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Suggested citation: Foreman, Dave, et al., eds., *Earth First!* 5, no. 2 (21 December 1984).
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EARTH FIRST!

YULE EDITION

December 21, 1984

Vol. V., No. II

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

ONE DOLLAR

FOREST SERVICE LOGS TEXAS WILDERNESS



Little Lake Creek Wilderness - before and after Forest Service logging operations.
Photo by Ned Fritz



Photo by Jess Alford, Jr.

30,000 MILES OF ROAD IN RARE II AREAS

FREDDIES ON ROAD-BUILDING BINGE

Earth First! thought it was uncovering a shocking secret last winter when we revealed that the Forest Service's DARN (Development Activities in Roadless Non-Selected) program projected 9 thousand miles of roads to be built in National Forest Roadless Areas over the next several years. But, according to a group of half-a-dozen foresters, that's not the half of it. The secretive group of Forest Service officials, known collectively as "Deep Root," have been phoning reporters for the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, and the Associated Press, and exposing a massive Forest Service "Road-building Binge" of **thirty thousand miles of roads in Rocky Mountain area National Forest Roadless Areas alone over the next 14 years.** The Deep Roots, from Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, and Oregon, say that they can't accomplish change within the Forest Service and have had to resort to anonymous phone

calls to the media to alert the public to the Freddie plot to destroy wilderness with deficit roads and timber sales. One said that attempts to effect change within the Forest Service were "as effective as pushing a rope." Another said, "There's absolutely no question that the reason for all these roads in virgin areas is to make sure the land can never be included in a wilderness." Forest Service Chief Max Peterson has lamely countered that the "Forest Service isn't on a road-building binge." The Idaho Deep Root points out that "The Forest Service keeps the press off balance with its famous piecemeal process by releasing information project by project and forest by forest." He further said Chief Peterson "is a professional road engineer himself and his No. 1 mission is to protect the 3,000-member road engineering corps inside the Forest Service." Belying Chief Peterson, Forest Service spokesman George Castillo in Washington, DC, admitted that the 30 thousand miles of road was "pretty close to being right according to our engineering people ..."

In one of the most blatantly arrogant actions ever committed by any federal agency, the United States Forest Service has conducted commercial timber sales in a Congressionally designated Wilderness Area. The logging, ostensibly to control southern pine beetle infestations, was rationalized by the Freddie as being permitted under Section 4(d)(1) of the 1964 Wilderness Act which permits emergency measures to control insects, disease, and fire in Wilderness Areas. But never before has the Forest Service twisted the Wilderness Act to conduct a commercial timber sale in a Wilderness Area.

The timber sale was discovered by a field party from the Texas Committee on Natural Resources on October 4, the date of final passage of the Texas Wilderness Act, as they hiked in the Little Lake Creek area — which the Forest Service was supposed to be managing under wilderness regulations. Several hundred thousand board feet of timber had been sold. Most of it was uninfested by the pine beetles.

TCOFR Chairman Ned Fritz reports: *The purchasers had built roads into the wilderness, felled thousands of pines, and obliterated the Red Loop of the Lone Star Hiking Trail, and were still removing logs.*

Using heavy equipment, loggers under the supervision of the former Forest Service Ranger for the district had demolished a large fern bed, mashed the soil, and damaged the remaining hardwoods up to the bank of the creek.

No environmental impact statement was even considered for this travesty. On October 15, 1984, additional timber sales in the Little Lake Creek Wilderness were offered for bid. The Forest Service is planning similar "pine beetle control" timber sales in the Kisatchie Hills Wilderness of Louisiana and reportedly in

some as-yet-unidentified West Coast Wilderness Areas.

Earth First! has written Max Peterson, Chief of the United States Forest Service in Washington, DC demanding that all timber cutting in designated Wilderness Areas be halted immediately. Earth First! direct action specialist Mike Roselle said that non-violent civil disobedience may be necessary to stop the illegal activity by the Forest Service. Roselle urged interested Earth First!ers in Texas and elsewhere to contact him if they were interested in helping with actions to stop the Forest Service timber rape of Texas Wilderness areas.

Earth First! has also written Rep. Jim Weaver, Chairman of the House Forestry Subcommittee, requesting oversight hearings on the illegal timbering operations by the Forest Service.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

*Write Max Peterson, Chief, US Forest Service, PO Box 2417, Washington, DC 20013, demanding that all timber cutting in designated Wilderness Areas be stopped immediately.

*Write Rep. Jim Weaver, Chairman, House Forestry Subcommittee, House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515, asking him to hold oversight hearings on the illegal wilderness logging by the Texas National Forest. Copies should be sent to your own Senators and Congresspersons.

*Contact Mike Roselle, Earth First!, PO Box 58712, Tucson, AZ 85703, (602) 744-0623, if you are willing to help in direct action efforts to stop the illegal logging of Texas Wilderness Areas if that should become necessary.

intention to monitor the timber management program with particular care in the months ahead. In spite of this clear reprimand, Bridger-Teton Forest Supervisor Reid Jackson immediately proceeded to further alienate conservationists and the Wyoming delegation by inadvertently allowing an incredibly revealing letter to local Louisiana-Pacific executive Bob Baker to become public. (See page 4 for the full text of the letter.) Jackson's letter, dated October 19, 1984, has caused a fire storm of controversy in the Jackson Hole area. Reid Jackson has clearly demonstrated his unfitness to serve the public trust as a National Forest Supervisor and Earth First! is urging President Reagan to fire him for gross misconduct. We are also asking Congressman Jim Weaver, Chairman of the House Forestry Subcommittee, to conduct oversight hearings on the relation-

ship between the Bridger-Teton National Forest and Louisiana-Pacific to determine if any laws have been broken and whether individuals should be prosecuted.

continued on page 4

FOREST SUPERVISOR KISSES LOUISIANA- PACIFIC'S FEET

We have a responsibility to keep the Louisiana-Pacific mill in business. — Reid Jackson, Bridger-Teton National Forest Supervisor

For many years, conservationists in northwestern Wyoming have known that the Supervisor of the Bridger-Teton National Forest was a fawning squire for Louisiana-Pacific timber company, the largest purchaser of federal timber in the country and the operator of an overbuilt mill in Dubois, Wyoming. But even the most hardened Jackson Hole conservationists were stunned when a brazenly candid letter was released to the news media ... Although he is a primary architect of the very poor Wyoming Wilderness Act, Wyoming Congressman Dick Cheney has lately been getting the message

that the people of western Wyoming want forests and not tree farms. In the Congressional Record of October 2, 1984, Cheney severely reprimands the administration of the Bridger-Teton National Forest: *I wish to make it clear to the Forest Service that the Wyoming Congressional Delegation is very concerned about the timber management program in the Bridger-Teton National Forest, and intends to work to insure that the program does not do damage to the recreational, wildlife, scenic, and other values which we regard as the most important attributes of the forest and the region of which it is a part. We believe the Forest Service must pay more attention to the views of citizens outside the agency who share an interest in the proper management and protection of the forest, and it is our*

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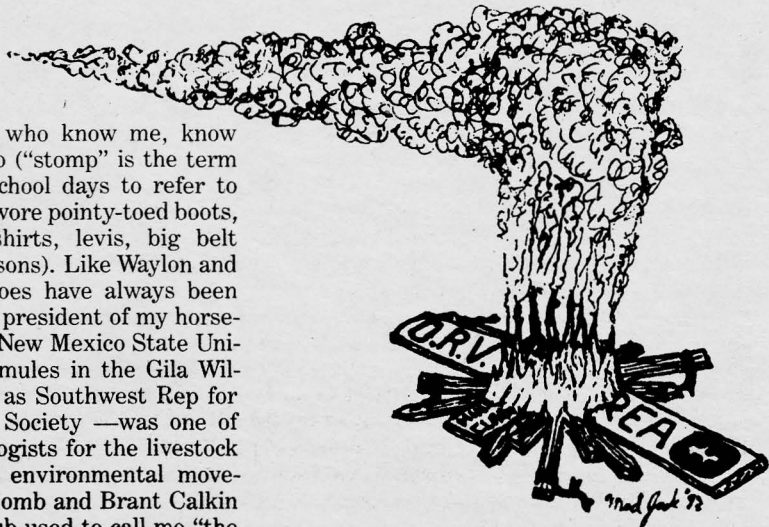
EARTH FIRST!



"NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!"

EARTH FIRST! Journal is published eight times a year.
Subscription is \$10 a year
PO BOX 235 • ELY, NEVADA 89301 • (702) 289-8636

Around the Campfire



Those of you who know me, know that I'm a stomp ("stomp" is the term from my high school days to refer to those of us who wore pointy-toed boots, snap-buttoned shirts, levis, big belt buckles and stetsons). Like Waylon and Willie, "My heroes have always been cowboys." I was president of my horse-shoeing class at New Mexico State University, packed mules in the Gila Wilderness, and — as Southwest Rep for The Wilderness Society — was one of the leading apologists for the livestock industry in the environmental movement. John McComb and Brant Calkin of the Sierra Club used to call me "the easiest lay in the environmental movement" for all the times I argued for compromising with my "friends" who had cow shit on their boots, Cadillacs in their driveways, and attitudes that were alternately "po' boy" and landed gentry.

Well, it took a while, and a couple or more episodes of being kicked by those Tony Lamas my "friends" wore to make me realize that the rancher aristocracy has nothing to do with "cowboys" (as well as realizing that the public lands livestock industry is the biggest welfare scam in the land). An essay on this topic will soon be forthcoming from me in these pages.

Others have come to these same conclusions and several of us met this fall at Ruby Lake, Nevada (the state that spawned the Sagebrush Rebellion), to talk about what to do about cows on the public lands. We agreed that there was only one sensible stand — there should be no grazing of domestic livestock on federal land, period. It can't be justified economically or ecologically. This group — from Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, and California — decided to call itself the "Bunchgrass Rebellion." You'll be hearing more about it in these pages. We've had several articles in the past on overgrazing (from Denzel and Nancy Ferguson, and Don Schwarzenegger) and we present a strong argument in this issue from Andy Kerr calling for the abolition of the BLM and its replacement with a US Range Service. If you want to get cowpies (and their producers) off the public lands, write Denzel & Nancy Ferguson, the Bunchgrass Rebellion,

Star Route — Buck Gulch, Bates, Oregon 97817. Stay tuned to these pages for more.

There are some cosmetic changes in *Earth First!* and there will be more as we work the bugs out. For starters, we are enlarging our type size with this issue so you can read it easier, and going to four columns instead of five. We've also decided to return to our old handle of "The Radical Environmental Journal."

We had a dandy open house party here in Tucson the other night and for a minute it looked like we might bust out the walls. A hundred people came by during the course of the night and lots of folks signed up to help with the work. I certainly appreciate all the eager help that was offered and plan to take immediate advantage of it.

I'd like to thank Andrew Main for his good layout and paste-up work on the last issue. We thought we were going to be able to exploit his services longer but he's decided to move to Santa Fe. Good luck, Andrew, and thanks! One of my old buddies and an original EF'ler, Leon Czolgosz, has recently moved in with Nancy, Mike and me. He is working on the newspaper and will be a big help. Tucson artist and environmentalist Helen Wilson has joined our stable of artists.

Due to a change in policy by the US Geological Survey, *Earth First!* will no longer be able to have maps drop-shipped. So we are dropping our mail order, cut-rate topo map service. Sorry.

Earth First! continues to be in the media. *Northwest* magazine (the Sunday magazine of the *Portland Orego-*

nian) recently did their cover article on *Earth First!* and the Middle Santiam blockade. The January-February, 1985, issue of *Mother Earth News* has their Plowboy Interview with yours truly. *CoEvolution Quarterly* is reprinting my article on "Professionalism." *Outside*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *High Country News*, and *Environmental Action* all reviewed the 1985 *Earth First!* calendar. (Thanks, friends, we appreciate it!) Speaking of the 1985 EF! calendar, if you haven't gotten yours yet, order it now. No *Earth First!*er should be without one on her or his wall!

My primary interest of the last year has been the production of **ECODEFENSE: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching**. This sure-to-be-controversial book will be available for mailing in February and you are welcome to reserve your copy now for \$10 postpaid. Including updated and revised material from the *Dear Ned Ludd* column of the last several years and a great deal of new material, **ECODEFENSE** is the field guide for monkeywrenching. Ed Abbey has written a powerful *Forward!* to it which is reprinted in this issue's *Dear Ned Ludd*. For ordering information, check the ad in the back of this issue.

Well, the subscription contest has been tallied up and there were no winners of the three grand prizes (a minimum of twenty new subs was needed to qualify) but we are offering float trips (with Mike, Nancy, me, etc.) to several folks who tried hard. Nonetheless, thanks to all of you who helped bring in a total of over 300 new subscribers to *Earth First!*. We appreciate it. You can still make gift subscriptions and receive a bumpersticker or sheet of silent agitators as our thanks to you. See the subscription form. Besides our cover stories on current outrages perpetrated by the US Forest Service, the features for this issue are discussions on the question of "professionalism" in the environmental movement and on the question "1984 — Wilderness Boom or Bust?" They're two dynamic donnybrooks and we welcome additional comments for publication on each topic. On that subject, we are sometimes criticized for criticizing other elements of the environmental movement. We don't enjoy doing that, and go out of our way to avoid personalities, but a fundamental belief of *Earth First!* is that there are serious problems of style, strategy, philosophy and organization in the movement. This newspaper is a forum for discussing the entire movement and for proposing new directions for it to take. We do recognize that the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society and other groups have a legitimate role to play in the conservation cause. We think, however, that they need feedback to do their best job. *Earth First!* needs the same feedback and we welcome it from other elements of the movement. Only through intellectual and emotional ferment will new ideas and strategies (that just might save our sweet asses) emerge. Creativity is stifled in the current environmental movement and *Earth First!* is going to do its damndest to *goose* it.

See you on the trail.
Dave Foreman

EARTH FIRST!
Yule Edition
December 21, 1984
Vol. V, No. II

Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal is an independent publication within the broad *Earth First!* movement. Entire contents are copyrighted 1984 but we are pleased to allow reprints if credit is given. *Earth First!* is a forum for the radical environmental movement and responsibility rests with the individual authors and correspondents.

While *Earth First!* does not accept the authority of the hierarchical state, nothing herein is intended to run us afoul of its police power. *Agents provocateurs* will be dealt with by the Grizzly Defense League on the Mirror Plateau. Contributions are welcome and should be typed or carefully printed in *double space*, and sent with an SASE if return is requested. Art or photographs (black & white prints preferred, color prints OK) are eagerly sought to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested. No payment is offered except for extra copies of the issue.

All contributions should be sent to *Earth First!*, POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703, except for poetry which should go to Art Goodtimes, Box 1008, Telluride, CO 81435.

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Please send any newspaper clippings mentioning *Earth First!* or subjects of interest to us at POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. Thank you!

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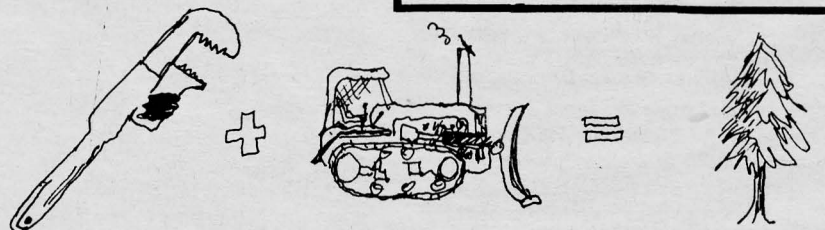


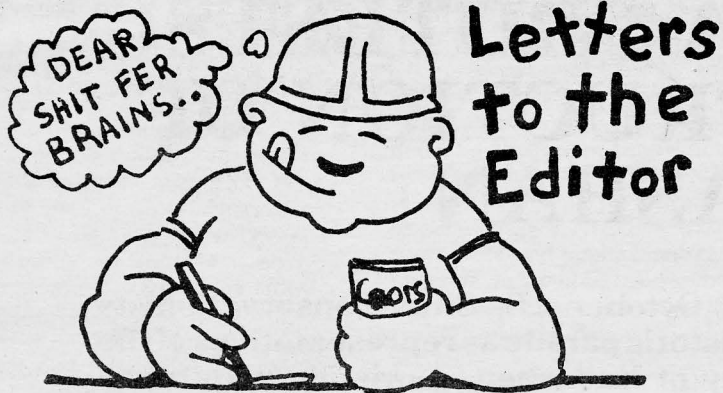
We Have Just Passed Legislation
Outlawing Wilderness.....



The Bombing Begins
in 5 minutes, HAR HAR HAR!

NAGASAKI 84





Letters to the Editor are encouraged. Lengthy letters may be edited for space requirements. Letters should be typed or carefully printed, double-spaced, using only one side of a sheet of paper. Be sure to indicate if you wish your name and location to appear or if you wish to remain anonymous.

Dear Earth First!

I just want to thank you for saving part of the wilderness for me. My dad told me that if you weren't fighting for it, it would be all gone by the time I grow up. I'm just seven years old and I know I will always love the wilderness.

I hope my dad can get me a canyon frog shirt my size for Christmas. American Wilderness — Love it or Leave Alone.

— Kenny Clarkson
Lockeford, California

Dear Kenny

We're sorry that we don't have any Canyon Frog shirts in kids' sizes. But we do have some green Earth First! shirts in kids' sizes. We're sending you one for Christmas. Merry Christmas!

— Dave, Nancy, Mike,
and Wildcat Annie

Dear Earth First!

I want to thank Earth First! and its subscribers for the tremendous support given to my family as well as to the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance after the vandalism to my property. It felt really good to know that so many people stood behind us at this critical time. All the donations given personally to me have been put into SUWA and its fight to save the wildlands of southern Utah.

— Robert Weed
Escalante, Utah

Dear Editor

I am returning the issues sent to me for free distribution. I cannot, in good conscience, give to my friends a newspaper which contains a seemingly serious editorial supporting Reagan's environmental policy, an article defending dogs in wilderness areas (and a sexist one at that), and a short story romanticizing hunting.

This is definitely not a paper to present Earth First!'s best face. It appears that our "No Compromise" environmental journal has indeed compromised.

Perhaps the Arizona climate has addled the editor's brains. I will be happy to distribute free issues in the future if the quality of Earth First! returns to its previous uncompromised level.

— K. Likely

(Editor's reply: No, it was not the Arizona climate that addled my brains. That was done long ago by the Washington, DC, smog. Seriously, though, I am grieved when I receive letters like this (they are thankfully rare). Letters of this sort strike at two of the more important distinguishing characteristics of the Earth First! movement and this newspaper's editorial policy. Those characteristics are a sense of humor and a willingness to tolerate a diversity of opinion within the broad parameters of Deep Ecology. The Reagan editorial was obviously a satire (although it appears that it was too subtle for at least a few of our more righteous readers). Hey, let's lighten up a little, true-believers. It's a fun world out there in spite of all the doom and gloom and if we don't laugh a little we're no better than the other fanatics with no internal levity (like George Bush, Jim McClure, and Joe Coors).

Now, I will take second place to no one in my encompassing dislike for the domestic dog. I want to bite out their furry windpipes when I encounter one

of these barking, stinking Fidos on a wilderness trail leaving phony wolf prints in the mud. Nonetheless, Jim Stiles is peerless as a fighter for wilderness and Deep Ecology. He also happens to like dogs (more than he likes people — I don't like either devolved species). I think he has a legitimate point to make, even though I may disagree with it. If you disagree, then write a letter or essay objecting to dogs in the wilderness for publication (like the letters from Hawkwind and Wyanokie Al in this issue), but don't try to muzzle other viewpoints in these venerable pages.

Another topic on which there is wide disagreement within the Earth First! movement is the question of hunting. Many people whom I count as allies vigorously oppose hunting by human beings. Others, including myself, who are thoroughly dedicated fighters for the wild, believe hunting is a natural — even sacred — activity by humans. (Even though, as the short story "Hunters" pointed out, many hunters are scumbags.) Don't censor such legitimate but controversial viewpoints within the context of Deep Ecology, but make a well reasoned, or well intuited, argument against hunting.

The policy of this newspaper is to be an open forum for the Earth First! movement. It will present well-written and thought-out points of view so long as they are in the broad context of Deep Ecology (biocentrism and inherent value of all life forms). Let a hundred thousand flowers bloom. Let's discuss what Deep Ecology is, what the proper avenues of activism for the Earth are — but we should never attempt to squelch dissenting viewpoints that are within our general context. DF

Dear EF!

In reply to Jim Stiles' article "In Defense of Dogs" (Samhain), I would like to register my disagreement with many of his points.

First, I disagree that dogs should have been allowed at the '84 Round River Rendezvous. It is my experience at large outdoor gatherings of this kind that dogs tend to become confused and frightened by the multitude of interactions taking place. Also, dogs tend to get involved in fights with other dogs present. The result is often disruption of the contemplative peace and tranquility of the participants.

I also take exception to the hypothesis that dogs somehow achieve what our dwindling natural predators fail to do — by teaching rabbits how to run for their lives. Along this line of thinking, should we also commend the house cat for its contribution to the bird population by teaching Oregon Juncos, Winter Wrens, Song Sparrows, etc., that feeding on the ground is folly.

I agree with the restrictions placed on dogs in National Parks, and support the limited access to designated trails in Wilderness Areas. Dogs tend to function more as a result of instinct than reason. In other words, a dog does not realize that it has reached a wilderness or park boundary, and consequently does not refrain from barking, chasing animals, or digging up ground dwelling creatures. Let's consider the reasons for setting aside wild areas and limit our interference!

We should consider that just as we wish to limit our population and its effect on the Earth, a need also exists to limit our pets as they are representative of human domination.

I understand the love that people feel for their dogs as well as for other pets. However, I strongly believe that our love and attention (mass consciousness) needs to be directed toward the many creatures of this Earth, and indeed toward the planet Earth, which are threatened with destruction by an un-

EDITORIAL POLITICAL ACTION

The entrance of individual environmentalists and organized environmental groups into the world of political endorsements and activism is, in general, good. But there are pitfalls to be avoided on this dangerous ground. Chief among these is being used by unscrupulous "liberal" politicians like Congressman Les AuCoin of Oregon and Senator Max Baucus of Montana. Both have been strongly supported by environmental groups from the beginning of their political careers and both have flashed smiles at us as they twisted their knife in our backs knowing that we would always fall for their big lie that we had to stay with them because there was no other place to go.

Les AuCoin is a young, Kennedyesque congressman from Oregon. He has a reasonably good League of Conservation Voters rating, talks some modest environmental rhetoric, has a friendly open-door policy with national environmental groups (his wife works as the receptionist for The Wilderness Society, after all), and is an expected future leader in the national Democratic Party. But when you watch the old growth forests of Oregon fall into the dust with the whine of the chain saw as their parting hymn, blame not Mark Hatfield but Les AuCoin. Even though there was but one small roadless area in his district, AuCoin kept it out of the Oregon Wilderness bill. And, this summer as environmentalists in Oregon prepared for a fight between the terrible Senate version of the wilderness bill and the somewhat better House version, AuCoin stunned them and Oregon delegation wilderness champion Jim Weaver by unilaterally caving in and supporting Mark Hatfield. If AuCoin had had the guts not to wimp out on the Oregon Wilderness

bill, several hundred thousand more acres of wilderness would be designated in Oregon today.

If the national conservation groups had had any moxie or political savvy, they would have said, "OK, you two-timing, dishonest little wimp, run for your tough re-election without our support." They would have left him swinging in the breeze, shining and stinking in the dying light of his slimy political career. But instead, they pulled out all stops to support him and because of that environmentalist support, he squeaked through to victory this November. But you can bet your last strip of jerky that the next time environmentalists need AuCoin to pull their bacon out of the fire, he'll shaft them again.

Max Baucus is another prime example. As Senator from Montana he has said some good things about wilderness but has always turned his back whenever it's come to more than talk. Baucus was a co-sponsor of John Melcher's godawful Montana wilderness destruction bill that was killed only after Montana environmentalists, spurred on by the Earth First! occupation of John Melcher's office, rose up and squished it with their heels. But Baucus was forgiven and the environmental political action committees jumped through hoops to re-elect the wimp.

In politics, the only reward you get for being taken advantage of is to be taken advantage of again. And after fighting hard for phony environmentalists like AuCoin and Baucus, the environmental movement has shouted from the rooftops of Washington, DC, that they're easy and like being taken advantage of.

— Dave Foreman

concerned, me-first population.

— Hawkwind
Colville National Forest

Dear EF!

This guy, Jim Stiles ("In Defense of Dogs" Samhain), has apparently been hugging his cactus under the hot sun too long. Most people live in a hamlet, town or city. I know my neighbors have bioggg dogs that make a daily delivery of used Alpo to my doorstep. Some of them bite (people). They gather in parks, run down and kill deer in the winter, then go home for supper and lie by the fire. (God, they sound like humans.)

Yes, I have a dog to which I am very much attached.

— Wyanokie Al

Dear Earth First!

I appreciate your newsletter each and every time I receive it. It makes for great reading. Also, it keeps us abreast of what's going on — things and subjects that aren't published in the Record Searchlight or in our beloved Trinity Journal.

However, let's get to the crux of my letter. I'd like to congratulate Jim Stiles for his excellent article, "In Defense of Dogs." I, too, have shared many years of good and bad times with dogs. Presently my companion would rather stick next to me than run after a rabbit or molest a deer. She has never been that courageous.

In years past I have often not gone to areas because of a "No Dogs" sign. There have been other times when I have cheated and taken a chance of getting a ticket. So be it.

Thanks again for making public what a lot of dog lovers have always felt.

E. P. Shpilman
Weaverville, CA

Dear EF!

I'm a full-time career Fed and at one time or another, I've worked for all the agencies you and I are trying so hard to influence.

I have two quotes I think you'll find upsetting. The first is from a professional (GS-11 or 12) on a northern California National Forest. I was being interviewed for a job and s/he was commenting at great length about erosion and mass wasting caused by logging. I was quite disgusted to see the landslides resulting from logging on slopes which were recommended to be left uncut by the geologist. I had just de-

ecided I didn't want to work on this particular forest when s/he stated: "We're the Forest Service ... we service the forest like the bull services the cow."

The second quote is from a letter I received from a young forester whom I met at a training session. This one speaks for itself: "I guess the policy now is to get rid of sanitation (i.e. cutting diseased trees) totally because it creates too many deficit sales. It's a lot cheaper to have regeneration units (i.e. clearcuts). Just wait until the media catches hold of this. Five years of forestry school and all of a sudden it seems like it was just a waste of time."

As morale in the federal ranks sinks to an all-time low, I think it's important to try to sway as many Freddie's on our side as we can. We offer one great thing the feds don't anymore — hope for the future.

Yes, I really am a Fed. But I'm proud that I can do so much while they think I'm a holy Republican. Three cheers for the underground on the inside! You're not alone!

— Freddie Fir
California

Dear Earth First!

I wish to take issue with the Earth First!er who wrote in regarding other "ass-kissing, amoral ... environmental groups." Diversity gives stability and health to an ecosystem, and also to our efforts to protect the ecosystem. We need the lobbyists, the educators, and the PR groups just as we need Earth First! and Greenpeace right on the firing lines. We have more than enough real enemies — there is no need to fight our allies.

Your outline of the principles of Deep Ecology was excellent, exactly on-target. I'd like to see those principles on every public school syllabus in the country.

One last thing — I would like to know how I can find out about direct actions in my area. I would like to contribute my body!

— Linda Palter

(Editor's note: To find out where and how to contribute your body for direct actions, watch this newspaper for articles on developing issues, contact the local contacts for the areas where actions are happening, or write us in Tucson for information.)

continued on page 14

SITKA PROTESTS DESTRUCTION OF KADASHAN

On Alaska Day, October 18, Sitka conservationists marched in the historic parade as representatives of the entire community of Kadashan, a pristine watershed which the Tongass National Forest is roading and plans to clearcut. One thousand helium-filled balloons with the words "Only You Can Save Kadashan" were distributed. More details on the Kadashan struggle will be forthcoming in future issues.



Reid Jackson (continued)

The following is the text of the letter sent by Bridger-Teton National Forest Supervisor Reid Jackson to Bob Baker of Louisiana-Pacific.

Dear Bob

I appreciate your visit to my office on October 17 to discuss various issues related to the timber program on the Bridger-Teton National Forest as they relate to your company's operations. As you know, we share many of your concerns and we plan to work with you whenever possible to work out solutions that are mutually satisfactory. The Forest Plan will play a very important role in chartering the future timber operations as well as overall resource management. As discussed, politics associated with the recently passed Wyoming Wilderness Bill are of serious concern to us. We are fearful that commitments made by Congressman

Cheney (see enclosures) to "monitor the timber management program with particular care in the months ahead," referencing the Bridger-Teton National Forest, is going to intensify the controversy over timbering in some areas of the Forest. This will be especially true of the Upper Green River Area.

We will continue to need your help as we work through the sensitive period ahead. All of us need to work together on gaining public support for timbering as a management tool. As mentioned during your visit, one of our primary problems in gaining public support has been, and I suspect will continue to be, a media that is biased against timber harvest where clearcutting is involved.

In regard to the media and their influence and bias, I mentioned an editorial from the June, 1983, issue of "American Forests" magazine that speaks to this subject. A copy is enclosed for your information. Bob, thanks again for taking the time to visit with us. We look forward to a continued good working relationship with you and your company.

Sincerely REID JACKSON
Forest Supervisor

WHAT YOU CAN DO

* Write President Reagan (White House, Washington, DC 20500) and ask him to fire Bridger-Teton National Forest Supervisor Reid Jackson for his clear subservience to the timber industry. Letters to Reagan will help. Please write!

* Write Rep. Jim Weaver, Chairman, House Forestry Subcommittee, House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515, and ask him to hold oversight hearings on the relationship between officials of the Bridger-Teton National Forest and Louisiana-Pacific timber company.



Mid-Santiam Trial (continued)

they had demonstrated to the court that they had met all the necessary requirements for using the choice of evils defense, and that now it should be for a jury to decide if our actions were justified by Oregon law. The prosecution countered by saying we had not met the requirements, since legal means were available to us (although what means he did not say, other than that we could have stood on the side of the road with signs and remained law-abiding to accomplish our goals).

Judge McCormick denied the motion in an opinion he released a week later. This meant that when the case was tried by a jury, no mention could be made of the road being illegal, or the ecological damage that was occurring. Testimony would be strictly limited to "why" each person blocked the logging road. At this point, a few more defendants changed their pleas to no contest and received 35 day sentences with all but 5 days suspended, 1 year probation, plus fines and restitution while the others prepared to go to trial. The first trial date was set for October 24th.

MINERS THREATEN DENALI PARK

by Willy Dunne

"When all the nonrenewable resources have been dug up, hauled away, piped away, to satisfy the need of a certain span of users, Alaska can still have a renewable, self-perpetuating resource of inestimable value — value economical, value spiritual, value for the health of the people.

We cannot foretell the future, but we can give a nod towards it by putting this last treasure of wild country into an interest-bearing savings account.

In the long view — all Alaska needs to do is be Alaska."

— Mardie Murie, testifying in favor of the Alaska Lands Act of 1980

Four years ago, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) was passed by Congress and signed into law by Jimmy Carter. Most environmental groups gave a big sigh, slapped each other on the back and toasted with champagne. However, the passage of ANILCA was only one step towards the protection of North America's last BIG wilderness areas. For the time being, the protection afforded consists merely of boundaries drawn on maps. Enforcement is scarce.

The second — and crucially important — step is the development of management plans for the new and enlarged National Parks, Preserves and Monuments in Alaska. Earth First! plans to closely monitor this decision-making process and make a no-compromise stand as to how these lands are managed.

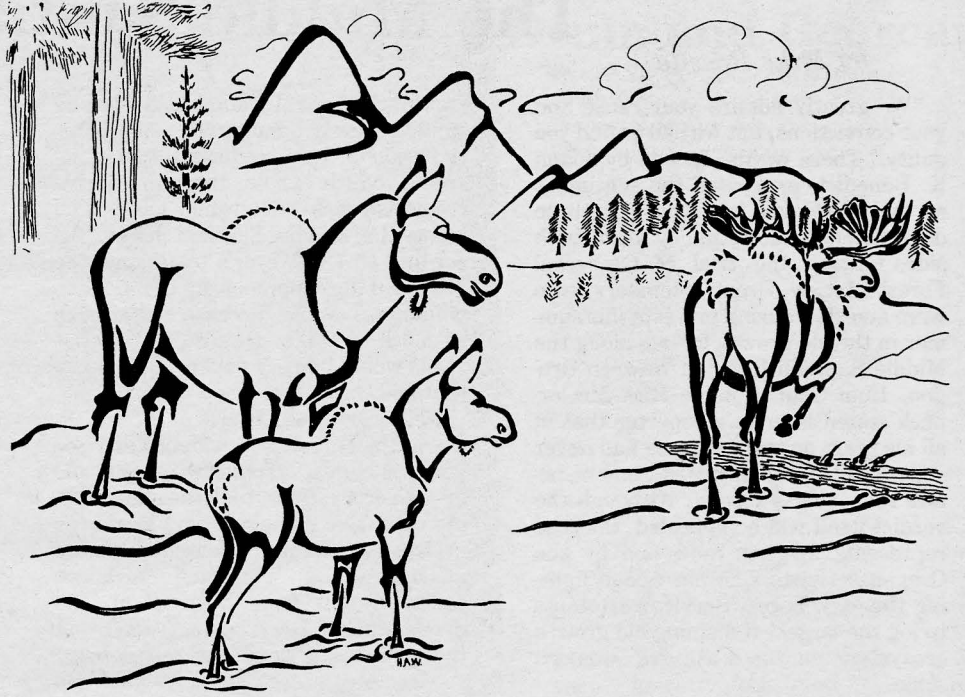
When ANILCA was signed into law, 110 million acres of land in Alaska were designated as some kind of public conservation area, including National Wildlife Refuges, Wild & Scenic Rivers, National Parks, Preserves and Monuments. Of those 110 million acres, 56

million were designated as National Parks, Preserves and Monuments, doubling the size of the National Park System in the United States. Management plans for 13 park areas created or enlarged by ANILCA are now being formulated and public input can have a major impact on the management decisions. Whether or not these lands are really protected depends on how they are managed.

Denali National Park and Preserve (formerly Mt. McKinley National Park) provides an example of how ANILCA has failed so far to protect Alaska's wilderness. The old Mt. McKinley National Park was pretty big — 2 million acres (the size of Yellowstone National Park). But even a park that size failed to encompass the entire range of some of the animals living there. ANILCA enlarged the park to 6 million acres and changed its name to "Denali" to honor the ancient Athabaskan Indian word for the largest mountain in North America — "The Great One."

The National Park Service claims that these additions to the Park were made to enclose an entire ecosystem within the boundaries of one park. As a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (representing intact ecosystems throughout the world), Denali should be a functioning, subarctic large mammal ecosystem. However, in the northern additions to Denali are the Kantishna Hills which are an area of historic and recent mineral development. At the present time, placer mining for gold by private individuals holding valid claims from before 1980 is threatening to destroy critical wildlife habitat within what should be the flagship of the National Park System.

The Park Service is now deciding what alternatives to take in dealing with the mining at Kantishna (as well



as potential mining in the Dunkel Region in the southern portion of the Park). In order to help with that decision process, field studies of the wildlife of the Kantishna region were conducted in the summer of 1983. The Park Service issued "Research/Resources Management Report AR-2, Wildlife and the Effects of Mining in the Kantishna Hills, Denali National Park and Preserve." Some interesting facts can be found in the report such as:

* Unmined sites had much more abundant birdlife than mined areas (up to 35 times as much for certain species).

* Winter evidence of moose was 15 times more abundant at unmined sites.

* The Kantishna Hills region at times has been home to two-thirds of the Denali caribou herd.

* The caribou annually use the region for rutting and wintering grounds, and, to a lesser extent, as calving grounds. They also migrate through the area.

* Important caribou mineral licks are found in the area.

* 50% of the moose within the Toklat wolf pack range are found in the Kantishna Hills region (the moose is a significant prey animal for the wolf).

* Large numbers of grizzly bears live in the area. The Kantishna Hills support the only alpine habitat in the northern park addition and therefore are utilized extensively by grizzlies year-round.

* About the only salmon spawning areas in Denali are in the Kantishna Hills and are used by grizzlies in the fall.

* Wolves not only depend on the area for hunting moose, but den nearby and then use areas in the Kantishna Hills as rendezvous sites (where pups are taken after birth at the nursery den).

* Some of Denali's rarest mammals — lynx and wolverine — live in the area.

* Continued mining and related increase in local residents and roadways could lead to increased poaching.

Sounds like a pretty good argument against mining, right? Well, the Park Service issued a Draft Environmental Impact Statement studying the various alternatives for dealing with mining in the Kantishna Hills. One alternative was to discontinue all mining activity (which was demonstrated by the study to have minimal impact on the local economy). They even looked at the possibility for wilderness designation and classified the region as suitable. Reason enough to halt mining at Kantishna? Unfortunately, the National Park Service and the Alaska Lands Use Council (set up by ANILCA to oversee the management of these public lands) don't agree. In fact, the Alaska Regional Office of the Park Service tells me that the preferred alternative will be to **expand** mineral development in the Kantishna Hills! Within a National Park! The flagship of the Park Service! Your National Park!

Now is the time to let the National Park Service know how you feel about the dire need to protect these truly magnificent wild lands, some of the last sanctuaries for North America's large predators. Mining in the Kantishna Hills is but one example of wilderness degradation in Alaska's National Parks. Others exist. As you read this, the Park Service is making decisions on how our land will be managed.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

* Ask to be placed on the mailing list for the "Alaska Planning Newsletters" which will keep you up to date on management decisions for ANILCA lands.

* Send your comments opposing mining in the Kantishna Hills region of Denali National Park and Preserve to the Park Service.

You can ask for the newsletter and make your opinion on Kantishna Hills known by writing to:

Linda Nebel
Alaska Regional Office, NPS
2525 Gambell St
Anchorage, Alaska 99503

If you ever want the chance to see hundreds of wild caribou migrating across the tundra, hike into griz country, catch an arctic grayling in a crystal clear mountain stream, have a glimpse of one of the country's last wild wolves, now is the time to do something about it.

Willy Dunne lives in Denali National Park where he works as a tour bus driver. He is coordinating the Earth First! campaign to monitor the development of management plans for National Park units in Alaska and can be reached at PO Box 112, Denali Park, AK 99755.



SAGEBRUSH IN THE RAIN

by Bart Koehler

Taku is a Tlingit word that roughly translates to "where the wild goose lands."

It's a wonder that in a little more than four years I've traveled from the deserts of Sonora to the mouth of the Taku River in Southeast Alaska. I'm not sure where the rest of the "Wild Goose Band" has flown (you never know) but Johnny Sagebrush is now home in the land of rain and devils club, soaking it all in.

I am now the executive director of the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council (SEACC), the regional voice for conservation in the panhandle. I decided a year ago that "mainstream" conservation work was best for me, and the kind of work I can do best for the movement. It's been an interesting change from playing guitar before a thousand people to testifying at hearings in DC again. I've been to DC three time already this year and I'll be there many more times before it's over. (I still don't wear neckties.)

Being one of the co-founders of Earth First! and Johnny Sagebrush's songwriter for years has given me an interesting insight on our American dream and the defense of Mother Earth. My philosophy has not changed up here it's "Tree Wars."

Do I miss life on the road with Earth First!? Sure. And I'll probably see you once again, and I hope you'll hear Johnny Sagebrush on the radio before

too long. It'll benefit SEACC.

We've got a long and hard battle ahead of us here on the Tongass. It's your forest, our largest and last great temperate rainforest, and we'll need your help defending it.

You never leave the Earth First! tribe. I'm just on a journey, helping out the cause in Alaska. I'll be watching the sky for wild geese in flight. The circle remains unbroken.

I went over the edge once and crashed and burned. I went over the edge twice more — but I was lucky to come back. I learned a lot out there. As Cat Stevens sang once, "Ooh baby, it's a wild world."

Why am I back at it? I still have a good fight left in me and I'm willing to throw myself back into the wars. It's in the blood.

Bob Marshall said, "Some of us never took that last step into civilization." Trust your instincts.

Maybe it's in the stars. I was born on John Muir's birthday and on the very day that Aldo Leopold died. It's in the moon, on the cusp of life.

What next? I'll be here 'till I can't do it anymore. Maybe some day when we right some of these worst wrongs, I can get on my horse Gordo, and ride off with my sweetheart and my guitar to search for old friends in the desert. Dave Foreman, Howie, Mike, Spurs, Jack Burns, Hopalong Cassidy, the Lone Ranger, Cactus Ed Abbey — and Johnny Saguaro Ocotillo.

All my best to you good people and fellow Earth First!ers. Live well and keep those dogies rollin'! Don't give up the ship!

— Bart Koehler

(Editor's note: We'll be bringing you periodic reports on the battle to save America's largest and wildest National Forest, Alaska's Tongass, from Bart Koehler.)



OREGON TRIALS

The Middle Santiam Tries Oregon

by Mike Roselle

"We greatly admire your cause and your convictions, but we had to find you guilty." These words, spoken by Joann K. Benedict, expressed the sentiment of the all-woman jury that for three days listened to testimony from both sides during the trial of Cathedral Forest Action Group members who were arrested during protests this summer in the old growth forests along the Middle Santiam River in Western Oregon. Linn County judge Rick McCormick stated later to a reporter that in all his years on the bench, he had never seen a jury read such a statement before rendering a verdict. Although the verdict itself will be appealed, the trial represents another milestone by the Oregon activists who have been fighting the U.S. Forest Service's attempts to log the largest remaining old growth ecosystem on the Cascades' western slope.

In all, 34 people were arrested in various actions on the road and in the offices of the Forest Service. While some of the blockaders, not wanting to get stuck in the legal quagmire, pled no contest so they could get on with what they felt were more important matters, others wanted to have their day in court. A trial, they felt, would be able to raise some of the important issues too often glossed over by the news media. And, by using the "choice of evils" defense, some felt that there was an actual chance of being found innocent by an impartial jury, if one could be found in the largely timber dependent county. So, in preparation for the trials, a legal committee was formed to research possible defense strategies, and a legal defense fund was set up.

The requirements for a successful "choice of evils" defense are as follows:

*Your actions were to prevent an imminent and irreversible harm to the public domain;

*There was no other course of action available to you;

*There was a reasonable chance for your actions to be successful;

*The crime committed was lesser than the crime you sought to prevent.

Under Oregon law, the court decides if this defense can be used. A motion was filed and a date was set for a hearing. At the hearing, Judge McCormick heard arguments from the defendants as well as objections from the D.A.'s office, who wished to expedite the matter as soon as possible because these legal maneuvers were costing the county money. Since there would be no jury present at the hearing, the defense would be able to present a broad range of testimony without objections from the D.A.'s office on the grounds of relevancy.

A grueling number of law books and legal documents were poured over by Cecelia Ostrow and other members of the legal staff looking for precedents that might help convince the judge to allow motions for the "choice of evils" defense. Although the group decided to handle the task of preparing the defense themselves, it was also decided to retain local Albany lawyer Bob Street to help with the presentation in court and to act as a counselor on legal matters. He also represented those defendants who did not want to represent themselves. This gave those who chose to represent themselves the benefit of Bob's presence at the counselor's table to answer procedural questions, while still allowing them to call and cross examine witnesses. The defense plan itself was broken up into separate parts with different people taking on the aspects of the case they felt most familiar with. On September 25th, the hearings began.

The first, and perhaps most important part of the defense was to prove that there was indeed a threat of imminent and irreparable harm to the public domain. Testifying for the defense was Dr. Roy Meyer, a soil scientist and geologist who had done extensive research on the Pyramid Creek timber sale area for the Forest Service as well as for conservation groups. Dr. Meyer described the soils as some of the most unstable anywhere in the state. He also

stated that roadbuilding and logging would severely damage the soil productivity and increase sedimentation in the creek, which would threaten native trout fisheries in Pyramid Creek and along the Middle Santiam River. According to Dr. Meyer's testimony, the proposed development in the defacto wilderness would increase soil erosion as much as 600%. He also stated that roads would be very expensive to maintain and difficult to keep open.

Next, Dr. Paul Alaback of the O.S.U. School of Forestry, a widely known expert on forest productivity and old growth ecosystems, took the stand. Citing extensive damage from blowdowns in areas adjacent to clearcuts, loss of moisture and increased airborne sedimentation from opening up the dense stands, Dr. Alaback stated that this timber sale would severely damage the last such ecosystem of its kind. He went on to say that as much as 20% of the forest productivity would be permanently damaged by the building of roads and landings alone due to the steep nature and instability of the terrain. Critical habitat for many threatened species would also be permanently destroyed. Old growth ecosystems have never been successfully managed for sustained timber harvests while protecting their old growth characteristics. "It would take at least 500 years for the trees to regrow to their previous size," he said, "but the ecosystem would never fully recover".

After Alaback's testimony, Stephen Dinkle, who was prosecuting the case for the D.A.'s office, conducted a brief and feeble cross examination of the witness. Afterwards, Brian Heath took the stand and was sworn in. Brian, along with being a dedicated member of the Cathedral Forest Action Group, is a professional private forester and is currently working on his Ph.D. in forestry at O.S.U. Brian testified that the Forest Service's method of harvesting timber was not sustainable and was tantamount to mining an unrenovable resource. He added that the Forest Service's practice of overcutting on public lands was threatening the economy and would eventually result in the collapse of the local timber industry, while the large corporations who profit would move their operations to the Southeast where they can grow trees more cheaply. This was in disregard for existing laws that mandated the F.S. to manage the area according to the principles of sustained yield. Such irresponsible management was also in violation of NEPA, FLPMA, and the Clean Water Act. He also stated that if the time and money used to open up these inaccessible areas were diverted to reforestation of already cut over lands, it would result in higher productivity, increased yields, less damage to watersheds and a sustainable timber industry. Brian added that the Forest Service repeatedly lied to him about their plans to log the area, evidently to prevent attorneys for the Middle Santiam Wilderness Committee from seeking an injunction in Federal Court. Brian's testimony concluded the first part of our

defense. It was also the end of the first day of hearings.

The next day of hearings was October 1st, and the defense team added Terry Gough, a lawyer who was working with the American Civil Liberties Union on Leo Hund's defense against felony charges for refusing to assist in an arrest. He was to help with closing arguments at the hearing's end and was representing Leo in his misdemeanor charges of disorderly conduct.

The second phase of our defense was to demonstrate to the court that we had exhausted all other means available to us to prevent injury to the public domain. Our first witness to present this testimony was Michael Axline, a Eugene attorney with the Environmental Law Clinic and a professor of law at the University of Oregon. Mr. Axline testified that in his legal opinion the Forest Service was in violation of federal laws in executing the Pyramid Creek timber sale. He described in detail all the steps conservationists had taken up to this point to prevent the sale, starting with the first appeal and continuing through the lawsuit. The lawsuit was later dropped when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals refused to enjoin Willamette Industries from executing the sale. Although the court had yet to decide on the merits of the case, the suit was dropped when it was realized that the timber would already be cut before the court would have a chance to hear it.

The D.A. then cross examined Mr. Axline. First, he asked if the defendants could have pursued some sort of legal relief, rather than take the law into their own hands. Axline replied that the defendants could have sued the Forest Service for violating the National Environmental Policy Act. When Dinkle asked why that had not been pursued, Axline replied that it was probably too expensive for such a small group with limited resources. Dinkle then asked how much a NEPA suit would cost to file. There was a somewhat astonished silence throughout the courtroom as more than a few jaws dropped when Axline replied, "About 50 to 100 thousand dollars." The prosecution had no further questions.

Next, the defendants themselves took the stand and told the court about the actions they had taken to stop the timber sale. Linda Sebring of Corvallis testified that she had done everything possible, from testifying at wilderness hearings, to becoming involved in the forest planning process, writing her legislators and getting involved in electoral politics, in order to prevent the logging from taking place. "In the end," she said, "I felt I had no other choice but to go up there and put myself between the loggers and the trees."

As the hearing progressed, each defendant took the stand, was sworn in, and gave testimony as to why she or he decided to break the law and do what she or he felt was right. These personal statements from the people who had taken so many risks and had made such great sacrifices for standing up for that in which they believed had a powerful

impact on those in the courtroom. More so than the legal and scientific evidence that had been given so far, this testimony struck at the root of the issues involved: That something immoral, perhaps even evil, was taking place in our national forests, and to ignore it or to pretend that it wasn't happening was a far greater crime than the ones for which the defendants were on trial. Indeed, the Cathedral Forest Action Group was never on trial here. It was the Forest Service, and even the American people, who were standing trial, and it would be their own conscience that would serve as judge and jury.

Next, Cecelia Ostrow presented arguments on international law. Citing the Nuremberg trials, Cecelia contended that all people are ultimately obliged to observe higher moral laws than those imposed by government, and that just because non-human life has no standing in this legal system today, it does not mean that ultimately it has no rights at all. "It was recognized by some," she continued, "that Black people in the South had no legal standing. This opinion was even shared by the Supreme Court. However, today this legal system recognizes that all people not only have these rights now, but have always had them, even when deprived of them by government." She went on to cite a minority opinion written by Justice William O. Douglas in the Mineral King lawsuit (SIERRA CLUB vs ROGERS MORTON) that makes a strong case for extending legal rights to non-human life.

To make the case that there was a reasonable chance of succeeding, Mike Roselle, of Earth First!, described previous efforts in southern Oregon where conservationists were successful in stopping illegal logging by the Forest Service through a combination of non-violent civil disobedience and legal action. He went on to discuss the successful actions of the Sinkyone activists, who by taking direct action to protect the ancient Redwoods along California's north coast, were able to gain enough time to get the matter into court. "Without their actions," he said, "these thousand-year-old trees would have been felled before the court had a chance to decide if the logging was legal."

The final part of the defense was to demonstrate that our actions constituted a lesser offense than the ones being committed by the Forest Service. For this, Mary Beth Nearing was sworn in. She described the time-honored tradition of nonviolent direct action as a legitimate means to make needed changes when all else has failed. She stated that although we are being charged with "disorderly conduct," at no time was our conduct disorderly. "Many hours of preparation go into each action," she said, "and every participant is obliged to adhere to an agreed-upon code of conduct." "Each person," she continued, "agrees that they will be open, honest and friendly to all they meet, and that at no time will they return hostility for hostility, or violence for violence."

With this testimony, the defense rested its case and it was the prosecution's turn to call witnesses. Their first witness was John Neupert, attorney for Willamette Industries. Having nothing nice to say about this man, I shall say nothing at all, except that for his name and position, I believed nothing at all of his testimony. Next, the prosecution called the Deputy Chief Assistant Freddie, or something like that. As soon as he was sworn in, Cecelia stood up and objected. "The purpose of this hearing," she contended, "was not to decide whether or not this timber sale was legal, but whether or not we had reason to believe it was illegal. Therefore, nothing that this man could say could possibly be relevant to this hearing." The objection was sustained and the Freddie was dismissed without being able to say anything but his name.

This concluded the proceedings, and closing arguments were then made by both sides. The defense team, in its closing statements, contended that

continued on page 4



Michael Williams photo

A Forest Dirge for Fife, Banjo, Drum and Beercan

*We are the Forest Service (Circus).
We do just as we please
The forest is our Big Top
We've come to cut your trees*

*Clearcuts are our business
We make them square and steep
The roads we make go to them
The mud goes in your creek*

*Forget about the fishing
We don't have time for trout
Fish can't make us any money
That's what we're all about*

*The Grizzly needs more forage
We're cutting for him too
We'll maybe serve him Wendy's
Just like for me and you*

*The Circus presses onward
Up your drainage too
The bears are all conditioned
To act like in the zoo*

*Woodpeckers don't need snags
They'll learn to do without
And if they can't adapt to this
We'll kill them like the trout
The Elk are quite a problem
They don't know where to go
We build them roads and clearcuts
Then shoot them in a row*

*We're planting "super" species
In squares like Christmas trees
The spray we're putting on them
Often kills the bees*

*Some poisons that we're spraying
Kill all the noxious weeds
It makes a sterile forest
To meet our logging needs*

*If you need some firewood
Pay 10 dollars down the hall
Don't you touch those slash piles
We're burning them this fall*

*We burned up all the cabins
To make the forest free
Of all the manmade shelters
And safe for you and me*

*We never will inform you
Our plans would raise your hair
You can't affect us anyway
We'd rather just not care*

*We're planning for the future
Computers lie with ease
They make decisions for us
Then ask for comments, please*

*We thank you for your input
The time spent was a waste
Because we are the experts
Your comments were erased*

*Decisions that we're making
Will shape the future lands
Into an image we create
For cars, and trucks and man*

*We left no room for critters
We treat them just like lice
Now we fear them and ourselves
This proves we're men, or mice*

*We need the Forest Circus
To wave itself goodbye
Before they turn the forest
Into a huge pig sty*

*The Freddies are all happy
All eating on their cake
When subsidies from Congress stop
They'll think there's some mistake*

*We are the Forest Circus
You pay us for this sleaze
So keep your dollars coming
And keep us working please*

*Our dogma gives us faith
In why we rule the land
Our Android wisdom rules us
We see ourselves as grand*

*Restructuring of a circus
Is quite an awesome task
Never ever mention it
Or out will come the flask*

*Drunk with power and garbage
The circus flaps its gate
Someday soon the tent will fall
Our chance to celebrate*

*Woodsy Owl and Smokey Bear
Are sick of Uncle Sam
Using them to sell the woods
PR for Sam's next scam*

*My song could last forever
Or till the forest dies
Then we'll know who told the truth
And who's been telling lies
— Steve Kelly, Swan Valley, Montana
August 8, 1984*



*Willamette Industries truck and logged slope in the Middle Santiam.
Photo by Michael Williams.*

Letter from an Oregon Jail

by Cecelia Ostrow

Here I sit in jail, wondering what will happen next in the Middle Santiam.

Most of us are here for 5 days, with 30 days suspended. We have signed probation agreements to stay out of the Pyramid Creek area for a year. Sarah Barton and Leo Hund refused probation or to pay restitution to Willamette Industries, and will serve the whole 35 days. Peter Swanson is serving 25 days for refusing to pay several hundred dollars in fines and restitution. The rest of us need to decide whether or not to pay the restitution which has been assessed jointly and severally as part of our probation.

We had no lawyer for our trial. Each blockader shone as she/he told the jury of six Linn County women *why* we blocked the logging trucks at Pyramid Creek. Judge Rick McCormick had ruled that we could not use a choice of evils or justification defense — that is, we could not talk about the ecological disaster we are trying to stop or mention the fact that the Forest Service and Willamette Industries are breaking the law. We will appeal!

Here's what some of the wilderness blockaders had to say at the trial:

I was born in Corvallis, Oregon. I come from an old logging family. I was taught to be very proud of this wild frontierland. I spent a lot of time camping during my youth and developed a deep reverence for the un-

spoiled areas of this state. Recently I have realized that these areas are actually quite few and are very much in danger of becoming extinct altogether. I feel that in good conscience I cannot bear this knowledge without attempting to do what I can to prevent this from happening.

*— Marj Storm
arrested June 4*

I came to Oregon four years ago, after a lifetime of stories from my dad about the natural beauty here. I saw the Coast Range with its barren, clearcut hills. Since then, I've wandered in the virgin wilderness of the Middle Santiam. There are streams, rocks, bears, elk, and owls living among trees that are centuries old. I will do whatever I can to protect the Middle Santiam.

*— Maggie Underwood
arrested June 4*

Yes, I intended to cause alarm! But not the kind of alarm you meant. If I could have, I would have ridden a horse through the streets of Albany, shouting, "They're cutting the Middle Santiam!"

*— Leo Hund
arrested May 5 and June 4*

We started off the first day of the trial with a press conference in the main hallway of the Albany Courthouse where we served coffee and doughnuts, and unveiled the Cathedral Forest National Monument proposal. We circled, and our song, "May the trees grow forever stronger, to the sky, Lord, to the sky," echoed through the courthouse building. Sarah Barton told the jury, "Our victory came when we took a moral

stand for what is right in the Middle Santiam."

Jeff Liddicoat defended himself for his one-man blockade at a trial October 29. He, too, was convicted. Brian Heath and Steve Petersen, arrested in the July 17 blockade, pled no-contest last week to join the rest of us in jail.

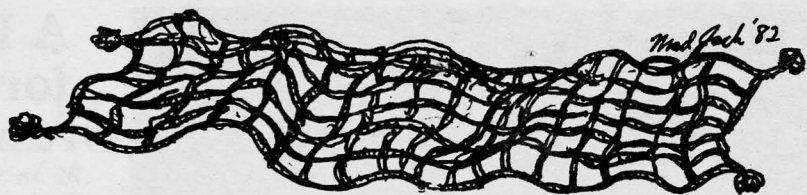
I count it a privilege to have lived for a few hours the way the earth should be rather than how it is — to have lived as though violence toward me and toward the rest of creation does not exist. I respect your right to differ and to sentence me. Considering the innocuous nonviolent nature of the act, I will consider the severity of the sentence an indication of the depth of the law's desire to cover up the violent destruction of God's creation as well as an indication of the strength of humanity in resisting that destruction.

*— Brian Heath
arrested May 5 and June 4*

So here I sit in jail, thinking of these and many other things. We need many more people to save the Middle Santiam. Are you there?

To help in the ongoing battle to protect *all* of the remaining old growth forest in Oregon, contact the Cathedral Forest Action Group/Oregon Earth First! at 824 SW 10th St, Corvallis, OR 97333, (503)754-9151 or 753-8725. Contributions are needed. Make your check out to Oregon Earth First!.

Cecelia Ostrow has been one of the mainstays in the effort to protect the Middle Santiam and other old growth forests of Oregon.



NEMESIS NEWS NET

by Leon Czolgosz

SLUG SABOTAGES WASHINGTON TRANSFORMER

Lakewood, Washington — Thousands of area residents were temporarily without power this summer until Tacoma City Light workers put a malfunctioning transformer back into service. The culprit? A garden slug that climbed into an underground vault and shorted out the transformer with its slime trail. According to the utility company, other animals have been responsible for shorting transformers in the past, but this was the first time that a transformer was "slimed" by a slug. Unfortunately, the slug did not survive the experience. In the words of a company spokeswoman: "He is no longer with us."

HORSE MANURE DUMPED IN PROTEST

Oracle, Arizona — Horse manure was dumped in front of the Department of Risk Management and Safety building on the morning of Oct. 31 in protest of the University of Arizona's toxic-waste site near Oracle, according to UA police.

A telephone caller who told UA police he was with the "Oracle 1 Community Committee," said the manure was dumped in front of Risk Management, 1143 N. Cherry Ave., to protest the dumping of toxic chemicals at the site.

Police investigated the phone call and found the manure.

A dummy and signs warning the UA to stop the dumping also were left, police said.

There are no suspects in the incident. (Reported in the *Arizona Daily Wildcat*, Nov. 2, 1984.)

ORACLE UPDATE

Oracle, Az, December 10, 1984. A Sheriff's deputy discovered over the weekend that part of the fence surrounding the University of Arizona's 640-acre Page Ranch, which houses the University's controversial toxic-waste dump, had been cut by unknown individuals. About 70 feet of four-strand barbed-wire fence at the main entrance to the ranch was dropped with a pair of wire cutters.

Only a few days previously, on December 5, a delegation of Oracle residents met with UA President Henry Koffler to urge closure of the dump, which opponents view as a threat to the area's ground water. The delegation asked Koffler to place a guard at the site starting that night. Although Koffler at first indicated that a guard would be posted "as soon as possible," UA officials later decided the added security was unnecessary.

University officials sought to minimize the significance of the fence-cutting incident. They pointed out that another, 8-foot fence, including concertina wire, surrounds the actual dumps, and that this fence was not damaged. According to Robert Dorsey, director of the UA Department of Risk Management and Safety, "...we're not too concerned about it... The thing the fence is for is primarily to keep the cattle out because the ranchers are concerned about cattle getting onto Page Ranch because there's no water there." Dorsey went on to add, "If there is any relationship between having damage to the fence and the Oracle residents' concern about the facility, I don't really understand it."

CHIPPING EQUIPMENT BURNED IN HAWAII

Kalapana, Hawaii — The Campbell Estate announced that they would continue wood chipping operations on 3,300 acres of estate lands at Kalapana on the island of Hawaii, despite the recent burning of equipment used in the operations.

Campbell Estate entered into an agreement in June with Bio Power Corp. to harvest its lands. Bio Power, in turn, has contracted to provide wood chips as biomass fuel for the Amfac Big Island power generation facility located at the Puna Sugar Mill site in Kea'au.

Campbell Estate owns a total of 25,000 acres at Kahauale'a. The 3,300-acre portion which is being logged was acquired in 1927 as part of a land exchange with the territory of Hawaii to accommodate the National Park Service's acquisition of the adjacent Chain of Craters area. Opponents of the chipping operation are upset about the destruction of native 'ohi'a trees, some of which are 100 feet tall. Tomas Belsky, a spokesman for the Friends of the Forest ad hoc committee, said of Campbell's chipping operation, "It is corporate irresponsibility."

On the night of November 9 unknown parties set fire to a \$258,000 wood chipper and a \$50,000 bus used as a shop and for storage. Bio Power workers found the equipment still burning when they reported for work the following morning.

Campbell Estate chief executive officer O. K. Stender, in announcing the continuation of chipping, did say the Estate was "preserving a reasonable number of species of trees per acre" and is "leaving untouched trees and plants located in kipukas and on knolls."

RUTGERS

One doesn't think of the metropolitan area of New York City as having important natural values, but there are areas even there valuable for wildlife and open space. Some of the most important of these areas are owned by Cook College, part of Rutgers University, in North Brunswick, New Jersey, and are supposed to be preserved in their natural state. Students at Rutgers are understandably upset then by a decision by Rutgers President Edward Bloustien to lease much of the small preserve to the New Jersey Bar Association to build a giant office complex. Earth Firsters at Rutgers have been demonstrating against Bloustien's plans and urge other Earth Firsters around the country to help them save a bit of wild Northern Jersey.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Write to Edward Bloustien, President, Rutgers University, North Brunswick, New Jersey, 08903, and urge him not to let the Cook College natural areas be destroyed by an office building for the New Jersey Bar Association.

AUDUBON TO HOST SYMPOSIUM

The National Audubon Society Expedition Institute will host a major public symposium at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, August 2-6, 1985, on the question "Is the Earth A Living Organism?" The stated objective of the program is to bring together a group of scientists and scholars to share their research and ideas about what Dr. Jim Lovelock has called "The Gaia Hypothesis." Lovelock is scheduled to be the keynote speaker; others who have expressed an interest in appearing include Dr. John Todd, founder of New Alchemy Institute, Dr. J. Donald Hughes, editor of *Environmental Review*, and Dr. Albert Baez.

The Expedition Institute has issued a call for interested parties to submit research papers to be presented at the conference. Papers are invited in the following discipline areas: physics, biology, earth sciences, environment/ecology, history, law, anthropology, literature, philosophy and theology, human ecology, psychology and education. Presentations should focus on new research, synthesize what has been done to date or propose new areas of research. The program proceedings will be subsequently published as a state-of-the-art review of the Gaia Hypothesis, especially as it relates to science.



Manure dumped in protest of the University of Arizona toxic waste dump in Oracle.

Persons interested in submitting papers are invited to submit proposals. The deadline date for proposals is April 15, 1985. For information on papers contact:

Dr. Jim Swan, Symposium Coordinator

National Audubon Society Expedition Institute

Box 637

Mill Valley, CA 94941

There also will be space provided for a limited number of artistic presentations, music, poetry, drama, paintings and photographs.

General inquiries about the "Is the Earth Alive?" Symposium should be directed to:

The Institute for Expedition Education

National Audubon Society

NE Regional Office

R. R. 1, Box 171

Sharon, Connecticut 06069

NATURE NOT TO BLAME

Surprise! Many disasters attributed to nature, such as droughts and floods, are actually caused or made worse by human activity. Such are the findings of a report written by Anders Wijkman, secretary general of the Swedish Red Cross, and Lloyd Timberlake, editorial director of the environmental information service *Earthscan*. The study — "Natural Disaster: Acts of God or Acts of Man?" — found a sharp increase in recent decades in deaths from droughts, such as the one causing famine in Ethiopia, and floods, including those that have killed thousands in Bangladesh. The increases could not be explained by changes in climate or geological processes such as earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, or simply by better reporting techniques, the report said. Rather, it concluded, the answers must be found in "human vulnerability resulting from poverty and inequality; environmental degradation owing to poor land use; and rapid population growth, especially among the poor." The report also found that natural disasters kill more people in poorer countries than in developed nations, and that poor people in any country are more likely to be killed by disasters than the rich.

According to the report, the famine in Ethiopia is not caused by the lack of rain that triggered it, but by agricultural practices and deforestation that produced soil erosion, by population growth and by political decisions such as an emphasis on cash crops. Similarly, floods in Bangladesh were caused by deforestation of the Himalayas hundreds of miles away and by overcrowding in what is essentially a narrow flood plain.

Timberlake said it was now possible to look at economic and social developments and predict disasters. "The next children you will see dying on your TV screens will be Bengali children," he predicted.

Copies of the 148-page report can be obtained from *Earthscan*, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036, for \$5.50 a copy.

OLDEST LIVING PLANT TO BE PROTECTED

Lucerne Valley, CA, December 8, 1984. The Nature Conservancy has announced plans to build an 11-acre preserve around a creosote bush that scientists say has been growing for 11,700 years. Known as "King Clone," the bush measures 70 feet by 25 feet and eclipses the 4,900-year-old bristlecone pine, a tree on the rocky peaks of California's White Mountains, that once was thought to be the oldest plant.

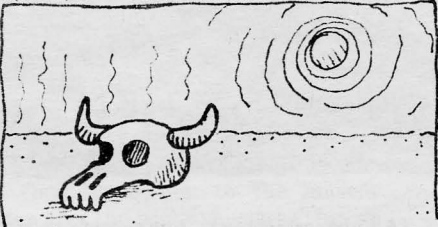
Frank C. Vasek, a botany professor at the University of California's Riverside campus, found the ancient plant while testing several old creosote bushes in the desert about 80 miles northeast of Los Angeles, using carbon dating and other techniques. Thrilled with his discovery, he convinced the Nature Conservancy to purchase the remote, privately owned land.

"This is a step in the right direction," said Vasek, "but we're still looking to set up a buffer area around the preserve."

The property containing the creosote bush eventually will be transferred to the university.

CANYONLANDS NUKE DUMP

The Department of Energy will be releasing a draft Environmental Assessment in January which will analyze the suitability of the Canyonlands National Park High Level Nuclear Waste Dump site. A massive public outcry is crucial to derail the nuking of one of our wildest and most pristine National Parks. For information on what you can do, write the Don't Waste Utah Campaign Box 1563 Salt Lake City, UT 84110 or phone (801)532-4796.



STUDY SAYS AFRICAN-TYPE DROUGHT COMING TO U. S.

The Ethiopian drought is a forewarning of widespread regional water crises in the 1990's. Such are the conclusions of a report recently released by the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington-based resources think tank.

Falling water tables, shrinking lakes and inland seas, and rivers that once flowed year round but now fade to dry beds after rainy seasons indicate a widespread overuse and mismanagement of water resources, according to the report.

In the U. S., the study noted areas where excessive withdrawal of underground water supplies threaten its future availability. These areas include the Colorado River Basin, particularly the areas around Phoenix and Tucson; the Florida and Pacific coasts; the High Plains from Nebraska to Texas to Oklahoma; and much of California.

The report cites statistics from the U. S. Geological Survey in which officials estimate that the giant Ogallala Aquifer responsible for irrigating one-fifth of the nation's cropland is now half-depleted under 2.2 million acres of Texas, New Mexico and Kansas. As a result, farmers in some areas have had to take land out of irrigation. After several decades of steady growth, the amount of irrigated land dropped 20 percent in Texas, 18 percent in Oklahoma and 9 percent in New Mexico between 1978 and 1982.

According to Sandra Postel, the study's primary author, most officials continue to take a "frontier approach" to water issues, looking to dams and other multibillion-dollar diversion projects as a solution, even though Congress has not approved a major new water project in eight years.

"Few see the unfortunate irony in the situation," said Postel. "While the government pays farmers to idle rain-fed cropland in an effort to avoid price-depressing surpluses, farmers are exhausting a unique, underground water reserve to grow these same crops."

She cited figures from the Congressional Budget Office showing that American farmers irrigating their crops with water from federal projects are, on the average, paying less than one-fifth of the real cost of supplying the water.

The study said that the potential for widespread droughts will continue until conservation wins the same acceptance as water supply technologies as a long-term strategy, instead of just a temporary measure for dealing with emergencies.

NEMESIS NEWS NET NEEDS NEWS

We would like to encourage readers to send any pertinent or otherwise interesting news items (from newspapers, magazines or whatever), to the Editor, Nemesis News Net, care of this journal. By the way, does anyone out there have regular access to the Fred-dies' Daily News Digest? We've found this to be an excellent news source in the past, especially since it gives the Agencies' views on things which we might see a little differently.

ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS RARE EXPERIENCE



RRR 1982. 500 EF!ers tell Getty Oil to stay out of Wyoming's Little Granite Creek.

by Marcy Willow

In spite of what you may have heard, the three R's do not spell out the sounds from behind Dave Foreman's desk. They stand for Round River Rendezvous — something, according to the mail I have received, we all wish to get to every year. But what is the RRR? Even those of us who have been to every one find it hard to describe with words. It's something we just can't miss, we're drawn to it like monkeywrenches to a magnet. Literally, the Rendezvous is Earth First!'s annual tribal gathering. There are as many purposes to it as there are Earth First!ers, and there are those we share. From the letters: * to show solidarity and camaraderie * to discuss tactics and strategies * for personal interaction and communication * to see new country As RRR committee member Bill puts it: *It is extremely important that we have a national gathering of Earth First!ers from all over the country ...* (1) *We get to know one another. People mentioned in Earth First! are people, not just names. We are more inclined to help out in various campaigns if we know the people involved.* (2) *Ideas get*

exchanged. (3) *Participation is increased.* (4) *The RRR is spiritually uplifting. You realize that there are other people who feel the way you do, and you feel free to speak your mind. For me the RRR is the only chance I get to meet people I can stand being with. Absolutely. If you can stand being with a bunch of hot-blooded buckaroos (a non-genderic term) for three, four, or more days, you'll walk off that mountain (out of that canyon ...) a whole lot stronger. What about those people who haven't shown up for a while? One person said that the Rendezvous wasn't long enough. "We didn't want to burn all that gas and spend all the travel time for just a day-long meeting." And for those who have been? One person in the East was concerned about the physical "accessibility" of the site — she hadn't done any "significant back-country living" ... mostly in the "relatively benign Blue Ridge Mountains." I know that's going to raise some eyebrows, including my own (as I think about the time I hung by my fingertips from a Shenandoah cliff). Let me here squelch any growing rumors that the RRR is held in the Maze, on Cascade lava flows,*

or in front of bulldozers. (Though I know at least a few folks who wouldn't mind the first two at all, and some not even the latter.) The Rendezvous is a regular pastoral. Another person who would like to attend and hasn't: "My only conflict is my job. I continue to let it get in the way of important things ..." The biggest, loudest reason of those who haven't made it is: They don't know about it soon enough. The mails are slow, they "make plans in December," Okay, we hear you. The 1985 Round River Rendezvous will be in Colorado around the Fourth of July. About two-thirds of the folks from whom we've heard thus far are comfortable with the July 4th date. Others: "Working for the Freddie makes it hard to get away — it's fire season." And "On the 4th the canyon country is too hot and the mountains have too much snow and too many bugs." Summer does seem to be the best, because most people have time off then. Would August be better? Okay, and where? The West seems to appeal to most. One Wisconsin comment: "I never want to see the Rendezvous east of the Rockies. It would be less meaningful. Except for maybe the Black Hills." From Arizona: "Southwest somewhere." A suggested solution to the matter of distance: make the Rendezvous longer — "because it's a long drive for most." Many EF!ers do think the RRR should be longer — notions range from four days to one week. Within this length of time, they look forward to: A rally centered around an issue or series of issues, workshops dealing with deep ecology, tactics to use with/on the Freddie and others, other meetings, and guided trips. What is the RRR? It's energy, excitement. It's a band of truehearts in the wild country. A sky, a forest, a canyon you'll never forget. There's nothing like it. The 1985 Round River Rendezvous will find us somewhere in Colorado, sometime around the Fourth of July — so plan for that. We will give you more specific details in the next issue of *Earth First!*. In the meantime: * Should the RRR be four days or one week? * Should it be around the 4th of July or in August? * Where do you want the 1986 RRR? Send your answers to these questions to Earth First! RRR Committee, POB 3953, Eugene, OR 97403. If you can help arrange a site for the 1985 RRR in Colorado, please contact us, too. Remember, rendezvous is from the Old French, meaning "present yourself." See you in Colorado in July.

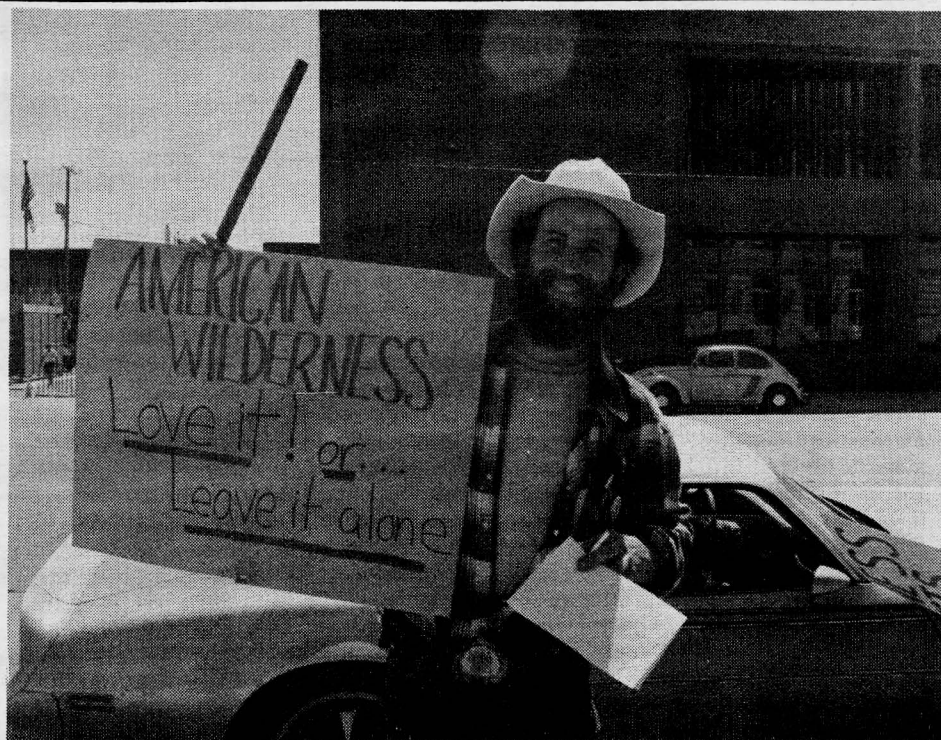
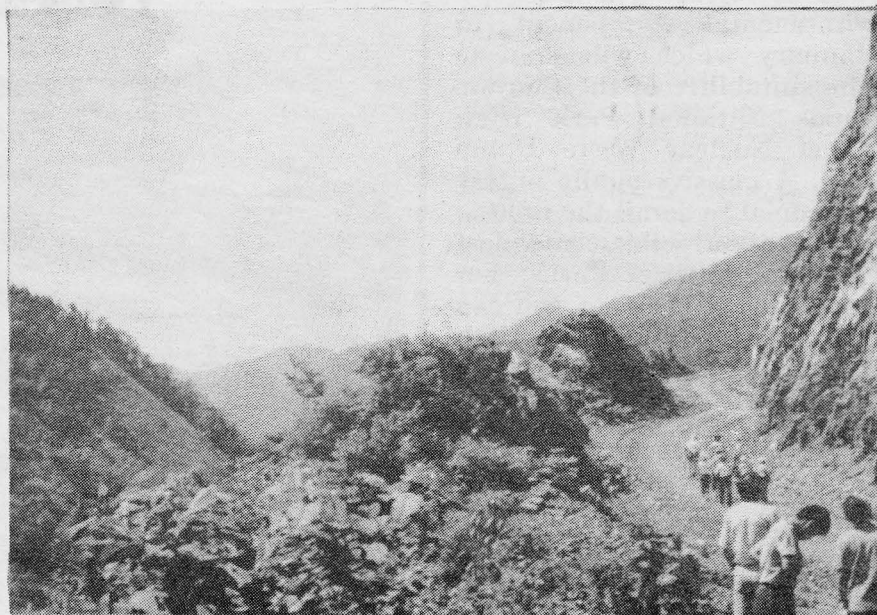


photo of Gary Steele by Peggy Bond

At their annual meeting, the Montana Wilderness Association presented Earth First! with their prestigious "Art Sedlack Award" for the occupation of Senator John Melcher's office in Missoula last summer (shown in the above photograph). The award, given annually, is named in honor of former Glacier National Park ranger Art Sedlack who shot an illegal snowmobile in the Park. The "Art Sedlack Award" was also given to "Deep Root" (see story in this issue).

CRIME IN THE HIDAKA MOUNTAINS: JAPAN'S GRIZZLY THREATENED



by Rick Davis

I spent July 27-29 in Japan's northern island of Hokkaido (by far the wildest part of Japan), where I went to witness firsthand the wanton destruction being perpetrated by industry and government in the spectacularly beautiful Hidaka Mountains.

A day's hike through this largest of Japan's few remaining wilderness areas, as well as its greatest old growth forest, was enough to convince me that we must act now to save this posterity, and even more, for the species which live here.

Parts of the area have already been destroyed by dam and road destruction. Even now, the dam construction continues, and in the fall of 1984, construction was to begin on the 75 km Trans-Hidaka Highway through national park and national forest land.

Reasons given for the "necessity" of the construction are that there are not enough roads in Hokkaido, and that the distance between certain points will be shortened so that "we can use our valuable time in more effective ways."

Also, "This road will be particularly useful in helping people to become close to the beautiful Hidaka Mountains through mountain climbing and such." (!!!)

However, as the opposition groups show, the road will have little purpose except to bring money into the area during construction. Arguments for shorter driving distances are spurious because the winding mountain road will not be significantly shorter and it will be slower driving as well. Moreover, the fine layered rocks composing the mountains are particularly unsuited to road construction (we saw part of a road collapse while walking in the area). Heavy snows will close the road for all but three or four months out of the year.

But most of all, the Hidaka Mountains are valuable as wilderness. As a largely unspoiled area, the mountains are the home of many plants and animals, some of them found only here. The Hokkaido Brown Bear — the Griz of Japan — lives here. This species is in danger of extinction, with a mere 1,500 left in all of Hokkaido. Ironically, the government is trying to kill off the

rest of them, since the bear is covered by the Harmful Animal Extermination Act. This area is also the exclusive home of the nakiusagi, a rare rabbit with a call.

In addition, the Hidaka Mountains are extremely valuable for the scientific knowledge they offer. Both biologically and geologically, the mountains in their unspoiled state offer many clues to the relationships between Hokkaido and the Asian continent, as well as to the history of the island itself. Zoologists, entomologists and geologists all see great value in the mountains left as they are.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Write a letter to the Hokkaido Development Agency demanding that Japan take responsibility for preserving the Earth's biological diversity, to save what's left of the wilderness in Japan and to stop construction of the Trans-Hidaka Road.

Write to:

Hokkaido Development Agency
100 Tokyo-to, Chiyoda-ku
Kasumigaseki, 3-1-1
Chuo Godo Chosha, 4
Tokyo, JAPAN

(An airmail letter to Japan costs only 40 cents)

Rick Davis is the Earth First! contact in Japan.



CHIPKO HUGS TREES IN INDIA

by Michael Pilarski

How many Earth First!ers are aware of the Chipko movement in India? The Chipko people are true sisters and brothers of the trees and forests who use non-violent Gandhian thought in action, putting their lives and bodies on the line in defense of the forests.

The forests of the Himalayas have been vanishing fast during this century due to commercial logging and demand for firewood caused by an increasing rural population. The resulting deforestation has led to increasingly destructive floods in highland valleys and the plains below.

The Indian government forest agencies are tainted with graft, corruption and inefficiency. The government has appropriated large tracts of forest land inhabited by tribal peoples, in many cases relocating tribes to small reservations in the process. Forbidden to utilize forest resources and under cultural attack, tribes have seen young men leave the villages to seek work elsewhere. Both tribal hill peoples and Indian villagers view the government forest service with suspicion and hostility. In Nagaland there have been actual clashes.

The Chipko movement started in 1973 in the Alakhnanda Valley, a remote mountain area of the Himalayas in Uttar Pradesh state, when villagers determined to stop a corporate timber project in their watershed. In this and subsequent protests, villagers hugged the trees in front of the fellers, who were unable to axe the trees without injuring the tree huggers. For every hugger dragged away, another villager rushed forward to protect the trees. In some instances, resistance has lasted

several days and nights. Women have been notably active and have formed women's Chipko groups in many areas. As a result of the actions and consequent press coverage, the government was forced to investigate the forest situation in the Alakhnanda River watershed. The government placed a ten-year ban on all tree-cutting in an area of 450 square miles.

The Chipko people have gone beyond protest, however. Between 1975 and 1978, the Alakhnanda villagers planted over 100,000 trees, reforesting 1200 acres, demonstrating what can be done by people working together, without government aid, to improve local conditions.

The Chipko message has spread over much of the Himalayas, notably through the efforts of Sunderlal Bahuguna. Sunderlal is one of the most respected followers of Gandhi alive. Sunderlal spends much of his time on foot marches through the mountains carrying the Chipko message and observing forest conditions. He is famed for his foot marches. In one journey alone he covered 4870 kilometres across the front range of the Himalayas in 300 days. He also speaks for the Himalayan forests and villagers in international conferences. In a recent letter from Europe, Sunderlal mentions a series of marches in Switzerland, where 150 men and women, including some children, walked from October 6 to October 13, trying to move the hearts of Europeans to the plight of the forests. In much of Europe the forests are sick, even dying, from the effects of acid rain, with 80% of the trees affected in the German Alps.

Walking across long stretches of mountainous country may be physically uncomfortable at times, but it is one of the things I most like to do. People walk

these days for peace, for muscular dystrophy, against nukes, etc., etc... Why not walk for the forests? Forest walks. Walkabouts. Signs walking along the highways. Observant eyes and notebooks walking along logging roads and forest trails. If we would protect the forests we must walk in them to gain strength and nurturing from them.

Sunderlal Bahuguna is scheduled to visit the West Coast of the U. S. in the summer of 1985. I hope a lot of Earth First!ers will have a chance to meet him. For information on his itinerary, write to Children of the Green Earth, PO Box 200, Langley, WA 98260 (206) 321-5291.

TREE PLANTING TITHE ON PAPER AND WOOD PRODUCTS

The Permaculture Institute of Australia and the International Permaculture Association have announced that they are paying a voluntary tax on each publication into a tree planting fund. As a result of this tithe, over 5,000 trees have been planted already. The Rainforest Information Centre in Australia pays into a fund which plants a rainforest tree for every 200 sheets of paper it uses. In Portland, Oregon, the Greeting Seed Company is tithing a proportion of the wholesale price of their products into a tree planting fund. If you are willing to tax your own publication or wood products for tree planting projects, or if you can convince a manufacturer or newspaper to do likewise, please notify the Permaculture Institute; P O Box 96, Stanley, Tasmania 7331, Australia. They will publish results periodically.

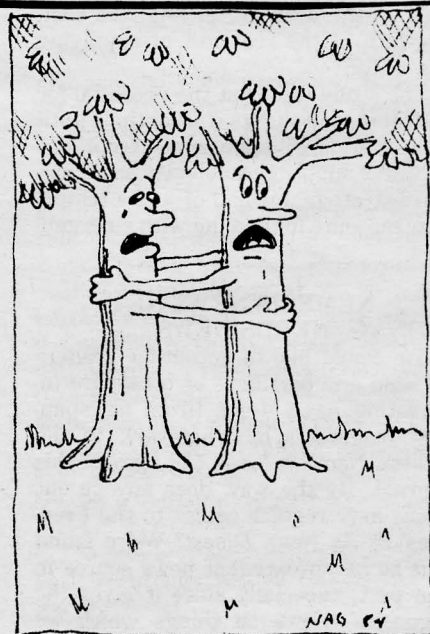
Michael Pilarski
Friends of the Trees Society
P O Box 1064
Tonasket, WA 98855

GRIZZLY DEN (cont)

The above ideas should be included in a new National Forest Management doctrine. We need to refine these ideas and others into such a doctrine and we need to begin pushing for it now. All of these ideas need our attention. Let's stop treating the spreading cancer of Forest Service mismanagement with band-aids. Let's get to the root of the problem and begin the therapy. Now.

This article appeared in a slightly different form in a recent issue of Forest Planning Magazine.

Howie Wolke is a guide and outfitter in Jackson, Wyoming. He is the former Wyoming Representative for Friends of the Earth and a founder of Earth First!. He has spent the last decade working on National Forest issues in the Northern Rockies.



NUCLEAR WASTE? NEIN, DANKE . . .

German Countryfolk Take Direct Action

by Tom Starr and Axel Hannemann

LUCHOW/WEST GERMANY

Wendland — the "land-turned-around" — lies fifty miles southeast of Hamburg. Here the Elbe River and a remnant of the primeval European forest interrupt the marshland monotony of the North German Plain.

One of the Wendland villages along the Elbe River near the East German border is Gorleben. Gorleben is a German household word, far easier to pronounce than Atom-mullagerundwiederaufbereitungsanlage. The West German nuclear waste depot and reprocessing facility is in Gorleben. It's now open for business.

Thousands of local residents have voiced their opposition to the nuclear center over the past five years. They've petitioned, peaceably assembled, gone to court, demonstrated, sat-in and blockaded to no avail. What does the future hold for these people?

"It's five minutes to twelve," said a local resident at a recent meeting. "The temporary storage depot is ready. The permanent storage facilities are under construction, and soon the first truck transport of nuclear waste is due to arrive. Something has to happen now!"

Things are happening in the Wendland. According to Herr Janike, Chief of Police in nearby Luchow, there have been more than twenty acts of arson and sabotage in the area during the past nine months. Vehicles and equipment belonging to construction companies taking part in the Gorleben project have been destroyed with property damage amounting to over three million marks. No suspects have been apprehended.

This is highly significant for Gorleben, where the "Free Republic of Wendland" has long been the symbol of non-

violent resistance to West German nuclear waste disposal plans. The non-violent concept of local citizen action groups has continually prevailed over the proposals of more radical groups coming to the construction site from Hamburg, Hannover or Berlin.

Now some local residents are themselves opting for more radical measures.

"When we had sit-ins in the trees," claimed one local activist, "They sawed the trees out from underneath us." It seems his feelings of moral superiority were no match for police power and he's come to the conclusion that "It's really more effective in the dark. Nobody notices anything and you can sneak away. The next morning people go — hey, something happened!"

In spite of all the protest, the nuclear waste reprocessing facility in Gorleben is rapidly becoming reality. Final construction plans were approved by the government of Lower Saxony in late June. Three years ago at election time, Minister-President Albrecht had given a written promise to reject such plans. Gorleben opponents are now bitter.

"Everyone is disappointed with the politicians," a local farmhand explained. "Word is out that such people just aren't honest. You can write them a letter and they'll answer, claiming to understand your problem. Then they go ahead and do something else." He's thinking things over, and has noticed, "A lot of people don't want to talk anymore. They say just to let'm know when something's up so that they can join in."

It's not only the affinity groups of younger local residents that have become more radical. Blockades and massive police actions have also had their effect on the elderly.

"Recently the Gorleben Women's Group talked about what to do when you get arrested," commented a local

grandmother. "And it was just like we used to talk about recipes and knitting three years ago." Wondering what the experience could be like, she quipped, "Maybe I get a bonus because I'm so old."

Public opinion in the Wendland is divided. Proponents of the project hope for more jobs and an economic upswing in the depressed region. They'd prefer sending the demonstrators "over there" — to East Germany — so that peace and quiet can return.

Gorleben opponents have drawn tightly together since the impending atomic waste transports were announced.

"A call to torch a truck would have gotten me thrown out of a meeting last year," one activist stated. "Now you just get a quiet smile. When a farmer tells me just not to get caught — well, I feel like a fish in water."

Chief of Police Janike sees things differently. He considers these actions to be not only criminal acts but "nonsense," as insurance companies reimburse any damage to construction company equipment.

Is it all blind activism? Not according to another local resident:

"We got a million dollars in property damage. It's not inconsequential when one firm really gets hit, like I-Bau. They lost sixteen vehicles, two warehouses, and pulled out of the project. There will be more firms if it continues like that. This is what they're afraid of. They might be able to guard their equipment more closely, but they can't police all the transport routes. Never."

A telephone call to I-Bau Construction in Soltau drew a curt response from the firm's business manager. He insisted the firm no longer be mentioned in connection with the Gorleben project and then refused further comment.

In a recent interview with the German magazine "Konkret," young members of an affinity group "Jim Knopf und die wilde 13" — named after a popular children's adventure series — announced disruptions of atomic waste transport routes. Activity is scheduled for "Tag X," the day the first atomic waste is delivered to the temporary storage depot in Gorleben:

"For us, 'Tag X' doesn't mean we have to stop the first transport. We know that when they've started up, we can stop any one transport. They may get a couple in, but not that next one. If the road is blocked or the railway tracks torn up in the night, they can't be sure what's underway will actually arrive. Then it's not a storage depot anymore. It's only a risk."

EPILOGUE

Demonstrations and sabotage against the Gorleben project carried on through the summer and fall of 1984. Local police registered over a hundred cases of property damage, including more torchings and the destruction of railroad tracks.

"Tag X" came on a Thursday in late October with undeclared marshal law in Lower Saxony. Riot police sealed off all access routes to the area, stopping potential protestors by letting the air out of their tires. Known leaders were put under house arrest for the day. Important connections in the telephone-tree communications system simply went dead. An armed truck convoy thundered down the back roads near the East German border, stopping for nothing and no one, bringing in a load of medium-level radioactive waste.

They got the first one in. Local activists are waiting for "that next one."

Tom Starr is the Pacific News Service irregular German correspondent. Axel Hannemann is on the staff at Radio Free Berlin.



THE GRIZZLY DEN

by Howie Wolke

The US Forest Service is an agency with a mission. Its mission, bold and independent, is routinely carried out in blatant disregard for both its own regulations and federal law. The Forest Service operates as an independent entity, outside the realm of the American legal system, and outside the realm of ecological sanity.

The mission of the Forest Service is to convert old growth timber to even-aged stands of fast growing pioneer species. Its mission is to reduce complex living ecosystems into manageable monocultural units, thereby simplifying natural food webs and gene pools, and therefore further reducing the natural biological diversity of the biosphere. In order to make room for their brave new world of computerized forestry, the Freddie's are currently intensifying their ongoing holy war against wilderness, which has lasted now for nearly four decades.

The strange new world of the US Forest Service is a world of lawsuits and administrative appeals (the outlaw USFS loses most of them), and heated — often bitter — controversy. It is a world of Scoping Statements, EA's, EIS's, 10 year Forest Plans, 5 year Timber Plans, FOREPLAN (a computer model), Unit Plans, RARE I and II and III, and a maze of Congressional laws and agency regulations, all of which work in concert to create a tangled web of massive bureaucracy too complex to understand for anyone who isn't a full-time student of the agency. Simple common sense, woodsmanship,

and a dedication to the public and ecological good are not a part of the Forest Service of 1984. And either in spite of or because of this tangled mass of bureaucracy, the Forest Service mission lumbers on, unscathed.

It is not my purpose here to convince the general public that the Forest Service is the enemy. Rather, I'm directing this to those of you who know it. My point is that it is time for the environmental movement to drastically alter its traditional methods of dealing with the Forest Service. Lawsuits, appeals, and letter-writing campaigns are fine and likely always will be necessary. Along these lines, we really need experts like Randal O'Toole of *Forest Planning Magazine* to translate and interpret the so-called Forest Service "Land Management Planning Process." We also need courageous men and women to organize and carry out various acts of civil disobedience whenever the destruction of wild country and fragile ecosystems appears imminent.

But all of these actions are **defensive** actions and merely serve to protect a few acres here and to delay or slightly reduce the destruction of a few acres there. Playing defense, particularly in the corporate/bureaucratic arena, is incredibly draining on our time, money, creativity, and our ability to advocate positive changes and reforms. As long as the environmental movement's primary strategy is geared towards playing the game by the Forest Service's rules, and simply fighting "brushfires" as they arise, the mission of the Forest

Service, although injured and at times slowed, will remain. We'll continue to save some wildness and natural diversity, but not much.

It is time to stop acquiescing to the dogma and politics of the present. Instead, we must be visionary. Let us envision our National Forest system as it should be, as it should have become, and as it can become in the future. It is time for us to create and advocate an Ecocentric mandate for our National Forests. This must be done in blatant disregard of existing laws, dogma, and "professionalism." Environmentalists must put together a completely new management doctrine for the US Forest Service, and we must dedicate ourselves to a long-term campaign so that someday our vision, or at least a large part of it, can become reality. The Forest Service, in its present form, cannot be reformed. A complete overhaul is necessary.

Conservation groups should use their energy and limited financial resources to organize and carry out a massive and long-term campaign against the mission of the Freddie's. I am convinced that we can accomplish much if we aim high, and I am convinced that substantial grassroots political support can be attained once the American public is made aware of the daily atrocities occurring on their public lands. Let's begin by advocating the repeal of the Multiple-Use/Sustained Yield Act, the National Forest Management Act, and the Forest Service Manual, and their replacement with a visionary and biocentric management doctrine. Here's a general idea (the specifics need refining) of what we should be advocating:

* Enactment of ecologically complete National Forest Wilderness proposals, along with an extensive program to rehabilitate abused areas within these proposals ("Wilderness Recovery Areas"). As a goal, I think that about 120 million acres of National Forest Wilderness and 70 million acres of conservatively managed non-wilderness would be a good balance (although it certainly isn't necessary for all groups

to endorse the same proposals).

* A strong effort to restructure university forestry and resource curricula from corporate productionism to biocentrism.

* Elimination of the Society of American Foresters as the accrediting organization for university forestry curricula.

* A 75% reduction in Forest Service staff and an elimination of Forest Service policy which transfers employees to new locations so often.

* A requirement that all Freddie's spend a minimum of 50% of their work time in the woods (with adjustments for bad weather, seasons, etc.).

* A Congressional restatement of the Endangered Species Act, directed specifically toward the Forest Service, in order to force compliance with both the letter and intent of this law. This Congressional restatement should include provisions for the reintroduction of all extirpated native wildlife.

* No clearcutting. Selective logging only, except for seed tree and shelterwood cuts of no larger than 5 acres.

* No use of herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, etc. in the National Forests.

* No logging within 200 feet of riparian vegetation.

* Return of natural wildfire to its natural role in forest ecosystems.

* No large, corporate mills buying National Forest timber (a size limit). Small, locally-owned mills only. A decentralized, labor-intensive timber economy.

* No deficit timber sales.

* Purchase preference to horse logging and winter (in snow country) logging.

* A maximum right-of-way of 20 feet for forest roads; rehabilitation of existing roads that are in excess of this limit.

* Elimination of timber mining on private and corporate forestlands. Strict controls and mandated sustained yield forestry is needed here.

* An ambitious federal program to encourage the large scale recycling of paper and wood products.

continued on page 10

EARTH FIRST! DIRECTORY

EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL
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Job Dudley Tausinga
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OR
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GRASSROOTS EARTH FIRST! - AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION

The grassroots structure of Earth First! is partly that of a movement and partly that of a specific organization. It ranges from active, functioning Earth First! groups covering an entire state or region (such as New Mexico EF!, Florida EF!, San Francisco Bay Area EF! or Missoula EF!) to more or less affiliated groups (such as the Southern Utah Wilderness Association, Western Colorado State College Whitewater Club or Appalachian Survival). Some of these groups put out their own newsletters or regular mailings, some have meetings, all do things. There are also a number of areas where there is not an actual EF! group but where there is a local contact for EF!. There are others that fall somewhere in between. If you want to become locally active with Earth First!, contact the person listed for your area (this listing makes no effort at division of actual groups and contacts). If no one is listed for your area, and you would like to be a local contact or have a local EF! group listed, please send your name, address and phone number to Earth First!

Ft. Collins - Chris Johnson
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Ft. Collins, CO 80521
(303) 482-2382

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(303) 278-2097

Gunnison - Scotty Sidner
308 S. 12th St.
Gunnison, CO 81230
(303) 641-2829

Telluride - Art Goodtimes
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Telluride, CO 81435
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Department of Psychology
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Gatlin Mitchell
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Escalante, UT 84726

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Salt Lake City, UT 84126
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OR
Robert Mueller
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Eagle-Eco-Runners EF!
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OR Cindy Minnick
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PROFESSIONALISM

HUBER:
(cont)

concrete and steel wasteland of Washington, DC.

Far better, at least in the short term, than renting an office in DC would be the enlisting of some of EF!'s excellent writers into the role of "Washington Correspondent." Surely at least some of the folks who write for *Earth First!* could come out here on some sort of rotation, maybe for two weeks to a month at a time, use the resources of the place and interact meaningfully with the goons in the Forest Service, etc., before going back home again.

While this is admittedly a stop-gap measure, it would accomplish several things:

* Some dedicated, enthusiastic people would get to experience the very heart of the beast itself, giving more grassroots activists the chance to meet the "upper echelon" of the Forest Service, BLM and other agencies face to face, without requiring EF! activists to stay here and risk the homogenizing effect of the institutional soup of permanent staffdom.

* It would give the bureaucrats, both high and low level, a chance to meet real ecologists as opposed to careerists who are often subjects of scorn to congressional staffers, national columnists and the great mass of federal employees. Folks that communicate well and have actually stopped bulldozers and gone to jail over their principles stand a greater chance of getting through to those people than the ecology professionals whose most radical act may have been to sign a petition.

* People who have been involved in direct action are unafraid to picket or otherwise bring the message to the tens of thousands of tourists, lawyers and bureaucrats who frequent the monuments, museums, and other cultural and artistic areas of Washington, DC. Often, it seems, the career environmentalists have "too much dignity" to do such acts, fearing a loss of "face" among their button-down colleagues. Rather than merely reciting "issues" and statistics to the sometimes hostile onlookers, a grassroots can be specific, telling the crowds tales of actual places and actual confrontations, making environmental issues real to the listeners.

* The incredible information resources of the Library of Congress and hundreds of other very good libraries are all available to the public here. At the Library of Congress, for example, you can obtain free daily updates of congressional activities down to the subcommittee level, General Accounting Office reports on each and every federal agencies' activities, finances and plans, and lots more: Ever have a problem trying to find that hard-to-obtain book or magazine? You can bet the Library of Congress has it and while you can't check books out of the buildings, there are many copying machines available.

* Every interest group on earth seems to have a Washington office. Just look in the DC phone book under "national" and be amazed by the sheer number and variety of groups listed.

* Every major newspaper on the planet has an office here, either in the National Press Building or nearby. An informed Earth First!er could issue press releases to nearly every newspaper on earth and at least some of them would get printed.

With the Great Eradicator being re-elected, there's little time to lose. While taking time to bring the Washington conservationists back to the wilderness, let's also bring the wilderness to Washington. If local EF! contacts can't put you up, there are excellent mission beds available at the 1000 bed Community for Creative Non-violence mission a mere two blocks from the Capitol. For more information concerning places to stay and where to go in DC, write me and I'll be glad to help any way I can.

— Ron Huber
2800 Cheverly Ave
Cheverly, MD 20785



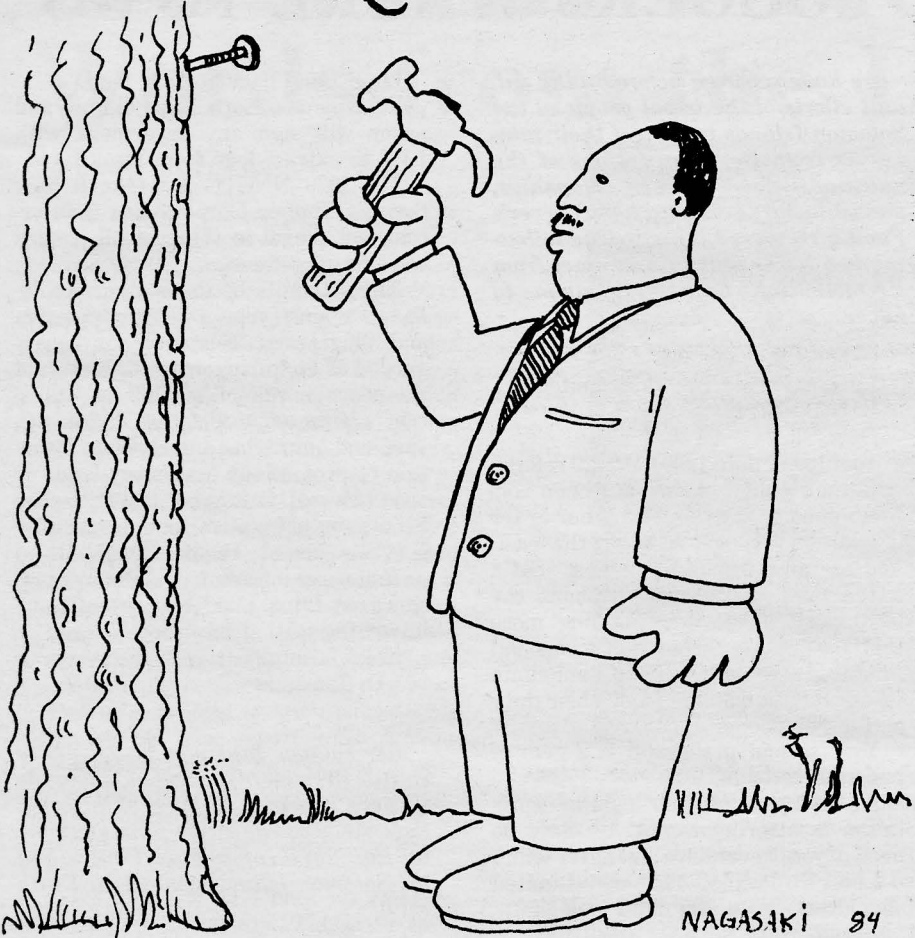
LOCAL GROUP COORDINATION

Although Earth First! is more of a movement than a formal organization and all Earth First! local, state or regional groups are independent, there is still a need for some central coordination and communication. Marcy Willow, Associate Editor of *Earth First!*, is offering to serve that clearing-house function. She will be in

charge of updating the Earth First! Directory page and all address changes and new contacts should be sent to Marcy. She will send out periodic memos to local contacts with suggestions for organizing and action. Reports for publication in *Earth First!* on activities of local EF! groups should also be sent to Marcy

instead of directly to the newspaper. Contact Marcy at: Oregon Earth First! POB 3953, Eugene, OR 97403 (503) 343-2048. Requests for additional copies of *Earth First!* to distribute or for wholesale orders of EF! T-shirts, hats, bumperstickers, etc., for local EF! groups to sell should still be sent to Nancy Morton c/o the *Earth First!* newspaper.

the Question Man ???



Question: Would Martin Luther King Jr. Have Spiked Trees?
(Answer next issue)

GRIZZLY GROWERS FORM

by Gary Lawless

I would like to respond to the piece by Don Schwarzenegger on grazing and public lands. Don says, "The problem doesn't seem amenable to monkey-wrenching or direct action." I would like to propose the creation of various grazing associations, and have initiated the first of these, the "National Grizzly Growers Association." We seek to replace the myth of the cowboy with the beautiful truth of Bear.

We are tired of hearing the sheep growers complain that their sheep, grazing on public lands, have been harassed by hungry bears. We are disturbed by predator control measures which do away with these bears, as well as many other species. We hope to become competitive bidders on the public lands, turning them from cattle grazing to grizzly grazing.

In addition to establishing local Grizzly chapters, we hope to encourage the growth of related associations. Predator control efforts for cattle grazing on public lands, paid for with our tax dollars, have eliminated many coyotes, bobcats, lynx, wolves, bears, lions, grasshoppers, rabbits, feral horses, pine, juniper, etc., etc. We hope to see growers organizations for all of these species. Imagine a coyote grower complaining to the Freddie about errant sheep wandering onto his grazing leases! We hope to tear down fences, erase hoof prints, and restore the natural grazers and predators, thus healing the land itself and making each piece of leased public land actually worth more, without costing the taxpayer money, as is the case now.

We intend to collect membership fees and donations. As presently envisioned, a \$20 membership will bring a copy of *Sacred Cows at the Public Trough*, as well as an investment toward future lease payments. A \$25 donation will also get the donor a T-shirt. Each member will ultimately receive maps of leased lands to visit (we will obviously need grizzly herders). The money we collect will be used for three basic purposes:

1. Education. We hope to get people to read *Sacred Cows*, and to make the public more aware of the scandalous way in which public lands are currently being leased-scandalous from both an economic and ecological standpoint.

2. Funding of efforts to re-shape Federal leasing legislation, tax legislation, etc. (Congressional action on this is due in 1985, and we need to be involved).

3. The creation of a cash pool to be used for actual lease payments.

We mean it! The BLM and Forest Service currently have some 36,000 permit holders. Let's lease some of that land and raise the natural inhabitants of that particular place. Look at leasing as an investment in the healing of the planet. Let's replace the myth of the cowboy with the beautiful truth of the Grizzly.

Gary Lawless
Box 687
South Harpswell, Maine 04079
Field Reps for the National Grizzly Growers:
Jasper Carlton Box 2607 Kalispell, MT 59901
David Thodal RR1, Box 24 Troy, ID 83871

BIGHORN BASIN

ETHITY YUGALA is the Native American name of my home, Wyoming's treasured Big Horn Basin. It was once brimming with fish and game. It held TEL-YA KI-Y, the mineral hot springs whose water was revered for curing illness. We are surrounded by mountains: to the northeast, the Pryor Mountains; to the northwest, the Beartooth Mountains; to the west and southwest, the Absaroka Range; to the south, the Wind River Range; to the east, the Big Horn Mountains.

A party of Arapahoes was persuaded to show Ethity Yugala to William F. Cody. By 1900, trains of Mormons were here to settle. My Mormon great-grandparents homesteaded along the Shoshone River, five miles from my present home. I love it here with all my heart, content to live a very simple life in return for enjoying the expanse of beautiful blue sky above, with its ever-changing weather patterns, and to enjoy the remnants of cold desert-badlands. The land is now dominated by oil and gas fields, human domiciles, and farmland. Deer and pheasant thrive on farmland once hunted widely, and though greatly diminished, many other wild animals still make their homes here.

I am very thankful for the founding of the Earth First! movement. Not long after it came into my life I have found opportunity to act on its behalf in my "back yard." A tiny portion of Ethity Yugala — 1.1% of the Basin's cold desert-badlands — has been under study by the BLM this year for possible wilderness designation. Actually, there are four wilderness study areas: Bobcat Draw Badlands, Sheep Mountain, Red Butte, and McCullough Peaks. The BLM has recommended the "No Wilderness" alternative for all four areas.

Would each of you please take time to write a postcard to the BLM showing support for wilderness designation for these areas? The address is: Chester E. Conard, District Manager, Worland District Office, Bureau of Land Management, P O Box 119, Worland, Wyoming 82401. Thank you.

— Wyoming

SPIRITS OF THE FOREST

by Peggy Bond

It was Hallowe'en night. Most of the spooks and spirits had collected their stashes and returned home. I was walking my dog along the deserted streets when he began barking. I looked around and could see no one; still he continued his alert.

Minutes later, after I had quieted him, I could faintly hear voices:

"Just another week!"

"Yeah, but I don't know if I can last. I've been knocked down six times already!"

Who was talking? Lights were out in all the surrounding homes.

"What do you know about your candidate?"

"Not much."

"Yesterday, when they pounded me back in, I heard someone say he'd love to take you down because your candidate thinks there is too much wilderness and that the Forest Service really does protect forests."

Could it be that I was hearing the spirits of trees cut down for political yard signs?

"Do you mean someone cut me down so I'd be made into a yard sign for a pro-development candidate? The gall!"

Not believing my ears, I continued slowly along the street cluttered with these visually polluting political campaign signs. After a couple of blocks, my dog suddenly crouched, covered his ears, and began to whine. I could hear loud moans and wails.

"I don't believe it!"

"How could he!"

"To think that I gave my life that he might be elected! He wants to cut all of us down!"

"Now, let's calm down. My candidate's a good conservationist, but still I had to be killed for her campaign. Is she really any different? These campaigns are foolish. Hundreds of us trees are used to make yard signs that don't even look good, and to make brochures that don't even get read. How important is it all?"

"Four years ago two local candidates made a pact not to use yard signs."

"Yes, my candidate asks her opponents to make the same pact each election. So far no one will agree, so here I am breathing automobile exhaust and serving as a latrine for the local

canines. It's a shame! With each election the cost of victory or loss becomes higher. I don't mean just the trees, either. Once a state legislator could be elected by going door-to-door and personally meeting all his constituents. This year, many candidates went door-to-door, printed expensive brochures, did television and radio ads, made yard signs, and bought advertising space in the newspapers. What next?"

"Do we have any rights? I heard someone saying my candidate fights for the rights of minorities."

"Yeah, mine's supposed to represent special interest groups."

"Who represents us?"

"Where is our candidate?"

"I've heard of a group of people who are fighting logging. They block roads to stop the trucks and bulldozers. But most Americans think they are crazy."

"I don't think they are!"

Sounds of approval echoed up and down the street.

"I know these people sound great to us, but even if one of them were to run for office very few people would vote for them. They're called fanatics. I don't think there's much hope for the trees."

"Last year just before I was cut down, I heard a little boy telling his father that since we trees didn't want to be cut down, we should wear signs saying 'PLEASE, DON'T CUT ME!' Everything seems so hopeless."

"I've got an idea. Let's protest by falling over. Maybe then they'll get tired of pounding us back into the ground and decide we're not worth the trouble. Maybe next election they won't even make yard signs."

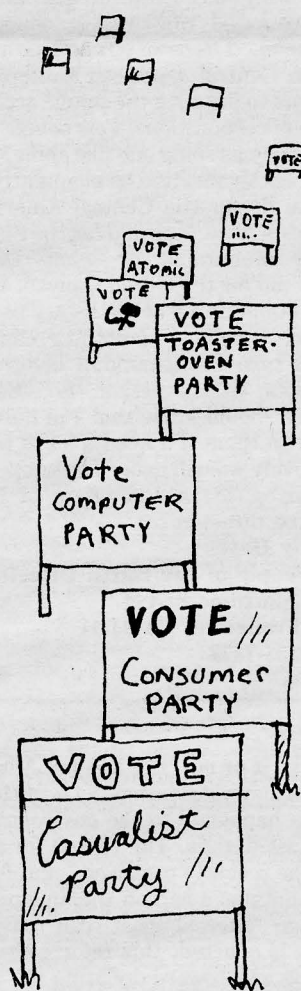
"I doubt it. A protest will only force them to use more wood to make us stronger. I don't think there's a solution."

The silence of defeat settled over the street. As I walked my dog home, these cries echoed in my ears. Is there a solution? U.S. campaign laws need revision. It is ludicrous that most candidates must spend far more on their campaigns than the salary for the office. The individual can do little to change this situation.

However, we can do a few simple things. Both Republicans and Democrats have local organizations that help their candidates. We can work with these groups to establish a moratorium on yard signs, and, if that fails, begin programs with each party for making permanent sign frames that can be used, stored, and reused. Also we can suggest to candidates, especially the conservation-oriented ones, that they use recycled paper for printing their campaign literature.

Let's try. Every permanent sign or recycled piece of paper helps keep the trees in the forest and every new person we get involved in these projects will be helping to put Earth First!

Peggy Lucas Bond lives in Montana where she is a freelance photographer and writer. She is a regular stringer for *The New York Times* and a frequent contributor to *Earth First!*



LETTER FROM THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

by John Seed

Last year we reported on the heroic efforts of the Koroga tribe in the Solomon Islands (off New Guinea in the South Pacific) when they marched through the night and burned a Lever's logging camp to the ground. The huge multi-national corporation (Lever's Brothers) was devastating the rainforest belonging to the Korogas under a permit granted by the British colonialists before the Solomons became independent. Seven members of the Koroga tribe were arrested for the action and were sent to prison. John Seed, who visited the Solomons this summer, gives us an update from the home of Job Dudley Tausinga, Premier of the Western Province of the Solomons.

Sitting up in the house on the hill, Job and Ruth's place, the Premier's house at Gizo, largest town and administrative capital of the Western Province, Solomon Islands. Rainy Saturday morning.

Arrived yesterday after a few days in Honiara and now have all my papers spread about me and feeling at home. Job's still in Honiara till this afternoon, but I've been talking to Ruth and spent last night raving with brother Vincent till the early morning.

Ruth, Job's wife, told me this story this morning which I thought you might want to include in *Earth First!* to update the Enogai story (see *EF!* March 20, 1984):

"The seven men who had been put into prison for their part in the Enogai incident were released after serving 14 months of their two year sentence. When the boat they were on arrived back at Munda (the closest large town, two hours by canoe from their home), all the big chiefs came from Paradise and other villages in 3 big canoes and waited for them at Munda wharf. When they got off the boat, they marched in two files through the streets of Munda with the seven men in the middle, flags flying at both ends. The men were heroes — they had been fighting for their land. All the townsfolk just stood and watched, astonished. Then they took them back to Paradise where there was a big feast — we killed four cows — and each of the men's families were given about \$60."

She also told me the story of when an officer for Lever's Pacific Timbers came to see Job as Premier to talk to him about Simon Natu and his tribe who were refusing permission and warning of an "incident" if Lever's crossed the Hepa River (in spite of the fact that Lever's had "legal" right to log there). Job responded by presenting him with one of the Solomon Islands Rainforest Information Centre's t-shirts ("Stop the killing — Save our Trees") which he wore back to Rigi Cove.

Apparently Job is also in the habit of wearing this t-shirt in his office when he is being courted by Weyerhaeuser and assorted scumbags.

NEW RAINFOREST CONTACT FOR EARTH FIRST!

Randy Hayes has agreed to work as our rainforest contact. Randy, known to some of us as Hurricane, is an organizer and filmmaker who also works with Friends of the Earth International and Four Corners Films. He and his film partners produced *The Cracking of Glen Canyon Dam: With Edward Abbey and Earth First!* as well as *THE FOUR CORNERS; A National Sacrifice Area?*. He has worked with native people throughout the world and is just completing an international guide to support groups for Indigenous Peoples. He is also a consultant to the International Project for Soft Energy Projects on their Third World Alternative Energy planning project.

For the final performance of our 1984 Road Show, Randy organized a benefit for the Rainforest Information Centre which featured Gary Snyder, John Seed and Dave Foreman as speakers. He helped to organize the Earth First! Burger King demonstration and press conference in San Francisco where representatives for the International Indian Treaty Council, Friends of the Earth, and Earth First! met with the

press.

We asked Randy what he hoped to do on rainforest issues. "I want to work closely with John Seed in Australia on all coordinated rainforest campaigns. But, the main focus of our action needs to be on Central American rainforests. I want us to improve the public accountability of corporations. Few people live as intensely as some one like John Muir or express themselves as eloquently. If *EF!* can do for the Central American rainforests what Muir did for the Sierra Nevada Mountains or what David Brower did for the Grand Canyon, then we can stand proud of the legacy to our children. I believe something can be done to turn this around. I believe in grassroots citizen action. So, Earth First!ers should know that I'm here to work with them. I'll need a lot of help. Collectively we will make a difference."

Inquiries, ideas and offers of help should be directed to:

Randy Hayes
c/o People of the Earth Directory
1045 Sansome Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415)433-7373

LETTERS (cont)

Dear *Earth First!*

I'm writing to nominate the Leaf Blower for the "Great All-American Garden Tool Award." Perhaps some of you haven't heard about this contest? Well, I think it's sponsored by Exxon, Winnebago, Coors and Tupperware (could be Mobil, Six-Pac, Coors and Preparation-H, I get 'em all mixed up). Anyway, you're supposed to nominate a garden tool and give reasons why you think it's eligible for all-American status. I've nominated the Leaf Blower and here are my reasons:

1. The damn thing makes a lot of noise.
2. It uses gasoline, a non-renewable energy source.
3. It shifts the problem to your neighbor's yard.

What could be more American?

— Bart Boyer
San Diego

Dear *EF!*

Believe it or not, the Reagan Administration may yet become the best thing that has happened to the environment in the last decade. The reason for this lies in the recently proposed tax reform which contains a cap on the amount of mortgage interest that can be deducted. If enacted, this reform should go a long way toward deflating the real estate boom which is turning vast areas of remaining wilderness into superfluous condos, write-off ranches for range slugs, and other dubious "developments."

Here in Florida, hot-shot developers, leveraged to the gills, are turning the coasts into wall-to-wall highrise condos, farmlands into townhouses, and remaining urban green space into fast food stores and mini-malls. Overbuilding and high vacancy rates are an open secret but the cutting and gouging continues. The problem is not limited to Florida — both rural and urban areas throughout the country are under siege from would-be tycoons trying to get rich with "nothing down" (and a lot of help from the taxpayers).

SOLOMON PREMIER TELLS LOGGERS WHERE TO GO

We have reported before on the valiant efforts of the tribal people of the Solomon Islands to protect their rainforests from the depredations of the multi-national timber companies, particularly Lever Brothers (Lever's Pacific Timbers Limited). The following is a letter sent this summer from Premier Job Dudley Tausinga to Lever's.

General Manager
Lever's Pacific Timbers Limited
RINGI COVE
Dear Sir

Your letter dated 1984 May 29 refers.

Lever's policy has always been contemptuous to say the least. Your letter in addition is conceded to say the least. You are an imbecile to suggest that a letter by your solicitor explains the legal position. It does nothing more than perpetuate the corrupt forms and practices used by Lever's to manipulate Governments who fail to do their duty and lesser people.

Your second paragraph is a gem of pedantic verbage.

We hold you and your legal interpretation in utter contempt. We have no need of you, never have and never will.

Lever's Pacific Timbers Limited should take note and mark well that:

Lupa Land is customary land.

We who own Lupa Land did not and never will sign any agreement with LPT to extract logs from Lupa Land.

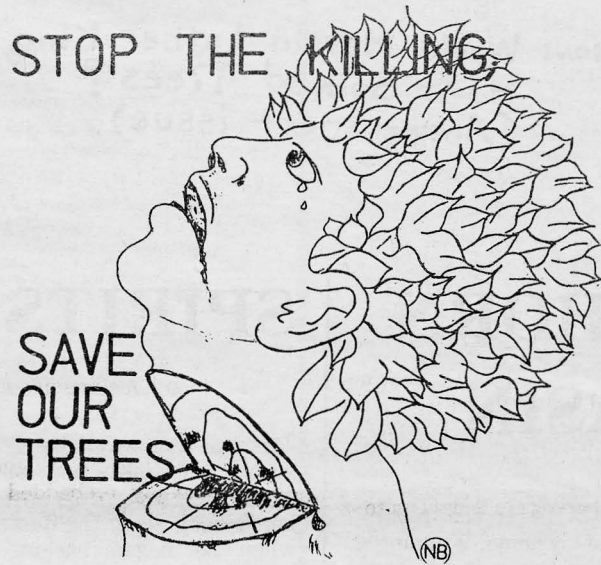
The 1979 NNGTC Act (North New Georgia Timber Corporation) is in actual fact illegal in that not all parties were in agreement.

Any attempts by us or others of defiance against your unjust, oppressive and illegal activities will not be regarded as an infringement or breach of the peace or rule of law, but as retaliation against your violation of our privacy and our rights and absolute intention to protect our customary land.

In this matter it is not and never has been your prerogative to welcome suggestions. You are required forthwith to abandon any intention or claim to a presence on Lupa Land and to notify us in writing of that intention.

yours faithfully
J.D. Tausinga

Job Dudley Tausinga is the newly elected Premier of the Solomon Islands Western Province, founder of the country's first conservation organization, the Rainforest Information Centre, and the Solomon Islands contact for Earth First!



PREMIER JOB DUDLEY TAUSINGA'S T-SHIRT

Needless to say, the real estate lobby is already yelping about losing the interest tax break and unless counter-pressure develops, this reform will be quickly strangled. Get in touch with your Senators and Representatives now and tell them how much you like the idea of limiting mortgage interest deductions. Let's de-fund the exploiters and get the real estate industry off the Federal dole!

— Wills Flowers
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear *Earth First!*

After hearing Dave Foreman speak at the University of California in Irvine tonight, I think I've finally received the impetus to get off my ass and become "environmentally conscious." The next step is to become an activist. I promise to move on this immediately — starting by at least attending some Sierra Club Conservation Committee meetings (it's a start at least).

— Costa Mesa, CA

Dear Rowdies and Hell Raisers

It is with profound regret that I send in my \$15 check to you to start up my subscription to your low-rent, unprofessional, unorganized, anarchistic organization. I have been traveling for the past months and have truly missed the only newspaper that I read all of. But I am happy to announce that I have finally made the transition from the city to the country and am in the midst of building my own house in the woods. Your newspaper has always been a powerful inspiration, as well as the only true voice for the environmental movement. It also makes me laugh — another rarity in the environmental movement.

— Georgia

Dear *EF!*

From what I know of the Grand Canyon's north side, "Canyon Lizard" (whose letter appears in the Lughnasadh edition) is right to be alarmed. The only virgin stands the Freddies plan to leave are those growing right near the road that goes from Jacob Lake to the North Rim — and those are left to fool the tourists into thinking the forest is well managed. Everywhere else the skid trails are reproducing like rabbits into one of the most beautiful forests in the Southwest. Mr. Lizard is correct both as to his assessment of the district asshole (oops — ranger) and to the marginal nature of those beautiful western points. Letters opposing cutting the pines overlooking the Grand Canyon should be sent to North Kaibab Ranger District POB 248 Fredonia, AZ 86022.

— The Zopilote

Dear *Earth First!*

We all know about the ridiculous plan to pave the "Burr Trail" in southern Utah, but what many people are unaware of is the plan by the National Park Service to pave the road leading to Grandview Point in Canyonland's Island in the Sky. This would bring in more campers, Winnebagos and carloads of tourists, overloading campgrounds and destroying solitude. This, along with the nuke dump, is a serious threat to one of our last undeveloped National Parks. Letters to the Park Service (446 S Main St, Moab, UT 84532) opposing the paving of the Island in the Sky road may help. Copies could also be sent to Utah's Senators.

— Kevin
Moab, Utah

Letters continued on page 15

BURIED PROTEST: Words from the Daintree

by Graham Innes

We have previously reported on the struggle to preserve the Daintree Rainforest of the Cape York Peninsula in northern Queensland, Australia, from road-building and logging. The following is a first-person account of the heroic direct action effort that attempted to stop the building of a road through the heart of this rainforest area of planetary importance. Unfortunately, the road blockade collapsed in early September, 1984, as the federal government of Australia was releasing a highly professional report on the need to preserve the area and nominate it as a World Heritage Preserve. Even more unfortunately, the national government of Australia has declined to confront the development-at-any-price state government of Queensland even though its own report calls for immediate action to protect this unique and priceless rainforest. Background information on the Daintree can be found in *Earth First!* [June 20, 1984].

It's 5:24 AM as I pack my sleeping bag and thin foam mat. This is the third day I will have spent buried up to my neck in clay with my right arm chained between two logs. The logs are in turn part of a "fiddle-sticks" combination linking my hole with Graeme Platts.

The first two days saw us buried for eight and ten hours. On each of those occasions we learned new hole-sitting skills, and by the third day the biological clock was finely tuned, so much so that moments before entering the hole I was able to call up a shit and a piss, knowing that it would leave my bowels and bladder completely empty. The first two days of burial saw a new connection forged between my consciousness and my biological clock, allowing precise control of body functions at will.

Those first two days allowed us to refine our burial techniques to minimise pain and cramping by avoiding inappropriate burial postures. They also saw the slow dawning of awareness of a hitherto unknown connection. Earth-bonding. Her pulse became mine and the vessel, my body, became the vehicle for her expression, as had always been her cosmic intention before mankind became blinded by authority. First religion and then science, his soul lost in the machinations of ego.

Last minute preparations complete, we entered our holes to await the arrival of police. I felt a strange serenity. There was no fear in the waiting, rather a calm understanding that this was right action that stood above the laws of the land. This non-violent action had been forced upon us as a last resort to save the Daintree Rainforest from the blades of men unhinged by greed, prestige and authority, men wielding machines with an awesome power of destruction which at no time should have been unleashed on the Earth's surface.

The police arrived with back-hoe and crane and an assortment of other tools to deal with the tenacious conser-



vationists. John Williams was the first arrested, after leaping from an embankment onto the roof of the back-hoe cage, where he chained himself to the machine's exhaust. A swift and daring action, but like most such actions, shortlived. During the morning the back-hoe worked relentlessly, digging out those buried in holes and chained by their feet. One by one they were arrested, as were Rosanne and Kavi, neither of whom had intended to be arrested. Shortly after midday the police, working with bolt-cutters, moved on the last line of defence for the first day's action. Conservationists, chained by their hands or feet to the front row of the huge fiddle-sticks logs, were removed one by one with the aid of bolt-cutters and chainsaws. But the use of chainsaws was of little use as the logs had been heavily spiked to minimise or stop such action. By 2PM the last line of defense had all but crumbled, leaving Maria sitting cross-legged on top of a pole deeply embedded in the earth, chained by her foot — and the two Graeme's buried in their holes beneath the pile of fiddle-stick logs.

The back-hoe operator set-to, starting to remove the logs, when a cry went up from watching conservationists, who realised that our lives would be imperiled if the attempt to remove the logs in this fashion continued. The movement of a log at one end would set in train the movement of all the logs between which we were wedged. A halt was called as police sought to verify this information. Meanwhile, the back-hoe operator had parked his vehicle in a position which allowed me direct eyeball contact. This was the opportunity for which I had been waiting, unknowingly pre-ordained. The language was mine and I was speaking from the heart — and yet it was not of me. It was as though nature herself had overtaken my consciousness to speak on her behalf. I directed my full attention to the back-hoe operator, almost forging a psychic link. My voice commanded attention:

"Sir, you are stripping the earth of her mantle and she will die. She will die as surely as the naked baby left un-

clothed on the beach in the midday sun. Dying slowly but certainly of exposure. Stripped of her mantle and laid bare to the harsh unfiltered rays of the sun, the earth slowly sterilised. No longer allowing nature's vitality and fullness to work the miracle of creation. Sir, I ask you to see that all of man's constructions surely fall into decay and within a brief period are to be seen no more. But nature, given her opportunity, continually recreates herself, providing a bounty, the fullness of which is beyond measure. Sir. I ask you to desist from this act of madness, from taking part in this vandalism. Please withdraw. Go home now with honour. A hero whose praises of courage will be sung by all. There will be no shame, no stigma attached to such a decision. I know that in your heart, you know it to be so. Go home, Sir. Go home..."

The hundred or so spectators and participants, whether police, conservationists or council workers, had long since fallen completely silent, and I spoke as though in an auditorium. Tension mounted. The back-hoe operator anguished, his face contorted in agony, as he sought to find the courage to withdraw. But he could not. The police were obviously affected. They were immobilised — almost mesmerised by the words. The tension was too great — it was clear that they could no longer work and maintain the decorum demanded in a televised media situation. The back-hoe operator backed off. The police withdrew for a two hour lunch.

After the lunch break, the assault by police and back-hoe operator began anew, only this time with a fierce determination that no words could crack. Like ants, the police crawled around us, scooping out the earth tightly compacted around our bodies and sheltered by the logs. A crane was brought in to remove a stump teetering dangerously above my head, and threatening my end as the police swarmed over. It was a cold comfort to know that a council worker would also die with me if one of the chains slipped. The crane's jib was raised, and with it the stump. The crane lurched drunkenly back from the site. Without room enough around me to work, the police were forced to dig under the logs in order to gain access for the bolt-cutters to free my chained arm. As the bolt-cutters clamped onto the already skin-tight chain encompassing my right wrist, they tensioned it so that it felt as though my wrist would be crushed in the process. I cried out for them to stop. Bullshit, he's putting it on, called two nearby police. Again they clamped the cutters. But this time a cop eyeballed me. He saw the tears well as they clamped the cutters. "Stop! You'll crush his wrist," he yelled. At last they were able to manoeuvre the bolt-cutters without causing the chain to twist and tension. Three hefty policemen, arms inter-linking, operated the bolt-cutters. Snap. The chain was cut. But they were still unable to remove the high tensile chain, for the break was barely an eighth of an inch wide. Again and again they tried till at last the chain gave. Now they were free to dig in front, where my arm had been

chained across an effective barrier. One by one the logs were lifted clear to give access to the shovels. At last they had me, some two-and-a-half hours after commencing work.

Constable McGilvray said, "You are under arrest for failing to obey a lawful police direction and for obstructing a police officer in the lawful execution of his duty." The next day at the Cairns Courthouse, a Magistrate without ears 'heard' the case and I was fined \$150 and \$250 on the two charges — a \$400 fine for defending the forest.

Letters urging the federal government of Australia to take immediate steps to halt the roadbuilding and destruction of the Daintree Rainforest are greatly needed from around the world. An airmail letter to Australia from the United States costs only 40 cents. Please write today to: The Hon. Robert Hawke, Prime Minister, Parliament House, Canberra, ACT 2600, AUSTRALIA.

WORLD RAINFOREST REPORT

John Seed of the Rainforest Information Centre in Australia regularly distributes the **WORLD RAINFOREST REPORT**. The WRR is the best way to be kept up-to-date on what you can do to help preserve rainforests around the world. John sends out copies to some 50 countries on every continent. To help cut overseas airmail costs for the Rainforest Information Centre, Earth First! is acting as their agent in the United States and we are copying and mailing the World Rainforest Report to US subscribers. Subscriptions are \$10 a year and sample copies are available for \$1 (for postage). Order from EF! POB 5871 Tucson, AZ 85703. If you send a check, make it out to Earth First!. Be sure to indicate that you are subscribing to the World Rainforest Report. If you live outside the U.S.A., order the World Rainforest Report directly from the Rainforest Information Centre PO Box 368 Lismore NSW 2480 AUSTRALIA.

LETTERS (cont)

Dear friends

Your paper was well received by all members on my trail crew in Sequoia National Park with enthusiastic support. Many will no doubt soon be subscribing. Your journal is excellent and the subject matter and content extremely worthwhile. Our love of Mother Earth out West is equalled only by our bewilderment at those who would despoil her surface for greed and monetary gain. Well, thanks for being an organization with some backbone. Long live Earth First! and Mom, the giver of life!!!!

Yo shu la (Apache — Let there be happiness)

Dear EF!

I am impressed and enthusiastic about the causes you are supporting and vital issues you are addressing. However, I am saddened by your vocabulary, your unnecessary use of the profane, the vulgar, and the low. Must you "enrich" your vocabulary by descending to the latrine?

What we say, we are. Our own words reveal what is in us. Let's not ruin a splendid thing by sordid dirty language.

— Paul Coblentz
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Earth First!

Just returned from Europe to discover Wildcat Annie's card telling me ol' Ed sent in a gift subscription for me. Well, now, that's real nice of Uncle Abbey but since my activism (after 30 years) is now relegated to the pen and song and guitar, while you guys and gals are out there putting your asses on the line, I figure the least I can do is afford you 10 or 20 cups of hot coffee to keep your bods fortified against the chill ... So, here's another 10 for luck.

— Kanyon Kate



PROFESSIONALISM

DAVE FOREMAN: RANDAL

O'TOOLE:

The response, both pro and con, to my essay on "Making the Most of Professionalism" has been encouraging. We would like to solicit further comments on the topic for later publication in these pages. Reading the following responses should spur your thoughts on this topic. Regardless of position (and my essay made the point that there were many very good professional environmentalists — after all, I am one!), I think the response to my article indicates that there is a growing division between "professional" (particularly in Washington, DC) and grass-root environmentalists and, as Reed Noss points out, a tendency to compromise in both camps. It is for the good of the movement and the wild naturally — diverse world we are trying to preserve, that we discuss this and try to reach solutions to make the most of professionalism in the environmental movement. I will respond in a forthcoming issue to the argument advanced by Jerry Meral that wilderness trips should not be required for environmental staffers or that they are irrelevant for those working on clean air, etc. issues.

CoEvolution Quarterly is reprinting my essay in their winter issue as part of a survey of the status of the environmental movement. — Dave Foreman

REED NOSS:

As a "professional conservationist" myself (4 years as an ecologist with the Ohio Department of Natural Resources and 1 year with The Nature Conservancy in Florida), I enjoyed Foreman's essay on the potential problems of the professional trend in conservation. In general, I think he is right on the mark. I get absolutely inflamed when I see agencies or organizations I've worked for (or belong to) hire these jerks out of business school with all of the administrative skills but short on both knowledge of and reverence for nature. Of course, conservation needs both professionals and amateurs, but individuals in either group can either help or hurt the cause.

I have to quarrel, however, with Stephen Fox (and Dave, by extension) over this ostensible struggle between professionals and amateurs. Quite simply, there is a struggle going on *within* both groups, for most amateurs are *not* "radical amateurs." Most amateur and professional conservationists are anthropocentric wimps, holding down the biocentrics within each group.

With the obvious exception of Earth First!, I think amateurs may be even wimpier than professionals. When I tried in Ohio to gather support for the "Deciduous Forest Ecosystem Preserve" (see *Earth First!* III, III), I got nothing but rejection from amateur conservationists. I went to the Sierra Club (repeatedly), Audubon Society and Friends of the Earth, and all thought the proposal much too idealistic to touch. Virtually the only people I found who were interested in this proposal, which was really quite "reasonable," were fellow professionals in the state DNR, including my boss. Of course, the higher echelon administrators were unwilling to accept any bit of it, but everyone knows that they're spineless (afraid to stir the water and risk their jobs in an anti-environmental state government, which, by the way, is *Democratic* and avidly supported by the Sierra Club).

I must also differ with Dave's recommendation that professional conservationists should earn less than \$20,000 a year. Personally, I've never made that much, but most amateurs make much more than that in their regular jobs. I think environmental professionals deserve a good \$30,000. Sure, people who go into this field (and I'm talking ecology and field biology, in particular) know they are never going to get rich, but are motivated by "higher" ideals. On the other hand, with a family to support (and as I've argued before in *Earth*

I hope you read the *High Country News* article about David Brower [and Friends of the Earth]. They portrayed the problem as former Washington lobbyists thinking that DC is the center of the universe. I am sure you can understand that. However, thinking over my upcoming discussions with TWS people, it occurred to me that the overall goal of the national groups is very different from the goals of the local groups.

Even groups as big and powerful as the Oregon Natural Resources Council and the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council still have one main goal: to preserve wildlands. They are essentially ad hoc groups. When all the wildlands are saved (or destroyed) they will gladly go out of business. After all, they are not in it for the money.

The Club, TWS, and most other national groups have another goal: to preserve themselves.

This self-preservation goal explains a lot of the problems. David Brower probably considered loss of tax exempt status a better-than-even trade for saving the Grand Canyon. Others in the Sierra Club did not, so they fired him.

Foreman's article lists 14 suggestions to correct the problems. They are all wonderful ideas, but will be very difficult to implement. And if my analysis is correct, they do not address the fundamental problem.

Most assume the main problem is the distance between the environmental professionals and the environment: I would deny that and list myself as an example. I never visit Wilderness, almost never go into roadless areas. My favorite recreation is riding trains.

To implement any suggestion, however, will require some infiltration. Earth First!ers need to join the Sierra Club and become local leaders. Over time — perhaps in as little as two or three years — they will turn the organization around and make it once again into a radical group which places preservation of the environment over preservation of the organization. TWS will be forced to follow the example.

Dave's most intriguing suggestion is that state wilderness groups form a coalition and hire a lobbyist in DC. I would very much like to see that happen.

Randal O'Toole is a consulting forester with Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants, publishers of Forest Planning Magazine. He is indisputably one of the most effective technical experts the environmental movement has ever had, as well as a free-thinking critic of conservation groups, the Forest Service and the timber industry. O'Toole will begin writing an irregular column for Earth First! early next year.

First!, being married and having one or two kids is not unethical), anything less than \$20,000 is ridiculous when you have to live in a high cost-of-living area, where most environmental jobs are located. Foreman mentioned the importance of keeping up with the literature and taking sojourns in the wilderness. Such things are expensive. In science, professional society memberships and subscriptions (a necessity, because libraries are undependable) are ridiculously high, and travel to wilderness areas and Earth First rendezvous is unaffordable. And hell, I'd like to contribute more cash to Earth First!

Professional conservationists are unappreciated, underpaid, and (in my experience) often both more knowledgeable and more radical than their amateur counterparts. But let's not forge a false dichotomy. We need more radical amateurs, but also more biocentrics willing to work full time for conservation.

In wildness

Reed Noss is a frequent contributor to these pages.



KIRK CUNNINGHAM:

I would like to offer some comments in response to Dave Foreman's article "Making the Most of Professionalism" in the Lughnasadh edition of *Earth First!*. I am conservation chairman for the Sierra Club's Colorado Chapter and have been active in the chapter for 7-8 years. I have had to interact many times with the professional staff of each environmental office in the Front Range *solely as a volunteer*. These interactions have been generally rewarding.

Foreman makes what seem to me to be both valid and less valid points about staff people and the organizations they serve. First, it is true that the national groups are becoming more bureaucratic, professional and Washington centered, some clearly to excess like The Wilderness Society (secondhand information on my part). However, it must also be pointed out that some of this is a necessary consequence of being large and of trying to serve an ever-more philosophically and geographically diverse membership, most of whom *do not want to be active*. In other words, as these groups grow, they suck in first the knowledgeable and motivated, then the motivated but not knowledgeable, and finally those with only a small amount of each. Random polls of new versus long-time Sierra Club members have highlighted this trend. Result: a lot of excess baggage associated with a large organization at the cost of the energy and time of the activist core. Another result: more people must be hired to deal with the bureaucratic needs of the half-interested.

But this is not the only reason for more staff and bureaucracy. We still live in something vaguely resembling a democracy. If the "deep ecological" and "radical wilderness" proposals are to become *real*, then millions, perhaps tens of millions of voters must be convinced that they are important enough

to bug their Congresspeople about, and the Congresspeople must be convinced that their constituents care enough to overcome the business-as-usual mentality prevailing in Congress.

Such an effort requires not only grassroots, heartfelt activity, but also an intelligent, well-focused, perhaps Machiavellian, effort within the halls of power to get the legislation passed. It won't happen otherwise for the hard-hitting, radical protections that Earth First!ers espouse. The intelligent effort alluded to above is best done by the coordinated work of specialists and "Washington-types," people who understand real power politics even if they are not personally familiar with the areas in question.

Finally, there is one more reason for staff, bureaucracy, etc. Not all issues on the Sierra Club plate, by any means, have to do with wilderness. Wilderness is in fact a relatively simple issue. For example, clean air and clean water protection are much less simple because the regulatory efforts associated with the laws are *necessarily* complicated. Great sums of money are involved and inevitable questions arise such as "How 'clean' is clean?" and "How do we measure the problem?" The whole effort requires both democratic and technocratic thrusts.

In summary, life is complicated these days and is likely to become more so. Unless we want change to be dictated by a legion of brownshirts (or shall we say, 'greenshirts?'), we are going to need to use every tool that we have and cast aspersions on none. Occasionally, protests and monkeywrenching may be politically effective but at other times we will need the staffers with their pinstripes and PC's. *The object is to win and save the planet.*

(Many of Foreman's suggestions for reform of the national environmental groups are reasonable in my opinion.)

M: A DISCUSSION

ED CLARK: GERALD MERAL:

I have read Dave Foreman's article in the August 1, 1984, issue of *Earth First!* on "Making the Most of Professionalism." When I got into the first paragraph or two, I initially had a very defensive reaction since I have been a "professional" in the movement for about five years now. I almost dismissed the article without reading it as the rantings of someone who "just doesn't understand the way the 'real world' works." It was at this point that I noticed that Foreman had penned the article. I read on.

I must admit that I agree with nearly every word of the entire article and would like to add a resounding "AMEN!" I am well aware of Foreman's past with The Wilderness Society since I was baptized into Deep Ecology by one of his former colleagues, Ernie Dickerman, the Sage of the Smokies. Ernie got me into the movement to save the wilderness here in Virginia back in 1977. I'm afraid that I bit hard on the line, "It won't take much of your time." Not only did it take my time, it ended up changing the entire course of my quasi-adult life. After becoming a somewhat successful grassroot, I joined the ranks of the "Professionals" first at the state level and then in Washington, DC, with the Environmental Task Force. I was surprised to learn that among many of the national groups, I was considered a "grassroots expert," since I was one of very few people within the national level of the movement who had ever been a grassroot. At first, the recognition was good for the ego, but when the real implications of the situation sank in, it was depressing to think about.

I stayed in DC for two years trying to tear down the wall by banging on it with my head. I made some progress, having laid the groundwork for the series of regional "grassroots" workshops that the Gang of Ten have put on across the country. I was also privileged to become close friends with Stewart Brandborg and Peeps Carney, two more of Foreman's former compatriots. Brandy is still trying to save the souls of the national movement by talking about people power, spiritual values and other such outdated values that have been lost among the technicians and politicians. I consider it an honor to have known him.

As Foreman pointed out, the concrete canyons of Washington are draining to the soul. After having done my stint as an Eco-missionary to the heathens, I got "Potomac Fever" so my wife and I split back to the farm in the Shenandoah Valley — after all, there is only so long you can hold your breath! And while I still earn my living as a professional in the environmental field, as the director of a wildlife hospital and as a consultant to a number of national groups, I have progressed back to the beginning — doing most of my real activism for wilderness, national forest management, and water resources as a volunteer.

My question to Dave Foreman from his perspective as a pro, a grassroot, a radical, a compromiser (I suspect that he had to be one if he was successful while working within the system) and an idealist, is how do you reconcile the inconsistencies between the various motives? Here in Virginia, we have finally secured wilderness designation for about a dozen of the best RARE II areas in the state. It has taken a big dose of idealism, a tremendous and perseverant grassroots effort, and a pretty damn good (if I do say so myself) manipulation of the political process for the Virginia Wilderness Committee to get our bill introduced and passed. By my assessment, we have scored a tremendous victory in a state where the state bird has two right wings. We beat the most powerful industry in western Virginia in an eyeball to eyeball face-off.

In spite of this, the supporters of the wilderness bill have been criticized by some vocal EF! spokespeople because we didn't get enough, because we "sold

I read with interest Dave Foreman's article on "professional conservationists," and I'd like to comment on it. By way of background, I was the founder of Friends of the River in California, and helped found the American Rivers Conservation Council and the Tuolumne River Preservation Trust. I'm currently the Executive Director of the Planning and Conservation League, a California group devoted to passing good environmental legislation.

I won't deal with Dave's general comments, but I'd like to respond to his recommendations based on my two years with PCL, and four previous years as staff scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund.

* "All conservation group employees should be required to take two weeks of paid vacation a year in the wilderness." This is obviously ridiculous. If a group's whole purpose is fighting toxic waste, why shouldn't they take whatever vacation they want (maybe a trip to Love Canal)? Even if the conservation group is wilderness oriented, maybe the employee has infant children, or is physically handicapped in some way that prevents wilderness travel. I strongly agree with the vacation idea, but the idea is to allow some time off, and the employee should make the choice. I say this as someone who tries to get in at least 50 days a year in wilderness settings, but why should I force my preferences on someone else.

* "Sierra Club regional representatives should be hired by the local Regional Conservation Committees, and locally supervised." As a former RCC Executive Committee member, I have some sympathy for this, but to some extent it would change the nature of the Club from national to more regional. During the Alaska campaign many regional reps were called to Washington to help. Would the RCC's have agreed to that? In any case, this is obviously something for the Club to decide itself.

* "Sierra Club grassroots need to be more involved in developing and directing action and strategy." I agree.

* "Funding for local activists from es-

out" by negotiating boundaries, and because we didn't refuse to participate in anything connected with the National Forest Service or RARE II.

What is it — pragmatism or cop out? Where is the line to be drawn? I don't feel the need to apologize to anyone, yet I am willing to wonder whether it was process or product that was most important. If I can successfully make progress getting the Forest Service to modify its management practices through negotiation, must I still constantly denounce them for their flaws, and risk having the door shut altogether?

We have managed to get a citizen's conservation alternative included in the 1984 Draft EIS for the Management Plan for the George Washington National Forest. While we don't call for the total abolition of clearcutting, we call for a fifty percent reduction in the acreage that could be clearcut each year. Select cut and shelterwood cuts must be used for at least fifty percent of the total harvest under our plan. While the Forest Service griped and groaned, they did agree to put in it the Draft EIS. Basically, I feel that clearcutting should be stopped altogether, but I also believe that to hold out for an all-or-nothing decision will have us wandering in a wasteland, with our ideals and philosophy intact but with our forest gone. Is there room for such pragmatic compromise in Deep Ecology?

It is tough to be beaten on by people with whom you agree. I'd like to see this dialectic examined in *Earth First!*. How radical do you have to be to be true to the cause? Is it possible to win by using the system without necessarily attacking the system, in spite of its flaws? I would be interested in thoughts on these issues. Keep up the great work and keep the faith!

established organizations, without supervision or overhead: no strings attached." As a member of all the groups mentioned with regard to this suggestion, I would object. If the activist has a project, let her or him apply to the organizations for assistance. It will often be granted, but close control is reasonable and necessary. Without it, the members of the groups will have no idea about how their funds are being spent.

* "Ceiling on salaries paid by conservation groups." I'm not sure what the ceiling should be, and it would have to vary depending on geographic location, but I think this is a good idea.

* "Staff should have an activist background." This is usually a helpful criterion, and is often a good indicator of how a person will do as a staff person in a conservation group, but cannot be made an absolute *sine qua non*. In some cases the qualifications being sought are not particularly relevant to grassroots activism: fundraising, litigation, etc. Let's just say an activist background is desirable.

* "Staff members should read conservation books and journals." Sounds right to me: as Dave points out, this should be required of any professional.

* "DC lobbyists should make four field trips a year, including attending meetings and visiting the areas they are fighting for." I agree this is desirable, but four times a year is a bit much. Also, not everyone is fighting for wilderness; if your issue is air quality, you make a field trip every time you step outdoors in Washington, DC.

* "Staff members need to be involved in at least one local conservation group." Again, DC staff are given as the example. This is evidently a requirement that the staff member would have to fulfill in his or her own time. No conservation group should require anything during the employee's own time: the typical employee is already spending 60 hours a week or more on the job. Let them do what they want during their hours away from work. Who knows, some of them may even have a family. (Try checking the divorce rate among conservation group "super-

volunteers" and employees.)

* "Restart the Biennial Wilderness Conference." Sounds good to me, but let's include wild rivers this time.

All in all, Dave makes some good points, but I think he ignores the tremendous amount of time and effort made by most conservation group employees, many of whom are not paid as well as he thinks, and who would like to do more of the things he thinks are necessary. I don't want this letter to sound too defensive: there is a lot of room for improvement, but a great deal of conservation work in the United States is carried on by conservation professionals, and *Earth First!* readers should not get the impression that they are a bunch of aloof, overpaid, office-bound elitists.

These are my own views, and not necessarily those of PCL.

RON HUBER:

I was most impressed by Foreman's article, *Making the Most of Professionalism*, in the August 1984 issue. It's very true that "conservation professionals" tend to succumb to the empty glory of partisan politics, finally counting it a greater success to be invited to some political hack's cocktail/coffee party than to confront, for example, Murk Hatfield on his record of shameless pandering to the logging interests. You make more friends going along with the crowd ...

It's understandable that *Earth First!* has little desire to go to the expense and hassle of organizing a Washington office, for all the reasons that Foreman went into in his article. *Still*, the little gray men who make the decisions that result in Bald Mountain-bashing and other destructive acts live and work here in DC. Every day they drive to work and climb inside the great warm cocoon of the bureaucracy where all of the thousands of underlings look up respectfully to them and give them the feeling of invincibility and omnipotence that results in the switching on of the bulldozers out your way.

So, keeping in mind Foreman's cautions about national offices, it still seems awfully important for *Earth First!* to have a voice out here in the

continued on page 12

JIM DALE VICKERY:

Foreman's theme of professional staff environmentalists drawing further and further away from the roots of what they're preserving, nature, is a concept I've mulled for years. I couldn't have said it better myself, and I'm fully behind Dave's recommendations.

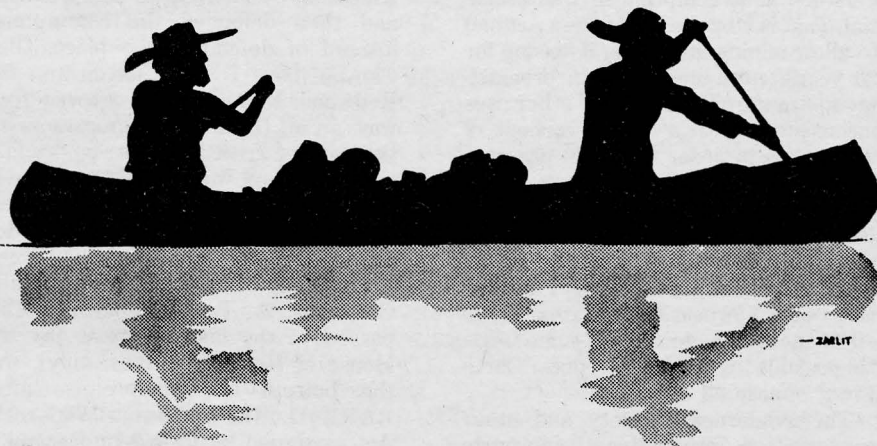
In losing the Marshall, Leopold, Olson types, the wilderness preservationists of today are effectively setting not only themselves up for disaster but wilderness as well. Wilderness is the primary teacher about wilderness; the outdoors about the outdoors. All the rest is theory and interpretation, some of it closer to the truth than the rest. Consider Thoreau's challenge to confront a natural fact, how he (like Muir later) felt he had to sit down beside it, camp beside it if necessary, to grasp it. To *know* it. Reading and talking about wilderness, parks, wild rivers et al. leads to an understanding of those things, at least as they relate to people, but that understanding must constantly rub up against the real thing. If it doesn't, some of us are going to

get in the position of trying to conserve or preserve something that exists in our imagination. The real thing will go hell in the process.

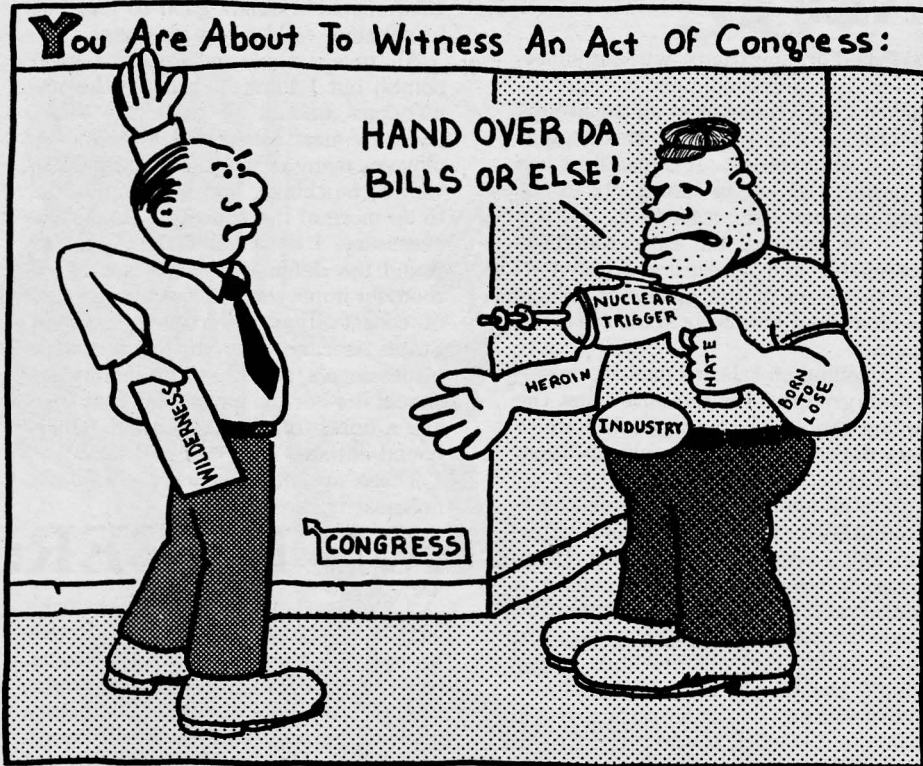
I think we all — moms and dads, teachers, bureaucrats, politicians, and particularly writers — need to spend more time outdoors, less time watching TV, listening to music, and talking among ourselves. We need to study old Indian and Eskimo relationships to land, at least here in North America. We need to evaluate some of the rough, tough things frontiersmen had to say, too: people who grubbed out a living in nature, who really confronted its facts, who lived in it at its wildest, who didn't get it while sitting in an armchair. All the angles have to be eyed. But the best one is, as Foreman said, contact.

Time to go canoeing.

Jim Dale Vickery is a freelance writer and photographer who lives in Ely, Minnesota, next to the lower 48's premier wilderness canoeing area, the Boundary Waters Wilderness.



1984: WILDERNESS



THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY:

by Peter D. Coppelman

It was with some chagrin that I saw myself personally attacked in the August 1, 1984, issue of *Earth First!*. You invited your readers to write to me to inquire if I was correctly quoted in the Montana press as stating that "the Earth First! proposal to protect all six million acres of roadless national forest land [in Montana] was too much and that some roadless areas should be logged and mined."

I have not seen the specific newspaper article which quoted my position on the Earth First! proposal. But I want to make clear my position. The Wilderness Society supports the Montana Wildlands Coalition Alternative "A" proposal which would designate about 2 million acres as wilderness out of the total acreage studied in RARE II. The Wildlands Coalition consists of numerous organizations in Montana with a combined membership of about 10,000 people. It includes the Montana Wilderness Association, the leading voice for wilderness preservation in the state. The Coalition's proposal would designate three times the acreage recommended for wilderness in RARE II.

In my view the coalition proposal is a strong proposal which will be taken seriously in the legislative process. That distinguishes it from the Earth First! proposal to designate as wilderness every single acre of forest roadless area remaining in Montana.

Your article infers that The Wilderness Society, "the organization of Aldo Leopold and Bob Marshall," is now in the hands of people who would support the destruction of roadless areas. To the contrary, The Wilderness Society is, as it has always been, in the hands of those who will fight as hard as they can to protect as much of this country's remaining roadless lands as humanly possible. Howard Zahniser, former head of The Wilderness Society and a principal draftsman of the Wilderness Act, understood that compromise was essential. That is why the Wilderness Act had to allow mining and mineral leasing for 20 years, continued grazing, preexisting nonconforming uses, and other uses inconsistent with a "pure" concept of wilderness in order to obtain passage. If the purists had their way, there would have been no Wilderness Act. If Earth First! were the only voice of environmentalists today, would this Congress have designated over 7 million acres of wilderness in 10 states? Since all of these bills do release some lands to possible development, does Earth First! oppose all of them?

The Wilderness Society and other conservation groups have vigorously opposed inadequate wilderness legisla-

tion for Idaho, Wyoming and Montana. Our strong opposition to the Montana bill at Senate hearings, in the Montana press, and in meetings with members of the Montana delegation was an important factor in killing the bill for this Congress.

I think that Earth First! should recognize that groups like The Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club perform a worthwhile and valid function in the wilderness debate as does Earth First!. It does not promote the cause of wildlands preservation which we all support for you to attack me and the efforts of The Wilderness Society. All that you will do is give comfort to our mutual foes.

Peter D. Coppelman is the national forest wilderness lobbyist for The Wilderness Society in Washington, DC.

BILL DEVALL:

(Editor's note: the following is an exchange of letters between Wilderness Society national forest lobbyist Peter D. Coppelman and grassroots wilderness activist and student of Deep Ecology Prof. Bill Devall.)

Coppelman:

Your statement that it is not yet necessary to compromise is simply not true. Crucial decisions are being made now — the question is will they be made with us or without us. If we all turn our backs on the political process as Earth First! has in effect done, America's last remaining wild lands will be long gone before deep ecology becomes an operative concept in the real world.

Devall:

You mention that compromise is necessary in politics. I agree. The disagreement is over the degree of compromise.

I mention three famous cases in which environmentalists compromised and then defended the compromise instead of defending the place: Glen Canyon dam, Diablo Canyon and the Redwood National Park bypass freeway. In all three cases, grassroots activists kept criticizing the compromise and have kept the issue alive. David Brower, indeed, apologized for the Glen Canyon compromise and applauded Earth First! for "cracking" the dam.

For many of us at the grassroots in California, the Burton Wilderness Bill, passed in the last Congress [by the House of Representatives, only], was the bottom line compromise after RARE II. The California Wilderness Act as signed by President Reagan is over-compromised and should be called

1984 was certainly a landmark year for the protection of Wilderness Areas. But it was also a landmark year for the destruction of wilderness. As conservationists justly celebrate the millions of acres of wild country now protected from the saw, dozer, drill and tire, let us also consider the many

more millions of acres of wilderness "released" to the saw, dozer, drill and tire by so-called wilderness bills of 1984.

the Wilderness Development Act of 1984.

I hate to see lobbyists for major environmental groups defending the political process or the political compromise instead of constantly advocating protection of the wildlands.

But the California Act is signed so we must move on from that legislative decision.

Protection of remaining wildlands in California under national forest jurisdiction will be more difficult because of the Wilderness Act as signed by Reagan because many people will feel the wilderness debates are over so it will be more difficult to recruit activists.

That is why Earth First! is important. If people at the local level protest specific logging plans, demonstrate, get arrested, defend "sacred" groves of trees, wilderness protection will stay in the news and the Forest Service will be required to deal with these "disruptions" to their normal operations.

I do think all the roadless areas identified in the RARE II lawsuit in California should be protected as "designated wilderness."

The next five years will be crucial.

Neither the Sierra Club nor California Wilderness Coalition has a plan for protecting these areas. Does The Wilderness Society have a 5 year plan for protecting them?

We're told that roadless areas not included in the California Act will "be addressed in the forest planning process." That is jargon for diffusing the opposition. The Wilderness Society and Sierra Club can be very, very active in establishing demands for national forest plans, specifically the Klamath and Six Rivers National Forests during the next few months.

A "National Scenic and Botanical Reserve" Act could be proposed to include roadless areas not protected in the Wilderness Act.

In northwest California, the Siskiyou Wilderness is totally inadequate; a terrible crime. In particular, Blue Creek and Dillon Creek should be fought over acre by acre. The values of these roadless areas have been documented in literally thousands of pages of court testimony. The Wilderness Society should scream any time the Forest Service lifts a finger to plan a timber sale or road or other project in those areas.

The development activities near the boundaries of each wilderness area will require constant action. On the eastern edge of the new Trinity Alps Wilderness is the Swift Creek hydro dam proposal and in the HEARTLAND of the Trinity Alps, a truly spectacular meadow, is the proposed Morris Meadows hydropower plant.

I suggest reviving the old Wilderness Conferences which were so popular in the 1950's and 60's. The Wilderness Society and Sierra Club have the ability to publicize and organize such a conference. The first day of such a conference, held at some place like Zion National Park, could be devoted to trends in wilderness arguments, ecophilosophy and deep ecology. The second day could be devoted to politics and practical tactics for protecting wilderness in the 1980's.

For supporters of a deeper ecology movement, it is important to work within the political process but to always remember that our values are very, very different from the dominant social paradigm. Unless we take every opportunity to articulate the new ecological paradigm and to challenge the everyday assumptions of the Forest Service and the politicians, we can only provide more legitimacy for the existing political system.

Aldo Leopold in defending wilderness was a radical conservative.

I hope The Wilderness Society is still radical and subversive.

TEXAS:

by Ned Fritz

In view of the local congressman's opposition to East Texas Wilderness in excess of 8,900 acres, Texans view designation of 34,400 acres in 1984 as something of a coup.

In 1977, The Texas Committee on Natural Resources (TCNR) originally justified and proposed 100,000 acres for Wilderness designation in the National Forests of East Texas. But the Lone Star Chapter Sierra Club forestry chairman at that time wanted to go for about 45,000 acres in order to present a "more reasonable attitude and to have a better chance of getting something." In view of the fact that a united front was necessary to create sufficient impact, we settled on a 65,000 acre "citizen proposal" calling for ten Wilderness Areas.

In 1980, then-Congressman Bob Eckhardt filed a bill for 65,000 acres but failed to get it out of committee. In 1983, freshman Congressman John Bryant of Dallas, filed a similar bill, HR 3788, but the East Texas congressman kept it from moving. By that time, we had thirty citizen groups behind our proposal and eight East Texas newspapers had endorsed it. East Texans appeared at almost all of their congressman's town meetings and asked why he was keeping his constituents and all Americans from having some forests that wouldn't be clearcut. Five candidates filed in the election against him and two of them publicly opposed all the clearcutting the Forest Service was doing. He finally agreed to compromise for five Wilderness Areas totaling 34,400 acres, plus 2,700 acres to be added when Temple-Eastex traded its enclaves for Forest Service land elsewhere.

In the compromise, we increased the size of the Upland Island and Indian Mounds Wilderness proposals substantially beyond what we had asked for in HR 3788. In that way, those two areas improved in viability as well as in special features.

The other five areas in our proposal were lost forever, except possibly for about 1,200 acres in the Big Creek Scenic Area.

However, the Forest Service is already defiling (some Earth Firsters would use a different expression) our five new Wilderness Areas. Under the vague "control" clause in the 1964 Wilderness Act, they are selling for commercial logging pine trees in stands in the Wilderness Areas where they claim the Southern pine beetle is threatening to burst out into forest outside the Wilderness boundaries.

The foresters call this "cut and salvage." Actually, it's not salvage at all because most of the pines are not infested. The Forest Service "experts" say that by cutting buffers of "green" trees around a beetle spot, they can prevent the beetles from spreading.

The "experts" ignore the fact that (1) the beetles can and do fly across the buffers, (2) the beetles are already dispersed throughout the forests looking for weak pines to attack, (3) in harvesting buffer trees, the purchaser scuffs up pines outside the buffer an along the hauling road thereby exposing them to easy entry by the beetles, and (4) in hauling trees to the mill, the operator bounces numerous beetles out into the rest of the forest.

At least one of the seven beetle timber sales in Little Lake Creek Wilderness exceeds 25 acres in demolition, plus a half a mile of road.

Unless we can stop the Forest Service sell-and-cut campaign in our newly designated Wilderness Areas, we didn't win much of a victory in East Texas. But if we hadn't won our wilderness bill, the Forest Services would have clearcut these areas anyway.

Ned Fritz, "Mr. Texas Wilderness," is Chairman of the Texas Committee on Natural Resources. His outstanding book, *STERILE FOREST*, tells the story of his decade-long battle against the Forest Service to protect the imposing forests of East Texas from clearcutting.

BOOM OR BUST?

WYOMING:

by Howie Wolke

Just before the end of this session of Congress, the Wyoming delegation reached a compromise agreement with House Public Lands Subcommittee Chairman John Seiberling, thereby allowing the passage of the so-called Wyoming Wilderness Act. The bill, which designates 884,000 acres of wilderness and another 190,000 acres for formal wilderness study, has been signed into law by President Reagan.

However, the bill also "releases" approximately 3 million acres of roadless country in the state's national forests for allocation and management under the Forest Service's "Land Management Planning" process. Most of these roadless areas, according to the Forest Service, will be roaded, clearcut, drilled for oil & gas, mined or otherwise developed during the coming ten year period. While the final bill is certainly an improvement over the Wyoming delegation's original proposal of just 480,000 acres (thanks primarily to Congressman Seiberling's long holdout in the face of strong opposition to any additional wilderness by Senator Malcolm Wallop), a large number of key wild areas, including some of the most productive wildlife habitats in the lower 48 states, were excluded from the bill.

On the positive side, we now have a 287,000 acre Gros Ventre Wilderness which includes the controversial Little Granite Creek area (Getty Oil, however, is still in court arrogantly attempting to prove valid mineral development rights). Also, the lush and productive Palisades area, just west of Jackson Hole, is now a 135,000 acre Wilderness Study Area. A 116,000 acre Wilderness has been designated along the West Slope of the Tetons, and there is a 14,000 acre Winnegar Hole Wilder-



Gros Ventre Wilderness Area Photo by Howie Wolke

ness protecting prime grizzly and waterfowl habitat adjacent to the southwest corner of Yellowstone Park. The magnificent and controversial DuNoir retains its protective status as a special management area and 36,000 acres of mid-elevation terrain has been added to the largely alpine Bridger Wilderness, thereby bringing some ecological diversity to the protected portion of the Wind Rivers.

Nonetheless, the bill may still prove disastrous for most of Wyoming's remaining wild lands. The 195,000 acre

Cloud Peak Wilderness is nearly entirely above timberline. The eastern end of the Gros Ventre Range, where the Freddie's plan a number of giant timber sales, has been released, as have many large and spectacular wildland ecosystems such as Grayback Ridge, the Salt River Range, Laramie Peak, and Deep Lake. With over 3 million acres of wild country now officially vulnerable to Forest Service mismanagement, conservationists in the state must turn full attention to the "Tree Nazis" and their extensive develop-

ment plans for Wyoming's 5 national forests. Appeals, lawsuits, letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, and various acts of civil disobedience appear to be in the cards for the months and years ahead.

Howie Wolke, a guide and outfitter in Jackson, Wyoming, has worked on the Wyoming wilderness bill for 10 years as the Wyoming Representative for Friends of the Earth in the 1970's and more recently with the Wyoming Wilderness Association and Earth First!.

HOW MUCH WAS WON?

This chart displays the results of National Forest wilderness bills since RARE II (from 1980 to 1984). States are arranged in chronological order of their wilderness bills, although Missouri has been subject to several bills. The acreage of Forest Service Primitive Areas has been added to the RARE II acreage for the relevant states and to the Conservationists' Proposal as well. The acreage for the Conservationists' Proposal is taken from The Wilderness Society's recommendations during RARE II. In some cases, the proposals were increased or compromised during the legislative process, but the RARE II proposals are probably most important. Acreages in the FP & WSA column are as follows: no asterisk, remaining further planning areas; one asterisk, congressionally designated wilderness study areas or remaining Primitive Area; two asterisks, Forest Service recommended wilderness areas. The Percentage column is the percentage of the RARE II acreage or the Conservationists' Proposal (whichever is greater) designated as Wilderness by Congress. Where the Conservationists' Proposal is larger than the RARE II acreage, that is because all actually roadless lands were not included in RARE II and the Conservationists' Proposal is a more accurate indicator of the true roadless acreage in the National Forests of the state. Percentages for Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee are essentially meaningless since RARE II bills for those states have not been state-wide. The percentages give a basis for comparison of success in the different states and bring up questions, such as "Why did Wisconsin, a relatively liberal and pro-environment state, do so poorly?" It is worthwhile to compare acres designated wilderness and acres released for each state to determine the relative "success" of the wilderness movement since RARE II.

HOW MUCH WAS LOST?

State	Total NF Land	RARE II Acreage	Cons. Proposal	Wilderness	FP & WSA	Released	Percentage
New Mexico	9,347,473	2,137,776	1,870,631	609,060	*117,530	1,490,000	28%
Colorado	14,431,083	6,539,201	5,191,680	1,392,455	169,638 *483,872 **8,000	4,519,000	21%
South Dakota	1,997,296	58,320	56,640	9,824			17%
South Carolina	610,409	32,251	32,943	13,720	5,733 **1,910		42%
Louisiana	597,839	17,699	17,699	8,700			49%
Indiana	188,292	16,900	25,262	12,935		4,000	51%
Alabama	644,478	67,884	54,092	6,780	30,912 **7,690		10%
West Virginia	972,971	282,089	169,917	47,916		203,000	17%
Missouri	1,468,646	75,897	100,647	51,038		24,000	51%
Wisconsin	1,503,515	115,262	110,468	24,339		70,000	21%
Vermont	294,522	55,720	60,780	41,260		14,500	68%
New Hampshire	705,674	262,257	495,596	77,000		188,000	15%
North Carolina	1,215,684	200,073	202,111	68,750		109,000	34%
Oregon	15,617,897	2,910,388	3,192,962	853,062	24,028	2,013,000	27%
Washington	9,054,157	2,128,464	2,655,355	1,021,933		1,402,000	38%
Arizona	11,270,465	2,137,929	2,154,674	767,390	*248,069	1,120,000	36%
California	20,435,005	6,523,340	6,062,351	1,778,432	1,696,422 *96,200	2,750,000	27%
Utah	8,045,151	3,234,759	1,949,015	749,550		2,576,000	23%
Florida	1,098,568	128,930	128,930	49,150	*10,900	68,000	38%
Arkansas	2,479,273	225,006	217,940	91,103		104,000	40%
Georgia	870,932	223,588	213,490	14,522	97,600 20,400	85,000	6%
Mississippi	1,144,018	8,315	8,315	5,500		2,400	66%
Wyoming	9,254,397	4,162,878	2,239,858	883,359	*209,340	2,941,000	21%
Texas	782,624	81,069	65,700	34,346		44,000	42%
Tennessee	625,575	119,742	112,109	24,854	18,551 *7,800	19,100	21%
Pennsylvania	510,620	36,322	36,124	9,705		5,600	27%
Virginia	1,632,307	203,749	211,507	55,984	*25,075	134,000	26%

ARIZONA:

The Arizona Forest Service Wilderness Bill was both rewarding and frustrating with which to be involved. The entire experience was a lesson in contradictions. We won some battles, but we're still losing the war.

First of all, there was the Arizona Congressional delegation, a highly unlikely collection of totally opposing forces. On the one hand, stood Democrat Mo Udall, a giant in the House of Representatives, political liberal, long-time wilderness champion and Chairman of the House Interior Committee which has control over all Western wilderness legislation. On the other hand, stood Republican Barry Goldwater, senior member of the Senate, one-time presidential contender, historic spokesman for the conservatives and long-time foe of traditional environmental legislation (and one of the few Senators to have voted against the 1964 Wilderness Act).

Here we had a classic stalemate of huge dimensions and what happened? When the crucial time came, Barry, who had been previously silent, introduced Mo's House version of the bill! There was a profoundly curious trust between the two throughout the entire two year effort.

The rest of the delegation was just as curious. Freshman Democratic Representative Jim McNulty, with a 78% League of Conservation Voters rating, a classic liberal, had voted right on nearly every piece of wilderness legislation in the House for two years. McNulty hired as one of his administrative aides Linda Lewis, the former Sierra Club conservation chair for Arizona and author of the original Arizona Wilderness Coalition (AWC) proposal back in 1979.

Then there was freshman Republican John McCain representing urban Phoenix with no wilderness in his district. McCain had voted wrong on every piece of environmental legislation previously. He and McNulty were both on the House Interior Committee which was chaired by Udall.

What happened with these two newcomers? The exact opposite of what you would expect. McNulty gave up the Arizona Wilderness Coalition's entire Apache National Forest recommendations including one half of a million acres in the renowned Blue Range Primitive Area and its environs. He additionally gave up half of our Coronado National Forest recommendations which were more conservative than Linda Lewis' own proposal of 1979! These incredible losses were the result of spurious, half-baked and totally indefensible arguments from the opposition which we refuted one after another to no avail. We were allowed to meet with McNulty only twice before the legislation was written (for about a half an hour each time), and he seemed to have no grasp or concern for the details of the wilderness issue.

John McCain, however, visited several areas, flew over a dozen or more others, met with us after work for four hours of elaborate work on details, maps, explanations, photos, names, dates and the like. He encouraged sluggish members of the delegation and worked hard to resolve conflicts in areas that weren't even in his district. This was a surprising twist of fate.

The other members of the delegation included Republican Representatives Bob Stump and Eldon Rudd (or Studd and Rump), both of whom had the dubious distinction of perfect ZERO League of Conservation Voters ratings in their careers. Both despise wilderness to the ultimate degree. Fortunately neither had anything at all to do with the Arizona Forest Wilderness bill except to vote against it.

Finally, there was Senator Dennis DeConcini, the perennial compromiser, the great fence straddler, a legislator who considers himself an environmentalist and a champion of the ranching industry, a wilderness enthusiast and a protector of the ailing Arizona copper industry. DeConcini was everywhere and nowhere and came to play a totally indefinable role in the entire process.

Then there were the "environmentalists," an outstanding group of dedicated folks. We started from scratch in mid-1981 and by February of 1982 had a hard core of 20 activists who had or-

ganized 16 outdoor and conservation groups, as well as dozens of individuals, into a coalition (AWC), and put together a several hundred page proposal replete with a set of eight blueprint maps for presentation to Congress.

A dozen dedicated activists continued for another year and a half to research, write, debate, refute, travel, mitigate, adjust, accuse, fight and give in until finally the House and Senate both had bills that nobody was happy with, but nobody opposed. The AWC remained consistently in defense of a "better bill" but we were only able to get small changes between the originally introduced version and the final one that passed into law.

For a while, activists in southeastern Arizona ranted and raved about the poor recommendations on the Apache and Coronado National Forests, but managed only to piss off McNulty and his staff as well as to make some of the more conservative environmentalists nervous about a "backlash." In the end, they had to give up and stew in their disappointment.

At this time, an Earth First! wilderness proposal made the rounds with a splash in the Tucson newspapers thanks to Ed Abbey and Chuck Bowden. Earth First! recommended 6 million acres as compared to the Coalition's 1.8 million (see May 1984 issue of *EF!* for more details).

Then there were the forces of opposition. I have never met a collection of adults less worthy of respect and more deserving of contempt than the spokesmen for what was termed the "User Group." In response to the environmental coalition, the groups most adamantly opposed to wilderness formed their own coalition which they called the "User Group." And that is what they were: USERS. For a while I resented their adoption of the term, because I thought we were users, too. But eventually I recognized that you don't use wilderness; the land is not used by those who love it. The miners, ranchers, timber companies, water resource interests (Salt River Project and Arizona Public Service), four-wheel-drive clubs, conservative hunters' groups (road hunters), and bankers (yes, bankers) who formed the User Group really did relate to the physical environment as something to use and it was a fitting description of their coalition. (In fairness, I should say that the timber representatives, oddly enough, were the most cooperative and reasonable.)

The User Group appealed to the delegation to preserve their historic privilege to use the Arizona environment for their private enterprises. Some delegation members, like Rump, Studd, Goldwater and DeConcini understood and mostly respected their positions of control. Other members like Udall and McNulty understood but only half respected their positions. In the final analysis, however, the demands of the Users gained far more than those of the believers in the value of wilderness.

The Users were outrageous. This was my first major environmental battle and I was shocked for a long time. I thought people were supposed to be reasonable and to tell the truth. I was totally unprepared for the rigidity of belief, the level of fear and the cool, calculated dishonesty that emerged from the opposition interests.

The Arizona Mining Association produced a seven volume assessment of mineral potential in Arizona RARE II areas back in 1979. It was written by one Ken C. Bennet employed by the Phelps-Dodge copper company — the most anti-environmental, anti-labor and locally hated mining company in Arizona. This document concluded that nearly every National Forest roadless area in the state had a significant mineral potential and should not be designated wilderness. They plopped it on the desks of the Congressional delegation when wilderness reared its ugly head again in 1982.

The Arizona Wilderness Coalition was fortunate to have the assistance of a very sympathetic employee of the Arizona Bureau of Geology and Mineral Technology. This man had just completed a two and a half year project, on a grant from the US Geological Survey, to collect and organize on computer all the data on mineral production from

every company and mine in Arizona since 1901.

This expert helped us to analyze the Arizona Mining Association's mineral assessment. His primary response to the document was uncontrolled laughter. The assessment was so full of made-up terminology, erroneous data and meaningless generalizations that it was virtually useless as a factual document. It was a comic book in disguise.

We wrote a rebuttal to the AMA document, prepared our own mineral assessment of the AWC proposed areas and presented it to the delegation and the public. It should have been a profound embarrassment to the mineral industry, but surprisingly enough it wasn't. One Tucson newspaper gave it prime coverage, but the delegation all but ignored it. Lesson number one is: If industry says that something is so, then it's so. Facts are superfluous, it's the thought that counts. (It is often a total waste of time to bother with facts.) Lesson number two is: If you're dealing with politicians or the general public it is just as effective to sound like you know what you're talking about as it is to actually be right, and it's a lot easier.

The ranching industry was deftly represented by hired gun John Olsen of the Arizona Cattlegrowers' Association. John was about as subtle and coordinated as a Hereford crossing a trout stream. He managed to piss off everyone, yet he still was able to garner as many victories as the reasonable and likeable Wilderness Coalition representatives. John was really off the wall. Nonetheless, he managed to get special grazing language written into the original Senate version of the bill and he helped eliminate dozens of prime wilderness areas from consideration.

One of the most frustrating experiences in the battle for wilderness is the fact that the screamers, abusers and liars, getting fat on subsidies and special privileges, have more clout than the honest and genuinely concerned. Where is justice?

Then, finally, there was the bill. Was it good or bad? From the point of view of roadless acres, the bill designated less than one third of all the Forest Service roadless lands and only about a tenth of all Forest Service lands in Arizona as wilderness. In terms of who got more of what they asked for, AWC asked for 1,800,000 acres, the Users

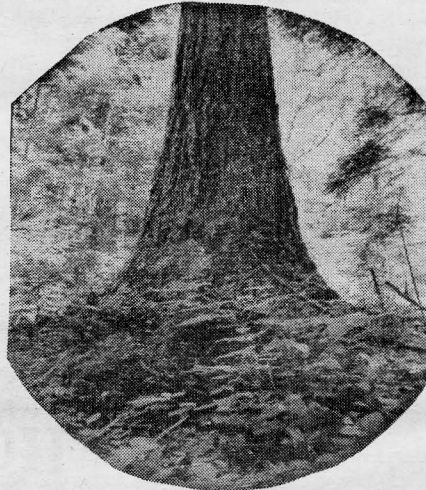
asked for 500,000 acres and the bill designated 750,000 acres. It is obvious who gave up the most.

Much more roadless land was released to development than was protected. In fact, the only reason we were able to get a bill at all was the "release" situation. The User Group and the Arizona delegation both wanted a bill so that all the Forest Service roadless areas that were tied up due to the California RARE II lawsuit could be released for resource development and other abuses.

If you consider the political realities and the strength of the opposition, it is remarkable how much we were able to preserve. We won some significant battles in the Tonto, Coronado and Prescott National Forests, but we lost so much at the same time that it is hard to think of it as a victory. As is usually the case, we were battling primarily to keep the bill from being completely unacceptable, rather than working towards a good piece of legislation. The bill designated just enough wilderness to make it look like it was protecting something. In reality it was settling the question of how much land would be off-limits to development in favor of the developers. As always.

Of course, it could have been worse, we could have ended up with a bill like Wyoming or Utah. But if you view things from the point of view of the preservation of natural ecosystems, it was simply another in a series of continuing defeats where commodity development and exploitation get the bulk, while preservationists get the crumbs.

The author is a prominent environmentalist in Arizona.



ENVIRONMENTAL DOUBLESPEAK

In one sense, at least, the environmental movement fulfilled an Orwellian prophecy during 1984. This was the shameless acceptance of doublespeak by the leadership of the environmental movement as the legitimate method of communicating with their members and the public. Any reasonably objective observer would readily conclude that the environmental groups were routed during the 1984 wilderness bill campaign and that the timber/mining/oil/cowpie boys emerged triumphant. But this was not admitted by either side in the public post-mortems. Sierra Club Executive Director Mike McCloskey exulted in a fundraising letter to members that "the Sierra Club had spectacular success in preserving wilderness." Other environmental spokesmen joined in that chorus. But the officials and public relations flaks for the rape and ruin lobby are crying in their beers over the shellacking that they took this year and how the "wilderness extremists" are locking up the resources needed to keep America strong and fat.

The environmentalists lost the wilderness wars of 1984 but say they won. The timber industry and fellow glut-tons won but say they lost. Why?

The answer is that both are engaging in 1984 doublespeak but are speaking to different audiences for different purposes. The environmental leaders are speaking to their members and contributors for the purpose of defending their mousy strategy over the last several years and to justify further membership dues and contributions to pay their salaries. It is necessary for them to claim victory even in defeat to justify their positions. On the other hand, the

mouthpieces for the exploitative industries are speaking to the media, the general public and the decision-makers in Congress and the Administration. Even though they won, they wisely want to pretend to have lost so that next time around they can claim that it is their turn to win because the selfish environmentalists have been winning all the previous fights.

Already we can see the wisdom of the industry approach as we face up to the battles for the big wilderness states next year — Montana and Idaho. If the environmentalists are chortling and claiming victory over the trouncing they took with the Wyoming, Utah and Oregon bills, then why should John Seiberling and other wilderness champions in Congress fight for better wilderness bills in Idaho and Montana when the environmentalists will express pleasure at their "victory" even if they get stuck with the wretched McClure and Melcher proposals?

Isn't it time the environmental movement found the maturity to admit defeat when defeated? Isn't it time that the environmental movement undertook a serious self-analysis to determine where it's gone wrong this last decade and how to get back on course before it's too late? Isn't it time that the primary goal of the big national environmental groups was to win instead of to perpetuate themselves?

Wilderness lost in 1984 and all the back-patting doublespeak we can articulate isn't going to keep the Forest Service and the goons they work for out of the millions of acres of crucial roadless areas tossed to them this year in "wilderness" legislation. Having the guts to fight will.

— Dave Foreman

OREGON:

by Ric Bailey

Oregon Earth First! activist Steve Marsden labelled the 1984 Oregon Wilderness bill "The Oregon Deforestation Act." Sadly, his terminology seems appropriate. Conservationists should rue the exchange of 860,000 acres of designated wilderness for letting the Forest Service off the hook for their biased RARE II study, which, if done properly, would have found all Roadless Areas worthy of protection.

The Forest Service assault on Old Growth Forest in Oregon Roadless Areas not protected in the 1984 legislation (roughly 3 million acres) will redouble with the enactment of language which declares the abysmal RARE II process legal, thus upholding the non-wilderness recommendation of 88% of Oregon's unprotected wilderness. The prospect of another four years of an environmentally ignorant administration adds salt to the wounds incurred from this legislation.

With the exception of the time consuming (and generally fruitless) administrative appeals process, there is now no dependable means to legally halt or slow the roading and logging of the last primitive forests in Oregon. A review of 5 year timber sale plans for Oregon's 13 National Forests reveals that each and every unprotected Roadless Area of any significance is scheduled for timber harvest.

Admittedly, there were some bright spots in the Oregon bill. Of particular note is the protection of the upper North Fork of the Middle Fork of the Willamette River, the Minam River, the Lower Salmon River, and the North Fork John Day River. But for the most part, political considerations took precedence over actual resource information in determining which areas should be protected. The assessment of real or imagined political liabilities, both by legislators and by national conservation organizations, may have in fact destroyed the option of protecting significant parts of several ecosystems.

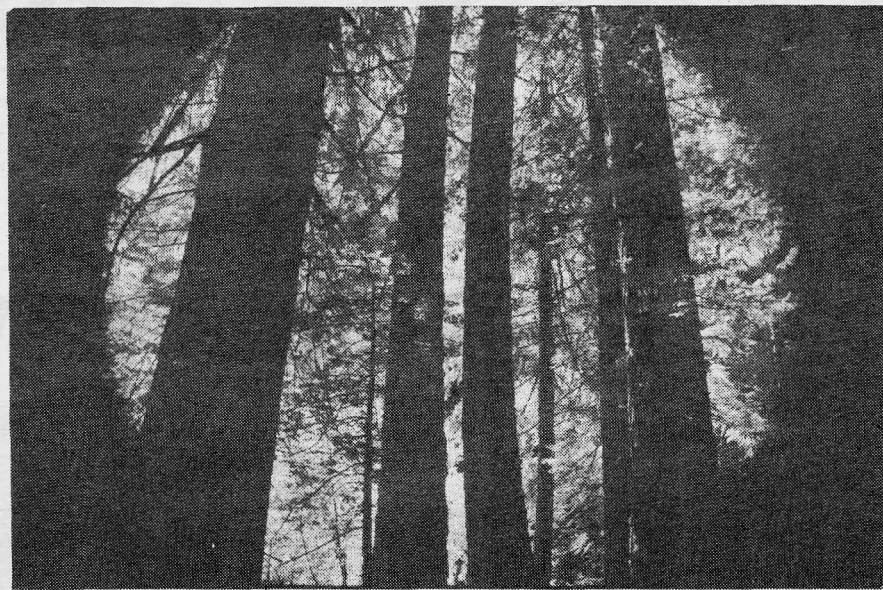
The most notable example of the type of considerations utilized to determine candidates for inclusion in the Oregon Bill is revealed in an examination of the boundary of the Eagle Cap Wilderness Additions, which were recommended to Senator Mark Hatfield's staff by the Wallowa-Whitman National Forest. With the exception of the strongly supported Lower Minam River area, the boundary was arbitrarily drawn along map section lines and was obviously designed to keep as much harvestable timber outside the wilderness boundary as possible, while fattening the acreage amount so as to seem reasonably in line with the House proposal for the area.

After the introduction and passage of the 860,000 acre Senate version by Hatfield, the Sierra Club lauded it as a "significant achievement" (apparently because it was markedly more generous than anything Hatfield had previously proposed) and quietly supported it over the 1.2 million acre House version during negotiations with sponsors of the House bill. As a result, House sponsors Rep. Les AuCoin and Rep. Ron Wyden, wishing for a speedy end to the debate (apparently regardless of the consequences), issued a press release signaling their abandonment of the House bill and their support of Hatfield's much less protective Senate bill. Wilderness champion Rep. Jim Weaver was then forced to buckle under, and the Hatfield bill eventually became law.

After the bill was sent to the President, Hatfield aide Tom Imeson was heard to remark that he had expected the bill to be "definitely larger" since the Senate sponsors had expected a House-Senate conference committee to iron out a compromise between the two bills instead of the total and sudden House surrender to the smaller Senate bill.

The end result of protection of only 860,000 acres in the Oregon bill is a direct result of a mentality which pursued "what we thought we could get" as opposed to what we knew we should have.

The areas left open for destruction in the aftermath of the Oregon Bill are too numerous to list. But the loss of



Michael Williams photo

the Elkhorn Mountains in northeast Oregon and the Northern Siskiyou in the southwest are particularly hard to bear. Ironically, the RARE II lawsuit filed by Earth First! still affords a temporary protection to the proposed Kalmiopsis Additions. In order to avoid going back to court to obtain a cancellation of the injunction halting logging in the North Kalmiopsis Roadless Area, the Siskiyou National Forest is bargaining with local Earth First! activists in an attempt to get a voluntary lifting of the injunction. Bargaining chips include the proposed cancellation of some timber sales scheduled for the area. However, no such protection exists for other Oregon Roadless Areas from the statewide RARE II suit filed by the Oregon Natural Resources Council because no injunction was granted in that case.

Overall, the outlook for enacting future legislation before the last roadless remnants in Oregon are criss-crossed with roads and clearcuts are dim. (The one exception is anticipated legislation for the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area.) Senator Hatfield, ever receptive to the will of the timber industry, has just won another 6 year term in the Senate and no Oregon Wilderness legislation will pass the Senate without his approval.

The portrayal of the Oregon bill as "a resolution of the wilderness controversy in Oregon" (as opposed to a resolution of the RARE II controversy) also casts a grim shadow over possibilities for future legislation. Some members of Congress and the bulk of the media are taking the attitude that the protection of wilderness should not be a continuing process, that the debate is over and that everyone is happy.

Along the costly lines of litigation there looms the possibility of a lawsuit charging the Forest Service with violation of the Multiple Use/ Sustained Yield Act. But the prospects for success or even for instigation of such an action, given the timid nature of the well-financed national conservation organizations, seems remote.

Apparently as a result of the dismal outlook for administrative, legislative or litigative measures with which to protect the last endangered vestiges of wild landscapes in Oregon, conservationists are resorting to civil disobedience (as in the case of the Middle Santiam and Kalmiopsis areas) and to ecotage. Recently, the Willamette National Forest hired a 20 person crew to pull spikes from trees scheduled for harvest in the proposed Hardesty Mountain Wilderness.

As a known Earth First! activist, I have been approached several times since the passage of the Oregon Wilderness bill by (formerly) moderate conservationists seeking advice and help on matters involving unconventional means of protecting their most sacred and beloved wild places from the reckless practices of the US Forest Service. It is apparent that a hell of a lot of people are not willing to concede the further proffering of Oregon's wilderness to the timber industry, regardless of the measures necessary to prevent it.

IN CONCLUSION

Beneath all legal and illegal means of protecting wilderness there lies the bottom line: anything short of wilderness legislation is a mere postponement of impending destruction or are only tactics for stalling until legislation can be enacted. With four more years of

Ronald Reagan in the White House and six more of Mark Hatfield and Jim McClure in the Senate, what hope does Oregon have for future legislation while there is still anything left worth protecting? Not much. But if there is to be any true semblance of forest wilderness in Oregon, the defenses must be kept up and a continued push for more legislation must be maintained.

The wilderness lobby in Oregon is becoming stronger and more diversified, as recent hearings have demonstrated, while the timber industry opposition is

VIRGINIA:

by R F Mueller

Yes, Virginia, there is a Virginia! And the Old Plantation finally did come up with a wilderness bill — a bill in keeping with the most conservative state in the Union. You no-compromise Earth First!ers will be surprised to learn that Virginia's wilderness boosters didn't compromise on this bill either — at least not with the Forest Service. There was no need to compromise with the Forest Service because they were, to paraphrase the president of the Virginia Wilderness Committee, in perfect agreement with the local Freddie on acreage! If you out-of-state radicals find this stand puzzling, you simply need to study the Virginia psyche which 1) holds great reverence for authority figures and experts of every kind, 2) never, never approves of rocking the boat, and 3) gets upset with industry only after their grossest abuses.

Despite this conservatism, chiefly on the part of conservation leaders, there is a strong undercurrent of support for more and larger wilderness as manifested in the hearings preceding the bill. Also, in the words of the just-released draft EIS for the George Washington National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan: "There seems to be a strong feeling among the respondents favoring wilderness designation for the sake of wilderness (preservation of natural ecosystems) rather than as a recreational opportunity." Too bad nobody paid attention.

The bill as signed by Reagan includes eleven separate areas totaling 55,944 acres with 39,129 acres in the Jefferson National Forest and 16,815 in the George Washington. Additionally, four areas totaling 25,075 acres were designated as wilderness study areas. They received study status instead of wilderness protection in order to appease Westvaco Corporation, a polluting paper company operating in their vicinity. Westvaco is in mortal fear that the air quality classification over the wilderness will be raised to Class I and cramp their pungent style. The Environmental Protection Agency is slated to determine if the expansion plans of the company would rule out even moderately clean air and thereby wilderness designation in these areas. During the hearings on the bill this was a constant sticking point and wilderness proponents had to swear that they would never ask for the cleanest air quality designation in these areas if they got wilderness anywhere in the state! Believe me, it was a sickening show in which clean air and wilderness — really two sides of the same coin —

fast losing its once unmatched potency. This tactical edge must be exploited and the wilderness movement must take on a renewed boldness and vigor as if our entire cause depends on it. **It does.** Statewide and local conservation organizations must upgrade and expand their positions, and never again compromise on those positions for specific legislation in hopes of picking up the balance at a later time. National groups must be convinced at all costs to back the local positions in statewide or regional legislation.

In terms of ecotypes and native land and vegetative forms, and in terms of actual acres, Oregon, even after its 1984 Wilderness Bill, has less land under protective status than the other Western states, largely because of intensive lobbying by the Wood Products Industry. We have no "complete" wilderness areas where native wildlife exists as it did before the great European encroachment on North America and where whole river systems with their accompanying forest types have survived intact. We have only the tattered remnants that the timber industry has overlooked in its zeal to devour and control every stronghold of conifer forest on the West Coast of this continent. This situation must be rectified before "legislation by chainsaw" destroys our options.

Ric Bailey is long-time Oregon wilderness activist and Earth First! organizer in the Northwest. He contributes regularly to these pages.

were traded off against each other by our Senators, Congressmen, and, worst of all, by so-called environmentalists.

Most of the areas designated in the bill are far too small even for eastern wilderness, with the largest being only 10,000 acres and most less than 5000. Even potential additions to the designated areas that have been part of the planning process for a long time, like Ramsey's Draft, were rejected by the Freddie who lust after their uneconomic and hard-to-reach timber. Other RARE II areas, such as Laurel Fork (which contains a northern flora and interesting riparian zones) were rejected in their entirety because of planned manipulation of timber stands.

The release language of the Virginia bill is the standard agreed to in the McClure-Seiberling compromise which forbids future state-wide reviews of potential wilderness but allows the Forest Service to conduct site-specific reviews in the future. Of course the RARE II areas released, which amount to some 157,000 acres in Virginia, will be subject to all the development schemes that the Freddie and local boomers can dream up. In particular, a lot of road building and clearcutting are planned.

The Virginia bill is a disappointment largely because of the small sizes of its separate areas, which reflects the intention merely to encapsulate scenic areas such as small stands of virgin timber or picturesque but relatively sterile mountain streams. It is totally inadequate in accomplishing the highest goals of wilderness: the protection of ecosystems and rare and endangered species such as the eastern cougar and raptors which require large undisturbed areas as either permanent range or as migration refuges. These tiny wildernesses are also inadequate as preserves for the diverse flora of a state which incorporates both northern and southern species.

Of course the bill is disappointing for the small amount of wilderness it adds to the state total. If all RARE II areas had been designated as wilderness, all wilderness in Virginia would still comprise less than 1.2 percent of the state. This seems particularly unbalanced when account is taken of the proximity of large population centers. Consequently, we can only regard the Virginia Wilderness Act of 1984 as a feeble step towards a real eastern wilderness system.

Robert F. Mueller lives in Staunton, Virginia, and is a frequent contributor to these pages.

For a more favorable view of the Virginia Wilderness bill, see Ed Clark's essay in the section of this issue discussing "Professionalism."

HOME ON THE RANGE

by Andy Kerr

Terminology is important for proper communication. What word best describes the vast variety of BLM lands from Arctic tundra to prairie grassland, to basin and high mountain range, to Sonoran, Mohave, Great Basin and Chihuahuan desert

The BLM once tried to coin the phrase "natural resource lands" but that was a dismal failure. The only word that seems to characterize the vast variety of landscapes which have little in common save their fragility is "range."

"Whoa!" you say. The dictionary defines *range* as an open region on which livestock may roam and feed. True enough, but it also says *range* can be a series of mountains and a place that may be ranged over. As a verb, *range* can mean to roam at large or freely, or to move over an area so as to explore it, besides meaning to graze livestock on a range.

Conservationists often have to wrestle back words which have been improperly used by exploiters. "Multiple use" was appropriated by the timber industry to mean "you can have it after we are done with it." Range "improvements" are really range "developments" and so on. The problem isn't "overgrazing" but "livestock grazing."

"But what about that danged cowboy song, *Home on the Range*? We can't continue to perpetuate the *Marlboro Myth*." Actually quite a bit of research has been published on this American classic since it is arguably the Nation's most popular folksong. This scholarly research has yielded a slew of verses, most of which are quite nice. A few, not printed below, had to do with mining. None, repeat none, could be found in the literature that sang the praises of cows. After singing all the best known words (printed below), you'll probably agree that it should be adopted as the official song of the Bunchgrass Rebellion.

HOME ON THE RANGE

Oh, give me a home where the buffalo roam,

Where the deer and antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

(CHORUS)

Home, Home, on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Oh, give me a land, where the bright diamond sand,

Throws its light from a glittering stream,
Where the graceful white swan goes gliding along,
Like a maid in a heavenly dream.

I love the wild flowers in this bright land of ours,

I love the wild curlew's shrill scream,
The bluffs and white rocks, and antelope flocks,
That graze on the mountains so green.

Yes, give me the gleam of the swift mountain stream,

And the place where no hurricanes blow,
Oh, give me the park where the prairie dogs bark,
And the mountains all covered with snow.

Oh, give me a gale of the Solomon vale,

Where the life streams with buoyancy flow,
Or the banks of the beaver where seldom if ever,
Any poisonous herbage doth grow.

A CALL FOR A NATIONAL RANGE SYSTEM ADMINISTERED BY A US RANGE SERVICE

by Andy Kerr

This round of the Sagebrush Rebellion is over. Although the sagebrush rebels have not gained title to the public domain, they have something better: control without paying taxes, power without responsibility. Not satisfied, they are still seeking full ownership.

Periodic rebellions have happened before under Presidents Hoover and Truman and can be expected to happen again after Ronald Reagan has left the White House. Public lands, and in particular Bureau of Land Management lands, will always be threatened by a greedy minority unless certain institutional changes are made.

Unless and until the BLM lands are considered to be of equal importance to other federal public lands, we will continue to have periods of sagebrush rebellion in this country.

The first necessary action to prevent future rebellions is to abolish the Bureau of Land Management.

BLM has always been the stepchild of the federal government's land managing agencies. It is the only one of the four not given full esteem. The very name conjures up an organization of bureaucrats, and most people believe we have too many bureaucrats.

All other land and resource management agencies are classified as *services*. There is the National Park Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Forest Service, and, before James Watt abolished it, the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. Their names are descriptive of their goals. Their purposes are to serve the public and the public's lands and resources.

With passage of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) in 1976, Congress established as public policy that most BLM lands were to generally remain in federal ownership, now and in the future. In typical fashion, Congress has failed to fund its own policy. The BLM has two and one half times as much land as the Forest Service and one seventh of the budget.

The Bureau of Land Management was doomed from the beginning when it was formed out of the US Grazing Service (for cattlemen and sheepmen) and the General Land Office (Uncle Sam's land give-away agency). Many Americans who know of it, still think of its sordid history when the "Bureau of Livestock and Mining" (in western Oregon, it was the "Bureau of Lumbering and Mining") was a far more descriptive and accurate name.

Don't get the wrong idea. The Bureau since (and before) FLPMA has made great strides in becoming a true multiple use agency, but it suffers from a serious handicap. It's still a bureau. And now it's a bureau under Ronald Reagan.

Oh, give me the steed and the gun that I need,

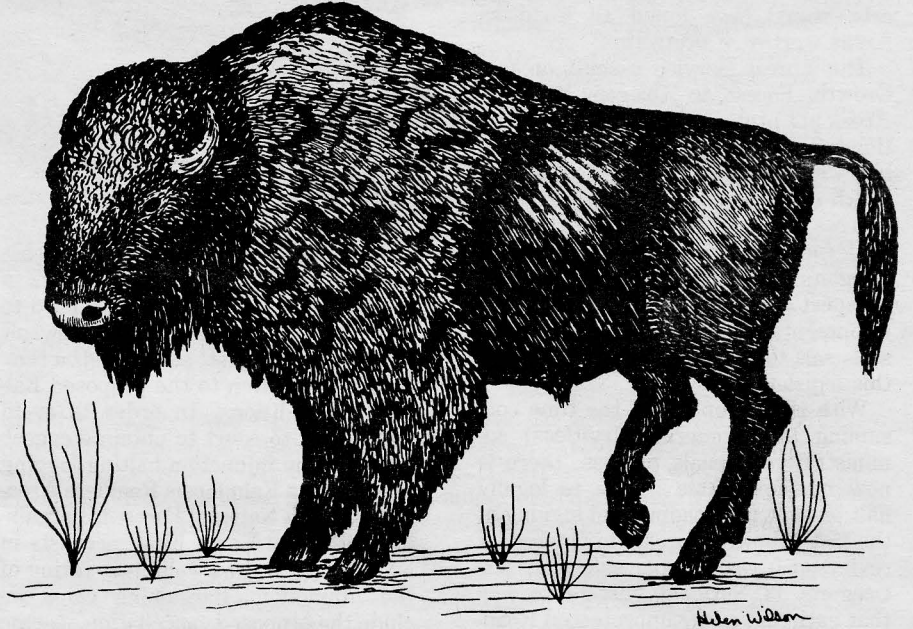
To shoot game from my own cabin home,
Then give me the camp where a fire is a lamp,
And the wild rocky mountains to roam.

The prairie all checkered with buffalo paths,

Where once they roamed proudly to and fro,
But now they've grown dim where the hunters have been,
And the cowboys have laid them so low.

The red-men pressed in these parts of the West,

And likely they never will return,
For the farmers they start in search of these parts,
Whenever the story they learn.



The creation of a United States Range Service, modeled after the Forest Service, would improve management of these forgotten public lands. It would elevate the agency to equal status in the eyes of the public, Congress, and the other land management and resource services.

Morale would increase among agency employees. No longer would they "work for the Bureau," but rather they would be "in the Service." No longer would the agency be perceived as a caretaker, but rather as an active land and resource management agency with significant multiple use and sustained yield goals.

A Range Service should have three branches like the Forest Service. One arm would manage lands like the National Forest System branch of the Forest Service. Just as the Forest Service manages lands generally classified as "forest," the Range Service would manage lands generally classified as "range," (see box) or over 300 million publicly-owned acres in the West.

A research arm would be similar to the Forest Service's forest and range experiment stations. These Range Research Stations would complement the restructured Forest Research Stations of its sister agency.

The third division of the Forest Service practices "forestry extension" to provide assistance for state and private forestlands. So too should the new Range Service offer professional range management expertise to others.

The public long ago recognized the values of forests and took steps to insure that those values would be available in perpetuity. The public has been much slower to recognize the values of rangelands and the threats to them. Americans are beginning to understand that these important public lands are in generally poor condition due to livestock grazing and insufficient management programs. The creation of a Range Service would help bring about better management in several ways, including focusing public attention on range problems and opportunities.

Concurrent with the elevation of the agency to full service status, so too must the status of the lands be elevated. A major reason why a greedy minority is seeking BLM land is because they may well get away with it while the majority of Americans are unaware of their deed.

Only a few of the most radical sagebrush rebels publicly favor abolishment of the National Parks, National Wildlife Refuges, or National Forests. Why don't they press claims for the highly desirable commodities of our forests, bottomlands, and scenic wonders which comprise these national reservations? Why do they limit themselves to the BLM holdings — the left-over lands that no one wanted? Most sagebrush

rebels understand the political realities of attempting to seize these reserved public lands. The very word "national" protects these lands from this greedy minority. The rebels know their movement would be overwhelmed with public outrage if they attempted to seize these "national" lands. They have been "reserved" for posterity and may not be diminished in size without a specific Act of Congress. The circuitous logic of "state's rights" in public land matters applies equally well to the federal lands in national reservations (i.e., national park lands) as to those that are not (unreserved BLM lands).

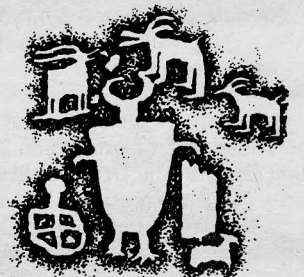
In addition to prohibiting "disposal," a reservation brings with it public recognition and support. Driving across the western United States it is possible to see literally millions upon millions of acres of public land through the car window. Only rarely are there signs notifying the public that they are crossing and enjoying their own BLM lands as are always found when traveling through the national "reservations" whether park, wildlife refuge, forest or even energy or military in nature. BLM lands, by far the most extensive holdings, are not even distinguished on travel maps.

Most BLM lands should be designated "National Ranges" and managed like National Forests under the principles of multiple use and sustained yield. The remaining non-range lands should be transferred to other public ownership.

The National Ranges would be units of a "system" by the same name and would have the same protection from "disposal" as other federal lands. The National Grasslands (currently managed by the Forest Service) should also be incorporated into a National Range System.

Now is the time for the Bunchgrass Rebellion to move from defending our public lands to offending the greedy minority by elevating both the forgotten agency and the forgotten lands to the status they require and deserve.

Andy Kerr is the Associate Director for Conservation for the Oregon Natural Resources Council.



NON-GAME VS. GAME

by Craig C. Downer

Traditionally, game species have received almost 100% of the attention of state wildlife departments in the U.S., as well as throughout the world. The title of "Fish and Game Department" was almost universal until recent years and clearly reflected that emphasis. But in the past decade, a movement to dedicate more state efforts to the preservation of non-game species has been gathering increasing momentum.

A "Non-game Wildlife Association of North America" was formed in 1982 due to the efforts of John Torres, Colorado's first non-game biologist. This organization is affiliated with the International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies and publishes the *Nongame Newsletter*. This dynamic organization has helped to multiply nongame programs throughout the United States, using solid ties to promote creative change.

The goal of this movement is to prevent a state's wild lands from becoming a sort of "game farm," where habitats are manipulated while little is done to save the majority of hard-pressed species. The idea is to bring a recognition of the ecosystem, or life community as a whole, with all its diverse and interrelated species of vertebrate and invertebrate animal life and their supporters in the plant kingdom. Hopefully, there are corners of any given political region where "civilization," or man's tampering, have not entirely overwhelmed the natural scene. Where they remain, these havens of diversity can act as species banks, or genetic reservoirs, from which areas devastated by man can be reseeded and rehabilitated. It should be the purpose of state wildlife departments to foster these remnants and to help them spread their fingers back onto the land man has destroyed.

But the reality of the situation is something else. The goals of state wildlife departments remain, in actuality, game-oriented. The various state game commissioners are nearly always avid hunters or fishermen. They decide policy and set seasons and limits upon the recommendations of their respective state departments of fish and game. They make sure that these same departments do not bite the hand that feeds them! In Alaska and Minnesota, hunter-oriented state game commissioners are trying to legalize an aerial or poisons war against wolves, natural predators of caribou, elk, and moose, all of which are prime game species. In contrast to man-the-predator, whose sports and trophy hunting weakens the populations by selecting the most fit for elimination, the wolf tones the population, taking out the diseased, the weak and old of each species, though departments of game will seldom recognize this contrast.

When we go out into the countryside to see for ourselves, we find that hunting and fishing are king on any wildlands that agriculture, industry, or urbanification has not already claimed. For it is the hunter and fisherman, as well as the trapper, who receive the benefits of state wildlife departments—as well as the benefits of most federal wildlife appropriations. Habitat manipulation, such as chaining of Great Basin pine and juniper forests in the west, or destruction of old growth forests in Northern California by loggers, may result in a more primary successional sere which produces more grass and bushes and, therefore, more deer in the short run to be hunted, but this type of practice in large scale and in the long run invariably harms the vast majority of native species and mines the soil resource.

Here are some important points to bear in mind in your efforts to gain greater rights and recognition for the majority of our wildlife:

1. Poaching is currently higher than it has been since the Great Depression, what with the current Administration's Reagan/Watt-engendered "Good Neighbor" policy telling the consumptive user on public lands that he is free to do as he pleases as long as he doesn't get caught.

2. Matching federal funds are granted by the Pittman-Robertson Act only for game and non-game mammals and by the Dingell-Johnson Act only for game and endangered fish. These two acts have generated more than \$1.5 billion since their enactments in 1937 and 1950, respectively. These acts derive revenue from a 10 to 11% federal tax on all hunting and fishing equipment. By promoting and expanding hunting and fishing activity, the Pittman-Robertson and Dingell-Johnson programs are themselves expanded, and the result is a lop-sided approach to wildlife by the states, which receive matching funds in the ratio of \$3 federal to \$1 state. Because of these Acts, it is of very practical interest for the states to promote game species. If this happens to the detriment of non-game wildlife, which is often the case, who will even note the discrepancy

3. According to a 1980 Fish and Wildlife Service survey, at least 92 million Americans — nearly half the population — participate in non-consumptive wildlife appreciation activity, including bird-watching, hiking, and nature photography. These wildlife enthusiasts spend about \$15 billion yearly on non-consumptive wildlife-related activities, equipment, and travel. They spend several times the amount spent by hunters, fishermen, and trappers, annually, and should insist on a holistic ecosystem approach to wildlife, both by state and federal authorities.

4. Thirty-one states now have non-game checkoffs on their state income tax returns. Revenues from these checkoffs go for the preservation of non-game species. It is significant to note that, in the U.S. today, the number of states having a non-game checkoff outnumber those that do not. In six years, the amount raised by states with checkoffs totals more than \$13 million. Clearly, there has been a willingness demonstrated on the part of the public to contribute when the opportunity is made available, and much enthusiasm has been shown for the ecosystem, including all species as a complex, whether they be non-game or game.

5. Since the Reagan Administration took charge, federal programs for non-game, including endangered species, have been drastically cut and many state non-game programs have gone into dormancy as a result. The public does not yet fully realize the damage to wildlife and wildlife programs that has occurred and is still occurring. Consider, for example, the reintroduction of predator control by 1080 and other poisons on public lands, the encouragement of strip mining over thousands of square miles of our public lands, and the rampant increase in poaching already mentioned.

6. In 1980, Congress enacted the Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act, known as the "Non-game Act," the effects of which have barely begun to be felt. Beginning in 1982, lawmakers authorized \$4 million a year to help states develop wildlife conservation plans. The Act currently provides each state 90% of the costs of developing such plans. However, the funds provided by the federal government will drop to 75% by 1985 and to zero in 1992. Through this Act, Congress has directed the USFWS to study funding alternatives and submit recommendations by December of 1984. Unfortunately, this Act is largely being ignored.

7. There is a current proposal at the federal level to place an 11% excise tax on birdseed, feeders, and bird houses,



selected camping equipment, binoculars and spotting scopes. This tax could generate between \$20 million and \$39 million a year to be used for non-game species.

8. Federal or state taxes on film and photographic equipment could generate many times the amount generated by the preceding excise tax. The justification for such a tax would be hard to ignore: the subject matter for billions of dollars worth of film is clearly the beauty, diversity, and intricacy of Nature, including all her species of plants and animals. For most motion pictures, a natural background is very important, for this forms the environment or setting which helps create the mood. It is only logical, considering the billions of dollars generated annually by movie sales, that the cinematic industry pay its dues toward preserving what is left of our real natural world, before all we have left is that which is preserved on film and in books alone!

9. Books and magazines, newspapers and pamphlets, travel agencies and airlines — all are greatly indebted to the natural world. A tribute from them for

the preservation of the ecosystem would only be fitting.

In the final analysis, money alone will not save wildlife. But a change in outlook and in will on the part of man, individually and collectively, can save wildlife. For we must first learn how to live with wildlife and how to change our present destructive course, our artificialization of the world, before we can ever hope to save wildlife. Giving money may serve as a palliative, an ease to our conscience, leading us to believe that we have done our part in atoning for our collective sins against our fellow creatures and the free and diverse home of life. But only a genuine commitment to change, as manifested in a person's individual, conscientious foregoing and abandonment of civilization's destructive ways, will, in the end, save wildlife on Earth — or, to put it another way, save the Earth as a free home and place of experimentation for life in toto.

Craig C. Downer is a field biologist and freelance writer with extensive experience in Nevada.

LETTERS (cont)

Dear Earth First!

Howdy. "Look, you idiots, I am paid up!" I sent you a check on October 16 and you even cashed it. I love what you're doing. Keep it up! I would hate to see Earth First! become *moderate*, uck!

— California

(Editor's reply: Oops, sorry about that. I guess you all have figured out that we're not perfect. Because our subscriptions are processed in Ely, Nevada, computerized in Reno, Nevada, and labels are sent to Tucson, Arizona, for mailing, there is an unavoidable delay in noting resubscriptions and there are some of you who will receive red marks and letters warning about Igor even though you have recently resubscribed. Don't worry, though. Your resubscription has been noted. Also, no one is dropped immediately after their subscription expires. It takes at least four to five months overdue before we drop you.)

Dear Earth First!

And even way out here in the middle of the Mohave Desert, 50 miles from the nearest gas/junk food stop, camped on bare sand, surrounded by sand dunes and rocky hills, the malcontent environmentalist cannot rest easy. The hills and flats are being torn up by ORV's and the graceful beauty of the dunes is being ruined by tracks and trash. It's always something! (Mumble, grumble, piss and moan.) BUT, on the other hand, there's always something that can be done about it, either through direct action or indirectly through the power system. Earth First!

— A Scorpion Lover

(Editor's note: For something to do about ORV's, check out our book ECODEFENSE: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching which will be available in February, 1985. Check the ad in the back.)

Dear sports fans

I hear-tell 'at you boys dun got your-seves sum o' them-there car bumper stikkers whut read all 'bout our hero George Hayduke, like this-here "HAYDUKE LIVES!" things whut I used to pester the local Bee Ell Emm assholes. See here, I sen' this postcard 'cuz we're all sposed t' consume more, worship at the altar of ecko-rape, and live out our lives in frunt uv tee-vee sets and in shopping malls. Hell, that ain' whut got ol' George sainthood with me and The Cult. So I'm sendin' this here card t' ask ya t' send the info to me so's I can sport some o' these here bumperstickers on mah mule this August when I get t' march aroun' Moab and Monticello.

— TH





**MOVING?
SEND
US YOUR
NEW
ADDRESS!**

WHITHER ENVIRONMENTALISM?

Or The Paradox of Environmentalism

by Prof. Bill Devall

The Paradox of Environmentalism, Neil Evernden, editor, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, 1984.

Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society, by Lester W. Milbrath, State University of New York Press, 1984.

A paradox is a statement contrary to usual opinion or a statement conflicting with itself, conflicting with preconceived notions of what is reasonable.

According to Neil Evernden, senior lecturer in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, the paradox of environmentalism is that trying to preserve nature gives us license to exploit it.

What began as an intuition of organic wholeness, interpenetration and emotional attachment to place, was transformed, says Evernden, into an ideology emphasizing humans controlling nature instead of experiencing nature as harmony. "It is a social movement, and more important, it is in the mainstream of technocratic liberalism. Not surprisingly, the consequences of these efforts are not much different than those we have seen before."

Environmentalism became a movement to control the externalities of modern industrialism such as air and water pollution. Environmentalists tried to use the language and central concepts of industrialism — concepts from economics, economic growth, scientific studies, and the like — and failed to articulate the intuition and emotions of ecosophy, the search for earth wisdom.

Even when they posited alterna-

tives — such as hydropower as an alternative energy source to nuclear electric generating plants — environmental activists were co-opted by the journalists who transformed a philosophical and lifestyle issue into supply side economics. Hydropower became just another power source for more electricity, not a technology in the context of a substantive transformation of society, of our beliefs and values.

Stephen Kline, in "Environmental Agenda Setting: The Ideological Context of Media Coverage of the Energy Crisis," uses survey data from the 1970's and analyses of media coverage of the energy crisis to show the transformation of an environmental issue into an economics issue. The media, with ideological and institutional ties to government and big business, accepted the definition of the situation given by big business. Environmentalists were partially blamed for the "energy crisis," thereby opening the way for public acceptance of big business claims that "We have the technology and will to keep you warm and dry; don't let the environmentalists stand in our way."

The claim that "environmentalists are blocking progress" is partially correct. Lester Milbrath, a social scientist in the School of Environmental Studies Center at State University of New York, Buffalo, has surveyed "environmentalists" and cross-sections of the population in the United States, Britain and Germany. He finds that measures of belief and values are much more highly correlated with environmentalism than demographic measures such as age, education and social class. Those identifying themselves as environmentalists are more likely to say that noise, toxic wastes, energy, depletion of natural resources are "vital

problems" and more likely to conclude that "a considerable amount of change is needed to solve these problems."

Environmentalists are more likely to believe most of the tenets of what some social scientists call the New Environmental Paradigm. The NEP places high valuation on Nature for its own sake, has high generalized compassion for other species and other generations of people, asserts that science and technology are not always good, calls for a limit to massive economic growth, looks to a new society with post-material values and a new politics which is consultative, participatory and emphasizes planning.

The Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP), on the other hand, emphasizes material values, determination by experts or "the market" for political choices, is satisfied with male hierarchical ruling societies, and considers nature as a collection of resources with no intrinsic value.

When environmentalists use arguments from the DSP, such as efficient use of resources or scientific models of forests, they further legitimate the DSP. The social movement of environmentalism, the writers in these two books conclude, degraded in the 1970's (in North America at least) from a deeper ecology, from the search for earth wisdom, into hordes of students and experts in "environmental studies" departments of universities and "environmental consultants" working for corporations.

Enter the articulation of a deeper ecology. Arne Naess, the Norwegian philosopher who coined the term "deep ecology," writes on "deep ecology life style" in *The Paradox of Environmentalism*. He states there are no deep ecologists, just supporters of deep ecology. Deep ecology, the search for earth wisdom, is very, very hard. In our cul-

ture there are simply tendencies and attitudes characteristic of supporters of deep ecology with each individual exhibiting behavior which is not always consistent with beliefs and sometimes contradictory. We are all living within the DSP.

John Livingston, writing on "The Dilemma of Deep Ecologists," concludes that we always live on a tightrope. "We are always attempting to think and experience outside the paradigm, yet function within it. But even though we live within the tyranny of the hologram, it would be wrong not to resist, not to subvert, not to revolutionize it. That would be tantamount to surrender. So ... we will try. In spite of the dilemma."

If Lester Milbrath, historian Stephen Fox and other social scientists who have examined the environmental movement are correct, this movement is the most radically conservative movement of the twentieth century. If leaders and spokespersons drop the rhetoric of the DSP, they can resolve the paradox of environmentalism. Getting back to the roots, the radical subversive roots of ecosophy, gives the movement a chance to lead our society. As Lester Milbrath concludes, "There is sufficient credibility to the warnings of the modern-day prophets that we must take them seriously. If the prophets can convince us to follow their lead onto a new path, we have a chance to save the best in our civilization and a chance for a reasonable quality of life for most people. If they are wrong, there is not likely to be a catastrophe and all we will have lost is the chance to have lived our lives with greater gusto and exuberance."

Professor Bill Devall is a leading student of deep ecology. He teaches at Humboldt State University in Arcata, California, and is an associate editor of this journal.

OSTROW ON DEEP ECOLOGY

by Cecelia Ostrow

Dear Dr. Sessions and Dr. Naess

Thank you for your careful, serious exposition of your ideas of the basic principles of deep ecology. Here are mine. I hope that reading them will influence you to put more of a sense of wonder and love for nature in your formulation.

1.) I believe that all life is intelligent (intelligence: awareness with understanding; life: includes rocks, wind, rivers, etc. We can discuss the intelligence of man-made things somewhere else.)

Every species has a different perspective on the world. Every species embodies a different quality.

I believe that trees are more intelligent than human beings.

2.) I believe it is possible to communicate with other life forms.

3.) The oldest living ecosystems are the most developed, the most realized. They hold the Earth together. The message communicated by the oldest ecosystems is remarkably the same, although the landforms themselves are diverse.

The communication of the oldest ecosystems is like being close to the beating heart of the world; it is not in words so much as in feeling. It is the feeling that your organism has found whatever it needs to endure both life and death: it is the closest thing to a reason for being that I have ever encountered. One step away from that experience, the reason for being is to love and to celebrate with all other forms of life the wonderful energy which gives us all being/form/life.

4.) The creations of man are very crude compared to the complexities of nature around him. It may not be intrinsically wrong to manipulate our environment (the trees tell me this, but I'm not sure). The basic wrong is being blind to the intelligence of the Earth, thinking we are better than the Earth and using our manipulation to separate ourselves from it so we are out of tune with it. This creates what we call ego.

Now I would like to share some very specific observations I have made at my place at Big Creek and in other wilderness areas:

A.) People in the land where I live were traditionally hunters. One reason they were able to hunt was because the deer willingly gave themselves for food — this was the role they had chosen in the ecosystem. To us, who fear death so much, this is almost unimaginable; yet, I have felt, on one occasion particularly in a natural area, so clearly the greater understanding of the soil, the air, the other life forms around me, that I longed to rejoin them, for death, for dissolution — so that my molecules, my soul/spirit, could feel and be the greater wisdom I sensed around me. There was at that point no separation between myself and my environment, except my body itself. I could imagine a race of beings who live in this understanding or greater understandings, who choose to become food. Plants certainly do.

Today things are so disturbed in my woods that I would not even think of hunting deer. But it was nice to know the real way, the natural way.

B.) Alders grow along the stream banks in undisturbed forests, until they become quite old. They are "mother alders." If the forest is burned or otherwise destroyed, they usually escape because they are by the streams. As mothers, their job is to repopulate the hillsides, to hold the soil, and to prepare the land for a new forest which will follow. (There are numerous members of the restorative community, which you can see in clearcuts: thimbleberry, salmonberry, ceanothus, and many others. They are the targets for herbicides.)

When the soil is ready for the Douglas fir trees which follow the alders, the new fir trees are well along the way to replacing the alders who prepared the ground for them. (In my forest, in the Oregon Coast Range, hemlocks seem to serve a purpose similar to alders; I haven't been able to discover specifically how they work.) There is no animosity. The alders are the mothers of the forest; the Douglas fir (and ulti-

mately, Spruce, where I live) are the keynote, the distinguishing feature of the forest.

C.) Trees live for a very long time after they are "killed" naturally. Although the quality of their being changes radically, old standing snags and burned trunks can communicate and vibrate with life, often more freely than trees who are caught up with the process of living. The knowledge about the deer was given to me by an old burnt trunk with a huckleberry bush growing out of the top of it.

I don't know what happens to the spirits of the trees who are cut. I know that, naturally, you can feel when a snag has reached the point when it is more a part of its environment than it is a separate being. But stumps feel (literally) truncated, unfulfilled — I don't know what happens to them.

D.) Finally, a beetle at Cummins Creek, which is about the only intact spruce forest I know — a beetle that looked like a dinosaur, and seemed to live in a different time sense than I do — told me that although a vast and beautiful world of knowing other life forms certainly exists, it is not time to explore that world now. It is time to defend the forests before they are destroyed.

I know that the beetle is right. I am thankful for what I have experienced. And I will add that since I have become actively immersed in the struggle to save the Middle Santiam, my ability to understand nature when I am in it, and my ability to understand myself — and life — has grown enormously. I am convinced that the beetle was right. I hope someday to inhabit an Earth where I can once again run freely and communicate with every species of life.

Songwriter, performer, tree hugger and wilderness activist, Cecelia Ostrow is one of the key people in the Cathedral Forest Action Group working to save the old growth forests of Oregon from destruction at the hands of the Forest Service and the timber industry. An album of her enchanting songs is available on cassette tape. See her ad in the back of this paper.

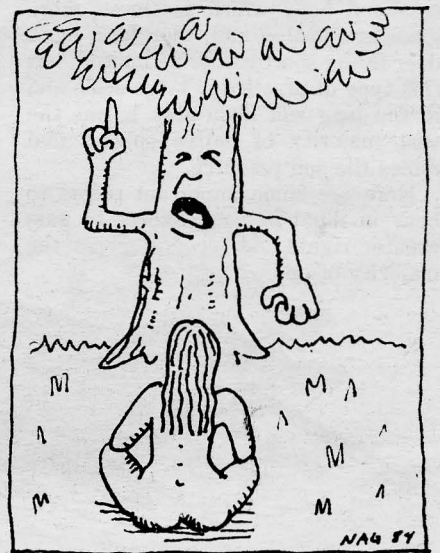
PARKER'S CAVE

THE LEGEND OF PARKERS CAVE, by Everett Whealdon, Samisdat

While not a long book (21 pages) there is plenty of substance in this intriguing tale of two cultures in collision. The setting is in northern California amidst the construction of the Shasta Dam, and the book's two central characters, a white American doctor and a Shasta Indian shaman, develop a bond of mutual trust and friendship during the second World War and the dawn of the Atomic Age.

Now, if you're thinking that this is just another hokey yarn about the pale face and the wizened old medicine man, you're greatly mistaken, because *The Legend of Parkers Cave* delves far deeper into the issues of our time than any Louis L'Amour or James Mitchner could have in a 1/2 ton of processed paper pulp.

The publisher, SAMISDAT, from Richford, Vermont is a small press that distinguishes itself through "Passion, commitment, and purpose." You can get a copy of *The Legend of Parkers Cave* by sending \$2.00 (post paid) to us here at Earth First! POB 235 Ely, NV 89301. To receive information about other SAMISDAT publications, you can write them at Box 129, Richford, Vermont 05476. MR.



BOOK REVIEWS

Arctic to Everglades

Julie of the Wolves, and The Talking Earth by Jean Craighead George. Harper & Row, 1972 and 1983. Reviewed by Tamarack.

"Miyax pushed back the hood of her sealskin parka and looked at the Arctic sun. It was a yellow disc in a lime-green sky, the colors of six o'clock in the evening and the time when the wolves awoke. Quietly she put down her cooking pot and crept to the top of a dome-shaped frost heave, one of the many earth buckles that rise and fall in the crackling cold of the Arctic winter. Lying on her stomach, she looked across a vast lawn of grass and moss and focused her attention on the wolves she had come upon two sleeps ago. They were wagging their tails as they awoke and saw each other.

"Her hands trembled and her heart-beat quickened, for she was frightened, not so much of the wolves, who were shy and many harpoon-shots away, but because of her desperate predicament. Miyax was lost. She had been lost without food for many sleeps on the North Slope of Alaska. The barren slope stretches for three hundred miles from the Brooks Range to the Arctic Ocean, and for more than eight hundred miles from the Chukchi to the Beaufort Sea. No roads cross it; ponds and lakes freckle its immensity. Winds scream across it, and the view in every direction is exactly the same. Somewhere in this cosmos was Miyax; and the very life in her body, its spark and warmth, depended upon these wolves for survival. And she was not so sure they would help."

Julie of the Wolves is the compelling story of how thirteen year old Miyax, an Eskimo, leaves an arranged marriage, becomes lost on the vast tundra, and survives. Originally having set out on foot for the home of her pen pal in San Francisco, Miyax wants to lead the modern life she has been invited to join and to leave the Eskimo ways behind. But soon she is unable to figure out directions, for the sun will not set for a month, and she cannot see the guiding North Star. Encountering a family of wolves, she remembers her hunter father telling how he was fed by them in a time of great need, and she proceeds to observe the wolves to discover how to gain their trust and communicate her need, for if they don't feed her, she will soon starve.

The description of how Miyax succeeds at befriending the wolves and her particular relationships with Amaroq, the father, and Kapu, a pup, is fascinating in its details.

"Sliding back to her camp, she heard the grass swish and looked up to see Amaroq and his hunters sweep around her frost heave and stop about five feet away. She could smell the sweet scent of their fur.

"The hairs on her neck rose and her eyes widened. Amaroq's ears went forward aggressively and she remembered that wide eyes meant fear to him. It was not good to show him she was afraid. Animals attacked the fearful. She tried to narrow them, but remembered that was not right either. Narrowed eyes were mean. In desperation she recalled that Kapu had moved forward when challenged. She pranced right up to Amaroq. Her heart beat furiously as she grunt-whined the sound of a puppy begging adoringly for attention. Then she got down on her belly and gazed at him with fondness.

"The great wolf backed up and avoided her eyes. She had said something wrong! Perhaps even offended him. Some slight gesture that meant nothing to her had apparently meant something to the wolf. His ears shot forward angrily and it seemed all was lost. She wanted to get up and run, but she gathered her courage and pranced closer to him. Swiftly she patted him under the chin.

"The signal went off. It sped through his body and triggered emotions of love. Amaroq's ears flattened and his

tail wagged in friendship. He could not react in any other way to the chin pat, for the roots of this signal lay deep in wolf history. It was inherited from generations and generations of leaders before him. As his eyes softened, the sweet odor of ambrosia arose from the gland on the top of his tail and she was drenched lightly in wolf scent. Miyax was one of the pack."

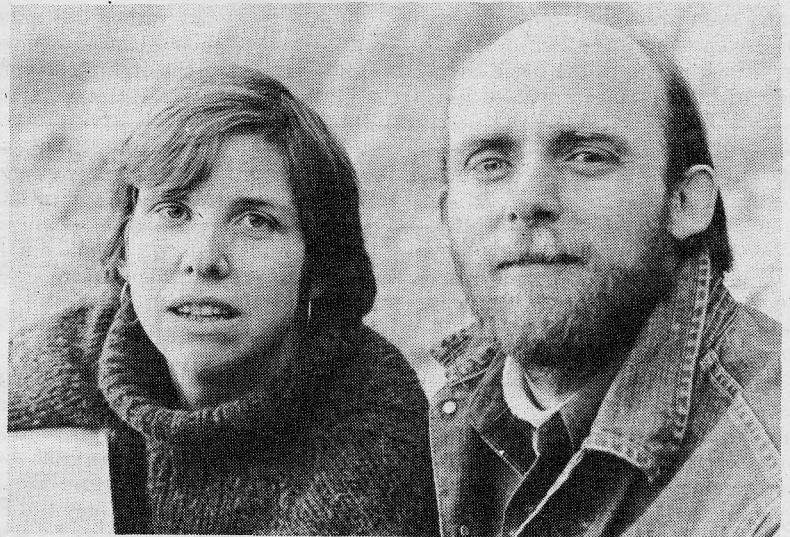
As circumstances force her to learn every possible source of food, Miyax applies more and more of her people's knowledge from stories she heard through her childhood. This book is a detailed account of her rediscovering the richness of her heritage and how she not only provides for her needs, but finds she loves this life so closely knit with the land and the wild animals. In doing so, Miyax also realizes the brutal and insensitive sides to the western technological life, most dramatically expressed as she witnesses the wanton killing of one of the wolves she loves. The author clearly portrays the complexities of the Eskimos' lives as the modern overwhelms their traditions, and how Miyax struggles with the prospect that the life she has just learned to live and cherish is becoming extinct. To provide a contrast to such predominating trends in the US/Canadian north, I recommend those interested to read Farley Mowat's *The Siberians*, which describes how native peoples in the Soviet north have been able to continue many traditions and prosper.

This 1973 Newberry Award winning story, considered a young people's book, yet really for all ages, offers the kind of role model for girls and people in general so often lacking in popular literature. To read about Miyax actively moving toward the life she desires and finding a totally different one, expressing strengths, skill, and a kinship with her fellow creatures, is a moving experience as well as informative about Eskimo life and survival skills and attitudes.

George's more recent *The Talking Earth* is written in a similar spirit. Also about a girl, a modern Seminole named Billie Wind, and her experiences surviving alone, the story is different and equally interesting because she is in the pa-hay-okee, the Florida Everglades, a vast network of water corridors, rivers, and islands bordering the ocean. In Billie's case, her homelife is interrupted by a medicine man telling her the council has decided she must be punished for not believing in the animal gods who talk, the great serpent who lives in the Everglades, and the little people who live underground and play tricks on her people. He asks her what unishment she thinks would be suitable, and she flippantly replies that she should go into the pa-hay-okee to stay until she experiences all these things. He agrees, and Billie sets out in a dugout with only a pouch of several items and some food.

Making her way along watery alligator paths, she camps on an unfamiliar island where the unexpected appearance of the "serpent" creates widespread death and destruction, turning her short outing into a prolonged stay. Like Miyax, Billie is pushed by her determination to survive to more carefully observe the life and signs of change around her and to remember the Calusa (Seminole) lore she'd been taught but thought foolish and useless. She, too, befriends, helps, and is helped by wild animals, and also finds rare traces of her ancestors, which she later watches with horror and grief as they are bulldozed for a new development. George gives us a detailed description of the life in the Everglades and warms readers with the kinds of adventures so many youngsters, and adults, would love to experience.

The special beauty of *The Talking Earth* is in portraying Billie's inner changes. She begins believing that the solution to pollution and other problems is for people to leave the earth for other places. Yet after going through difficulties, making new friends, and not only hearing, but understanding the animals talking, she realizes that "It's the Earth that matters. Not the stars or the comets, but the plain old Earth ... It's all we've got."



Folksingers Elizabeth Pauley and Scott Crichton

Take Me Back to Old Montana

When Bob Dylan was asked in a recent interview what he thought of folk music today, he expressed dismay that folksingers had abandoned the traditional folk songs in favor of doing their own material.

Well happily, the old time tradition of folk music is not to be written off so easily. It is apparently alive and well in Montana, as demonstrated by this recent release by Scott Crichton and Elizabeth Pauley. In their new album, TAKE ME BACK TO OLD MONTANA, they have brought together a collection of songs both old and new to delight the ears and nourish the spirit. Included in this record, which proudly sports a "Made in Montana" sticker, are 11 songs about nature and people's struggle against repression. Among them, *The Heart Of the Appaloosa*, by

Fred Small, a song about the Nez Perce's heroic flight to evade capture by the U.S. Cavalry, and *There Goes A Mountain*, by Tom Paxton, about the destruction of a mountain by the "bold engineers" are especially memorable.

Also included are songs by Woody Guthrie (Union Maid) and Joe Hill (The Preacher and the Slave) which are accompanied by The Wobbly Warblers (Faith Petric and Mark Ross) who provide the background vocals for these rousing songs from the days of the IWW.

All in all, TAKE ME BACK TO OLD MONTANA is a brilliantly crafted and expertly engineered recording, and Scott and Elizabeth's vocals are as crisp and clear as a Montana sunrise. This is sure to please all lovers of good folk music.

Available on Record or Cassette tape from: Milwaukee Rode Productions
Box 285
Helena, Mt. 59624
\$10.00 postpaid

DEAR NED LUDD

DEAR NED LUDD is a regular feature in *Earth First!* for discussion of creative means of effective defense against the forces of industrial totalitarianism. Neither the *Earth First!* movement nor the staff of *Earth First!* necessarily encourage anyone to do any of the things discussed in DEAR NED LUDD.



FORWARD! TO ECODEFENSE

by Ed Abbey

The following article by Edward Abbey is from the book *ECODEFENSE: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* which will be ready for mailing on February 1, 1985. *ECODEFENSE* is edited and compiled by Dave Foreman and includes contributions from a dozen experienced monkeywrenchers, some of which have been printed in slightly different form previously in the Dear Ned Ludd section of the *Earth First!* newspaper. Much additional material has been added and previous material has been updated and revised. The book contains numerous illustrations, both photographs and art. You can reserve your copy of *ECODEFENSE: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* by sending \$10 to *Earth First!*, PO Box 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. Orders will be mailed around February 1.

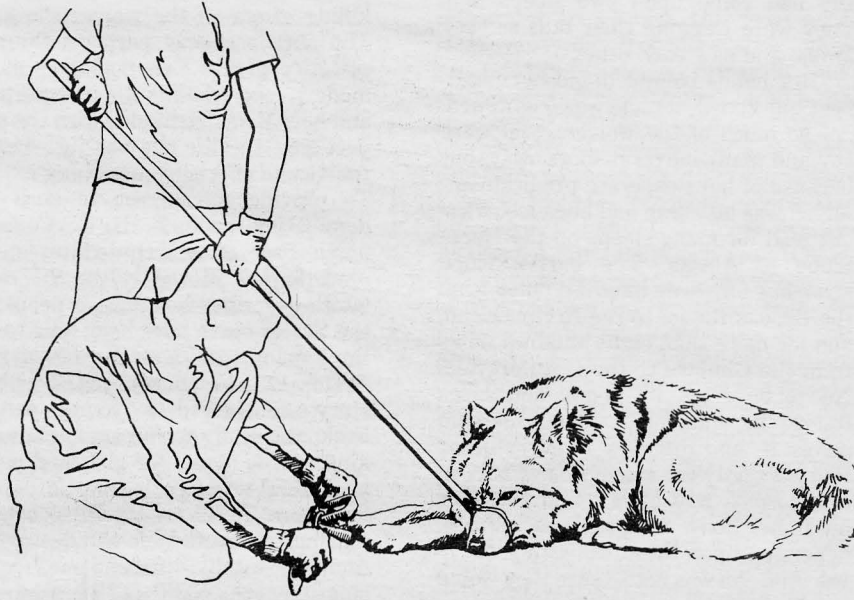
If a stranger batters your door down with an axe, threatens your family and yourself with deadly weapons, and proceeds to loot your home of whatever he wants, he is committing what is universally recognized — by law and morality — as a crime. In such a situation the householder has both the right and the obligation to defend himself, his family, and his property by whatever means are necessary. This right and this obligation is universally recognized, justified and even praised by all civilized human communities. Self-defense against attack is one of the basic laws not only of human society but of life

itself, not only of human life but of all life.

The American wilderness, what little remains, is now undergoing exactly such an assault. Dave Foreman has summarized the character and scale of the assault in his introduction to this excellent and essential book. With bulldozer, earth mover, chainsaw and dynamite the international timber, mining and beef industries are invading our public lands — property of all Americans — bashing their way into our forests, mountains and rangelands and looting them for everything they can get away with. This for the sake of short-term profits in the corporate sector and multi-million dollar annual salaries for the three-piece-suited gangsters (B.A., Bus. Adm., Harvard, Yale, University of Tokyo, *et alia*) who control and manage these bandit enterprises. Cheered on, naturally, by *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *Wall Street Journal*, actively encouraged by those jellyfish Government agencies which are supposed to protect the public lands, and as always aided and abetted in every way possible by the quisling politicians of our Western states (such as Babbitt, DeConcini, Goldwater, Hatch, Garn, Symms, Hansen, Wallop, Domenici — to name but a few) who would sell the graves of their own mothers if there's a quick buck in the deal, over or under the table, what do they care.

Representative democracy in the United States has broken down. Our legislators do not represent those who elected them but rather the minority who finance their political campaigns and who control the organs of communication — the Tee Vee, the newspapers,

Illus. 1



One of many illustrations from *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*. This one is from a series demonstrating freeing an animal from a steel leg-hold trap.

the billboards, the radio — that have made politics a game for the rich only. Representative government in the USA represents money not people and therefore has forfeited our allegiance and moral support. We owe it nothing but the taxation it extorts from us under threats of seizure of property, or prison, or in some cases already, when resisted, a sudden and violent death by gunfire.

Such is the nature and structure of the industrial megamachine (in Lewis Mumford's term) which is now attacking the American wilderness. That wilderness is our ancestral home, the primordial homeland of all living creatures including the human, and the present final dwelling place of such noble beings as the grizzly bear, the mountain lion, the eagle and the condor, the moose and the elk and the pronghorn antelope, the redwood tree, the yellow-pine, the bristlecone pine, even the aspen, and yes, why not say it?, the streams, waterfalls, rivers, the very bedrock itself of our hills, canyons, deserts, mountains.

For many of us, perhaps for most of us, the wilderness is as much our home, or a lot more so, than the wretched little stucco boxes, plywood apartments, and wallboard condominiums in which we are mostly confined by the insatiable demands of an overcrowded and ever-expanding industrial culture. And if the wilderness is our true home, and if it is threatened with invasion, pillage and destruction — as it certainly is — then we have the right to defend that home, as we would our private rooms, by whatever means are necessary. (An Englishman's home is his castle; an American's home is his favorite fishing stream, his favorite mountain range, his favorite desert canyon, his favorite swamp or patch of woods or God-created lake.) We have the right and we have the obligation; not to defend that which we love would be — and is — dishonorable.

The majority of the American people have demonstrated on every possible occasion that they support the ideal of wilderness preservation; even our politicians are forced by popular opinion to *pretend* to support the idea; as they have learned, a vote against wilderness is a vote against their own reelection. We are justified in defending our homes — our private home and public home — not only by common law and common morality but also by common belief. We are the majority; they — the greedy and powerful — are the minority.

How best defend our wilderness home? Well, that is a matter of strategy, tactics and technique, which is what this little book is about. Dave Foreman explains the principles of ecological defense in the complete, compact and conclusive pages of his short introduction. I can think of nothing I could add nor of anything I would subtract; he says exactly what needs to be said, no more and no less.

I am happy to endorse the publication of *Eco-defense*. Never was such a book so needed, by so many, for such good reason, as here and now. Tomorrow might well be too late. This is a book that will fit handily in any saddlebag, in any creel, in any backpack, in any river runner's ammo can — and in any picnicker's picnic basket. No good American should ever go into the woods again without this book and, for example, a hammer and a few pounds of 60-penny nails. Spike a few trees now and then whenever you enter an area condemned to chainsaw massacre by Louisiana-Pacific and its affiliated subsidiary the U.S. Forest Service. You won't hurt the trees; they'll be grateful for the protection; and you may save the forest. My Aunt Emma back in West Virginia has been enjoying this pleasant exercise for years. She swears by it. It's good for the trees, it's good for the woods, it's good for the earth, and it's good for the human soul.

FREDDIES NAILED AT HARDESTY MOUNTAIN

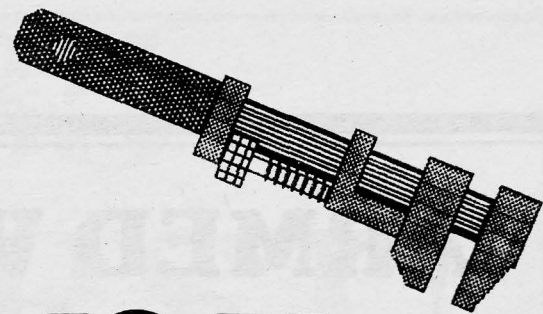
The spiking of trees in the proposed Hardesty Mountain Wilderness Area in Oregon's Willamette National Forest has probably received more media attention than any other single act of monkeywrenching. A group called The Hardesty Avengers announced the spiking of the Rotor timber sale in Hardesty in letters mailed in late October to the Willamette National Forest, *Eugene Register-Guard*, and *Earth First!* (*EF!* Nov. 1, 1984). They claimed to have driven 63 pounds of spikes (about 1000 twenty-penny nails) into trees in the sale. Since then, the *Register-Guard* has devoted several front page stories, including color photographs, and an editorial to the action and it has been highlighted by several other Oregon and out-of-state newspapers.

In an extraordinary and costly response, the Forest Service sent in three criminal investigators with metal detectors to verify the spiking. They found numerous spikes in the trees and the Forest Service then sent in a large crew, on overtime wages of \$12 to \$14 an hour, armed with metal detectors and crowbars to remove the spikes. After many days' work, they had removed about 30 pounds of spikes.

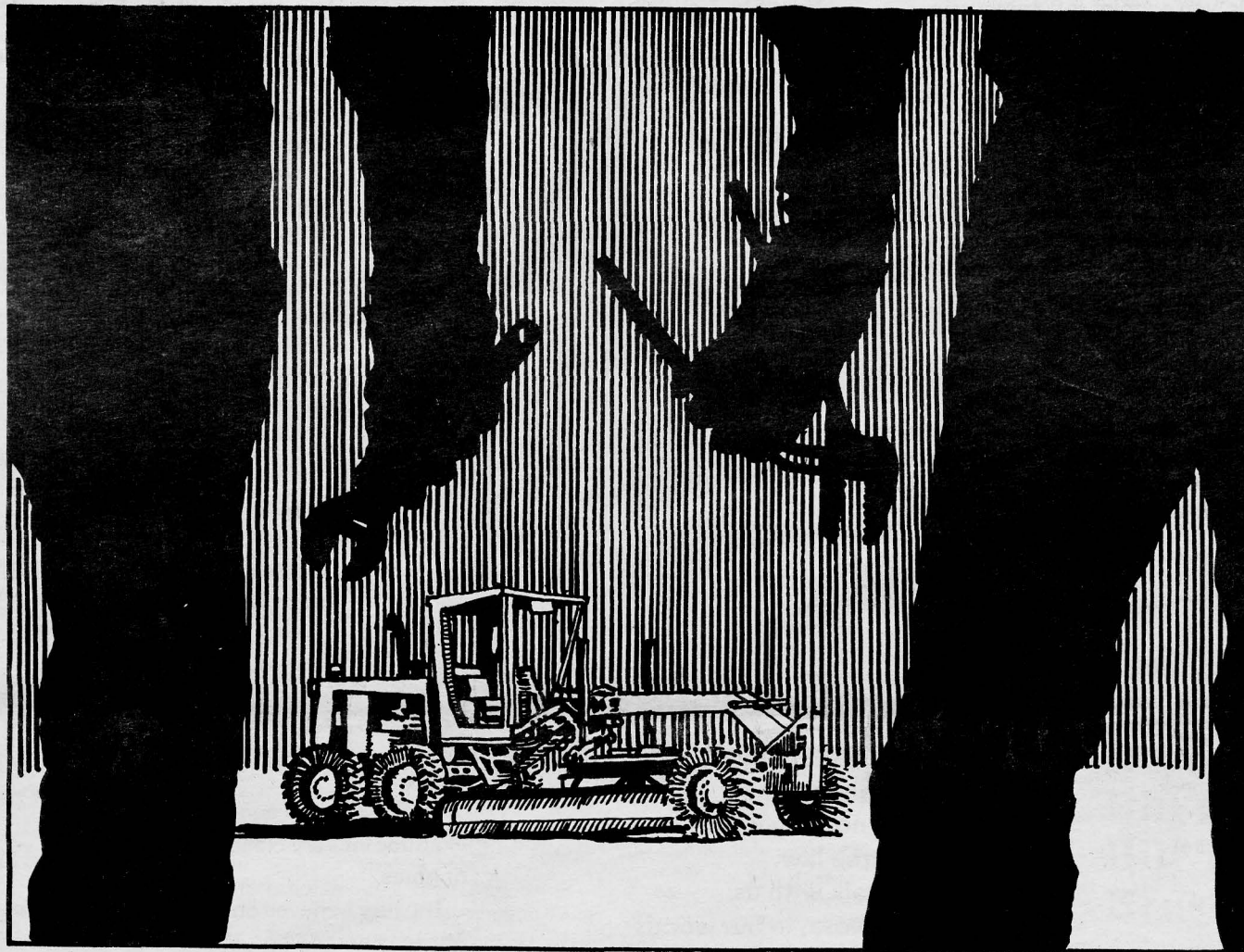
A veteran tree-spiker who contacted *Earth First!* said that the Forest Service response to the Hardesty spiking demonstrated how effective tree spik-

ing was. She said, "In cases like Hardesty, where the timber has already been sold, it is good to alert the media like the Hardesty Avengers did. But it is best to spike trees before they are sold and then to contact only the Fredgies and potential bidders. In several cases like this, the Fredgies have quietly dropped timber sales because of spiking. In the Hardesty case, they have probably gone to such expensive measures to salvage the sale in order to save face with the public." She urged other wilderness defenders to begin spiking trees in de facto wildernesses slated for future logging now. "If hundreds of wilderness defenders are out in the woods this winter with spikes and hammers, we can save millions of acres of wild National Forest land from the timber beasts." Tree spiking will be discussed in the *Earth First!* book *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* which will be released on February 1, 1985. The Willamette National Forest has offered a \$5000 reward for the Hardesty spikers and has said spiking is a felony offense for "destroying government property." The tree spiker who contacted *Earth First!* said that caution must be emphasized in spiking because it was dangerous activity. She urged potential spikers to read *Ecodefense* and to carefully follow the detailed security tips contained in it.

*finally . . .
the book you've been waiting for*



ECODEFENSE: *A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*



**Edited by Dave Foreman
Forward! by Ed Abbey**

**detailed, field-tested
hints from experts on:**

- * Tree-spiking
 - * Stopping ORV's
 - * Destroying roads
 - * Decommissioning heavy equipment
 - * Pulling survey stakes
 - * Stopping trapping
 - * Trashing billboards
 - * Hassling overgrazers
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 - * Security
- . . . and much more!**

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1985
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DIAGRAMS AND CARTOONS**

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O MIGHTY NO. 40

O scion of mainstreet, you learned to play well in Peoria
 Screenmate of Bonzo tell us who was aping whom
 Miserable Babbitt, you glut yourself on jelly beans
 Proxy of racists, you invite your victims for cake
 Lackey of gunsellers, out of your footsteps spring wars
 Starver of children, your table is set
 Pauperizer of the elderly, your old age is secure
 Acidifier of our air, you appoint soft commissions
 Fouler of waters, you drink dry champagne
 Poisoner of the Earth, you suck in ignorance
 Destroyer of wilderness, you fear your own company
 Waster of species, would you were one!
 Hater of reds, you copy their methods
 Lover of combat, you sat out the big one
 Great communicator of lies, you filled a whole book
 Jingoistic lunatic, you would destroy the world to
 soothe your gut
 Advocate of prayers, we earnestly pray.

R. F. Mueller
 at large

**"If you want to get the govern-
 ment off your back, you have
 to take your hand out of the
 federal pocket."**

Filmclip

paid political ad

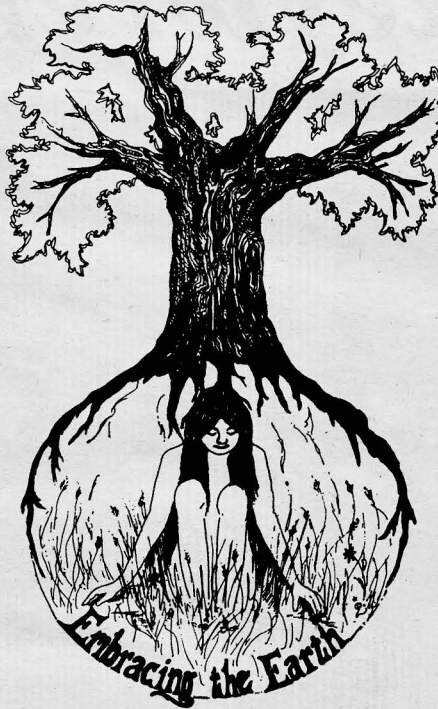
The child
 danced itself dizzy
 against the darkened wall
 while above his circling head,
 The Archbishop spoke,
 his voice strong as his neck
 under the tensed eaves
 of the National Cathedral.
 In the film,
 a child danced too,
 turning circles
 to the left of the altar.
 I kept waiting for The Archbishop
 to be shot
 but that came only

on the reels of another memory.
 Here now on Valencia Street,
 it was the children who were collapsing,
 too dizzy dangling
 on the slender filament of life
 to care about the deathstarred generals
 up there above them on the plaster wall
 in whose goldlined teeth
 they spin.

John Ross
 JOHN ROSS
 Arcata

(from his book *The Daily Planet*, 1982)

Are we in "ecocrisis"?



Reagan Has Got a Hard-on

Reagan has got a hard-on
 You can see it everywhere
 Sometimes its called the MX
 Hes been jerking-off for sometime now
 But he aint come yet
 How i dread that atomic orgasm
 pasting everything down
 And whats that funny twitch of his head?
 I bet the Statue of Liberty is beneath his desk
 Giving him head
 As he expounds televised virtues of trimming the
 wings
 Of the Great American Eagle
 So everyone can get a good look at her
 Down on the ground
 Unable to fly
 Maybe if we sell wing clippings to Russian tourists
 We can pay off the deficit
 Or at least propagate
 A symbolic act
 Of solidarity
 And if that fails
 there is always
 Another Vietnam . . .

NICHOLAS KARAVATOS
 Arcata

**"I don't think there's hope
 for the sheep,"**

Meyer concluded.

Ode to Rosa Parks

Rosa Parks sat down
 in a municipal bus
 and did nothing whatever
 against the law.
 Come walk with us,
 Mother Rosa, in our woods
 on timber roads
 to the new lake marina.
 Come picnic with us
 on the lawns of our submarine base;
 teach us the power of nothing
 against the law.

Roshi Aitken
 Honolulu



SPECIES

a painter leans against a tree
 examines it very closely for arguments
 or holes
 the jury believes one thing and the defending
 attorney another
 we catch our breath in small cups with pen,
 paper, and the ability to sketch. our hearts
 are fashioned after our mothers'
 who could call us endangered?
 we are short, powerful women
 we know that love definitely carries the weight
 that knowledge does or will. we instruct with illogic &
 wet
 we know the men deeply adore us
 their throats dry in the desert
 we wear hidden limbs of cactus and drink
 this rhythm perpetuates itself
 falls rain cleans breed strikes gold
 a painter leans against a tree

C. ROBYN HUNT
 San Francisco

FOREVANGELINE

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Cecelia Ostraw

*It gives me great pleasure to be able to share with you the
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 mountains of Oregon.*

I hope it will help inspire you to save the Earth.

*Money from these tape sales will help to fund me to work
 on the Cathedral Forest blockade in the Middle Santiam.*

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The 1985 EARTH FIRST!

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1000 ANNOTATED DATES:

- wilderness & national parks
- environmental triumphs
- environmental tragedies
- Luddites
- Wobblies
- Native Americans
- bizarre meteorological phenomenon
- natural disasters



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John Zaclit
Roger Candee
Bill Kelsay
Bill Turk
Brush Wolf

INSPIRING QUOTES BY:

Aldo Leopold
Bob Marshall
John Muir
Henry David Thoreau
Tom Jefferson
Mother Jones
Ed Abbey
Daniel Boone
Earth First!
and more

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SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2	3	4	5	
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		



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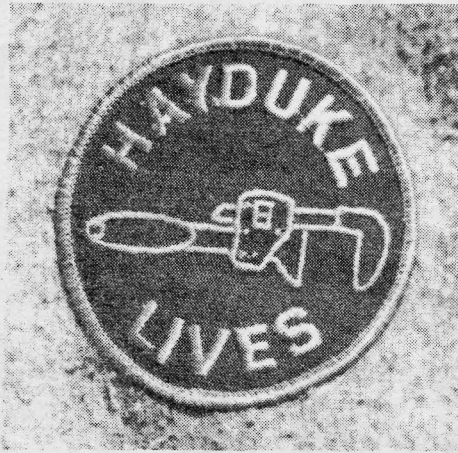
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Write: WILDERNATURISTS, c/o P.O. BOX 845, EVERGREEN, CO 80439.

EARTH FIRST! TRINKETS & SNAKE OIL

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1985 Earth First! Calendar	\$ 6.00
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1985 Yosemite Calendar	\$ 9.00
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Glen Canyon Damn	_____
Size _____ Color _____	_____
Defend the Wilderness	_____
Size _____ Color _____	_____
French cut or regular	_____
Long-sleeve or short-sleeve	_____
Tools Size _____ Color _____	_____
Frog Size _____	_____
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Dream Back the Bison...	_____
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Malthus Was Right	_____
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Green Earth First! Fist with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in green on 3-inch diameter white vinyl. 4 for \$1 pp.

SILENT AGITATORS

Fun to stick anywhere—bar, bathrooms, Freddie offices, dead bulldozers, etc.

COORS—Black words on yellow paper:
 Coors is Anti-Earth
 Coors is Anti-Women
 Coors is Anti-Labor
AND IT TASTES AWFUL!
BOYCOTT COORS

EARTH FIRST! FIST — Green EF! logo with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in red ink. 1 1/2-inch diameter. 30 for \$1.25 pp.

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All are on green type with long-lasting white vinyl. \$1 postpaid

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After watching Roselle's beer-belly become progressively more exposed after each time he washed his T-shirts, I decided to switch most of our styles to Haines Beefy-T's. They're still 100% cotton, but they come longer, shrink less, are a heavier weave, last longer and are a much better quality T-shirt. They also cost us 60¢ apiece more so we're going to have to raise our price to you by 50¢ apiece. We know you'll like the improvement in our shirts and we're sorry about the necessary increase in price.

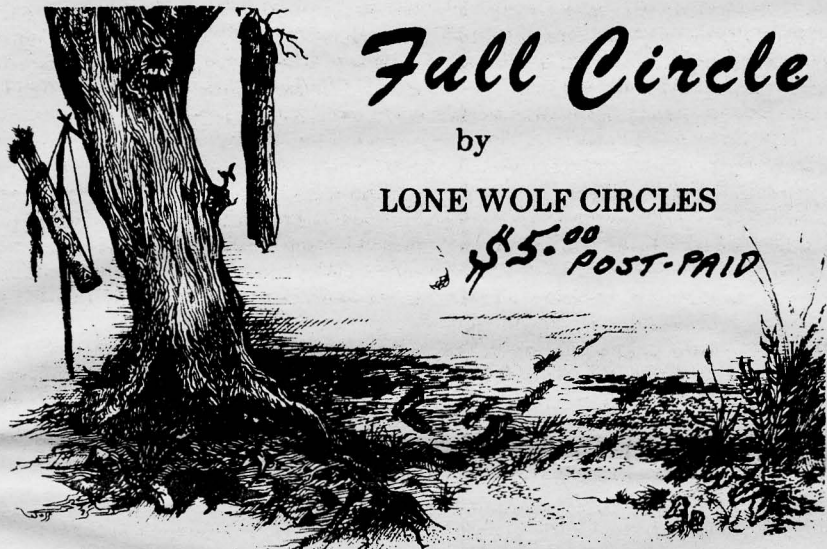
- Nancy

TOOLS - John Zaelit's powerful impression of wilderness defense both old and new. Black design on tan or blue. 100% cotton.

DEFEND THE WILDERNESS - The Monkeywrencher's shirt. Drawing by Bill Turk. Silver design on black or black design on white. 100% cotton. AVAILABLE IN WOMEN'S FRENCH CUT, black only & 50/50. Also in men's long sleeves, 100% cotton, black only.

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outlaw mother Earth: "And beneath the ash, the ash of pavement, the certainty of seed." The promised return to our wild selves, Full Circle. Available for \$5.00 postage paid from Earth First! PO Box 235, Ely, NV 89301. 100% of every sale going into the Earth First! Direct Action fund.

NEW SHIRT!

Roger Candee's popular American Canyon Frog (*Croakus Abyssus Pistoffus*) with the message "American Wilderness - Love it or Leave it Alone." 4 color design on grey. 100% cotton.

AMERICAN WILDERNESS

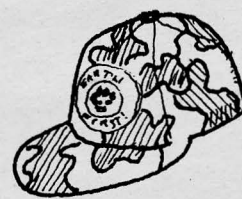


AMERICAN CANYON FROG (*CROAKUS ABYSSUS PISTOFFUS*)
LOVE IT OR
LEAVE IT ALONE

CAMO CAPS

We've now got a variety of camouflage baseball caps. There is a 100% cotton back and front in woodland camo, and a cotton front with a mesh in either woodland or desert camo. All are imprinted with the EF! fist logo and the words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in white. Specify which style you want or we'll just send you whichever we have in most supply. \$8 postpaid.

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DREAM GARDEN PRESS CALENDARS FOR 1985

THE 1985 WESTERN WILDERNESS CALENDAR



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New larger 14" x 10" size with more room for notations. Same exquisite quality! - No increase in price!! \$8.00 pp

The award-winning calendar celebrating the beauties of America's Western Wilderness through the words and visions of famous authors and photographers.

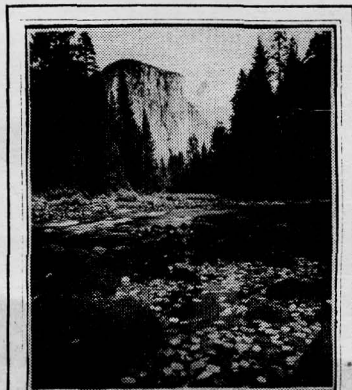
Authors Edward Abbey, Wallace Stegner, and Everett Ruess are again included, joining new voices Wendell Berry, Simon Ortiz, and from the past John Wesley Powell, Mary Austin, John Muir, and Clarence Dutton.

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Brand new 10" x 13" full-color, vertical wall calendar. Featuring 14 color photographs by outstanding photographers of the wonders of one of our best-loved National Parks.

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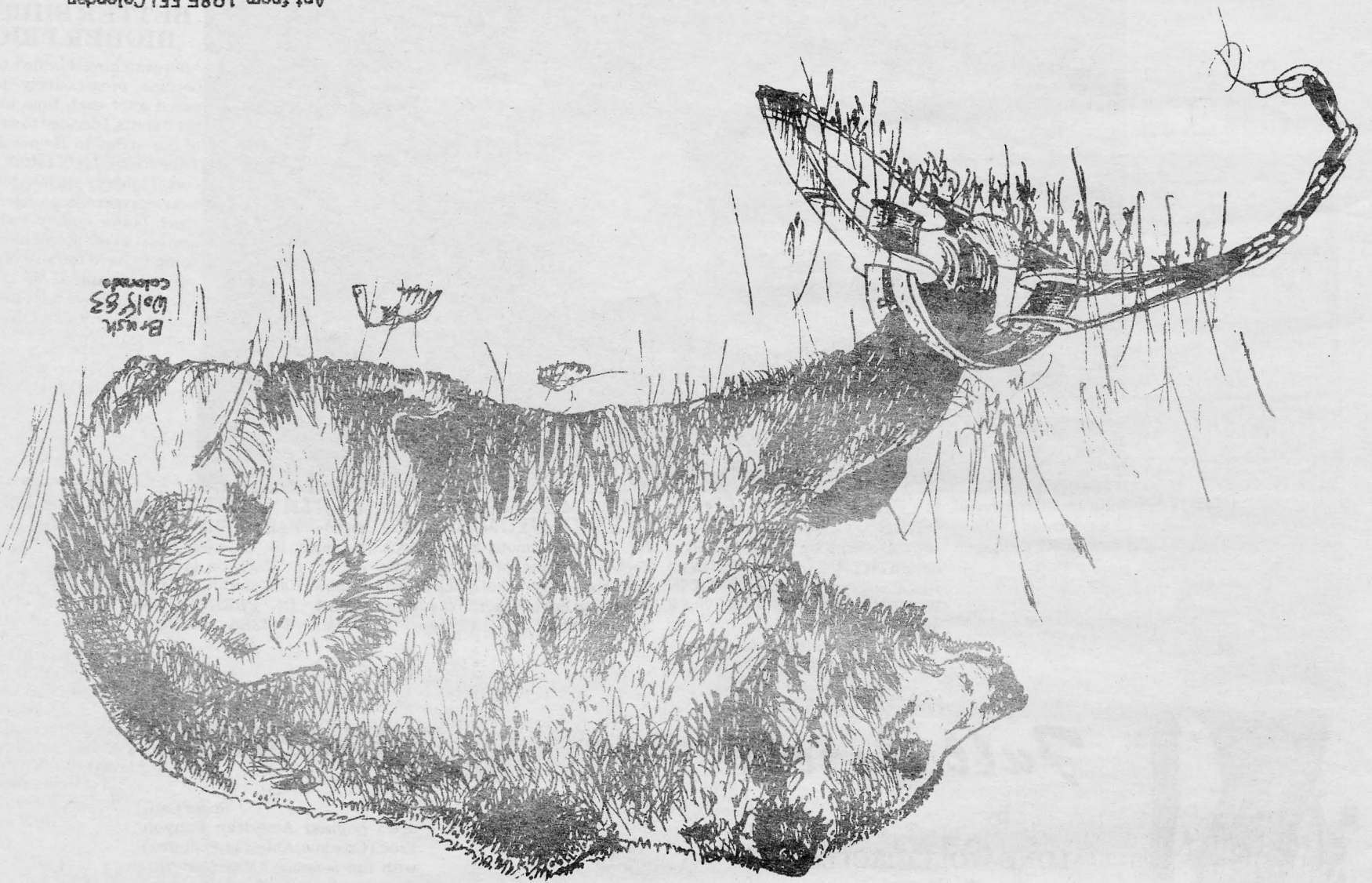
YOSEMITE!
1985 CALENDAR

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IT'S NOT JUST DEFENSE, IT'S REVENGE
by Brush Wolf

Art from 1985 EFi Calendar
See page 29 for details



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