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Watson anti-beaver house rot.

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Kruska ant-spike

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Solid Traffic & Deck

Ecology

Earth



First!

Yule 1992

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

December 21

Vol. XIII, No. II

THREE DOLLARS

Thanksgiving Massacres on West Coast

California's:

Owl Creek

BY RANDY GHENT

"You better stay away from my chainsaw!" shouted an angry old-growth faller.

"My hand is on the bar of your chainsaw, and you better not start it 'cause my hand will be ripped up," Earth First!er John Garcia rebutted. "Take this day off, please, and I'll invite you to dinner."

Thanksgiving was not the typical relaxing holiday for Earth First! in Ecotopia's redwood bioregion. It was then that we realized what MAXXAM/Pacific Lumber had resorted to. This Houston-based mega-corporation began illegally falling giant redwoods and Douglas firs in Owl Creek on the Friday after Thanksgiving. The dust didn't finally settle until the following Tuesday, when the court shut down the operation, well after 100 ancient trees had fallen. Eighteen activists had been arrested in two days of nonstop direct action.

Owl Creek Grove, at just less than 500 acres, lies (but mostly still stands!) 7 miles east of Fortuna, California. It is the second largest unprotected grove of ancient redwoods. Roughly half of the grove, or 237 acres, is included in the current Timber Harvest Plan that was entered over the holiday. Owl Creek has been threatened since 1985, when Humboldt County's Pacific Lumber (PL) was taken over with junk bonds by MAXXAM's notorious Charlie Hurwitz, and the greedy corporation tripled PL's rate of cutting ancient redwood forests at the expense of the workers and the ecosystem.

North Coast Earth First!, along with



Maxxam/Pacific Lumber began illegally falling timber in Owl Creek on the Friday after Thanksgiving.

many activists from Santa Cruz to Oregon, answered the call for direct action. "The response and support from people coming from all over on short notice was awesome," exclaimed participant Dan Close. By Saturday night, we were mobilized at our base camp in a public campground a few miles south of Owl Creek. This beautiful site filled with ancient redwoods was an inspiring source of energy for participants, and was complete with a flowing river and a warm, inviting fire. It was an excellent base from which to get people into the woods to confront the loggers and the destruction their corporation was causing.

"Grab him, he's got a camera" echoed through the giant trees. Another logger replied, "I've got him...he's on crutches," on having caught Doug Thron, an Earth First! photographer with a sprained ankle who heroically hobbled out to Owl Creek to document the destruction.

One logger, when asked about job security, referred to Headwaters Forest, the largest unprotected ancient redwood grove, as his "retirement plan," and said, "We're gonna log Headwaters, and you're gonna have to call in the National Guard to stop us." He also expressed a bit of environmentalism: "I'm saving the redwoods...I didn't

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Oregon's:

Enola Hill

BY SLUGTHANG

The Enola Hill Campaign has been Stumptown Earth First!'s most complete effort in memory. Large contingents from Stumptown, Cheetwood (Olympia, WA), and Reed College Earth First! jumped into action to block the logging of a big chunk of a 160-acre private inholding atop Enola Hill within Mt. Hood National Forest. Other Earth First! activists from around the Northwest also pitched in, along with other Portlanders and some long-time American Indian liberationists.

Enola Hill is a ridge on the western slopes of Wy'east (Mount Hood). A small group of activists who live in the largely recreation- and timber-based communities near Enola Hill have been working for a decade and a half to stop increased forest cutting in the "Mt. Hood Corridor," the heavily-traveled route of Highway 26 on the way from Portland to Wy'east, along the Sandy, Zig Zag and Salmon river valleys. Long under dubious "protection" as a scenic "viewshed" for the throngs of skiers and other recreationists travelling 26, the hills and ridges have been subject to more and more visible and not-so-visible cuts.

Private, county, state, and Mt. Hood National Forest lands in the area have all been impacted by logging. The Mt. Hood forest is a major timber producer, and has been heavily overcut like the rest of the Northwest forests. But looking up and across the valley from an east-facing overlook on Enola, the only human-made scar visible is a steep grade cut into rock for route 26 as it rises toward the southern slopes of Hood. No recent clearcuts yet in this panorama—a rarity for many watersheds in our besieged forests. The local

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Of Wolves and Men, with Guns

BY MICHAEL LEWIS



Aerial shootings of wolves could begin in Alaska as early as January in an "effort" to boost caribou and moose populations for hunters.

In a unanimous decision, the Alaska Board of Game has approved a plan to kill 300-400 wolves in interior Alaska in an attempt to increase caribou and moose populations in selected areas of the state. The plan calls for Alaska Division of Wildlife Conservation officials to conduct aerial shooting of wolves with shotguns, destroying 80% of all wolves in two popular caribou and moose hunting areas.

The decision of the Game Board comes after years of fierce opposition from state and national conservation organizations, including testimony from state wildlife biologists that wolf control does not result in a rise of caribou and moose numbers. The Game Board bowed to intense pressure from Alaska hunters and guides to kill wolves in two areas which are easily accessible to urban hunters from Anchorage and Fairbanks, the state's largest population centers.

Controversy over wolf control in

Alaska came to a head in the early 1980s, when Alaska State Division of Wildlife Conservation head David (Machine Gun) Kellyhouse proposed that state officials be equipped with automatic weapons to blast wolves from helicopters and airplanes. The resulting flood of outrage resulted in a ban on aerial wolf hunting in the state for several years. However, under pressure from Alaska hunting groups, the Board of Game continued to attempt to reinstate aerial wolf hunting as a part of the state's game laws.

In Alaska, the state's 5,000-7,000 wolves are considered big game, and as such are subject to sport and subsistence hunting on state-owned land. Wolves are protected on federal lands and in buffer zones around areas such as Denali Park, but anywhere else in the state, wolves are actively hunted. From 500 to 1,000 wolves are killed every year, legally and illegally, and their furs sold on the open market.

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Earth First! and Social Justice

The most recent issue of *Wild Earth* contained an article entitled "Radical Environmentalism in the 90s," by academic deep ecologist George Sessions. In this article, Sessions addresses the controversy surrounding Earth First!'s relationship to the struggle for social justice. We hope to clear the air of mistaken impressions and to move beyond the divisive controversy.

In his article, Sessions states: "As for the future of radical environmentalism, I find the situation with Earth First! very distressing. The Green political movement throughout the world has struggled with the problem of whether to embrace the Age of Ecology (the new ecocentric consciousness and paradigm), and rise above the old political/social ideologies (neither left nor right, but out in front), or whether to fall back into the leftist rhetoric of social class struggle. Many of the problems within the Green Movement stem from their inability to deal successfully with this issue.

"Will the radical environmentalism of the future move beyond pre-ecological political ideologies and genuinely put Earth first, or will the momentum of ecological consciousness be lost as we regress back to anthropocentric ideologies and social agendas which fail to integrate the human social problems into the wider framework of the health and integrity of the Earth? Will newcomers to the radical and deep long-range environmental movements educate themselves to the history and leading ideas of ecology and ecosophy, and thus understand a genuine ecocentrism, or will they continue to bring their past baggage with them and demand that existing radical environmental organizations conform to their pre-ecological ideologies and priorities?"

For Sessions those with a "social justice" background, rather than "adapting to the ecocentric vision and agenda of Earth First!, increasingly demanded in disruptive ways that Earth First! adapt itself to their social priorities.

Dave Foreman tried to reassert the priorities of ecocentrism and of putting the Earth first (human population stabilization and reduction, wilderness, etc.) in an *Earth First! Journal* article in 1987, but the leftist social/political agenda and tactics were soon to drive many of the more conservation-minded Earth First! leaders out of the group."

This article was Foreman's paramount statement delineating the differences between deep ecology and the social justice perspective. It is very

similar in substance, if not tone, to a speech Dave gave at the 1987 Round River Rendezvous, printed in this issue (see page 8). We are in general agreement with everything he says. We choose to print his '87 speech because it is inspirational, passionate, and an excellent statement for Earth First!.

George Sessions, along with Dave Foreman and others, broke from Earth First! in 1990. This occurred as a result, in part, of the conflict that Sessions speaks of. The publication of *Wild Earth*, edited by Dave Foreman, followed soon after this split within Earth First!.

Controversy also revolved around "Certain casual remarks by individual Earth First!ers (made, to some extent, for their shock value to drive home the message of how out of balance contemporary humans are on the planet) concerning allowing Ethiopians to starve, and AIDS as Nature's population control device..."

The public reaction to these statements were damaging to Earth First!, and especially to Foreman. And the criticisms were justified, even if overplayed. However, rather than reasserting "the priorities of ecocentrism and of putting the Earth first," as Sessions claims, Foreman's statements had an opposite effect. As a movement, Earth First! is still feeling the sting of Foreman's careless public statements,

ship between nature's destruction and the roots of social injustice, between human suffering and human destruction of the wild, between the loss of the wild within all of us and the social alienation, poverty and oppression that turns people against people and against nature. Hence, the end to the human destruction of nature must coincide with an end to the oppression of humans by humans.

We also believe that solidarity with Indians and the struggle with women's issues, for instance, can exist in our heads and in our movement, while simultaneously devoting our time and energies — and our priorities — to defending the wild. Ignorance, gender oppression, racism, etc., must not exist in Earth First! And we are all the more effective in our work if these social injustices are nonexistent in our movement. By maintaining our commitment to placing the Earth first, while also intergrating social justice, we do not thereby dilute our deep ecology focus.

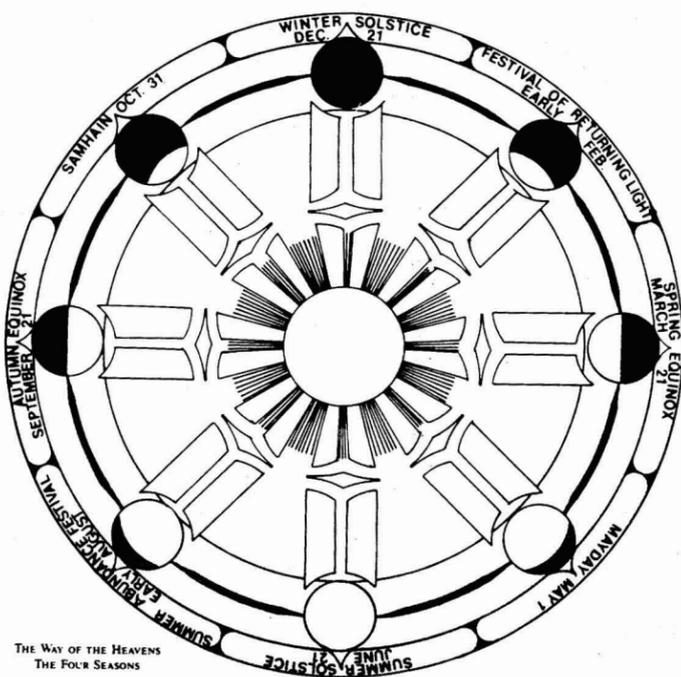
Earth First! comes from the heart. Our inspiration, our motivation, comes from the Earth and from the wild creatures. It is this that moves us, not some deep ecology scripture. The fundamentalism that divides the Earth from humans is a dogma to which we do not subscribe. We act out of love for the Earth, and this love doesn't preclude concern for our fellow humans, but may in fact extend to them.

As Sessions says, we "need to do some serious soul-searching." This we have done, and this we will continue to do. In fact, this issue of the *Journal* is intended to encourage this soul-searching, in part as a response to Sessions' article. We extend our thanks to him.

One who feels it, knows it. We know the oppression — the loss of the nature, the loss of the wild within and without. This loss cannot be addressed adequately by needlessly separating the social crisis from the earth crisis. Earth First! is all the more radical today as a result.

The *Journal* staff:

Tim Ballard
Jacob Bear
Lara Mattson
Don Smith



which were only one individual's views but were widely mistaken to be representative of every Earth First!er.

More importantly, these statements seemed to suggest that an acceptance of human suffering is necessary if we are to place the Earth first. It is implied, then, that we must choose between our commitment to Earth First! and to social justice. We strongly disagree with this.

As radical environmentalists, we do not accept this choice. As Earth First!ers, we are aware of the relation-

Earth First!

Yule
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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via EcoNet (send to "earthfirst"). We appreciate a cover letter with any pertinent information, including a telephone number where we may contact you if we have questions. Art or photographs (negatives are best, prints are good, slides are fair) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested. Please include explicit permission to reprint slides.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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Dear Greenpeace for Brains,

Dec 21, 1992 v13 #2

Greenpeace is great and gee, they have such neat toys and hey, they is practically closet Earth Firsters! A regular flippin' mutual admiration society.

Never mind that long-time Earth Firsters Peter Brauver while working on the Long Beach "action" was told by Greenpeacers that he was not welcome because of his association with the Sea Shepard Conservation Society.

Oh, let's just forget that Greenpeace is a multi-national ecological corporation that supports the Mexican slaughter of dolphins and the Faeroese slaughter of pilot whales.

But what really ticks me off is that Earth First? has become what Greenpeace became years ago, a goddamn organization of banner hangers.

Look at yourself. Page one of Samhain 92 has a banner and a protest sign. Page two drapes a placard. More banners on pages six and seven. A banner hanging from a tree on page nine. Protest signs on page 28. Bumper stickers galore on page 33.

So you proved that you all are literate. I can see the Freddie's shuddering in their boots now. And those longshoremen down in Long Beach, I betcha they really took a fright from those warnings about GATT.

What a bunch of first rate prima donna compromising lilly livered wimps. "Stop logging or we're going to hang a fucking banner in front of you," or "Read my protest sign Earth raper."

Closet Earth First!er my ass. The present crowd in Missoula putting out this pablum on your tree fleshed rag are closet Greenpeacers. The real Earth Firsters! are now writing for and publishing Wild Earth having been dislodged by the anti-tree spiking anti-monkeywrenching crowd of vermin with their oh so fucking holier than thou politically correct agenda of anthropocentric trivialities.

Keep it up. Hang banners while the Earth burns. For myself, I would rather see the old Earth First! not the sanitized Greenpeace-influenced, soon to be Greenpeace-controlled Earth First!

Thank Gaia that I still have a crew of passionate ass-kicking eco-buccaneers who ain't afraid to ram and sink ocean raping pirates and remain proud to be warriors without having to worry that they may be offending some politically correct agenda that defines radical environmentalism by socialist or anarchist criteria.

And hey, if you don't like what I'm saying, then by all means, go hang a banner from the mast of my ship. I'm sure that you'll scare the tar out of me by doing so. Hell, if I get really scared, I'll flash a picket sign at you or perhaps mail off a petition to plead and

Species and habitat eradication is escalating. This ain't fun and games, this war, like in planetary survival against a violent, greedy, hell-bent-on-collective -suicide enemy.

Did Washington hang banners at Valley Forge to stop the British? Did B-52 bombers drop picket signs and petitions to defeat the Nazi regime? Did Gandhi (sic) triumph against the British Raj without suffering casualties? Did the Lakota go down to defeat without fighting and dying and striving? No, no, no. They fought, they defended, they attacked, they suffered, they won some and lost some but they put their life and freedoms on the line and they proudly stood their ground.

One thing they did not do was hang fucking banners or dress up in animal costume and prance about like eco-defense was some sort of masquerade dance and comedy routine. Do you people realize how embarrassing it is to share a movement with animal crackers, human billboards and mall vomiting protesters? Lets see a little courage, a little pride of character and an approach that demonstrates some commanding respect for this living Earth, this mother of us all and her children. If you're not prepared to fight for her honour, her integrity and her future then for her sake get the fuck off the pot unless you're prepared to take a shit.

When you are prepared, you'll realize that banners are good for one thing only — to wipe your ass.

What really ticks me off is that Earth First? has become what Greenpeace became years ago, a goddamn organization of banner hangers.

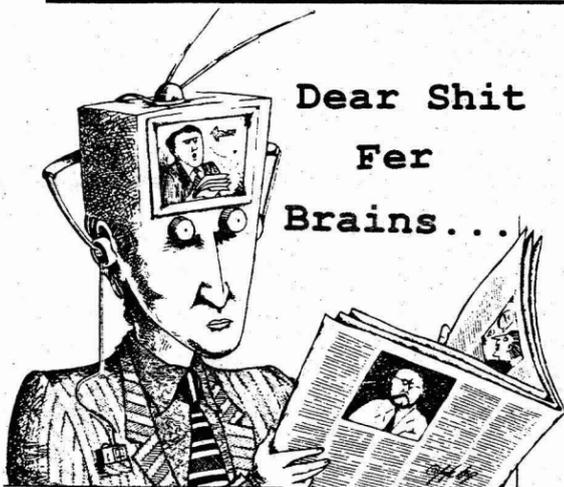
whine for understanding.

Actually, Greenpeace once picketed one of our ships in Honolulu. They accused us of being racism for our opposition to Japanese dolphin killing. We felt so-o-o guilty which is why, I guess that we broke their signs in two and slashed this oh so cute inflatable whale balloon to pieces. A couple of them actually cried and threatened to call the "dread, shudder" media on us.

Get real and get a life. This planet is under siege.

Most Sincerely Yours,

Captain Paul Watson
Sea Shepard Conservation Society



Dear Mike,

I'm glad you put an article on GATT in the Mabon issue. Yesterday the North American Free Trade Agreement was "initialed" by Mexico, Canada and the US. GATT is not a "done deal" yet, but (and I hate to say this because I try very hard to be positive) I believe it will be.

We're going to have to fight GATT in the streets, literally. By the time most people learn enough about GATT to oppose it, it will be too late. This, of course, is planned by those it benefits since they own the major media. It's beyond me how politicians running for national office who are concerned about jobs can actually support GATT, but they do. Local reps are more critical (at least here in Vermont), but the decisions aren't being made locally. At every event I've attended in the past few months, GATT was a major focus — even if it wasn't on the agenda. For example, at a conference supported by Rep. Bernie Sanders called "Building a Women's Agenda", I spent a major portion of my workshop answering questions about GATT, helping people understand what it would mean to our lives if/when it is passed. They were pissed, just as people always are when they learn the facts.

Everyone wants to know what to do, and this is the hard part. Of course you can write to your elected representatives, but that's not really *doing* anything. My answer to this question assumes that GATT will be passed. Even if it doesn't happen this year or next year, some version of free trade will go into effect and we all know who it will benefit and who will be hurt.

We're going to have to disengage our local and regional economies from the national and international economies. We're going to have to create sustainable, ecologically sane, decentralized (community-based) economies. We're going to have to *live where we live*. Earth Firsters don't have a problem with this. The problem is most people simply don't believe it's possible. People are conditioned to look elsewhere for solutions. People see our connections to national and international markets as inevitable and desirable. It's how business "competes" and people generally accept (i.e. don't question) the "fact" that local/regional business can't "compete" with multinationals. Whether this is "right" or not, whether it really serves

the needs of people in a community isn't the issue, even though it should be. Progress is progress. We have become (again this isn't news for EFL) a nation of zombies, pacified by media and shopping malls, kept too busy "making ends meet", caught in a rat race that never ends. As a nation, we have lost our will and we have lost our heart. And we are in the process of losing our soul.

We cannot solve the crises precipitated by GATT and related tyranny intellectually. These have to be solved with our hearts and souls. While we can and must discuss strategy and offer models for taking back our economic power that work (really!), we must go deeper because we have to move beyond peoples fears.

Right now people need to understand the corporate web that attempts to control every aspect of our lives — and very often succeeds. We need to know who the enemy is. We need to get this information out beyond our own circles, beyond our own publications. We need to put our faces on the exploiters and the exploited. A good way to help people understand the implications of "free trade" is to let folks know about the maquiladora industry. Since 1965 a free zone has been operating south of the U.S./Mexican border. 90% of the factories there are owned by U.S.-based TNCs. 2/3 of the workers are women between the ages of 17 and 25.

We have severed our connection to each other that is based on our connection to the land. We must rebuild, reconnect, become strong. If we have sustainable, local economies that produce the goods/services needed by community members, we can thumb our noses at corporations and governments. If they cut us off, so what? We won't starve, we won't freeze — our security will be in our relationships with each other and with the land. By disengaging a portion of our economic activities from the federal-monetary system by instituting barter networks and community currencies, we can "earn" fewer federal dollars and still have a high quality of life. We can explore ways of engaging in fair trade with other regions and nations, rather than exploitive "free trade".

Regarding jobs, there's more than enough work to be done in restoration, conservation, energy-related areas, education and cleaning up the shit created by the military-industrial complex. People are afraid and don't know where to start or, even if it's possible, to walk a different path. My optimism isn't in hoping Congress will see the light and veto GATT. My optimism lies with people willing to fight for the Earth on the many front lines being drawn, whether defending old-growth, fighting dams, defending biodiversity or working in communities to create alternatives to business-as-usual.

Despite much evidence to the contrary, I continue to believe there is hope for us. We aren't all going to make it, though. If you think times are hard now, just wait. Earth is going to do many of us in as she cleanses herself; we will do many of ourselves in as we fight each other and poison the planet. I'm not a survivalist. What will be will be. But I'm into healing and that's where I'm putting my energy. Healing relationships, building community and building bridges of understanding where I can.

For the Earth,
Susan Meeker-Lowry

Editor's Note: Susan Meeker-Lowry is the director of Catalyst, an organization which advocates sustainable economics. She is the author of "Economics As If The Earth Really Mattered" and the upcoming "Breaking The Corporate Grip". To subscribe to Catalyst's magazine or to order their other publications write to: Catalyst, P.O. Box 1308, Montpelier, VT 05601, (802) 223-7943.

Dear SFB,

In Montana we live behind the Bovine Curtain where anything critical of the livestock industry is censored. The decision by the Beaverhead National Forest to continue the degradation of public resources on the Upper Ruby Allotment to benefit welfare ranchers is a case in point. Consider the following:

1. The FS's own analysis showed that termination of all grazing on the Upper Ruby would have had the greatest benefits for soils, water quality, riparian areas, wildlife and even economics (the taxpayer's pocketbook, not the ranchers.)

2. Each of Montana's Congressional Delegation actively took up the cause of the ten welfare ranchers that use our lands for their personal profit, and to one degree or another tried to influence the Forest Service's decision to make sure that the agency did not favor the landscape and taxpayers over the livestock industry.

3. When the EPA questioned whether the current plan would resolve water quality problems in a timely and cost-effective manner, they too were silenced by the welfare ranchers' lackies in Congress. As John Mumma and Loraine Mitizmeyer learned, you don't ignore demands from special interests represented by the Congressional delegation if you want to keep your job. Anyone who claims the Upper Ruby decision was based on what is best for the land is deceiving the public.

4. Under the proposed alternative improvements in range condition will be slow to nonexistent with decades required to bring about riparian recovery, and only in some places. Furthermore, the FS's own analysis demonstrated that there will continue to be negative impacts on wildlife, soils, water quality, and recreation. This includes potential conflicts with grizzlies and wolves (the preferred alternative calls for increasing sheep grazing in this area), and it failed to consider sheep impacts on potential big-horn sheep reintroduction possibilities, and it continues to permit degradation of fisheries.

What is particularly irksome about the proposed "solution" is that it requires miles of new fencing, dozens of water developments, sagebrush control and other manipulation of the landscape, all done at taxpayer expense. In essence, the public will be paying to make our public lands a better feedlot for someone else's livestock. Is that what public lands are all about?

Anyone who believes that "better livestock management" is the solution to livestock-created impacts should rethink what this means. It requires greater taxpayer subsidies and greater manipulation of our land, merely to protect the profits of a few private commercial users of our

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THE BATTLE FOR MOUNT GRAHAM

BY JEAN EISENHOWER

"Machiavellian," "liars," and "paid guns," are just a few of the terms Paul Hirt uses without hesitation to describe the administrators of the Mount Graham Astrophysical Observatory. Hirt earned his Ph.D. in US History and Environmental Policy at the University of Arizona (UA), sponsor of the project, an 18-telescope proposal. Hirt became involved in this issue long before it became controversial.

UA administrators often cite ten years of failed effort working within the system as their reason for having needed to circumvent the law with special legislation in 1988. In 1983 the Smithsonian Institute, one of the original project partners (which has since dropped out), first approached Paul Hirt. They offered to support the Arizona Wilderness Coalition, which he represented, on some wilderness boundaries if the Coalition would support them with room for "two telescopes" on Mount Graham. Hirt was hesitant about setting aside any more mountain peaks for astronomy in southern Arizona, but was finally convinced that only two telescopes, with tight restrictions, would be a reasonable and politically productive trade.

"I found out a year later," Hirt explains, "that at the very time they were talking to me about two telescopes on Mount Graham, they and their partner, the University of Arizona, were drawing up the 18-telescope proposal and submitting it to the Forest Service." For years, the University referred to the Coalition's acceptance of those two telescopes on Mount Graham to indicate environmentalists' support for their project.

By 1985 the partners had convinced the Forest Service to try to slip this mammoth project past the public without going through the proper procedures. The Forest Service produced a Plan which included an 18-telescope project with dormitories, parking lots, and other support facilities on 3,500 acres covering more than one mountain peak—without any environmental assessment. The environmental impact of this massive project was described in only two paragraphs, listing "some impact on some wildlife species" and "a negative impact on visual resources." The public howled, and the Forest Service agreed to do it over.

Two years later, the Forest Service finished a draft Environmental Impact Statement on the Mount Graham Astrophysical Observatory project, and conceded that the environmental consequences would be so enormous that they could only approve five telescopes on one peak. UA was furious, but they had been busy behind the scenes.

UA was working to create a popular bandwagon effect, first by pulling political strings—and then through slander and more lies. UA convinced Kitt Peak Observatories to announce that they were considering Mount Graham as a site for the world's largest optical infrared telescope—even though they had already decided to put it on Mauna Kea in Hawaii. This political move so angered one member of the site selection team, Roger Lins, that he quit the committee. Lins, a nationally renowned expert on site

selection for telescopes, then produced a study of all the continental telescope sites in the western U.S., and found Mount Graham to be number 39 on a list of 60 potential sites.

Hirt says of the University, "They [administrators] started slandering Roger Lins and the study, saying that it was inadequate and inappropriate. Then they engaged in their own biased study. Two astronomers within the UA piled up paper upon paper into a big thick document to 'prove' Mount Graham was number one. They had all these strange criteria like 'Is it developable?' 'Is it close to the UA?' and 'Can we control the site?' Their studies were so flawed, they could never get it published. They couldn't even get it peer-reviewed. But they told all the media and all the politicians that Lins' study was flawed and theirs was right. Local papers don't pay their reporters to investigate news releases, and nobody checked, except for the more academic papers which aren't widely read."

Back in 1984, Kitt Peak had placed site-testing instruments on both the Mount Graham and Mauna Kea sites,

UA begged the Forest Service not to list the squirrel because they said they could do a better job of recovering it from the brink of extinction—by bulldozing flat areas for the squirrels to build their nests, providing artificial middens with styrofoam cone caches, supplying them with peanuts, etc. They were booed from the auditorium and the Forest Service rejected their ideas.

Having lost the battle with the regional Forest Service officials, the project developers enlisted the Arizona congressional delegation to represent them to the Forest Service in DC. There, according to a General Accounting Office investigation report years later, they were told by the Forest Service Chief Dale F. Robertson, that the project could not be built if it went through the legal channels. The University and Arizona congressmen then turned their efforts toward congress for special legislation to circumvent the entire body of our nation's environmental laws.

One million dollars was paid to the most powerful lobbying firm in DC: Patton, Boggs and Blow (the same firm that lobbied for the Nicaraguan contras). In the final hours of the

Forest Service officials, the project developers enlisted the Arizona congressional delegation to represent them to the Forest Service in DC. There, according to a General Accounting Office investigation report years later, they were told by the Forest Service Chief Dale F. Robertson, that the project could not be built if it went through the legal channels. The University and Arizona congressmen then turned their efforts toward congress for special legislation to circumvent the entire body of our nation's environmental laws.

Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Lujan, made national headlines when he said, "I don't know the difference between a red squirrel and a brown one and a black one." But most of America may not have understood the stupidity of that statement, and the only legal tool left for environmentalists to use was made a national joke.

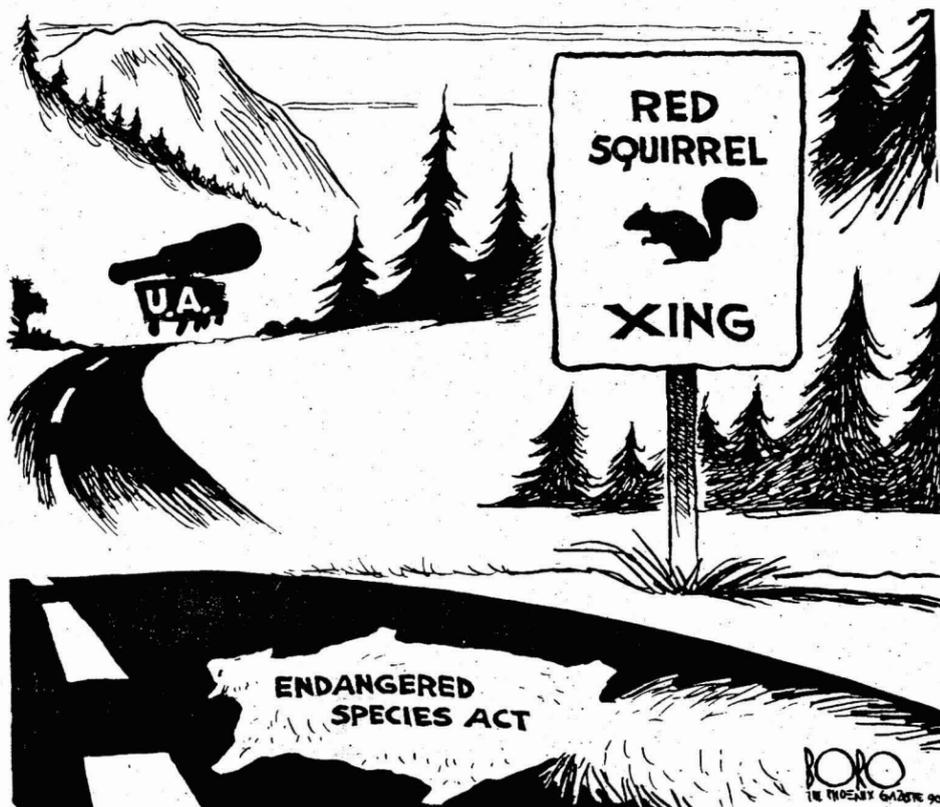
Another lie UA began professing early on regards the pristine nature of the mountain. They convinced the public that Mount Graham was already developed. They generalized about the impacts of the mountain in total, which has seen logging and road building and extensive recreation in the lower elevations, and implied that those impacts applied to the upper 2,000 feet of the mountain, which they do not.

The University convinced the local public that their project was small. Hirt was invited along with UA's public relations man, Steve Emerine, to speak to the Democrats of Greater Tucson. Hirt describes Emerine: "He stood up there, with a straight face, pulled out of his pocket a dime, tossed it on this large conference table, and said, 'There. That's how much space we're taking up. The dime on that table represents the size of our project's impact on the mountain.' Great public relations stunt, but it completely misrepresents the entire issue."

UA had begun throwing around the figure "8.6 acres out of a total 11,000 acres of squirrel habitat," and convinced many people that environmentalists were getting all excited about nothing. In fact, the entire project approved by Congress is for 27 acres (only the first stage is 8.6 acres); the lost and degraded habitat because of destroyed forest canopy would be four times that, or 112 acres; the real issue is Pleistocene old-growth forest, which numbers only 400 acres, not 11,000; and the 112 acres they want are in the heart of that

400 acres of best red squirrel habitat and relic forest. But numbers don't make for good TV and people remembered the dime on the table.

Activists during this time were working within the system. They were participating in public hearings, speaking, organizing letter-writing campaigns, and demonstrations. Twice, word hit the news that some property destruction had occurred. Once, a trailer on the mountain peak burned. Then, some damage was done to a small test-telescope, presumably by someone throwing a rock. Aside from those two events, claimed by no activist, all protest has been non-destructive.



and by 1986 had concluded that Mount Graham was indeed a very inferior site. But, political pressure being what it is, UA was able to convince Kitt Peak to suppress the report—until someone inside leaked the information to activists. The news was finally publicly released in 1987 that only 56% of nights on Mount Graham are even suitable for astronomy. While "peak seeing time" was excellent, it was only for four to seven days a year. UA public relations machinery proved that might makes right, as they were able to obscure this information in the general media and convince local people that Mount Graham was an exceptional site for astronomy, worth the public cost and long-term impacts.

In 1987, with a number of Mount Graham species under study for threatened, endangered and sensitive status, the Mount Graham red squirrel was listed as an endangered species—over the desperate and hilarious objections of the University. At one point,

extended 100th congressional session in 1988, with everyone exhausted and desperate to go home, they tacked a rider on another environmental bill. Arizona congressmembers told their peers that UA's ten years of good-faith work within the system had failed only because of bureaucracy. They promised that this law would only expedite what the system intended and would not in any way negate the intention of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) or Endangered Species Act. It passed. Years later, UA lawyers would argue before the courts that the law did indeed exempt them from all environmental oversight, setting a new legislative precedent in the United States.

NEPA was clearly circumvented, but because of a lack of clarity in the new legislation, activists thought they might still have the Endangered Species Act left to fight the battle. Many activists had never heard of the red squirrel, but quickly learned about the species. The red squirrel is an indicator spe-



ALF Attacks ADC in Utah



In its sixth raid since June, 1991, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has claimed responsibility for the recent attacks on Animal Damage Control (ADC) facilities in Utah. On October 24, 1992 at the USDA Animal Damage Control Predator Research Facility (PRF) in Milville, Utah, and at ADC Project Leader Fredrick F. Knowlton's office at Utah State University's federally funded coyote research facility in Logan, ALF activists released coyotes and started fires resulting in over \$100,000 in damage.

The US Department of Agriculture

(USDA) facility held more than 100 coyotes used in behavioral research studies for the Animal Damage Control program. ALF cut holes in pens, releasing 29 coyotes, and started a fire in the lab which destroyed a third of the facility, causing serious damage to the rest of the vivisection laboratory. ALF was alerted to the presence of the coyotes by USU students. The USDA claims it studies coyote behavior to help sheep and cattle growers.

Over the last 70 years, the ADC has maintained a relentless and ruthless war against native predators. On be-

half of sheep and cattle producers, the ADC has designed and developed predator control tactics such as snares, leg-hold traps, bait, and sterilization. To prevent financial loss to livestock interests who graze public lands, ADC has slaughtered millions of coyotes, wolves, bobcats, foxes, and cougars in a massive poisoning and gunning campaign across the West.

After setting fire to the PRC, ALF moved on to the Utah State University campus where Knowlton's office is located. Just fifty yards from the police station, raiders entered his office and began confiscating records detailing the illegal dumping of over two tons of radioactive coyote bodies, losses of radioactive-collared goats in field experiments, and tests where coyotes were left in leg-hold traps and snares for over eighteen hours. The documents detailed the force feeding of toxic poisons and records of aerial shootings of research coyotes. ALF then set a fire in the office which resulted in an estimated \$10,000 in damage and destroyed much of his research.

This latest raid comes in the middle of three grand jury investigations into previous ALF attacks. Grand juries were convened in Michigan, Oregon and Washington in early spring and will run until next winter. Dozens of individuals have been questioned and subpoenaed and one activist, Jonathan Paul, was jailed for contempt on November 3 for refusing to testify before the grand jury in Spokane.

Grand juries are investigating the following incidents: a fire at Oregon State University's mink research facility in Corvallis (June, 1991); a fire at the Northwest Food Farm Cooperative in Edmonds, Washington (June, 1991); a raid at the USDA's Washington State University research facility (August, 1991); a fire at the Malecky Mink Ranch in Yamhill, Oregon (December, 1991); a fire at offices and research facilities at Michigan State University (February, 1992); and the recent fires at USU. Combined damage estimates of the raids total over \$1,500,000.

The USU incident is being investigated by a task force composed of representatives from the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Utah Fire Marshal's Office, the USU Police Department and the county sheriff's and attorney's offices. No arrests have been made.



Owl Creek

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splinter the wood when I felled the tree. I'm doing my part, I'm saving the redwoods!"

Dialogues such as these occurred throughout the two days of actions, in which 75 people participated. One small affinity group stalled a logger for three hours with friendly conversation about worker exploitation and alternatives to logging ancient forests. Some loggers were hostile and others quite friendly. Some couldn't decide how they felt about us, and changed their moods back and forth. Outside of conversation with the old growth fallers, the time in the woods was spent taking photo and video documentation of the destruction (which was shown on CNN), and running through the ancient forest playing "cat and mouse" with the loggers in order to both slow down the cutting and avoid arrest.

On Tuesday morning, eight activists, including one in a wheelchair, locked down to PL's access gate to Owl Creek. "It helped to have someone in a wheelchair locked down. It had a calming effect on the loggers," said Teri Jasman of Northcoast Earth First!. "This was fortunate because the frustrated loggers looked like they could've turned violent." The media was even intimidated by PL's chief of security, Carl Anderson. The largely female lockdown affinity group had consensed on avoiding arrest, so they decided on freedom over arrest when given the option by the Sheriffs. The gate lockdown action was a smooth success, and backed up 25 logging trucks for well over an hour.

While Earth First! was out in the woods, the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) of Garberville was handling the legal side. EPIC filed the lawsuit that resulted in the December 1991 decision by the

state appeals court to stop the Owl Creek Timber Harvest Plan until its legality could be determined. The group is suing three California agencies: the Board of Forestry, the Department of Forestry (CDF), and the Department of Fish and Game (DFG). EPIC is filing a separate lawsuit against the US Fish and Wildlife Service for refusing to enforce the Endangered Species Act.

It appears that top officials in state agencies gave the go-ahead for this 237-acre Timber Harvest Plan although



Earth Warriors meet Industry's pawns

it clearly violates the Endangered Species Act. On top of that, they left their underlings in the dark, who told Earth First! that PL would not be allowed to cut over Thanksgiving. "They made liars out of their regional officials," said Earth First! activist Darryl Cherney, referring to the corruption in state agencies. Cherney said with frustration, "We can't trust anyone anymore about anything," and he added, "Not that we ever did." Even PL's head forester Bob Stevens was left out of the decision to log. This apparently "bent his nose out of shape," according to a PL attorney, because of extensive ne-

gotiation work he had gone through to engineer a deal with state agencies over marbled murrelet habitat.

The marbled murrelet, listed endangered statewide and "threatened" federally, is known to nest in Owl Creek. The marbled murrelet is a speedy, robin-sized seabird that nests in only the upper canopy of coastal ancient forests. The bird needs, among other things, large, intact groves of ancient forest, complete canopy closure to protect the young from predation, and

very large moss-covered branches in the upper canopy on which to nest. The moss on the branch must be sufficient to form a nest for the webbed-footed bird and its thumb-nail-sized eggs. These strict

habitat conditions are only met by intact coastal ancient forests. There is absolutely no biological reason to believe you can cut in Owl Creek and still have murrelet habitat left, although Fish and Game insists it is possible and they "agree in theory to the Timber Harvest Plan." We know, however, that any cutting might transform the grove into unsuitable habitat, for it is already marginal. Owl Creek is one of three of the bird's known nesting sites in California, although their range extends north to Alaska.

Thanksgiving was the second time this year Owl Creek met the chainsaw.

In June, MAXXAM/PL prematurely ended murrelet studies and devastated the grove with a complex network of roads, strategically designed to destroy marbled murrelet nesting areas. This occurred just prior to the federal "threatened" listing of the species. This operation involved five crews working over four 12-hour days, and was finally stopped by CDF. However, PL was allowed to remove the downed trees, destroying any evidence of the "taking" of marbled murrelets. Despite shutting the operation down, CDF and Fish & Game never filed charges for any violations, so we rallied at CDF's regional office in Santa Rosa. The action consisted of guerrilla theater, a long talk with CDF officials, and a symbolic smashing of eggs on their doorstep, representing the murrelet murder in which CDF was an accomplice.

Two months later, in August, Earth First! was on the scene once again when it appeared PL was about to begin logging. We constantly held vigil in the grove so we'd know if cutting started. Numerous blockades were built, only to be steamed over by bulldozers. Finally, a Seattle court came through by granting federal Endangered Species Act listing to the Murrelet.

It is ironic that the federal listing didn't help stop the Thanksgiving massacre. The US Fish and Wildlife Service refused to lift a finger to enforce the law. No matter how good the laws are, they're all useless if the government refuses to enforce them. Thank Gaia for Earth First!

At press time, MAXXAM/PL is challenging the temporary stay in court, but EPIC is on the legal offensive. However, direct action could be needed any day, since, considering their past record, there's no telling what PL will do.

Alaskan Wolf Kill

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Since Alaska is a huge state with millions of square miles of completely undeveloped mountains and forests (prime wolf territory) the most successful form of wolf hunting has involved airplanes. Hunting wolves from airplanes gives the hunter the advantage of rapid and easy access to remote territories, with ski-equipped planes able to land virtually anywhere they can find a space of open snow. Lakes and streams are ideal access points for wolf hunters.

The brave hunters follow wolf tracks in the snow until they spot the animals, land, and shoot them before they can get away. This is the "ethical" form of wolf hunting, not the only way wolves are killed in Alaska.

It was recently revealed that they plan to use radio collars to track and kill the wolves. The radio collars were fitted over a year ago, at the same time that state officials were assuring the public that aerial killing of wolves would be used only as a last resort to save caribou populations in danger of extinction. ADF&G officials now admit that the radio collars were fitted in anticipation of the Game Board's decision.

State biologists revealed that 25 animals were radio collared, each from a different pack in the area. The collars will be used to track down the animals in their home territories, where the entire pack will be killed by state hunters from helicopters. Chris Smith, Fairbanks regional supervisor for the State Division of Wildlife Conservation said, "To the greatest extent possible, we will be trying to remove entire packs at the same time. We want this to be a professional, surgical program."

Since wolf hunters prowl in areas unwatched by state wildlife officials, they are completely free to dispense with the land-and-shoot part of aerial wolf hunting. It is a well-known practice to locate wolf packs from the air, swoop down on them and shoot them from above as they attempt to flee. Many hunters have even chased wolves to exhaustion with their aircraft before landing and killing them. Recently Jack Frost, a prominent Anchorage doctor, was convicted of harassing wolves from the air in this manner and killing them cruelly with a bow and arrow. He was convicted partly on the basis of recorded radio conversations with his hunting buddies, bragging about how he had made the animals run until exhausted before he landed and shot them.

Hunters in Alaska hold to the con-

cept that caribou and moose numbers are primarily held in check by wolves, as well as the opposite idea that keeping wolf numbers low will allow their prey animals to increase proportionately. But recent research by state biologists Vic Van Ballenberghe and Gordon Haber has demonstrated that caribou numbers fluctuate from year to year, as well as in much longer cycles, in response to complex environmental factors. Predators such as wolves respond to these changes by reducing or expanding their numbers, in balance with the changes in their prey

These two areas are easily accessible by roads and are close to Anchorage and Fairbanks. Since urban hunters can drive to these areas in the comfort of their RVs and four-wheelers, these two herds are easily affected by human hunting, and as a result have suffered population crashes in the past. Hunting groups in Alaska have brought intense pressure on the Game Board to increase the size of these herds from their current level of 27,000 animals to over 70,000 by the year 2000. "We feel we are going to create a wildlife spectacle on a par with the major migra-



animals. The number of wolves is always in balance with the number of caribou. If this were not the case, both caribou and wolves would have long ago become extinct.

Van Ballenberghe and Haber point to Alaska's caribou herds that have steadily increased in number since 1983, the last year that wolf control was allowed in Alaska. The caribou herds have maintained an expanding population despite increasing wolf numbers in areas subject to intense human hunting according to Vic Van Ballenberghe, "I have to question wolf control on that basis alone," he said.

The areas scheduled for aerial wolf control in Alaska include the ranges of the Delta caribou herd, between Fairbanks and the Alaska Range, and the Forty-mile caribou herd between Tok, Alaska and the Canadian border.

tions in East Africa," said David Kelleyhouse. "Mom and Pop from Syracuse can come up here and see something that they can't see anywhere else on Earth."

In order to remove themselves from the enormous public controversy engendered by wolf control proposals, the Board of Game organized a wolf management advisory group, composed of representatives from hunting and trapping groups, as well as state agencies and conservation organizations. Over a period of two years, this group met periodically and took testimony from experts in the field of wildlife management, as well as the public, and developed a wolf management plan. Their proposal called for a regional examination of the state's caribou, moose, and wolf populations, and recommended methods to deter-

mine the need for any wolf control measures. They stressed that wolf control measures should be undertaken only as a last resort, when caribou numbers had decreased to a point that recovery was unlikely in a reasonable period of time.

The Board of Game completely ignored the recommendations of its own advisory panel, and ordered a wolf control program to be undertaken in two areas immediately, with other areas slated for wolf killing based on the "success" of this program. Board of Game members are appointed by the governor, and Wally Hickel has packed the board with hunting advocates and pro-development appointees. Hickel has also replaced state agency heads since his election with "old white men" selected straight from development and energy extraction industries. The Departments of Fish and Game, Natural Resources, and Environmental Conservation are headed by proponents of maximum development.

The wolf killing program will be organized by Machine Gun Kellyhouse, the same Division of Wildlife Conservation official who advocated the use of automatic weapons. Kellyhouse is well acquainted with wolf killing, since he was an avid wolf hunter before he became officially sanctioned by the state. He survived two plane crashes while attempting to hunt wolves from the air in the days before it was, temporarily, illegal. Now he will have official approval to continue his favorite sport at state expense.

Killing wolves from aircraft is the cruelest and most inhumane form of hunting that exists. The animals are caught unaware, usually in a pack at a recent kill. The small airplane bursts into the clearing, skimming the treetops as the hunter leans out the open doorway. The wolves scatter, trying desperately to reach the shelter of nearby trees, but their panicked flight is slowed by deep snow. The terrifying roar of the airplane sweeps behind them, pursuing them until the first load of buckshot rips into their back and flanks, sending them tumbling in a spray of bloody snow. The first shot rarely kills. As the mortally wounded wolf rolls in the snow, snapping at its damaged back and useless legs, the plane swings around for another run or lands to discharge its bloodthirsty occupants. If the wolf is lucky, they will kill it immediately. The slaughtered animals are skinned, and their bones and flesh are left for the ravens and other scavengers.

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Enola Hill Actions

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activists, Earth First!ers and others from the Portland area are trying to hold the line at Enola.

Most of Enola Hill is National Forest land, except for two adjacent inholdings, including the controversial area being logged. Northeast of Enola (above and behind it as viewed from Highway 26) stretches the Mt. Hood Wilderness, which is mostly high-elevation rock, meadow, and glacier. The only road up to Enola is a contested road through the inholding, which also leads to a trailhead into the Wilderness, linking up to the Pacific Crest Trail. Since 1980, when the project was first proposed, Michael Jones of Rhododen-

dron and other local residents have been fighting a planned federal timber sale on Enola.

Although indigenous people have been using the area for thousands of years for customary religious and other purposes, our pals in the USFS have repeatedly refused to recognize the cultural significance of the area. Michael Jones, a local history enthusiast as well as a steadfast ecodefender, learned through conversations with local Native "Americans" that Enola had a special place in the cultural traditions of their people. It had been used for gathering medicinal plants, for ceremonial hunts and for vision quests. He took this information to the Timber Service, along with the usual ecological and aesthetic reasons for not cutting perfectly good forest areas, but the project went forward. When the sale was finally offered and sold in 1990

under the restrictions of the so-called timber "compromise" which limited administrative and legal appeals, Native and non-Native activists went to court to block the action because of its potentially devastating cultural impact.

Judge Owen Panner ruled that because the FS didn't notify concerned citizens about the action, the 15-day limit on filing suit didn't apply. In legal negotiations, the FS agreed to withdraw the sale (virtually unprecedented) and to hire an anthropologist to do an "ethnographic study" or "cultural resources survey" of Enola.

This document still has not been released after two years. Sources say the original report, too favorable to Native interests, was sent back by Euro-American cultural supremacists to be rewritten. Recently the Forest Service referred to the report and continued to assert that there are no sites to protect

on Enola, against continuous and growing testimony to the contrary by Native people themselves. Of course we don't need to belabor the implications of all this in this 500th anniversary year of cultural arrogance, theft, and destruction, and in the context of the broader movement to protect Native cultural use areas from No G-O Road to Big Mountain, Mount Graham, Medicine Wheel, the Black Hills—and all the berry-picking, ceremonial, plant-gathering, fishing, hunting, burial, camping, healing, and other sites in between.

The immediate point of contention is a US Timber Service road which accesses the private inholding. The FS granted a permit to Caffal Brothers Forest Products to use the road to haul logs off their clearcutting operation. Although permits are required for "commercial use" of the road, the FS

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They work in secret, isolating you and breaking you down. They can force you to travel hundreds of miles on short notice. They can demand information about your friends, family, fellow activists and colleagues, and they have broad powers to jail you if you don't cooperate.

Based on legal concepts that go back to colonial England, grand juries were created in the United States to investigate crimes in which felonies are involved. They give the prosecutor and the judge the power to compel a witness to speak. All grand jury proceedings are kept secret. In theory, grand juries are supposed to protect the defendant from a negative bias. In practice, grand juries have become a tool with which the federal government disrupts political opposition.

Over the past several months, a number of people affiliated with Earth First! and/or the animal rights movement have been served subpoenas, requiring them to testify before grand juries in Washington, Oregon, and Michigan. Based on estimates from the Moscow/Pullman *Daily News* (actual numbers are kept secret), at least fifteen people have been subpoenaed. It is likely that the true total is much higher.

Ostensibly, this was part of an investigation of various successful raids carried out by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). However, the outcome has been a serious disruption of the lives of many activists, their friends, and their families. Single mothers have had to travel the country with small children. People whose income is hand-to-mouth have gone broke. In at least one case, investigators subpoenaed not only the targeted activist, but her parents, too.

Animal rights activist Jonathan Paul refused to testify against his fellows. He is currently being held in jail, in civil contempt. Theoretically, he can be held without bail until he agrees to testify or until the term of the grand jury ends. In the courtroom, when Paul's sister protested his incarceration, she was handcuffed and detained for several hours. In jail, coming off a 5-day hunger strike, Jonathan ate little beyond starvation, as the jail failed to accommodate his vegan diet.

This federal weapon, historically wielded against peace and justice groups, is now pointed at our movement. We all need to know how a grand jury operates, and how it is used and abused. This isn't an ordinary court — it's a completely different system with a different set of rules. Many activists and groups have fallen victim to grand juries because they didn't know how the game was played. We need to educate ourselves now to avoid the pitfalls.

A subpoena is usually previewed by a visit from the police or the FBI. Don't talk to them! Don't let them in your house! This has been said before, but cannot be said enough. You have no legal obligation to talk to them. They may threaten you with a subpoena if you don't talk, but this is nearly always a bluff. They don't have the power to issue a subpoena, only to deliver one.

If you tell them anything, this may give them the message that you have useful information or that you're easy to crack, and it's more likely that their higher-ups will issue you a subpoena. On the other hand, if they see that you're not going to be tricked, forced, or fooled into cooperating, it's possible that the authorities will decide it's not worth the effort to subpoena, and they'll leave you alone in the future. Prevention is the best medicine. If agents approach you, ask them to leave you their business card, and politely

tell them that you won't talk with them except in the presence of a lawyer.

After such a visit, contact a lawyer if you have access to one. Contact anyone with whom you do activist work, for chances are others have been or will be visited as well. Discuss the possibility that an investigation is under way. It's important to support one another if in fact subpoenas are served. The National Lawyers Guild has noted that, "Grand jury cases are often won or lost on the strength of community support for witnesses rather than the excellence of argument or even the legal merit of the attorney's position."

If you expect that you or others will be subpoenaed, now is the time to contact an attorney. Be sure that your attorney has knowledge about grand juries, because they are radically different from normal courts.

If an agent *explicitly states* that you will be subpoenaed, you have a few

options. If you know that you're not one of the key witnesses, you may consider avoiding the subpoena. Subpoenas must be delivered in person, so if you can avoid places where you're often known to be, stay at the house of a friend or relative, or take a long vacation or trip, it's possible that the government will simply decide that finding you isn't worth the effort. Be aware, though, that if your testimony is valuable to them, they may put out a warrant for your arrest. This warrant will still be in effect even years after the grand jury term is over.

Another option is to call the agent's bluff. Have your lawyer call the local US attorney and ask whether you have any outstanding subpoenas. This gives the government the clear message that you are aware of your rights and intend to assert them. If the government hasn't yet issued a subpoena, this call may discourage them from doing so. If, on the other hand, they have issued one, this phone call gives you, your attorney and your friends an advance warning.

If you or your lawyer calls the US attorney, he or she may give you some information about why the investigation is taking place and why your testimony is wanted. BE CAREFUL! The US attorney may give you incomplete or misleading information. Remember: *Talking to a US attorney is similar to talking to the FBI.* Don't volunteer any information, and don't answer any questions unless your lawyer is present.

Once you've been served the subpoena, meet with others who have been or might be subpoenaed. Meet with a lawyer who is familiar with grand jury rules and proceedings. Advance preparation is crucial. Everyone involved should be familiar with the material put out by the National Lawyers Guild (see the resource list at the end of this article).

Often the grand jury convenes in a city far from where you live. This is done to isolate witnesses from familiar people and surroundings, in order to break them down. Contact the nearest US Marshall's office, and ask that they give you money in advance for your travel expenses, even though they are neither required nor likely to provide these funds in advance. Assert your rights aggressively. Be sure to request compensation for food and lodging expenses. If you have kids, ask for childcare expenses for the time you're gone.

Carefully consider whether or not, and when, you intend to testify. It has become clear that we as a movement are being targeted. By refusing to testify or otherwise cooperate, we show our strength and solidarity. If witnesses consistently refuse to testify, investigators will have a hard time distinguishing the hard-core activists from those who are less involved, and it will be difficult for them to single out individual targets for harassment. Keep in mind that you may be jailed in civil contempt, but also keep in mind that if enough people refuse to cooperate, the court can't put *everyone* in jail.

Even if you have nothing to hide regarding the issue that is currently being investigated, be aware that you can be asked things that have no bearing on the matter at hand. Think! Do you have *any* information that could be used to incriminate you or anyone you've ever known or worked with, that could be used to disrupt or discredit your movement, that could humiliate or embarrass anybody in your group or organization? Are you ready to provide this information to the feds?

Should you decide that you are going to testify, you should not do so until you have asserted the Fifth Amendment, been granted immunity, raised every possible objection, and have been threatened with civil contempt. The time all this takes incurs extra work and expense for the courts. When a grand jury has been formed to harass activists or to gather trivial information, the agencies involved may decide the effort isn't paying off and cut the investigation short.

Subpoena

BY JACOB BEAR

WHAT EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT GRAND JURIES

"Grand jury cases are often won or lost on the strength of community support for witnesses rather than the excellence of argument or even the legal merit of the attorney's position."

-National Lawyers Guild

end of the line. The moral of the story — be polite to the courts, but keep up a determined resistance every step of the way.

The grand jury room is a treacherous environment. You will face the jurors and the lawyer for the prosecution ALONE, without media, supporters, or even your own attorney. Even the judge won't be present. The prosecutor may try to trick you, cajole you, scare you, or exhaust you. She or he may ask you seemingly innocuous questions to trick you into giving up your Fifth Amendment rights.

You are allowed to leave the room and consult with your lawyer. Do this after every question. Write down what the prosecutor asks, then excuse yourself. You may do this until the prosecutor gets an explicit order from the judge telling you not to do so. Take advantage of this right. It will keep you from falling into a trap, disrupt the prosecutor's momentum, buy time, and give you a break from the oppressive atmosphere of the grand jury room.

If you refuse to testify and are jailed for civil contempt, stay strong! Most likely, the best way to gain your release is through a *Grumbles* motion, named after an individual whose resistance was adamant. This motion states that, since you clearly aren't going to speak, it is pointless for the judge to jail you in an attempt to force you to do so. Therefore, your imprisonment can be construed as a punishment, and since you haven't been convicted — or even accused — of any crime, it is unlawful for you to be held.

We need to know as much as we can about the grand jury system, as soon as we can. You may be subpoenaed just a few days or weeks before you're actually required to appear, and in one case a man was subpoenaed with only an hour's warning. The time to prepare is now.

Use the materials listed at the end of this article. Every activist should read the pamphlet "If An Agent Knocks." If you think there's even a remote possibility you'll ever be subpoenaed, you should read the first chapter of *Representation of Witnesses Before Federal Grand Juries*. Anyone who expects to be subpoenaed should study this book in depth (the introduction tells which chapters are relevant to political groups). Our ignorance gives the investigators power. The more we know, the more we can monkeywrench their efforts. In doing so we'll protect ourselves and those who come after us, freeing up more time and energy to do our real work, defending all that is still wild.

ACTIVISTS JAILED!

At press time, a federal judge denied an appeal to the civil contempt charge, placing Jonathan Paul in jail indefinitely.

Letters of support can be sent to:

**Jonathan Paul
Spokane County Jail
1100 W. Mallon
Spokane, WA 99260**

Anyone who wants to help distribute information on activists who have been jailed for refusing to testify, write letters to the courts, contact local media on the issue, or contribute money to these efforts should contact the Activist Support Group, PO Box 13765, Portland, OR 97213.

Sources: *Representation of Witnesses Before Federal Grand Juries* by the National Lawyers Guild.; *The Grand Jury* by Leroy D. Clark; "If an Agent Knocks", available for \$1 (or 75 cents in bulk orders of 50 or more) from the Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10002. 212-614-6464. See also the following Journal articles: "When a Federal Agent Knocks—Don't Talk" (Litha 92), "FBI Targets ALF Activists" (Mabon 92), "FBI ALERT" (Lughnasadh 92). Articles by Ken Olson of the Moscow-Pullman Daily News provided background information for this article.

The articles on this and the following five pages, along with the staff editorial on page 3, provide various perspectives on Earth First!, movements, direct action, civil disobedience and ecotage. We encourage responses from our readers and a debate on these ideas in future issues.

Dave Foreman, 1987

"We aren't a debating society"

Dave Foreman gave this speech in 1987 at the Grand Canyon Round River Rendezvous. We chose to print it as a reminder of what Earth First! is about. Foreman gives an important and passionate statement, what is especially timely in this issue of the *Journal*.

This is a wonderful celebration of diversity. It's been seven years since Earth First! was started, and I know that for Howie and Mike, and Bart Koehler and I, sometimes it seems a lot longer than that, and sometimes it seems a lot shorter. A lot of things change in seven years. And a lot of things happen in seven years. But seven years is a really good time to evaluate, to look where we're going.

I've been thinking about some of the things that I'm going to say tonight for a long time, thinking that we need this. But I'm not sure after seeing this rendezvous that we need it, because I think we *are* being cohesive, that we *are* being hard-core, that we *aren't* wimping out, that we *aren't* becoming another Sierra Club, that we *aren't* just becoming a debating society.

But nonetheless, when we started Earth First!, we started it for some very specific reasons, with some very specific ideas, with some strong parameters. Earth First! is a radical environmental movement, but we aren't the *entire* radical environmental movement. We aren't the *entire* environmental movement. We are diverse, but we aren't big enough to straddle too much. 'Cause you fall down when you straddle too much.

I think it's good for us to keep in mind exactly what Earth First! was started for, and the ideas behind it. Because there are natural laws that operate with human society and with human institutions that work to constantly moderate, co-opt, mellow out, lead you away from your vision, and make you think more about mechanics than the dream, than the canyon, than the forest, than the grizzly, than the deep blue sea. And I think it would be useful to go over some of those things that I think are really the consensus of Earth First! Certainly they're the type of things that, when we started Earth First!, we thought about, and I think that they're the kinds of things that are still guiding us, the types of things that really tell whether somebody is an Earth First!er or not. And if somebody's not an Earth First!er, that's okay, there's lots of room for all kinds of lovers of the Earth in the battle.

But Earth First! is a discreet type of human society. We aren't the debating society, we aren't the political group, we aren't the

people trying to develop alternative technology; we are a very specific warrior society. There are madmen, and madwomen, trying to destroy everything that's beautiful, everything that's right, everything that's wild on this planet. And out of this planet, out of the Earth, has emerged a society of warriors; women and men who are planting their spears in the ground and are taking a stand. And that's Earth First! And there IS room for a lot of other kinds of groups. But Earth First! is EARTH FIRST!

I would like to go over some of the things that I think define us. These are

in no particular order, except the first one, and the last one, which are probably two very important ones.

The first one is simply "Earth First!" That we believe, in every decision and every act and every thought, that consideration for the Earth must come first. As Aldo Leopold said, "A thing is right when it tends to promote the integrity, stability, and beauty of biotic systems. A thing is wrong when it tends otherwise." You can take all your systems of ethics, all your golden rules, all your rights and wrongs, and that's the one that counts. That's the one that means something. Earth First! Not "People First," not "General Motors First," not "The United States Government First," not "Power To The People," first, but *Earth First!*

Another parameter is that we aren't interested in credibility or legitimacy with the gang of thugs running this planet. We don't care if

Senator James McClure or Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel don't want to let us in their office. Because they don't have credibility with us. They are just a bunch of back street alley thugs that have power, and who are running things, and who have no moral or ethical right to have any control over us. So why should we care if we have legitimacy? If some congressman or forest supervisor will condescend to speak to us? They don't have credibility with us. So let's not get sucked into it. We're right. If they want to be right, then they can come to us, and try to get credibility and legitimacy with us.

Another one is that we are offering a fundamental challenge and critique of industrialism, "progress," and technology. Are we Luddites? You're damn right we're Luddites! Do we love the sight of a burning bulldozer? We LOVE the sight of a burning bulldozer! We haven't had any progress on this planet in 16,000 years. Real

progress, the only good technology, the only good tool developed since the atlatl, is the monkeywrench. And so don't be ashamed or afraid or embarrassed when somebody calls you a Luddite, or challenges you for criticizing technology. We're anti-technology. Somebody's got to be anti-technology.

We also feel that linear logic and rationality aren't the only way to think. The only thing I can think of that arithmetic's good for is counting up my life list for birds, or for figuring out how many beers I have left in the cooler. There's a big way to think other

than this big left hemisphere up here. It's the emotional, intuitive, and — in our warped, sexist world — feminine way of thinking: that we've got to get back in touch with the mind that's in the whole Earth. It's not just the intuitive part here, it's not just the reptilian cortex here, it's that canyon out there that's thinking, that's a big mind. It's the sky, it's the clouds, it's the trees that are thinking. We can't go in and just supply rational arguments to everything, facts and figures, economics, laws. Because those things don't count. What counts is the wisdom that comes from the trees. The passion you feel in your heart. We are emotional, and we're proud of it. Sometimes we're irrational and we're proud of it. Sometimes we're mystical; sometimes we connect with something bigger than ourselves. And we don't need our pocket calculators to do that. So when you're called irrational, don't worry about it. We're irrational, and proud.

I think we also

recognize that even though we love this bunch of three or four hundred people here, though we love all the little wolves, there are still too damned many of us on the planet. Overpopulation is a problem. Tomorrow, July 11, has been determined to be the day that the five billionth person will be born. Yeah, there are a lot of problems here on Earth; human-caused problems. But one of the big ones is overpopulation, and there are too many of us.

Another parameter is that we aren't in the political spectrum. We are "subverting the dominant paradigm." We're against all those platonic heresies. Christianity, Marxism, secular humanism. We aren't left, we aren't right, we aren't in the middle, we aren't even in front or behind. We aren't even playing that game. We have to go beyond the tired old leftist or rightist or other political ideas. We are coming up with something that's new. And it's also 16,000 years old.

Another principle, and one that's hard for us sometimes, is to not put any human group on a pedestal. Any ethnic, any class, any political group. It's real chic sometimes to put the rural proletariat on a pedestal. They are the "nice logger", the "noble fellow" exploited by the corporation. Or to put our group off on a pedestal. We're all human beings. And it's racist, it's classist, to expect more out of any group or to give any group more breaks. We're all on this planet, we're all causing trouble, we all have to work together.

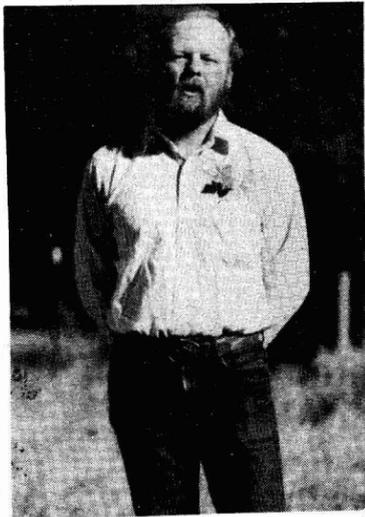
Another parameter, and a very, very fundamental one, and the core of our philosophy, I think, is the idea of biocentrism, or intrinsic value. The idea that all things have inherent worth, are important for themselves. And tied into that is the idea that humans are not the measure of all things. That you

do not determine the value for something by the good it can do for human beings. Things exist for themselves, and not for human beings. There's no reason to even discuss that one, because that's the motivation, I think, for all of us; the recognition of intrinsic value.

Another is that wilderness is the real world. The concrete boxes we live in, the freeways, the cities, the rural areas, aren't the real world. Your job back in L.A. or New York City or Bozeman isn't the real world. What is the real world? It's a wild, functioning ecosystem. It's out here, in the arena of evolution. Wilderness is the essence of everything we're after. Natural diversity. We aren't an environmental group. Environmental groups worry about environmental health hazards to human beings. They worry about clean air and clean water for the benefit of people, and ask us why we're so wrapped up in something as irrelevant and tangential as wilderness. Something as elitist as wilderness. Well, I can tell you, a Kaibab squirrel doesn't think wilderness is elitist. Wilderness is the essence of everything. It's the real world. And our goal is the day when there is no word, in any language on earth, for the concept of wilderness, because everything is wilderness, and it just is.

Earth First! is not an armchair organization. You can't be a couch potato Earth First!er. Earth First! is action! We are a warrior society. Yeah, we carry on philosophical discussions and debates in the *Earth First! Journal*, at the rendezvous, and everywhere else, but the purpose of those discussions is to help us act! It's not for the sake of just talking to ourselves. In Earth First!, when we talk philosophy, we are engaged in figuring out how and why we should stick that monkeywrench into the gears of the machine. Action! Action of any kind. And let our action set the finer points of our philosophy. We don't have to figure it all out. We don't all have to be pure. We all don't have to be saints on this planet to do something for it. We don't have to have our philosophy honed down to the nth degree. There's room for inconsistency. So do something!

We also have a sense of humor. We have fun. Look around you, at the history of the modern industrial world, of the revolutionary movements, of radical groups. Do you think any of them ever had as much fun as Earth First! does? We have got to have fun. We've got to be filled up with joy! We're living in the age of the greatest despair on this planet. But we still have to have our hearts speak with love, passion, and joy. Look at these ponderosa pines, look at the maple. They're screaming out with joy! And that's what we've got to scream out with. Whether we're sitting in jail or standing in front of the bulldozers, or writing letters, or being crushed by the oppressiveness of urban smog, we've still got to ring with joy. We have to laugh at ourselves. We can't take ourselves too seriously. We have to be able to laugh at and be irreverent towards ourselves and towards our most sacred ideas.



Dave Foreman, co-founder of Earth First!

We don't have to have our philosophy honed down to the nth degree. There's room for inconsistency. So do something!

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Four Women Lie Down

BY SUE RING

At five a.m., October 17th, under a bright blue half-moon and in front of one hundred armed deer hunters, four women lay down and linked arms across the only road into City Creek Canyon.

It was the opening day of the infamous Utah deer hunt, and at five a.m. the gate to the canyon was swung open to allow vehicle access.

City Creek Canyon is a protected watershed that cuts through the Wasatch Mountains just behind the state capitol. It is an area of golden, ancient alluvial hills and rocky outcroppings, Gambel's oak, Rocky Mountain maple and cottonwoods; an area that is popular for folks walking dogs, families pushing baby strollers (and, if you hadn't noticed, there are lots of these in Utah), runners, hikers and cyclists. City Creek is a virtual backyard for hundreds of Salt Lake City residents. Why deer hunters are permitted to hunt in this canyon, this protected watershed so popular among the people, is perplexing. Could it have something to do with the fact that deer hunters, although they compose a measly 23% of Utah's population, are a powerful, National Rifle Association-backed lobby?

Deer are not an abstraction to me. They are individuals, my four-legged siblings with long eyelashes and dainty muzzle-whiskers and slender necks and tiny hooves and long, prancing, powerful leaps, quadriceps rippling beneath their sleek brown fur. The earth that gave birth to me also gave birth to them.

When I think of the deer hunt, I automatically wince as I imagine somebody killing one of these deer. I become angry. Why have I never thought to guard them?

I feel a need to guard them from the kind of disrespectful killing exemplified by the average Utah deer hunter. There was a time when people hunted deer with reverence, and maintained a sacred relationship with deer, and did not kill for sport or fun or trophy, but for survival. There are many Native American tribes that survived because their hunters killed deer to nourish the people through the desperate winters. Many tribespeople still do. And many hunting rituals bear elements of apology, and the desire to commune with and appease a being in the Spirit world.

But the majority of hunters today — predominantly white males — seem to have no reverence for the deer. This land must contend with Euro-American over-population and greed, bureaucracy and paper-gold, and the general lack of respect for the prey. The hunting act is a whole other ball of wax, to the detriment of the deer, the land, and the native people who needed and still do need deer to survive as a group of metabolizing, homeothermic individuals, and as cultures.

The deer hunt is also an ecological issue. Contrary to mainstream beliefs, hunters do not serve the purpose of "wildlife management," for the simple reason that they do not hunt like the wolf or the cougar. Many are head-hunters, after the biggest and the best and in this way, they are artificially disrupting the genetic pool of a species. In many areas, it has been scientifically documented that the average deer size has decreased. Many herds

are diseased, starving, and sick. If the hunters hunted like the wolf, the deer would be stronger, not weaker. And yet, the Division of Wildlife Resources holds that deer hunting is good wildlife management. This is ludicrous, a scientific fraud, and a breach of public trust.

When a hunter buys a permit for killing a deer, he or she buys into a system governed by the economic principle of supply and demand. He or she buys into the agency's agenda for altering the environment to produce more deer, and more and more deer need to be "produced" if the demand for killing them increases. Deer herds have been manipulated for scores of years to satisfy the needs of the deer hunters. As the hunters say, it is true North America has never had so many deer as it has today. The obvious question for ecologists is: "Yes, but is this a good thing for the Earth?"

Habitat is altered to provide better deer forage. How many times have we heard that clearcuts and juniper forest chaining are good for wildlife? We must realize the limitations of this announcement. It's not good for all wildlife, obviously; it's good for deer

from their numb fingers, yelling to the others, "Hey! They're trying to lock us out!"

The guard in the illuminated shack by the gate called the police. He reported a "violent situation involving six activists and 100 armed hunters." For an awkward several minutes, there was a strange inertia as the four women and two men stood there in the pool of light from the overhead lamp in the middle of the road at the gate.

They sent whispers from ear to ear. "What do we do?"

Four women lay on the pavement, arms linked, silent and not budging, holding strong to their beliefs and their physical positions.

Five o'clock came and the gate was opened. S. looked at W. and said, "Let's lie down." They linked arms together, feet pointing to the line-up of the hunters' revving vehicles. They looked up at the bright half-moon and stars, and whispered to each other. Headlights illuminated their boot soles and chins as they discussed an alternative plan.

"Let's not give out names or addresses when the cops get here. And let's keep quiet. Don't respond to their remarks, it'll only get us in trouble." It was obvious that they had put themselves into a vulnerable position. Several dozen hunters pushed forward to see what the hold-up was all about.

to each other that it was a beautiful morning. They said, "Mother Earth, this is for you," and searched their souls for the words and prayers and tough warrior fibers that would hold them fast to the ground—solid, uncompromisingly solid. They tried not to laugh at the idiotic verbiage that was hurled in their general direction.

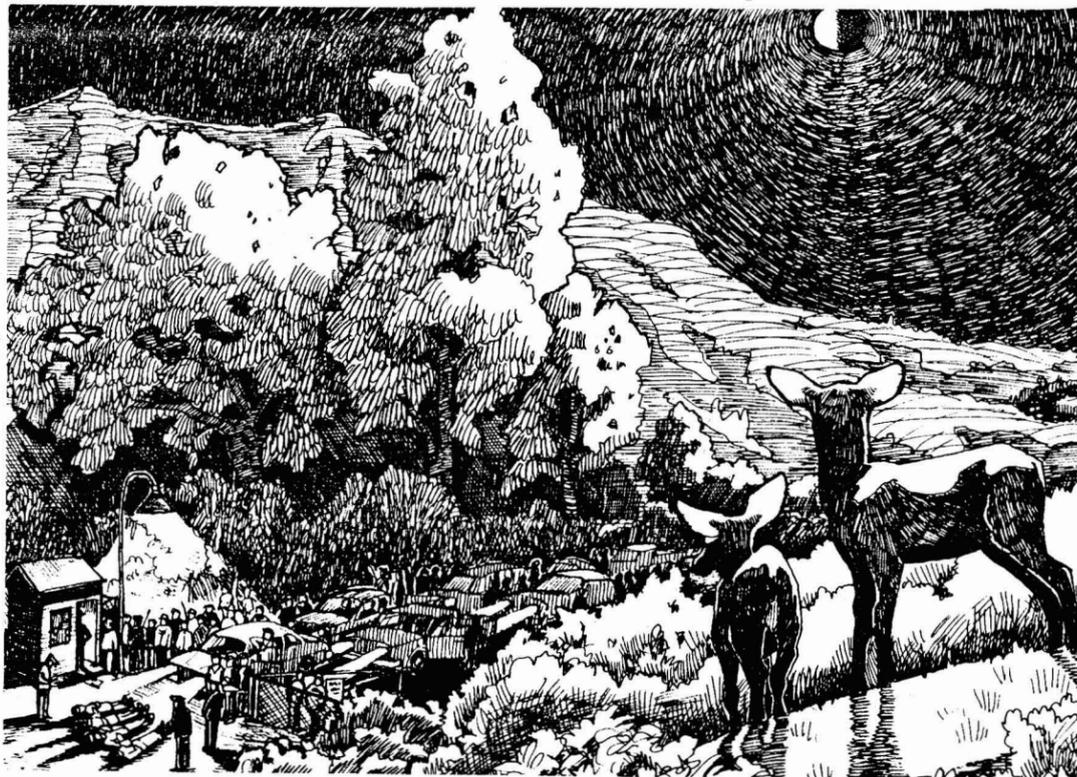
When the cops showed up, the women were arrested for obstructing a roadway and resisting arrest (they'd held firm to their commitment to not give their names or addresses in front of the crowd of hunters). One of the cops was a bit anal, but the other three were almost delightful, explaining that they were late getting to the scene because they had first climbed an overlooking ridge to scope out the "violent situation" with binos before descending. (Even cops have to fear the trigger-happy fingers of hunters?) They joked about how they couldn't find the code for obstructing a roadway, since it so rarely happens. They passed their manuals back and forth, saying, "Can you find it? I can't find it." The arrestees made comments about how efficient bureaucracy is. The cops smiled and kept flipping the pages.

At the arraignment on October 29, three of the women pled not guilty to both charges. The fourth woman, J., will have her case reviewed in the juvenile courts because she is under 18. They see the action as only the beginning — they may pursue legislation that would close City Creek to deer hunting, and they hope to put the issue of killing deer on the front burner for discussion and humane resolution.

The women talked afterwards of the tremendous feeling of empowerment, participating in an all-female non-violent, direct action of civil disobedience with an unambiguous message: DON'T KILL DEER, AND DON'T DO IT HERE. They delayed the hunt in City Creek for 25 minutes, which put the hunters 25 minutes away from where they had wanted to be at dawn, which gave the deer an additional 25 minutes to run and hide. S. said, "The woman who lay with me on the road and waited and watched stars as the hunters hurled threats and paced are some of the bravest women I know."

A. said, "We were risking both bodily harm and arrest...in protest of what we and many others believe to be an inhumane, unsafe, and unethical yearly ritual — the Utah deer hunt." And J. remarked that currently the environmental movement is dominated by middle-class white men and she'd like to see everyone get involved. At 17 years of age, J. said that she lay down that morning because she wants to help change perspectives on killing deer, and also on the role of women within the environmental community.

And so I dedicate this piece to women warriors everywhere, and also to W., whose idea it was to blockade City Creek on the opening day of the Utah deer hunt, October 17th, 1992.



and maybe even elk, and that's good for the government, whom the hunters pay for the chance to kill deer.

In the cold, moon-washed blue of the morning of October 17, two of the four women wore blaze-orange caps with Earth First! stickers rubbed onto the fronts. They had Rhode Gear "Citadel" heavy-duty, extra-long bike locks tucked beneath their coats. The original plan was to lock their necks to the gate and post and prohibit any vehicular access up City Creek Canyon. They had reconned the scene with Kryptonite locks, and they didn't realize until that heart-pounding moment of slamming the gate shut and sitting down and trying to lock in, that Rhode Gear locks are about a quarter of an inch narrower than the bona fide Kryptonites. They struggled with the locks and keys in vain as hunters, lined up in their cars and trucks, began to realize what the women were doing and jumped on them, wrenching them away from the gate, tugging the locks

Four women lay on the pavement, arms linked, silent and not budging, holding strong to their beliefs and their physical positions. The two male activists deflected some abusive comments and finally retreated to the shadows. The DWR agents, also women, were baffled and confused as to what to do about the four protesters. A hunter suggested that they arrest them, yelling, "You got badges!"

"We're not cops," she said. She seemed almost apologetic in adding, "But the police are coming."

Banter went back and forth, with the most popular topics being "human rights," "freedom," "public road," "Bambi" and threats of violence toward the prone activists in the road. Some more activists and supporters showed up, but the police took their time; the longer the arrests were delayed, the longer the hunt would be delayed. The women watched the shooting stars flare across the early morning sky; they commented softly

"Turning Swords into Plowshares"

BY PETE SHANKS

And he shall judge among the people, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

—Isaiah, 2:4

On September 9, 1980, eight people took hammers to two re-entry shrouds for nuclear warheads that were being made at a General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. They also poured about four pints of their own blood on the missile parts and some desks and documents, and said prayers for peace. They were arrested on the spot.

The "Plowshares Eight," the most famous of whom were the Berrigan brothers, Daniel and Philip, the turbulent priests of anti-Vietnam War fame, were consciously acting in the spirit of the prophecy of Isaiah (and of Micah, 4:3, which uses the same language), for they considered nuclear weapons to be the swords of our time. Their action was rooted in their faith. The choice of targets was resolutely practical — the Mark 12A warhead still carries three 335-kiloton H-bombs, on each of 300 Minuteman III missiles; GE brings good things to death — but the spirit of their mission is summed up in Dan Berrigan's quizzical response to the hubbub about the breach of security:

"Of course we had inside information; of course there had been a leak. Our informant is otherwise known in the New Testament as Advocate, Friend, Spirit. We had been at prayer for days... We had been led into the heart of the labyrinth in about two minutes, and with no interference to speak of."

The other six, all veteran peace activists and deeply religious people, were Dean Hammer, Fr. Carl Kabat, Elmer Maas, Sr. Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush and John Schuchardt.

The legal system didn't know what to do with them. They turned down an early plea bargain; tried and failed to argue a Nuremberg defense, that citizens have the right, even the duty, to interfere with the commission of crimes against humanity; were convicted of burglary, conspiracy and criminal mischief and sentenced to one and a half to ten years; won on appeal, on the grounds of judicial bias; lost at the state Supreme Court; were denied a hearing by the US Supreme Court; and finally, on April 10th, 1990, were paroled in consideration of time served before the trial.

Much of the peace movement didn't know what to do with them either. Were they quixotic fools or heroic activists? Were they planning a revolution or flaming out in frustration? Could hammering anything be a nonviolent activity? Did it make any sense for experienced organizers to let themselves be locked away in jail? Would they provoke a crackdown by the security state that might make matters even worse? Were they setting a dangerously naive precedent for every nutcase out there?

These questions were not new then, and are not settled today. The Berrigans and their friends have been facing them, publicly, for 30-odd years. Dan and Phil were adopted by the media in the 1960s as stars of the anti-war movement, for reasons good and bad. They were middle-aged men (Dan was born in '21, Phil in '23); Catholics, when that was considered the most conservative of religious groups; better yet, priests; best of all, for Hollywood's purposes, they were brothers! They were also brave, determined, articulate and deeply sincere in their spiritual beliefs, or they could never have survived the stardom that was thrust upon them, let alone manipulated it.

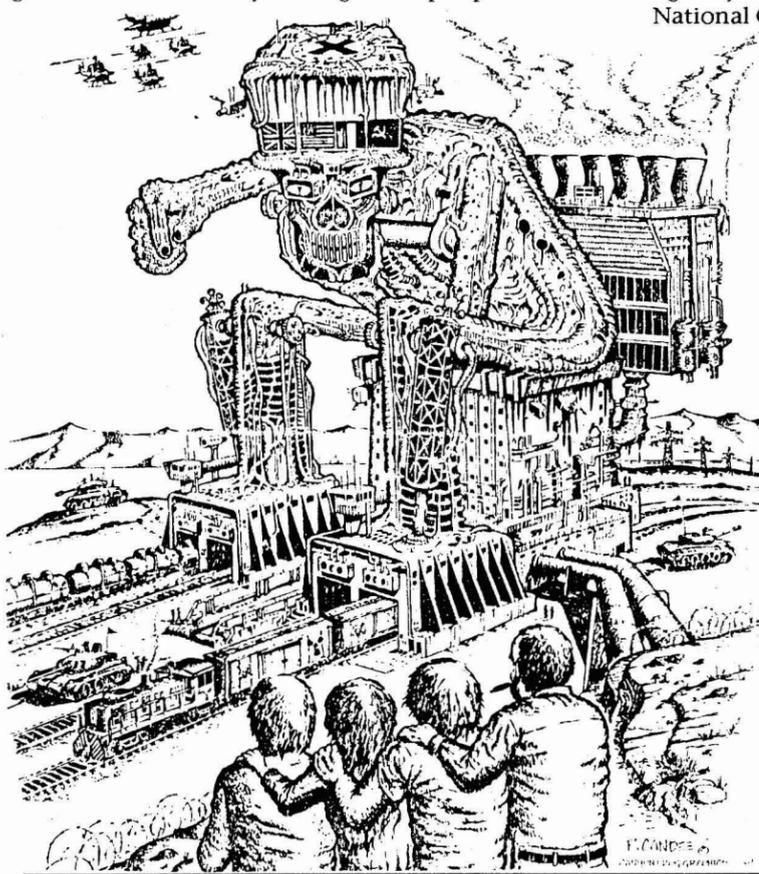
They learned early to witness with the media's help. With many others, they prayed in public, gave speeches, held hearings. Phil poured blood on draft files; Dan was jailed after marching on the Pentagon. Still, the war went on, escalating in horror by the month. They decided to up the ante.

On May 17, 1968, the brothers and seven others raided a draft board in a Baltimore suburb, and burned about 300 files with home-made napalm in the parking lot, in front of TV cameras.

The Catonsville Nine thus made history. Theirs was not the first direct action in American history, nor even the first against the Vietnam War, but it crystallized sentiments about the war with dramatic effect, even if it did not force the courts to rule on the legitimacy of the war itself, as some had hoped. After conviction, Dan Berrigan went underground for four months and led the FBI in a merry dance. "I probably shortened J. Edgar Hoover's life," he says now,

sounding a little less regretful than he seems to think he ought to be. He refused several chances to leave the country, preferring to pop up unpredictably for interviews and even televised sermons. It was a high old time, till finally he was nabbed by the Feds and slung into the slammer, to be hit for a while with absurd charges of conspiring to kidnap Henry Kissinger. Ah, what fun it was to fight the system in the Nixon years.

But the rosy glow of hindsight shouldn't obscure the fact that the pacifist community was deeply divided about the merits of the Catonsville action. "There was a very heated debate about whether that was acceptable," recalls Scott Kennedy, a founding member of the Resource Center for Nonviolence. "People like Dorothy Day from the Catholic Worker and Thomas Merton actually expressed serious reservations, if not actual opposition." The coercive nature of the action, the fact of property damage, the breaking of a law that may not in itself have been unjust, the setting of one's own opinions above the governments...many thoughtful people were



troubled. "Did they advert to the possibility that they might be destroying the painfully compiled dossiers of some applying for Conscientious Objector status?" wondered fellow-Jesuit Edward Duff in a generally sympathetic essay. The action was generally seen as new and controversial.

It was also, in the end, generally regarded as prophetic and valuable. They were right. It worked. Were they right *because* it worked? Did it work because they were right? Does it matter?

The Catonsville Nine wrote a line in the history books. No one can know quite how widespread their effect was, but they certainly contributed to the mounting public sense of the Vietnam War's illegitimacy. They helped to stop the war. They inspired other activists. Other draft cards and files were torched, individually and collectively, up to a million by some estimates. There were other kinds of actions, too, massive moratoriums and huge marches; civil disobedience had been transmitted from the civil rights to the anti-war movement. In those strange days there were murders on campus by the National Guard and state secrets were published in *The New York Times*.

The Plowshares Eight, a dozen years later, inspired a global campaign. In the 12 years since their action, there have been close to 50 other similar acts of direct disarmament, committed by more than 100 different people in at least six countries. Most participants have been involved in only one action, but some are repeaters: Sister Anne Montgomery leads the pack, with six so far, while Kees Koning deserves special mention for undertaking four in eight months, two against the same airplane, soon followed by a four-week fast in jail to protest Dutch weapons sales to Turkey; courts in Holland seem to be lenient, for he served less than a year total.

Many of these acts of direct, generally symbolic, disarmament have been organized by members of Catholic intentional communities, such as the Jonah House in Baltimore, founded in 1973 by Phil Berrigan, his wife Liz McAlister, of Griffiss Plowshares, and others. These actions explicitly follow the plow-

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Excerpts from an Interview with Dan Berrigan

The Ecology of a Moral Sense

BY PETE SHANKS

Dan Berrigan was interviewed for this article in late September. The discussion was spontaneous and wide-ranging; this transcript has been rearranged to group some of his ideas by topic and to present them in a sequence. Within each paragraph, and most topics, the editing has been trivial. (Pete Shanks)

On voluntary arrest.

We've felt very strongly from the start that the symbolic character of an action, which we were interested in, could not really be conveyed unless one were around in various ways to sort of unravel the symbol, or communicate the symbol, and, of course, we were looking toward the opportunity that a trial would offer, that the media would offer, and a lot of travel and audiences would offer, and if one simply walks away, nothing of that can be done, and the whole business of many, many people hangs in the air. I think there is also a certain measure of, even unwilling, admiration and ability to listen to people who have done something and who stand there.

On corporate control.

The events of the last two years, throughout the world, have created a kind of ideological vacuum. This multi-corporate monster rushes in, either directly war-making or indirectly controlling the lives, economies and destiny of others. It's really all one kind of hydra-headed monster, with inevitable aspects of violence, whether in the line of war or in the line of simply throttling the third world.

General Electric brings nuclear weapons and other good things to life, you know? That's been kind of a paradigm for the whole horror. The same day we were sentenced in 1990, GE was being sentenced in Philadelphia, 40 miles away, for massive larceny against the government. It was really quite a day of contrasts, because that was a General Electric nuclear weapons facility we went into. They're sort of milking the cow with many teats.

On the difference between nuclear and conventional weaponry.

It just seems to me that the Gulf War illustrated the constant blurring of any distinction in practice, in war, between nuclear and conventional weaponry. The conventional weaponry is, arguably, a little less devastating, but it is still absolutely indiscriminate with respect to the lives of people across the board, whether they are combatants or non-combatants. It's more in the interests of this superpower to eschew nuclear weapons and pursue these equally horrid, so-called conventional weapons. To attack the one is to be clear that the whole system is anti-human and mass murderous; this whole distinction doesn't make any sense to me. They could, for instance, decide, as they have, certainly since Hiroshima — it would be purely tactical, never ethical or moral — that they would not employ nuclear weapons, but there's no hesitation at all to use this horrid anti-personnel weaponry, against anyone, anybody who's in the way, and all praise to anyone who does

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Plowshares

Continued from previous page

shares model, citing the Biblical prophecies as their inspiration. Others, especially on the West Coast, are more loosely connected, usually because the specifically Christian connection is less important, occasionally even offensive, to those taking part. In these cases, every action is the personal act of one or more individuals, taking unique responsibility for their own decisions. There is no conspiracy here, except a conspiracy of hope and faith, and a determination to act.

The courts have trouble fitting these unusual people into their own mindset. One judge refused to treat all the Thames River Plowshares activists the same, despite their requests. Another gave up on the Kairos Plowshares Too (such puns are common in the names taken) and removed the conditions of their probation when they said they wouldn't cooperate. Yet another imposed savage sentences of 18 years on Carl Kabat and Helen Woodson of Silo Pruning Hooks. When people undertake one of these actions, they must anticipate anything from no punishment to life. No predictable consequence can be anticipated; you don't know what you're getting into. And yet they continue.

An action every two or three months, on average, most of them ignored by the mainstream media.

More than a hundred activists willing to risk everything. Why do they do it?

Are they right?
Does it work?

What is a plowshares action anyway?

There is no canonical form. They are acts taken in a generally sympathetic spirit, and the term is now being used

to encompass actions by non-Christians who are not inspired by Isaiah. Jack Cohen-Joppa, co-editor of the *Nuclear Resister*, offers this definition: "I view it as using hand tools, as opposed to means of



dismantling or destruction that are removed from the individual's immediate control, to damage and disable or disarm components of nuclear weapons, their delivery or guidance systems."

Nuclear weapons were the original focus, to be sure, but the problems are wider than that, as is increasingly apparent. "One has to understand," says Elmer Maas, of the Plowshares Eight, Plowshares Number Four, and Thames River Plowshares, "that the nuclear is the tip of the iceberg, perhaps a keystone in the arch of the cafeteria of violence — the spectrum of violence, understood in that sense — that is part of this culture that extends from nuclear

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Berrigan

Continued from previous page

anything about any of it.

On Peter Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller, and how their Navstar action fits into the Plowshares tradition. (Ed.: See *Earth First! Journal*, Samhain, 1992)

I never knew those folks personally, which is all my loss, but anyway, I read about their action, sure. I wasn't at all clear as to whether they wanted to be known as plowshares people. It was certainly a brilliant piece of work, and as far as I'm concerned, is entirely within that tradition.

It seems to me that this particular action is going to be very helpful. It's already opened a debate here in the East about symbol versus sabotage, and that's a very important debate, and it's not going to come down, it seems to me, hard on one or the other; it's going to enlighten both sides, but by a certain generous view of the other side.

We're very attached to the symbolic aspect of things here, but I don't want to make that into a big bone of contention. And people have to feel free to interpret things in a way that makes sense to them. I am not at all sure that sabotage is any less non-violent than symbolic activity, because I restrict the question of violence entirely to the maltreatment of human beings.

On activists with young children.

I like to ask people, what happens to children if parents don't go to jail? And that seems to be a little thought-provoking. We really, in these groups in the East, we've had parents and grandparents from the start, from the first action, and it was a very, very important question that they be done in view of and for the sake of the children, because, the way things have been going there won't be any.

On the direction of the movement.

It seems to me that there are certainly general parameters that everybody who's being generally responsible recognizes and that has to do both with the spirituality and a tactical sense. In other words, people prepare carefully according to some tradition of what a human being is or what a human community is, specifically religious or not. So, say anything really life-giving unless we are very sensitive to human life, we don't hurt people in order to make a point, and actions are called to be nonviolent in this tradition. Those statements are very general, and they mean to leave a great deal to the individual people in communities across the country.

I can tell you what I hope for, I hope the actions continue in great numbers, I hope that they continue with great depth, with great generosity and great courage. I hope that the really savage response of the courts, especially in the Mid-West, never proves to be a deterrent, as it hasn't. These are the harshest sentences in my lifetime, they've done everything to these nonviolent people except put them on death row, like Helen Woodson with 18 years, and Carl Kabat's sentence, and the others. But it seems that those kinds of judges just electrify lots of people and instead of paralyzing them, get them moving, as has happened again and again.

I don't know, these are general reflections, but I don't want to get very tactical because that has a certain element of dictation about it. We're all trying to salvage the next generation, the ecology, including the ecology of a moral sense, in ourselves, and affecting people in a lot of directions.

Direct Action, Social Movements and Deep Ecology

BY DON SMITH

As a movement, Earth First! seems to lack a well-developed vision of itself as part of the larger radical transformation necessary in our society if justice is to prevail — most importantly the justice of biodiversity. I'm speaking of changes so radical that deep ecology becomes the dominant paradigm in our world.

In order for us to better understand our role, not only in the environmental movement but in radical social change generally, Earth First! must explore assumptions about itself and develop greater sophistication in strategy and tactics. An exploration of these concerns is too often absent from the pages of the *Earth First! Journal*. In fact, it is probably too often absent from the thinking of Earth First!ers in general.

This lack of development in Earth First! and the *Journal* may be attributed to the absence of a historical perspective in our society. For instance, we are not taught to respect or learn from the experience of others. This weakness is often reflected in the naiveté of adolescence and early adulthood.

As individuals, nearly everyone experiences a period of naiveté, a time when ideas take on powerful meaning and a feeling of originality. It is during this time that some individuals begin to formulate a radical world view and a vision for a new society. Unfortunately, many don't move beyond what should be a transitional stage. Instead they carry this adolescence into adulthood. Some become bitter while others just never seem to grow up (i.e. Peter Pans.)

With the ecological crisis staring us in the face, one can become bitter, falling into despair, with ideals fading and motivations diminishing. Moving beyond this transitional phase is necessary to become a committed warrior. The leaders of any movement have a responsibility to be aware of this developmental stage, if despair is to be discouraged among the young and new leaders cultivated.

Still, there is much to value in this aspect of our youth: dogma is challenged by the young and new perspectives are offered to the more experienced. New paradigms confront the old, and fresh theories replace stagnant assumptions. In the end, following initiation into warriorhood, the heroine and the hero revitalize the old wise woman and old wise man. Still, such warriors, both women and men, would be nothing without their elders.

Direct Action and Civil Disobedience

In developing our strategy and choosing tactics, it is necessary that we understand what we mean by direct action and civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is normally thought of as a form of direct action in which one specifically intends to be arrested. The Wobblies did it with the intent of filling up the jails. Their strategy was to strengthen themselves as a labor

movement by placing a burden on the system of incarceration and the courts, a legal system that backed the interests of the capitalists. Besides civil disobedience, direct action may also include picket lines and demonstrations, often referred to as social actions in the tradition of Catholicism.

Using these direct action tactics,

organizations in the citizen action movement challenge politicians and public and corporate officials through confrontation. These groups take their

inspiration from Saul Alinsky, the radical and uncompromising rabble rouser of the 50s.

Using Pete Shanks' article, "Turning Swords Into Plowshares," (preceding page), we can further examine our understanding of direct action generally and civil disobedience specifically.

Direct Action: Personal Empowerment or Personal Salvation?

For many people Daniel and Philip Berrigan have been a source of inspiration due to the courage of their spiritual acts of resistance. (See interview with Daniel Berrigan on page 10.) The Berrigans, borrowing from the civil rights movement, were partially responsible for introducing civil disobedience to the anti-war movement. Civil disobedience (or divine obedience, as the Berrigans would say) developed further in the hands of anti-nuclear weapons resisters, Central American solidarity activists, and radical environmentalists, such as Earth First!. Anti-abortion crusaders have also used direct action tactics, including civil disobedience.

There is the legitimate concern that too much emphasis can be placed on direct action as salvation or a personal statement at the expense of real change. Religiously-motivated civil disobedience is especially vulnerable to this criticism. For the Berrigans, their witness was the expression of their faith. Their actions gave concrete meaning to their belief in biblical prophecies; scripture was their source of inspiration, and motivation.

Inaction or failure to carry out their civil disobedience would be the same as ignoring the prophetic word of Christ. However, at what point do such religious or spiritual acts become a form of self-indulgence, in which personal salvation stands above the

larger political goals, such as encouraging nuclear resistance?

For the Berrigans, such self-indulgence did not exist. They considered their actions to be political, even if less so than faithful; their actions had tactical and strategic value. Nonetheless, the feeling persists that personal actions of this nature, based as they are on a faith in God, can be elitist. The significance of the Berrigans' actions may be misunderstood by others who don't value the symbolism of their biblical language. The symbolism may be so imposing that it may even dis-



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If it's so Bad, Why isn't Everybody Worried?

BY MARK DAVIS

In late May of 1989, Peg Millett, Marc Baker, Dave Foreman and I were arrested on a variety of monkeywrenching charges. During the two years between our arrest and the beginning of our trial (along with Ilse Asplund arrested later), I spoke to and debated before a number of audiences, discussing the mess we were in. My debating opponents were often intelligent, articulate and well-meaning people who sincerely believed that there is no reason to change the way humans are treating the planet. I learned a lot from these encounters, and my purpose in writing this is to share some of what I learned with others interested in the crucial task of convincing the sleeping body politic of the necessity of quick, and probably painful, change.

I have been involved with various forms of do-goodism for about twenty-four years, and observed others similarly engaged. Probably less than half the motivation fueling the work originated in altruism or a sense of duty. Most of us spend our lives looking for an identity, trying to prove our worthiness, hoping to get laid, expressing rage at authority, trying to get out of the house, combating boredom...there is no end to that list. There is nothing wrong with any of that. I've never met a pure and utterly selfless human, and I am sure not a candidate. There are a lot worse things one can do to build an identity than help crippled children or work to protect the Earth. But it is important to know what your motivations are before you put yourself forward as a spokesperson for environmental sanity. People will hear a lot more than you think you're saying.

The truth is that we are all in the same sinking boat, from the most painfully sincere wannabe hunter-gatherer to the CEO of Exxon. The extinction which looms over us will not be selective on the basis of either moral purity or net worth. Nobody likes to be insulted or threatened. An audience will be able to hear a message about treating the Earth with respect and humility more easily if the person delivering it displays some of those qualities. And there are simply too many of "them" and not enough of "us" for sanity to prevail through antagonistic methods.

The people attempting to promote attitudes and practices conducive to the long-term health of the planet and our own species have been handicapped by our acceptance of terms and definitions offered by those promoting business as usual.

There are only a few arguments used to justify the destruction of the planet, and they recur repeatedly. They are all essentially dogmatic in nature, that is, they all depend on a willingness to ignore the overwhelming evidence that we face catastrophe in favor of defending a comfortable belief system.

Money First!

The premise here is that the greatest good for the largest number of people demands that the economy deliver a constant high rate of growth. This growth translates into a higher standard of living for everyone, raising the comfort level of the wealthy (perceived as a deserved reward for intelligence and hard work) and bringing those on the bottom up out of poverty as an

expanding economic pie allows more people access to goods and services. It is a wonderful and practically unanswerable argument as long as everyone is pretending that we live on a planet with unlimited raw materials to turn into goods, and an equally infinite

formulated and released into the environment every year, often in large quantities. Very few of these substances are tested to determine the effect their introduction into air, water and the food chain will have. The producers of such chemicals are conducting an

on our own comfort and continue to stuff ourselves with the plunder.

One of the consequences of attitude is that people who insist pointing out the fact that we're going to hell on a fast train are frequently compared to Chicken Little. Chicken Little is the famous fowl who came to the conclusion that the sky was falling because she was conked by an acorn. It's an attractive argument, combining as it does elements of folk wisdom (there really are people who see disaster everywhere) with a certain pleasurable disdain for those prone to hysterical and overreaction.

Chicken Little in the nursery is a silly little hen whose alarms can be safely ignored. The current crisis being announced and documented by people whose standards of proof are quite high. The consensus in the scientific community is that the biosphere is in trouble, trouble quite possibly severe enough to threaten the continued existence of the human species. It is important to note that this is a consensus, which is not the same thing as proof. The only acceptable proof that the danger facing the Earth is potentially lethal to all higher life forms would be the extinction of everything more complicated than cockroaches.

The Myth of Reason

Contrary to cherished belief, a little human behavior is determined by reason or logic. We are driven by motives of which we often have the haziest of perceptions, originating in genetic imperatives and conditioning responses operating below the level of conscious choice.

The myth is that we as individuals and a species arrive at our conclusions by deductive reasoning from carefully ascertained facts and then proceed to act according to the insights thus gained. The premises upon which the theory rests are invalid—first, that there is a computer-like central process

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Those of us receiving the benefits of the destruction of the biosphere tend to enjoy the privileges and pleasures with which the pillaging provides us. The fact that it is suicidal is an inconvenience easily dealt with through the time-honored mechanism of denial.

capacity for absorbing the poisonous byproducts thus generated.

The reality is quite different. If the demand for housing goes up, more units are built to satisfy it with a corresponding increase in the GNP. There is rejoicing in boardrooms and the kitchens of the workers who are paid to build houses, but from the standpoint of the biosphere upon which tycoons and carpenters are equally dependent, it is a disaster. More housing means fewer trees, as forests are cut down to provide not only lumber for construction but paper to record and finance the process. Housing is often built on "undeveloped" land, another "resource." This land is ripped up, leveled, partially paved.

Far from being undeveloped, this land was very highly developed, crammed full of life forms busily engaged in the invisible work of evolution which has resulted in, among other things, us. The land once supported a vast variety of visible and invisible organisms vital to the proper functioning of the local ecosystem, which is inextricably linked to the larger chain of life which keeps this planet habitable. Now it is a biological desert, capable of supporting only a very few, poison-resistant species.

The naturally occurring life has been replaced by concrete, asphalt, artificially bred plants and humans, and their houses, machines and equally artificial pets. The trees, which are now houses, are gone. Humans cannot "produce" lumber, they can only chop down and cut up trees. Trees grow as a result of the interaction of sunlight, land, air, water and the accumulated wisdom of millennia expressed in the DNA of seeds. The chemically managed tree farms which are touted as viable replacements for naturally occurring forests support only a small fraction of the species present in their unmanaged predecessors, once again disrupting and impoverishing the biosphere.

This scenario doesn't really address a potentially even greater cost, that of using the atmosphere, oceans and land masses as "free" waste dumps. Many of the scientists studying the situation believe that the consequences of CFC use are going to cause the extinction of most higher life forms, maybe us. It is difficult to imagine how the cost of this could be factored into the price of a can of freon and thus paid for, according to free market ideology, by the consumer.

The EPA estimates that there are over 3,000 new chemical compounds

enormous, unannounced experiment using all life, including human, as unpaid and involuntary experimental subjects. None of this is reflected in the prices of the products which finally reach the marketplace.

This reality has been obscured by a fog of double talk. It is tough to come up with a more accurate, succinct statement of the truth than the slogan often seen at Earth First! demonstrations: THERE ARE NO JOBS ON A DEAD PLANET!

The Chicken Little Hypothesis

Those of us receiving the benefits of the destruction of the biosphere—a group roughly coterminous with the population of the industrialized world—tend to enjoy the privileges and pleasures with which the pillaging provides us. The fact that it is suicidal is an inconvenience easily dealt with through the time-honored mechanism of denial. Nobody wants to have to do the things which might offer some hope of stopping our rush toward extinction. It would be very unpleasant to face the facts and make the required changes in our lives, economies and belief systems. It's much easier to deny the problem, keep our eyes firmly glued



Peg Millett and Mark Davis:

Behind Bars... Still

By Karen Pickle

Peg rakes rocks outside, looking for movements in the desert sand of lizards, snakes, birds and spiders. This is her Zen and her escape. She also sings, and she embraces images given by friends over the phone of Earth First! actions and activities, getting vicarious excitement from news of the movement.

Mark devours books and writes essays, escaping the prison concrete and bars with the vehicle powered by words. He builds his optimism by doing research in the prison law library, where he works as his jail job.

They each find their own route to relative peace of mind and maintenance of sanity in this insane world of federal prison. The wheels to those routes are greased by support of their friends and allies.

As the latest blow — parole denial — settled on their psyches, they've had to, each in their own way, draw on their reserve of strength to find a way to nourish optimism and hope, stay sane, keep the spirit above the surface of the water.

I start out on this personal note because this is undeniably a political situation, to be challenged/dealt with through political and strategic means. The basis for their parole denial is certainly political. BUT... These are two very real people. Two loving living crying caring angry kickass activist real

people. In prison. Okay, that established, here's the situation:

Mark Davis and Peg Millett have been in federal prison for a year and three months as of winter solst. Readers of the Journal will recall stories from the sensational Arizona Five conspiracy Trial during the summer of 1991 that ended in a plea bargain deal and prison sentences. Two months of courtroom drama leading up to the plea bargain was just a monkeywrenching trial, significant in and of itself, but laid open some of the folds of the government's underlying political agenda. FBI agents admitted more than once that the government's desire to get convictions and harsh sentences went beyond their aim to punish the five offenders; it was based on an effort to "send a message" to the environmental movement, as special agent Mike Felt who worked undercover with activists for a year, put it. That political agenda brought covert dirty tricks to the investigation, innuendo and wild accusations to the courtroom and now that agenda is bringing unfair parole denial to the two of the Arizona Five who still jailed.

The Federal Parole Board denied parole in October based largely on charges that had been dismissed against the five. After their 1989 arrests,

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Foreman

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And finally, the last parameter, and possibly the most controversial one, and I think one that is sort of a litmus test: in Earth First!, while we don't all engage in monkeywrenching, or even advocate it, we don't condemn it. We recognize monkeywrenching as a legitimate tool of self-defense for some people within Earth First! Because monkeywrenching symbolizes, I think, our fundamental strategy for dealing with the mad machine. And that's a recognition that good old liberal reform isn't going to work with this system. Designating a wilderness area, for example, is not liberal reform. It's monkeywrenching. The Wilderness Act of 1964 was an act of monkeywrenching, because it was a recognition that the Forest Service and the Park Service were inherently incapable of protecting wilderness values on their own, that their whole basis, their whole drive, their whole religious impetus was development. Gifford Pinchot said, "The first principle of conservation is development." And it's still going on. The Wilderness Act of 1964 was putting handcuffs on the Forest Service and the Park Service so they couldn't screw up these wild areas.

That is our political approach, one of monkeywrenching, of thwarting, a political aikido, of taking the energy of the mass machine and turning it against itself. Of taking the power of the iron ore in a bulldozer and liberating it so it can go back into the Earth. Of taking the madness of the Forest Service's forest plan, and twisting it against the Forest Service. Yeah, we file appeals and lawsuits, we write letters and make wilderness proposals, but we aren't fooled for a minute that we are engaged in liberal reform. We're sticking a wrench in the system, we're slowing it down, we're flooring it, we're kicking it in the face.

And why are we doing all this? Why do we have these parameters within this tribe? It's because we are the most important generation of human beings to ever walk this planet. Today, this moment, 1987, is the most critical time in three and a half billion years of organic evolution on this planet. We aren't trying to save backpacking parks. We aren't trying to clean up the air so we have nice, scenic views of the Grand Canyon. We're trying to help evolution continue.

Some of the most respected and famous biologists and ecologists in the world today are saying things that make my blood run cold. If I didn't get drunk now and then, if I didn't have a sense of humor, I'd strap dynamite onto myself and go down Glen Canyon dam.

We are living in an era of overpowering horror. Michael Soule, the founder of the society of conservation biology, recently said that vertebrate evolution may be at an end. Others have said that one-third of all species may become extinct in 20 years, that by the turn of the century, the only large mammals left will be those we choose to allow to exist. Let that sink in! My God! We don't have time for normal lives! We don't have time to pretend that it's business as usual.

It's time for a warrior society to rise up out of the Earth, and put ourselves in front of the juggernaut of destruction, to be antibodies against the human pox that's ravaging this precious, beautiful planet. I don't want to live if there aren't any rhinoceroses. I don't want to live if there aren't any mountain lions in California. That's what my life is for, is to throw it in the wheels of this insane "progress," and to fight for it.

That's what a warrior society is for.

There's room to do other things, to develop appropriate technology, and alternative ways of living, so that after this insane system self-destructs, we have a society that can continue on. But there's also a need for warriors, and Earth First! is warriors! And if you aren't a warrior, then I suggest you find another group. And I'm not criticizing you, because there's a need for other groups and other methods. But in Earth First!, we've got to be warriors first and foremost. And there is no more glorious life than the life of a warrior in defense of what's right.

My heart is buoyed and cheered by the warriors I see here this week; the women, the men, the children, and those of us who are turning gray. We're all warriors, we're all fighters, we're all dedicated to something so much larger and greater and more beautiful than ourselves. And that's the essence, I think, of being a warrior. The recognition that in your life, the most important thing is not your life. As Martin Luther King said, "If a human being does not have something to die for, they don't deserve to live." Those are hard words, but they're true words. And I pity those people who are only interested in their paychecks, their VCRs, and their own lives. I salute you, and I celebrate you, and I love you for being fellow warriors.

Earth First!



Plowshares...

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weapons to intervention and to the key role that Navstar played in the Gulf War and other interventionary enterprises that the United States might undertake, and it extends to repression and to the attempt to control other governments and communities in the world, for the sake of greed and for the sake of providing a favorable condition for United States investments."

From there it is but a step to considering dual-use technologies, which have military value and some kind of civilian use. Most of us use one regularly, the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, funded quite explicitly in the '40s and '50s to facilitate troop movement and civilian evacuations, but clearly of primarily civilian use. The nuclear power industry is an often-cited example of an ostensibly civilian industry that would not have existed without the war machine. The controversial Global Positioning System (GPS) is clearly being floated out for nominal civilian use as a public relations smoke screen for its main, military function. The war industry is the target of the plowshares activists, in all its manifold guises.

Most of the actions have a strong symbolic component, although the question of sabotage has never been far from the surface. "Some people have restrained from causing excessive physical damage to a particular weapons system," explains Cohen-Joppa,

"So that the focus of the action could be more on the weapons system and its illegitimacy, than on what might be construed as mere vandalism."

Where symbolism slides into actual damage can be a grey area. "We meant for a sort of symbolic action," says Stephen Hancock of the Upper Heyford Plowshares in England, "Even though the amount of damage that we were billed for was considerably more than we expected." They were accused of doing well over a quarter of a million dollars worth of damage. Of course, that's about the cost of a toilet seat for a military airplane. At war industry rates, the damage estimates go up fast.

Even when the damage is substantial, "We don't see what we're doing as sabotage," says Maas. "Sabotage is something different. This came up in one of the trials, where people were acquitted of sabotage because they were not attempting to disable one country or one military force to the advantage of the enemy or to the advantage of someone else."

'Sabotage' is a loaded word, which is why some prosecutors like to use it. Another is 'terrorism,' which the presentencing report tried to apply to the recent Navstar action; it was of course absurd, since on none of these occasions has there ever been any hint of an attempt to compel disarmament by threatening some terrible consequence. The terror is all on the other side, with the federal marshalls backing up the almost unthinkable evil people who can threaten their enemies (and even their friends) with extinction. It's bad enough that they do so as a 'deterrent'; to build a first-strike capability is terrorism on a scale never seen before. The plowshares activists use prayer, hand tools and sometimes humor, but never threats or violence against people.

They do, certainly, damage property. And there are those who refuse to include property damage of any kind within their definition of nonviolence. Some of these 'purists' are not practitioners of nonviolence anyway: it is not uncommon to hear comments like, "If those kooks are so goddamned non-violent, how come they...?" It's easy to say that such critics can be brushed aside, but there is, I think, a lesson to learn even from such ignorance — the language of nonviolence is not communicating to them. Activists sometimes forget that nonviolence itself is a



WAR? THANK GOD! NOW PERHAPS WE CAN GET BACK TO BUSINESS!

technical term, whose meaning within the movement has evolved over decades of discussion. There is, after all, something ludicrous about the vision of nonviolently hammering anything. A hammer is a tool for the appropriate application of force, for the focusing and channelling of vigorous effort so as to magnify its impact. Those who are well-versed in the theory and practice of nonviolent action should never forget that they may need to speak in two languages, one with

their supporters and one with their opponents. It is a useful discipline to listen with another's ears.

Within the broad peace movement, there are those who believe only in passive resistance, such as placing your own body at a missile launch site or on railroad tracks, and those who consider it to be acceptable to, for instance, remove part of the railroad track if that can be done without causing an accident. Is it less coercive to force another into the choice of whether or not to injure you than to force them simply to stop what they are doing? It is hard work to face our fears and our unexamined prejudices — "Thinking makes American boys' heads hurt," gloated the villain in Richard Condon's *The Manchurian Candidate* — and who are we to say it's good for anyone but ourselves? We are participants in the political process. It's what we do. Some support the status quo by not fighting it; some fight it by not supporting it. All of us, like it or not, take part in the debate.

Once you cross the threshold into accepting any destruction of property as valid, then, in Scott Kennedy's words, "there is a continuum from the strictly symbolic to more tactical areas." Much nonsense has been written about this continuum, as if there were some logical distinction between a small amount of damage and a large one. There are tactical differences, certainly, for example as to whether a more dramatic attack will impress and inspire supporters more than it enrages and provokes opponents. But morally, if you consider a weapons system to be fundamentally evil, why not destroy it, if you have the opportunity?

In the recent Navstar satellite action, Peter Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller were faced with eight nuclear weapons guidance satellites in various stages of completion. There was no possibility that assaulting those machines would harm any other breathing creature. In this case, they were apprehended by security guards very quickly — it's amazing how fast you can do \$3 million dollars' worth of harm in the right circumstances, or at least that's what Rockwell is telling the insurance company. But what if, like several of the plowshares activists, they had been left undisturbed for a few hours? Had they dismantled all eight would they have been more guilty than if they merely axed one?

The court would have said so; they would surely have been put away for a solid decade, maybe much more. Heck, eight satellites at \$50 million per, plus a couple of clean rooms and heaven knows what else...half a billion would probably have put them in the Guinness Book of Records. Front-page stuff, no? They might have provoked an extremely wide debate, even perhaps at the level of presidential politics.

As it was, their action may have had the most direct effect on the war machine yet. It is always hard to tell if an action against the war industry slowed them down, since their habits of secretiveness and their skills at creative accounting and scheduling keep us in the dark. Even if Navstar deployment was delayed for some time, that may not be the major consequence of the action.

The environmental direct-action people have more experience at this, since they can see their failures in the sawn-off stumps and count their successes in the old-growth forests. "What I found out was that it was really the symbolism, not the number of hours that we actually shut down a particular

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Plowshares

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bulldozer, that actually carried the message and had the power," says Mike Roselle, editor of the *Earth First Journal*. If a few people, like the Aegis Plowshares, who probably had the chance, managed to scuttle a battleship, it would be "a very important and dramatic statement," he comments. "I would think that it would be very effective. On the other hand, the potential for loss of life and also for pollution of the environment is great and those things would have to be weighed very carefully, and I would think it would be very easy for the public to see this as a very reckless action, whereas one of just pounding the deck symbolically would be more easy to understand, even if it was somewhat less powerful in terms of the message it projected."

Aegis Plowshares did pound the deck. How much did you know about the action last year? Did they communicate?

To publicize an action, it may be desirable to do it publicly and to insist on being arrested, as several of the plowshares people have. This is by no means the same as saying that turning yourself in is a necessary component of legitimate civil disobedience actions. Noam Chomsky pointed out in 1970, in an article about the Berrigans, that "there is no moral compulsion for one who seeks to prevent criminal actions of the state to submit voluntarily to punishment for his actions."

If you believe that what you are attacking is evil, why on earth should you play the evil-doer's game by accepting that the attack itself is a criminal offense? Why not keep yourself quiet, while making the action as noisy as possible, and do it again?

There may be practical reasons. In England, according to Stephen Hancock, "We've definitely seen, like in the Animal Liberation Front here, a lot of people get a lot of harassment because the actions aren't claimed, whereas our experience with more open actions is that only the people who take responsibility get the brunt of the reaction." He also advocates more symbolic-type actions: "I think it's a good idea if plowshares doesn't become an elite of activists, disarming weapons on behalf of other people, and that we lay pretty bare and open in our processes, our preparation processes, our fears, and so on, and our way of building community and support, and we make that available to other people, so they can apply similar processes to their resistance or might encourage other people into resistance. I think by engaging in more secretive stuff then it's much more difficult to share those processes with people."

Secret processes do have their own dangers. It is all too easy to become insular and rigid, detached from a broader community of discussion and support, and thus less able to spread the message the action implies. Without explanation, the actor may seem to be a hero to some, a fool to others, and a stranger to all. For those trying to call attention to the common humanity we share, this is a serious risk.

For one of the aims of direct disarmament actions is certainly to provide inspiration. The more extreme actions shift the dialogue, in the same way that the Reagan Republicans succeeded in shifting the political dialogue of America to the right in the early '80s. This can be uncomfortable.

Plowshares actions have not been widely covered in the mainstream press. There is occasional mention, especially if a certified 'star' like a Berrigan is involved, or if the activist has a real talent for public relations. Katya Komisaruk, with her 'White Rose' label

cleverly raising the specter of fascism (the original White Rose were German anti-Nazis during World War II), and her sense of the absurd (she had the wit to ask Miss Manners what would be appropriate dress for her trial), caught some attention for her personality as much as her action (the card and cookies for the guards didn't hurt either). But normally the coverage is limited and local, spotty even in the left-wing press that might be expected to be sympathetic.

Evil is a hard sell. No one wants to confront it, or to believe that it exists. The political right see virtue there, which is their privilege, and we can leave them to their rose-tinted kaleidoscopes. The center is devoted to the institutions we have, warts and all, and does not like to be confronted by claims that the system allows not just mistakes but sins. The left is forced to confront the ugly fact that if evil exists and we are not actively opposing it, we are in complicity with it. These plowshares people are prophets, acting from a certainty that makes everybody else squirm. It is so much easier to dismiss them as having gone over the edge, as frustrated cranks, as embarrassing deformities best kept hidden in the cellar. If they are right, shouldn't we be with them?

Direct Action

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courage some people from acting. Non-believers may be daunted by the high moral plane on which the Berrigans stand when it is so deeply rooted in an unfamiliar or unwanted language. Furthermore, divine obedience connotes a patriarchal supernatural/species hierarchy—the supremacy of God, humans in the image of God, man as the steward of beasts.

You don't have to be religious to ground your actions morally. Nor do those motivated by spiritual beliefs hold a moral supremacy over those who are politically and ethically motivated, despite the fact that the spiritually moved often imply this, however unintentional, in their personal and public pronouncements.

Nonviolence and Ecotage

Shanks raises important questions regarding nonviolence and property damage relevant to Earth First!. This is especially true with ecotage. Writer and monk Thomas Merton and social activist Dorothy Day criticized the Berrigans and their accomplices for



breaching the line dividing violence from nonviolence when carrying out their destruction of property. Also, west coast Christian pacifist James Douglas publicly criticized the secrecy of Plowshares actions. Can the same concerns regarding violence and secrecy be directed to ecotage?

This perspective brings to mind criticism some Earth Firsters have for those advocating ecotage. Tree spiking, in particular, presents problems for many because of the potential for violence. But perhaps more importantly, some are more concerned with tree spiking as a tactic than they are about the morality of tree spiking—it does not make sense to spike trees if it costs the campaign public support, especially from the logging community. The fear is that tree spiking can bring down the overall success of a campaign, or make other forms of direct action less effective.

For George Hayduke, the original Earth Firster, damage of property was not violence, and if it was, so what. It had to be done. As the earth graders proceeded to build the road, ending the grader's destruction was paramount. Time to discuss the morality of such an action was unavailable—evil had to be extinguished and future discussions on such matters could wait until after celebrating the grader's going up in flames.

Of course, there are circumstances when the time for talking about an action is unavailable—for example, when stumbling upon a bulldozer resting at night, with evidence of its roadbuilding destruction in plain view. However, committed and disciplined warriors must take the time to plan, analyze and make preparations whenever possible.

The sometimes unpleasant work of developing sound strategy and effective tactics is imperative if what we really desire is to successfully defend the integrity of wilderness. The temptation to wallow in the romanticism of higher moral pursuits such as burning a bulldozer must be avoided if such actions are to be done with adequate ethical and strategic preparation.

Too often what happens is that morality gets played out in questions of building strategy. Or an individual's psychological condition overly influences his politics to the point where he acts out deeply rooted personal complexes in meetings, actions, etc., obstructing the process or the action itself. Or an activist takes a dogmatic position by claiming a purity of insight, strutting confidently while actually concealing her insecurities. Such moral purity doesn't exist.

Direct Action as Strategy; Civil Disobedience as Tactic

In any situation, one can usually argue the advantages of one tactic over another. But tactics ought to be situationally considered more often than chosen on the basis of an altruistic moral principle. Morals simply reflect value judgments which originate from the imagination, the intellect, or for some the word of God. For the non-believer, there is no such thing as a truly objective moral principle.

Rather than arguing over tactics we should be seeing the inherent value of nearly all tactics, while debating strategy. From strategy comes the con-

text from which to determine appropriate tactics. If an organization or movement decides upon a strategy of direct action, deciding upon tactics will give substance and form to the strategy.

Furthermore, to allow civil disobedience to become the *only* strategy would be a fatal error. Civil disobedience is a tactic and is a means to an end, not the end in itself. Likewise, to allow

direct action to be our only strategy would be a mistake. We are more diverse and adaptable than to allow this to happen.

In the sixties German social

theorist Jurgen Habermas criticized the student movement for seeking action for action's sake. The same can be true in the case of Earth First! if civil disobedience becomes the goal (or strategy instead of tactic), or direct action is done for the sake of direct action. Without adequate preparation and analysis, such anti-intellectual posturing can be fatal to the movement. Strategically, civil disobedience can lead to excessive arrests, court fines, jail time, and subpoenas, eventually destroying a campaign or movement and depleting an individual's energies and finances. Civil disobedience must be selectively chosen, not pursued as the goal in and of itself.

As Mike Roselle, quoted by Shanks, says, it is "really the symbolism, not the number of hours that we actually shut down a particular bulldozer, that actually carried the message and had the power." But that doesn't leave symbolism off the hook. Actions with symbolic value have a shelf-life; done too often they're used up. Civil disobedience is carried by the winds of symbolism, but to what extent do we choose to rely on symbolism to convey our message? Tactical decisions need to be made according to the context of the campaign. Eventually the public's interest will wane with too many symbolic actions.

Radical Structural Change and Deep Ecology

As acknowledged in Shanks' article, the nuclear threat of mass destruction of all life forms is only the tip of the iceberg. In a sense, we (and I don't just mean humans) would all be equally affected by nuclear (and ecological) destruction, and we (and I do just mean humans) are also, to some degree, all participants in this destruction. The way out is inevitably a mass social movement, including radical ecologists. It is the system of domination that is the problem—domination of people over people as well as people over nature. It is this system of domination that needs to be radically confronted and ended.

This relationship between the domination of people and the domination of nature needs to be thought out clearly. Preserving big wilderness will not take place outside a fundamental restructuring of the global economy and radical political reform. To think that we can preserve biodiversity while accepting the status quo—and the necessity for economic growth and centralized political control—is ludicrous.

Admittedly, the extent of this radical change sometimes seems immense, too big to comprehend in a context so urgent. The potential for fueling despair is great, so it is all the more

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imperative that we nurture motivation, inspiration, and vision. For some this is spiritual, for others it is more ethical. Arguments over what are the correct sources of motivation are counterproductive at best, and at worst self-destructive.

Protest and Co-optation

Strategic logic is necessarily linear, based on cause and effect. Relied on excessively, our thinking becomes mechanistic. In our campaigns and in our actions we must make room for the spontaneous and the unpredictable, for the synchronistic and intuitive. We must be adaptable, flexible and creative.

This is important when we recognize that individual protests and even movements themselves can actually strengthen the status quo rather than challenge and subvert it. Hence, we should avoid rigid patterns of protest. Relying on the same old action format, or failing to adequately measure the significance of an action, can lead to impotency.

Herbert Marcuse, a cultural Marxist, addressed the shortcomings of protest of all kinds in advanced democratic capitalist and highly administered societies. He pointed out that protest and movements can play into the hands of the system if they become ends in themselves, rather than seeking meaningful and progressive structural change. Protesters and radical movements must understand that social change is our ultimate purpose; we will not save biodiversity unless we change society, and no one is going to do this but humans. Only by assuming radical reform of our political and economic system, and fundamental cultural transformation, can we save large wilderness tracts that will leave evolution intact.

Marcuse warned that protest and rebellion can validate the system as much as challenge it. Social movements can merely provide evidence that the rights of free speech, association, and assembly are guaranteed. Consequently, protesting has the potential to simply vent the steam of discontent. Once the protest is over things go back to normal and we all feel good about ourselves — our conscience salved — and nothing, including ourselves, is really challenged.

A persistent question is the conflict between community building and system destroying. In the sixties some argued that the Vietnam War had to be opposed with all one's energies. Others insisted that since it was the system that was the problem, a counterculture was needed to replace the old decaying mass culture. This made for good arguing; unfortunately, it became divisive and counterproductive, rather than resulting in: "Good, you do the counterculture thing, I support you, but I need to protest the war!"

Rather than sticking to an either/or dilemma when arguing over the validity of a particular tactic or strategy — e.g., deep ecologists are right, social justice folks are wrong — we need to approach these decisions by acknowledging differences; e.g., "It is not the approach I'd take, but I respect your decision to do it," or, "I'm committed to defending wilderness but I respect your decision to work on peace issues, or pro-choice issues, or animal rights issues," etc. Instead of seeing differences in outlooks as opposites that need to be resolved, we need to see the connections, the relationships. Certainly, even within ourselves we recognize that opposites exist, e.g. the feelings of anger and love. Opposites require one another, they co-exist, and we're all the more multi-dimensional for it. So,

let's recognize our differences, philosophically as well as practically, instead of fighting over them.

As a movement, we're combating human society's rigidity and its attempts to restrain the wild in nature. As individuals we're Earth First!ers because we hate the tame and yearn for the wild!

If Its So Bad...

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unit in our heads capable of dispassionately evaluating facts, and secondly that we have sensory channels capable of accurately reporting facts to be processed.

Both ideas are outgrowths of the eighteenth-century notion that the universe and all its constituent parts comprise a sort of giant machine. This view holds that our bodies are just very complex biological machines, and the corollary to this is that the brain is a thinking machine in charge of the whole thing. As machines, we should manifest the linear binary logic characteristic of computers, moving from logical point to logical point with great precision and reaching the same conclusion each time we are confronted with the same set of inputs. A few minutes watching television will demonstrate that this isn't the case. Either the computer model is wrong or the computer is receiving flawed input. In fact both things are true.

A lot of research has been done in the past decade on the functioning of the brain. Much has also been learned about the networks of nerves and sensory organs which feed information in the form of electrical impulses into it. (For anyone interested, the magazine *Scientific American* had a special issue a couple of years ago devoted to reporting the current state of knowledge about the brain.) Although there is a lot more unknown than known, it is clear that the brain *isn't* a detached computer, sitting in an air-conditioned room ap-



plying impeccable binary logic to carefully framed problems.

A more accurate picture is that of an incredibly complex web of interactions. This may have a significant bearing on why we aren't, collectively, handling the problems confronting us. We act as though they don't exist, and in a certain sense they don't exist for us, in much the same way that a dog can hear a whistle pitched to an auditory range which is outside our perceptual abilities. The vibration is real: the dog responds to it and it can be measured with machinery. But to use it doesn't exist; we are simply not equipped to perceive it. It is much

tougher to evaluate and respond to stimuli which must be deduced rather than experienced—so we don't. Much easier to just turn on the TV and have another beer.

The Scientists Will Save Us, Or Maybe Jesus?

Once the denial which constitutes the core of the first line of defense for planetary destruction has been somewhat discredited in a debate, a second set of ideas will often surface. These have to do with the near-universal human need to feel connected to (and hopefully protected by) some sort of transcendent force or power.

All belief systems with any significant number of adherents address this need. The recently departed and unlamented communist dictatorships which collapsed so spectacularly did so not because of the brilliant strategic planning of Ronald Reagan, but because the underlying myths which lent them legitimacy were discredited. Karl Marx, good atheist that he was, was precluded from using some version of

public opinion of our official priestly class, the Christian clergy.

But that leaves us with a terrible vacuum in our collective psyche; we want to feel protected by an Omnipotence which will somehow make everything okay. Scientists have done a pretty good job acting as priests for Industrial Civilization. They cannot effectively practice their calling unless observation rather than dogma or wishful thinking is the final arbiter of truth. This tends to keep them considerably more honest than most priestly classes, groups historically prone to corruption. The miracles resulting from such dedication have poured forth for decades now. It is hardly surprising that many people have a pleasant belief that no matter how bad things get environmentally, the scientists will think of a way to fix it.

This is an idea which is also dependent on the universe-as-big-machine world view cited earlier. If a machine starts to break down, you simply figure out what the problem is and fix it. This world view arose as the elegance of

It is much tougher to evaluate and respond to stimuli which must be deduced rather than experience— so we don't. Much easier to just turn on the TV and have another beer.

God to fortify his speculations and lend them the requisite moral authority. He therefore turned to invoking vague, irresistible forces of history which would inevitably sweep those of his own (socialist) creed to victory: God with a small "g." When it didn't work out like that, and the whole dreary and murderous jerry-rig collapsed, it did so because even the leaders could no longer pretend to believe. Deprived of the sanction of ersatz divinity, everybody was finally allowed to admit that they were hungry and cold and things weren't getting any better. Down came the statues of St. Lenin.

For most of its history our culture has depended on the dogma of official Christianity for both its legitimizing myths and that all-important sense of divine protection. The last few hundred years have seen a decline in the viability of both, as the rise of empirical science and the splintering of Christianity has weakened the foundations of those beliefs and provided the raw materials for the creation of a new, more potent one.

Another feature of most belief systems is the presence of some sort of elite which acts as an intermediary between the masses and the god or sacred revelation guiding their aspirations and affairs. In Communism this position was assumed by the Party. Most religious traditions have shamans, gurus, ministers, prophets, priestesses or imams of some sort. It is the job of these folks to provide (or in some cases restrict) access to the Revealed Truth being offered, and in the case of politically powerful groups to give the seal of divine authority to whatever thugs are in charge locally.

The power of the priestly class is ultimately based on public perception. They are potent if seen as selfless, pure-hearted servants dedicated to the welfare of all, serving the god in good faith. An occasional miracle doesn't hurt any, either. Their power diminishes as they are seen to be just another bunch of us, prone to all the selfishness and lunacy which characterizes the general run of humanity and with no special call on divine intervention. This is a pretty accurate description of the

Newtonian physics displaced the murky and self-contradicting mystic dogma of the Middle Ages as the dominant framework within which reality was interpreted. These shifts in thinking are very slow, and there is a lag time between the perception of a new level of truth by poets, scientists or other visionaries and its absorption into the popular culture. We are still struggling with the dogma/Newtonian shift; it is still possible to find intelligent people who will state in all sincerity that the universe is about six thousand years old. So we (Western Civilization being the "we" referred to) are not all living in a Newtonian universe yet, but most of us are and certainly it's the dominant subconscious myth guiding our thinking.

Unfortunately, the elegance of Newtonian reality has lately been overturned by the murky and self-contradictory mystic morass of quantum physics. A full explanation is impossible here, but a simplified distillation of some of the truths found in that field of knowledge would be the following: beyond a certain level of complexity, it is impossible to know the exact effect of an input into a system. As an example, consider the fine Newtonian example of a game of pool. It is unlikely to matter if the force of the initial impact of the cuestick on the cueball varies by a fraction of a foot-pound. Similarly, a hundredth of a degree of angle divergence from the ideal in the way the cuestick is held won't ruin the shot.

If the complexity level rises though, things are different. Imagine a shot using a few hundred different balls and an equal number of banks. It is obvious that you cannot possibly accurately predict the outcome of the shot, except in a negative sense. It is possible to say with virtual certainty that whatever happens will not reflect the original intent of the shooter. Welcome to chaos. Chaos theory tells us that there is no way, even with infinite computing power available, to predict the outcome. The system is too complex, and it cannot be done.

As complicated as this pool table

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setup is, it is a paragon of simplicity compared to the incredible complexity of even the simplest of the natural systems which sustain life on Earth. Chaos theory tells us that we can never expect to be able to predict the weather for more than a few days ahead with any degree of accuracy. The dynamics of the atmosphere far exceed the level of complexity at which it would be even theoretically possible. It cannot be done.

How then, can the scientist fix things? We are discussing the repair of systems of incomprehensible complexity whose behavior we do not even know how to describe. Nobody even knows how the planet cycles carbon dioxide. How then are they going to fix an overabundance of it, if such proves to be necessary? Remember, you don't get to make many mistakes, and trial and error is a lousy way to proceed when the stakes are so high. The same principle applies to every environmental problem beyond the merely local, which is tough enough.

The touching, childlike faith in the omnipotence of science and scientists is shared by most of the people in our society on at least a subconscious level. One group conspicuously deficient in true believers is the scientific community itself. Of course, there are a few who buy the attractive myth of their own omnipotence. But most scientists are quite aware of the limits of available knowledge and techniques. Consider the example of medical research; it is one of the best staffed and funded areas of scientific endeavor, although notably less so than the eternal research for new means of efficient killing. The human body is relatively small and easily handled. Despite all this, people still suffer horribly and die every day, and death claims all of us within a hundred and twenty years of birth at the very outside. What sort of lunacy is it to imagine that we are going to be able to artificially resuscitate, redesign and then maintain the gigantic, incomprehensible systems which keep the Earth habitable if we ruin them?

Miscellany

The politically correct among the readers will note that I haven't so much as mentioned deep ecology, or the right of all beings to exist for their own sake regardless of humans altogether. Nor has there been an attempt made to draw the connection between patriarchy, dominance-based thinking and the death of the Earth. There is a great deal more which could be said, but this is just intended to help answer some of the arguments raised in favor of continued destruction.

There hasn't been a discussion of biocentrism for two reasons. The first is that people who are worried about their jobs and kids can't relate to anything so esoteric. Very few people will be willing to give up anything at all in the way of comfort to protect the inalienable rights of the spotted liverwort.

It is far more relevant to appeal to the wired-in sense of concern most folks have for children. The brutal truth is that we are ruining the place where children are going to have to try and live, and even though that is an unpopular truth, it's one that people can at least care about. Most folks will never care about the Earth, or be fortunate enough to really understand the sacredness of life and the incredible beauty and richness of the wild. But most of us do care about our families, friends, and sometimes even our communities.

This leads to the second reason for not worrying too much about being

stylishly misanthropic. It is a moot point. There is no such thing as wilderness if the ozone layer disappears, or if everything is dusted with industrial poisons. Human life will not survive if all that is not immediately economically useful, the wild and "undeveloped," is destroyed. The changes in attitude and behavior will allow the continued survival of humans. If we drive ourselves into extinction, we will take most other life with us, if not all. If we survive, it will probably be because we have learned ways of thinking and acting that recognize the intrinsic, incalculable value of that which we are so rapidly and thoughtlessly destroying.

Editor's note: This is an extremely condensed version and is missing key points. To request a complete copy contact The Journal.

Behind Bars...

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five were charged with several monkeywrenching counts and conspiracy charges. The monkey-wrenching charges stemmed from two incidents of vandalism to pylons at a ski development in a wilderness area in the San Francisco peaks area of Arizona, protesting desecration of Native American lands, the toppling of power poles at a controversial uranium mine being built on the north rim of the Grand Canyon by Energy Fuels Nuclear, and the attempted damage to transmission towers bringing power to the



Peg Millet

Central Arizona Water Project. The conspiracy charges were based on a government allegation that this group had a conspiracy cooking that would bring damage to three nuclear facilities: Palo Verde in Arizona, Diablo Canyon in California and Rocky flats in Colorado. As part of the plea bargain, all charges except relatively minor charges relating to one incident of property damage at the Fairfield Snow Bowl development were dropped.

End of these stories about a few wild-eyed activists bringing the nuclear industry to its knees with a blowtorch, right? Wrong.

Mark Davis and Peg Millet have been declared a threat to society simply because the government accused them of conspiracy to sabotage nuclear plants. Not convicted, accused. Not only had the government not achieved a conviction on those charges, their allegations of conspiracy were never substantiated with tangible evidence during the two month trial. In a giant leap, the Parole Board is treating the accusations as convictions, going so far as to state in Davis' Notice of Action that his (alleged) activity "would have created a... potential for serious injury or death through a nuclear meltdown." In effect, the authorities took this conspiracy theory to its speculated disastrous end and based decisions on these speculations. Moreover, since evidence for the conspiracy charges was never brought to light by the prosecution,

none of the defendants in the case ever got a chance to defend themselves against these charges. But shifting from the courtroom arena to the prison and parole system is stepping into another dimension in our criminal justice system. When you go up before the Parole Board, you don't have a right to make a case in your defense as in court, but

the hearing officers can call witnesses for the prosecution, and it matters not that charges have been dropped. The Parole Board can (and does) use anything authorities have ever accused you of to keep you in jail.

This same "nuclear meltdown" allegation had been used in an attempt to deny all the defendants bail immediately after their arrests in 1989, but had been found utterly baseless by a federal judge. No matter; here it is back again.

A bizarrely ironic angle on this accusation has to do with the "evidence" the Parole Board was using to show how dangerous the alleged conspiracy could be. They dredged up an NRC report detailing an incident at a Georgia nuke plant. It seems a worker backed a pick-up truck into a power pole by mistake, thus turning off the electricity to the safety system. That a set up for meltdown could so easily be achieved is something usually vehemently argued against by the industry.

The nature and circumstance of the crimes they were convicted of and record of the two would make both Mark and Peg a shoo-in for parole under federal sentencing guidelines. The crime was relatively minor, no injury to humans occurred or was intended, and the dollar amount of the loss was less than the deductible on the insurance carried by the victim, a ski lift near Flagstaff that suffered the cutting of some bolts during the off-season. There was no personal gain involved, no weapons carried, and the defendants' records were clean. Under normal circumstances, they would be eligible for release after serving one-third of their sentences, according to federal guidelines. A departure from these guidelines, in the absence of other extenuating circumstances, like attempted escape from prison or violent behavior, can only indicate an underlying political agenda. Their lawyers are outraged that the federal officials are not following their own guidelines.

But we knew right from the beginning this was a politically charged case, and this latest action is consistent with the prosecution's hysterical and inflammatory performance during the trial. It is also consistent with the behavior of the FBI during the investigation, which included their blatant encouragement of the use of explosives (suggestions consistently rejected by the activists), and encouragement and facilitation of illegal activity, to the point of gassing up and driving people to the transmission towers to carry out the CAP action, and buying the acetylene tank and cutting torches. It is not entirely consistent with parole decisions made in the cases of other prisoners: the notorious Michael Milkin, whose multimillion dollar thefts caused great harm to many individuals and society as a whole has just been paroled after only serving two years of his ten-year sentence.

Peg and Mark are clearly being treated harshly and it is equally clear that the reason is not the magnitude of their "crimes" but the message it in-

tended to convey.

As for the others involved in the Arizona Five case: Marc Baker served four months of a six month sentence in the fall of 1991, followed by a month of electronically monitored house detention and is six months through a five year probation term. Ilse Asplund served one month in prison, was under electronic house detention for two

months and then put on five years probation. They were ordered to pay \$5000 and \$2000 respectively in fines and to perform 100 hours community service. Dave Foreman, the fifth defendant, is under deferred sentencing probation restrictions for five years. After five years, he again goes before Judge Broomfield in Arizona and could be sentenced for the felony conspiracy

to commit property destruction charge he pled to under the plea agreement. The judge also has the option of reducing his charge to a misdemeanor, and then sentencing him to five years of probation he would have already served. The judge's choice of options would ostensibly have to do with Foreman's conduct during his five year probation term. But if the justice system's treatment of Mark and Peg is any indication, the current events do not bode well for Foreman.

At present, both Mark and Peg are facing considerably more time behind bars. With statutory "good time" off their sentences, Mark would serve another three years and Peg would serve one more year. Their only hopes for an earlier release are for the Board to reconsider their ruling, or an appeal of the decision in the courts, which could take a year or more to be heard.

The internal appeal for the Parole Board to reconsider their decision is usually a rubber-stamp process with little hope of success. However, in this case, they might reconsider if they receive a substantial number of letters, especially if we can generate letters of inquiry from some people in political office and the mainstream media. If you have an avenue to someone in political office, please approach them with information about the case and see if they will at least inquire into the situation. Time is of the essence right now. Otherwise, write a letter yourself, expressing your outrage at the blatantly unfair handling of Mark's case and Peg's case. (Write separate letters regarding each.) When referring to either, identify them by their prison numbers, Mark Davis #23106-008, Peg Millet #23118-008.

Address letters to:
National Appeals Board Analyst
5550 Friendship Blvd., Chevy Chase, MD 20815

BUT send letters you write for bundling and forwarding to:

Jim Larson, Attorney at Law, 632 Commercial St., 3rd FL., San Francisco, CA 94111

Funds are needed for appeals. Send donations to:

Legal Defense Fund, Suite 104, 1385 Iron Springs Rd., Prescott, AZ 86301

And, of course, write to Mark and Peg themselves:

Mark Davis #23106-008, FPC, P.O. Box 1000, Dorm 8, Boron, CA 93516

Peg Millet #23118-008, FPC, 37900 N 45th Ave., Dept. 1785, Phoenix, AZ 85027

Alaskan Madness

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Wolf hunting in Alaska, state-sponsored or for sport, must be stopped permanently. It is time to put away our outdated ideas about managing living animals for our own pleasure. The wolf is a highly social, cooperative animal. Hunting of any kind not only removes individual animals from the gene pool, but it disrupts the social structure of the pack — pups lose their parents and never learn their trade, adults lose their hunting companions, and older wolves lose the support of the pack.

Throughout the world, the wolf has come to be recognized as a symbol of the wild that is rapidly being destroyed by human greed and thoughtlessness. Alaska is one of the very few places in the world where wild wolves still live in a semblance of their original state. But their habitat and their very existence is constantly threatened by increasing development and population pressures even in this remote area. This is the time and place to make a stand in defense of the wild and the creatures that share it with us.

Despite Alaska Governor Wally

Hickel's recent claim that he is blocking the scheduled slaughter, nothing has changed in the state's plans. In response to the growing threats of an international tourism boycott of Alaska, Hickel proposed an "Alaska Wolf Summit" in Fairbanks, January 16-18, inviting representatives from environmental groups to attend. This move is an obvious ploy to placate the tourism industry and to take the pressure off the Hickel administration.

National boycotts of the Alaska tourism industry are already being felt in Juneau. Wendy Wolf, deputy director of the state Division of Tourism, (who jokingly vowed to change her name) stated that they have been receiving about five calls per hour protesting the wolf kill plan and advising her that the tourists are changing their plans for vacations in Alaska.

"If we start to get lots of calls and letters, I'm sure there will be conversations between our office and Fish and Game and the governor's office," she said.

When the Game Board made a

similar wolf control decision in 1983, state offices were flooded with calls and letters. Thousands of letters from school children to the governor's office were the chief reason that the state canceled plan for extensive wolf kills.

It must be stressed that despite what appears to be positive developments in recent weeks, the pressure must continue. Rumors are out that the hunt has been called off—this is far from the truth.

There are few of us in Alaska who oppose this madness. Our only hope is to raise awareness and outrage in the Lower 48. Please help us! Tell everyone what is happening! This is it, folks. Alaska is the Last Great Place. This is where we make our stand, where we turn with backs to the wall to face the snarling bulldozers, the gushing oil wells, the grinning executives in three-piece suits, the giggling hunters, machine guns in hand. If we can't preserve this one island of diversity in all of this great Earth, we must quietly submit ourselves to the gentle ministrations of (un)civilization.

Let us stop this madness—in whatever way we can. Anyone interested can contact me at milewis on econet, FTMAIL@ALASKA.BITNET or FTMAIL@ACAD3.ALASKA.EDU on Internet, 907/474-6645 or at PO Box 670647, Chugiak, Alaska 99567.

What you can do:

Write letters to the following addresses and let them know that you will not consider traveling to a state that murders wolves. Write or Fax Governor Hickel and voice your opposition to wolf control in Alaska.

Carl Rosier, Commissioner Alaska
Department of Fish and
Game, 1255 West 8th Street Juneau,
AK 99802
Alaska Department of Commerce and
Economic Development:
Division of Tourism, Connel Murray,
Director PO Box 110801
Juneau, AK 99811-0801
Governor Wally Hickel PO Box
110001 Juneau, AK 99811-0001

Enola Hill...

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doesn't require a permit for tree cutting crews to use the road. Figure that one—must be that old "pre-commercial thinning" again...

Although in 1990 a federal judge ruled that the FS had to notify the litigants and all concerned Indian tribes of any pending action on Enola, no notice was given of the road permit. Hearing that cutting had already begun on sacred land, and with no other recourse to stop the destruction, we started organizing. The phone tree was dusted off and the network was re-energized! Stumptown, Cheetwood, Reed, Bremmerton, Stumpfrog and Seattle Earth First!ers responded. Our unifying goal was to defend the sacred site, to work in conjunction with Native Americans, to work humbly yet firmly, sober yet inspired, and to put our bodies on the line.

Actions:

On Wednesday, November 11, we learned about the 6 acre cut. Meetings ensued as phone call inquiries and outrage to the FS and Reys Wyden and Kopetski's office began in earnest. The FS assured us they wouldn't tear down a Native American sweatlodge near the site.

That weekend, Cheetwood and Reed Earth First!ers showed up on the mountain. Sunday, 50 folks, half Native Americans, gathered at the Zig Zag Ranger District to express their outrage at the preemptive strike against religious freedom on Enola Hill. We gathered en masse along the highway, banners strung along the road and up their tree. The ski-slope-bound motorists saw us as a colorful blur.

What set this event apart was the Native drum circle. The primordial beat of the Earth Mother on the shoulder of the highway. Something other-worldly here. We all knew this was the beginning of a powerful transformation within ourselves, our commitment to defending the autonomy of sacred sites, and the sweet expansion of our activist community.

However, bamboozled by lawyers and FS reps, we let our guard down and the sweat near Enola Hill was demol-

ished on Tuesday the 17th.

Days of Individual Outrage ensued the rest of the week. Folks went into offices of USFS Region 6 and politicians' offices alone or in pairs to gain access to official ears. On Wednesday the 25th, twenty-five bodies started a vigil on the hill, did a non-violent prep, then paid a visit to the Zig Zag Ranger Station.

Friday morning a prayer circle to welcome the dawn, led by AIM Activist Calvin Hecoceta, began on the moun-



Native Americans take a stand for Enola Hill

tain. The ceremony was interrupted by a truck from Schoppert Logging Co., coming to continue the cut. A brave Stumptowner put his body down and others followed suit. Loggers retreated. A standoff ensued and sheriff's reinforcements were called in. Earth First!ers sat in the road with linked arms, and were arrested. The cut was halted for the day. The 6 arrestees were out on PR by 11pm. A basecamp set up on Saturday the 28th, and we noted a higher turnout of media (all very positive) and Native Peoples. No confrontations. Evening news anchors predicted a major showdown on Monday. On Sunday some folks came up because they had seen us on the news. Meanwhile, Native American activists built a second sweatlodge on the same site, under observation by a FS officer. More bodies arrived for the Monday action. A storm front rolled in, and our own storm was brewing.

In the wee hours of Monday morning, in the driving rain, the forest pixies were at work building barricades on the uphill route to the cut. A scattering of progressively more in-

tense roadblocks made from windfall flora and rocks began to take shape. One of the pixies came down just in time to single-handedly confront and turn away a scouting truckload of loggers, who then retreated.

Native supporters, including two Warm Springs elders, began showing up, as well as more Euro-american direct activists. Veteran of the FBI's war on the American Indian Movement Dino Butler arrived and hung an AIM banner at basecamp. Loggers at the

gate waited like vultures. When we were all inside the perimeter, about 7 am, word came down that the law was closing in. Our man in the van watching the gate had a rearview full of police, and attempted to hold them off by driving towards basecamp very slowly. He was promptly dragged out of his van, slammed against the side and busted. Meanwhile the 80 of us were up the road a spell, cars all parked to the side except for three in the middle of the road.

It became clear that these vehicles would be the first stall. When the towtrucks came for the 1st pick-up truck, we decided to scuttle it by taking off the wheels. The police tried to replace the wheel as the tow truck jockeyed into position, but an officer set the lug nuts on the hood long enough for the driver to scoop them up and hurl them into the woods. A cop actually went after them as we yelled "Think of them as little donuts!"

To compound Alpine Towing's problems, a Stumptown Womyn Warrior Krypto'd her neck to the door handle. This spectacle held them off

for some time, but alas, the door handle was snapped and she was lead off in cuffs, leaving a VW Van to get pulled away next. A brave Cheetwood Womyn locked her neck to that vehicle's Axle, and laid out in the muddy, freezing road going hypothermic. Authorities were first shaken at this spectacle, then got serious about removing her. After 45 minutes she opted to unlock, rather than have the car's undercarriage cut up.

The last vehicle out of the way, the cops came to a human blockade. Earth First!ers with a long Ecocide=Genocide banner backed up the Elders who were standing firm in the face of the police and the media. A Peace Pipe was offered, and the police were embarrassed.

Nevertheless, they issued their ultimatum and pushed on up the road, in slow pursuit of a slow walking human roadblock. Police tempers rose each time they had to dismantle a larger roadblock on the route up the hill. Folks were arrested at random, trying to get up to the human barricade to do support.

The final blockade was a wonder piece. An iron bar secured in the road, reinforced with spiked logs, was laced with Kryptos locked to the necks of 4 activists, 2 of whom were locked to each other, neck to neck. This held the loggers off for about an hour, as all manner of heavy duty extraction techniques were employed. Other activists kept on up the road, leaving a frenzied trail of barricades before ditching through the forest.

The bastards finally did get in, and 19 of us went out in a paddy wagon. We held them off from 5am to 2pm, kicked ass and were kicked likewise in this heavy battle. Thanks to our support and media people, and especially KBOO radio's live remote transmissions, the struggle reached thousands. Unfortunately, many of our cars were towed during and after the action, and 2 acres were cut that late afternoon.

Actions continued that week. Thirty people did a sit-in at Ron Wyden's office in downtown Portland. Outside Sen Hatfield's Salmon Hearings, a mob of activists cornered Regional Forester John Lowe and forced him to answer up to crimes on Enola Hill. It was like a Rugby scrum with him and his bodyguard. After court hearings on the issue, a Temporary Restraining Order was denied.

Ron Wyden has sent a letter to

continued on next page

Federal Judge Lynches FBI Lawyers

BY BOB STERN

Friday, November 13th just wasn't the FBI's day. US District Court Judge Eugene Lynch told government lawyers that he still doesn't see any substance to their argument that the FBI and its agents can't be sued for performing their official duties. He had already told them once before that he was going to allow Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney to go ahead with their lawsuit. When the FBI lawyers offered nothing new in his motion for reconsideration on the thirteenth, Lynch affirmed his earlier decision. He did agree to put off the next phase of the trial for 60 days so the Fed's can appeal to a higher court. He also agreed to dismiss the Earth First! request for an injunction against the Feds. But that's only because Earth First! attorney Dennis Cunningham hasn't yet gotten around to proving the specifics of what the FBI has done to Judi and Darryl (and other activists).

It was a step forward for the mas-

sive lawsuit known as Bari v. Held (Richard Held is the Special Agent-in-Charge of what's supposed to be an investigation of the 1990 bombing which nearly killed Judi and Darryl). Assuming a higher court doesn't overrule Lynch's decision, the case will move on to the phase known as "discovery." That's where Earth First! lawyers and activists get to look at all the paperwork the FBI has on the investigation. Or, as Judi puts it, "all the documents they haven't gotten around to shredding yet." Darryl and Judi are actually suing both the FBI and the Oakland Police Department for their handling of the bombing. OPD is not appealing the judge's decision the way the Feds have done, but rather seem prepared to move forward with the case.

The lawsuit asks for damages for false arrest, illegal search and seizure, presumption of guilt and failure to conduct a legitimate investigation of

just who did plant the bomb in Judi's car. It also charges a conspiracy to discredit Judi and Darryl to interfere with their First Amendment rights to speak out and organize politically. The government campaign is reminiscent of the COINTELPRO operation the feds ran against the Black Panthers, Puerto Rican Independentistas, AIM and other radical groups in the Sixties and into the Seventies. And SURPRISE, the man in charge of COINTELPRO was Richard Held, who's now heading the Earth First! "investigation."

Judi and Darryl are not happy about the way the FBI and OPD have tried to paint them as wild-eyed terrorists—each has a long history of non-violent activism. And though they believe their own investigation is closer to finding the bomber than the FBI will ever be (unless the Bureau is involved or knows more than it's revealed—No! Not the FBI!), they do want it brought into the light that little or nothing has

been done by the authorities to solve the crime. The FBI continues to charge that Darryl and Judi built the bomb themselves and has never looked for other suspects. Assuming the case is allowed to go forward by the Appeals Court, it could take years to resolve. Hopefully, the extent to which the FBI is breaking the law, failing to do its job and harassing activists will come out and something can be done to keep it from interfering with other voices of political dissent. Kudos to attorneys Dennis Cunningham and Bill Simpich for their long hours helping Darryl and Judi press their case against the government.

*For more information and/or to offer donations, contact:
Judi Bari Legal Trust
c/o Mendocino Environmental Center, 106 W. Standley
Ukiah, CA 95482*

Rad Wednesday Sweeps the Nation

BY KAREN PICKETT AND DARRYL CHERNEY

The first media call early Monday morning came as a bit of a surprise. We hadn't yet sent out any press releases. In fact, the press release wasn't even written yet. Turned out the reporter had gotten the word that Earth First! was planning a demo at DuPont's Antioch, California factory from the plant manager. The next call was from the county sheriff, wanting to know what we had in mind, anyway. It quickly became clear that the action was already happening, a good 48 hours before our October 28 Rad Wednesday descent on the toxic, freon-producing, ozone-destroying DuPont plant. But we were not alone.

Across the country DuPont was holding preemptive press conferences and calling in hordes of police officers to stave off the onslaught from over 20 groups who joined together in the second nationwide Radiation Suit Wednesday this year. Earth First!, Greenpeace and countless other environmental groups coalesced in what appears to be a unifying issue: the urgent need to stop the production of all ozone-destroying chemicals now.

On a gray Wednesday morning in Deepwater, New Jersey, "Rad Wednesday" organizers walked out their front doors to find police cars parked out front waiting to follow them to the action. Undeterred, two dozen activ-

ists marched around the DuPont plant while antsy police thought mean, ugly



Corpus Christi corpses at a die-in outside Dupont

thoughts.

In Louisville, Kentucky a handful of activists handed out leaflets to DuPont workers during the shift change, while four television cameras recorded the event. In Clinton, Iowa activists employed the same strategy and were joined by a dozen students and a teacher from the nearby Scattergoods Quaker school.

In Corpus Christi, Texas Greenpeace canvassers combed the neighborhood following the heavy media coverage of the "die-in" in front of the DuPont CFC

plant and got great responses from the local residences. They were joined by

the legendary Austin Earth First! and the—lo and behold! Dare I say it?—Corpus Christi Earth First! (where they have to double-bag their Earth First! Journals). Other DuPont plants were targeted in Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee.

Operation Ozone Shield, Earth First!, and the University of Oregon Survival Center in Eugene decorated "Rad" suits and held a fashion show at the student union. More student actions were staged at University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa; University of Puget Sound in Tacoma and Evergreen College at Olympia, Washington; University of New Hampshire at Durham; Texas A&M at College Station; University of Kentucky at Lexington; and even the Mark Keppel High School in Alhambra, California and let's not forget to mention Albany, New York; Vancouver, BC; Salt Lake City, and Tucson.

There were powerful lessons to be learned from the Rad Wednesday day of action. First, it took little convincing to get large numbers of groups to take on actions. Perhaps this will serve as a catalyst for more groups to get involved in direct action campaigns for the ozone layer.

Secondly, wherever there is a DuPont plant, there is often an already existing grassroots anti-toxic group you can ally with. For example, in Louisville, KY we learned that a minister keeps vigil every Tuesday outside the plant that killed his father. In Montague, MI, where grassroots activists were hoping that someone would organize a national day against DuPont and were extremely disappointed when they learned of our event only two days before it was to occur.

Many of the people in grassroots groups fighting DuPont are non-white

and just plain working class people. DuPont likes to build their plants in poor neighborhoods where they can draw on a supply of compliant worker drones who they hope won't complain. But some of them do.

The third lesson is that the media coverage we received nationwide was astonishingly good, especially considering that many of the actions were relatively small.

Ozone destruction has been an undercovered story and even dim-witted reporters know that there is no Six O'clock News on a dead planet.

The deadly hole in the ozone grows by the day and the catastrophic effects grow along with it. DuPont has been announcing for years that they plan to halt their production of ozone-eating CFC's, moving deadlines up as they approach. Their corporate foot-dragging is too dangerous to ignore, as reports of blind sheep and fish in Tierra del Fuego, Chile; epidemic skin cancer in Australia and massive phytoplankton (which produces 70% of our oxygen) die-off abound. These biological tragedies in the southern hemisphere are the image of our future, as the ozone hole grows to a size that is now three times the size of the US and 22 miles deep.

DuPont is not the only corporation destroying the ozone, and CFCs are not the only chemical culprit. Carbon tetrachloride, methyl bromide, and methyl chloroform are manufactured by Dow, Allied Signal, Vulcan Chemicals and a dozen others. The good news is there are so many villains you won't have to travel so far to participate in the next Rad Wednesday which will probably take place in April.

We chose to focus on DuPont because they are a corporate leader, a 200 year old company with good name recognition. And the message delivered to DuPont on "Rad Wednesday" by radiation-suited, UV sunglass-clad, drum-beating, howling protesters was clear: the future is now.

For more info, or to send a donation write: Earth First!, PO Box 34, Garberville, Ecotopia 95542.



Massacre in Oregon

continued from page 17

Judith Levin (Mt. Hood Acting Supervisor), suggesting that the FS withdraw the road use permit, which would make it impossible for Schoppert Logging to use the road to haul off cut timber from the Hill. On December 3rd, the president's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation sent a letter to Judith Levin stating that "The FS acted inappropriately in following the procedures in the MOA (Memoranda of Agreement)'s in Lieu of Councils Regulation (36 CFR 800). In the Council's view the Agency's finding of No Effect (in issuing the commercial road permit to Schoppert Logging Inc.) was made without appropriate compliance with the regulations implementing Sections 106 (Nat'l Historic Preservation Act). In other words The FS is guilty as charged!

On the personal legal front a few arrestees were bailed out, but those who stayed in later were released without bail. Even those with the greatest charges (the lockdowns) were released the next day with charges dropped, though new charges could be filed for a year. Jail solidarity pays off.

For you armchair activists, get on the phone to you elected reps, and especially Hatfield and Nouye. Demand protection of Enola Hill and other cultural resource areas. Demand that Congress pass the proposed amendments to Inouye's American Indian Religious Freedom Act to protect areas like Enola Hill, Mt. Graham and Mt. Shasta (to name but a few). Demand an inquiry into FS lies.

This issue ain't over yet. Send your \$, your bodies and your ideas to Stumptown Earth First!

SINAPU

Named after the Ute word for "wolves," Sinapu (pronounced "sin-op-you") is the only group working through the political process for large-scale restoration of Colorado's native ecology. Our goal is simple: restoring wild wolves to our state. But restoring wild wolves means performing an abrupt turn-around from the direction Colorado has taken since Anglo settlement.

Killing wolves was synonymous with building civilization. An 1885 newspaper editorial about wolves exclaimed that "if nothing is done. . . the plains will in a few years. . . become a howling wilderness with a vengeance."

Sinapu is working toward precisely that: bringing back the *howling wilderness* in most of Colorado's mountains, and in parts of the Great Plains.

Formed in March, 1991 we are a small grass-roots group. But we have sparked a fire that is sweeping the imagination of this state. And that fire is turning things around:

Throughout Colorado people are energized and activated in spreading the word that our ecosystems need wolves . . . Three local governments and five newspapers have jumped on the bandwagon with endorsements . . . For the first time ever, the Forest Service is studying wolf restoration without waiting for the direction of a recovery plan . . . And another national precedent: Congress told the Fish and Wildlife Service to examine the feasibility of bringing wolves back to Colorado, even though FWS had excluded the state (for political reasons) from its wolf recovery plan.

But the challenge of reintroducing wolves goes beyond our culture's deep-rooted animosity to things wild. Wolves need lots of habitat. Protecting *and restoring* that habitat means changing the way the government treats our public lands. And that means stepping on some powerful toes.



Their Cows, Your Money: Why Colorado's Wolves are Gone

STATE WOLF POLIC

We are used to hearing about the demise of animals due to habitat loss. The usual nemesis for species ranging from the northern spotted owl to the Uncompahgre fritillary butterfly is (human-caused) changes in their environments. But the wolf and a handful of other predators are gone for an entirely different reason: federal and state policy, enacted through millions of tax dollars for over a century, decreed that these animals should be exterminated.

An early wolf biologist, Stanley Young, himself a primary architect and executor of the federal extermination policy, identified two subspecies of the gray wolf native to Colorado: the Great Plains or buffalo wolf (*Canis lupus nubilus*), and the southern Rocky Mountain wolf (*Canis lupus youngii* - named for himself). Both are now extinct, though contemporary wolf biologists generally hold that the local differences between gray wolf species were so minor as to not constitute proper subspecies.

When fur trappers first invaded the West in the early to mid-nineteenth century, wolves were one of their many targets. But the extermination of the buffalo from the Great Plains in the 1870's and 1880's doomed the Great Plains wolf. Vast cattle empires succeeded the buffalo slaughter, and wolves deprived of their wild prey turned to these new domestic sources of food.

In large part to deal with these "depredations," cattlemen formed local groups which raised money for bounties on dead wolves. These local associations banded together in 1867 as the Colorado Cattlemen's Association (CCA), which today boasts that it is the nation's oldest state cattlemen's group. Representing the dominant land use in Colorado, and organized on a grassroots basis, it quickly be-

"Each one of these wolves is noted for its shyness and its uncanny knowledge of avoiding any method toward capture. Complete eradication of wolves in Colorado is going to take time."

--United States Biological Survey, 1923--

came immensely powerful. In 1869, two years after CCA's genesis, Colorado's territorial legislature appropriated \$247 for bounties on wolves. In subsequent years the legislature pumped more money into bounties, and the price on a wolf scalp gradually increased from fifty cents in 1876 (the year of statehood) to two dollars in 1893. In 1897, the legislature also provided for counties to assess taxes for additional bounty payments.

In response to these incentives, professional "wolfers" laced millions of buffalo and other wild carcasses with strychnine. The carnage, of course, touched almost every animal on the plains, but it is instructive to note wolf mortality figures. In the Great Plains county of Las Animas, alone, for instance, eight wolves were "bountied" between December 1878 and December 1880. More may have died unnoticed from poison. Nobody knows when the last wolf died on the Great Plains, but by the turn of the century the only viable wolf populations remaining in Colorado survived in the mountains.



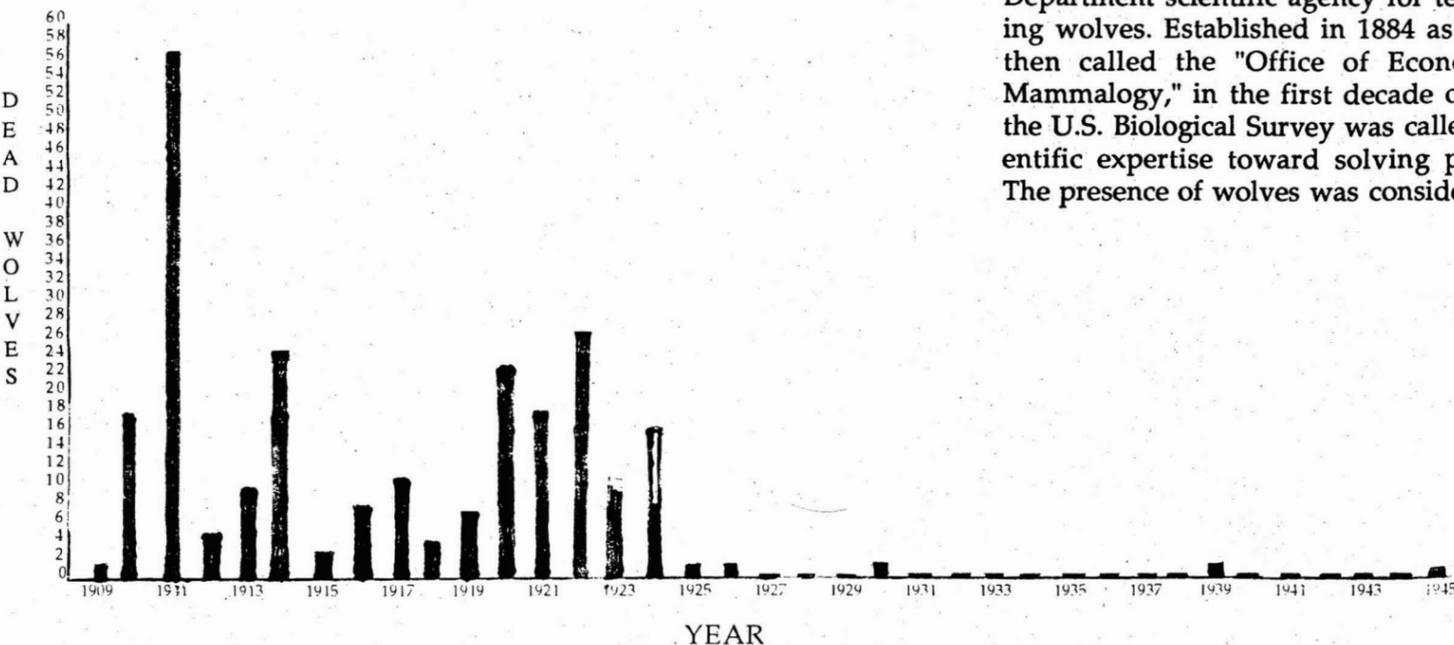
photo courtesy of David E. Brown

Last moments of life...

In 1891, largely to protect denuded land from overgrazing, Congress authorized the president to create "forest reserves" (later called "national forests"). In the subsequent decade, tens of thousands of Western settlers, speculators and entrepreneurs protested the new federal land. In this political climate, Congress retreated from the protective intent of the reserves, and allowed sheep grazing to resume on them.

But the Forest Service remained under pressure, particularly from ranchers. Stanley Young, who directed Colorado's extermination program and later became national chief of predator control, said, "strong sentiment continued to develop to the effect that the National Government should take more of an active part in wolf control because of the vast acreages of wolf-infested national forest." The Forest Service, succumbing to such "strong sentiment," sought to prove that its stewardship was superior to the state and private owners it had succeeded. Since the state bounty had failed to exterminate wolves, the Forest Service saw an opportunity to abate some of the criticism directed its way. In 1905, the agency first hired its own trappers to kill the wolves which had survived these previous jurisdictions.

At the same time, it turned to an obscure Interior Department scientific agency for technical advice on locating wolves. Established in 1884 as a research service, and then called the "Office of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy," in the first decade of the twentieth century the U.S. Biological Survey was called upon to apply its scientific expertise toward solving public policy problems. The presence of wolves was considered one such problem.



After thirty-six years of bounty payments on dead wolves, the species was still relatively abundant. So from 1905 to 1945 the federal government systematically killed wolves, with some assistance from state hunters. Death count not available from 1905-1908. Hollow column indicates puppies destroyed in utero.

With the exception of endangered species, under federal jurisdiction, individual states formulate the wildlife policies of our country. The theory goes that since rocks and trees and the like are liable to stay put, they are the domain of landowners, be they federal, state or private.

But critters are known to travel, disregarding property lines. Thus, each state regulates private individuals in their actions concerning wildlife (licenses to kill or to keep animals captive, for instance). Federal land management agencies likewise usually avoid actions that pre-empt state authority over wildlife.

The tradition of state authority over wildlife is so entrenched that even when

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POLICY AT THE CUTTING EDGE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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the federal government has undeniable legal jurisdiction on a wildlife issue, a state's position traditionally prevails.

The state legislature, as recently as 1989, reaffirmed Colorado's policy of killing wolves (though the last wolf here was killed in 1945), and has retained the bounty on wolf scalps. Most significantly, the Colorado Wildlife Commission (CWC), since 1982 has vehemently opposed wolf reintroduction.

In opposing reintroduction, the Wildlife Commission cited concern for "hunt-able species of wildlife, the livestock industry and the human welfare." The Commission added that "biological control of big game herds through predation is not feasible."

Finally, so as to leave no margin for doubt, the Commission resolved to oppose "every person or entity which may now or in the future suggest or plan" wolf (or grizzly) reintroduction.

This last statement clearly infringed on the rights of free speech guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. In 1989, one of Sinapu's co-founders (before creating the group) pointed out to the Commission that their official position violates federal and state law and the Constitution. As a result, the Commission revised the wording of its resolution. The current resolution expresses the same sentiment, with an attempt to narrowly abide by the law.

Behind all the legal machinations lies a very simple

fact: State of Colorado officials believe they are living in the 1890's. Why else would the state legislature support killing a non-extant species, defying laws passed in the twentieth century? Why would the Wildlife Commission state that "Colorado's livestock is of considerable importance," even though in 1992 the total of all agricultural production in Colorado, including livestock production, ranked tenth in economic returns to the state?

Sinapu is working to convince state officials that they live in the 1990's. With the help of volunteer attorneys citing actual laws passed in the twentieth century, and with Sinapu members writing the governor about future Wildlife Commission appointments, Colorado's wildlife policy may be waking up from a long sleep.

In these early years the U.S. Biological Survey, later to be called the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, was closely aligned with the nation's scientific community. But like the Forest Service's enemies, critics of the Biological Survey wanted to see practical benefits from a federal agency. Assisting the war against predators provided the Biological Survey a perfect justification for its continuance.

The Biological Survey did such a stellar job that in 1914 Congress gave it \$125,000 to hire 300 agents throughout the West to kill wolves and other predators. The next year the Survey got \$200,000 for the extermination campaign, and the year after that, \$250,000.

From the beginning, there was no equivocation about the government's goal. A 1923 internal memo of the Biological Survey reported:

Continued work toward complete eradication of known wolf packs... has been the policy... From evidence gained of known wolves in Colorado, the number at present on the ranges approximate [sic] fifty. With the exception of this year's increase, each one of these wolves is noted for its shyness and its uncanny knowledge of avoiding any method toward capture. Complete eradication of wolves in Colorado is going to take time, and it is felt this can only be accomplished by concentrating on known ranges and staying with the job until each area is cleaned of wolf packs.

"Staying with the job" was a messy business. Wolves were killed with poison, leghold traps, and by digging puppies out of dens, then smashing them with a shovel.

But with a dedicated bureaucracy in full swing, the job progressed rapidly through the 1920's (see chart). In 1930, under pressure from the scientists who had formed the original leadership of the Survey, the agency officially intoned that its "underlying policy with regard to injurious species of wild animals has been and will continue to be one of control rather than complete eradication. The Bureau is not embarked upon a general extermination program." At that time there were less than ten wolves left in the entire state. Finally in 1945, with no fanfare, a state hunter killed Colorado's last wild wolf in what is now the South San Juan Wilderness.

Livestock producers never had the wherewithal to exterminate wolves on their own. It is a testament to wolves' amazing adaptability that it took the government seventy-six years to do the job.

photo courtesy of Colorado Wildlife Commission



Colorado Wildlife Commission:
"Biological control of big game herds through predation is not feasible."



BRINGING TRUE MULTIPLE-USE TO THE PUBLIC LANDS: WHY EXCLUDE WILD WOLVES?

Most of our public lands are supposed to be administered for multiple uses. As detailed in the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) and the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act (MUSYA), land management agencies should incorporate different disciplines into a coherent strategy for meeting the needs and desires of the public.

Unfortunately, true multiple-use never really gained a foothold in the actual management of our public lands. Since settlement of Colorado and the rest of the West, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and Forest Service have specialized in single-use industrial zoning, catering almost exclusively to profiteering interests.

Sinapu is fighting to establish a vital national precedent in instituting multiple-use on Colorado's national forests and BLM districts. Under the aegis of MUSYA, combined with the procedural requirements for public involvement embodied in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), we have requested that restoring wolves be a primary goal in at least two of the alternatives presented for public comment in each national forest's new ten-year planning document.

"Sinapu is Colorado's finest Wise Use group. After all, what could be wiser than to re-establish a native predator on public lands?"

The Forest Service has preferred, however, to conduct business as usual, and at first refused to even evaluate wolf reintroduction. After a quarter of the letters received by the Arapaho-Roosevelt National Forest during their public concerns' scoping process requested an evaluation of wolf reintroduction, agency officials said there was not sufficient public interest in the matter to justify spending time on it. Later, they claimed the Endangered Species Act *prevented* the agency taking the initiative in reintroducing an endangered species.

When officials could not cite the ESA provisions in question, they switched tactics, claiming to have already studied the feasibility of wolf reintroduction, and found there wasn't enough habitat on the forest. But when we asked to see the documents involved in their research, they couldn't come up with even a page. The "study" didn't exist.

Finally, the agency agreed to do a real evaluation, but promptly declared that "other established uses such as logging, grazing and mining" do not look promising for providing "the right kind of habitat for a wolf reintroduction." This statement indicates the Arapaho-Roosevelt's staff regards wolf restoration and complete ecosystems as secondary uses of the public lands, behind commodity production.

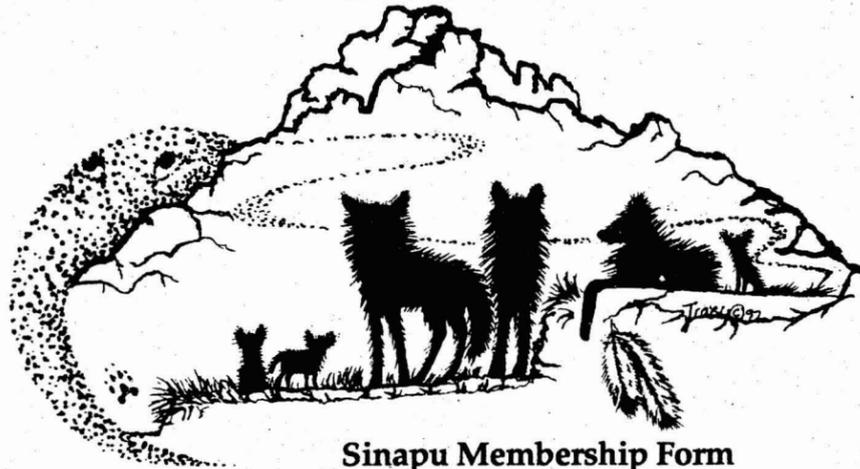
But providing homes for wolves is at least as legitimate a use of national forest lands as any of these "established uses." Sinapu, Colorado's finest Wise Use group (what could be wiser than re-establishing a native predator?), insists the Forest Service implement its multiple-use mandate. The first step is to include wolf restoration as a goal in at least two of the several alternatives the agency will present for public comment in its draft environmental impact statement (DEIS).

Those two alternatives, by highlighting wolf reintroduction, can describe what steps would make it successful. Perhaps roads in deer and elk winter range will have to be closed and re-vegetated to provide good wolf habitat. Perhaps grazing leases should carry strict requirements on livestock carcass disposal, to prevent wolves from scavenging on cows or sheep and developing a taste for livestock. Perhaps in some areas, wolves and livestock will not be compatible, and successful wolf restoration will require closing grazing allotments.

Whatever the specifics, Sinapu insists the Forest Service fairly evaluate the steps necessary to bring wolves back. The agency's reluctance to say "no" to commodity interests does not mean wolf reintroduction is impossible, and an honest evaluation will separate political from scientific issues.

While the Arapaho-Roosevelt is most advanced in writing its new Forest Plan, Sinapu has started the same process with the Routt and the Rio Grande National Forests (the latter where Colorado's last wild wolf was shot). Please write a short letter to the regional forester, in charge of all Colorado's national forests, asking that each forest include alternatives objectively evaluating wolf restoration in the writing of its management plan. The evaluation should look at whatever steps, including habitat restoration, are needed to bring wolves back:

Regional Forester Elizabeth Estill, USDA Forest Service, 11177 W. 8th Ave., Lakewood, CO 80225



Tracy Brooks

Sinapu Membership Form
(send with check or money order to Sinapu, POB 3243, Boulder CO 80307).
Members receive a quarterly newsletter, entitled *Colorado Wolf Tracks*.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

TELEPHONE: _____ (a.m.) _____ (p.m.)

___\$15 (low income/student/senior citizen); ___\$25; ___\$35 (regular); ___\$50;
___\$75; ___\$100; ___\$500; ___ other (please specify: _____).

I'd also like to . . .

___ do educational outreach in my community
___ help mail out the newsletter
___ host a letter writing party

___ help with fundraising
___ attend public hearings
___ be part of a phone tree

Innu People Under Siege

WAPITI FACED

Quebec Provincial Police forces are amassed on the borders of the Malienam Reserve of the Innu People on the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. The Quebec government has stated publicly that it intends to eliminate the traditional leadership of the Innu and has placed an injunction upon them forbidding any movement off the reserve or even conversations about the situation that is daily heating up. At issue is the traditional Innu's refusal to accept an \$800 million Hydro-Quebec offer to relinquish title to their ancestral lands.

The Innu are the original inhabitants of the land they call Nitassinan. This area is 1,040,000 square miles of rivers and subarctic forests. The mega-utility Hydro-Quebec wants to build a series of dams on the land, similar to their infamous James Bay projects to the west. However, their \$800 million offer was turned down by traditional leaders, and two public referendums held on the issue resulted in 80% of the Native People rejecting the offer. Unwilling to take no for an answer, Hydro-Quebec has apparently gotten the Quebec government to do its bidding under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). The DIA oversees administration of the Native reserves and resources and, as such, has given the Innu until December 15th to accept Hydro-Quebec's offer. In preparation for that deadline the Quebec Provincial Police (SQ) have amassed their troops on the Nitassinan border. They have said they will enter the reserve by December 7th, ostensibly to

enforce their demands and "bring peace to the reserve."

M. Tom Dostou, a spokesperson from The Coalition for Nitassinan, the Innu Traditional Movement, has stated that the Innu will "be passive for as long as they can." Last summer a standoff took place between the SQ and people of the Innu Nation after native people set up a non-violent barricade in response to the DIA's refusal to allow a referendum on the Hydro-Quebec issue. Eventually that referendum was allowed, and the offer was voted down, but the DIA has subsequently ruled that the referendum was illegal.

Another Innu occupation took place in October at Lake Robinson, one of the proposed dam sites. One hundred fifty Provisional Police with a military back-up surrounded the occupiers, mostly women and children. That occupation ended peacefully, but in recent weeks violence has broken out in the area. A traditional Chief's house was fired on by an unknown assailant, and Dostou himself was beaten by suspected Hydro-Quebec supporters. Dostou says goons hired by a DIA Chief have been intimidating traditionals and Hydro-Quebec opponents. Now, with the S.Q. at the gates and vigilantes on the reserve, the potential for violence has just increased.

Dostou says that the Innu "reject present and future hydro-electric dam projects as a violation of our national territory and of our Mother Earth." He adds that his "Nation is united in the desire for peace and harmony with the

earth and all nations", but says that they reject "the attempt by the Quebec Provincial Government to intimidate the Traditional People and their leadership with threats of force and violence.

On December 10th a Peace March will be headed toward Montreal from New York State calling for an end to the siege on Nitassinan. The international peace group P.B.I. has been approached about sending a delegation into Innu territory as witness to events unfolding there. Dostou, speaking for the Innu Elders, welcomes people to come and stand with them, "We are asking all people who love the Mother Earth to join us in defending her and the Native People this land."

Please send messages of protest and concern to the following:

*The Hon. Brian Mulroney,
Prime Minister,
House of Commons, Rm. 30-s
Center Block
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6
Canada*

*Hydro-Quebec, Public Relations Dept.
75 Boulevard Rene Levesque West
Montreal, P.Q., H2Z 1A4
Canada Tel: 514-289-2211*



i walked for days
to reach this mountain
one of holiest Lakota sites
sacred
my ancestors
whispered
over their voices
i saw
this holy place
chisled
by foreign metal
into wapiti faces
angular
sharp
faces of death, reflecting
even our Sister Sun
which caressed
their treacherous
eyes
still
my ancestors speak
from this place
someday
our Earth Mother
will cleanse this place
as if it had
never
been
and then i will dynamite the
"Crazy Horse" mountain
our other sacred place of Being
because
the land wills it
and Raven
says it must be so.

WILDEHARTE

The Warner Creek Fire and the Flames of Resistance

BY TAHOMA

Last October, at the end of a long, hot, dry summer, an arsonist drove to the end of a logging road at the base of a roadless area and lit several fires. The 9000 acre Warner Creek Fire, located on the Willamette National Forest, was entirely within the boundaries of a Habitat Conservation Area (HCA) for the northern spotted owl, in the designated Cornpatch Roadless Area. This place had experienced minimal prior management activities since its steep slopes, thin soils, and rugged terrain made the area unsuitable for profitable commercial timber extraction. Furthermore, no logging is legally allowed in HCAs, which were established as no-harvest forest reserves, sanctuaries for spotted owls.

The Willamette Forest Supervisor, Darrel Kenops, recently announced his much-awaited decision for a fire recovery plan, and much to everybody's surprise considering the special legal and ecological significance of this area, Darrel selected the next-to-highest salvage logging proposal. Alternative "F" was selected to help "recover the resources" allegedly lost by the fire. (Quick: how many "F" words can you think of to describe his plan to carve 40 million board feet out of 1200 roadless acres of an HCA?!!) Of course, the resource he most cares to recover are the timber profits of his corporate clientele, and the timber receipts his bloated bureaucratic staff depends upon.

Alternative "Fortune 500" is really no alternative at all, but is more of the same standard deForest disService cut-and-run timber strip-mining, currently going at liquidation, fire sale prices. It is obvious that he doesn't

give a hoot about owls or old-growth; on the contrary, like his local friends in the Yellow Belly Coalition who have been clamoring ever since the smoke cleared for the Right to log off the whole HCA, the only valuable resources Darrel can see in the forest are two-by-fours and toilet paper.

Darrel selected his "Fatuous" plan against the expressed will of the public, and the professional opinion of his own hand-picked team of scientists working on the Warner project. This team of Forest Service employees came to an unprecedented consensus opposing all of the high-volume salvage plans, and selected the "No Action" strategy as the "Environmentally Preferred Alternative." Nevertheless, Darrel picked his own "Agency Preferred Alternative" based on the "Flawed" and "Fearful" assumption that another fire within the area will result in a catastrophic conflagration of colossal proportions (the District fire specialist has calculated that a mere 6% probability exists for a large reburn in the next 25 years, meaning there is a 94% probability it won't!). The only way to prevent such an event from occurring, according to Darrel's "Fantasy," is to essentially remove all of the burned trees before they can burn again. Wholesale salvage logging under this "Fraudulent" proposal will do absolutely nothing to prevent natural lightning fires from occurring, and it is doubtful that clearcuts choked with slash and brush will stop the spread of a future fire. In fact, the stands of old-growth that burned hottest in the Warner fire were located directly adjacent to plantations that had already been clearcut, slash-burned, replanted,

and were literally vaporized by the wildfire.

The potential cumulative impacts of arson-fire salvage logging are truly "Frightening." If a complacent public allows the Forest Service to salvage log this HCA after an arson fire, then the whole conservation strategy to save the spotted owl and a host of other old-growth dependent species from extinction will likely go up in smoke next summer. Alternative "Firebug" will send a clear signal to criminal corporate timber maggots: light it and log it. ("The Earth is a witch and the men are still burning her.") Far from preventing future wildfires or speeding up recovery of the spotted owl, commercially logging any amount of scorched trees within the Warner HCA will likely cause more arson to occur in other HCA's, creating a de facto "scorched Earth policy" of Forest Service sponsored deforestation.

By continually salvaging timber over the years, the Agency has been scuttling the ecosystem. One needs only to look upon the Agency's MAN-aged forest to realize that it is not a forest at all, but is a sick and vulnerable tree farm. The claim that Alternative "Felony assault" will speed up and protect owl habitat recovery would be "Farcical" if it wasn't so "Fiendish" in its "Fatal" effects on the forest.

Under a "Facade" of public involvement and "Feigned" scientific rationale, an inherently autocratic decision by the Supervisor is about to subvert the best available plan to avoid species extinction and ecosystem destruction. We needed a new fowl plan, and instead, the forest supervisor gave us yet another "Foul" plot. Alternative

"F" is a "Faustian" plan by a petty "Furher" who chose to promote his own bureaucratic career in the "Farce Service" over the needs of our community and the land. These weak-willed white male bureaufascists who are running the world and ruining the earth must not be allowed to continue committing State-sponsored ecocide in our name. By any means, necessarily, NOT ONE BLACK STICK should be removed from the Warner Creek Forest!!!

This "Flatulent" draft of the Man's plan is not a done deal—yet. It is awaiting your public comments on the Warner Fire Recovery Project Draft Environmental Impact Statement. It is absolutely vital that you submit written comments on the Warner Creek EIS before the closing date of January 11! Send in those comments by submitting a letter to the Supervisor. It is sad but true: in the Pacific Northwest bioregion, a "paper monkeywrench" does more to disrupt the bureaucratic juggernaut nowadays than a steel spike, so don't discount the power of your pens to stop those saws! In addition to those letters, go take a hike in the Warner Creek forest and begin imagining what other creative acts of ecological resistance you and your friends can do.

The only draft alternative that does not propose destructive alteration of the ecosystem is the "No Action/Natural Succession" alternative. Already, without any Agency recovery plan or the Supervisor's written approval, the ecosystem has begun naturally re-covering the land. In addition to the fresh carpet of new fir seedlings and mushrooms, snags, dead limbs,

Continued on page 30

Southern California's Sage Scrub Wilderness

BY JACOB BEAR

Wilderness in L.A.? Believe it or not, six counties in southern California are still blessed with a fragile, beautiful, shattered and threatened but still potentially vibrant ecosystem, known as sage scrub. This forgotten wilderness, habitat for many wild, threatened, endangered, or sensitive species, has largely been unknown and ignored by both biologists and activists. Recently, though, it has become the battleground for yet another heroic struggle against the vile forces of mining and development.

At stake are both the coastal sage scrub and alluvial sage scrub. The coastal sage scrub is a mix of artemisia, buckwheat, and black and white sage. It once filled the inland mountains, canyons, and plains of southern California. Today, less than ten percent of it remains.

Alluvial sage scrub is found further inland, on what was once a coastal mountain range geological aeons ago. Its characteristic plants grow on the rocky alluvia deposited by streams and drainages that flood heavily in a short rainy season and remain dry the rest of the year. The life forms here have carefully evolved and adapted to the harsh conditions of regular dryness and infrequent, severe flooding. Incredibly diverse, the plant community of this ecosystem contains the coastal sages, as well as many mesic species. The land is dotted with evergreen shrubs and subshrubs, and blooms in the spring with a groundcover of wildflowers. This is complemented by a sprinkling of chaparral plants, and some of the smaller riparian woodland

species. Less than five percent of the alluvial sage scrub remains.

Alluvial and coastal sage scrub are the habitat for over 70 species that are threatened, endangered, or species of special concern. Of particular importance is the California gnatcatcher, a candidate for federal listing as an endangered species. The only thing preventing its listing is a debate, largely fueled by biologists working for developers, over whether the California gnatcatcher is the same as the gnatcatchers which thrive in Baja California, or whether it is a unique (and



therefore endangered) subspecies. In its original North American Bird Checklist, however, the American Ornithologists Union declared the California gnatcatcher a distinct subspecies.

The crown jewel of this bioregion

is the Etiwanda wilderness in San Bernardino County. These 7,000 acres of alluvial sage scrub provide potential habitat for the California gnatcatcher and other important species. Etiwanda's unique geological makeup has resulted in the formation of a 15-acre peat bog, one of the last ones in California. Due to its size, the Etiwanda can be thought of as analogous to the Headwaters Forest in northern California. There is no other place like it left on earth.

Etiwanda is threatened by a coalition of developers, including the University of California's land office. Looking for endangered birds, biologists from UC Riverside did a study of the area in June. However, this study was confined to only 175 acres, so their determination that no endangered species exist in the area has little merit.

Last spring, a different team of biologists sighted a pair of the endangered Bell's vireo in Etiwanda. Shortly afterwards, some unknown party illegally bulldozed the site where the vireos had been seen, knocking down trees and filling an active stream with dirt and debris.

Clearly, the biggest threat to sage scrub is development. From his concrete lair in the newly-built Ontario Center, Willard "Skip" Morris, presi-

dent of the Center, brags, "When I first got here in 1985 there was nothing but tumbleweed and jackrabbits." On the wall of his office are plans for the nearly pristine Rancho Cucamonga canyon at the foot of Mount Baldy. His vision is described by the Los Angeles Times Magazine: "A dozen more buildings. A mall twice the size of any around. Possibly a public library. A full-service 'car care' center. Acres of landscaped and lighted parking lots..."

Thanks to the efforts of Earth First!ers in the LA region, a successful resistance has begun. In early October, a conference designed to lure Asian development money to the area was infiltrated, and a message was delivered to attendees. By crowding board meetings and public hearings, local activists are beginning to be heard. Many developed projects have already been delayed or stopped as a result, and new studies and wildlife surveys are taking place.

Besides that, this ecosystem deserves to be saved. It is the eleventh hour for sage scrub. But this is a fight that we can win, if enough energy and effort are put into it. For the sake of the cactus wren, the spineflower, the grey fox, and the cougar, if you live in southern California and aren't already involved, don't just sit there on your butt, do something!

Information for this article was provided by the Sage Scrub Task Force. They can be contacted at (818) 508-HILL, PO Box 2828, Beverly Hills, CA 90213. Your involvement and contributions are welcome.

We'll Be Dammed

NAWAPA Threatens Continental Rivers

After 30 years in the cauldron, the North American Water and Power Alliance (NAWAPA) project is becoming a realistic threat to ecosystems from Alaska to Mexico. The NAWAPA conspiracy is a plan backed by politicians, engineers, developers and business people to divert "surplus" northern waters to drought plagued California, Mexico and the United States Southwest. Construction of the monstrous "hydra" includes 240 dams and reservoirs, 112 water diversions, 17 aqueducts and canals, and would flood 500 miles of the Rocky Mountain Trench. Further, the plan would force the Susitna, Copper, Tanana and Upper Yukon Rivers backwards (possibly using nuclear pumping stations) into reservoirs to be stored and sent South.

Sound crazy? Twelve dams that were part of the original NAWAPA scheme are already in place. The recent disappearance of the Nechacko River (which was diverted to feed the Alcan aluminum smelter) shows that the Canadian government has no qualms about playing God with rivers to serve industry. Adding fuel to the governments' ability to enslave the Northern river systems is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA is the key to NAWAPA since water is included as a "commodity for trade". In the words of Robert Finch (chief lobbyist for NAWAPA and former Nixon Health, Education and Welfare secretary), "NAWAPA will be the next major priority after the conclusion of the trilateral Free Trade Agreement negotiations." In a Canadian Broadcast Corporation documentary, Finch called the plan "inevitable".

The strategy thus far seems to be building NAWAPA piece by piece without acknowledging the entirety of the project. James Bay, for instance part of the original NAWAPA plan. The L.A. Department of Power and Water has proposed a corridor of dams and reservoirs from L.A. to Idaho's Snake River that would be precisely situated to hook up with NAWAPA. The Mica Creek Dam in B.C. is already built, a step towards sealing off the proposed Rocky Mountain Trench reservoir. Mica Creek Dam could also be used as a holding area for the proposed North Thompson diversion. Already built are the , Duncan, Libby, Hugh Kennedy, Pembia, Big Horn, Gardiner, Hungry Horse, Nelson, James Bay and Saskatchewan dams.

The North Thompson Albreda dam (B.C.) is the latest proposed project, and would be another cog in the NAWAPA wheel. K.V.A. Resources out of Bellevue, WA is the engineering contracting firm behind the plan to pump one million acre feet of water annually from the North Thompson River to California. The stolen river would flow from the Colombia through pumping stations, up the Oregon plateau near Lakeview, Oregon and down the Pit river into the Shasta Reservoir. Turning power plants along the way, the "surplus" water would eventually end up in the L.A. area.

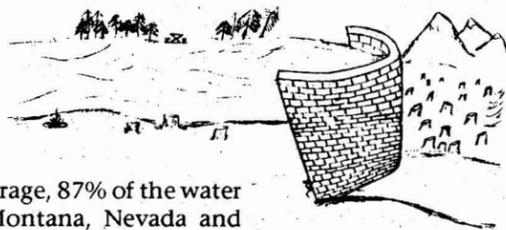
For the western US to consider Canada's water as a solution to their water shortage is "udderly" ridiculous. With the overwhelming majority of water there growing feed for livestock production, they don't need water, they need to stop raising livestock! For

instance, on average, 87% of the water consumed in Montana, Nevada and California goes to livestock food production (Wuerthner, Journal, Mabon, '92). Next to the military, the cattle industry is the most destructive force in the West. (Its no secret that supporting the livestock industry is like stabbing your mother in the back.)

But, alas, common sense doesn't seem to weigh like dollars and cents in the scheming minds of the people who have granted themselves control. The North Thompson River diversion will net K.V.A. Resources half a billion dollars annually. K.V.A. has hired Multinational Power and Water Inc., Vancouver as their Canadian based P.R. and lobbying firm for the project. William E.S. Clancey, Multinational's president has had a lifetime career providing boardroom council for executives and corporations, holding executive levels in banking, heavy construction, and the mining and energy industries. Smith has consistently maintained upper echelon liaison with both business and government. Your run of the mill vampire with an impressive resume.

Another important member of the visiting team is K.V.A. founder and chairman Gerald Shupe. His long history of hydroelectric construction engineering includes some 44 hydro power facilities in the US, Canada and Australia. In addition, Shupe has constructed major tunnels, rapid transit, rail, mining, etc..

Last, but not least, every effective earth raping conspiracy needs a good corporate lawyer. Enter Melvin H. Smith, President of Crown Western



Consulting Services Ltd. Smith has had a long (and hopefully soon extinguished) career in the Provincial government, providing counsel in issues before the supreme court involving fisheries, offshore mineral rights, and aboriginal constitutional matters (dealing with the illegal occupation of B.C., I'm sure).

Portions of pipeline and other developments are being snuck through the diminished realities known as Indian reservations. (You can't do that to white people!) The modus operandi is simple and time tested; pay the ones who will sell out and kill those who resist. We need to realize that this is not historical, this is still going on. The Aboriginal Traditionalists up and down the affected rivers are opposed to any diversion schemes and are organizing with environmentalists to create a strong offensive against intruding corporations and governments. Support and money is needed in building alliances and keeping bellies full so voices can be loud. We are trying to spread the word and create a broad base of support to stop any further altering of river systems. Look for upcoming action alerts.

Send money and/or information about NAWAPA, K.V.A. Resources, Multinational Resources Inc., etc., to: Alliance Against Water Diversion P.O. Box 346, Pritchard, BC V0E2P0

Rare Sturgeon Swims Between Economic Interests and the Federal Court

BY JASPER CARLTON

A classic battle between powerful economic interests and the environment is brewing in the Deep South. It's all about the effort to save the critically imperiled Alabama sturgeon.

Alabama Governor Guy Hunt, members of the Alabama and Mississippi congressional delegations, the Alabama Department of Economic and Community Affairs, and high officials in the Bush administration, have mounted an enormous campaign to prevent the listing and protection of the Alabama Sturgeon, *Scaphirhynchus suttkusi*, under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). The Alabama sturgeon may be the rarest unprotected native fish in the United States. However, economic interests fear that the sturgeon's listing and recovery could restrict dredging and stop shipping on the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, and hurt hydroelectric plants and other businesses along the rivers.

An economic impact analysis prepared by industrial interests estimated that the listing of the sturgeon could cost over \$2 billion in increased transportation costs alone. Both U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service officials and independent economists dispute this figure, but economic untruths continue to be spread as the rationale for blocking the listing.

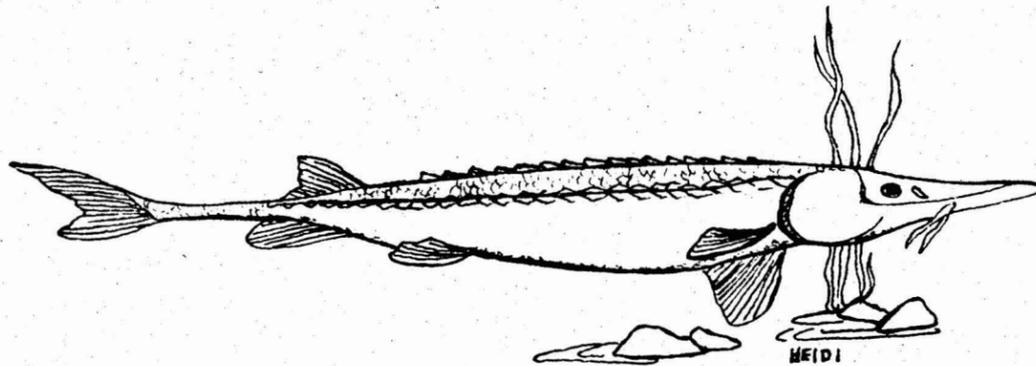
If the sturgeon is protected under the ESA, the US Corps of Engineers will have to allow a steady flow of water through its dams on the Alabama River, which would reduce the amount of hydroelectric power the dams generate.

The Alabama sturgeon is on the verge of extinction and is more threatened than most fish species already listed under the ESA. The most recent intensive population status survey by Burke and Ramsey

captured only five Alabama sturgeon. In completing a status review for the sturgeon, Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) biologists were only able to locate 32 specimens, one of which was mounted in a bait shop. Anecdotal data from fishermen in Alabama, however, confirm that this rare fish continues to be present, particularly in some large channels of big rivers in the Mobile Bay drainage.

US Fish and Wildlife Service biologists in the region and officers of the Alabama Department of Natural Resources and Conservation believe that the sturgeon continues to hang on in parts of the Cahaba River from the Little Cahaba River downstream to its confluence with the Tombigbee River. Based on the Burke and Ramsey fish study of 1985, biologists believe that the Claiborne Reservoir and the lower Alabama River probably support the largest sturgeon populations. The sturgeon seems to prefer deep, fast-moving water.

The Alabama sturgeon has languished as a candidate species for possible listing as a threatened or endangered species for over a decade.



During this period, the degradation and destruction of sturgeon habitat has been allowed to continue, contributing to the present severe imperilment of the species.

The Alabama sturgeon was included in the *Federal Register* Notice of Review in 1982, 1985 and 1989. *Federal Register* Notices of 1982 (47 FR 58454) and 1985 (50 FR 37958) recognized the species as Category 2 (sufficient information available indicating that a proposal to list may be appropriate, but conclusive data not currently available to support a proposed rule). The 1989 *Federal Register* Notice (54 FR 554) listed the sturgeon as Category 1 (substantive information supports listing under the ESA).

The US Fish and Wildlife Service continued to drag its feet for an additional two years, by not describing the Alabama sturgeon as a full species until spring 1991. The ESA does not mandate that a species be formally described prior to preparation of a proposed rule.

In the spring of 1991, both the Mississippi Field Office and Regional Office of the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) in Atlanta supported a draft proposal to list the sturgeon under the ESA. However, the Washington, DC office of the FWS, picking up a suggestion from industrial interests in Alabama, rejected the listing proposal by

Both the FWS regional Atlanta office and its Washington, DC office have been alerted by its own field office and fishery biologists that threats to the critically imperiled Alabama sturgeon continue. These threats include channel maintenance for navigation, gravel dredging and mining, and water flow rate regulation on the Alabama, Tombigbee, and Cahaba Rivers. The US Corps of Engineers has continued to approve gravel dredging permits in sections of rivers known to support the sturgeon.

In refusing to sign the ESA listing proposal for the Alabama sturgeon, the Washington, DC office of the FWS ignored the biological data, status review, and recommendations of its own experts. It ignored the documented decline of habitat and sturgeon numbers, the probable factors that have caused such decline, and the fact that fishery surveys confirmed the existence of young sturgeon (15-18 inches long) — documented evidence of successful spawning. Since Alabama sturgeon live 15-25 years, it can reasonably be assumed that some of these fish continue to exist.

It appears that issues other than biological ones may have been responsible for these inordinate and unreasonable delays in the sturgeon's listing. If such is the case, it would be a clear violation of the ESA. Only biological factors can be considered in a determination of whether to list a species.

In a formal Sixty-Day Notice of Intent to Sue, filed with Secretary of the Interior Lujan on

October 26, 1992, a coalition of environmental groups and grassroots conservationists charged the Secretary, Fish and Wildlife Service Director John

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Mexican Spotted Owl Goes to Court

BY JASPER CARLTON

Ignoring the fact that the Mexican spotted owl (*Strix occidentalis lucida*) is considerably more endangered than the northern spotted owl, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan has failed to finalize the listing of the owl under the Endangered Species Act. The secretary was mandated to make a final decision on the owl's listing within one year from the date that the US Fish and Wildlife Service published a proposed rule in the *Federal Register* to list the owl as threatened. The deadline elapsed on November 5, 1992.

In response, the Biodiversity Legal Foundation, a Colorado-based environmental group, and Dr. Robin Silver of Phoenix, Arizona have filed 60-day formal notices with the secretary of their intent to file suit in federal district court to compel compliance with the law.

The Mexican spotted owl is a cousin of the northern spotted owl and one of three spotted owl subspecies. Its physical appearance differs from that of the northern and the California spotted owl subspecies by its darker background plumage and its larger and more noticeable white spots.

The Mexican spotted owl inhabits forested mountains and canyons from the southern Rocky Mountains in Colorado and the Colorado Plateau in

southern Utah, southward through Arizona, New Mexico, western Texas, and into Mexico. It is estimated that only 2,100 Mexican spotted owls remain in the United States, about one-third the number of northern spotted owls. The owl's habitat is comprised of uneven-aged, multi-storied forests with closed canopies; it prefers older and denser mixed-conifer forests as its principal habitat. This essential area continues to be degraded, fragmented and destroyed. Logging and increased predation and competition from other raptors due to habitat fragmentation are the major threats the owl faces.

About 90% of the Mexican spotted owl's remaining habitat is on US national forests, the majority of which continue to be mismanaged for timber production. If listing and protection are not finalized soon, it could be too late for recovery of the species to a viable, self-sustaining population in the wild.

Although the Mexican spotted owl may have adapted to a more diverse range of habitats than its northern cousin, old-growth forests are its optimum habitat. Very few major stands of old trees remain within the owl's present range, and many of these have been targeted by the Forest Service for destruction. A substantial number of

these last grandmother trees are on steep mountain slopes in previously unlogged areas.

The present Forest Service guidelines for timber prescriptions are applied only to occupied habitat and are grossly inadequate. Since they allow for continued habitat fragmentation and degradation and do not contribute in any meaningful way to the long-term conservation of the Mexican spotted owl, they cannot now be used as an excuse for either delaying or denying listing and protection.

The real issue is not merely the Mexican spotted owl—it is the continued biological destruction of forest ecosystems in the Southwest. Many other species, such as the northern goshawk, flammulated owl, and spotted and occult bats, are faced with declining habitat and increasing imperilment. Their conditions are all symptomatic of a serious loss of wealth in biotic systems.

The Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service have failed to make the preservation of natural diversity the principal management emphasis in a single large, natural, diverse ecosystem in the region—even in those areas that presently support multiple sensitive, threatened and endangered species. The Bush administration, al-

lied with powerful logging and grazing interests, has been more than willing to sacrifice the irreplaceable for short-term economic greed. Each time another species disappears, we lose another member of our Earth's family.

Secretary of the Interior Lujan apparently intends to drag his feet wherever possible in the implementation of the Endangered Species Act—right up to the point that President-Elect Clinton's people are in place. At the very least, this constitutes a serious abuse of governmental discretion that cannot go unchallenged.

Unless the Fish and Wildlife Service acts within the 60-day period to take the necessary steps to list the Mexican spotted owl as a threatened species, the Biodiversity Legal Foundation and Robin Silver will exercise their right to bring an action in federal district court to compel the Fish and Wildlife Service to meet its statutory obligations under the ESA.

What you can do:
Write to members of your congressional delegation urging them to support the listing and protection of the Mexican spotted owl.

PAW APPEALS TIMBER SALE IN THE ALLEGHENY

Preserve Appalachian Wilderness' Allegheny Task Force just completed an appeal on the James Mills Timber Sale in the Allegheny National Forest. No timber management has taken place in the area since the late 1800s. There are no roads in the area, and 67% of the forest is over 80 years old, while another 9% is over 100.

The Forest Service wants to build new roads in the area and cut over 3 million board feet of timber. To prove their commitment to the environment, they have designated 187 acres as "future old growth." However, 77 of these acres are savannahs, while the other 110 do not possess any old growth characteristics.

The James Mills area provides habitat for migratory songbirds, many species of which have been declining in numbers due to forest fragmentation. The Forest Service has found 5 hawk nests in the area. The red shouldered hawk and the northern goshawk are listed as "Species of Special Concern" in Pennsylvania. The Service claims that cutting trees will have "no significant impact" on the birds' habitat, but they have never monitored populations of any hawks.

There is very little old growth left in the eastern United States. In the Allegheny National Forest, 0.3% of the forest is in an old growth condition.

Please express your outrage to the Forest Supervisor, Allegheny National Forest, P.O. Box 847, Warren, PA 16365. For information on the ongoing campaign to restore biodiversity in the Allegheny National Forest, contact Karen Tuerk/Tom Rooney, 57 Choate Street, Newark, DE 19711, (302)368-3736.

Shoshone Lands Returned

Early on the morning of October 8th, 1992, a few days before the full moon, 20 acres of land held in private hands since the early 1900s was returned to the Western Shoshone people. This land, taken illegally by the US government and later sold to private individuals, was recognized as Shoshone land through the 1863 treaty of Ruby Valley.

Genevieve Vaughan and her three daughters purchased the land just days before the ceremony so that it could be returned to the Western Shoshone on the anniversary of 500 years of Resistance. Indigenous people all over the world have lost their traditional lands during the last 500 years of invasion and occupation and the illegal seizure of land still occur today. "We are liberating this small piece of land away from the profit motive back to the collective care of the native people from whom it was originally taken," said Vaughan.

This symbolic gesture offers us a model for beginning to correct the wrongs which have been perpetuated against native people since the initial encounter. It is a tangible new beginning for the next 500 years in which we must all reclaim our connection to the land and liberate it from the inappropriate technology and development.

Shoshone elders gratefully received the land in a ceremony of blessing and

ADC Slams Door on Activists in Utah

Recently a group of individuals representing 500 people who had signed a "Petition to Control ADC" arranged a meeting with Mr. James Winnat, director of the Utah ADC office. The group wanted to ask some questions, search out justifications and, hopefully, do some educating of their own.

They were concerned about an August 25th, 1992 memo from the Deputy Chief of the Forest Service to all regional foresters stating that ADC would be responsible for National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) environmental analysis effective immediately. They wanted to know how ADC thought it was qualified to do NEPA analysis, especially since they have no experience, no jurisdiction over any land, no regulations for guidance, stark conflict of interest, and a sordid past. They wanted to know why ADC offices around the country were making it tough for the public to get information and were even ignoring Freedom of Information Act requests. They wanted to know how ADC could justify changing its name to Wildlife Services. Most of all, they wanted to know how ADC could possibly claim the ability to administer a law that, if nothing else, stands for the inclusion of the public in public land-management decision-making.

The group of individuals were met by a clipboard-toting man who informed them that they would have to show their drivers licenses and allow the information on them to be copied before they could enter. Rather in-

credulous, and more than a bit offended, the group turned to Mr. Winnat for confirmation. He gave it, telling them that names, addresses, and phone numbers would not suffice and that anyone who would not show their I.D. could wait outside. He said that recent attacks against the ADC across the country were the reason for such extreme treatment.

The group had read a recent ADC document titled "A Futuring Document for Animal Damage Control" and had set up their meeting with it in mind. The document stated ADC's "vision" which included "adhering to the highest ethical standards," that "public understanding of [their] work will come through proactive public relations" and that one of their primary goals was to "improve cooperative relationships with various publics to increase public understanding...[and] enhance the public's understanding by aggressively communicating with...the public." Apparently, the Utah ADC office had neglected to read this document, and instead treated their public as potential criminals.

Folks around the West should confront ADC offices about this incident. Ask if it applies to you. If not, ask why not. Why were concerned citizens in Utah singled out? Schedule a face-to-face meeting with your Director. Ask him to justify the transfer of NEPA responsibilities, especially in the face of such treatment. Ask if the Futuring Document is just a bad joke made at the expense of some innocent tree. Ask About ADC activities in your area.

Get A Clue

We don't necessarily expect astronomers, who live their lives in the galaxy rather than here on the earth, to be familiar with the imperative workings of an ecosystem; however, we do expect them to know their own field.

Mount Graham-UA astronomers have discovered the data they used in selecting a site for their largest and most expensive telescope (the Columbus) is seriously flawed, even after 12 years spent gathering this data. According to a recently completed University of Arizona site-testing report, the image-distorting effects of wind blowing through the unique spruce-fir forest located on the summit were severely underestimated. In order to adjust for this flaw, data now indicate that Columbus will have to be built a whopping 236 feet high, doubling the cost of the telescope.

Their solution is to move the telescope to another Mount Graham location. According to their 'new and improved' data, excellent images could be obtained with regularity from a 119-foot telescope at the new site. UA astronomers are saying that this move, which will be submitted for US Forest approval by the end of the year, is a minor amendment to the observatory plan.

Nothing about the Mount Graham observatory is minor. We have fought them for every inch of land they claim, and we will fight them for every additional inch they desire. We will not just relinquish the red squirrel, the unique spruce-fir forest, or the Apache's sacred ground.



Barn Burner in the Adirondacks

Anti-wilderness goons in New York's Adirondack Mountains are suspected to have burned forest advocate Anne LaBastille's barn in late August. The burning was the latest of a growing string of attacks against people working to protect the Adirondacks. In recent years, others have been harassed, assaulted, and shot at.

LaBastille is best known for her several books, including Woodswoman, where she chronicled her efforts to build a log cabin deep in the forest and live close to the land. The fire destroyed the barn as well as a pickup truck and a small boat that was stored on a trailer. LaBastille is also the chairperson of the Adirondack Park Agency's (APA) operations committee.

Attacks against APA personnel have risen sharply. John Cowen, who recently became chairperson of the APA,

has had his tires slashed, and other employees have been harassed. The most serious attack came on July 8, 1991 when three APA employees were shot at as they left local property. Two shots were fired. The first flattened the front tire of the Pickup that the men were riding, and the second struck the fender behind the tire - very close to the mens feet and legs.

The Adirondack Council building in Elizabethtown, NY was spray-painted the night before LaBastille's barn was burned. A while back, New Hampshire biologist Jeff Elliot was assaulted by the town supervisor of Warrensburg in a scene that was videotaped and shown in september on 60 minutes. The Lake Placid Club at Lake Placid has been burned repeatedly, simply because the APA is associated with its reconstruction.

Naturally, these incidents are not deterring those who care about the Adirondacks from taking action to protect the mountains. Our forces are galvanizing, and finding renewed strength in our commitment to protect this region regardless of the vicious tactics of the opposition.

purification. Several hundred people of native American, European, and Euro-American ancestry participated in the ceremony which was in many ways a great healing.

Murrelet Goes To Court

A "logging support group" has given the US Fish and Wildlife Service 60 days notice that it intends to sue, claiming the agency failed to support its conclusion that the marbled murrelet should be protected under the Endangered Species Act.

The Northwest Forest Resources Council said the agency failed to have adequate data to back up its decision. Federal courts ordered the agency to make a decision on whether to list the rare sea bird in September after it had twice delayed making a judgment.

Support documents for the listing say that the bird's old-growth forest habitat in Oregon and Washington has declined from 25 million acres to an estimated 3.4 million acres.

Source: ECONEWS, Newsletter of the Northcoast Environmental Center, November 1992. Write 879 9th St., Arcata, CA 95521, or e-mail nec@igc.ape.org, for a free copy.





The Blue Mountains

The Forest Ecosystem That Is Next To Go

Rising above the rocky canyons, sage, and grasslands below, the Blue Mountains forests begin at about 3400 feet elevation. In the west, these former volcanic islands in a huge inland sea level out at about 5,000 feet elevation. Farther east towards the Wallows, they rise to about eight and nine thousand foot peaks. Spanning a huge geographic area, the Blue Mountains comprise four National Forests (Malheur, Ochoco, Umatilla, and Wallowa-Whitman).

The Blues range from north-central and Eastern Oregon to South-eastern Washington. Hells Canyon along the Snake River forms the eastern boundary of the Blue Mountains Province. These forests, long home to the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla, are climax ponderosa pine forest ecosystems. These forests also contain juniper on the southern slopes and upper rocky plateaus, grand and Douglas fir on the north slopes and in drainages, yew in the denser forested drainages, lodgepole pine in the upper elevations, and aspen scattered throughout near the numerous springs, marshes, and watersheds. The John Day, Umatilla, Grande Ronde, Powder, and Crooked Rivers all flow from these mountains. The many streams and creeks which are tributaries of these rivers serve as spawning grounds for salmon, steelhead, and bulltrout. Before the advent of logging, grazing, and agriculture these fish were numerous, but now their populations have become seriously imperiled.

Led by the public rhetoric of industry proponents such as the wealthy "good ol' boy" Congressman Bob Smith, the Forest Service is setting the east-side stage for severe ecological

devastation in the guise of restoring forest "health" with "salvage" logging. Perhaps the real reason for this sudden interest in forest health, among the cut and run crowd, was best said at a Bend, Oregon press conference in early 1992 by representative Bob Smith: "The west side is all tied up in appeals; the east side is the only game going."

Logging in the Blue Mountains is scheduled to begin on a massive scale in the spring. We need comments sent to the FS addresses below, and letters sent to local newspapers. The Pacific Mountain Alliance is preparing a slide show on the Blue Mountains and the impending "salvage" destruction, and needs help in setting up benefits and locations for its showing. The Blue Mountains' forests need people to take the time to become familiar with them, and to think and act creatively to protect them.

The Forest Service is counting on the remote location, sparse population, and lack of activist awareness to allow them to get away with this destruction. Don't let the Blue Mountains become the next ecosystem North America will lose. Contact the Pacific Mountain Alliance to offer your help before the saws begin!

What you can do:

To host a slide show presentation, contact the Pacific Mountain Alliance, HCR 82, Fossil, OR 97830 (503) 468-2028

Write letters to the following places:

Umatilla National Forest, 2517 SW Hailey Ave., Pendleton, OR 97801

Heppner Ranger District, PO Box 7, Heppner, OR 97836

Pacific Northwest Region, USDA Forest Service, PO Box 3623, Portland, OR 97208

Covert Logging in the Shawnee

Despite personal guarantees to forest activists that there would be no cutting this harvest season, the USFS attempted to covertly extract timber from the Whoopee Cat Sale area of the Shawnee National Forest in southern Illinois, a sale announced only in the spring of 1990.

Since clearcutting was outlawed in the Shawnee by an act of congress in 1990, the USFS has decided to extirpate species by implementing the new term "Gap Phase Dynamics" for its means of timber extraction. The pine warbler guild and cooper's hawk are species threatened by the new terminology.

In a desperate attempt to get at least one cut out this year, Forest Service resorted to attempts of outright covert timbering. Upon inquiry the FS district rangers were unwilling to share any information as to whether there was timbering done in the Vienna region of the forest. Securing their own maps, and scouting the area, activists discovered the cut and established an observation-protest camp on September 25th.

Tensions ran high during the 43 day encampment. Timber contractor Dale Brandt resorted to employing non-locals, as not too many Illinoisians seemed interested in joining the fray. Accusations of tree spiking, equipment sabotage and even urination into water jugs ran rampant. While loggers cut clubs, Dr. Joe Glisson prepared for an appeal of the sale.

Glisson intended to argue that the sale which implemented the new plan violated the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. On Octo-

ber 13th one day prior to Glisson's motion, the court decided to grant another litigant a stay for the same plan, rendering Glisson's litigation moot.

Although the new plan was not to be implemented, the cut continued under the assumption that it was the implementation of the old plan (which allows the now illegal practice of clearcutting!).

Said Randall Thomas, an arrestee of this years encampment, "when we went to court, we saw some interesting things."



Claim Staked in Idaho

In a brilliant dramatization of the stupidity of the 1872 Mining Law, members of the Idaho Conservation League staked a mining claim and commenced preliminary surveys on a posh golf course in Ketchum, Idaho. To the utter horror of owner Milt Kuolt, the district BLM office verified that the land where ICL wants to stake its claims is legally open to mineral exploration.

The ICL-owned Mine-All-Mine Co. must pay a bond to cover reclamation costs or make an agreement to reclaim the land, but ICL staffer Mike Medberry noted that "the law doesn't require us to bring the land back to its original condition."

Source: High Country News

Protected Ecosystem or Radioactive Sacrifice Zone?

In a desperate eleventh hour effort Governor Pete Wilson has gone straight to the Bush administration and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan to compel the US Bureau of Land Management to sell the proposed 1,000 acre Ward Valley dumpsite directly to the state, illegally bypassing the State Lands Commission, so that the state Department of Health Services (DHS) can issue a license and approve the construction of the first radwaste dump in the US in twenty years.

The nuclear power industry is pressuring states to site radioactive waste dumps throughout the country. In California, the site chosen by the DHS, our leading dump proponent, is located just eighteen miles west of the Arizona border, the Colorado River, and the town of Needles. The State plans to build this dump in the eastern Mojave desert at Ward Valley in what is considered by wildlife biologists to be prime habitat of the endangered desert tortoise.

The dump contractor chosen by DHS is the notorious US Ecology (formerly Nuclear Engineering Corp.), the same folks who have left leaking radwaste dumps at Sheffield, Illinois and Maxey Flats, Kentucky; and whose operations in Beatty, Nevada have

been shut down repeatedly for health and safety violations there.

Citizen activists and grassroots organizations throughout the state have come together, demanded hearings, drafted legislation, lobbied and worked to delay and ultimately stop the development of this insane plan to dump radioactive wastes.

Yet the fight to stop the Ward Valley dump has been taken away from the people most directly affected and placed in Sacramento

courts controlled by pro-nuclear right wing conservatives. The concerns of the Chernejevi and Fort Mojave Indian Tribes, and the city of Needles, have been ignored. What is clearly a people's fight has been redefined in terms of partisan politics by political hacks at the Capitol and in the Governor's office.

That doesn't cut it with those of us who are concerned with protecting the fragile desert ecosystem, the endangered desert tortoise and the Colorado River aquifer.

We have worked to bring this issue to the people, only to witness a complete betrayal of the public trust by our highest government officials who are attempting to illegally force the land transfer and licensing so that construction can begin before the new ad-

ministration assumes office in January.

If US Ecology attempts to begin construction at Ward Valley they will have a fight on their hands; we are not going to roll over and let them force the destruction of this ecosystem. If they think we are go-

ing to stand by while they turn Ward Valley into a radioactive sacrifice zone, they better think again.

If you would like to find out what you can do to help stop radioactive waste dumping write us at the following address. Contributions in support of our outreach and direct action mobilization are greatly appreciated and will place you on our mailing list for Ward Valley Alerts and updates.

Central Valley Earth First!
1014 11th Street, Suite 186
Sacramento, CA 95814

If you would like to write to the people most directly involved in pushing radioactive dumping, write to:
US Ecology Senior VP
Ronald K. Gaynor
7801 Wayland Way
Loomis, CA 95650



International News

BC Government Program Poisons Wildlife

The Lands and Parks, Fish and Wildlife Branch of British Columbia's Ministry of Environment has applied to continue its pesticide use permit to use sodium monofluoroacetate, or compound 1080, to poison wolves and coyotes believed to be harassing livestock. It is ironic that a government agency thought to have the welfare of wildlife as its primary concern intends to spread an extremely toxic and controversial poison over about one-third of BC because of the interests of the agriculture industry.

The Thompson Watershed Coalition, based in the Kamloops region, is appealing this permit application, and a new group, K-9, was formed to help with both the appeal and with creating public awareness about this issue.

Compound 1080, banned in the US by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1989, is toxic to all life, but especially so to canines. There is no known antidote. Compound 1080 is taken up by plants, and by animals eating the carcasses of poisoned wolves, coyotes, wolverines, bears, and any other animals that might happen upon a poisoned bait. Because compound 1080 has the capacity to be taken up even third hand by non-target plants and animals, it readily invades the food chain.

Public lands in BC are being constantly eroded. In the Kamloops region, for example, a new golf course was built on public land. The grazing lease that formerly occupied that territory was pushed father out, which in turn encroached upon the habitat formerly used only by wild animals.

Sadly, though, our society values cattle, sport hunting and tourist revenues over wilderness. Thus, wolves and coyotes, along with all the other non-target species killed as a result of compound 1080 poisoning, are not seen by the government as having their own intrinsic value. On the contrary, wilderness is priceless. It is the source of our fresh water, and it contains the seeds of biodiversity. It is criminal that

our government, at the urging of special interest groups, is spreading poison over what wilderness remains.

Activists have prepared an information package. Please include a donation with your request to help with photocopying and mailing costs. Contact K-9, Box 43, Kamloops, BC V2C5K3. We also welcome any information or donations to help with this appeal.

Spread the word about the BC wolf poisoning, and PLEASE put your con-

In 1950 China invaded Tibet, beginning an occupation that has exploited Tibet's natural resources and forcibly resettled 7.5 million Chinese there. Today, aside from human rights abuses, the six million outnumbered Tibetans are witness to China's appropriation of Tibet's forests, wildlife, minerals, and energy resources. In violation of Tibetan Buddhist beliefs and at the expense of Tibet's environment, China is now tapping into the country's vast hydro power potential. Despite the

gain little from the project. Tibetans both in the region and in exile oppose the project because it threatens the habitat of the local wildlife and the livelihood of nomadic herders who use the lake. The Dalai Lama, political and spiritual leader in exile, has repeatedly voiced his concern over the ecological threat as well as callous attention to the lake which has special religious significance. For the Tibetan Buddhists, it is considered a "lifepower" lake.

Although China claims that the environmental impacts of the dam were evaluated and the project approved before construction began, Tibetans assert that adequate environmental, social, and economic assessments of the project never were done. At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in June, approximately 13,000 international signatures protesting the dam's construction were delivered to the Chinese delegation, only to be ignored.

The increased power potential is expected to make industrial development, the settlement of additional Chinese immigrants, and pollution more likely in Lhasa, further endangering the regional environment as well as the national identity of Tibetans.

The Tibetan government in exile believes that the bulk of Tibet's energy needs can be met by renewable sources, including small-scale hydro, geothermal, and solar projects. The dam would have significant environmental impacts, and would alter the flow downstream where the river becomes the Brahmaputra in India. Such transboundary implications make the protection of Tibet's environment an international concern.

Source: World Rivers Review



cerns in writing and send them to:

Deputy Director, Wildlife Branch
Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks
780 Blanshard Street
Victoria, BC V8V1X5

region's opportunities for small-scale hydro, China is focusing on potentially disastrous large-scale plans for dams in central Tibet through the development of the Yamdrok Yumtso project.

Not surprisingly, Tibetans stand to

Maquiladora: A Preview of Free Trade

BY SUSAN MEEKER-LOWRY

A good way to help people understand the implications of "free trade" is to let folks know about the maquiladora industry. Since 1965 a free trade zone has been operating south of the US/Mexican border. There, 90% of the factories are owned by U.S.-based Transcontinental Corporations (TNCs). Two-thirds of the workers are women aged 17 - 25. The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM), a binational coalition of over 85 religious, environmental, labor, Latino and women's organizations (including my own organization, Catalyst), was formed in February 1991 to provide strong, vocal, and widespread opposition to "business as usual" in the maquiladoras.

CJM developed the Maquiladora Standards of Conduct, drawn from existing Mexican and US laws, as well as labor standards established by the International Labor Organization of the United Nations. The standards focus on environmental contamination, health and safety practices, fair employment practices and standards of living and community impact.

Coalition members have been very active in the past few months visiting

Matamoros and the FINSA industrial park; bringing maquila workers to speak at congressional hearings and offering their own testimony, and testifying before the International Trade Commission. We have organized press conferences and demonstrations at EPA/SEDUE hearings, and conducted corporate campaigns which involved joining with workers and community members to confront company executives and plant managers. We have visited plant sites, organized press conferences and demonstrations and filed shareholder resolutions at annual meetings. CJM also supports and helps protect Maquila workers who expose conditions since whistle blowing is risky business.

Information packets, collections of newspaper articles, reports on pollution and videos are available from the coalition. Below is a brief description of three corporate campaigns and a list of other U.S. companies CJM is targeting.

Qumica Fluor (QF)/DuPont (President: E.S. Woolard, DuPont, 1007 Market St., Wilmington, DE 19898): QF is a DuPont subsidiary on "Chemical Row" in Matamoros and produces hydrofluoric

acid (HF), a chemical used in the production of CFCs. A 1,000-gallon release of HF could produce a gas lethal to all humans exposed within a five-mile radius. The Mexican government has issued an expropriation decree for the 30,000 people living within two kilometers of the plant. There is no provision for compensation for relocated residents. People are demanding that the studies upon which the decree is based be made public, that QF suspend or reduce production of HF until plant and community safety are assured and that the plant be moved, not the families. DuPont officials have not been responsive to community concerns nor have they provided any information regarding the danger their plant poses to people on both sides of the border.

Stepan Chemical (President: Quinn Stepan, Stepan Chemical Corp., 22 West Frontage Rd., Northfield, IL 69993) Stepan is also located on "Chemical Row" and is a key focus company for CJM. Concerns center on the contamination of soil and groundwater, ammonia leaks and explosions. Stepan bulldozed the drainage ditch from which the sample taken by the NTC showed

xylene at 53,000 times the US standard. Stepan has dumped waste from hundreds of 55-gallon chemical drums into unlined ponds on their property and has attempted to cover over the most obviously contaminated areas. The CJM is demanding a complete environmental site assessment, information on the "environmental improvements" the company claims it has spent funds on, and access to all information pertaining to contamination.

General Motors (CEO Robert Stempel, GM, GM Building, Detroit, MI 48202) GM operates 37 maquiladora plants employing more than 42,000 and has plans to build more as it closes 12 of its 21 plants in the US and Canada making the company the largest maquila employer. Concerns center around contamination and worker safety. A sample taken on the canal near GM's Rimir plant by the NTC contained 2,700,000 parts per billion of highly toxic xylene and GM plants have questionable waste disposal practices as well. GM is accused of hiring underage girls at its Delnosa plant and

continued next page

Botswanan Wildlands to be Fenced

Plans to complete a buffalo fence around Africa's last great wilderness, the Okavango Delta, have caused a storm of protest from environmentalists and local tribes who cannot agree on its siting.

At issue is the Okavango Delta itself, the point at which the third largest river in Southern Africa pours into the Kalahari Desert creating 15,000 square kilometers of unique wetland and the world's largest inland waterway. The area supports a great diversity of animals

due to the concentration of habitats ranging from Kalahari sands, lagoons, forest and scrub, floodplain and reedbed. Seasonal flooding further complicates the delta, and results in a constant movement of species.

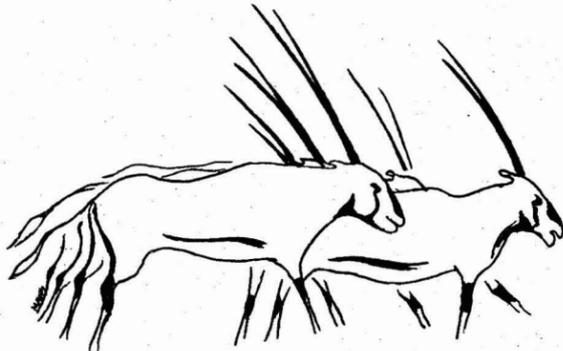
The fence, five strands of wire and one line of steel cable capable of withstanding a lateral impact of 25 tons (enough to stop a charging buffalo but not an elephant) loops around the delta to the south and aims to close in the top before swinging on a meandering course up to Botswana's northern border. Ostensibly its purpose is to prevent contact between the foot-and-mouth-carrying buffalo of the Delta and Botswana's three million cattle. But its opponents see many other reasons for its construction.

The installation of the first stage of the 226-kilometer northern buffalo fence has been the issue which has most bitterly divided environmentalists, big game hunters, locals and the Botswanan government, oddly provoking accord in some cases between totally opposed groups over the dismantling of the four-foot-high fence.

The depth of passion is due to cattle. Botswana is cattle country and "buffalo fence" is a misnomer for cattle fence. In an area of semi-arid grazing susceptible to seven-year drought cycles, the vast water resources pouring into the Okavango Delta have long

been a source of dispute between cattle and wildlife—a dispute temporarily settled in the wildlife's favor by the invasion of the tsetse fly after 1825.

But with the country's cattle population at the limit of the land's capability to support it, the pressure on the delta as a wildlife and water resource is immense. In Botswana a cow is a status. Many feel that the fence is ineffective because of the difficulty of maintaining it in swamps



and the problems of joining a section that runs through perennial marsh.

International attention has prompted the Botswanan government to finance a fact-finding team to question the fence's siting, and to investigate claims that it prevents migration of wildlife and the traditional use of the Delta by hunter-gatherers.

According to the people who live in the region, they were consulted on the placing of the fence and then their views were ignored by the government. "Visit the fence and you'll see the destruction of giraffes and animals of all sorts," said one man, echoing the claims that the fence is interfering with wildlife migration routes that the Wildlife Department states do not exist.

Activists call for End to Brown Bear Hunt in Greece

The Friends of the Greek Bear are denouncing ongoing hunting of brown bears (*ursus arctus*). The European Economic Community provided funding to the Greek government which activists claim is being used for useless studies while the slaughter continues.

The group says "the bureaucracies of Brussels [where the EEC is headquartered] and Athens are collaborating for the extermination of the brown bear in Greece."

Contact the Friends of the Greek Bear, PO Box 30736, 10033 Athens, Greece; fax: 3243782.

Pandas on Verge of Extinction

Only an estimated 700 to 1,500 pandas remain in the wild today. Indigenous only to China, poaching and habitat destruction threaten the panda survival, due to human over population and development.

Currently, the Chinese government has 13 panda reserves, of which the Wolong Nature Reserve is the biggest. A 772 square miles reserve, the Wolong is bisected by timber roads, dividing the pandas into isolated breeding groups. Sharing this land with 4,500 villagers, the lower elevations, which could support thick stands of bamboo, instead are covered with corn and potato fields. Hence, even in the reserve pandas are restricted to a small area. Like bears everywhere on this globe, the pandas are threatened with extinction in the wild.

UK Earth First! Sabatoges Malaysia Tourism Trawl

Well it had to happen. It was high time that the Malaysian tourism delegation was welcomed back to reality after their scandalous promotion of Sarawak as the land of unspoilt natural beauty.

Sarawak, the representatives of the travel trade have been told, is the golden opportunity. A land of untamed natural beauty hardly touched by the modern industrial world. A land of wild rivers and beautiful forests. Where the natives are friendly and generous. "Malaysia - Naturally. Welcome to fascinating Malaysia," they say.

The Malaysian delegation of ministers, businessmen and opportunists have been traveling the globe to promote "Visit Malaysia Year 1994". With the logging industry increasingly being recognized as a dying industry those canny capitalists have been looking around for another way of raking in the cash. They think they'll do it with tourism and they've persuaded the federal and state governments to heavily invest.

The Gloucester Hotel in trendy west London was the setting for the event at which Sarawak was to be sold to the British travel industry. Unfortunately the organizers—including the infamous James Wong, timber baron and Minister for Tourism and Environment—had not counted upon the ability of environmentalists to dress up in suits and distribute counter information right under their noses. The anti-logging brochure "Fascinating Malaysia" was distributed. The brochure was full of juicy information—about tourists being arrested and trashed landscapes.

James Wong, who previously stated that deforestation is good for golf, was confronted with his crimes against the people and forests of Sarawak by Nitya Rolfe, an activist who had spent 2 months in prison in Sarawak last year for her actions at the logging port of Kuala Baram. After a strange episode of distributing information to interested travel agents whilst being pursued by Malaysian mobsters unwilling to make

a scene, the activists were forcibly removed by security.

The next day, three Earth First!ers attempted to occupy the top floor of the Malaysian Stall at the huge World Travel Market at the Earls Court Exhibition Centre. A huge crowd of potential investors gathered to see the fight as the Malaysian mob descended upon George Marshall, Jake Burbridge and Steve Chantel. The Malaysians were furious at having been upstaged at what is described as the main event in the global travel industries' calendar.

The sympathetic Earls Court security didn't throw the activists out and didn't object to them coming back five minutes later so that tempers could cool. The ministers and businessmen, sensing the dollars floating away, were livid. After half an hour of intense verbal discussion and abuse, the Malaysians' security heavies surrounded the offending and physically removed them from the building.

The action built on the success of earlier efforts elsewhere. The delegation had already met resistance in Vancouver, Canada thanks to the Western Canada Wilderness Committee and by the Nepenthes Rainforest group in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Although the Malaysians were the ones to feel the brunt of green rage, they were by no means the only offenders. The Indonesians, Canadians, Americans and many others were promoting their much abused lands as peaceful paradises. A visit to next year's World Travel Market would be a good opportunity for many activists focusing on environmental and human rights campaigns.

For information about the World Travel Market, a copy of the "Fascinating Malaysia" brochure and the cooperative initiatives it suggests between tourists and the struggle please contact The Sarawak Solidarity Campaign c/o SIMBA 84 Long Lane London SE1 4AU England Tel: +44 71 403 2876 fax: +44 71 403 3997 Email geo2:eicmas



The Russians are Coming

With 37% of the planet's standing softwood timber, Russia is anxious to turn wood fiber into hard currency by sending logs to mills on the rim of the Pacific Ocean.

Siberian log imports to the US are on hold because of a ban by the US Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) out of concerns over a host of pests that could cause havoc in the already stressed forest ecosystem of the Pacific Northwest.

APHIS, however, is considering rules to allow log imports from other areas in the Pacific that could raise similar concerns. The agency is asking the public for assistance in identifying effective pest-elimination treatments and wood products that should be regulated.

Recent disclosures that the fumi-

gant methyl bromide could destroy the ozone layer have prompted some to suggest that APHIS shouldn't allow that method of treatment.

Experts believe that the most pressure for imports will be Douglas-fir and Monterey pine logs from plantations in New Zealand.

APHIS is also looking at rules to facilitate the importation of dry bamboo canes and tropical hardwoods.

To help ensure that your written comments are considered, send an original and three copies by November 23 to Chief, Regulatory Analysis and Development, PPD, APHIS, USDA, Room 804, Federal Building, 6505 Belcrest Rd., Hyattsville, MD 20782, refer to Docket Number 91-074-2.

continued from previous page

Free Trade...

there are documented health and safety problems at the Deltronico plant. All GM maquilas pay very low wages. GM has been more cooperative than other companies, in that it is willing to engage in dialogue and has agreed to a tour of their facilities. However, it has denied organized labor from participation in discussions, has not made the requested changes in its "Public Interest Report", nor have wages improved.

Other targeted companies: Asarco (mining, smelting); Allied-Signal (chemicals, aerospace, automotive, engineering); AT&T; Baxter International (medical/lab equipment); Chrysler; Ford; GE; IIT; Johnson & Johnson; Parker Hannifin (components for various industries); and PepsiCo.

UK Earth First! Rips Scott Tissue

By Ted Oakes

On August 3rd 1992 seventy human beings blockaded a Scott pulp mill in Gravesend, Kent, UK. The action was organized by Oxford Earth First! in protest of Scott's production of unrecycled toilet paper from temperate North American Rainforest trees.

Scott's mill in Gravesend is supplied in part by MacMillan Bloedel with ships arriving directly from Vancouver Island and the US Northwest.

The demonstrators were met with a heavy (60-80) police presence, dogs, and riot vans, hoards of media and a legal injunction against participants and the organizers.

The action started with a blockade of the main entrance to the mill, which was facilitated by the crowd control measures of the police force. In anticipation of the event, Scott Paper employees were given the day off and the mill was shut down, barring a skeleton staff. Angry protesters tore down the posted injunction and attempted to gain access to the mill. Several

people were detained by the police but later released without charge.

The event was peaceful but highly charged because of the heavy police presence and the depth of feeling of the demonstrators. Media coverage included several of the national newspapers, BBC Radio and a three-minute feature on the six o'clock news (London and the Southeast of England). Millions of people in England saw BC temperate giants going down to the chain saw as the six o'clock news played our video. Always give the TV people a video of the thing you are protesting—apparently it works!

The total cost for security arrangements for Scott were approximately \$100,000 US according to the newspaper *The Guardian*. The injunction against the organizers was recently struck down with legal costs being awarded against Scott Paper.

For more information contact:
Oxford Earth First!
Box E
34 Cowley Rd., Oxford, U.K.

Warner Fire...

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and needles are falling to the ground to retain precious topsoil and replenish lost nutrients. Wildlife including spotted owls are actively re-inhabiting the area, as well. Aggressive management activities such as logging and replanting will inevitably interfere with this ongoing natural recovery process by removing precious biomass and topsoil, by adding new layers of combustible fuel, by introducing non-native species and diseases, and by disturbing the wildlife with chainsaws and helicopters. A friendly word of warning, though: beware the bait-and-switch strategy (i.e. Darrel is asking for alternative "F" but will settle for one of the other lesser-volume logging plans) and make your demand for the NO ACTION Alternative known in your comment letters.

The Warner project could have been the first step of an authentic effort to redirect the Agency towards ecological forestry; unfortunately, it is yet another textbook example of an outlaw agency gone far out of control. Alter-

native "F" stands for many things, but it certainly doesn't stand for Forests, their Flora and Fauna, or our Future. We must do everything in our individual and collective powers to stop this precedent-setting act of ecocidal aggression, to make this and all other salvage logging proposals in Warner Creek an utter futility.

The Warner Fire has become our warning fire: it is only by our silent acquiescence that the Corporate State can wage its war against the wild. Stand up and speak out—be forever Wild and Free!

For more information, contact Southern Willamette EF! at 503-343-7305. Be sure to fill out and send in the comment card, too.



Idaho's Cove/Mallard: Part of the Lower 48 States' Biggest Wilderness Area!

By Erik Ryberg

I have been asked to respond to a letter which appeared in the last issue of the *Earth First! Journal* (Samhaim). The author of this letter, signed "Most Confused Activist in the Lower 48 States" expressed confusion about which is truly the largest "roadless area" in the lower 48, and noted that Earth First! has, at times, claimed such a distinction for more than one place.

I believe "Most Confused" had seen a poster which involved the current EF! campaign in Central Idaho, where I and many others spent a good part of last summer. That poster called Cove/Mallard the "largest" roadless area in the lower 48 states, which isn't entirely true.

"Roadless Area" is a legal as well as a descriptive term, and legally speaking, "Roadless Area" describes a place which has been inventoried by the Forest Service in RARE II ("Roadless Area Review and Evaluation") and which is greater than 5,000 acres. I do not know which RARE II area is the biggest anymore, but it probably is not either the Cove or the Mallard Roadless Areas, both of which are RARE II and which together comprise roughly 76,000 acres.

But of course "roadless area" is a descriptive term as well as a legal one. If we take "roadless area" to mean "area without roads" we note that Cove and Mallard are bordered by the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness, which in turn is bordered by the Gospel Hump Wilderness. All together they make up a place well over three million acres in size and without any roads. According to *The Big Outside* this is over 300,000 acres larger than the runners-up, which are in turn the giant complex of California's High Sierra Wildernesses, the Boundary Waters of Minnesota, and the Grand Canyon.

It is important to note that a single unpaved road (which is snowed in as many months as it is open) separates this 3,000,000 acre block from the 1,800,000 acre Selway Bitterroot Wilderness. That road, called the "Magruder Corridor," is a disgusting scab which exists only to provide a "wilderness experience" for hundreds of blithering idiots on snowmobiles, ATVs and other stinking contraptions.

I also would like to add, in case "Most Confused" remains skeptical,

that when I say the Cove/Mallard "Roadless Areas" are bordered by the River of No Return Wilderness, I do not mean that their borders touch at some remote corner. They share a single border with this Wilderness for well over 20 miles as the crow flies, and they are surrounded by the Frank Church River of No Return to the immediate East, South, and very nearly to the West. Except for one road, they touch the Gospel Hump to the North, although this border is a small one. Cove/Mallard describes an unprotected land



76,000 acres in size wedged into this nation's largest unroaded place outside Alaska.

I hope very much that "Most Confused" and others will take a moment to ponder the magnitude of the importance of this area. This is one of our nation's last true "wildernesses" (real wilderness, not legislated "Wilderness"). Three or perhaps five million acres is what we have left with which to heal the Northern Rockies. From this spot we must somehow return to our continent's forests the lynx, the wolverine, the Harlequin Duck, the Bull Trout and others. Because, truly, it's *their* continent and not ours. Not just ours.

Yes, Cove/Mallard is the biggest. It is the biggest because it is attached to the Frank Church Wilderness. But we must not think that the wilderness status of the Frank Church will be ad-

equated to protect it from the ugly, trainwreck future our species seems hell-bent upon providing. The Frank Church is threatened and one way it is threatened is by the 145 mile highway-system of logging roads our Forest Service wants to build in Cove/Mallard, to access the 200 future clearcuts they've carefully flagged and numbered.

Our "Forest Service" is shredding this giant, glorious spot so fast it makes my head spin and my teeth hurt. It is obvious to anyone who cares to look that Cove/Mallard is one of the few truly huge, as yet intact ecosystems from which this planet's forests, deserts and other ecological systems will need to draw the critters, plants and other organisms to recover. And it is equally clear, perhaps more so, that our Forest Service is botching the job. Botching it for *all* of us, not just for us humans.

I know that every place needs defenders. But think: right now Cove/Mallard is the Redwoods seventy years ago. The Cascades fifty years ago. Cove/Mallard is what we lost in Michigan 100 years ago, Pennsylvania before William Penn. It is vital that Cove/Mallard not be added to the casualties.

The term "whole" may not mean so much today thanks to a ruined atmosphere and an impending climate swing, but insofar as words like "whole" or "intact" can apply to anything they apply to Cove/Mallard. For a temperate forest ecosystem Cove/Mallard is as healthy as we can find today on our planet. Unfortunately.

"Most Confused" is right to be skeptical when regarding superlatives, and perhaps the defenders of Cove/Mallard should try to relax their frantic tone. But we *really* are witnessing a systematic, pre-meditated, and fully

informed decapitation of the Wild Rockies Bioregion. Our forests have been hacked and mangled beyond recognition, their rightful occupants crushed and all but obliterated. But in Cove/Mallard and the three-million plus acres attached to it, there is still a forest. A real forest, a big wild with all the components.

There simply are no superlatives adequate to express that, and for the people who know, never has there been an unvoicable rage or a soul-burying fury to compare with what we shall send forth if Cove/Mallard falls to the saws. We will be fierce.

A Call to Action: Cove/Mallard

Several activities are planned next summer in the Cove/Mallard area. We have the dedication and the know how to stop the destruction in its tracks, but we need YOU down there.

For the more adventuresome, we promise you tactics. More of the old cat-and-mouse games, treesits, road blocks, lockdowns, mole patrols, demonstrations, street theater, arrests, media coverage, and etc. We feel we have some unique plans to try out. Bring your imaginations and get involved now!

We also have many activities on our agenda designed to draw out the recreationist in you. Plans include: an activist white-water raft trip down the Salmon River, another protest march across one of the nearby wildernesses, a rendezvous in one of these wildernesses, more music in camp, a poetry contest, solar showers, and required R and R (rest and relaxation) breaks. If you are interested in any of these projects, I can let you in on the ground level of organization. Next year is looking very promising. We need organizational types to step forward. We are an equal opportunity employer.

The contact is:

Lost Elk
POB 6151
Bozeman, MT 59771

Wildlands Economy

BY GEORGE WUERTHNER

As Earth Firsters we reject the societal notion that nature's value can be determined by a price tag. However, we share the planet with unenlightened people who think otherwise. This article is intended to provide facts to rebut these folks in their own language.

American society still lives with the myth that protecting millions of acres of more wilderness is counterproductive to economic growth. However, such a perception is, to use the phrase coined by University of Montana economics professor Thomas Power, "looking in the rear view mirror." Montana's economy, like that of much of the United States, is changing. Faxes, computers, rapid transportation, and a world economy have changed the way we, and the rest of the world, do business. No longer is it necessary to rely on the extractive industries for so-called economic stability. Instead, there is a need to recognize the recent trends which support the fact that Montana's wildlands are more valuable standing—in more ways than one.

On a global or even a national scale, there are few things that Montana has to offer that are exceptional, aside from its wilderness qualities. You can grow trees faster and cut them with less environmental degradation in Georgia or east Texas. The same can be said about raising livestock—it takes an acre of land to raise a cow in Alabama vs. the 25-50 average in most of Montana.

We often hear that agriculture is Montana's number one industry, but this is only true if you consider milking the government for subsidies an industry. In some years, as much as half of farmers' and ranchers' income comes from various government payments and entitlements. The only reason

Montana's extractive industries (and in Montana even agriculture is an extractive industry, losing top soil at an astounding rate) have been able to compete effectively with other regions of the country and the world is the existence of subsidies.

For instance, a recent economic analysis showed that the average timber job on the Gallatin National Forest in the south central part of the state was paid for by a taxpayer subsidy of \$30,000 per employee. This figure did not account for environmental subsidies, such as degraded scenery and impacts on water quality and wildlife. (If the average waitress or waiter was



subsidized by \$30,000 these would be high paying jobs as well.) The same kinds of direct taxpayer and environmental subsidies exist in the livestock, farm, mining, and other industries as well. It's not that subsidies don't exist in other parts of the country or world, but that in terms of efficiency, these other regions could compete without them, while most of Montana's marginal industries could not.

Where Montana excels is in its abundance of wilderness and wildlife. Few other parts of the world have to offer what we are fortunate to have in our backyards. Furthermore, we could improve upon the state's attributes by protecting larger expanses of connected wildlands and restocking it with griz-

zies, wolves, and bison. Once established these lands can be self-sustaining at essentially no monetary expense to the taxpayer.

There is a host of evidence that suggests proposals such as the Big Open and Buffalo Commons (both of which would reintroduce extirpated bison and other wildlife) and the Alliance for the Wild Rockies' 13-million-acre, five-state wilderness proposal are biologically sound, but even more importantly to many people, economically sound as well. The old refrain supported by the conventional economic perspective suggests that you can't "eat blue sky." But people are eating blue sky very effectively in Montana. Non-resident anglers generated \$450 million of industry output and supported over 7,000 direct and indirect jobs according to new research compiled by Michael Yuan, a University of Montana professor. Even more importantly, Yuan and his associates have found that those engaged in "wildlands" dependent activities such as nature viewing and backpacking spent more and stayed in Montana longer than visitors using more traditional tourism facilities. People don't come to Montana to golf. It appears that protecting wilderness, rather than detracting from it, does more for the economic opportunities of the state.

In addition to the direct economic benefits created by wildlands tourism, businesses and individuals are attracted to the region, because of the presence of wilderness and wildlife. A study of wilderness counties and non-wilderness counties by geographers at the University of Idaho for that state found that those areas with large acreage of wildlands were among the fastest growing in the nation with 2-3 times the growth of non-wilderness counties. We can easily see such a trend in Montana. While many eastern counties continue to lose population, economic growth is occurring in western counties with designated wilderness. Wilderness designation obviously does not hinder either population or economic growth.

Income within the extractive industries is declining. Contrasting to this is growth in service sector jobs. Nearly all growth has been associated with small businesses and self-employment. Many jobs are spawned by de-

pendency on the area's scenic wild qualities. Montana has the highest rate of self-employment of any state, and 96% of all businesses are small—a far more stable and desirable situation than relying on single, large industrial employers. In the Greater Yellowstone area for example, service sector jobs now contribute to over 45% of all personal income. At the same time, income from retirement and transfer payments from past investments comprise 35% of all income—more than twice the amount contributed by extractive industries.

Montana history reflects a similar trend toward valuing nature. A hundred years ago, a small number of market hunters made a living from slaughtering wildlife. Eventually, Montanans decided that wildlife had greater value to all citizens, either for hunting or wildlife viewing, than it did as a source of income and jobs for a few market hunters.

We are seeing a similar transformation in the extractive industries. Trees are now more valuable living, or even as snags, than they would be as 2x4s. Water is more valuable supporting trout than growing hay for livestock. Grass is more valuable growing bison, bighorns, and elk than cows. But guess which animals were given the majority of forage area, even on public lands?

All this supports the contention that maximum wildlands preservation actually makes the best business sense and is the best investment in our collective economic future that we can make. If you want to counter economic growth in Montana, then continue to



destroy its wilderness and wildlife. But if you want to be competitive in the new global economy, protect as many acres of the landscape as possible.

This case is an excellent sample of what would happen if economic factors were allowed to be considered in the listing of an ESA candidate species. Monied interests could hire unethical private consulting firms to develop impact analyses that would essentially derail a species' listing and protection.

As the BLF, Ned Mudd, and Ray Vaughan prepare their legal complaint, this case has the potential for being one of the first endangered species cases brought before the federal courts under the Clinton administration. This will be a litmus test indeed!

What you can do:

Write to John Turner, Director of the US Fish and Wildlife Service, 18th & C Streets NW, Washington, DC 20240. Insist upon the listing of the Alabama sturgeon under the ESA.

Support these legal efforts to save the sturgeon and its aquatic ecosystems by sending a tax-deductible contribution to the Biodiversity Legal Foundation, PO Box 18327, Boulder, CO 80308-8327.

STURGEON...

Continued from page 29

Turner, and Fish and Wildlife Service Deputy Director Richard Smith with illegally delaying the listing of the Alabama sturgeon under the Endangered Species Act.

The legal action was filed by and on behalf of the Biodiversity Legal Foundation (BLF), a non-profit, public interest organization headquartered in Boulder, Colorado; BLF staff attorney and environmental activist Edward (Ned) W. Mudd, Jr. of Birmingham, Alabama; and Ray Vaughan, attorney for the Friends of the Alabama Sturgeon. The notice stated that unless Secretary of the Interior Lujan takes the necessary steps to list and protect the seriously imperiled Alabama sturgeon under the ESA within the next 60 days, the above-named prospective plaintiffs will file suit in federal district court to compel the secretary to meet his statutory obligations.

"Secretary of Interior Manual Lujan is seriously damaging the long-term public interest by denying protection to the Alabama sturgeon that the US Fish and Wildlife Service acknowledges is approaching extinction," notes Jasper Carlton of the Biodiversity Legal Foundation. "The Interior Department's foot-dragging is effectively allowing the continuing de-

struction of the natural aquatic ecosystems upon which the Alabama sturgeon and many other rare and endangered species depend. The scarcity of this fish is a sign of broader environmental problems in these aquatic ecosystems."

Through a Freedom of Information Act request, the BLF learned of a well-coordinated effort by economic interests in Alabama and Mississippi, and by some members of Congress from these states as well, to derail the listing of the sturgeon under the ESA. The Secretary of the Interior and Director

of the Fish and Wildlife Service apparently responded to this pressure by refusing to sign a listing package for the fish that had already been approved by FWS' own regional and field offices.

Economic interests in Alabama have distributed distorted and inflated figures on the potential economic impact of listing the Alabama sturgeon as a way to provoke public antagonism against protecting this imperiled fish. In fact, sturgeon are usually considered to be a commercially valuable species.



Life and Death in the Mangrove

BY ALFREDO QUARTO

Mangrove forests are made up of diverse tree species which thrive in upper tidal zones along flat, sheltered tropical shores. The trees have evolved in the harsh environment of brackish water and changing tides. Their special adaptive aerial roots and salt-filtering tap roots have established rich and complex ecosystems. Besides protecting vast areas of coastline from erosion, they are vital to inshore fisheries, wood-products industries, and wildlife.

In the mangrove forest, life abounds. One can find shorebirds, crab-eating monkeys, fishing cats and mud-skipper fish that skim across the swamp mud to make their way between water holes at low tide. The mangroves are the ocean's equivalent of the rain forest, balancing coastal ecosystems worldwide. Living among these once vast areas of coastal forests, villagers pass on their traditional cultures to their children—skills and wisdom relating to the sea, the land, and of course the mangrove forests.

But time is running out for the mangroves and the people who live among them. Because of their proximity to the sea's brackish waters and their relatively level terrain, the mangrove forests are ideal locations for establishment of black tiger prawn aquaculture. They are being cleared, and the once self-sustaining waters and lands poisoned.

"I know I have this sin on my conscience I may never be able to erase..." a small prawn farmer on the east coast of Thailand admitted. He had acted against better judgment and taken a chance to make quick profits at the cost of his neighbor's rented land. The 20-rai prawn farm failed, and the land is ruined.

The story was the same among villagers on the Andaman Sea coasts. The fever which had struck the east coast was upon them, yet they were fearful to act. Others who had spoken out had felt the heavy hand of "influential people." Billions of baht (\$) are at stake. The land-grabbing is backed by certain policy-makers who share the money gained from illicit land deals and a passing fancy: the boom and certain bust of black tiger prawn aquaculture.

Prawn farms made their first appearance along Asia's coasts in the 1970's, beginning their rapid expansion in China, Taiwan, and South Korea. The annual growth rate of prawn pro-



photo: Alfredo Quarto

duction averages 25 percent, mainly in Asia which produces 75 percent of the world's prawns. Many of these early prawn industries have by now failed or are in their final stages. The ponds are largely abandoned, the once plentiful mangroves devastated.

Business investors from these early enterprises, undaunted by the inevitable failure of their prawn farms, looked further afield, to Thailand, India, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Prawn industries were also established in Ecuador, Panama, Mexico, and elsewhere in Latin America.

Wherever the industry goes, the mangroves disappear as it moves on from failed ponds to new, unspoiled ground.

The main defect in prawn aquaculture lies within the pond's waters. Fresh seawater must be pumped regularly into the ponds to keep the prawns healthy. The pond's fouled waters, which contain toxic concentrations of prawn excrement and the chemical additives used in the prawn feed and water treatments, must be pumped out. The problem is, where to place pond effluents without contaminating surrounding land, ground waters, and the sea coast itself?

No adequate solution has been found, and problems with pond effluents are mounting. In addition, salinization is poisoning the ground water, as well as the once productive farmlands. Waste water is adversely affecting the coastal ecology, killing off the sea life and destroying vital fisheries.

In time, the ponds poison themselves as the seawater used to recharge them becomes contaminated, weakening prawn production, until finally the ponds are closed.

Even now, the prawn industry is moving towards new coasts in Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, Yemen, and Iran. Businesses continue to make big profits from newly established farms. Besides the initial earnings from prawn production, there are profits to be made from selling prawn feed, water treatment additives, and equipment to small farm owners.

Although the prawn industry promotes itself as a boon to local economies, it benefits mainly the wealthy investors. The plight of coastal villagers was well expressed by an Ecuadorian fisherman last year while being interviewed for a television documentary.

"We must look for ways to defend ourselves and make our voices heard," he asserted. "We're sick and tired of the destruction of the mangroves... The second-biggest prawn farm in this country is just 100 meters from here. There has been large investment, but we haven't been taken into account. We haven't benefited from it... Ours is a fishing zone, but in five to six years, with the mangrove destruction, we'll end up with nothing..."

Thailand suffers similarly. The east coast of the southern peninsula, including both Songkhla and Nakhon Si Thammarat where the prawn industry was established in 1986, is a virtual wasteland.

Now the industry is attempting to establish itself on the west coast which still contains extensive mangrove forests and rich fisheries. For powerful agribusinesses and aquaculture industries, it is "prawn business as usual." The industry provides a tremendous boost in export earnings, of course. Over 20 billion baht in foreign exchange earnings has been generated since the 1980s. Nearly 160,000 tons of prawns were cultured in Thailand last year alone, 90 percent of which were exported, mainly to Japan and the US, but also to Singapore, Hong Kong, Europe, and Canada.

Today, around 500,000 rai of land are covered by prawn farms. Many of these have been closed because of pollution. In the last 30 years Thailand's total area of mangrove forests has decreased from over 2.1 million rai to 1.12 million rai. A large part of this loss is attributable to expansion of the prawn industry, which still goes unchecked.

The worldwide ramifications of the prawn industry go far beyond the immediate and noticeable damage to coastal environments. Besides the obvious loss of the mangrove forests and their related coastal ecologies, there follows what might be termed an "ethnocide" of once sustainable coastal communities.

Worldwide efforts are needed to restrain the profit-makers. Strict regulations protecting the mangroves and restricting the prawn industry are essential. But reducing world consumption of the black tiger prawn is also necessary. Limiting industry profits is a sure way to slow rampant aquaculture expansion.

Unless we take action, the "rainforests of the sea" will continue to disappear, coastal species will become extinct, and coastal communities will suffer or vanish. As one village headman emotionally stated, "The mangroves are the roots of the sea. Without the mangroves, the sea will have no meaning." We must ask ourselves, is this worth the luxury of putting black tiger prawn on our plates?

The industry plans to expand its operations in Third World countries as well as dramatically increase exports next year—an 80% increase is planned in the US alone. The Mangrove Action Project, MAP, is being formed because of these mounting concerns. For more information write to MAP P.O. Box 1854, Port Angeles, WA 98362-0279

Earth First! Activist Conference: Shawnee National Forest

Shawnee Earth First! of Southern Illinois and Shawnee Defense Fund will be hosting this year's Earth First! activist conference. Dates of the conference are January 29th through the 31st. Cost for the conference will be \$40 for meals and lodging (heated sleeping space and healthy, fiber rich sprout sandwiches for all.) Cabins will be assigned to those who reserve them first. There will also be plenty of camping spaces for hardy Viking types. If by plane, your destination will be St. Louis International where on Thursday the 28th the Shawnee Songbird Bus will await your arrival and shuttle you to the site. We humbly ask that those flying in please arrange to arrive and meet us on the 28th. The site is over two hours from the airport and we would like to make just one shuttle if

possible. The bus will return to St. Louis on the 1st. If by train or bus, your destination will be Carbondale, Illinois. You can arrive anytime, provided you have made arrangements to be picked up. If by automobile, then you must obtain the SECRET MAP. Maps will be distributed through the Journal contact list. The site is on private property and for security reasons, we ask that ALL participants notify us of their intention to attend. Fair warning: we will have a participant's list at the gate and those



not on it will not be admitted. Funding for transportation to the conference has not been secured at this time. If funding is provided, we will reimburse folks as much as possible, but don't count on it. To make this a bonafide conference, the conference committee humbly proposes that affinity group representatives and individuals prepare brief statements outlining any comments, insights, and/or concerns they wish to share regarding the movement. Statements will be read during the opening of the conference.

If you or your group wouldn't be caught dead expending the energy, time, or money required to attend this silly little function, but you would still like to express yourselves, please send your input to Shawnee EF! and we will present your views to the conference. To contact us, call Mike at (618) 549-7387 or Jan at (618) 564-2878 or write us at 913 S. Illinois, Carbondale, IL 62901. One final note: Yes, the rumors you have heard are correct. There are no micro-breeds in the Midwest bioregion. So bring your own or drink Cooks with Real Beer Flavor like us poor suckers here.

Activist Handbook for Forest Destruction Now Available

BY BEVERLY CHERNER

"What is an activist? Webster's says, 'a person who takes a direct and vigorous action in support of, or in opposition to, one side of a controversial issue.' By definition, that makes me an activist, and I'm proud of it.... I'm here today to change things.... Some of my thoughts follow Saul Alinsky's line of reasoning, as expressed in his book, *Rules for Radicals*."

Are these the inspiring words spoken at a rally of indignant leftists? Guess again. This noble message is delivered by a man from an organization renowned for its social conscience, Stone Container Corporation. If Alinsky were still alive, he would certainly shun such shady company.

Gerald Freeman is just one of the luminaries quoted in the comprehensive *Loggers Activist Manual: An Idea Book on How to Influence Public Opinion in Your Local Community*. Compiled by the American Forest Resource Alliance and the American Pulpwood Association, this comprehensive tome contains many helpful hints on public speaking, writing letters to the editor, cultivating media contacts, and influencing legislators.

One section of the manual, entitled "The Group of Ten," provides descriptions about the mainstream environmental groups, listing the names and salaries of their top administrators. As number eleven, our "leaders" are listed as Mike Roselle and Dave Foreman whose salaries are "food money only."

"While Earth First! is not one of the 'big' mainstream environmental groups," the manual states, "it is probably the most infamous. Carrying out a program of terrorism, violence, and sabotage against loggers, timber companies, fishermen, and ranchers throughout the United States, the group rallies around their battle cry, 'No com-



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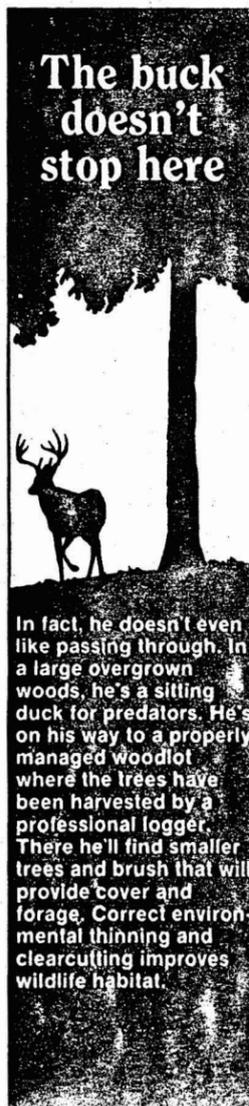
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promise in the defense of Mother Earth.' This group has been responsible for thousands of dollars worth of damage to logging equipment over the last couple of years, along with numerous tree-spiking incidents. This is a dangerous organization, and their activities in your area should be monitored as closely as possible."

I called the American Pulpwood Association to ask about this document (which ain't cheap at \$35 a copy) and spoke to Doug Domenech, one of the principal authors. He was very curious to know how the *Journal* obtained his publication. I explained that it showed up anonymously in the mail. "Interesting," he replied several times, sounding a bit worried.

Domenech said the book was compiled "to provide basic communication skills for logging contractors... in terms of how to write letters to the editor, etc., along the model of a lot of environmental organizations doing that for their members."

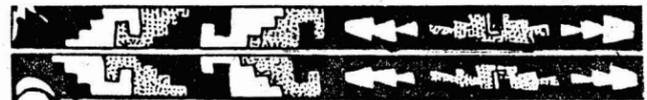
We had a nice chat. Contrary to the written description of Earth First! as a "dangerous organization," Domenech told me, "We actually don't think Earth First! is much of a threat. Because you define the extreme, you make the other groups like National Wildlife Federation seem moderate." He explained that he considers those groups to be the really dangerous ones threatening the future of logging.

At the end of our conversation, he asked me, "Do you want a photo of me sitting on a stump?" Alas, it turned out he was only kidding. However, readers will no doubt get a good laugh out of the graphics from the manual, reproduced on this page.

The address of the American Pulpwood Association is 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 1020, Washington, DC 20005. Their telephone number is (202) 347-2900. They would love to hear from you.

Green Rage in Tasmania

International Forest Activists Embrace Theory and Practice Down Under



BY ORIN LANGELLE

The first international action of the Native Forest Network (NFN) effectively stopped business as usual in the Devonport office of the Forestry Commission Tasmania (FCTAS) in 24 November. NFN, a broad coalition of international non-violent activists, chose FCTAS as a target due to FCTAS' jurisdiction, and their failure to take responsibility, for logging on the Gog Range near Deloraine and the non-protection of *Astacopsis gouldii*, the world's largest freshwater crayfish, and a recognized IUCN threatened species.

Activists dropped banners from the roof of FCTAS regional Working Circle

headquarters, chained themselves to doors to blockade access, and dumped woodchips to show their outrage at FCTAS' blatant disregard of the habitat destruction of *Astacopsis* habitat and woodchip exportation to foreign markets at the expense of the Gog.

Before the direct action a press conference was held at the Deloraine Environment Centre, where Jim Nelson, a local Gog resident, presented to the media "Albert," an *Astacopsis* whose fellow species are endangered due to logging procedures on the Gog. Tim Cadman, NFN spokesperson, said, "Few people in Tasmania realise the

global significance of the freshwater crayfish, and such wanton destruction of the habitat should be internationally condemned." Western North American NFN representative Randall Restless stated, "Areas like the Gog must be protected everywhere. We cannot afford to be parochial about forest protection, but must realize that Native Forests and associated species are under siege around the world. We need these remaining scraps of native forest for the continuance of evolution, the protection of biodiversity, as the green lungs of the planet and for our own survival. The parallels between Tasmania and the Wild Rockies where I live are amazing. Both places are under increasing attack by the timber beast, and both are experiencing rising local activism."

Due to FCTA's takeover in which the Ned Kelly Bushrangers (infamous Tasmanian activists who have previously stopped a woodchip train) participated, Tasmanian Forest Minister Tony Rundall intimated that radical activists should be hanged. Because of Rundall's attack on the bushrangers, who he said deserved the same fate as Ned Kelly, Green MHA Gerry Bates furiously negated Rundall's accusation of "green terror" on the parliament floor and became the first house mem-

ber since 1987 to be banned.

The action at Devonport promised not only nonviolent civil disobedience concerning the Gog and other Australian hot spots, but global direct action by NFN groups in their bioregions who identify the need of protection against corporate encroachment and destruction.

This action followed the first International Temperate Forest Conference, a meeting of forest activists worldwide. The group agreed upon a mission statement, "To protect the remaining native temperate forests around the world to ensure they can survive, flourish, and maintain their evolutionary potential." The group is working to forge a global network designed to share information on the grassroots level, and will meet somewhere in North America in 1994.

For further information contact: Native Forest Network, 112 Emu Bay Road, Deloraine Tasmania 7304 Australia or Eastern N. American Rep., Orin Langelle, Native Forest Network, PO Box 57 Burlington, VT 05402 USA (802)658-2403

SEND POEMS TO:
Warrior Poets Society
Bancroft & Telegraph
ASUC Box 361
Berkeley, CA 94720-1111

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Public Questions

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unable to be opened
political phones
though they ring
are never
picked up
yet destruction
continues
non-stop as corporate robots
drag stock dividends
into courtrooms
juried by bovine
public servants
in need of more hay
monied constituents howl
when common sense
testifies in its own behalf
justice indeed blind
when it comes
down to the planet
beneath our feet
the sky
over our head.

Keith A. Dodson



LAKE

the first year I was here
they bled the lake and
gave it a transfusion

the second year I was here
they isolated the beach
to keep lake water out of
the lake water we were in

the third year I was here
lakeside families with emerald lawns
complained about all the scum

the fourth year I was here
sarcomas of algae effloresced
so they decided to build a pool

Ken Turner

WHY WE'RE OUTRAGED

To them it's a day of finally getting out
of the office,
of taking frustrations out,
seeing how far they can plow the 4-wheel
through what they call "the muck"
before they have to walk (never far)
to electrically "zap" a creek
and haul out stunned fish to count and tag,
sometimes having to try to resuscitate
a big dying steelhead
if they didn't know it was there
and the charge was too much.
Or it's a day of excavating with heavy equipment,
drilling, fashioning artificial pools and waterfalls
in a cow-devastated creek,
monotonous in their repetitious look-alike
from one to the next as I walk down by the water,
with rocks cabled to each other with epoxy.
Or it's a day for them of painting trees—
blue for its death, orange for saving,
according to "the prescription,"
cutting down the patient in order to save it
in the name of "Forest Health,"
the markings often changed in political skirmishes
so what trees are left bear blacked-out stripes
across their bellies as they stand mute, waiting.
For too many of them, it's another day in the
office,
called to endless meetings deciding the fate
of what they never get to see,
mesmerized by radiation-field computer screens—
statistics in neat rows,
or daydreaming of going hunting on a holiday,
a chance to get away and "ready to do something"
—with the elk, the deer, the cougar, the bear
they don't really know.
For me it's a day as wonderful as in any
famous tropical rainforest—
small golden sweat bees scavenging from my
living
skin's waste their sustenance
after a summer lightning storm sends up puffs
of gray, then the first leaping orange
in the distant blue mountains,
or a spring day of wildflowers in water-glistening
meadows,
finding morel mushrooms under the firs,
looking up to see the flashing crimson
of a pileated woodpecker as she zooms in
to inspect me, then cries her haunting territorial
warning.
Or a winter day of crisp cold blue
with clear sun
as the elk burst out from the cover of the forest
and my horse surges under me,
wanting to run with them.
Autumn, gathering juniper berries
and the last green mullein leaves
for wound salves and better breathing,
watching four pronghorns graze on the hillside at
dusk,
shutting my eyes for dreams under the moon
to the joyful chorus of coyotes calling
each other for the hunt—
and reaching me.

5/13/92
Rabinowitz



Bison, Montana

Buffalo, people
call them, shaggy
beasts shaking

heads at flies, sun
on backs, chewing
grass, saliva

stringing from mouths, slowly
stepping to water troughs. These few

hundreds once
millions, the land theirs. Grasses

bent to wind, dust
from rolling
bison, tourists roll

down windows, lean
far out of cars for

pictures, no fear from
this distance,

not even when one takes to hoof
to stare them down. Why
fear such dusty

creatures, dead to them
these many years—they were told,

"Take a trip
into history, and before
you leave for home

stop to eat
the magnificent flesh
of the prairie's king."

Kevin Bezner



SFB...

land. Would environmentalists support "better logging practices" if it meant we had to shell out even more money to make marginal timber harvests profitable for the timber companies, even as we have to accept continued degradation of the forest ecosystem? Yet this is exactly what is happening on the Upper Ruby and on other livestock allotment conflicts in the West.

George Wuerthner

Letter to the Editor,

Whilst flicking through the wonderful and witty pages of this fine publication, you may have noticed that Earth Firsters exist on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. You may be wondering what a deep green direct action group does in the class riddled industrial wasteland of Britain?

The answer is, a lot. We're doing what we can to protect the last fragments of our natural landscape. However, we recognize that although we do not have any wilderness left we are very good, as a nation, at destroying other peoples. We live in a deforested land that's crammed with people immersed in a self destructive orgy of consumption. This is a root cause of the destruction of the global forests - for as a country which provides only 20% of its forest products - we are inextricably linked with the destruction of other peoples' land.

This October, 2 English Earth Firsters were at the first international conference of the Taiga Rescue Network (TRN) in Sweden. The TRN is an international network of 110 environmental groups from 20 countries, who together are working to save the last boreal forests of Canada, US, Scotland, Scandinavia, and Russia. The groups, large and small, radical and mainstream are determined to work at all levels to ensure the survival of the northern forests. From lobbying the UN to direct action in defense of the forests. From attacking the producer of the destructive forest products of timber, pulp and paper to weaning the consumer off the corpses of dead ecosystems. Since returning from that conference, and now being actively involved in the TRN we have started the Earth First! Temperate and Boreal Forest Campaign (TBFC)

The TBFC wants to support all forest activists in their struggle. As a movement, EF!UK has already started fighting against the importation of tropical timbers from Borneo and the Amazon. Some of us are particularly anxious to expand this to temperate and boreal forests as well. Our initial activities have been to dissuade investment in corporate sleaze bags like Waerheuser, International Paper and Stone Container. We're also targeting Scott Paper for their use of Canadian old growth in their paper products. Yet any midnight walk around a timber yard, reveals our job has only just begun. Plum Creek, Louisiana Pacific and other notorious forest destroyers are all exporting sawn timber to Britain. We need information on shipping marks and routes if we are to affect the trade. Some of us would also like to visit the front line struggles.

Please get in touch:

Jake Burbridge Earth First! Temperate and Boreal Forest Campaign
107 Manor Road, Hastings East Sussex
TN34 3LP
England Tel: +44 424 444048 Email
gn:earthfirst

Dear Mr. Roselle:

I am writing to you on behalf of Dave Foreman, one of the copyright owners of *Ecodefense, A Guide to Monkeywrenching*. The Mabon 1992 issue of the EF! magazine carried an ad for what were described as bootlegged copies of *Ecodefense*. The advertisement violates the rights of the copyright owners and is an infringement of their copyright under sections 501 and 106 (1) and (3) of Title 17, U.S. Code. These sections prohibit the printing or distribution of copyrighted material without permission of the owner of the copyright. No permission has been given. Nor was any requested.

Aside from matters of copyright you should know that publication and distribution of "bootlegged" copies of the book could undermine a publisher's efforts to

bring out a new edition.

Therefore, you are requested to cease and desist from producing, offering for sale, or distributing copies of *Ecodefense*, other than publishers' copies.

Very truly yours,
Carol E. Jones

Dear SFB,

How come no one listened to Henry? Old Thoreau was a pretty decent chap but not a soul heard what he had to say. The greedheads and their mad machines certainly didn't but what's worse is that the environmental movement didn't either. The multinational-corporate, military, industrial, technological flimflam- obviously ignored Thoreau but we blew him off too. We caught his ecological values but missed a way he suggests to fight for them.

Last summer in Oregon I told my friend Steven that the Forest Service uses our money, our taxes, to butcher our forests. Steve-o simply told me, as Thoreau would have, "Well then don't pay them." So, as I've grown weary of appeals and lock downs, I've decided to take the idea of tax resistance and run with it. If any of you ecoslackers out there still have jobs in the fake world (well, there may be one or two) I would like to invite and encourage you to join me.

Tax resistance would open up a new and needed front in the war for the woods. It would take the fight to the big bureaucrats. There is a benefit for the timber industry and the Forest Service from lock downs, tree sits, marches, and blockades. These activities are good and necessary and I will continue to participate in them but often they force us into a bad situation: Environmentalists vs. loggers. The old divide and conquer tactic. We are fighting their peons, not them, and while these vital actions stand up for wilderness, get media attention, and make the compromisers look like the compromisers they are these actions have a small side effect. The Freddie and timber beasts have us fighting the wood products workers. We should be in union with these folks, fighting the powers that be. Tax resistance would take the battle away from the innocent foot soldiers in this war and to the generals. Where was belong.

Here's the plan. I have created a framework list of demands. When April 15th hits, we refuse to pay the portion of our taxes that goes to the Forest Service, about .16% (about a fifth of a penny for every dollar). Feels powerful, don't it? The IRS will then inform us that they have disallowed this deduction (probably about a dime if your income is like mine) and assess us this additional tax, a penalty, and interest. The IRS is required to send a notice of deficiency, giving us 90 days to petition the US tax Court for redetermination of their assessment. It is likely they won't see things our way. We will then continue to refuse to pay until our demands are met. Arrests are likely and should take place on timber sale sites in National Forests. Then we sell ourselves and our sob, hunger-striking jail stories to the media. Hopefully Joe and Judy America come to realize their taxes are funding the destruction of their own forests.

The Forest Service and the IRS can be wily, though, and may see through this scam. This and the small amount of money withheld (I'm hoping, if we can get enough people involved, we can withhold a whole dollar) may cause them not to take action. In this case we win and encourage more resistance and, perhaps, still sell the story. In the other scenario they get a mess of bad press and we win again. Obviously I can't print all the details. If you want more information or want to join on contact me at:

Ron Constable
Stove Pipe Wells Village
Death Valley, CA 92328

Dear SFB,

I would like to express my outrage at an article which was printed in the Nov. 2 issue of the Earth First Journal. The article was called, "When Stars Have Eyes, Activists Destroy Surveillance Satellite." It described an incident that occurred on May 10, when Plowshare activists Peter

Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller broke into a "clean room" at Rockwell International and tried to destroy a Navstar Satellite.

Not only was the article full of untruths, but the activist's did a lot of unnecessary damage to the GPS system and the environmental movement as a whole.

I am intimately familiar with the Global Positioning System, having served four years as a navigator in the US Navy. I have also had used the civilian version of GPS on numerous occasions. The Global Positioning System and the Navstar satellites which make up the main component of the system does one thing and one thing only: It provides a receiving station with a very accurate means of determining its own position. To call it a surveillance satellite is completely ludicrous. It has absolutely no surveillance capabilities whatsoever.

While one of the intended users is the military, and they do receive more accurate positions, they are certainly not the only users, nor are they the majority. Civilians world-wide use the system, because it is the most accurate and reliable available. The system is also completely passive. It provides no means of establishing another persons position. To say that "Navstar lets the invaders know exactly where [peasant guerrillas or civilian refugees] are" is completely untrue.

You also stated that "Navstar is a targeting system. Receivers are attached to cruise missiles, 6-inch artillery shells, planes, tanks and Jeeps." This is also inaccurate. Cruise missiles use down-looking radar and an inertial guidance system. They do not use GPS. 6-inch artillery shells are not guided. Planes, tanks and Jeeps do sometimes use GPS, but only as a means of establishing their position. They also use Loran, Omega, radar and celestial navigation methods. Would you advocate destroying those as well? That would certainly be a blow to the millions of boaters, pilots and cartographers worldwide.

Another statement was, "Some large corporations do want to use it to map and exploit third-world resources." Again, the only thing GPS does is give an accurate position. To state that the corporations want to use it is like saying they also want to use charts, compasses and rulers. They also breathe air, so shall we destroy that as well? In the same sentence you state, "It was never designed for civilian use." This is a blatant lie. Some of the first GPS receivers used were for civilians.

It is these kind of inaccuracies, untruths and lies which destroys any credibility the environmental movement has. If it had been a surveillance satellite they damaged, I'd be cheering them along, but it wasn't. Some simple research would have shown them that. To continue to take these kinds of uninformed and irresponsible actions will end up destroying everything the rest of us have worked hard for.

Mark S. Nelson
McKinleyville, CA

Dear SFB,

For almost fifteen years I have lived and taught school out at the end of the Yukon River in Alaska. It's a very long ways from "civilization" as you know it, and I have often felt disassociated from the rest of the world. I live in a Yupik Eskimo village which is located in what many think to be untrammelled wilderness. Not necessarily true. There's a lot of wonder-country around here, but very few animals ever remain in the vicinity for fear of being reduced to dead meat. Granted, people need to eat, but it's gone beyond this. Where the elders used to respect the spirit of the animals they needed for food, now all of that has been forgotten and people shoot to kill at everything that moves and often just leave the carcasses of animals like brown bear in a heap to rot! It's difficult being a naturalist out here. Sometimes I wonder if I'm even on the right track.

This is why I enjoy your journal so much. It puts things in perspective for me and allows a form of passive communication with others who believe as I do. More importantly, it reinforces my own views which are so aptly expressed by other Earth Firsters in the journal, that all life on this Earth ship of ours is sacred and our moral obligation is to protect it by all available means.

Keep the papers coming! And, as Ed Abbey said, "Joy and courage, shipmates!"
Frank Keim
Marshall, AK

Dear Earth First! Journal,

One of the ways the FBI divides the movement is to spread false and potentially damaging rumors about activists, sometimes even long after they've drifted out of radical activities and taken up mainstream lives. This is done to scare potential activists away from taking a stand now for fear of what might happen later—sort of like the way your mother warned you about how getting a tattoo or police record when you were 17 would prevent you from getting a good job or living a normal life (like theirs) when you were older (and presumably wiser, like them). These allegations and misinformation are intended to embarrass, discredit and confuse the individuals and their families, co-workers and friends. The best way, of course, to combat such tactics is by dealing with them openly and setting the public record straight. To that end, then, I wish to quell all ludicrous talk of me becoming a Christian and wanting to nail people to trees to "save" them (the trees, that is). When it comes to religion—any of them—I'm of the sentiment of the Spanish anarchists of the '30s who, during the revolution there, attacked priests and burned churches with an ardor equaled only by that bestowed upon politicians and government buildings. Besides, the *last* thing I want is more metal in trees. Ruins the teeth on my sawmill blades and wastes valuable production time. And it could be dangerous! Now that I operate my own sawmill and lumber business I view tree spiking very differently. I do not endorse nailing religious zealots to trees (rope is another matter), nor have I "accepted" any dead messiahs as my "savior." (However, a few thousand dollars in venture capital would go a long ways right now.) Let this set the record straight and be a reminder to always be wary of provocateurs out to cause trouble and confuse people.

Live awhile, then die,
Mike Jakubal

Dear EF! Journal,

Hey! It is Oxford EF! (U.K.) here trying to make contact with intelligent life forms.

Some of our crew were a bit concerned over two of the T-shirt designs advertised on page 37 'Trinket and Snake Oil' section of the Mabon edition of the Journal. Two of these designs look like they were inspired by the art of the Weimar Republic. 'No Fucking Compromise' has a skull on monkeywrench 3rd Reich style eagle wings. 'No Deal Assholes' has similar elements. While we appreciate the need to shock, these items almost sent our German EF! guests packing. Any chance of getting these designs replaced?

That being said we luv the Journal and thought we should send our appreciation. We have been using copies of the Journal as an all in one campaign kit. Keep 'em coming - we especially love the cartoons.

If you are looking for actions to report on you might like to look at the conference Web:forest for the recent report on the EF! U.K. demo against Scott Paper's destruction of North American temperate rainforests.

Much Love,
Umingmak

P.S. Oxford now has three EF! groups including the Oxford University Earth First! Society - thought you'd love that one. Please let me know if we can help you with your fight for the ancient forests.

Dear SFB,

A good way to let the Alaskan Division of Tourism know what you think of the proposed wolf kill is to call Alaskan Airlines (800-426-0333), & reserve a seat or two. Call & cancel right before the flight, explaining your reason for boycotting the Alaskan tourism industry.

Editor's note: See article on front page for details on the Alaskan wolf kill

Announcements

Tour Announced

Dana Lyons, Lone Wolf Circles and the Howling Gonzo Orchestra present "TURN OF THE WRENCH" album release tour USA 1993.

A nation wide-tour organizing to save the ozone layer by promoting a boycott of and actions against CFC producer Seagrams-DuPont.

From sensitive ballads and stories to hard driving guitar/conga eco-rock-and-roll, Dana Lyons, Lone Wolf Circles and The Howling Gonzo Orchestra will get everyone on their feet celebrating life and inspired to shut down the neighborhood CFC plant. Dana and Wolf have toured the US and around the world in support of many environmental struggles.

Tour overview:

The TURN OF THE WRENCH 1993 USA TOUR will conduct a three week tour segment in five regions of the US. Each tour segment will close with a weekend rendezvous in a beautiful place near an ozone destroying facility. The Monday after the rendezvous will be a non-violent direct-action at the DuPont related facility.

The Ozone Campaign:

Karen Lohr of North Carolina will be coordinating the ozone campaign as well as tour promotion and media. She will be assisted by Lisa Beal, Andre Carothers and the infamous RADIATION SUIT RANGERS!... "The fashion statement in a toxic world."

TENTATIVE TOUR SCHEDULE:

Northwest (WA, OR, Northern CA):

March

Southwest & Rockies (Southern CA, AZ, NM, TX, CO, MT):

April & May

Northeast & Midwest:

September & October

Southeast:

November

We need your help setting up shows:

If you are interested in organizing or helping promote a show in your town or at your college please write to:

Dana Lyons

P.O. Box 2627

Bellingham, WA 98227



Direct Action Manual: A Call for Articles

San Francisco Bay Area anarchists are initiating a continental-wide effort to write and produce a manual for direct action and street protest geared to the conditions of the 1990's.

One of the primary goals of this Direct Action Manual is to draw on the collective experience and knowledge of North American anti-authoritarians and radicals who have been active in the streets, neighborhoods, and cities during the last several years and to impart this useful information to others in the form of a handbook.

The Web Collective, a group that since January puts out *The Web*, a local Bay Area anarchist newsletter, is coordinating the project and is urging people from all over North America to support it.

There are some contemporary examples of direct action handbooks written in North America from which it is possible to glean information and use as models. These publications contain interesting and useful material on subjects such as affinity groups, group dynamics, consensus decision-making, and organizational structure. However, a common thread that runs through all of these writings, and one that this project will make a departure from, is the ideology of non-violence. This Direct Action Manual seeks to

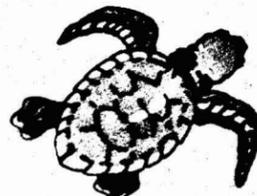
encompass a wide range of tactics and will not eschew militancy. In addition, the intention is that this manual not be written from the perspective of a specific action, issue, or geographical area; but be written so that it can be broadly interpreted and applied in a number of situations.

A preliminary outline is now being circulated. Contributors are encouraged to send their comments on the project itself, criticisms of the outline, ideas for additional subject areas and any drafts of finished copy for inclusion in the manual. The general categories now in the outline include: Introduction; Organizing the Group; Coalition Building; Pre-Action Planning; Demonstrations; Street Tactics; Direct Action; The Legal System; Agents of Repression; "The Movement"; Regional Networks; Creating a Spectacle; Our Own Media; Tools for the Revolution.

The project is just beginning. There is still plenty of room for both constructive and deconstructive criticism. The Web Collective would appreciate receiving feedback. Send a SASE to The Web Collective, P.O. Box 40890, San Francisco, CA 94110 for a copy of the preliminary outline or for suggestions, ideas, and especially draft submissions for the manual. Please send longer submissions on a Macintosh disk.

Fiji Needs Info

The newly formed environmental group Ocean, has written from the South Pacific island of Fiji in hopes of connecting with folks here in the states that are willing to keep them abreast of issues, particularly those that are relevant to what is happening in the Pacific. They are about to launch a turtle protection campaign as their pilot project. Access to information is very limited and what they do receive is usually quite dated. So please keep them posted. *Oceania Conservation and Environmental Awareness Network*. P.O. Box 2089, Govt. Buildings, Suva, Fiji.



Eighth Annual Poetry Contest

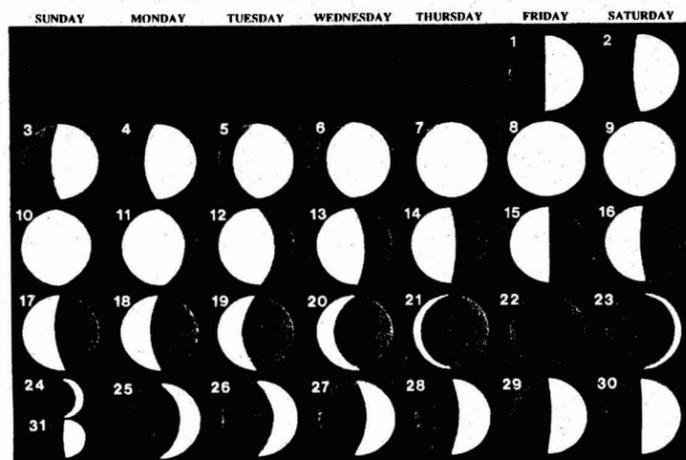
All poets are invited to participate in an exciting competition sponsored by the Utah Wilderness Association. In an effort to enhance the body of modern wilderness poetry, they are seeking unpublished poetry related to the theme of wilderness, its spiritual nature or any of the preceding themes. A prize of \$100.00 will be awarded to the winning poet. The winning poem and five honorable mentions will be reprinted in a special spring 1993 centerfold of the *UWA Review* and will be circulated throughout the West in June.

Contest Rules

Poems must not exceed 40 lines, may be in any style and must be limited to the themes above. No more than three poems may be entered by any poet. Each poem must be accompanied by any entry fee of \$3.00. Send two copies of each poem (one must include your name, address and phone number; the second must contain the poem only) to POETRY/UWA, 455 East 400 South #306, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111 (801) 359-1337.

Poets retain all rights. For judges' guidelines and/or notification of winners, send SASE to address above. No poems will be returned. Poems must be postmarked by February 15, 1993.

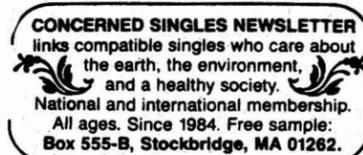
JANUARY



Mt. Graham 1993 Calendar Now Available

Arizona Earth First! has published a 1993 Mt. Graham wall calendar. The calendar features daily phases of the moon, original artwork, photographs and a detailed history of the ongoing campaign to prevent the University of Arizona from installing a \$200 million complex of telescopes on Mt. Graham. (See article on Mt. Graham on page 4).

Proceeds from sales of the calendar will help finance the 1993 Round River Rendezvous at Mt. Graham. Each calendar sells for \$6, or \$5 for orders of two or more. Order from Arizona Earth First! (checks should be made out to AZEF!), PO Box 3412 Tucson, Arizona 85722



Queen Salmon Tour

From the remote Mattole Valley of northern California, the theater group Human Nature has combined music, comedy and dance to tell the all-too-real story about the decline of the salmon. The Mattole Valley has been the scene of one of the most comprehensive and effective efforts at watershed restoration. It is this commitment to the watershed that has inspired the production of Queen Salmon.

Queen Salmon is a biologically explicit musical comedy for people of several species. It is one of the most

entertaining ecology lessons you will ever encounter.

The production had a successful tour through northern California in 1991 and returns in 1993 with a revised and refined show. The previous tour proved to be a positive and effective tool to help overcome the intense polarization in Pacific Northwest communities over timber, owls and salmon.

For further information, contact David Simpson, Jane Lapiner or Mickey Dulas at (707) 629-3670.

Tour Schedule

January 15-17 Mateel Community Center, Redwood, CA
 January 21-23 Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA
 January 29-30 Hult Center, Eugene, OR
 February 5-6 Portland Civic Theater, Portland, OR
 February 9 Issaquah (tentative)
 February 12-13 On the Boards, Seattle, WA
 February 19-20 Conestoga Theater, Ashland, OR
 Feb. 24-28 & March 4-7 Julia Morgan Theater, Berkeley, CA
 March 12 Bolinas, CA (tentative)
 March 14 Sonoma County, CA (tentative)
 March 18 Sacramento, CA (tentative)
 March 20 Petrolia, CA (tentative)

Earth First! Trinkets & Snake Oil

BUMPERSTICKERS

\$1 each, unless otherwise noted

American Wilderness:

- Love it or Leave it Alone
- Another Mormon on Drugs
- Anti-grazing assortment
(on cheap paper, \$1/doz)
- Boycott Coors "Beer"
- Damn the Corps Not Rivers
- Darwin
- Desert Raper
(on cheap paper, .50 ea)
- Developers Go Build in Hell
(on cheap paper, .50 ea)
- Don't Like Environmentalists?
Put Them Out of Work
- Dream Back the Bison, Sing Back the Swan
- Earth First!
- Eschew Surplusage
- Fight The Power!
- Hayduke Lives!
- Hunt Cows, Not Bears
- Hunters: Did a Cow Get Your Elk?
- I'd Rather Be Monkeywrenching
- If Your Pecker Was as Small as Mine,
You'd need a Muscle Wagon, Too
(on cheap paper, .50 ea)
- I'll Take My Beef Poached, Thanks
- Love Your Mother, Don't Become One
- Muir Power To You (.50 ea)
- Native
- Nature Bats Last
- Not Politically Correct
- Oil and Bears Don't Mix
- Pay Your Rent, Work For The Earth
- Pregnancy: Just Another Deadly
Sexually Transmitted Disease
- Rescue the Rainforest
- Resist Much, Obey Little
- Save the Yellowstone Grizzly (.50 ea)
- Save the Wild
- Stop the Forest Service,
Save Our Wild Country
- Stop Clearcutting
- Stop Clearcutting (on cheap paper, .50 ea)
- Subvert the Dominant Paradigm
- Think Globally, Act Locally
- Visualize Industrial Collapse
- Wolves. Not Cows

WINDOW STICKERS

- Earth First! Fist 4/\$1
- No Cows 6/\$1

SILENT AGITATORS

- EF! Fist 30/\$1.50
- Boycott Coors 10/\$1.50
- EF! Tools 30/\$1.50
- No Deal, Assholes 30/\$1.50

PATCHES

- EF! Fist \$3.50
- Earth Police \$3

CAPS

- Woodland Camo \$10
- Desert Camo \$10
- Tan \$10
- Green Camo w/ white fist \$10

T-SHIRTS

All 100% cotton.

EF! Fist

- Short slv, black on green, all sizes \$11
- Short slv, black on red, all sizes \$11
- Short slv, multi-color on black, L&XL, \$12

Short slv, green on unbleached organic L&XL \$12

Defend the Wilderness

- Short slv, black, all sizes \$11
- Long slv, black, all sizes \$13

Free the Earth

- Short slv, turquoise, all sizes \$12
- Short slv, lavender, S \$6
- Short slv, fuchsia, S \$6

No Fucking Compromise

Short slv, white on black, M,L&XL \$11

Don't Tread on Me

Short slv, unbleached organic, L&XL \$14

Short slv, watermelon, S \$6

Short slv, black L&XL \$12

EF! Tools

Short slv, unbleached organic, M,L&XL \$12

Short slv, tan, S \$6

Short slv, blue, S \$6

Griz and Cubs

Short slv, lt. blue, S \$6

Long slv, lt. blue, S \$6

Canyon Frog

Short slv, gray, S \$6



MERCHANDISE ORDER FORM

Make checks out to EARTH FIRST!
PO Box 5176, Missoula MT 59806

Allow four weeks for delivery. Please contact us if it has not been received by that time. (406) 728-8114
Please use this form for ordering. Thanks!

Quantity	Description	Color	Size	Amount
NAME _____ STREET _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____				TOTAL

Earth First! Music

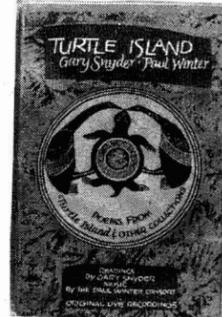
Austin Lounge Lizards *Creatures from the Black Saloon* \$9; *Highway Cafe of the Damned* \$9
 Lone Wolf Circles *Full Circle* \$10;
Tierra Primera! \$10
 Lone Wolf Circles and Friends *Oikos* \$10
 Darryl Cherney *Timber* \$10;
They Sure Don't Make Hippies Like They Used To \$10.
 Citizen's Band *Pocket Full of Rocks* \$10;
Smash the State (and Have a Nice Day) \$10
 Alice DiMichele *It's a Miracle* \$10; *Searching* \$10; *Make a Change* \$10; *Too Controversial* \$10.
 Robert Hoyt *As American as You* \$10
 Scotty Johnson *Century of Fools* \$10
 Greg Keeler *Songs of Fishing, Sheep & Guns in MT* \$9; *Talking Sweet Bye & Bye* \$9;
Bad Science Fiction \$9; *Post-Modern Blues* \$9;
Enquiring Minds \$9
 Katie Lee *Fenced* \$10; *Colorado River Songs* \$10
 Dana Lyons *Our State is a Dumpsite* \$6;
Animal \$10
 Dana Lyons and John Seed
At Night They Howl at the Moon \$11
 Beth McIntosh *Fire & Sage* \$10;
Grizzlies Walking Upright \$10
 Peg Millet *Gentle Warrior* \$10
 Bill Oliver *Texas Oasis* \$10
 Bill Oliver & Friends *Better Things to Do* \$10
 Cecelia Ostrow *All Life is Equal* \$8
 Rainforest Information Centre *Nightcap* \$10
 Joanne Rand *Home* \$10; *Choosing Sides* \$10;
Live \$10.
 John Seed, Bahloo & Friends *Earth First!* \$9
 John Seed *Deep Ecology* \$10
 John Sirkis *The Wild West* \$9
 Gary Snyder & Paul Winter *Turtle Island* \$12.
 Voices of the New Ecology
Only One Earth \$12
 Walkin' Jim Stoltz *Forever Wild* \$10;
Spirit is Still on the Run \$10;
Listen to the Earth \$10; *A Kid for the Wild* \$10
 Glen Waldeck *Wreckin' Ball* Waldeck \$10
 The Wallys *Rainforest Roadshow* \$10

New!

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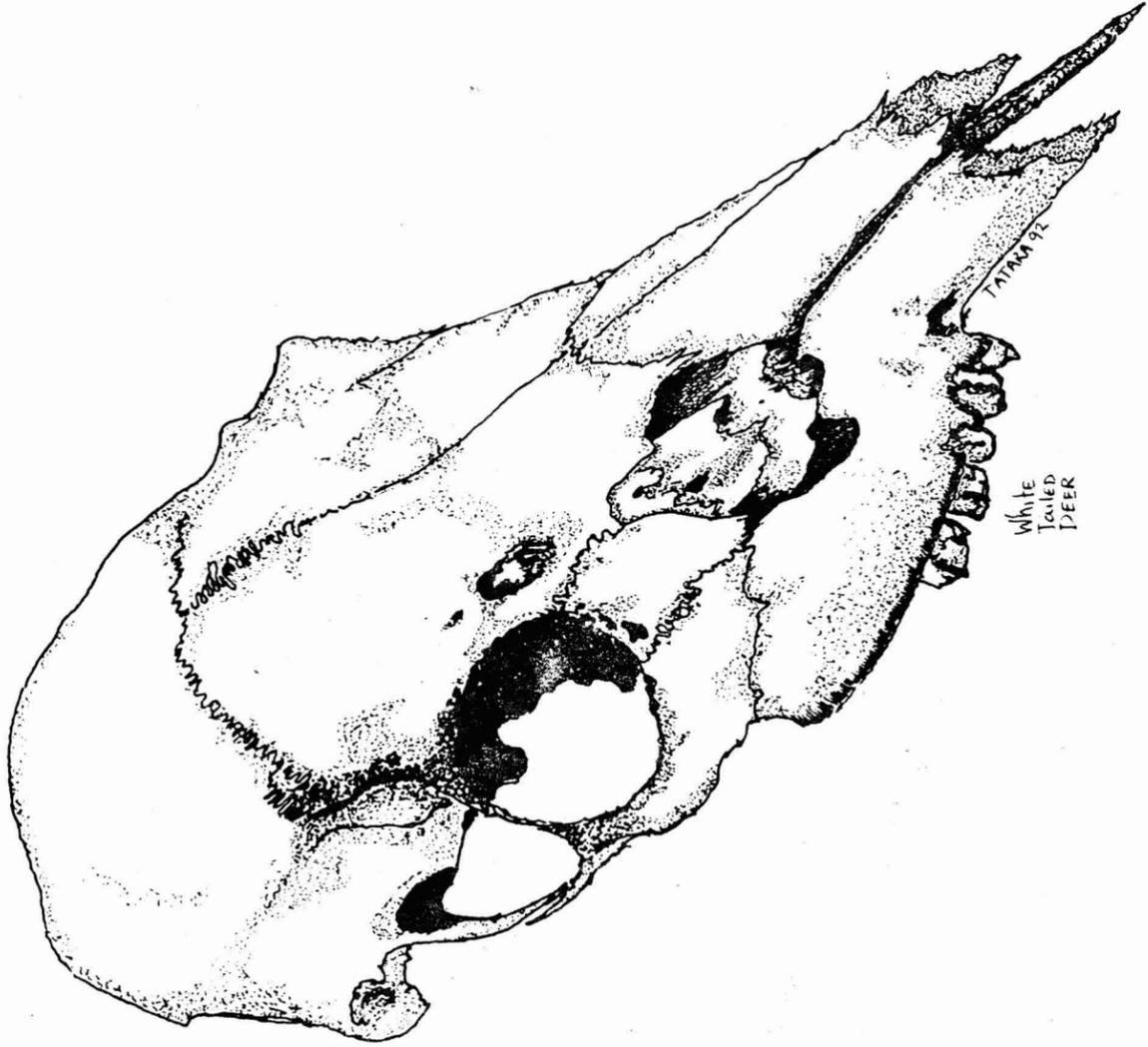
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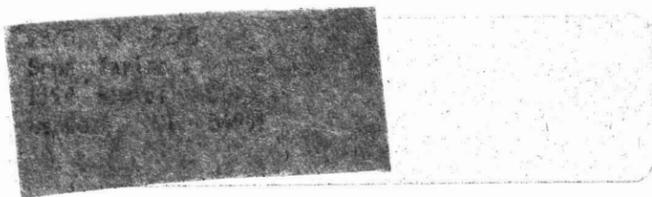
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