these kingdoms and any man who hath seen any or the least of these hath seen God moving in His majesty and power.'*

Brigham Young, the colonizing prophet of the Mormons, brought with him not only a religion and a life but a land ethic. He wrote the following:

> *'Here are the stupendous works of the God of Nature, though all do not appreciate His wisdom as manifested in His works…I could sit here for a month and reflect on the mercies of God."*

Taken from The Gathering Prayer (Gwich'in Prayer) with Special Thanks to the Episcopal Diocese of Alaska

The Gathering Prayer (for the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge)

Creator, we give you thanks for all you are and all you bring to us for our visit within your creation. In Jesus, you place the Gospel in the center of this sacred circle through which all of creation is related. You show us the way to live a generous and compassionate life. Give us strength to live together with respect and commitment as we grow in your spirit, for you are God, now and forever. Amen.

Excerpted from Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness (pages 189–190 and 192) by Edward Abbey. Published by Schuster and Schuster, New York (1968).

"Wilderness. The word itself is music. Wilderness, wilderness… We scarcely know what we mean by the term, though the sound of it draws all whose nerves and emotions have not yet been irreparably stunned, deadened, numbed by the caterwauling of commerce, the sweating scramble for profit and domination.

Suppose we say that wilderness invokes nostalgia, a justified not merely sentimental nostalgia for the lost America our forefathers knew. The word suggests the past and the unknown, the womb of earth which we all emerged. It means something lost and something still present, something remote and at the same time intimate, something buried in our blood and nerves,

something beyond us and without limit. Romance – but not to be dismissed on that account. The romantic view, while not the whole of the truth, is a necessary part of the whole truth.

But the love of wilderness is more than a hunger for what is always beyond reach; it is also an expression of loyalty to the earth, the earth which bore us and sustains us, the only home we shall ever know, the only paradise we ever need – if only we had the eyes to see.

No, wilderness is not a luxury but a necessity of the human spirit, and as vital to our lives as water and good bread."

Excerpted from Creation Voice: A Restoring Eden Publication www.restoringeden.org

"Our message is simple: God is a good God. God made a good earth. God calls us to be good stewards.

Historically, Christians have practiced nature appreciation as a spiritual discipline. Since the time of the early church, Christians have looked to nature to build their faith in the Creator. But in our fast-paced, materialistic world we have lost our ability to see God's goodness and wisdom expressed through nature. The natural world has simply become a commodity, an input for our economic process. We have lost our sense of wonder and sense of the sacred in nature.

Yet Christians can still enter the great choir of praise found in the midst of nature. Sit under a tree, close your eyes and see if you can't feel the peace. Or stand under the stars and feel overwhelming awe of the heavens. Our souls still need the wild, perhaps more than ever.

Remember Jesus went into the wilderness and prayed."

Excerpted from The Island Within by Richard Nelson. Published by North Point Press, San Francisco (1989).

"Living from wild nature joins me with the island as no disconnected love ever could. The earth and sea flow in my blood; the free wind breathes through me; the clear sky gazes out from within my eyes. These eyes that see the island are also made from it; these hands that write of the island are also made from it; and the heart that loves the island has something of the island's heart inside. When I touch myself, I touch part of the island. It lives within me as it also gives me life."

"I am the island and the island is me."

"Carry with you the calm of the water, the strength of the rock and dreams as lofty as the mountain peaks."

Message from Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, Transmitting the Tenth Annual Report on the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System (December 4, 1974)

"I believe that the Wilderness System serves a basic need for all Americans, even those who may never visit a wilderness area—the preservation of a vital element of our heritage. … The preservation of wilderness areas across the country today enables us to recapture a vital part of the national experience: like our forebears we can journey into primeval, unspoiled land. … Wilderness preservation insures that a central facet of our Nation can still be realized, not just remembered."

Message from Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, Transmitting the Fourth Annual Report on the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System (June 14, 1968)

"We must also preserve, for this and future generations, some of the America that tempered and formed our national character. An America with undisturbed mountains and plains, forests, and valleys. An America with placid lakes and lonely shores which will not be dominated by man and his technology. An America where a man can be alone with all the glories of nature, and can renew his spirit in solitary communion with the land.

This is the reason for the Wilderness Act. And this is the reason why we shall not be content until we have a National Wilderness Preservation System adequately symbolic of our great national heritage."

Excerpted from the Tony Dean Outdoors at www.tonydean.com

"My view is that while a few hunters may not like wilderness, it's likely that many others would welcome the chance to hunt in areas where it isn't likely wildlife or long, difficult stalks would be interrupted by noisy 4-wheel drive vehicles or ORV's. It seems to me that a wilderness hunt would be of the highest quality."

Excerpted from Plains and Peaks - A Wilderness Outfitter's Story (page 73) by Tory Taylor. Published by Homestead Publishing, Moose, Wyoming (1994).

"'The price of liberty is vigilance,' a great statesman once said. Likewise I have come to understand that the price of a healthy wildlife resource is vigilance as well.

Wildlife's and wildland's cause has a long history that has taken many forms. The seeds of the vigil were planted many generations ago. From the eighteenth century, a few farsighted leaders realized, as our young nation was altering the face of the continent to develop a civilization, that our nation also needed to retain lands for wildlife habitat. Those people recognized that with no wildlands, there could be no wildlife and, with that, the conservation of wildlife began.

The vigil continues today. During several years of conservation involvement, I learned the true commitment this cause requires. It is grueling, endless, and critical work. The rewards come with the sight of a wedge of geese silhouetted against a red sunset, the thrill of hearing bugling elk, or the satisfaction of lifting a trout from pure, clean mountain streams."

Excerpted from A Hunter's Heart: Honest Essays on Blood Sport (page 161). Edited by Dave Petersen. Published by Henry Holt and Co., New York (1996).

"Why do I hunt? I hunt to acknowledge my evolutionary roots, millennia deep, as a predatory omnivore. To participate actively in the bedrock workings of nature. To learn the lessons about nature and myself, that only hunting can teach. To accept personal responsibility for at least some of the deaths that nourish my life. For the glimpse it offers into a wildness we can hardly imagine."

Excerpted from Beyond Fair Chase: The Ethic and Tradition of Hunting (pages 57 and 61) by Jim Posewitz. Published by Falcon Press, Helena, Montana (1994).

"Fundamental to ethical hunting is the idea of fair chase. This concept addresses the balance between the hunter and the hunted.

The mechanized pursuit of wildlife is high on the list of violating fair-chase principles. We have invented machines to carry ourselves over land, sea and air. Evolution of the animals we pursue cannot keep pace with these inventions. If we are to pursue animals fairly, the ethical choice is clear—we need to pursue them on foot."

Excerpted from Wilderness Writings (pages 31, 34, and 55) by Theodore Roosevelt. Published by Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City (1986).

"He must long greatly for the lonely winds that blow across the wilderness, and for the sunrise and sunset over the rim of the empty world." (page 31)

"The beauty and charm of the wilderness are his for the asking, for the edges of the wilderness lie close besides the beaten roads of present travel. He can see the red splendor of desert sunsets and the unearthly glory of the afterglow on the battlements of desolate mountains. He can ride along the brink of the stupendous cliff-walled canyon, where eagles soar below him and cougars make lairs on the ledges and harry the big-horned sheep. He can journey through the northern forests, the home of the giant moose, the forests of fragrant and murmuring life in summer, the iron-bound and melancholy forests of winter. The joy of living is his who has the heart to demand it." (page 34)

"Hunting in the wilderness is of all pastimes the most attractive …The wilderness hunter must not only show skill in the use of a rifle and address in finding and approaching game, but he

must also show the qualities of hardihood, self-reliance and the resolution needed for effectively grappling with his wild surroundings." (page 55)

"The further one gets into the wilderness, the greater is the attraction of its lonely freedom."

Excerpted from Wildlife Management in Wilderness (page 73) by Clarence A. Schoenfeld and John C. Hendee. Published by the Boxwood Press, Pacific Grove, California (1978).

"Wilderness hunting may offer one of the most ecologically pure human experiences. Here humans, away from the roads or comfort-and-convenience facilities, can experience themselves as predators under the most natural conditions. A large contingent of hunters and game managers feels that the finest-quality hunting opportunities and experiences are found in Wilderness: an opportunity to track and stalk game without artificial diversions such as roads, clearcuts, or cultivated crops, and to blend with the wildest setting possible on a quiet vigil during the hunt. For them, hunting offers Wilderness—dependent satisfactions."

Excerpted from These American Lands (page 198) by D. Zaslowsky and T.H. Watkins. Published by The Wilderness Society/ Island Press, Washington, D.C. (1994).

"To Aldo Leopold it seemed that man's encroachment on the wildest places had reached the speeds traveled by motorized vehicles. He was beginning to see an insidious connection between the roads and automobiles and the destruction of wildlife habitat in the National Forests. 'Who wants to stalk his buck to the music of a motor?' he asked. 'Or track his turkey on the trail of a knobby thread?' Who that is called to the high hills for a real paseo wants to wrangle his packs along a graveled highway? There's a car sign in every canyon, car dust on every bush, a parking ground at every watering hole and Fords on a thousand hills."

Taken from Turtle Island by Gary Snyder. Published by Shambhala Publications Inc., Boston (1993).

Prayer for the Great Family

Gratitude to Mother Earth, sailing
through night and day –
and to her soil: rich, rare, and sweet
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to Plants, the sun-facing light-
changing leaf
and fine root-hairs; standing still
through wind
and rain; their dance is in the
flowing spiral grain
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to Air, bearing the soaring
Swift and the silent

Owl at dawn. Breath of our song
clear spirit breeze
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to Wild Beings, our brothers,
teaching secrets,
freedoms, and ways; who share with
us their milk;
self-complete, brave, and aware
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to Water, clouds, lakes, rivers,
glaciers;
holding or releasing; streaming
through all
our bodies salty seas
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to the Sun: blinding pulsing
light through
trunks of trees, through mists,
warming caves where
bears and snakes sleep – he who
wakes us –
in our minds so be it.

Gratitude to the Great Sky
who holds billions of stars – and
goes yet beyond that –
beyond all powers, and thoughts
and yet is within us –
Grandfather Space.
The Mind is his Wife.

So be it.
(After a Mohawk prayer)

Excerpted from Rewilding North America: A Vision for Conservation in the 21st Century by Dave Foreman. Published by Island Press, Washington, D.C. (2004).

"From my earliest days, I have been drawn to the heart of wilderness, to wild lands and wild rivers and wild things, to the places and beasts outside the rule of humankind. Long before I learned the ancient English meaning of wilderness—'self-willed land'—looked up at the Sandia Mountains, rising above the city of Albuquerque, and saw a world where we were not masters at all. Long before I heard of the Beowulf-time word wildeor—'self-willed beast'—I watched the horny-toads and bluetails scurry through the grama grass and rabbitbush of the high desert and knew that they ran their errands on their own time in their own way, not on human-time or in human-way.

As I grew older, I began to sense a loss of what was no more, of once-upon-a-time wild wildernesses and once-upon-a-time wild animals, as I read Ernest Thompson Seton and Mark Twain, as I read about Kit Carson and Buffalo Bill. Unlike many other boys, I did not yearn for the smoking buffalo gun in my hands, but for the buffalo vast as summer cloud shadows across the land.

Older still, I watched the high desert between Albuquerque and the Sandias gradually disappear under a carpet of asphalt and buildings. As a young man, I saw roads ripped into wilderness, forests buzz-cut, rivers dammed, coal torn from the badlands—all where I sought will over the land. And I knew that if my wilderness—no, not mine, but its own—was to endure, I had to fight for it."

Excerpted from Patriotism and the American Land by Barry Lopez, Richard Nelson, and Terry Tempest Williams.

"For me there are many reasons to be a patriot for the American land: First, protecting the land is nothing less than protecting ourselves, our children, our communities, our nation. After all, our bodies are made in large measure from the soil of this continent; and from the waters; and from the plants and animals these soils and waters nourish. Where our environment is kept clean and vital its cleanliness and vitality flows through us again. Again, I remember Chief Joseph's words 'The measure of the land and the measure of our bodies are the same.'

Second, allegiance to the land is allegiance to our community as a whole. I believe we have a moral and ethical obligation to protect this living community, to use it responsibly, and to support the work of educating every citizen about the natural environment, the cultural values, and the historical events that give such richness to our American national lands.

Third, standing up for protection of the American land is a way to give something back in return for the gifts of sustenance and beauty and living enrichment that they have given to us. I believe in the importance of tithing—of giving service on behalf of the land and all that lives on it. This is based on a sense of reciprocity and obligation that has deep roots in the many Native American traditions. 'Take care of my land,' I once heard a Tlingit Indian elder say, 'and the land will take care of you.'

Fourth, working in service to the land is a powerful source of hope—the kind of hope that comes by doing something rather than standing by in the face of loss. By this I mean working to protect both the natural environment and the human traditions that infuse every place with power and meaning. There is a real joy in this work, especially because it brings us into the company of like-minded people who support each other in the rough times and share the rewards when things go well.

I am still keenly aware of our country's flaws and shortcomings; still frustrated by its inability to find balance with the environment. But I am grateful for the freedom to speak out, grateful to live in a nation where I can work on behalf of the land, grateful for the gift of hope, and grateful for the privilege of sharing my chosen home with grizzly bears, in a magnificent forest of ancient, sheltering trees.

All these things make me proud to say that I am a patriot for the American land."

For Fun: Our Wilderness Top 20

On this occasion of Wilderness Celebration we feel that it is only appropriate that you haul out the tunes, put on the dancing shoes, and do what is right. (Disclaimer: While we like the titles and the use of the words wild or wilderness in them, we cannot vouch for the content of said tracks or for the integrity of the artist or artists involved.)

1)	Heart of Wilderness	-	Big Head Todd and the Monsters
2)	Cry of the Wilderness	-	Carlos Santana
3)	Call of the Wilderness	-	Stratovarius
4)	Wilderness	-	The Monochrome Set
5)	Man in the Wilderness	-	Styx
6)	Go into the Wilderness	-	Princely Players
7)	In the Wilderness	-	Five Blind Boys of Mississippi
8)	Nude in the Wilderness	-	Dog Fashion Disco
9)	Lost in the Wilderness	-	The Rev. Gary Davis
10)	Wild Idaho	-	The Coyote Angel Band
11)	Wildlife	-	The Penguin Orchestra Café
12)	Wild Country	-	The Coyote Angel Band
13)	Run Wild	-	Guided by Voices
14)	Wild World	-	Love Is Colder Than Death
15)	Call of the Wild	-	Thea Ennen and the Algorhythms
16)	Wild Thing	-	The League of Decency
17)	Wild West	-	Pop Will Eat Itself
18)	Wild and Free	-	The Radiators
19)	Born to be Wild	-	Steppenwolf
20)	In the Wild	-	Hoodoo Gurus

Stand By Your Land!

(with apologies to Tammy Wynette and the Dixie Chicks)

Sometimes it's hard to keep on goin'
Defending wildlands can be tough.

Protect wild places and open spaces
From river valleys to mountaintops.

Chorus

Stand by your land!
Protect our wild, wild places.
You'll always do your best to save, and defend.

Stand by your land!
Bring your voice to our Nation's Capitol
With Fearless women and Brave men
Stand by your land!

There comes a time to go to Congress
To do you're best to save your special place.
But keep on working and keep on trying
with a smile upon your face.

Chorus

Stand by your land!
Protect our wild, wild places.
You'll always do your best to save and defend.

Stand by your land!
Bring your voice to our Nation's Capitol
With Fearless women and Brave men
Stand by your land!

Words by Bart Koehler

What the Wilderness Support Center Does

by Bart Koehler

The Wilderness Support Center provides support to our grassroots compatriots in any and every possible way. We serve as trusted scouts along specific wilderness campaign trails. We, in effect, "ride shotgun," giving our grassroots partners the reins and helping to build their confidence, skills, and hands-on experience. We help them deal with Capitol Hill; plan and carry out campaigns from the first step to the White House lawn; and build coalitions and hold them together through thick and thin. We directly fund some groups and help others find funding, and we assist with a complete array of media skills and support. We give presentations and trainings at various gatherings and conferences, but most of our time is devoted to directly helping people and leaders "learn by doing." We do everything we can to stay out of the spotlight, and do all we can to make sure that our local partners get all the credit. (If you are a good tracker, you might be able to detect our paw prints.) On rare but agreed-upon occasions we will step out and serve as spokespeople for a campaign due to strategic and/or tactical decisions made in concert with our cohorts.

We are strong believers in the "Art of the Possible." We work with grassroots groups—local, regional, and statewide—to help establish new wilderness campaigns and sometimes to rebuild longstanding but somewhat inactive efforts. We have the great fortune of being able to work with folks who are striving to help pass and enact wilderness legislation. Thanks to a very generous special friend and donor we've been able to send grassroots grants to many of our compatriot groups based on the rock-solid promise that the more effective they are, the more effective we all will be in our team efforts. So far, we've awarded several hundred thousands of dollars to more than 20 groups in more than 20 states.

We have further helped grassroots groups by co-hosting the highly successful Wilderness Mentoring Conferences at the Rex Ranch in Arizona and the Wilderness Campaign Leaders meetings in Washington, D.C. We also disseminate relevant wilderness information through our biweekly *Wilderness Report*, and through distributing the *Wilderness Act Handbook*, and now *Stand by Your Land*.

We really believe in <u>you</u>: America's bedrock grassroots wilderness advocates who truly "stand by your land."

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