

• • SAM ELY • •

MAINE LAND ADVOCATE

Special Issue

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Free

The Nader Report:

Maine — The Paper Plantation

A 380-page report released May 17, 1973 by Ralph Nader's Center for Study of Responsive Law charges that the pulp and paper industry has turned Maine into a "paper plantation" by imposing a "one crop economy with a one crop politics which exploits the water, air, soil, and people of a beautiful state".

The report, researched 2-1/2 years and written over the last year by William Osborn, an attorney and recent resident of Richmond, Maine, traces in 6 chapters the ways in which the state's largest and most powerful industry dominates the lives and environment of Mainers.

The Paper State (Chapter I)

The pulp and paper industry produces 30% of Maine's manufactured product and employs nearly one-quarter of its manufacturing labor. The industry is controlled by 7 giant corporations, all headquartered outside of Maine and with woodlands and mills in many other states, and even foreign countries. These corporations (Great Northern, Nekeosa, International Paper, Scott Paper, Diamond International, St. Regis Paper, Georgia-Pacific and Oxford Paper [a division of Ethyl Corporation]) own one-third of the land in Maine and produce over 90% of the pulp and paper made in the state. EACH of these large companies had revenues in 1970 larger than the entire tax revenues of the state.

The paper industry has used its power and size to manipulate Maine's resources in service of its own narrow goals of maximizing profit and increasing shareholder investment.

Taking the Water (Chapter II) ; Paper Air (Chapter III)

Chapters II and III discuss the effect on Maine's waterways and atmosphere of these corporate predators. In damming the rivers for power generation, the paper industry has upset stream flows and lake levels threatening fisheries and recreation. (II-4) Similarly, logdrives by Scott Paper on the Kenne-

from the Paper State by William Osborn



POOR EROSION CONTROL LEADS TO DAMAGE
OF FOREST SOILS ON SCOTT PAPER LANDS

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INSIDE:

- Poor People Demand Fair Share of Maine Land
- What Action of the Nadar Report?
- Pine Tree Legal Assist. Letter to State Heads

Nader Report (Con't.)

bec and Georgia-Pacific on the St. Croix degrade the water and diminish the recreational value of these two rivers. (II-21) Finally, Maine's paper mills discharge untreated wastes into the rivers which have the polluting equivalent of the raw sewage of more than 5-1/2 million people, or more than 5-1/2 times the population of the state. (II-53)

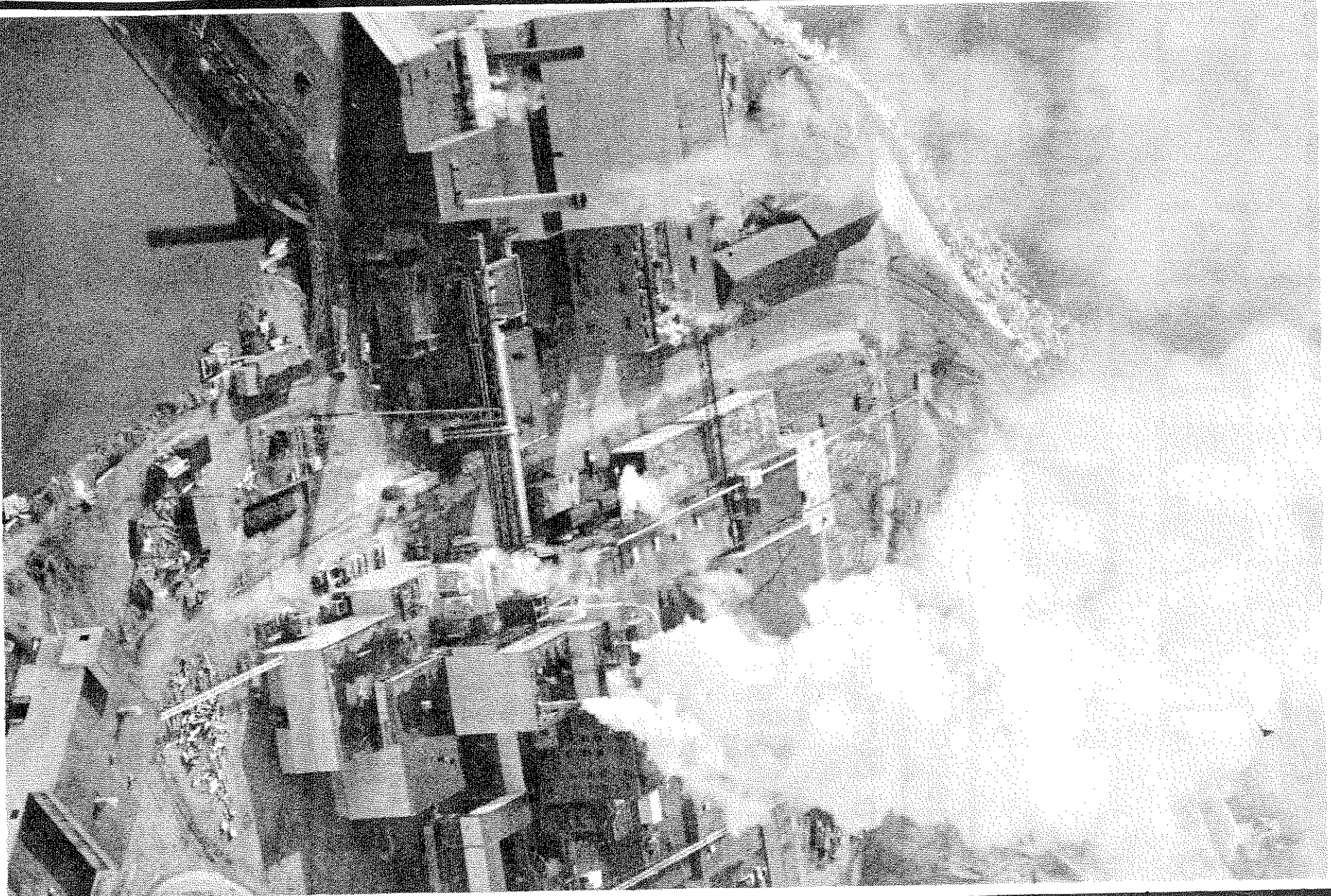
This pollution has driven Maine's rivers into ecological bankruptcy. Besides destroying a \$9.4 million salmon fishery on the Penobscot and a \$13.8 million fishery on the St. Croix in Washington County--Maine's poorest--(II-61), the pollution has depressed property values and forced industries and municipalities to seek new water supplies. The mills have ignored cleaning up--only 4 out of 13 mills have primary treatment facilities and none has a secondary plant (devices which mills in other states installed as long as 10 years ago). (II-69) Instead, believing the public should subsidize their pollution excesses, these giant outsider corporations have bullied and intimidated Maine citizens and lawmakers with false

threats of environmental shutdowns and have succeeded in emasculating Maine's water pollution control program. (II-70) As a result, Maine's water laws are long on loopholes for the industry and short on sanctions. (II-109) The State Department of Environmental Protection operates on a starvation budget with less than half the staff it needs. (II-116) And the law is enforced with a distinct bias which favors the large paper mills: in the last 4 years, although the large mills have violated the law, the state has moved against only one small mill. (II-121)

The paper industry has also robbed Maine of the pure air a state with its low level of population should have. Kraft odor--the smell of rotting eggs--affects one-third of the state's population (III-3), and hazardous levels of sulfur dioxide and particulates have been observed in the vicinity of pulp mills. (III-20) While the state has adopted fairly strong regulation on the control of the latter two, it has no emission restriction on odors.

Pulpwood Peonage(Chapter IV)

The paper industry carefully controls the pulpwood markets in the state by supplying half its pulpwood needs (the mills use over 3 million cords a year) from its own lands and purchasing the rest from independent contractors who cut and haul wood from non-company lands. (IV-7) While this division of supply--made possible by the industry's huge landholdings--has worked well for the companies (the price of purchased pulpwood has not risen appreciably in 15 years) (IV-24), it has relegated the 7,500 woodsmen supplying the mill to a life of pulpwood peonage.



"The odor or something was so strong one night--I think you can find my name on your records, as I called around 1:00--that I could hardly breathe. The dog was choking, and the person who lives with me, an elderly person, I had to get a humidifier.

—Falmouth resident complaining about odor from Scott's Westbrook mill.

"They worked to get this air and now they want to keep it. They're proud of this air."

*—Paul McCann
Executive Director of the Paper
Industry Information Office*

'Paper Companies contribute to Maine's Poverty.'

Hardest hit by this oppressive system are the 4,000 men working as independent contractors. Locked into unconscionable one-sided contracts drawn up unilaterally by high-paid company lawyers (IV-16) and forced to produce to meet payments on expensive logging equipment (IV-27), the independent contractor is in fact completely dependent on the mill for his livelihood. But while the companies eagerly buy his wood at prices they have artificially depressed, they callously avoid responsibility for the welfare of the independent logger. Most independenters receive no employee benefits--no workmen's compensation, no vacation pay, no retirement plan. (IV-30)

The low pulpwood prices, whose virtual uniformity among the mills raises serious antitrust questions (IV-24), also perpetuates a primitive system of piece-rate wages under which most Maine woodmen earn less than \$4,000 a year. (IV-32) The piece-rate system discourages safety in the woods; logging is by far the most dangerous occupation in the state. (IV-33)

To cut their own lands, the companies import bonded Canadian labor. (IV-43) Because this allows the industry to drive the price of purchased pulpwood down, to the detriment of Maine loggers, the program violates the U.S. Immigration Laws and the U.S. Department of Labor regulations which require that the importation not adversely affect domestic workers. (IV-44)

Neither the state nor the Federal Government has rallied to the logger's plight. Instead, both have silently acquiesced in the exploitation of Maine woodsmen by the powerful outsider corporations controlling the woods. Although a U.S. Justice Department investigator recommended a full scale inquiry into pulpwood pricing among Maine mills, his superior's backed off. (IV-23) And, although logging is the most dangerous occupation in Maine, the state until recently did not inspect any woods operation for safety. (IV-34)

Whose Woods? (Chapter V)

A larger portion (45%) of forest land in Maine is owned by the paper industry than in any other state. (V-2)

The companies have more land than they need for pulpwood production. Only half the growth is harvested, and the lands could grow twice as much timber as they now grow. The industry's land surplus is subsidized by the public in the form of light taxes on the timberlands exacted from the state by industry lobbyists. (V-8)

Because the companies are land rich they can produce the pulpwood they need with a minimum investment in forest management. Company woodland departments are

lightly manned with professionals.

(V-25) The companies give short shrift to silviculture (V-10) and waste the opportunities the harvest offers to improve the commercial qualities of the woods. (V-13) Considerable high-grading (harvesting the good trees and leaving the bad) takes place. And the companies invest nothing in timber stand improvement between harvests. (V-23) Low levels of management on paper company lands, while serving the narrow interests of the paper companies, have contributed to the low commercial quality of Maine's forest and threatened the viability of local woods products industries other than paper mills. (V-37) Without more intensive management and higher productivity of its forests, Maine may lose the economic advantages of supplying more wood to meet the country's growing timber demands. (V-38)

Paper industry neglect of woods management has also degraded the forest environment. Because of poor direction and supervision of logging operations on paper company lands routinely cause erosion and stream siltation. (V-38) Industry lobbyists have kept the state from passing adequate legislation to deal with the problem: by managing the legislature, the companies have avoided having to

THROWING OFF THE CHAINS

We tried to organize back in 1970. We were fed up and decided to hold back wood from the mills until they gave us more on the cord. A lot of guys joined us and for a couple of days we stopped all the wood going into Jay. Then IP said we were pricefixing. Kind of like the pot calling the kettle black, if you ask me. But the judge, he agreed and said we said we were against the law. A lot of fellas were hurt pretty bad by the whole thing. Some didn't get their contracts back.

— Independent pulpwood contractor

manage the forests. (V-46)

The paper companies have contributed to Maine's poverty (the state has the seventh highest unemployment in the country and the lowest per capita income in New England) by selling wood from its lands only under short-term contracts, usually for not more than a year. (V-54) This has discouraged the development of independent wood-using firms in the state. (V-59)

At the same time the paper industry has been keeping Mainers out of the woods products business; the companies are now moving ahead and building sawmills of their own. While this may be better utilization of the forest it will also mean less economic activity for Maine than if the mills were locally controlled, in that ownership and control will be out of state. (V-61)

PAPERING AUGUSTA (Chapter VI)

The paper industry keeps its power over Maine people and resources intact through its feetoons of lobbyists and public relations men in Augusta. Comprised of 19 men, 17 of them lawyers (including 11 from major Portland firms), the industry's legislative lobby is so powerful that it is commonly referred to as the "Third House". (VI-12)

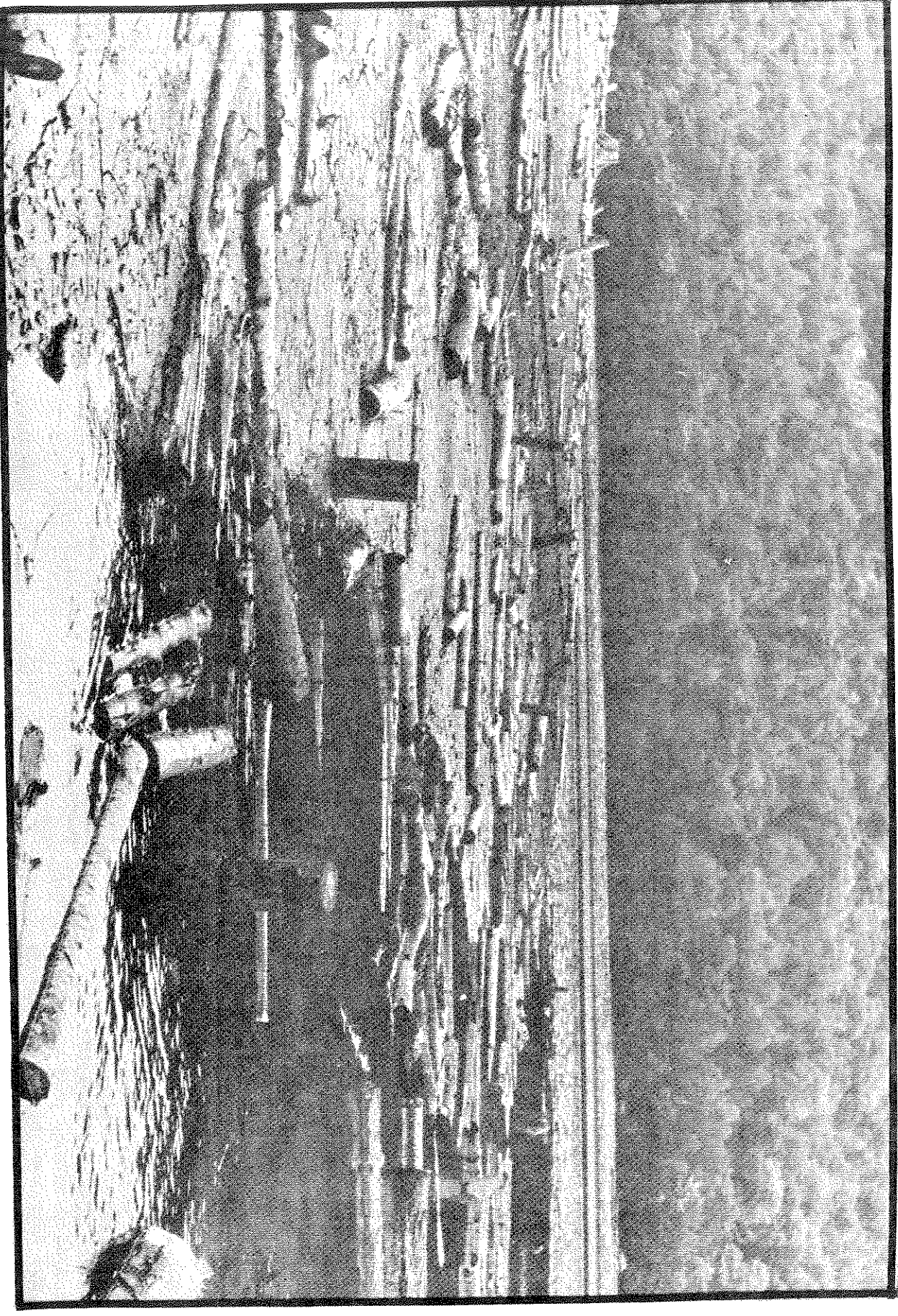
The Maine legislature, with its weak staffing and low salaries (VI-5), is vulnerable to the lobby, which drafts many bills and often represents the only legal expertise lawmakers can draw on. (VI-13) The lack of effective disclosure of lobbyists' earnings insulates these powerful agents from public view.¹ Because of lobbyist influence, Maine laws are perforated with comfortable loopholes for the paper companies. (VI-18) Industry spokesmen are constantly engaged in attempts to manipulate public opinion. In mid-1972, the head of Paper Industry Information Office, Paul McCann, launched a major misinformation campaign designed to frighten and confuse Maine citizens into rejecting protective zoning standards for Maine's wildlands proposed by the state Land

Use Regulation Commission. (VI-27)

The companies also closely monitor state government hiring in order to assure that only those friendly to their interests are hired or appointed. When James Schoenthaler was nominated by Governor Curtis in mid-1972 for Commissioner of Manpower Affairs, the industry used its muscle to persuade the Executive Council--the body which approves gubernatorial appointments, to reject the nomination. Schoenthaler, while interim commissioner had thwarted an industry plot to install in the position of logging inspector an unqualified individual who would march to the industry's order. (VI-50)

see recommendations on page 4

Nader Report (Con't.)



WATER LOGGED AND SUNKEN PULPWOOD FROM
SCOTT PAPER'S LOG DRIVE LITTERING THE KENNEBEC RIVER

RECOMMENDATIONS

The report offers 40 action recommendations for Maine citizens and political leaders who seek to break the paper industry's monopoly grip on Maine. Ten of these recommendations are listed here.

ENVIRONMENT:

1. The legislature should upgrade the state's water pollution control program and increase its budget so that Maine can qualify under the new federal law to run its own discharge permit program. (11-47)

2. Maine should adopt a citizen suit for all its environmental laws. (11-154)

3. Maine's Land Use Regulation Commission (LURC) law should be amended to give clear priority to protection districts over management districts. (VI-48)

4. The provision in the LURC law exempting timber harvesting from regulation in management districts should be removed. In

the alternative, if jurisdiction over cutting practices is taken away from LURC, it should not be placed under the Maine Forestry Commissioner as industry now wants, but under a separate board made up of state agency heads and citizens. (VI-48-49)

5. All industry representatives on environmental boards and commissions (such as LURC and DEP) should be removed. (VI-26)

WOODSMOKERS:

6. The U.S. Justice Department should re-open its investigation of pulpwood pricing among the Maine paper mills. (IV-65)

7. The Canadian bonded woodsmen program should be abolished. Because the program adversely affects the wages and working conditions of the Maine independent pulpwood producer, it is illegal. (IV-64)

TIMBER RESOURCES:

8. A public commission should be appointed by the Governor to study the existing ownership and use of Maine's timber resources with particular emphasis on the increasing

control of these resources exercised by large absentee paper companies. (V-65)

LEGISLATURE:

9. The legislature should pass a strict lobbyist disclosure bill, requiring complete information on lobbyists' remuneration. (VI-25)

10. The joint legislative standing committees should be authorized to meet year-round and given permanent staff sufficient for research and investigatory as well as administrative tasks.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The legislature did recently pass a lobbyist disclosure bill.
2. The legislature has just passed a bill allowing independent loggers (truckers) to organize for collective bargaining purposes. Their associations are now exempt from the states anti-trust laws.

"Sometimes I feel like a slave in a free country"

—Maine woodsman

(A copy of the report is available in the Brunswick Land Trust office (136 Maine st.). Additional copies of the report are available from the Center for Study of Responsive Law, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036. Price is \$10.00 for individuals and \$15.00 for corporations.)

Poor People Demand Fair Share of Maine Land

A coalition of poor people's groups (including the Sam Ely Community Land Trust and Pine Tree Legal Assistance) held a press conference on Monday, July 9th, to announce a petition of 13 major demands being sent to the State's leaders asking for their assistance in helping to alter land ownership patterns in Maine. They stated that as the situation now exists, Maine people, but especially Maine's poor, do not have access to Maine land- one of Maine's major resource.

Ralph Greene from the Land Trust, speaking on behalf of the Coalition, told the newsmen that as much as 80% of the state is owned by out-of-state interests. "We are trying to bring Maine back to Maine" he said. "There is nothing unusual about this. Many other places in America and the world have been involved in re-thinking their land-owning patterns."

The letter to the Governor, the Attorney General and the State Legislative leaders states that, "The number of people in Maine who are victimized by oppressive discriminatory landuse policies included most of the 200,000 persons who live in hardcore poverty, and it also includes most of the additional 200,000 persons who according to the U.S. Department of Labor, are part of families which do not have sufficient income to maintain their health and well-being.

Executive Director of Pine Tree Legal, Denison Ray explained that the demands which include some radical tax reform proposals as well as the establishment of a land conservation trust fund were being made in a "spirit of cooperation". Many could be implemented immediately, while others would require legislation. However resistance is expected from the seven paper companies that currently own as much as half of

Maine's timberlands.

The findings of the recent Nader report by Willie Osborn on the Maine pulp and paper industry were referred to often in describing the need for alternate forms of land use such as land trusts, cooperatives and community development corporations, which would replace the huge, out-of-state, self-interested conglomerates. In addition, the coalition pointed out that the vehicle for doing anything about poverty in this state was nonexistent and that as an example some 1500 family farms have been sold in Aroostook County in the last three years.

In closing, Denny Ray stated flatly "Land means money. Some of that land must be made available to the people".

On the following page is a complete copy of the letter sent to the Governor by the Coalition, including the 13 demands.

RKC

What Action on the Nader Report?

The statement (in this issue) by Pine Tree Legal and the various supporting groups urging action on the Nader Report and other land use recommendations is a most welcome response. Willie Osborn's report on the pulp and paper industry has been out well over a month, and, until now, there has been little public reaction. Our political leaders have said virtually nothing about the report; the paper industry itself has said less. In fact, the companies tactic is not to respond to the report hoping everything will blow over and be forgotten.

We urge all individuals and groups who are concerned about the domination of Maine's timber industry by 7 giant absentee corporations, to read the report, to speak out publicly in favor of the report, to work to implement some of the recommendations, of the report, to demand that our political leaders do something about the report.

Specifically, we urge individuals to write to the governor, the legislative leadership, and the congressional delegation and ask them why they have not taken any action on the report.

Willie Osborn has written to Maine's Congressional delegation asking them to take three actions to improve the situation of woodworkers.

1. Call on the Government Accounting Office or the Department of Labor to look into the legality of the Canadian bonded labor program.

2. Ask the Justice Department to reopen its unfinished investigation of pulpwood price fixing among Maine's paper mills.

3. Convene an ad hoc committee on Maine woodworkers and hold special hearings in Maine. The only response thus far of the congressional delegation has been to forward Osborn's suggestions to the Labor and Justice Departments "to see whether the violations he claims do actually exist". And they will take no further action until they hear

study commission on the Maine woods
It would study such subjects as:

"Patterns of ownership of the Maine woods and of the state's forest products industries with special emphasis on the impact of outside ownership on Maine's economy". "...the extent to which pulpwood production causes poor utilization of Maine's timber resources..." and "the desirability of creating a large system of state forests..."
Although this study commis-

"Woodsmen will work 12 to 15 hours a day, sometimes even seven days a week to make a living. But you don't hire a man to do that. I guess that's the difference between the woodsmen and the employee."

— Independent pulpwood contractor

from those federal agencies. That, in effect, is no action at all. We demand that the congressional delegation take aggressive action immediately to change the nature of Maine's oppressive pulpwood procurement system, by implementing the above requests.

The governor and legislature have been equally inactive in regard to the report.

The report specifically asks the governor to appoint a 2 year

tion, in itself, isn't what we would call taking real action, we do believe it should be created. Obviously it's not enough.

The legislature has not done anything in regard to the Nader report. It did pass a law, L.D. 592, which allows contractors, jobbers, and truckers of pulpwood and saw timber to organize for collective bargaining purposes. At first glance, this seems like extremely important legislation, since it

Can't on back page

Pine Tree Legal Letter to State Heads

July 6, 1973

The Honorable Kenneth Curtis
The Honorable Jon Lund
The Honorable Kenneth Macleod
The Honorable Richard Hewes
The Honorable Joseph Brennan
The Honorable John Martin
State House
Augusta, Maine 04330

Sirs:

The just-published Nader study of the Maine pulp and paper industry, "The Paper Plantation", by William Osborne, for the first time injects into a discussion of Maine land use the issue of the rights and needs of low-income people whose livelihood depends on the decisions made about land. In the case of the Nader study those people are the independent pulpwood cutters who are kept at poverty income levels by the exploitive and oppressive tactics and policies of the paper companies.

In fact, the number of people in Maine who are victimized by oppressive discriminatory land-use policies includes most of the 200,000 persons in the State who live in hard-core poverty. It includes most of the additional 200,000 persons who, according to the United States Department of Labor, live in families which do not have sufficient income to maintain their health or well-being.

This letter is being written to you on behalf of a consortium of low-income persons--farmers, fishermen, loggers, low-income landowners and many others--who are members of the following groups which have retained Pine Tree Legal Assistance to represent them in taking appropriate action to end the exploitation of Maine's land at the expense of poor people:

Sam Ely Community Land Trust
Statewide Headstart Parents
Advisory Board
Statewide Low Income Advisory
Board
Tenants, Inc.
United Low Income, Inc.

Because we believe you have the courage and strength to express your concern by taking direct action to end such exploitation and to improve the economic status of low-income persons in Maine through enlightened policies of land use, we are writing to ask you to exercise your leadership in that effort.

Most often the arguments over land use that rage in the State of Legislature and in the offices of State agencies are concerned with "environmental" problems, i.e., the need to maintain unspoiled wilderness, to stop pollution of air and water, to prevent further

environmental degradation. Those are significant issues--but they are one-dimensional. There is also the need to consider the "environment" of the poor--the deteriorated housing, deplorable health, constant unemployment, mental and emotional depression, lack of education and a host of other disgraceful factors that overwhelm so many poor people of Maine.

For those poor persons, the problem of land is economic (not environmental in the sense that that term is used by middle and upper income persons). Sometimes land represents to the poor a very direct means of livelihood, as in the case of the farmer or logger or clam digger. Sometimes it represents the only material asset that such a person owns. Occasionally, through economic development, land represents jobs and capital for investment. Yet, in Maine, working family farms are being closed down and sold to syndicates at an alarming rate; homesteads are being lost as sharply rising taxes cannot be paid; municipalities haggle to keep their coastal waters from being used by any but their own residents; municipalities zone their land so as to exclude the development of low and moderate-income housing, thereby maintaining both urban and rural ghettoization; and perhaps as much as 80% of all of Maine's land is owned by out-of-State interests and is totally unavailable for economic development for Maine's poor.

There are legitimate conservationist needs that must be met when considering the use of Maine's land. But there are equally compelling economic needs. The concentration of landed wealth in the hands of a privileged few private owners in the State of Maine and the use--or withholding from use--of that land by those owners for their own selfish interests to the detriment of thousands of citizens of Maine is what the Nader report is all about.

This State has built a feudal society. It has given away large chunks of its land to hoarders, speculators and profiteers. We continue to give it away, still allowing policies that drive poor and working people off the land and that subsidize the giant absentee landowners with tax breaks, cheap water and cheap labor.

To remedy this grievous situation we call upon you and the State of Maine to exercise your and its responsibilities to its poor people in the following manner:

1. Appoint and bring in to all State agencies, commissions and study groups poor persons who can represent the hundreds of thousands of poor people in the State

with regard to discussion and decisions about land.

2. Investigate the use of the power of Eminent Domain to obtain undeveloped land from private interests which will be made available for the economic improvement of poor people including the ownership by low-income persons of this land and income-producing ventures on such land.

3. Consider the imposition of a tax on the unearned increment in land value (exempting residential property, small farms and small businesses) whose revenue can be used by the State to purchase land to be made available for the economic improvement of poor people.

4. Consider the imposition of a severance tax, similar to that in some other states, on the extraction of timber and other natural resources from the land.

5. Explore the establishment of a land conservation trust fund, analogous to a highway trust fund, into which money would pour from special taxes on land profiteers, those revenues to be allocated in part for the conservation of open space and in part for economic development.

6. Take all possible steps to immediately stop the exploitive and oppressive tactics of the pulp and paper companies which result in poverty incomes for thousands of independent, hard-working Maine citizens. Many of those steps are already spelled out in the Nader report.

7. Call upon the United States Government to investigate the exploitation of people and land that is conducted by the pulp and paper companies in Maine.

8. Hold public hearings to determine the needs and desires of both poor people and other private citizens in Maine with regard to the uses of Maine land.

9. Establish as public policy of the State of Maine the right of all its people to own and economically benefit from Maine land and propose and advocate constitutional and statutory changes to insure the obligation of the State to its poor in this regard.

10. Establish a Department of Economic Improvement whose sole purpose is to insure that poor people who own or obtain land will be given all necessary assistance to economically benefit from it in the establishment of farms, businesses, services, etc.

11. Consider the enactment of a law that requires every owner of more than 1000 acres of Maine land to demonstrate, by publishing a "human resources impact statement", how his use or proposed use of the land will affect poor people and other residents in the area.

12. Start planning alternative forms of land use which would replace huge out-of-state, self interested land holdings with ownership structures that would operate for the benefit of all of Maine's residents, especially those of low income. Such alternatives to be explored could include land banks, land trusts, cooperatives (such as those of woodcutters in the Northwestern United States) and community development corporations.

13. Call upon officials of local municipalities throughout the State to initiate land-use reform in their own communities. Local towns should, among other measures, eliminate exclusionary zoning, inform their residents of the availability of tax exemptions, end tax valuations and assessments that discriminate against poor people, and acquire land for economic development and for housing for lower income persons.

We feel the above proposals will lead to an economy that is diverse, strong and productive. It would be an economy that provides both jobs and capital to many people, as opposed to the current situation in Maine which produces jobs for a few and capital for almost none. Ours is a Jeffersonian concept that will enable the old-fashioned American virtues of hard work and honesty to once again become predominant in our economic system. In the long run, of course, the uplifting of the economic status of poor people will benefit all levels of Maine's economy.

The sorrowful and tragic economic imbalance that currently exists in Maine must be eliminated. Innovative land-use policies are a critical factor in that process of elimination. Maine can for the first time provide the means of true equal economic opportunity for those persons so long downtrodden.

We realize that many of the foregoing proposals will require time to study and to implement. We also realize that many citizens of Maine are unaware of these land use problems and we urge you to undertake a massive educational effort in that respect. But, in the meantime, several of the steps we propose--and no doubt others will think of--could be adopted and followed up on immediately. The problem is an urgent, even a desperate, one. There is a critical need for the State to respond without delay.

Thus we urge your immediate action on these proposals and look forward to working with you and the entire State Government of Maine for their implementation.

Sincerely,

Denison Ray
Executive Director
PINE TREE LEGAL ASSISTANCE, INC.

What Action on the Nader Report Con't.

specifically exempts wood producers from the state's antitrust law. And it was antitrust law that was used by International Paper to break the boycott and organizing effort of the Maine Pulpwood Producers Association in 1970.

However, this new law allowing wood producers to organize is in effect the same as another act. The Agricultural Cooperative Association Act, already on the books, exempts "agricultural products," which includes in the definition of the law "forestry products," from the state's antitrust law. So the legislature hasn't done anything new.

The antitrust roadblock for wood-producers organization still exists, as it did in 1970, because federal antitrust laws do not specifically

exempt forest products producers from the law and no federal court has yet dealt with the question of whether an association of woodproducers can be considered an agricultural association and thus qualify for exemption under federal antitrust law.

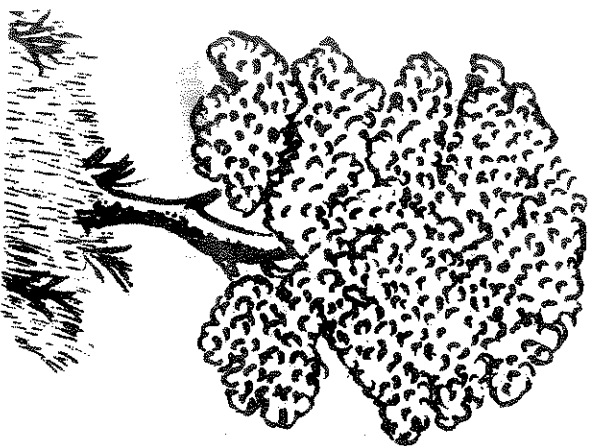
If Maine's Congressional delegation is interested in assisting the independent pulpwood producers, they should try to have passed in Congress an amendment to federal antitrust law (similar to the state's exemption) that would include forest products within the definition of "agricultural" in exempting agricultural associations. Ultimately, the burden of implementing the Osborn report is on us. Our political leaders, and the companies themselves, will only respond when an organized force is brought to bear on them.

The oppressive pulpwood procurement system will be transformed only when a state-wide association of woodworkers-- independent producers, company jobbers, company employees, and Canadians-- fight to have control over their work.

Throwing off the yoke that these seven giant paper companies have around Maine will only come when we have organized ourselves into a political force-- including woodworkers, pulp and paper mill workers, foresters, and conservationists.

The seeds of that political force have only recently been planted. Our job is to nurture them carefully.

by John Newton



Friends,
In order to cover publishing and mailing costs, the Advocate has to go on a subscription basis. Subscription rate for a year will be \$3.00, which covers only those two basic costs.
If you would like to keep receiving the Advocate, please fill in and send the coupon below to the Maine Land Advocate, 44 Central Street, Box 7, Bangor, Maine 04401. If you cannot afford a subscription at this time, please indicate on the coupon. Arrangements can be made. (Also, if you've run into any problems with your subscription, please drop us a line.)
Enclosed is a \$3.00 subscription.

Enclosed is \$_____ as a further contribution.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ADVOCATE STAFF

Friends,

The Advocate now has an office in Bangor, located at 44 Central Street. Our new mailing address is: MAINE LAND ADVOCATE, 44 Central Street, Box 7, Bangor, Maine 04401.

During the summer we will be publishing once a month. We need help with distribution, lay-out, and especially articles. The deadline for articles (usually) is the tenth of each month. We welcome suggestions.

The Advocate Staff

Sandy Lucas

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