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Skeleton of one of the many turtles killed after being caught in a shrimp net

## GANDALF Editors Sentenced to Three Years

GUILTY OF "CONSPIRACY TO INCITE"

BY AYELET HINES

The sting of the verdict from Britain's "GANDALF" trial hit the alternative press below the belt on November 13, when three editors from *Green Anarchist* (GA) magazine and the *Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group* (ALFSG) newsletter were sentenced to three years in prison. The government brought charges against the editors for "conspiracy to incite persons unknown to commit criminal damage." Noel Molland, Steve Booth and Saxon Burchnall-Wood began their sentences the next day. A fourth person, Simon Russell, editor of ALFSG, was found not guilty.

The GANDALF trial (its name derived from "GA" and "ALF") lasted nearly three months and cost £2 million. It was the culmination of "Operation Washington," which at its height involved some 60 police officers and 55 raids across England on individuals, groups and bookstores between 1995 and 1996. The GANDALF defendants claim they were infiltrated by a secret police provocateur who assisted in the writing of many of the articles found "inciting" by the court. Among those raided was one person whose only crime was purchasing a *Green Anarchist* T-shirt by mail.

The case has brought attention to Britain's conspiracy laws which, according to State Watch, are "the most repressive in Europe." Under the prosecution's interpretation of the laws, just reporting the facts about animal liberation or eco-defense actions constitutes incitement to commit criminal acts. Judge David Selwood even called the defendants "terrorists" as he sentenced them before the jury in Portsmouth. The defense claims the military connections of Judge Selwood, who spent most of his

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## Texas Turtle Massacre

BY TERI SHORE, EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE

Sea turtle activists have demanded an emergency closure of Texas shrimp fisheries and offered a \$5,000 reward for the capture of those responsible for a rash of drownings and mutilations of endangered sea turtles. The sea turtle killings in early November coincided with the peak of shrimping season in the Gulf of Mexico.

Earth Island Institute, Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) and Houston-based Helping Endangered Animals-Ridley Turtles (HEART) are demanding the closure after 18 sea turtles washed up dead in one week, mostly along Padre Island National Seashore. Of these, nine sea turtles were found with decapitated heads and/or flippers sliced off with straight-edged cuts, indicating intentional harm and blatant violations of the Endangered Species

Act. The occurrence of these mutilations during the shrimp fishing season is a decades-old trend pointing to outlaw shrimpers as the perpetrators of these atrocities. "Every year during shrimp season, we see turtles washing up dead with their head and flippers chopped off, yet this never occurs during the Texas closed season," said Carole Allen, executive director of Houston-based HEART.

The shrimp industry devastates sea turtle populations because shrimp nets often pull in both shrimp and turtles. Though required by law to use turtle excluder devices (TEDs) to prevent turtles from being caught, shrimpers wrongly believe the TEDs lower their shrimp harvest. Many shrimpers illegally deactivate their TEDs and then mutilate captured turtles to prevent detection. "We believe shrimpers do

## Timber Program Takes a Beating on Midwestern and Eastern National Forests

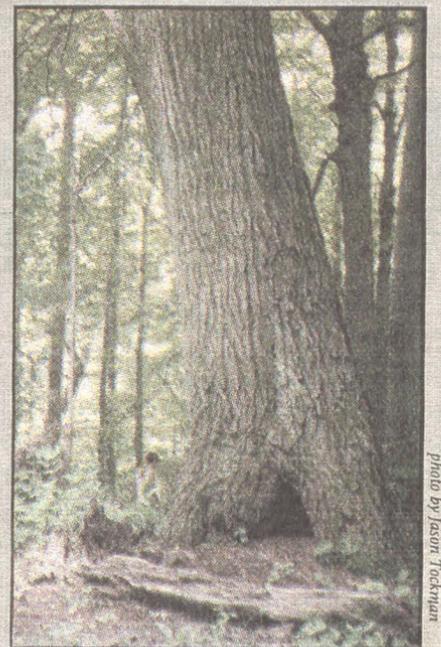
BY JIM BENS MAN & JASON TOCKMAN

Victories over massive timber sales on several national forests in the Central Hardwood region have activists celebrating and plotting long-term strategies for ending the timber sale program permanently. Through appeals, litigation, direct action, public education and letter-writing, grassroots forest protection groups have dealt major blows to timbering on the Allegheny, Daniel Boone, Wayne, Shawnee, Hoosier and Mark Twain National Forests. To sweeten the victories, environmental

groups have won back court costs and attorneys' fees, totaling nearly \$50,000 from the US Forest Service.

The recent successes have set precedents for logging on national forests, including one about the application of laws governing forest planning and another regarding the protection of threatened and endangered species. These stop-gap measures are providing an interim reprieve from logging until more sweeping legislative or legal solutions come to bear.

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Tree on a ridgetop in the Central Hardwoods that will be spared the saws

Allegheny NF

Daniel Boone NF

Hoosier NF

Mark Twain NF

Shawnee NF

Wayne NF

photo by Jason Tockman

# EARTH FIRST!

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## Strategic Partying

Last issue's opinion piece, "Cult of Nonviolence" (Samhain 1997) tweaked a few people's funny bones and inspired some lively (livid!?) responses here at the *Journal*. Beyond the stinging criticisms of certain campaigns and philosophies, the current debate seems to focus around a call for "new tactics" that will deliver Earth First! from frustration and stagnation. In my mind, the question is not what "new tactics" to use, but rather how to strategically utilize the ones we already have.

As a movement, EF!'s attitude is as diverse as the colorful patchwork corduroy worn by a kid at a Phish show. Each group/campaign has its own unique circumstances that require specialized tactics.

This year 8,000 people rallied to save the Headwaters forest in northern California, while 500 people in ski masks stormed an open cast mine site in Britain and destroyed the equipment there in broad daylight. What works in one place doesn't necessarily work in another. Tree sitting helped save the ancient forests of Albion's Enchanted Meadow in northern California. Tree spiking helped save the ancient forests of Meares Island in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia. Different places, different tactics, same result—no one hurt, forests saved.

But, tactics of themselves don't save places, campaigns do. The actions and reactions of a campaign during political moments throughout its duration saves places. It's not "what" the people involved do—blockading, letter writing or suing—but rather "how" they do it, meaning their overarching strategy. "How" can be putting pressure on the Forest Service or public officials to cancel a timber sale, or it can be generating hard-hitting media coverage of a corporate polluter. It can also be economically crippling an industry in order to shut it down.

Utah Phillips wisely said, "The Earth is not dying. It is being killed, and the people doing it have names and addresses." So, why aren't we making the lives of the Earth rapers utter hell and enjoying ourselves while we're doing it? One of the greatest examples in recent memory of how to do this was the pieing of Charles Hurwitz. That action brought the struggle to save the Headwaters forest into the minds of people everywhere and made Hurwitz the laughing stock of the nation.

House parties are another tactical way of applying social pressure to the corporate raiders. Jacuzzi sessions, long distance phone calls and fancy mixed drinks from their wet

bars are usually on the house! Ask Harry Merlo, CEO of the Louisiana Pacific timber company, whose luxurious home hosted such a party for dozens of Redwood Summer activists! The protest at Lord Simon's house in Britain [page 15] is also a good example of such an action. The activists there catalogued and patented everything in his yard to make their point that patenting life forms is no one's business. Another party during the 1980s, in Seattle, Washington boarded up the house of the city's South African consulate to protest apartheid. That consulate subsequently closed.

Round the clock escorts are yet another good thorn-in-their-side tactic. After all, isn't it up to us to make sure the corporados arrive to their executive meetings in style with 30 or more of us to help them close the deal?

Our action for the Earth can be pretty exciting when we put our hearts in it. But, one thing that puts a real damper on the creativity and diversity in the movement is the way people are polarized (paralyzed?) in their ideas of what's effective and even discredit each other over differences of strategy. If we can so fully respect the diversity of nature, why can't we respect diversity within our movement? This diversity is our greatest strength. Look at the success of the Warner Creek campaign where civil disobedience was combined with letter writing, coalition building, petitioning, lobbying and road ripping as a potent statement of the peoples' resistance to the

1995 Salvage Rider. The controversy among activists over the employment of any of these individual tactics eventually gave way to a wildly creative expression of all of them. People contributed what they felt comfortable contributing and let others take action in their own way. In all, it took a lot of humility on everyone's part.

*Spin* magazine says we're lost in the forests of Idaho. That's the impression we are giving to popular culture in America. Are we not everywhere? Are we not working on more than forest defense? And, don't we do more than wave banners and wear Earth First! t-shirts? Resisting the destruction of the Earth isn't about subscribing to one righteous tactic, but crafting a strategic plan that evaluates how a group will reach goals through a multiplicity of ends. Strategy is about selecting targets that can be easily personalized and polarized through any set of tactics, so long as they further the goals of the campaign. Defending the Earth means recognizing our power as individuals and the magnified potential, the truly awesome feats, a cooperative group of people with diverse talents is capable of.

—JOHN BOWLING



## Earth First! Journal Yule

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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via e-mail. Art or photographs (prints are best) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested.

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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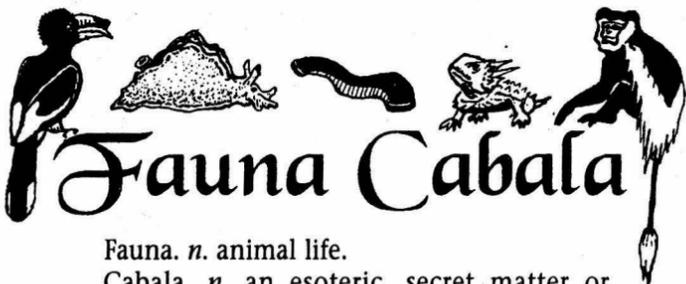
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**Deadline for the next issue is:**

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## Fauna Cabala

Fauna. *n.* animal life.

Cabala. *n.* an esoteric, secret matter or mysterious act.

Some nudibranchs steal biological weapons. These marine slugs dine upon cnidarians—the jellyfish, anemones, corals and hydroids who have tentacles lined with specialized stinging cells. The cells produce and harbor tiny projectiles called nematocysts, each comprised of barbs, a filamentous thread and poison. When a prey animal brush against a tentacle it trips the hair trigger on each stinging cell's surface and is harpooned. When a cell is brushed,



CHARGED AND DISCHARGED NEMATOCYSTS

### BY FAITH WALKER

the extremely high osmotic pressure within it causes water to rush in, propelling the thread through the uncapped top at a velocity of two meters per second. It turns inside out as it goes, such that the barbs at its base flick to the outside like miniature switchblades, piercing the prey and releasing a paralyzing toxin.

Nudibranchs, however, are immune to the toxins of cnidarians. After devouring a cnidarian, the undigested and the

dorsal outgrowths, called cerata, that serve as respiratory gills (hence the group's common name of nudibranch, meaning naked gill). Here the stinging cells are stored in sacs and then used against the slugs' own predators, functioning as flawlessly as in their original owners. This act of thievery is unparalleled: A nudibranch can take sophisticated weaponry from members of a completely different phylum, move it untriggered through its tissues, and then use the weapon to its own end.

# EVERY TOOL IN THE BOX

## Learning to Live Like the Coyote Nation

OPINION

BY ROD CORONADO

The use of a diversity of tactics is vital to every movement's success. In our movement, such diversity is necessary to adequately respond to the extremity of assault on Mother Earth. By discussing strategies that recognize each environmental struggle as part of the opposition to a larger corporate game plan, we begin to integrate our efforts into a cohesive battle plan. In this way, every action can be viewed as part of

a united human resistance to the destruction of the planet. Rather than appear fragmented, we can break past the diversionary tactics of our opposition. When our opponents begin to see the inner-city working class, indigenous peoples, farm workers, rural residents and college-educated youth all working together to oppose timber sales, incinerators, radioactive waste storage plans and factory-farm pollution, they will be threatened. Once potential allies realize our campaigns are in the best interests of all, they will not only support us, but also accept that it is sometimes necessary to break unjust laws and risk going to prison. This will help us nurture solidarity with allies who have sacrificed much in fighting the same political and economic interests we fight.

We must learn to live like the Coyote Nation that, despite the genocide against its race, has actually increased its territory and birth rate. We need to embrace our resistance with the same vigor that every wild animal does in order to survive attack from the enemy. Wild life is a hard life, and we need to realize it as much as romanticize it, recognizing that the struggle requires an ever-increasing degree of personal sacrifice. This means practicing the ecologically balanced life we propose for others while also fighting as if our very lives depended on it, because sooner or later they will.

So when did it change for us? When did we begin to determine tactics based on their ability to obtain media coverage? When did we begin to distance ourselves from illegal direct action? Why not welcome every strike against corporations that, with sanctions and subsidies from the government, are destroying the planet we all fight for? And, when did we as human animals begin to believe that we no longer had to risk our own lives for what we believe in? Tactical decisions should not be based on a political ideology that maintains hope for acceptance and comfort from the society we oppose.

Many of us choose a purely nonviolent philosophy without realizing it's a luxury that many activists around the world do not share. Very few of us

face government repression at home for our actions and beliefs. By enforcing a dogma that labels any slightly aggressive acts as violent and counterproductive, we relegate our movement to the confines of a privileged society. An effective strategy requires the acceptance of individual underground action as part of the path to victory. As a movement, we struggle to be perceived as nonviolent in the hope



Duke Shepard

that we will not alienate the public which might not support aggressive defense of the Earth. But it is the media, which has a vested interest in portraying our movement as isolated from mass support, that defines our struggle to the outside world, not us.

Civil disobedience preserves privilege because it does not threaten the power structure for longer than the time it takes to physically remove us from our action sites. When we allow passive resistance to separate us from those whose goals are the same, but whose tactics are more aggressive, we isolate allies, making it easier to capture and persecute them as "criminal and terrorist." It's the old strategy of divide and conquer. The state exploits dissident citizens who share a com-

mon ground with less passive elements; passive resisters are threatened with repression and harassment, leading them to condemn direct action tactics. Such behavior separates privileged and educated members of a dominant culture from others who, by choice or as victims of oppression, resist in a more aggressive fashion.

Because someone chooses to burn a bulldozer or Forest Service office, rather than chain themselves to it, we should not distance ourselves from their action. Such behavior forsakes our intention to utilize a diversity of tactics. There is no need to fear losing respectability or acceptance because we embrace illegal action. The history of movements tells us such actions are the one thing that gains attention from our opponents and respect for less aggressive elements of the same struggle.

Passive resistance in China failed in Tienanmen Square when thousands of peaceful protesters were pitted against a morally vacant government, which used the army to murder and imprison hundreds who stood in the way of tanks. In China, you would have had to peel Ghandi from a tank tread. With increasingly immoral opponents, it is not enough to say we support tactics that break free from state control. We must also emulate those movements that are in solidarity with, and provide for, their militant elements while pursuing their own chosen path of action.

A friend told me about his trip to Northern Ireland with a tour group of Irish-Americans. While driving through some of the most heavily policed and militarized regions, where peaceful supporters of Irish independence are beaten and harassed by British forces and murdered by pro-British death squads, the Irish nationalists flashed three fingers at the bus load of tourists. When asked what it meant, the guide replied, "That means Irish Republican Army Third Battalion, the division which defends this area." The covert hand signal was a silent expression of support for the direct action contingent.

We tend to draw from history only what will reinforce what we already think. In the case of the radical environmental movement, we believe in tactics and strategy practiced by Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. but overlook less passive elements of their struggles. Martin Luther King's strategy of nonviolent resistance was drawn from Ghandi's principles used against British colonialism in India. In the struggle for India's freedom, Ghandi's tactics were not the complete strategy used to achieve victory. MLK said, "The principle of self defense, even involving weapons and bloodshed, has never been condemned, even by Ghandi, who sanctioned it for those unable to master pure nonviolence." Beyond Ghandi's adherence to a nonviolent campaign were revolutionaries such as Aruna Asaf Ali, who led a violent underground resistance in the

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Earth First!:

Thank you for keeping the Earth clean and saving our natural resources. By saving our natural resources the Earth will be cleaner and less polluted for the next generation. I appreciate all you have done over the years to save natural land from other greedy air-polluting companies. What you have done has certainly influenced me to become more protective of the Earth.

Sincerely,

—BETH SHOLDER  
8TH GRADER

Realizing that EF! article "Lessons from Warner Creek" came out a long time ago, in the August-September issue, I would still like to comment.

Because I'm going to school right now I didn't read the issue when I first got it, but I ran across it recently.

This article, by "Tafflufma" was excellent. I agree with everything in it. It is hard to know what strategy to take because so many people just don't care. I agree that

we need mass community support if anything is going to be accomplished.

That is why I plan to go to San Luis, Colorado in January, Jan. 10-12 to be specific, because there is a lot of community support there for stopping the clearcutting of five watersheds in the Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range. This is because the Mexican (American) community of San Luis needs the watersheds as a water resource and spiritually.

—KAREN CANAN

For more information on the San Luis campaign see the article on page 16.

—LP

Dear Earth First,

I just read the "Big Velvet Game Farm A Blight on Montana's Bitterroot Valley" by Hal Herring. I cannot believe the shock it invoked in me. I am writing with tears pouring out of my eyes and a severe cramp in my heart. The pictures were enough for me, let alone the few paragraphs I was able to read. The only reason I kept reading was



to find information on how to stop this. I cannot believe people can actually carry acts like this out over and over. I have never been in favor of Chinese herbology or slaughtering and this drives home exactly why. I can only hope that soon these people will realize what the hell they are doing.

Please if there is anyway to help stop this I want to be a part of it.

Thank you  
Sincerely,

—MIRIAM HOUGH

Miriam:

There is no organized resistance to the carnage at the Big Velvet Game Farm. You can, however, complain to Montana Governor Marc Racicot at Governor's Office, State Capitol, Helena, MT 59620-0801; fax (406) 444-5529.

—LP

I would like to thank everyone at the EF! Journal for doing such an excellent job.

Please continue your coverage of the Zero Cut Bill and the evil Quincy Library Bill. I strongly urge everyone who wants to permanently end the rape and destruction of our public lands to call their members of Congress and to voice their support of Zero Cut. The toll-free number for the US capitol switchboard is (888) 723-5246. Please call them again and again (and be sure to tell them how tired you are of corporate welfare and subsidized logging). In fact, maybe the *Journal* could print this toll-free number in every single issue (in the directory section).

Thank you,

—YESHE DORJE

Greetings Earthlings—

Some clarification for those of us untutored in your peculiar ways. Page 16 in your Lughnasadh issue informs us of "Corporate Fall '97," the "End Corporate Domi-

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# THE TALE OF THE TAKU

A NEW ROAD WOULD CARVE LINES INTO A RARE BLANK SPACE ON THE MAP

BY PEGGY WILCOX

At stake is a 7,000-square-mile intact watershed—the Taku. On one side is a Canadian mining corporation. On the other are the Taku River Tlingit First Nation (TRT) and British Columbia conservationists. Caught in the middle are the salmon.

The Taku is the largest unprotected wilderness river system on the western shore of North America, stretching from southeast Alaska to the Yukon and bisected by the American/Canadian border, a line drawn from mountain peak to mountain peak along the Coast Range. A recent proposal to reopen a mine and construct a new road in the Taku would carve lasting lines into this rare blank space on the map.

Mining isn't new to the Taku; the area was active during the gold rush of 1898 and then again after the 1930s when small-scale mining reappeared along the rich mineral belt Alaska shares with Canada. In the 1950s, Cominco Corporation operated the "Tulsequah Chief," located about 50 miles by air from Juneau, at the confluence of the Tulsequah and Taku Rivers. But globally depressed copper prices forced Cominco to close the mine six years after start-up. In 1995, a Canadian-based mining company, Redfern Resources Ltd., purchased the defunct Tulsequah Chief copper mine and wants to open it, despite the fact that copper, considering all costs, is worth less now than when Cominco gave up on the mine.

But this is more than just a mine proposal. If the Tulsequah Chief mine starts operations, the owners will have a heavy, low-value product mined from a remote watershed with no road or rail access. Air transport can be cost-effective for gold, with its relatively high value per ounce; but copper isn't worth enough to pay its way. Fifty years ago, Cominco used a water route, barging the ore down the river to southeast Alaska. But glacial recession and rebound, combined with dramatic floods, have played havoc with the Taku. Glacial

changes and floods affect channel paths and deposit tons of glacial debris, making the lower part of the river extremely difficult to navigate. From the perspective of Redfern, these inconveniences mean there is

can bet that if BC carves a new road into the heart of the Taku, clearcuts, more mines and even more roads wouldn't be far behind.

Today, the orange-colored runoff from the abandoned Tulsequah Chief



The Tulsequah Chief Mine and a 99-mile road will destroy the largest unprotected, intact river system on the Pacific Coast of North America.

only one way to get their copper to market: a road. Redfern proposes a 160-kilometer road, stretching from Atlin to the Tulsequah Chief mine site, with multiple stream crossings along its course. As we've learned in southeast Alaska, every river and stream crossing has potentially damaging effects on the salmon habitat downstream.

All this for a mine that Redfern admits will probably operate for a maximum of ten years. Millions of public dollars and months of construction, just to reach a mediocre ore body that will dry up in ten years? To make the project worthwhile, the proposed road and mine would likely be just the beginning of commercial activity in the Taku area. Currently there is no large-scale logging, mining or settlement activity in the watershed, but the Taku is rich in timber and other mineral deposits. With such a wealth of resources, the Taku would be prime territory for new industry. And, you

is clearly visible as you fly from Juneau to Atlin. Acid pollution from the Tulsequah Chief continues to leach toxic sulfuric acid into the river—50 years after the fact. Drafts of Redfern's proposal to the British Columbian government state that "reactivation of the [mine] could result in chronic discharge of effluent contaminated with acids, heavy metals, petroleum products, and/or toxic reagents." In addition, failure of the proposed tailings impoundment is almost guaranteed: Two or three times each summer, melting glaciers cause sudden and extreme floods on the Taku—at times releasing 65-billion gallons of water over a 12-hour period. Release of the mine tailings could devastate downstream fisheries, which make millions for Alaskan and Canadian commercial fishers. At a time when Canada and the United States find themselves at odds over salmon resources, reopening the mine and endangering salmon runs is irresponsible.

The Atlin-based TRT is also dismayed by Redfern's proposal. The Taku is part of the TRT's traditional land range, and they are currently in negotiations with the BC government, seeking redress of their land claims. To the TRT, it is an obvious breach of good faith by the provincial government to allow development of the watershed before the issue is settled, especially after the TRT has expressed strong disapproval of road building in its traditional lands.

The TRT is currently developing a land protection plan for the entire watershed and has established alliances with both local and regional environmental groups, including the Taku Wilderness Association, also based in Atlin.

When roads are developed in previously unroaded areas, resource after resource is exploited, poaching increases, and the area quickly loses its habitat and wilderness values. Any developments conceived for the Taku region should be considered only after the final settlement of the TRT's treaty negotiations.

Despite our growing knowledge of the value of wild places to the health of the planet, these unique areas are continually sacrificed for short-

term industrial development. The Taku stands out as more than special; it is the very last large, unprotected, unroaded watershed on the West coast of North America. If we lose the Taku to roading, mining and logging, the planet will lose an irreplaceable treasure.

What you can do to help: The decision whether or not to allow the mine project and access road is expected in January. Please write to Governor Tony Knowles and express your opposition to mining and road development in the Taku, including concerns about potential impacts on fish, wildlife and Alaska's water quality. Contact Governor Tony Knowles at POB 110001, Juneau, AK 99811-0001; fax (907) 465-3532. For further info, contact Southeast Alaska Conservation Council at 419 6th St., #328, Juneau, AK 99801; (907) 586-6942.

Peggy Wilcox is a grassroots organizer with the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council.

## Wolves & Poodles

Courageous wolves that stand out from the pack to Representatives Cynthia McKinney and James Leach for breaking party ranks and calling for environmental and fiscal responsibility. Republican Congressman Leach from Iowa and Democrat McKinney from Georgia signed on as original cosponsors of the National Forest Protection and Restoration Act, which would end commercial logging on Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and Wildlife Refuge lands.

A wolf whose spirit will never be broken to Mumia Abu-Jamal for publishing his second book, *Death Blossoms*, in defiance of prison rules. Mumia, who sits on death row despite abundant evidence that should have cleared his name, espouses a love of life while exposing the injustice, racism and inhumanity of America's prison systems.

A bounding wolf escaping captivity to Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) activists who freed a dozen wild horses from Bureau of Land Management corrals in eastern Oregon. The ALF and ELF claimed responsibility for the release of the wild horses and the burning of horse pens and chutes, which did not injure any animals.



A low-down, double-doo-doo poodle to The Wilderness Society Director Charles Wilkinson who filed a legal brief supporting logging one of the few old-growth ponderosa pine forests left in the Southwest. The brief could also set a terrible legal precedent if the court accepts Wilkinson's recommendation to ban other groups within a coalition from taking broader legal action to stop the logging.

A miserable cur of a poodle groveling for table scraps to The Peregrine Fund for being the only organization to send a letter of support for the proposed "No Surprises" rule to the US Fish and Wildlife Service. Hundreds of groups registered their opposition to the rule, which would further weaken the Endangered Species Act.

A limp, nadless poodle to the Northern Alaska Environmental Center, an organization that can normally be counted on to defend northern and interior Alaska, for shamelessly promoting a plan to sterilize, transplant and kill wolves in the Fortymile region. Biologists from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game began sterilizing alpha male and female wolves after Governor Knowles approved the plan in mid-November. At least one wolf has already died from complications. To protest the Alaska wolf sterilization call Governor Knowles at (907) 465-3500. Tell him "Wolves need their 'nads!'"

A sub-speciesist poodle to the *Earth First! Journal* staff for its bigotry against poodles and for not covering the oppression of the smallpox virus.



# LET THE RIVER RUN

## RESTORING GLEN CANYON

BY STEVE HANNON AND RICHARD INGEBRETSEN

Bruce Berger, author of *Once Was a River*, wrote: "Remember things lost—in another generation, no one alive will have a personal memory of Glen Canyon. The once pulsating life of the canyon country is gone. To abolish such a place is not merely to destroy, it is to engage in collective amnesia. It becomes incumbent upon us to keep Glen Canyon alive if only as a wound that will not heal, to give us eyes and hearts, the precedent and the rage to defend what is left and to restore what is gone."

The Glen Canyon Institute was formed to keep the memory of Glen Canyon alive. Indeed, it intends to heal the wound of Lake Powell by restoring the Colorado River to its former course and draining the dam, a proposal which was largely dismissed until the Sierra Club endorsed it last year. But what is labeled impossible is often just the needed medicine, as a little history of the Glen Canyon Dam reveals.

Rivers have historically been divided into upper and lower water users. As water flows downstream, lower water users get "free" water. The Colorado River receives water from seven Western states. To allocate the Colorado River water "equitably," these seven states agreed to the Colorado River Compact in 1922. The states were divided into upper and lower basins, with Lee's Ferry, Arizona selected as the arbitrary dividing point. After the Compact was ratified by the legislatures of the states, hydrologists realized that the assumed annual flow of 15 million acre feet (MAF) of water was wrong (an acre foot of water would almost cover a football field with one foot of water). In fact, the correct yield is about 12 MAF. The river was then considered to have a "deficit" flow. Immediately, engineers and politicians started planning river storage so that the deficit could be made up.

In addition, a more fundamental error was incorporated into the Colorado River Compact. The upper basin states (Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico) agreed to guarantee to the lower basin (California, Arizona and Nevada) the delivery of one-half the assumed production of the river: 75 MAF every ten years. In other words, regardless of the amount of precipitation, 75 MAF has to be delivered. To distribute water to the states as outlined in the Compact, the Bureau of Reclamation proposed the Colorado River Storage Project (CRSP) in the 1950s. A number of dams were to be built, including ones in Echo Park, Split Mountain and Glen Canyon. The Glen Canyon Dam was proposed so that exactly 7.5 MAF of water would flow downstream to lower water users.

The Sierra Club was the keystone in the fight against the two dams that were to be built in Dinosaur National Monument—Echo Park and Split Mountain. Headed by the articulate and powerful David Brower, the Sierra Club's policy was that "no major scenic resource should be sacrificed for power generation." The Sierra Club fought hard to prevent these two dams from being built. After all, thousands of people visit these areas each year. But hardly anyone had seen Glen Canyon. To end a battle that had become deadlocked, environmental groups, including the Sierra Club, agreed to withdraw their opposition to Glen Canyon Dam and the CRSP if the Echo Park and Split Mountain dams were not built. With the opposition gone, Congress authorized the CRSP in 1956, without the Echo Park and Split Mountain dams, but including the Glen Canyon Dam.

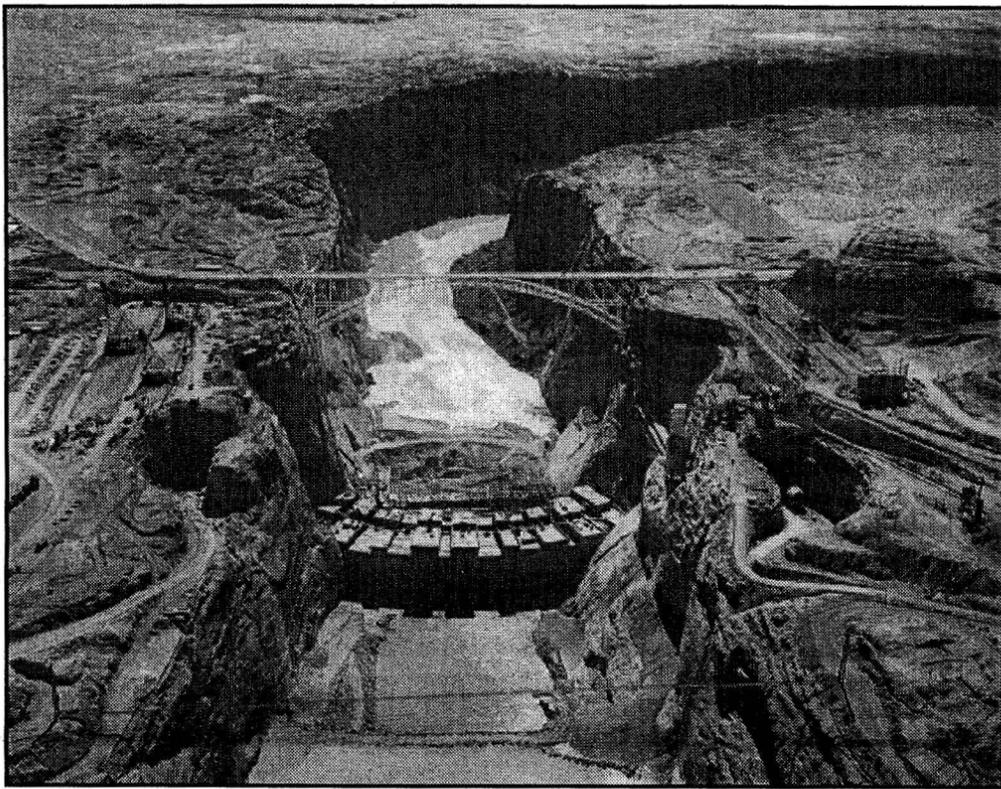
Despite the geologists' doubts about the design, despite the hydrologists' assurance that the water storage would be wasteful, and despite the power

engineers' prediction that cheaper electricity could come from a longer-lasting resource than a dam on the beautiful Colorado River, Glen Canyon Dam was built. When the reservoir's water rose, hundreds of thousands of acres of the most beautiful scenery in the world was destroyed, including over 3,000 Indian ruins and nearly 200 miles of the Colorado River.

In the last 40 years, dams have been built with reckless abandon along the Colorado. There are now some 60 dams in Colorado, Utah and Arizona clogging the Colorado's oxbows and canyons.

### The Case Against the Dam

The Glen Canyon Institute's efforts to breach the Glen Canyon Dam have been hampered at every turn by those who claim that the dam is "necessary"



Glen Canyon Dam under construction in 1961

to meet the energy and water needs of the Compact states. The hard numbers, however, reveal that the dam is, in fact, only being used to expand the riches of those who already profit from the extraction of public resources from public lands.

The Glen Canyon Dam was primarily intended by the Bureau of Reclamation to be a power production "cash register"—a power source to pump water to Phoenix. According to the Western Area Power Administration, however, Glen Canyon provides only 1.4 percent of the total power produced in the Western states. This electricity is used to make the Las Vegas strip visible from a space shuttle through all but the heaviest cloud cover. It enables every aspect of people's lives in Phoenix and Tucson to be carried out at an artificial 72°F from May through September. It is used to pump more than a million acre feet of water 300 miles across several Sonoran Desert mountain ranges (over 3,000 vertical feet) in order to grow cotton and grass in 115°F heat. Even a modest reduction in these uses of electrical power would wholly eliminate the need for the Glen Canyon power plant.

The argument for water containment is even more specious than that for power production. For example, of California's 4.4-MAF share, 3.0 MAF are diverted into the Imperial Valley to grow plants, and 57 percent of that amount is used exclusively to grow grass to feed cattle on public lands. The 600 very flush alfalfa farmers in the Valley pay exactly \$0.00 for all that water. The result is a double subsidy for the cattle barons: essentially free public lands grazing and totally free water to grow their grass. Likewise, the California Aqueduct draws off 1.4 MAF for delivery to San Diego, the Los Angeles Basin and surrounding areas for lawns and the thousands of acres of golf course in and around Palm Springs. Also ponder the fact that even though California occupies only a tiny piece of the Colorado River Basin, it gets the lion's share of the water.

In summary, if the Compact provisions cited

above were corrected, with everyone just taking the river as it actually flows, and if only the most grossly wasteful watering of cotton and cow feed were eliminated, the 25-MAF Mead Reservoir alone could easily satisfy the current and reasonable future water needs of the lower basin, as well as provide the 1.5 MAF specified in a 1944 treaty with Mexico.

In October 1996, the Glen Canyon Institute invited leading scientists, engineers and Bureau of Reclamation officials to its annual meeting to discuss the issue of draining the reservoir behind Glen Canyon Dam, Lake Powell. That meeting made it clear that there are many other reasons to drain the reservoir. For example, the lake is filling with sediment at an alarming rate. In perhaps as little as 150 years the reservoir will be filled to the point that the dam is nonfunctional. Every year, one MAF of water in the reservoir is wasted by bank seepage and evaporation, enough water to supply Los Angeles with water for that year or Salt Lake City for five years. Also, the boaters on the reservoir put enough oil into the water every five years to equal one Valdez oil spill.

### Can the Canyon Be Restored?

Many have argued that the canyon walls might collapse and landslides would result if the reservoir were drained. While it's true that rock falls will occur, Navajo sandstone generally does not crumble and fall apart after prolonged immersion. That's too bad, actually. If it did, the dam abutments would have collapsed long ago.

In addition, the breathtaking beauty of the canyon has not been lost. The distinctive desert varnish on the canyon walls is an overall patina on the stone, predominantly caused by the slow accumulation of oxides of manganese. The very thin coating has been leached out by prolonged immersion and will not return within the human concept of time (witness the rock carvings that are still clearly visible throughout the Colorado Plateau). But the leached layer of former patina will quickly flake off, revealing the bright

native sandstone. In 40 to 50 years, at most, there will be a beautiful, clean, rose-orange canyon. Louisiana Pacific waits longer than that to grow a new crop of trees.

The famed "tapestry" of the canyon is formed by water periodically flowing from the rim and from seeps in the walls. This will return quite quickly throughout the canyon because of the huge amount of water that has been forced back into the sandstone. The Bureau of Reclamation has estimated that there is probably 15 MAF in "bank storage"—over half the amount in free storage in the reservoir. Without the pressure that forced it into the banks, the water will slowly return through faults, joints, seams and cracks over many decades, forming tapestries as it runs over the rock. The canyon walls just below the dam, where water has been leaking for about 30 years, now have heavy streaking.

The Glen Canyon Institute, the Sierra Club and other environmental groups have committed themselves to the restoration of the entire Colorado River system. They have begun an environmental assessment to provide the scientific basis for alternative uses of the Colorado River and to advocate the restoration of damaged ecosystems.

There is still hope of restoring the grandeur of Glen Canyon and strengthening our commitment to preserve the health of the Grand Canyon and the Sea of Cortez. The benefits from our efforts will prove that there is more money to be made in conservation, more jobs, more wildlife and greater security in free-flowing rivers than in the outdated notions of conservation through impoundment.

Steven Hannon is the author of the recently published novel, *Glen Canyon*. To order a copy call 1-800-247-6553.

Richard J. Ingebretsen, M.D., Ph.D, is president of the Glen Canyon Institute. You can contact the Institute at 165 S. Main St., Lower Level, Salt Lake City, UT 84111; (801) 322-0064; e-mail: richi@glencanyon.org; www.glencanyon.org.

# PUBLIC LANDS

## One Big Jungle Gym for Motorheads?

BY SCOTT SILVER

In a recent address to the Public Relations Society of America, Tom Miller reported the survey findings of his company, the polling firm Roper Starch Worldwide. "The bad news is, Americans are much more cynical about business," said Miller. "The good news is that Americans' expectations for honesty among businesses have gone down." The standing-room-only audience laughed appreciatively.

This may be "good news" for Roper, a company yielding extreme influence when it comes to shaping public policy for the benefit of its corporate clients. It is, however, far from good news for those of us who still, perhaps naively, believe the US is a truly democratic nation, governed by the will of the people.

How many readers are familiar with the National Environmental Education and Training Foundation (NEETF)? It is a private, non-profit organization established by the US Congress to "promote and support education and training as necessary tools to further environmental protection and sustainable, environmentally sound development." Sounds great, doesn't it?

But if you knew that Roper Starch Worldwide provides the research from which NEETF writes its educational material, might not that raise a warning flag? How objective can a report such as NEETF's "Environmental Attitudes and Behaviors of American Youth" be if its data was supplied by a company of questionable integrity, a company hawking the somewhat oxymoronic message that corporate responsibility "will drive the nation's environmental agenda well into the 21st century." Presumably, NEETF's board members, from companies such as Phillips Petroleum and Arizona Public Service (a nuclear energy provider), have no problem with Roper's attitude. Perhaps they even found Miller's joke funny.

So, perhaps, did the top managers of the Bureau of Land Management, US Forest Service, Tennessee Valley Authority and the Federal Highway Administration, federal agencies that use Roper's survey results to justify their entirely new paradigm for recreation policy—one strongly biased toward "commercialization, privatization and motorization."

It would be wrong to believe that federal policy was being created by public attitudes and opinions revealed by Roper's research. Quite the contrary, Roper's surveys are conducted specifically to justify and rationalize action-plans already long contemplated by its clients.

For example, consider the highly unpopular demonstration recreation fee program authorized as a legislative rider to a "must pass" appropriations bill. The original recreation fee legislation proposed by anti-environmental Representative Jim Hansen (R-UT) was strongly opposed by virtually every major environmental group because it would have shifted the focus of public lands management from conservation to revenue generation. Hansen's bill was so terrible that even the dreaded 104th Congress wasn't extreme enough to pass it.

The demonstration trail fee program recently introduced at selected test-sites around the nation was not, however, the brainchild of Rep. Hansen or of any other elected or appointed government official. This program comes to us courtesy of the American Recreation Coalition (ARC) and its affiliate the Recreation Roundtable (RR). ARC lobbied long and hard for this program and was rewarded for its effort by being named the program's official private partner in a "public/private partnership."

For those unfamiliar with ARC, it was founded in 1979 and describes itself as "a nonprofit federation that provides a unified voice for recreation interests to ensure their full and active participation in government policy-making on issues such as public land management, energy and liability." Or, it uses this

alternate description: "a national federation with more than 100 private sector members, including many of the nation's most prominent recreation companies and recreation associations. Since its inception, ARC has sought to catalyze public/private partnerships to enhance and protect recreation opportunities and resources."

The Recreation Roundtable, on the other hand, "was formed in 1989 to provide a key group of creative outdoor recreation industry CEO's with a forum for discussion regarding public policies affecting recreation and to serve as a catalyst for partnership actions which enhance recreation opportunities in America." Incidentally, ARC and the RR share the same address and telephone number.

The ARC has been working behind the political scene and has, over the years, established exceedingly close ties with numerous influential congresspeople, as well as past presidents, notably Reagan and Bush. ARC also maintains extremely close ties with the wise-use movement and actively participates in several anti-environmental corporate front groups. ARC's growing political influence

spawned the offshoot Recreation Roundtable and the Recreation Exchange as additional avenues to press its agenda upon receptive, or vulnerable, officials.

While the current recreation fee program is bad, the upcoming recreation Super Bill, authored by Senator Frank Murkowski with help from ARC's Derrick Crandall, is far worse. Needless to say, this package is a dream come true for the motorized recreation community, private recreation providers, public-lands concessionaires and those corporations interested in participating in the coming wave of public/private partnerships. Just one of the proposed acts under this umbrella bill would include legislation "authorizing and defining the appropriate role of sponsors in national parks and other federal lands." Look for this truly dreadful legislation to come to a vote before the close of the next congressional session.

Also look for the recreation survey used to justify the current trail fee program to be rolled out once more as justification for the new recreation Super Bill. The survey is the fourth in a series by Roper Starch Worldwide; it is called "Recreation Roundtable Survey: Outdoor Recreation in America."

Having introduced the organizations actually calling the shots, it would be helpful to know more about their membership and affiliations. This is where the picture begins to get downright scary for those who enjoy low-impact recreational pursuits or who consider themselves friends of the Earth.

Amongst ARC's 110-plus corporate members, you won't find a single low-impact recreation or pro-environmental group. ARC's sponsors consist of campground associations, motor-sport user groups, snowmobile manufacturers, RV dealerships, equipment manufacturers, off road vehicle associations, public lands concessionaires, petroleum companies, the Walt Disney Company and a whole host of other industrial recreation providers. The outdoor interests seated around the Recreation Roundtable are much the same. You might be thinking: "I've heard enough conspiracy talk about corporate cabals. I just want to know what, if anything, this has to do with the future of public lands management?"

Another key player is Francis Pandolfi, former chairman of the Recreation Roundtable and board member of the NEETF. The man is now referred to as "Dombeck's gatekeeper." Perhaps it was natural that

on his first day as Forest Service Chief, Michael Dombeck announced the appointment of Pandolfi to a specially created government position, Forest Service Chief of Staff. The two have worked together for years, and Dombeck likes Pandolfi's no-nonsense business approach. According to a July 23, 1997, article in *The Times*, Pandolfi says that the agency "should look at recreation as a business, and a booming business at that." To former Times Mirror CEO Pandolfi, that means treating you and me as paying "customers" and the activities we enjoy as "brands." Pandolfi "foresees the Forest Service taking its cue from corporations like Procter & Gamble, which has such brand names as Tide. Instead of selling brands of detergent and toothpaste, Pandolfi envisions the Forest Service having brands of recreation, such as camping, biking, skiing."

Industrial-strength recreation is not a new idea for Dombeck, but one he was advocating long before he controlled the Forest Service. According to the National Forest Recreation Association (an ARC member representing private concessionaires on public lands), "In Dombeck's view, the recreation industry needs to find a way to get its economic story told in a believable fashion. Despite the common view of recreation as less significant than other uses of the public lands, Dr. Dombeck asserted his belief that the long-term future of public lands will be associated with recreation."

So in 1996, the Recreation Roundtable commissioned Roper Starch Worldwide to conduct another survey. According to the National Forest Recreation Association, "The 1996 survey was also designed to help the recreation industry and government officials understand public attitudes toward higher recreation fees, asking how much more recreationists would have been willing to pay on their last visit to a federal recreation site." Perhaps it comes as little surprise that the Roper survey concluded that the new recreation fees should be charged mainly for Wilderness use and for other low-impact pastimes because "recreationists who were least willing to pay more included fishermen, RVers and motorcyclists/snowmobilers." Apparently, in today's business environment, you get what you pay for, especially when it comes to private surveys.

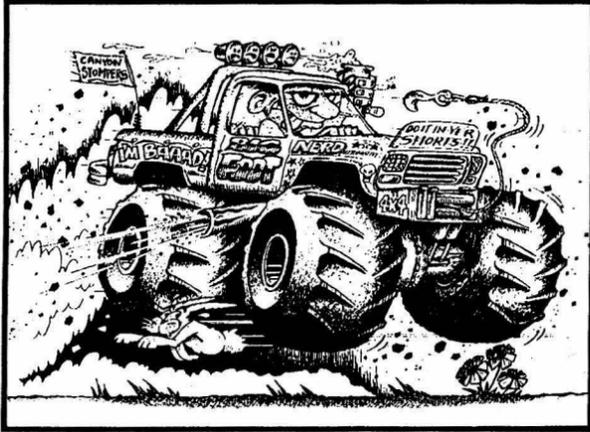
In 1997, Roper conducted another survey for the Recreation Roundtable. This time, however, the RR was joined by four sponsors, the US Forest Service, BLM, Tennessee Valley Authority and Federal Highway Administration. According to Roper, "The study sponsors will meet after studying the findings to decide upon appropriate activities to enhance recreation quality in America for customers common to the public and private sectors. Responses will be based upon public/private cooperation and coordination."

No public input, no public process. You and I are no longer the owners of these resources; we have metamorphosed into mere consumers and paying customers. Dombeck's bold new future for public lands is one of "public/private" partnerships and an increasing trend toward the Disnification of nature.

The story you have just read is not a conspiracy theory. It's a simple presentation of readily available facts. It is, however, a tale not often heard by the general public. And it is a tale that I hope will inspire an outpouring of protest against the current recreation fee program and especially against the ARC/Murkowski recreation Super Bill.

In this article, we have provided background information about the corporate powers currently shaping America's public lands policies. We have also introduced several of the key players in this political game. In the next part of this two-part series, we will closely examine where these policies are actually headed and will provide specific examples of the types of changes that are envisioned for our nation's public lands.

Scott Silver is executive director of Wild Wilderness in Bend, Oregon, which has fought for undeveloped recreation since 1991. Readers can visit their website: <http://www.wildwilderness.org> or contact Wild Wilderness, 248 NW Wilmington Avenue, Bend, OR 97701.



# Delhi Sands Flower-Loving Fly

BY LEEONA KLIPPSTEIN

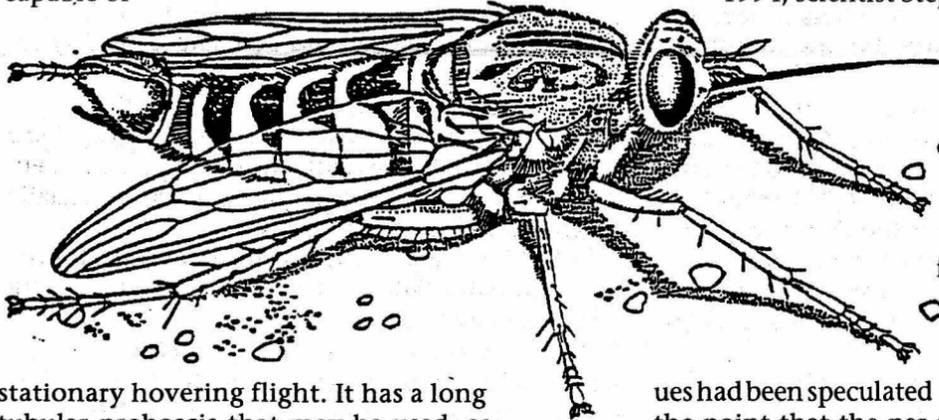
"Do you think some endangered species could be cloned?" asked US Representative George Brown. "We have a problem with an endangered fly in my district of California." It was the most ridiculous question posed during congressional hearings on cloning ethics to Ian Wilmut, the geneticist who cloned the world-renowned ewe, Dolly.

Considered an ally by the conservation community, Representative Brown's line of questioning revealed a common wise-use sentiment. Portrayed as a common house fly by some anti-environmentalists, the Delhi Sands flower-loving fly is a unique, inch-long insect that looks like a hybrid of a dragonfly, wasp and hummingbird.

If Congressman Brown really understood the "problem" faced by the endangered fly, he would have asked, "Can we clone an ecosystem?" The Delhi Sands flower-loving fly is endemic to the Colton Dune System in northwestern Riverside and southwestern San Bernardino Counties in southern California. The once 40-square miles of Delhi Sands habitat has been reduced to 49 acres.

When the fly was listed as endangered in September of 1993, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) estimated that 97 percent of the Delhi Sands ecosystem had been destroyed and converted to agricultural, residential or commercial urban uses, including sand and gravel mining operations. Recreational activities, such as off-road vehicle use, caused further stress on the Delhi Sands flower-loving fly population, which deposits eggs and establishes larval growth beneath delicate layers of crusting fine sands.

The flower-loving fly is a strong, fast flyer and is capable of



stationary hovering flight. It has a long tubular proboscis that may be used, as with butterflies, for extracting nectar from flowers. A rather large insect with an orange-brown elongated body, the fly has a freckled abdomen. The adult female is able to elongate and wave the lower portion of her body in a mating ritual while perched upon various plants of the Delhi Sands community. Her spine is stronger than the males', enabling her to bore through the crust of fine sands to deposit eggs.

Recent taxonomic studies of federally endangered species indicate that the fly belongs in the midas flying family (Mydidae) rather than the flower-loving fly family (Apioceridae). Regardless of how this species is categorized, it is quite simply a miraculous winged creature on the brink of extinction.

As of fall of 1995, there were only six known sites on 45 acres of relatively pristine habitat inhabited by the fly. With an estimated 120-300 breeding adults, the distribution of the flower-loving fly has been restricted to less than two percent of its former range. Regardless, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt and the USFWS field supervisor of the Carlsbad, California office have continued to issue incidental take permits through Habitat Conservation Plans, licensing corporations to kill species for private-profit activities.

Between the time of listing in 1993 and the date that the draft recovery plan was published in 1996, Dr. Rudy Mattoni, a UCLA entomologist, found that two of the six known sites were no longer extant. In the draft recovery plan, it was also assumed that two other sites may support the Delhi fly, but they have not been surveyed to support that conclusion. The

plan only identified three recovery units and did not protect habitat areas zoned for residential and commercial development or areas permanently altered by human actions.

The USFWS estimates that it would cost \$1,596,000 to implement the recovery plan. These costs do not include land acquisition and operational costs for management of lands.

Few conservation organizations have come forward to defend the Delhi Sands ecosystem of the fly for many reasons. Since the proposed listing of the species, the wise-use movement has adopted it as the poster child of what is wrong with the Endangered Species Act (ESA).

There has been little to no support from the public to protect the fly because the media has been completely unsympathetic. Industry groups have strategically used it to successfully persuade Congress that the ESA has gone too far. Obviously industry groups and their National Endangered Species Reform Coalition sought out the most "uncharismatic" species to launch an ESA attack.

Unfortunately for the flower-loving fly, the county of San Bernardino wants to build a new medical center adjacent to one of the six remaining habitat sites. The medical center itself would not "take" (kill) any of the flies, but the proposed parking lot would. When the USFWS requested that the County redesign the parking lot to minimize the take, all hell broke loose.

The local wise-use group Inland Action Inc., "a nonprofit, nonpolitical corporation of public spirited citizens who are banded together to aid in the economic development of the Inland Empire," hired scientists to assist in the defamation of the Delhi Sands flower-loving fly's importance on Earth. In 1994, scientist Stephen T. Lilburn, who is also

the environmental cochairman of Inland Action Inc., prepared a report and comparative analysis of conservation costs per fly versus inpatient and outpatient costs. "Based on the amount of money spent for mitigation, our county could have treated 494 inpatients or 23,644 outpatients." But, property values had been speculated by developers in the area to the point that the per-acre price was based on an approved development, as if the medical center had already been built.

In addition, Steve Lilburn and other consultants on the project charged such high fees when the medical center parking lot had to be modified to mitigate impacts that it cost over three million dollars to conserve eight flower-loving flies.

In the end, the eight endangered flower-loving flies did not become millionaires, but they did create jobs for and put money in the pockets of ungrateful Private Interest Groups (PIGS) that have squashed the truth and the fly.

Broadcaster Tom Brokaw, NBC and network-owner General Electric assisted the wise-use movement by spreading Lilburn's misinformation on the evening news. This helped bring Secretary Babbitt to his knees. That newscast, coupled with the previous misinformation about the Stephen's kangaroo-rat and wildfires in Riverside County, led Secretary Babbitt and the USFWS to back off in enforcing the ESA.

The Clinton administration apparently did not want to risk any more bad publicity and succumbed to the will of the anti-ESA industry terrorists—revealing, in the end, that even the male fly has more of a backbone than Babbitt or Clinton.

As for the endangered Delhi Sands flower-loving fly, the future looks bleak. And the ramifications extend to all species and ecosystems, as the fight for the fly is also the fight to stop the ESA from being chipped away. The saga and fate of the fly calls out from the moral, spiritual, ecological and evolutionary center of Creation: "Who's next?"

## Judge Wilken: FBI Must Stand Trial in Bari Case

In a key ruling in the Earth First! bombing case, US District Judge Claudia Wilken denied immunity from prosecution to agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Oakland Police Department (OPD) for their mis-



handling of the 1990 car bombing of Earth First! organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney. The civil rights lawsuit, filed in 1991, charges the FBI and OPD with false arrest, illegal search and seizure, and conspiracy to violate Bari and Cherney's First Amendment right to organize for social change.

Judge Wilken's ruling could be the most significant victory yet, clearing the way to take this landmark civil rights case to a jury trial. Wilken's ruling states plaintiffs have made an adequate showing that the FBI and OPD deliberately misrepresented evidence regarding the location and makeup of the bomb in order to justify the false arrest of Bari and Cherney. Wilken also upheld the right to sue individual officers and agents for illegal searches and for conspiracy to "chill plaintiffs' advocacy on behalf of Earth First!"

Further, Wilken upheld the illegal search charges and agreed that there is "substantial showing of deliberate falsehood or reckless disregard of the truth" on behalf of the police agents. She stated that if the OPD had not misrepresented facts in its search warrant, for example by falsely characterizing Bari and Cherney as violent terrorists, the magistrate would not have granted the warrant.

Wilken upheld the charges that the FBI engaged in a conspiracy to violate Bari and Cherney's First Amendment rights, stating the FBI supplied false or misleading information to the OPD. "A jury could infer from this evidence that defendants... acted out of animus towards plaintiffs' advocacy," she ruled.

Judge Wilken, however, dismissed FBI counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) specialist Richard W. Held from the case. Held was in charge of the San Francisco FBI office at the time of the bombing but claims he was unaware of the misconduct of agents under his supervision and of the FBI operation against Bari, Cherney and Earth First! The plaintiffs are appealing this part of the decision.

The plaintiffs allege that the conspiracy was part of a larger FBI operation against them and Earth First! COINTELPRO is an FBI program designed (in the words of J. Edgar Hoover) to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize" activists and groups advocating social change in the US. This program was ordered disbanded in the 1970s after the US Senate found the practice unconstitutional. The case of Judi and Darryl shows clearly that COINTELPRO is alive and well in the '90s.

For more information contact Redwood Summer Justice Project, POB 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402; (707) 887-0262; <http://www.monitor.net/~bari>.

# Bison Under Fire

For thousands of years, Indians and the buffalo lived together, a harmony that symbolized their way of life. Then from the East the white man came, wiping out the buffalo. The only remaining wild herd today lives in and around Yellowstone's borders. Last winter, the Montana Department of Livestock (DOL) slaughtered 1,100 buffalo from Yellowstone Park. To the horror of many, plans are already set in motion to continue the carnage this year.

Why are these buffalo being killed you ask? The DOL insists that Montana must maintain a brucellosis-free status for its beef industry. Brucellosis is a disease that causes cattle and elk to abort their first born. Despite the fact that there has never been a documented case of buffalo spreading brucellosis to cattle, the DOL and Park Service still have their rifles pointed straight ahead. The sad irony is that cattle transmitted the disease to buffalo, not vice-versa.

There were 3,500 buffalo at the start of last

winter. The extremely harsh weather caused many buffalo to migrate out of Yellowstone into Montana. These buffalo were the genetically superior ones in many cases, strong enough to make it to their winter feeding grounds. When you add the 1,100 state-sponsored killings to the 800 to 1,000 buffalo that died of natural causes, you have a precariously thin herd.

The way the killings are handled is also a point of concern. Area residents of Gardiner, Montana and West Yellowstone are outraged at what has taken place and can't believe that it is about to happen again. "The DOL has absolutely no concern for anyone," one resident of West Yellowstone said. "They just walk onto your property with no permission whatsoever and murder the poor animals. Worse yet, they leave the gut piles behind for everyone to see, then take the heads and the hides and auction them off, making a profit at the buffalo's expense."

Business owners in and around Yellowstone are also a bit miffed at the lack of regard the state has

shown towards their livelihood. Tourism brings people by the thousands to Montana every year and killing off a major attraction has local merchants scared and ill-at-ease.

A draft environmental impact statement on management of the bison will not be issued until January at the earliest. It is already nine years overdue.

Forty-four Native American tribes have stated their willingness to pay to relocate live buffalo to their tribal lands. But Native Americans have never been invited to discussions of how the buffalo will be managed, even though the Park recognizes ten tribes as having rights in Yellowstone.

A repeat of last winter would be a devastating blow to the future of America's last wild buf-

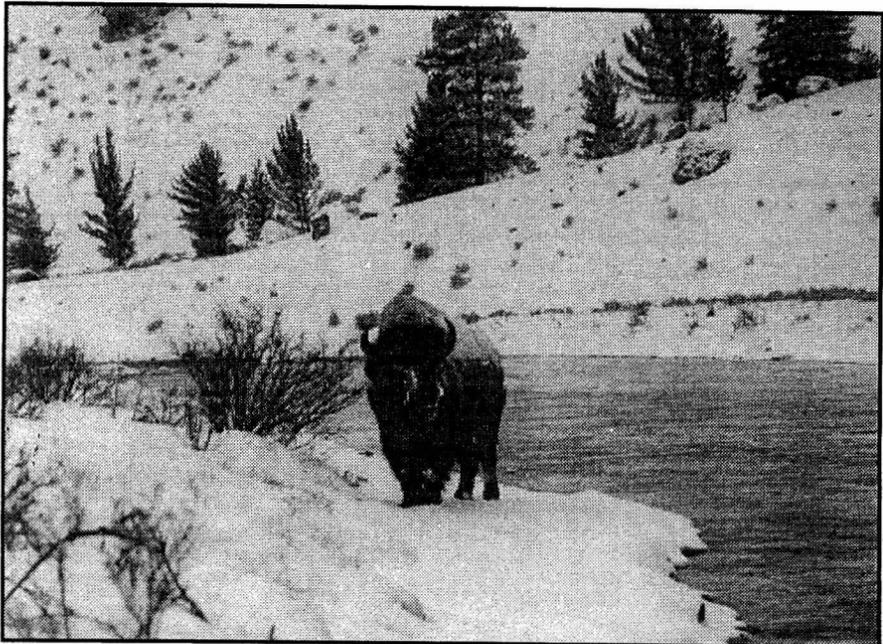


Heads and hides ready for auction

falo herd. For now, the buffalo is teetering on the edge of existence. Its survival is going to take unity and cooperation between parties currently miles apart.

During a recent fly-over with Project Lighthawk, 251 bison were found in the Cougar Creek drainage, a mere ten miles from the Park boundary. The good news is that the snow on the ground is still only eight to 12 inches deep in most places. The bad news is that any significant snow will immediately drive these bison out of the park and into dangerous territory. This is a critical time for the bison; anyone considering coming out this winter should think about making the trip as soon as possible. We have already begun patrolling Yellowstone's boundaries, hazing bison back into the Park and have established safe havens with some of the land-owning community.

Buffalo Nations brings together Native American tribes throughout the West with others who believe that saving the buffalo is essential. Contact Buffalo Nations at POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; fax (406) 646-0071; buffalo@wildrockies.org.



Dominant males are often shot because of their ability to cross out of the Park.

## Wyoming Expands the Hunt

The State of Wyoming has amended its bison hunting regulations to increase opportunities for hunters in the state. Now, in addition to the controversial hunting of Yellowstone bison in the Shoshone National Forest, the new regulations permit the hunting of bison from Grand Teton National Park who winter primarily on the National Elk Refuge near Jackson, Wyoming.

The US Fish and Wildlife Service, which manages the National Elk Refuge, has proposed to allow the Wyoming Game and Fish Department to conduct bison hunting on the refuge. Hunts will also be permitted on surrounding lands, including US Forest Service land.

The proposed hunt is part of a recently approved federal-state management package. The plan calls for the bison herd to be maintained at an arbitrary size of 350-400 animals to reduce the chance of bison transmitting brucellosis to domestic cattle. As many as 30 bison may be shot in December. According to geneticists, a population this size will not retain the herd's genetic viability.

There has never been a confirmed case of bison transmitting the abortion disease, brucellosis, to cattle under natural conditions. Over the last 10 years, over 3,000 bison have been killed due to the unsubstantiated fear of disease transmission to domestic livestock.

Since the late 1960s, the National Park Service has allowed snowmobiles in Yellowstone and has groomed trails and roads for their use. At the same time, Park Service scientists admit that bison use of groomed trails not only facilitates their emigration out of Grand Teton into Montana where they are killed, but also that the groomed trails artificially alter bison survival rates, distribution, movements and the natural ecology of the park.

The National Park Service recently published a draft environmental assessment analyzing the impacts of closing at least one

snowmobile trail in Yellowstone Park to all winter use. This environmental assessment is a product of a lawsuit settlement between The Fund for Animals and other organizations and the National Park Service over its management of winter recreation in Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks.



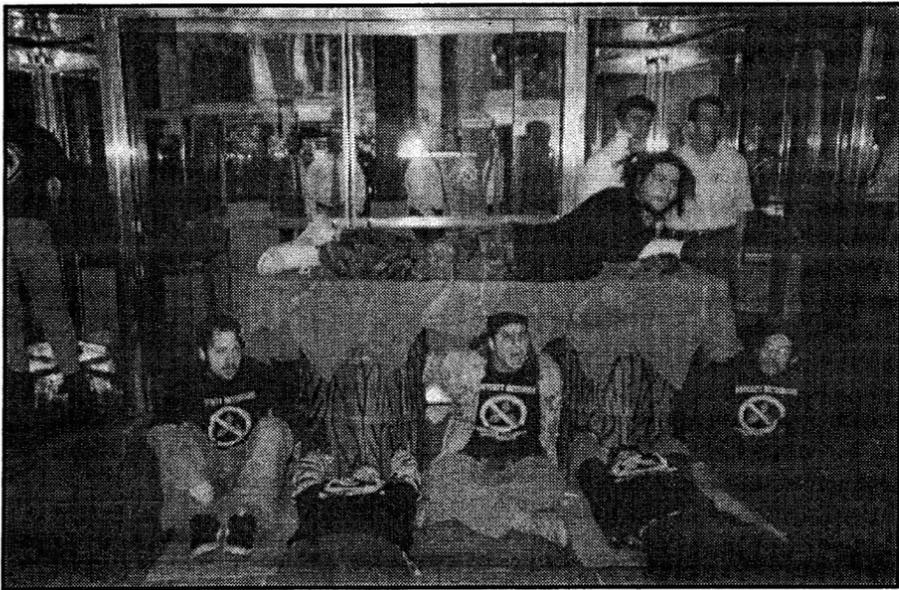
Even bison cows and calves stand to be shot.

# Mitsubishi Stumped!

BY NYC EARTH FIRST!

"Earth First! Profits Last! Boycott Mitsubishi!" The chanting echoed through the main entrance to Mitsubishi International as employees looked on in shock at New York City's World Rainforest Week action on their doorstep. NYC Earth First! and Wetlands Rainforest Action Group had blockaded the offices using two cement barrels, lockboxes and a wooden door, demanding an end to Mitsubishi's worldwide pillage of forests and ecosystems.

The action began as an activist with a megaphone taped to his hand entered the north doors of the building shouting and drawing attention. Another person followed him with a lockbox disguised as a package and locked down to a banister in the north lobby. Meanwhile, at the south entrance, people wheeled two 600-pound concrete-filled barrels, painted as stumps and concealed in cardboard boxes, on appliance dollies up to the main entrance. Protesters entered the building and announced that it was closed. One person sat down in the turnstile of the revolving door, and the person



Six-person lockdown shuts the door on Mitsubishi!

locked to the banister unlocked and joined him.

Within seconds, five activists had locked down. Two people laid down, their backs on the ground, in front of the barrels and stretched their arms over their heads and into lockboxes embedded in the barrels. Three people also locked into the barrels from sitting positions between and next to the barrels. A sixth person placed a door covered in green cloth, cut and painted to look like a treetop, on top of the barrels and laid down on it. From there he reached his arm through a pre-cut hole in the door to lock into another lockbox embedded in the top of one of the barrels.

The media and a diversionary demonstration which had met at another location arrived soon after. Fifty-four cops followed them and soon arrested the person with the megaphone. The police gave the building manager a statement to read, formally asking those locked down to leave or be charged with criminal trespass. The blockaders held their ground, demanding a meeting with Mitsubishi's president.

The police decided to deconstruct the blockade and arrest everyone resisting their orders. First, they sawed through the door and attempted to pull off the attached activist, almost breaking his arm in the process. Next, they tried to cut through the barrels using a circular saw and the jaws of life, almost dislocating another person's arm. Finally, they jackhammered through the concrete, which took three hours. When the dust settled, the arrests totaled ten. We made Mitsubishi's life hell for a day and got our message out with great newspaper, TV, international newswire and internet website coverage, bringing home the message: "Earth First! Profits Last! Boycott Mitsubishi!"

But why Mitsubishi? Mitsubishi is actually one king corporation, known in Japan as a *kieretsu*. Viewed as a single entity, Mitsubishi is the world's largest corporation and has the world's tenth largest economy (the nine larger are all nations). Mitsubishi companies have their hands in mining, ocean engineering, chemicals, cables, beer, life insurance, steel manufacturing, petrochemicals, carbon, cameras, banking, textiles, atomic power and many other things, including, ironically, cement. As the world's largest corporate destroyer of forests, Mitsubishi has been the subject of a boycott by over 200 organizations led by the Rainforest Action Network since 1991.

Mitsubishi companies have two standard responses to

protests: outright denial of any destructive forest practices, citing the fact that they no longer own any direct tree-felling operations, and denial of any connection between the various Mitsubishi companies. Both of these claims are proven false by a brief look at practices throughout the *kieretsu*.

Three main companies own part or all of each Mitsubishi company. One of these three, Mitsubishi Corporation, owns parts of all these companies. These companies do more than just "share a logo;" they conduct business in a way that would violate US antitrust laws. They rotate executives, have interlocking boards of directors, maintain exclusive contracts with each other and aggressively finance each others' projects.

Mitsubishi's destructive practices span the globe. In Washington and Oregon, Mitsubishi is consistently the largest exporter of whole logs, accelerating job loss and forest destruction in the US. Mitsubishi is one of the largest investors in the ALPAC paper mill, the world's largest chlorine bleach paper mill, causing the destruction and poisoning of the forests and waterways of Alberta, Canada. In Indonesia, Mitsubishi is the largest exporter of plywood from rainforests

stolen from the indigenous occupants by the repressive, genocidal Suharto regime. In Japan, Mitsubishi is also a primary importer of logs from Siberia's boreal forests. In Ecuador, Mitsubishi's Bishi Metals illegally operated the country's largest exploratory mining operation in a highly biologically diverse, undisturbed area. In retaliation, indigenous people carefully removed and catalogued objects in the mine and then burned down the empty mine site.

But forests aren't Mitsubishi's only victims. Mitsubishi Oil's use of shoddy, single-hull oil tankers, now condemned within the industry, resulted in the largest oil spill in Japanese history, killing an untold amount of aquatic life. A subsidiary of Mitsubishi working with the Mexican government is attempting to build a salt refinery in San Ignacio Lagoon in Baja California, endangering the most vital and pristine breeding and birthing areas for

the California gray whale.

The battle against Mitsubishi is daunting, but there have been many victories by both international and grassroots groups. In San Francisco, Mitsubishi had a \$147-million airport-construction contract canceled and has been banned from holding other city contracts because of its dealings with the brutal, illegitimate military dictatorship in Burma. Mitsubishi was stopped from clearcutting the Tongass National Forest when the United States Forest Service caught it keeping double books and cheating the US out of millions of dollars in logging fees. Mitsubishi, feeling the pressure of the six-year boycott, recently sold its half of the largest wood milling operation in the Amazon. Students from 33 colleges have voted to bar Mitsubishi products and recruiters from their campuses. Dozens of Mitsubishi automobile dealerships have condemned Mitsubishi's destructive forest practices, including the world's largest auto dealership, New York City's Potamkin Mitsubishi. Due to public pressure, Mitsubishi sold the world's largest disposable chopsticks manufacturing company in British Columbia, Canada, which wasted 85 percent of the wood that came into the plant. At least 30 car shows have been disrupted by protesters locking themselves to cars and closing down exhibits, drumming, chanting, distributing flyers and circulating petitions. Caving in to public pressure, Mitsubishi Motors Sales of America and Mitsubishi Electronics of America agreed to fund comprehensive research to reduce wood consumption and change corporate wood use practices. In Malaysia, Mitsubishi has sold its partnership, but continues purchasing logs cut from the oldest rainforest on Earth, believed to be 180 million years old, and clearcuts it by floodlight 24-hours a day.

You can help sustain this pressure on Mitsubishi by boycotting all products with the red three-diamond Mitsubishi logo, including Kirin Beer, Bank of California, Mitsubishi fax machines, film, art markers, computers, TVs, cars, trucks, Nikon photography and Mitsubishi Bank.

Contact Minoru Makihara, President of Mitsubishi International Corporation at 520 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022; (212) 605-2000; fax (212) 605-3597. Order the Mitsubishi Boycott Organizer's Guide and other anti-Mitsubishi materials from the Rainforest Action Network at 221 Pine Street, San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 398-4404; e-mail: Boycottmc@ran.org.

## BARE BONES

### Amazon Burning!

A total of 24,549 fires were reported burning in the Amazon by 1997 NOAA-12 satellite images. Only 19,115 fires appear in the 1996 data, an increase of 28 percent. The average number of fires per day increased from 466 to 599. The actual increase for the year may be even greater, since 1997 is drier than 1996 and the burning continues.

Increased burning strongly suggests that deforestation rates continue to rise in the Amazon. The most recent deforestation analysis, released last year, showed that forest clearing rose about 34 percent between 1991 and 1994, reaching 14,896 square kilometers a year.

Of the 12 to 13 percent of the forested area of the Amazon cleared and burned to date, an area about the size of California, only about 12 percent is farmed. The rest is cattle pasture. New areas are made accessible to ranching and agriculture by the building of logging roads.

A recent Brazilian national security agency report on forestry policy concluded that 80 percent of the timber produced in the Amazon is extracted illegally. The 1965 Forestry Code specified penalties to be applied by the courts but failed to authorize executive agencies to enforce the law. Consequently, IBAMA, Brazil's environmental agency, is powerless to levy fines, apprehend timber stolen from public lands or otherwise carry out its enforcement powers. In fact, the agency collects only about 6.5 percent of the fines it levies. There is thus practically no environmental law enforcement in the Amazon.

### Five US Species Extinct

On September 19, 1997, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) published a notice in the Federal Register declaring that five species have been deleted as candidates for listing as threatened or endangered because they have gone extinct. The USFWS's systematic failure to promptly list candidate species is one of the greatest abuses of the ESA.

The High Rock Spring tui chub formerly inhabited three connected springs on the California/Nevada border. Prior to 1980, groundwater pumping extirpated the chub from the Nevada springs. In 1982, the California Department of Fish and Game permitted a business to rear an exotic predatory fish in the same spring system. It escaped from the rearing facility and decimated the chub, which was declared extinct in 1993.

The Marianas euploea butterfly was endemic to the Mariana Islands in the western Pacific Ocean. It was common in the 1930s but declined steadily due to habitat loss. A 1995 survey found no trace of it, and it was declared extinct this year. Three Hawaiian pomace flies with very limited ranges on the islands of Hawaii and Molokai are also extinct.

### Fast Track Blocked

In a surprising move, Congress successfully blocked the passage of the fast track trade bill that would have made it possible for corporations to circumvent existing trade regulations and given Clinton ultimate power in negotiating international trade agreements. The bill would have set into law the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which would allow transnational corporations the unrestricted right to buy, sell and move businesses and other assets wherever they want, whenever they want. First NAFTA, then GATT, now MAI. Declare your opposition to MAI and fast-track! Call Congress at (888) 723-5246. For more information contact Public Citizen's Trade Campaign at 215 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003; (202) 546-4996; e-mail: ctaylor@citizen.org.

# Zero Cut Up to Bat

BY CHAD HANSON

"That's impossible."  
"You'll lose all of your funding if you say that."  
"You'll never get the Sierra Club on board."  
"You'll be laughed out of every congressional office you visit."  
"You'll never get a Republican."  
"You don't understand political realities."  
"You're completely out of your mind."

Zero-cutters are a scrappy lot. For years, people have been telling us what can't be done, and we've been doing it anyway. Despite political realities, despite nay-sayers and the timber industry's power, on October 31, a bipartisan bill was introduced into the House of Representatives by Democratic Representative Cynthia McKinney and Republican Representative Jim Leach of Iowa (Chair of the House Banking and Finance Committee) ending timber sales on most federal public lands nationwide. The National Forest Protection and Restoration Act, H.R. 2789, would simply take the federal government out of the logging business and redirect logging subsidies into worker retraining, ecological restoration, payments for counties, grants for tree-free alternatives and deficit reduction. It currently has 12 cosponsors, including two Republicans.

No more timber sale appeals or lawsuits. No more euphemisms for logging. No more compromises. This campaign is about demanding what we want, rather than acquiescing to what we've been told we have to accept.

It's contagious. In the past several months alone, the number of organizations supporting zero cut has more than doubled. Already newspapers are beginning to editorialize in support. The debate has shifted from how much will be logged to whether logging will continue at all.

The facts are clear:

The timber cut annually on all national forests now comprises only 3.9 percent of total US wood

consumption, according to Forest Service statistics.

Last year the Forest Service's logging program operated at a net loss to taxpayers of at least \$791 million and not a dime was returned to the general fund of the US Treasury. To put this in perspective, if we ended all logging on national forests and redirected the money we would have over \$25,000 for each public lands timber worker for retraining and/or ecological restoration work—and still have

about public forests without talking about zero cut.

The only remaining tactic available to logging corporations is sheer obfuscation. Destructive logging bills falsely promoted by Democrats under the guise of "fire risk reduction" (such as the Quincy logging bill, see p.9) or similarly horrible legislation masquerading as "forest health" measures will characterize industry's final attempts to assault federal forests. Timber interests will try to

**"...if we ended logging on national forests and redirected the money, we would have over \$25,000 for each public lands timber worker for retraining and/or ecological restoration work—and still have over \$200 million left over."**

over \$200 million left over.

One of the most exciting recent developments of the zero cut campaign is the network of grassroots environmental organizations from coast to coast that has formed. As a movement, we now have the opportunity to be greater than the sum of our parts. The fight against a local timber sale can attain much greater significance and attention as another example of the ecological destruction, industry manipulation and agency corruption which makes zero cut so necessary. By incorporating the national zero cut message into local and regional battles, and by beginning to coordinate strategy, we can increasingly define the message and the public debate, putting industry on the defense. We can create a national context where it will be difficult for press and policy-makers to talk

manipulate left-of-center communities by co-opting liberal terminology, spinning taxpayer subsidized deforestation on public lands as "consensus," "collaborative dialogue" or even "environmental justice."

Yet it is these very deceptions which give us the greatest advantage to advocates of zero cut (i.e., "Until we end logging on public lands, we'll never be safe from insidious timber industry ruses such as...").

Looking back at how far the zero cut campaign has come over the last several years, against immeasurable odds and adversity, I can't help thinking about a Chinese proverb that I came across recently, "The greatest pleasure in life is doing what others say cannot be done." I guess it just goes to show that one should never underestimate the power of a dream.

*Chad Hanson is co-director of the John Muir project and a board member of the Sierra Club.*

## The Second Coming of Zero Cut

BY RENE VOSS

John Muir could not have envisioned a bolder or more powerful piece of legislation than the National Forest Protection and Restoration Act, which aims not only to protect what's left of our beleaguered federal forests but also to begin the restoration of the biological richness lost to the federal chainsaw massacre. After 100 years of logging, less than five percent of our magnificent primeval ancient forests remain, and most of what's left is on our national forests.

The story begins in 1891, just one year before John Muir and other founders of the Sierra Club began their protection efforts for Yosemite and the Sierras. Congress had just passed legislation allowing for the creation of forest reserves that, by presidential proclamation, were off limits to all commodity extraction and commercial use, including grazing, mining and logging. These reserves, later renamed National Forests, were to be protected for Americans from the rampant greed of timber companies which were rapidly liquidating the forests of this country at an astonishing rate; however, this protected status did not last very long. Only six years later, as a result of enormous pressure from the timber industry,

Congress slipped a rider into an appropriations bill that, for the first time, opened these reserves to commercial logging. The bill was signed into law on June 4, 1897, initiating what can only be described as one of the most tragic losses of America's natural heritage.

On June 4, 1996, ironically 99 years to the day after this tragic act became law, Cynthia McKinney made a commitment to introduce and help pass legislation reversing the legacy of devastation from logging on our federal forests. The National Forest Protection and Restoration Act (NFPPRA) was born and is now a bill.

"The US Government is the only property owner that I know of that pays private parties to deplete its own resources," said Representative Jim Leach, adding that the bill would bring "sincerity" to our nation's forest policy and "good sense" to the taxpayers. "Let me say what I mean by sincerity. This country, and many in it, for a long time have expressed a great deal of interest in the rainforests in South America, proper interest. But it strikes me as a little bit hollow to express interest for another country's preservation of its forests if we don't preserve our



From left to right: Chad Hanson, Jeff Debonis, Rep. Cynthia McKinney (at the podium), Rep. John Leach and Anna Aurilio announce the introduction of the NFPPRA bill.

own... And so I would just stress that we as a country have an obligation to be good stewards of our land. But we as members of Congress have an obligation to be fair and reasonable to the taxpayer and that means to do common sense things, and it's not common sense to pay others to despoil our own resources."

As Sierra Club founder John Muir said of national forests long ago, "Since Christ's time and long before that, God has cared for these trees, saved them from drought, disease, avalanches and a thousand straining, leveling tempests and floods; but He cannot save them from fools—only the American people can do that."

*Rene Voss, from Atlanta, Georgia, serves as Vice-Chair of the Sierra Club's Forest Reform Campaign.*

### THE NATIONAL FOREST PROTECTION AND RESTORATION ACT

- Preserves our national forest heritage, protecting and restoring the ecological values of our federal public forests by ending the federal government's timber sale program on National Forests, National Wildlife Refuges and BLM land.
- Immediately protects all roadless areas by canceling existing timber sales.
- Immediately prohibits all new timber sales, cancels Salvage Rider sales and phases out all existing timber sales within two years.
- Saves taxpayers over \$300 million annually.
- Redirects logging subsidies to provide funding for environmentally sensitive non-wood alternative paper and construction materials.
- Redirects logging subsidies to provide funds for worker retraining and gives preference to displaced timber workers for jobs in the woods doing ecological restoration.
- Begins a scientifically based ecological restoration program for federal public forests.
- Redirects logging subsidies, providing funding to replace 25-percent revenue sharing payments to states for counties and local governments.

# The Poisonous Plight of Lake Davis

BY AMY AND DEB

On October 14, residents from Portola, California came together to stop the poisoning of Lake Davis, the source of their drinking water. People from all walks of life in this small, rural community just north of Lake Tahoe quickly mobilized to stand up to the California Department of Fish and Game (DFG) as it dumped 16,000 gallons and 65,000 pounds of the toxic fish poison "Nusyn-Noxfish" into Lake Davis to eradicate the non-native northern pike. The pike is a predatory fish and the DFG was concerned that it would eat the native salmon of the Sacramento Delta to the point of extinction unless it was exterminated. Apparently, the DFG doesn't believe that the numerous dams, diversions of water to Southern California, and extensive logging and roadbuilding in the watershed are more detrimental to the salmon population than the pike. The DFG disregarded several non-toxic options in favor of Nusyn-Noxfish, which contains Tri-Chloro-Ethylene, a known carcinogen.

The DFG focused solely on the eradication of the pike, paying little attention to the ramifications of the poisons on the other creatures of the bioregion. As a result, the lake's population of native trout was massacred. The DFG plans to replace the native fish with hatchery fish that are more susceptible to disease and less genetically diverse. The rare yellow-legged frog, which is es-

pecially sensitive to toxins and inhabits the tributaries of Lake Davis, were also poisoned. The lake provides habitat to golden eagles, osprey, black bear, chipmunk and deer as well, all of which will be affected by the poisons.

Residents also fear that the poisons will seep into the nearby wells that supply the community's drinking water. One official was rumored to have said that there was nothing to worry about because, statistically, only one person in the town will get cancer as a result of the poisoning!

Portola is a conservative community struggling to rise out of the logging boom and bust syndrome. The entire community was united in opposition against the poisoning of the lake and highly appreciative of non-resident activist support. The mayor, city council, timber workers, Women in Timber, local National Rifle Association rednecks, Portola stores and businesses, the sheriff and even the district attorney were all against the dumping of the poison into the lake. Moreover, the community unani-



Department of Fish and Game workers dump toxic Nusyn-Noxfish into Lake Davis. Within hours, dead fish rose to the surface.



Four activists lock themselves to a buoy in 52-degree water.

mously opposed the poisoning of the lake every step of the way. Appeals were made, legislators lobbied and petitions filed, all to no avail. When an 11th-hour meeting with Governor Pete Wilson failed to stop the poisoning, the town decided to pull out the stops and take direct action.

The poisoning was scheduled to begin at dawn on October 15. Following a candlelight vigil on October 14, four brave souls slipped into the water by the light of the moon. A few days before, these people would never have considered taking direct action and thought Earth First! was a terrorist organization. But they had no alternative and were not going to stand by and watch the lake they depend on for their drinking water be poisoned. Inspired by the tactics that several Earth First!ers suggested, they armed themselves with steel motor-

cycle chains and combination locks, wet suits and inner tubes. They swam out into the 52-degree water and shackled themselves to a buoy on the lake. This defiant act bewildered the DFG and temporarily impeded the dumping of the poison!

Initially, DFG informed the activists that they were under arrest, but noticing the chains, and lacking bolt cutters, they decided to wait them out.

Earlier that day, three other enraged locals got into the water and destroyed some orange grid markers. They were cheered on by a crowd of 100 supporters, who promised them a lawyer and warm blankets.

In the end, all the aquatic blockaders were helped to shore, suffering from various stages of hypothermia, and the poison was dumped into the lake. The water was cold, but the seven people's commitment to this place was strong and will live on forever in the community. Maybe next time everyone will take the plunge.

Amy and Deb are roving activists as well as long-time defenders of the Siskiyou bioregion in southern Oregon.

BY DAKTARI AND  
CLARENCE THE CROSS-EYED LION

The Quincy Library Group (QLG) bill (H.R. 858) swept through the House like a tidal wave on a 429-1 vote and looked like it was going to swamp the Senate, but now the tide seems to be turning against this sinister timber sale scam. The Senate was scheduled to take a voice vote on the QLG bill because not even one Senator was willing to stand up and speak against it. Just to make sure the timber industry would get this bill passed, two forest-death raiders masquerading as forest-health crusaders orchestrated a QLG rider in the wee hours just before Congress was going to recess. Congressman (*sic*) Helen Chenowith attached the QLG bill, as amended by Larry Craig, to a House bill dealing with mineral rights in North Dakota (say what!?).

At the last possible minute Senators Patrick Leahy and Dale Bumpers put a "pocket hold" on both QLG bills, effectively stalling a vote until next session of Congress. Then, in a surprise move, an initial co-sponsor of the QLG bill, Senator Barbara Boxer, dropped her sponsorship and claimed she would actually vote against it. New analysis has revealed that H.R. 858 will devastate critical old-growth

stands in the Sierras, and as the "greenest" member of the Senate, this made it unacceptable to Boxer. Despite these miraculous "death bed" reprieves, forest activists now essentially face "double jeopardy" with two QLG bills coming up for vote in the Senate at the end of January.

The QLG looks good to politicians and the press. In fact, it's too good to be true. The QLG presents itself as a collaborative community effort between "local" timber industry executives and "grassroots" environmentalists. Together, this group of 30 folks came to consensus about how they want to continue logging on 2.5-million acres of three national forests in California. This group's understanding of "consensus" is a little warped though. They believe that everyone else in the country—that's 280-million fellow citizens and future generations of all species—must be bound by the terms of their private consensus agreement.

Because this whole scenario fits so perfectly into the right-wing agenda of asserting "local control" against "Big Government," the QLG curried favor with local Congressmen Wally Herger and Frank Riggs. In a wimpy Congressional compromise, "green" Democrats like George Miller somehow came to consensus with vile anti-environmental Republicans. Consequently,

the QLG bill has been championed by both Republicrats and Demoblicans alike: Frank Riggs and George Miller, Helen Chenowith and Barbara Boxer, Larry Craig and Bill Clinton. Unfortunately, this self-deluding compromise yackety-yack didn't stop with congressional politicians.

Sierra Club CEO Carl Pope collaborated in the QLG scheme by offering to write "friendly amendments" for Senator Boxer in order to help her mollify outraged California activists. Fortunately, dissident Sierra Clubbers in the John Muir Society caught wind of Pope's collaboration and raised holy hell over it.

Pope's maneuvers led Boxer to believe that mainstream enviros would support her, but now she has had to make an embarrassing retreat from the legislation, leaving her California colleague and co-sponsor of the QLG bill, Diane Feinstein, holding the bag. However, the rest of the Senate, especially Feinstein, can only fool themselves for so long. Despite the self-hype about consensus between timber goons and eco-freaks on the QLG, the happy fact of the matter is that over 140 environmental groups from across the country have voiced their adamant opposition to the QLG bill—and not a single environmental group has endorsed it!

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**Put  
on  
Ice**

# Griz Coming Home

Public Supports Conservation Biology Alternative at Reintroduction Hearings

BY GARY MACFARLANE

Public hearings on the draft environmental impact statement (DEIS) for grizzly recovery in the Big Wild—the greater Salmon-Selway ecosystem in central Idaho and western Montana—were held in October in Lewiston, Boise, Salmon and Challis, Idaho and Missoula, Hamilton and Helena, Montana. Thanks to hard work from many individuals and organizations, the hearings were a success, even in Lewiston.

Have you ever been to Lewiston, Idaho? Lewiston, Idaho stinks. That isn't too surprising since Potlatch Timber has a huge pulp mill on the formerly clear Clearwater River at the town's east end. The mill dominates the political, physical and psychological landscape like a ghastly shadow from some 1930s B-grade horror flick. Lewiston is home to the Resource Organization on Timber Supply (ROTS) and the location of the dingy backroom where ROTS, the National Wildlife Federation and Defenders of Wildlife cooked up their little scheme to solve the grizzly issue by sidestepping the Endangered Species Act, thereby trading laws for logs.

The US Fish and Wildlife Service figured since the ROTS proposal would reintroduce grizzlies, even though it doesn't protect bears or their habitat, everybody would like it. Furthermore, the agency did all sorts of number crunching in the DEIS to try and show how grizzly bear recovery would really work under a plan that clearcuts habitat and leaves the management responsibility of grizzly bears to

a committee appointed by a governor who doesn't want any grizzlies. Like most government bureaucracies, the US Fish and Wildlife Service is insane.

Most people in Hamilton, Missoula, Lewiston, Boise and Helena don't want the Endangered Species Act to be mauled. Only in Salmon and Challis, where people who love the wild are treated like ants at a picnic, was much opposition to grizzly recovery expressed. Nonetheless, the scientifically sound proposal, known as the Conservation Biology Alternative and submitted by the Alliance for the Wild Rockies and the Salmon-Selway Grizzly Coalition, received more support than any other option. This plan emphasizes habitat protection, closes roads, reclaims land, protects all grizzlies (resident, migrant or reintroduced) and provides habitat corridors for natural recovery.

The final hearing tally shows that about 60 percent of citizens support grizzly recovery, 38 percent are opposed and the remainder are too confused to make a coherent statement. Most importantly, the ROTS/government proposal (the sham grizzly recovery plan) was only supported by 11 percent of the people. Not even in Lewiston did that proposal hold sway. Rather, Lewiston residents eloquently spoke in support of grizzlies and their habitat.

The ROTS proposal wasn't even supported by the politicians it was designed to appease. Certain "environmental" groups need a lesson in the pitfalls of playing politics with grizzly bears.

There are too few grizzlies roaming the backcountry of America's public lands. Grizzlies belong in the Big Wild, the heart of Idaho. Only the Conservation Biology Alternative will allow the small population of great bears that may still lurk in the backcountry to survive and increase. The good citizens of Lewiston—in spite of, or perhaps because of, the Potlatch mill—recognize this fact. Now that the citizens have spoken, it's up to the US Fish and Wildlife Service to follow suit and bring the grizzly home.



## West Virginia's Blackwater Canyon—SOLD!

BY JANET K. FOUT

West Virginia's spectacular Blackwater Canyon is a world-class resource with stunning views, valuable animal and plant habitat and high-quality recreation and tourism potential. At least two federally listed species, the Cheat Mountain salamander and the Virginia northern flying squirrel, are known to inhabit the area. The recent sale of the canyon to a timber company has inspired public vigils, hiking and biking tours in the woods and a letter writing campaign. There are also efforts to pressure West Virginia to purchase the Canyon, one of the state's most popular tourist sites.

A bid to buy the canyon for the Monongahela National Forest that surrounds it was topped by John Crites, president of Allegheny Wood, which has already begun limited logging. Other development plans are feared. Since acquiring the land, Crites has cut off previous access routes to the Blackwater River for hunters and fishers as well as access to certain portions of hiking trails.

West Virginia's Governor Cecil Underwood has been rendered incompetent on this issue by his ties to the timber industry. John Crites was a major campaign contributor to Underwood's gubernatorial campaign.

There is still time to save Blackwater canyon. Both the Forest Service and the state park system are interested in acquiring it. Citizens throughout West Virginia are urging the state to buy the canyon from Crites. Please join them by contacting Governor Cecil Underwood at the West Virginia State Capitol, Charleston, WV 25305. Ask him to purchase the entire Blackwater Canyon, rather than trade it for land elsewhere. For more information contact Mike Withers at (304) 342-6348 or write to the West Virginia Land Trust, POB 734, Morgantown, WV 26507.

## Long Draw Sale Withdrawn—for Now

Citizens in Washington breathed a sigh of relief when the Okanogan National Forest announced recently it was temporarily withdrawing the decision to cut the Long Draw timber sale. After reviewing the sale, the regional office instructed the Okanogan to address a number of environmental concerns about the sale and to issue a new decision. The new decision is expected in the next few months.

The Long Draw sale, which would threaten numerous rare wildlife species including grizzly bear, gray wolf, lynx, wolverine and redband trout, has become a lightning rod of public opposition in Washington. While conservation groups were clearly relieved by the announcement, they urged the Forest Service to cancel the sale once and for all. Unless the Clinton administration acts to cancel Long Draw, this sale will raise its ugly head again. The Okanogan National Forest will say they've "fixed" the problems and try to repackage it.

The Northwest Ecosystems Alliance, along with the Sierra Club, Inland Empire Public Lands Council, Methow Forest Watch and Kettle Range Conservation Group appealed the Long Draw sale because it would push roading and logging further into unprotected wilderness bordering the southeast edge of the Pasayten Wilderness. Public outrage was loud across the state. Earlier this month, an aide to Washington Governor Gary Locke wrote to the Forest Service expressing concern about Long Draw and questioning whether it complied with the Forest Service Chief's directive to stay out of controversial roadless areas.

Recently, President Clinton announced that the Forest Service was developing a new roadless area policy. Logging of pristine areas like Long Draw would seriously undermine any such policy. The deferral of the Long Draw sale makes passage of a strong roadless area policy more important than ever. Please share your concerns about logging in roadless areas with Katie McGinty, Chair, Council on Environmental Quality, Room 360, Old Executive Building, Washington, DC 20501. For more info, contact the Northwest Ecosystems Alliance at 1421 Cornwall, Suite 201, Bellingham, WA 98225; (360) 671-9950.

# Mine Threatens Dysart Woods

BY JASON TOCKMAN

Dysart Woods, one of the last tracts of old-growth forest in Ohio, is threatened by longwall mining, a controversial method of underground coal removal. With longwall mining, a layer of coal is taken out; collapse of the ground above the coal is not only expected, but planned. If longwall mining is permitted near or under the 50 acres of ancient forest, damage to the groundwater system may deny precious water to the trees, causing devastating stresses to the 300- to 400-year-old giant oaks and tulips.

Dysart Woods was designated a National Natural Landmark by the Department of the Interior in 1967. It was acquired by Ohio University as part of a 455-acre land transfer from The Nature Conservancy. Since that time, the woods have repeatedly been at risk from coal companies. The University has prevented mining from encroaching on the Woods—until now.

Ohio Valley Coal Company is now seeking a permit to mine within four-tenths of a mile from the woods; they are expected to submit another permit to mine directly under Dysart Woods soon. Ohio Valley Coal Company has been deceitful in its dealings with the public and Ohio University. They have threatened outspoken critics with SLAPP suits and have contacted activist's employers in an attempt to have them fired.

The outpouring of concern for protecting Dysart Woods is unparalleled in the recent environmental history of Ohio. On November 8, a couple hundred people attended a rally at the office of the Division of Mines and Reclamation, the agency responsible for Ohio Valley Coal Company's permit. Neighboring farmers joined environmentalists from across the state in speeches and songs. Numerous biologists, foresters and geologists have also publicly stated their opposition to mining at such close proximity to the Woods.

The protest rallied support for a legal petition filed with the state of Ohio to designate Dysart Woods and its watershed off limits to mining. Under a provision of the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977, any interested party may petition the government to have an area designated as unsuitable for mining. The petition sets in motion a legal process by which the Division of Mines and Reclamation must conduct an environmental review and solicit extensive public input.

Please write Lisa Morris, Division of Mines and Reclamation chief, at 1855 Fountain Square Crt., Columbus, OH 43224. Ask her to deny permits #D-360-7 and #D-360-8. For more info, contact the Buckeye Forest Council at POB 99, Athens, OH 45701; (614) 425-1470; bfc@frognet.net.

## ROCKY MOUNTAIN FRONT STILL NOT PROTECTED FROM OIL DEVELOPMENT

BY JOHN GATCHELL

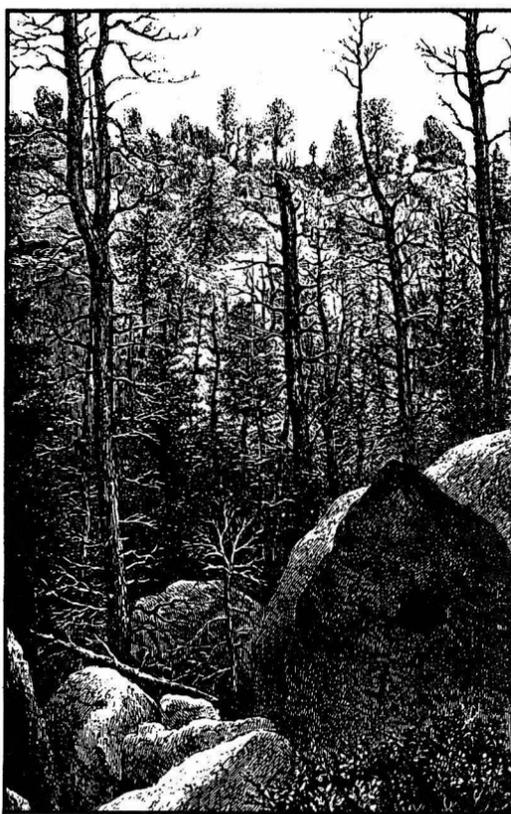
Despite clear public opposition to oil and gas leasing on national forests and a decision by the Lewis and Clark National Forest to prohibit such extraction, the Helena National Forest is proposing to open the southern reach of the Rocky Mountain Front to oil and gas development. After back room negotiations with Chevron Oil, the Helena National Forest wants to allow development in upper Alice Creek, a tributary of the Blackfoot River, which flows from the Continental Divide.

On September 23, 1997, the Lewis and Clark National Forest announced that the Rocky Mountain Front would be off-limits to federal oil and gas leasing for the next 10 to 15 years. Citing "overwhelming public support" for protection of the area, Lewis and Clark Forest Supervisor Gloria Flora explained her decision in forthright terms, "The Rocky Mountain Front is a unique area; it requires special attention."

Letters supporting protection of the Front flooded the Lewis and Clark National Forest offices in the public comment stage of the agency's analysis. Prominent newspapers near the Bob Marshall Wilderness endorsed protection, and a statewide public opinion poll in August revealed that Montanans oppose development of the Front by a two-to-one margin.

Much of the Rocky Mountain Front remains unprotected despite the decision of the Lewis and Clark National Forest Supervisor. The south end of the Front, a key component of the Bob Marshall ecosystem between Roger's Pass and the Scapegoat Wilderness, is administered by the Helena National Forest.

Near Roger's Pass and the south end of the Rocky Mountain Front, private land comes close to the Continental Divide from both east and west. If Alice Creek is developed, a "bottleneck" of public land will result, constricting wildlife corridors between the Bob Marshall country and the wildlands along the Continental Divide to the south.



protected public lands.

The revised Helena National Forest plan provides a pathway for Chevron or other oil companies to lease and drill in the Alice Creek drainage, which could lead to pipelines, powerlines, roads, sweetening plants and industrial facilities. This potential industrial corridor, in the southeast corner of the Bob Marshall ecosystem and at the headwaters of the Blackfoot River, provides prime habitat for grizzly bears, elk and bull trout. This area includes the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail and the "road to the buffalo," followed by Meriwether Lewis across the Continental Divide in 1806.

Write a letter to Helena National Forest Supervisor Tom Clifford. Urge him to protect the superb wildlands and wildlife of *all* the Rocky Mountain Front and to prohibit oil and gas leasing in Alice Creek and on *all* Forest Service land in the Bob Marshall ecosystem. Write to Tom Clifford, Supervisor, Helena National Forest, 2880 Skyway Dr., Helena, MT 59601. Please send a copy of your letter to Mike Dombeck, Chief, US Forest Service, POB 96090, Washington, DC 20090-6090.

## Babbitt Seeks to Expand Alaskan Oil Drilling

BY NORTHERN ALASKA ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is considering allowing oil leasing in a huge, yet little known wilderness on Alaska's western Arctic. "This is the next place no one knew, as unknown as Glen Canyon was in the 1960s," according to longtime conservationist David Brower. At 23.5-million acres, the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska is the largest expanse of undeveloped public land in America and is vital for many species of migratory birds and other wildlife. Babbitt's push to open the Reserve to multinational oil companies comes at a time when oil prices are low and any oil discovered and produced would likely be exported to Asia.

In February 1997, Babbitt stated that oil leasing is "absolutely" the goal of the Department of Interior's environmental studies, raising questions about the department's commitment to a fair, unbiased review process. Despite enormous information gaps identified by scientists, the draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), covering 4.6-million acres in the northeast corner of the Re-

serve, has been fast-tracked and is scheduled to be published in December 1997. Public comments on the draft study submitted by February 10, 1998 will be considered by the Bureau of Land Management and used to finalize the EIS.

Extensive oil development sprawling across over two million acres of America's Arctic has already caused irreparable damage to wilderness, wildlife, traditional ways-of-life and the planet's climate. Partisan politics and oil company profits do not justify additional oil drilling, especially when Congress has not even permanently protected the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in the eastern Arctic. Further, the fast-tracked EIS allows little time to review scientific literature or address a wide range of information gaps identified by scientists.

Decisions made in the next five months will define the future of America's Arctic. In July, Babbitt said he wanted a national discussion on the oil industry's request to drill in the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska. But, the Interior Department plans to hold public hearings in Alaska,

and no other hearings are planned.

Why does this matter? For thousands of years, native people have used the area for subsistence hunting and fishing. Also, burning more oil will add to global climate change and not bring us any closer to a sustainable-energy future. Yet, in the next five months, the federal government is rushing to open a vast area of America's Arctic to the oil companies. Troubled? Here's what you can do.

1) Contact Secretary Babbitt. Ask him to make good on his promise to elevate the Reserve planning process to a national level. Express your dismay that no public hearings are scheduled outside Alaska and urge Secretary Babbitt to hold a public hearing where you live. Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240; fax (202) 208-6956.

2) Rally for America's Arctic by organizing a public hearing in your area. Contact Sara Callaghan at the Northern Alaska Environmental Center at sarag@mosquitonet.com or (907) 452-5021 to link up with others that have requested a hearing in your area.

# DUTCH ACTION CAMP SLOWS HARBOUR DIGGING

BY PIM

This summer in The Netherlands, an Earth First! action camp emerged in the sand dunes and trees of an area called Ruigoord, west of Amsterdam. In July, a group of 30 people squatted the area to prevent it from being turned into a new harbour, the Afrikahaven. Thirty to 40 people lived there until October 6, when they were evicted. They managed to stop the digging for three months, and the eviction itself took hundreds of riot police and a huge amount of money (rumors say over a million Dutch guilders).

## A New Movement

It all started over a year ago when the Dutch direct action movement Green Front! formed, based on the ideas of British Earth First! Several Dutch activists had learned from their British counterparts at action camps at Newbury, Fairmile and Manchester. A small group of activists decided it was time for Green Front! to start because the Dutch environmental movement is ruled by big bureaucratic organisations with their own agendas that do not cooperate much with each other or with small, local actions.

Green Front!'s actions concentrated around traffic and nature issues. Roads and bridge construction sites were occupied several times. In July, the main event began. Groenoord action camp was founded on July 16, 1997.

## A Hot Summer

It was a wet July morning when people moved into the natural area slated to become a concrete harbour. They carried palettes, tools and tent materials, and were accompanied by a troupe of reporters. A central area was built out of wooden palettes to be used as a bar, kitchen, toolshed, living room and information point. A mixed group of young and old activists moved in. The camp was situated next to the village of Ruigoord, a place well-known for art and summer festivals, where the '60s and '70s are still very much alive. The village itself was evicted 25 years ago to make way for the harbour but was squatted by the present villagers. The plans for the harbour were put on hold, but in 1997, the Amsterdam City Council decided to build the harbour after all because it was supposed to be good for employment and the economy.

The villagers were really helpful. Though they were still doing their own legal actions, they were happy to support "those young people" out there to change the world, like they had done so many years ago. The camp was built up steadily, without police interruption since it was a summer holiday. Treehuts were constructed. People started digging tunnels. New camps were built outside of the main camp. Waiting for the holidays to end, Groenoord developed into a living alternative community, and received a lot of media attention as a result. On August 24, hundreds of people came to the place where the diggers had already started on the harbour before the camp—a canal of a few hundred meters, officially a "returnable activity." The activists, many with children, dogs or parents, came to return the returnable. Hundreds of people put sand back in the canal with spades or by hand, and at the end of the day the canal was crossed by several sand bridges and was not

very deep anymore.

That Monday, the holidays ended and the waiting began.

## The Waiting

The action camp was prepared. People practiced what to do during an eviction. Locks and lock-ons were checked; food packets were

ered at the church in the village. The area was destroyed and locked off, guarded heavily. The camp was gone. Was all for nothing?

## Groenoord Is Not Dead!

It ain't over till it's over, they say. The harbour is not there yet, but the village still is.

On October 11, close to a thousand people protested in the Amsterdam city centre against the destruction of the camp, the land and the village. At the demonstration a group of dockers from the Amsterdam harbours joined in. They had just

**"On Monday, October 6, they came: an army of 850 riot police with shovels, diggers and cherrypickers."**

stored in huts and tunnels. On August 28, the first digging machine came, accompanied by police. After a short while, a group of activists seated themselves in front of and on the machine. It retreated, taking the cops with it. It was quiet again for awhile.

In the meantime, solidarity activities for the camp were organised. The Amsterdam Autolozen (Critical Mass) blocked the highway west of Amsterdam to protest the new road and the harbour plans. A month passed. On September 27, a big benefit party was held in one of Amsterdam's most famous squats, *Vrankrijk*. Bands played, videos were shown and people from the camp performed.

## The End?

On Monday, October 6, they came: an army of 850 riot police with shovels, diggers and cherry pickers. The camp prepared, and the media checked their cameras. People chained themselves to the roads, climbed their trees, crawled into tunnels and put up barricades of burning wood.

The police started closing the camp off from the outside world. Several kilometres of fence were put around the area and guarded. Shovels started making parking places for the police and roads for the other machines. Activists who jumped on the shovels were beaten off by the police. People came to the camp and tried to get in with supplies by climbing over fences. In trees and huts people sat, listening to the police radio and talking to each other by portable phones. The press called it "activism by satellite." By Monday night the police had cleared the ground; people were taken out of the area and bussed to the nearest railway station. Most of them came back. The area looked like a prison camp: long fences as far as you could see, big lights and guards with dogs. Some people managed to sneak in, and one activist was arrested for destroying three lights.

Early Tuesday morning the police started evicting the occupants from the tunnels and treehuts. A careless shovel drove over a tunnel, and it collapsed. The activist could have gotten out; he stayed. One by one people were taken out of their tree huts. The tunnels were dug out mostly by hand. The last activists were taken out of the camp around 6:00 p.m. They gath-

been fired and did not believe the talk of employment in the new harbour.

The demonstration stopped at the Dam Square, where some activists from the camp climbed onto the national monument and let down banners with the words "*Groenoord Leeft Voort!*" (Groenoord lives on!) At city hall, the deputy mayor received a petition for a referendum on the harbour.



During the weekend, the fences and guards disappeared from the camp area because they cost hundreds of thousands of guilders a day. On Sunday, a walker's action group walked the area, and a requiem mass was held in the village church. On Monday morning the activists established the action camp "Groenoord II" at the same place as its predecessor.

If no referendum is held, activists want to start an environmental people's trial against the city government. Other actions are being prepared; one includes the start of a seniors' action group, 50+ Against Environmental Destruction.

More current info and photos can be found at <http://www.contrast.nl/groenoord/> or e-mail us at [ruigoord@hotmail.com](mailto:ruigoord@hotmail.com) or [ruigoord@oudenaarden.nl](mailto:ruigoord@oudenaarden.nl). Write to Green Front! at Postbus 85069, 3508 AB Utrecht, The Netherlands.



# PATENTING LIFE: BIOPIRACY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

BY SARAH SEXTON

Members of the European Parliament describe a proposed biotech patent directive as the most-lobbied piece of legislation ever to hit the European Union. The draft "Directive on the Legal Protection of Biotechnological Inventions" would be implemented in all 15 EU countries by the turn of the century if it gets final approval from the European Parliament next spring.

The directive would explicitly allow companies to take out patents within the EU on living biological material—genes, the proteins that genes express, cells, organs and whole organisms—even if such material occurs in nature. If similar patents had been allowed in chemistry, the elements themselves would have been patented by now.

A patent gives exclusive monopoly rights for 20 years to the patent holder to use an "invention" for commercial gain. The patent holder can charge others for using the patented product or process and can extract a royalty on any commercial applications derived from it.

Much of the pro-patent lobbying within Europe has focused on the health aspects of the draft legislation. The pharmaceutical industry argues that without explicit patents on genes investors are unwilling to give the hundreds of millions of research dollars needed to develop the drugs of the future to diagnose, prevent and cure genetically-related diseases. "No patent, no cure," they claim.

But both scientists and numerous groups representing those with genetically related disorders argue that, far from promoting research, patenting genes actually hinders scientific inquiry and undermines medical progress. For example, even though the genes believed to trigger cystic fibrosis and some inherited breast cancers were only discovered through the cooperation of the world-wide research community in a program largely publicly-funded, the genes have been patented by private companies under US law.

Wendy Watson, founder of the British Hereditary Breast Cancer Foundation, believes that "nobody has the right to patent this kind of information, which was only found with the help of the many families who have suffered a case of hereditary cancer. It is morally wrong that any company should benefit from that kind of information."

Less has been heard about the potential effects of the proposed legislation on agriculture. Despite public distrust within Europe of genetically engineered foods and emerging evidence of negative impacts, US companies are pressing hard for European Union countries to allow imports of genetically engineered foods. If it becomes law, the biotech patent directive would give added commercial protection to genetically engineered crops over non-engineered ones.

The legislation could also have significant impacts on the countries of the developing world. Over 400 signatures, many of them from groups repre-

senting thousands of people, have been added to a "Memorandum from Concerned Citizens of the South" drawn up by Vandana Shiva from India, Martin von Hildebrand from Colombia and Tewolde Berhan Gebre Egziabher of Ethiopia. The memorandum expresses grave concern that the directive "would have profound negative impacts for millions of people in the South, particularly the poorest of the poor, and for the environment" by legalising "biopiracy" and undermining food security. The memorandum was

actively encourage and legalise such biopiracy by granting the status of "inventions" to products and processes that owe their very existence to knowledge built collectively by generations of

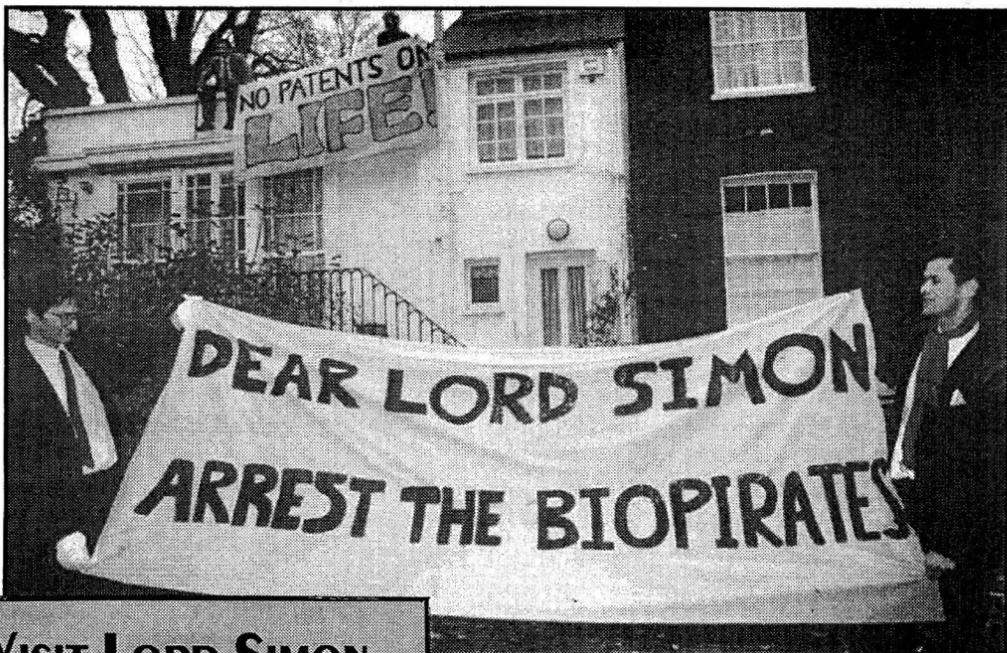


Photo by Andrew Corner House

## RIFF-RAFF RESEARCHERS VISIT LORD SIMON

At 7:15 a.m. on November 25, Lord Simon, an unelected British representative to the EU and the former head of oil giant British Petroleum, awoke at his house in London, England to the sight of 12 "eminent scientists" looking for footholds on his roof and taking samples from his garden plants. "Patent pending" stickers were applied to any interesting bit of living material. As the scientists checked out Simon's back garden for biodiversity, others with banners and megaphones asked him to say "No" to patents on life.

The protest group calls itself NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard). Simon approved the European Union (EU) life patents directive two days later at a meeting of the EU Council of Ministers. The directive now goes to the European Parliament for final approval or rejection.

The proposed directive is the most contentious piece of European legislation this decade. It has outraged an unprecedented range of groups, from scientists, Third World development workers and environmentalists, to plant and animal breeders, human-rights activists, politicians, church leaders and consumer groups.

One activist, 28-year-old Clare Wilsden, had this message for Lord Simon and the British government, "It's crystal clear, this directive is unacceptable. No departmental impact assessments have been carried out. The race to commodify life will be hastened. Companies will literally 'own' or have monopoly control over the world's biodiversity and parts of the human body so long as they 'are not in their natural state.' We want our bodies in their natural state; we don't want to wake up one morning to the new biotechnology world order."

Wilsden's colleague Adian Knott added, "The fact that it is Lord Simon who is going to Brussels [to vote on the directive] says everything—an unelected man with massive vested business interests will give the green light to the most crucial of questions—should companies have monopoly control on the smallest building blocks of life?"

delivered in October 1997 to EU national government ministers responsible for Third World development and to EU embassies throughout the world.

Most of the biological and genetic diversity that provides the "raw material" of plant breeding and biotechnology comes from the developing countries and exists largely because it has been developed by generations of Southern people through systematic observation, experimentation, intervention and selection. Since rice was first domesticated in Asia some 8,000 years ago, for example, farmers and local communities have developed well over 100,000 different varieties suitable for a number of climates.

It is the germ plasm of such community-nurtured biodiversity that multinational biotechnology companies now seek to patent. In many cases, multinationals have capitalised on the knowledge of local people to identify potentially useful agricultural or medicinal plants that they then take back to the North and patent (primarily under the US patent system).

The proposed EU biotech patent directive would

anonymous experimenters. (Inventions can be patented but "discoveries" cannot.) By permitting the patenting of life forms, the directive would provide industry with further incentives to control the "green gold" of biodiversity held in common by communities in the South. Worse yet, once patents have been claimed on a plant or animal, the ability of Third World farmers to obtain that plant or animal, which they may have long used, and their right to trade it will be severely curtailed.

Patent holders also have the right to levy royalties on the seeds of patented varieties, even when the seeds have been saved from the previous year's crop. If Southern countries adopt patent legislation similar to that proposed in the EU patent directive (they are under intense pressure from Northern companies and governments to do so) farmers would be legally obliged to pay each year for the end product of their own centuries-long research.

Far from enhancing food security, as the lobbyists for the biotechnology industry claim, the proliferation of genetically engineered crops, aided and abetted by patents on plant varieties would drastically undermine the ability of Southern countries to feed themselves. By allowing the most powerful players in agriculture to control the food production and distribution processes from seed to stomach, patenting threatens to reinforce the very social, political and economic structures that deny people access to food.

Indeed, biotechnology drives farmers further and further towards monoculture production and genetic uniformity. Such uniformity will undermine the very biodiversity on which a sustainable, healthy agriculture rests.

Many people within European Union countries are unaware of the proposed far-reaching legislation, indeed, various sections of the biotechnology, pharmaceutical and agriculture industries would like to keep it that way. The challenge for all sections of society is to learn about this legislation, talk about it and its implications, and make their views known—before the European Parliament takes its vote in March or April of 1998.

For more information, contact The Corner House, POB 3137, Station Road, Sturminster Newton, Dorset DT10 1YJ, UK; (44) 1258 473795; fax (44) 1258 473748; e-mail: cornerhouse@gn.apc.org.

# QUECHAN NATION RESISTS CYANIDE GOLD MINE

BY DANIEL PATTERSON

Way down in the southeastern corner of California, not far from the Colorado River, there is a remote and spectacular place called Indian Pass. It is home to sacred Indian sites, microphyll woodland habitat and desert wildlife, including 22 plants and 61 animals listed or proposed for listing as threatened or endangered on the state or federal endangered species list. Indian Pass is yet another southwestern desert wonderland sentenced to death by multinational corporations and irresponsible Bureau of Land Management (BLM) managers. It is a place where the Quechan and other tribes of the Colorado River Native Nations Alliance have joined with tough desert conservationists to stop a proposed gold mine.

The proposed 1,571-acre mine site is situated on public land managed by the BLM and open to multiple abuses, including 1872 Mining Act rip-offs. The site is a *de facto* wilderness about nine miles west of the Colorado River. The Vancouver, BC-based Glamis Gold, Ltd. wants to turn this sacred desert wilderness into the Imperial Project, a cyanide heap-leach gold mine, feeding a worldwide "need" for gold. Eighty-five to 90 percent of this gold will be used for jewelry. Our natural heritage is being ripped up for Rolex watches and gold plated sport-utility vehicle bumpers.

Indian Pass has been sacred to the Quechan Nation for over 10,000 years. It is surrounded by four distinct types of mountains, each formed by a different natural process. The mountains, the four natural creation ways and the four directions have great spiritual meaning to the Quechan people. Indian Pass is still used for native religious ceremonies. Young men are brought to ancient sleeping circles to fast and pray under the guidance of tribal elders. It is also a powerful place that any desert rat would love: one-hundred mile vistas, jagged peaks, big ironwood washes, bats, silence, power.

Last winter, a draft Environmental Impact Statement/Environmental Impact Report (EIS/EIR) was released for public review. Quechan leaders and Southern California conservationists say this is clearly an inadequate document under the National Environmental Policy Act and the California Environmental Quality Act. The BLM held hearings across the region. At each meeting the public expressed that the impacts of this mine were destructive and unacceptable. At a hearing last winter, Pauline Owl, chairwoman of the Quechan Cultural Committee, told the BLM El Centro Area Manager Terry Reed that if he approves the proposal Quechans would occupy the site and, "you will have to kill us [before we'll allow the mine]." Activists also blasted the laughable \$30-per-acre reclamation plan that included leaving a 900-foot-deep hole and 300-foot-high waste rock and heap leach piles. Habitat compensation for microphyll woodland, an important sensitive desert wash habitat for which BLM does not even know area distribution or viability, was set much too low, mitigating only one acre for every pristine acre destroyed. In addition, an estimated 33 to 57 threatened desert tortoises would be killed as "incidental takes."

Due to strong opposition from the Quechans, conservationists and US Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA), the BLM was forced to prepare a new EIS/EIR

for the Imperial Project, delaying any possible BLM decision until the winter of 1998. Paperwrenchers are working on legal challenges which may result in an important case between the 1872 Mining Act and laws about Native American rights.

On Thanksgiving, about 50 Quechan leaders and desert activists gathered at the site to feast and strategize. Preston Arrowood led the Quechan men in singing as young Quechan women danced.

Lorey Cachora, a Quechan archaeologist, talked about the spiritual significance of the area Glamis Imperial wants to mine, "It has a couple of windows we can use to go into other worlds. There are dream trails we use to learn whatever we need." Mr. Cachora also indicated that Quechans were prepared to "bring out the Eagle feathers," a sign that they are ready to make an uncompromising stand to defend Indian Pass. Indeed, the area is rich with ancient sacred significance, natural desert wilderness beauty and native habitat supporting biodiversity such as the Yuma puma, flat-tailed horned lizard, California leaf-nosed bat and the rare fairyduster plant.

The new EIS/EIR is out and, not surprisingly, the project still stinks. BLM managers in the California Desert District favor the mine project (imagine that!). A decision could come as soon as February. Cyanide mining for gold is totally unacceptable, especially in sacred wilderness. The people will stop this project. Quechans are planning the next Indian Pass gathering for around New Year's.

Please help the campaign by contacting the BLM by January 27 and tell them, "No mine at Indian Pass! Period!" Douglas Romoli, BLM El Centro RA, 1661 S. 4th St., El Centro, CA 92243; (909) 697-5237; fax (760) 337-4490. Imperial County Planning Dept., 939 Main St., El Centro, CA 92243; Contact Glamis Gold, Ltd. 3324 Four Bental Centre, 1055 Dunsuir St. V7X1A1. For campaign support info contact Baja Ecotopia EF! at POB 7745, San Diego, CA 92167; (619) 581-3250; e-mail: sdef@envirolink.org.



Stockpiled cyanide in California endangers the desert.

Photo by Baja Ecotopia EF!

## DOWNTOWN SHOWDOWN IN SAN LUIS

BY SHEA

La Sierra, the magnificent 77,500-acre biological corridor in the southernmost Rockies of Colorado, is still bound by the incomprehensible greed of one man living hundreds of miles away. Already, several of the nine major drainages have been ravaged by a fleet of mechanized fellers, their metal jaws devouring an area once graced by the good stewardship of the Chicanos of San Luis. The locals used the mountains for hunting, fishing, wood gathering and retreat until the arrival of the Taylor family in 1960. La Sierra is central to the community that has lived sustainably for many generations in the valley below, farming and ranching. Now the community suffers from altered water cycles and sediment in its irrigation ditches. Zachary Taylor and four multinational logging companies are to blame.

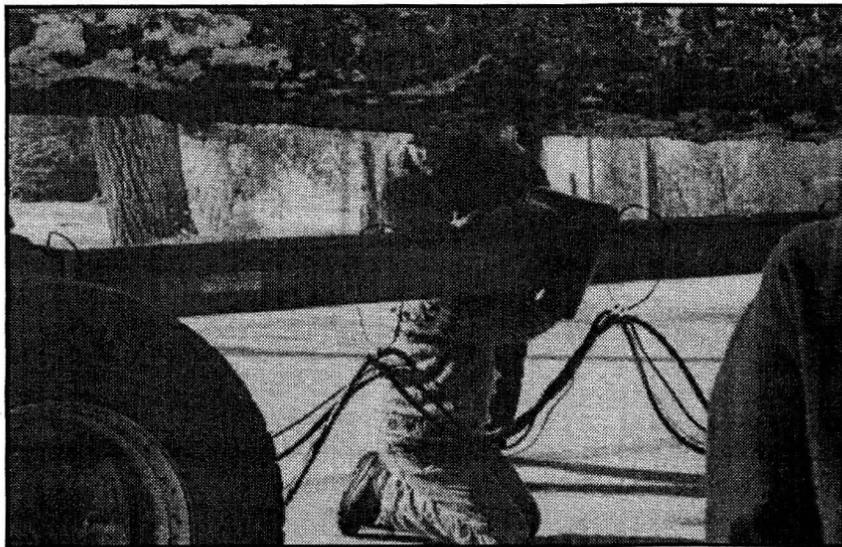
On November 17, gringos of a different sort came to San Luis to show their opposition. Joining forces with locals and resident eco-activists, they confronted the issue head on. The population of the little town swelled over the weekend with the addition of over 100 activists from around the Southwest.

At 3:00 a.m. the radio waves started buzzing with sleepy activists using a code created at 2:45. Needless to say, it didn't take the sheriff's department very long to figure out that we were talking about trucks and logs, not burgers and fries. The "yellow burger heading east" was a particularly infamous truck known to run eco-warriors off the road. The earth bandits swarmed the truck on the street directly in front of the police station, despite the logging truck's police escort and the subsequent raving by the red-faced sheriff, Boss Hog. He

bumbled around and managed to arrest three activists, but failed to pay as much attention as he should have to the two sweet women with large chunks of steel tubing. They locked themselves to the truck's axles with their arms inside lockboxes. The masses now included more than 50 locals who came to watch and support. The cops erected a yellow police line to keep everybody back and cut the women off with a carbide saw, showing little regard for the arms inside the lockboxes. When the infliction of pain on one of the women was evident, two other courageous women crossed the line to intervene. At first, the police seemed baffled that two new protesters had appeared on their side of the yellow tape; but they managed to overcome their confusion with force as they hauled the defiant women in. One officer even felt the need to reassert himself by kicking an arrestee while she was handcuffed on the ground.

After a couple hours, the two women who had locked down were cut off and arrested. Despite the police's promise to weigh the apparently overloaded truck and check its bald tires, they let the truck go—almost. Linking arms and legs, several more protesters blocked the way. Then the cops resorted to violence, using brutal pain compliance holds.

Ten women and three men were arrested for taking a stand in defense of the land and the



Log truck stopped en route by activists who are clearly ready to sacrifice comfort for justice.

Photo by Fernando Martinez

generations-old way of life that the mountains of La Sierra sustain. Even a week later, the energy still reverberated in the community. Recently, a local pulled his car out in front of a log truck in town, blocking it until the cops came.

This winter is perhaps the last stand for La Sierra. There are still vast untouched areas worth saving. But if the crews work as fast as they did last winter, it's likely that most of the mountain range will be devastated. Now is the time to come to Colorado and take a stand for the earth and her people. The next gathering will be held January 10-12, but we welcome affinity groups and schemers at any time. This is a cry for action. Contact Ancient Forest Rescue, POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152; (719) 672-3012; afr@amigo.net.

# COMPOST the CORPORATIONS

## WEAVING DREAMS INTO REALITY

Imagine...beyond visualizations, beyond passivity's daydream fantasies... Imagine a future, real, viable, achievable; birthed from the festering compost of corporate society, from the industrialized labor pains of wage slavery; A real future: where land belongs to all relations in common; the winged ones, finned ones, clawed ones, crawling ones, fluttering ones, and walking, dancing, running ones; where all have an inherent right to be on this earth -our common home- into which we all are born; where each has sovereignty over self, free from the oppression and bloody conquests of "his-story"; where each has power within their own self, their own destiny, becoming their own leader - free to dance into societal reality the best of their dreams- and together in cooperation with others create an "our-story" where-in all are respected,...compassion sharing, caring, creativity, diversity, craftship, play and work are interwoven

-embodied in a society where existence is a celebration of life and dreams nature and wonder... where no few have power over the many... Imagine... cities where the streets have become: gardens, woodlands with weaving paths, playgrounds; where the intersections in neighborhoods throughout towns have become fire circles where neighbors and friends can gather celebrate with music, stories, theatre and dance; where office buildings -once paper pushing palaces of corporate profit inanity- are now housing for homeless, schools, art studios, craftshops; where streams, creeks, springs are released from beneath the asphalt and concrete pipes of their current imprisonment; where polluting toxins are forbidden; where labor is shared, elders are respected, young are cherished... then realize all is possible if we only dare to create the dream together... -sante'



### Corporate Rule in Virtual Reality

by Karen Coulter

Look around you. Wherever you are, the signs of a dire future--or no future--are there. On the average city street people act like they are unaware of how toxic the air is--of its toxic odor, the grayness of the sky on a clear day, the solid murk of brown smog hanging over the city, the almost continual chain of illnesses and increasing respiratory, allergy, and immune system difficulties people experience.

In the city, your senses are assaulted--even emblazoned across people's hats and T-shirts. Everything is structured around buying--the idea that you need to work for some corporation to "earn" the money to buy all the material essentials for life--food, clothing, shelter, etc. as well as (it is suggested by the corporate media) the sources of enjoyment--movies, videos, home computers, fancy cars, sports attendance, concerts, etc. The media suggests there are even things you can buy to procure sex (clothes, cosmetic surgery, diet programs, alcohol, cigarettes, pornography materials, etc.)--and, by implication, happiness.

Whatever happened to simpler lives that had real meaning and joy tied to self-sufficiency and independence? Whatever happened to people having control over their own lives through procuring their own food from the land by the work of their hands or barter? What happened to the time when friend-

ship meant trust that the other person would help you in times of need and happiness in face-to-face contact and mutual experience, not mere name recognition, cocktail party-type superficial talk, status symbol competition, a name on a computer message, or limited shared experience in corporate work places?

Let's consider the corporate work place. Americans now spend a disproportionate share of their lives there--much more than indigenous people usually spent hunting, gathering, and creating necessities (which were also works of art far more appealing than the average "product" today.) First of all, there's chemicals everywhere--the pressed fiberboard construction exudes formaldehyde; the newer carpeting releases arsenic into the air. Then there's radiation and electromagnetic frequencies high above natural background levels from computers, microwaves, etc. (and electricity in general) or else toxic fumes, radiation, industrial accidents, etc. in more working class settings. Then, too, there's the "punch the clock" allegiance to the dictates of artificial time (never mind your biological circadian rhythms telling you to sleep during the graveyard shift, the spring sun calling you outdoors, the need to spend more time with your children, the emotion- and body-torturing ravages of a woman's monthly period, etc.) And there's the monitoring of your every move. Now corporations are aggressively down-sizing, switching to "temporary" staff to eliminate the inconvenience (to them) of benefits, pensions, training investment, unemployment pay--all making it even more clear that the

average corporation doesn't give a damn about you or your family or people in general, who are just considered expendable resources.

So meanwhile, what's going on in the idyllic countryside? The air and water may still be cleaner than in the city (if you're lucky) but there are locally used, corporate-pushed toxins (herbicides, pesticides, cyanide and sulfur dioxide from mining, strychnine to poison the gophers) and other causes of pollution (livestock industry, cattle sewage in streams, logging sediment clogging fish spawning grounds, dams blocking fish passage to provide electricity for the cities.) The pollution and artificial environment restructuring is also expanding outward from the cities--suburbanization overtaking the hills, malls and acres of "free parking" pavement reconfiguring rural towns, complete with fast food alienation and big, no local conscience franchises like Wal Mart and Target spreading across the landscape like cancer, golf courses erupting like acne with herbicide-coated green fed by finite ancient underground water reserves in the deserts, prices skyrocketing for locals as fast pace-production-ensuring espresso bars move in.

Yet the problems go further and deeper still, as global warming and the insidious progression of ozone depletion (and the already occurring increased skin cancer, catastrophic loss of phytoplankton and krill, collapse of the ocean food chain) transcend local and regional boundaries and localized cause and effect. In tandem, the multinational corporations have transcended local, regional, and national restrictions on their

(cont. next page)

# Bison Under Fire

For thousands of years, Indians and the buffalo lived together, a harmony that symbolized their way of life. Then from the East the white man came, wiping out the buffalo. The only remaining wild herd today lives in and around Yellowstone's borders. Last winter, the Montana Department of Livestock (DOL) slaughtered 1,100 buffalo from Yellowstone Park. To the horror of many, plans are already set in motion to continue the carnage this year.

Why are these buffalo being killed you ask? The DOL insists that Montana must maintain a brucellosis-free status for its beef industry. Brucellosis is a disease that causes cattle and elk to abort their first born. Despite the fact that there has never been a documented case of buffalo spreading brucellosis to cattle, the DOL and Park Service still have their rifles pointed straight ahead. The sad irony is that cattle transmitted the disease to buffalo, not vice-versa.

There were 3,500 buffalo at the start of last

winter. The extremely harsh weather caused many buffalo to migrate out of Yellowstone into Montana. These buffalo were the genetically superior ones in many cases, strong enough to make it to their winter feeding grounds. When you add the 1,100 state-sponsored killings to the 800 to 1,000 buffalo that died of natural causes, you have a precariously thin herd.

The way the killings are handled is also a point of concern. Area residents of Gardiner, Montana and West Yellowstone are outraged at what has taken place and can't believe that it is about to happen again. "The DOL has absolutely no concern for anyone," one resident of West Yellowstone said. "They just walk onto your property with no permission whatsoever and murder the poor animals. Worse yet, they leave the gut piles behind for everyone to see, then take the heads and the hides and auction them off, making a profit at the buffalo's expense."

Business owners in and around Yellowstone are also a bit miffed at the lack of regard the state has

shown towards their livelihood. Tourism brings people by the thousands to Montana every year and killing off a major attraction has local merchants scared and ill-at-ease.

A draft environmental impact statement on management of the bison will not be issued until January at the earliest. It is already nine years overdue.

Forty-four Native American tribes have stated their willingness to pay to relocate live buffalo to their tribal lands. But Native Americans have never been invited to discussions of how the buffalo will be managed, even though the Park recognizes ten tribes as having rights in Yellowstone.

A repeat of last winter would be a devastating blow to the future of America's last wild buf-

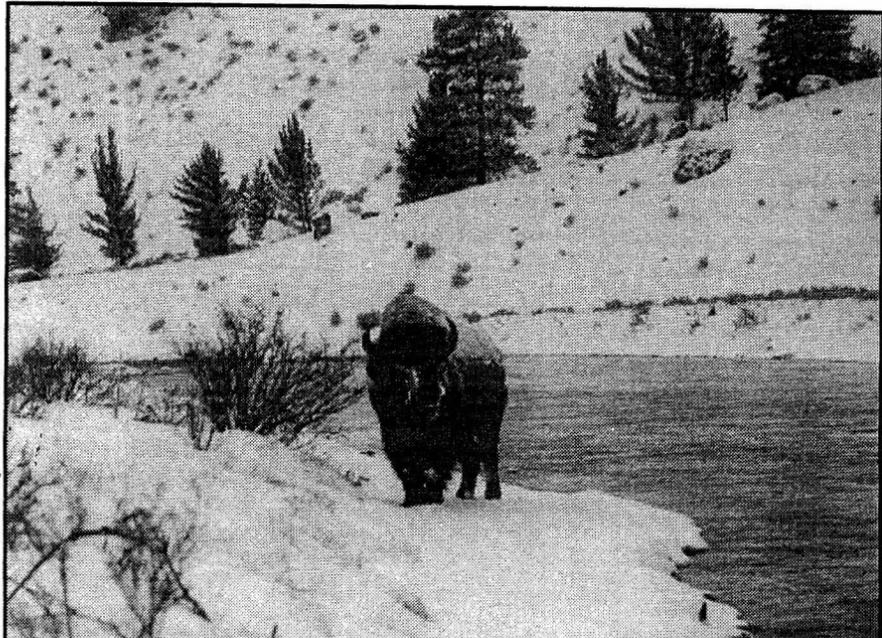


Heads and hides ready for auction

falo herd. For now, the buffalo is teetering on the edge of existence. Its survival is going to take unity and cooperation between parties currently miles apart.

During a recent fly-over with Project Lighthawk, 251 bison were found in the Cougar Creek drainage, a mere ten miles from the Park boundary. The good news is that the snow on the ground is still only eight to 12 inches deep in most places. The bad news is that any significant snow will immediately drive these bison out of the park and into dangerous territory. This is a critical time for the bison; anyone considering coming out this winter should think about making the trip as soon as possible. We have already begun patrolling Yellowstone's boundaries, hazing bison back into the Park and have established safe havens with some of the land-owning community.

Buffalo Nations brings together Native American tribes throughout the West with others who believe that saving the buffalo is essential. Contact Buffalo Nations at POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; fax (406) 646-0071; buffalo@wildrockies.org.



Dominant males are often shot because of their ability to cross out of the Park.

## Wyoming Expands the Hunt

The State of Wyoming has amended its bison hunting regulations to increase opportunities for hunters in the state. Now, in addition to the controversial hunting of Yellowstone bison in the Shoshone National Forest, the new regulations permit the hunting of bison from Grand Teton National Park who winter primarily on the National Elk Refuge near Jackson, Wyoming.

The US Fish and Wildlife Service, which manages the National Elk Refuge, has proposed to allow the Wyoming Game and Fish Department to conduct bison hunting on the refuge. Hunts will also be permitted on surrounding lands, including US Forest Service land.

The proposed hunt is part of a recently approved federal-state management package. The plan calls for the bison herd to be maintained at an arbitrary size of 350-400 animals to reduce the chance of bison transmitting brucellosis to domestic cattle. As many as 30 bison may be shot in December. According to geneticists, a population this size will not retain the herd's genetic viability.

There has never been a confirmed case of bison transmitting the abortion disease, brucellosis, to cattle under natural conditions. Over the last 10 years, over 3,000 bison have been killed due to the unsubstantiated fear of disease transmission to domestic livestock.

Since the late 1960s, the National Park Service has allowed snowmobiles in Yellowstone and has groomed trails and roads for their use. At the same time, Park Service scientists admit that bison use of groomed trails not only facilitates their emigration out of Grand Teton into Montana where they are killed, but also that the groomed trails artificially alter bison survival rates, distribution, movements and the natural ecology of the park.

The National Park Service recently published a draft environmental assessment analyzing the impacts of closing at least one

snowmobile trail in Yellowstone Park to all winter use. This environmental assessment is a product of a lawsuit settlement between The Fund for Animals and other organizations and the National Park Service over its management of winter recreation in Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks.



Even bison cows and calves stand to be shot.

# Mitsubishi Stumped!

BY NYC EARTH FIRST!

"Earth First! Profits Last! Boycott Mitsubishi!" The chanting echoed through the main entrance to Mitsubishi International as employees looked on in shock at New York City's World Rainforest Week action on their doorstep. NYC Earth First! and Wetlands Rainforest Action Group had blockaded the offices using two cement barrels, lockboxes and a wooden door, demanding an end to Mitsubishi's worldwide pillage of forests and ecosystems.

The action began as an activist with a megaphone taped to his hand entered the north doors of the building shouting and drawing attention. Another person followed him with a lockbox disguised as a package and locked down to a banister in the north lobby. Meanwhile, at the south entrance, people wheeled two 600-pound concrete-filled barrels, painted as stumps and concealed in cardboard boxes, on appliance dollies up to the main entrance. Protesters entered the building and announced that it was closed. One person sat down in the turnstile of the revolving door, and the person

protests: outright denial of any destructive forest practices, citing the fact that they no longer own any direct tree-felling operations, and denial of any connection between the various Mitsubishi companies. Both of these claims are proven false by a brief look at practices throughout the *kieretsu*.

Three main companies own part or all of each Mitsubishi company. One of these three, Mitsubishi Corporation, owns parts of all these companies. These companies do more than just "share a logo;" they conduct business in a way that would violate US antitrust laws. They rotate executives, have interlocking boards of directors, maintain exclusive contracts with each other and aggressively finance each others' projects.

Mitsubishi's destructive practices span the globe. In Washington and Oregon, Mitsubishi is consistently the largest exporter of whole logs, accelerating job loss and forest destruction in the US. Mitsubishi is one of the largest investors in the ALPAC paper mill, the world's largest chlorine bleach paper mill, causing the destruction and poisoning of the forests and waterways of Alberta, Canada. In Indonesia, Mitsubishi is the largest exporter of plywood from rainforests

stolen from the indigenous occupants by the repressive, genocidal Suharto regime. In Japan, Mitsubishi is also a primary importer of logs from Siberia's boreal forests. In Ecuador, Mitsubishi's Bishi Metals illegally operated the country's largest exploratory mining operation in a highly biologically diverse, undisturbed area. In retaliation, indigenous people carefully removed and catalogued objects in the mine and then burned down the empty mine site.

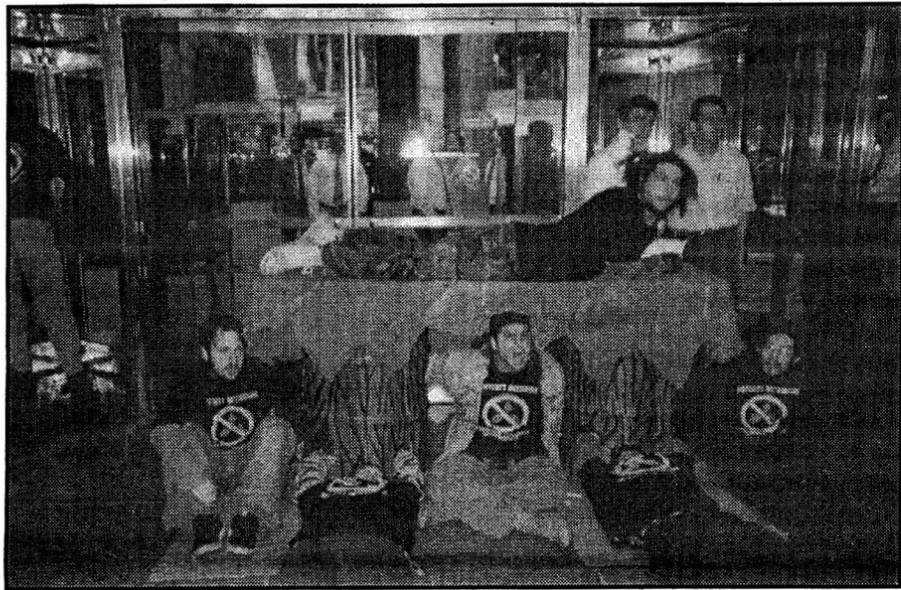
But forests aren't Mitsubishi's only victims. Mitsubishi Oil's use of shoddy, single-hull oil tankers, now condemned within the industry, resulted in the largest oil spill in Japanese history, killing an untold amount of aquatic life. A subsidiary of Mitsubishi working with the Mexican government is attempting to build a salt refinery in San Ignacio Lagoon in Baja California, endangering the most vital and pristine breeding and birthing areas for

the California gray whale.

The battle against Mitsubishi is daunting, but there have been many victories by both international and grassroots groups. In San Francisco, Mitsubishi had a \$147-million airport-construction contract canceled and has been banned from holding other city contracts because of its dealings with the brutal, illegitimate military dictatorship in Burma. Mitsubishi was stopped from clearcutting the Tongass National Forest when the United States Forest Service caught it keeping double books and cheating the US out of millions of dollars in logging fees. Mitsubishi, feeling the pressure of the six-year boycott, recently sold its half of the largest wood milling operation in the Amazon. Students from 33 colleges have voted to bar Mitsubishi products and recruiters from their campuses. Dozens of Mitsubishi automobile dealerships have condemned Mitsubishi's destructive forest practices, including the world's largest auto dealership, New York City's Potamkin Mitsubishi. Due to public pressure, Mitsubishi sold the world's largest disposable chopsticks manufacturing company in British Columbia, Canada, which wasted 85 percent of the wood that came into the plant. At least 30 car shows have been disrupted by protesters locking themselves to cars and closing down exhibits, drumming, chanting, distributing flyers and circulating petitions. Caving in to public pressure, Mitsubishi Motors Sales of America and Mitsubishi Electronics of America agreed to fund comprehensive research to reduce wood consumption and change corporate wood use practices. In Malaysia, Mitsubishi has sold its partnership, but continues purchasing logs cut from the oldest rainforest on Earth, believed to be 180 million years old, and clearcuts it by floodlight 24-hours a day.

You can help sustain this pressure on Mitsubishi by boycotting all products with the red three-diamond Mitsubishi logo, including Kirin Beer, Bank of California, Mitsubishi fax machines, film, art markers, computers, TVs, cars, trucks, Nikon photography and Mitsubishi Bank.

Contact Minoru Makihara, President of Mitsubishi International Corporation at 520 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022; (212) 605-2000; fax (212) 605-3597. Order the Mitsubishi Boycott Organizer's Guide and other anti-Mitsubishi materials from the Rainforest Action Network at 221 Pine Street, San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 398-4404; e-mail: Boycottmc@ran.org.



Six-person lockdown shuts the door on Mitsubishi!

locked to the banister unlocked and joined him.

Within seconds, five activists had locked down. Two people laid down, their backs on the ground, in front of the barrels and stretched their arms over their heads and into lockboxes embedded in the barrels. Three people also locked into the barrels from sitting positions between and next to the barrels. A sixth person placed a door covered in green cloth, cut and painted to look like a treetop, on top of the barrels and laid down on it. From there he reached his arm through a pre-cut hole in the door to lock into another lockbox embedded in the top of one of the barrels.

The media and a diversionary demonstration which had met at another location arrived soon after. Fifty-four cops followed them and soon arrested the person with the megaphone. The police gave the building manager a statement to read, formally asking those locked down to leave or be charged with criminal trespass. The blockaders held their ground, demanding a meeting with Mitsubishi's president.

The police decided to deconstruct the blockade and arrest everyone resisting their orders. First, they sawed through the door and attempted to pull off the attached activist, almost breaking his arm in the process. Next, they tried to cut through the barrels using a circular saw and the jaws of life, almost dislocating another person's arm. Finally, they jackhammered through the concrete, which took three hours. When the dust settled, the arrests totaled ten. We made Mitsubishi's life hell for a day and got our message out with great newspaper, TV, international newswire and internet website coverage, bringing home the message: "Earth First! Profits Last! Boycott Mitsubishi!"

But why Mitsubishi? Mitsubishi is actually one king corporation, known in Japan as a *kieretsu*. Viewed as a single entity, Mitsubishi is the world's largest corporation and has the world's tenth largest economy (the nine larger are all nations). Mitsubishi companies have their hands in mining, ocean engineering, chemicals, cables, beer, life insurance, steel manufacturing, petrochemicals, carbon, cameras, banking, textiles, atomic power and many other things, including, ironically, cement. As the world's largest corporate destroyer of forests, Mitsubishi has been the subject of a boycott by over 200 organizations led by the Rainforest Action Network since 1991.

Mitsubishi companies have two standard responses to

## BARE BONES

### Amazon Burning!

A total of 24,549 fires were reported burning in the Amazon by 1997 NOAA-12 satellite images. Only 19,115 fires appear in the 1996 data, an increase of 28 percent. The average number of fires per day increased from 466 to 599. The actual increase for the year may be even greater, since 1997 is drier than 1996 and the burning continues.

Increased burning strongly suggests that deforestation rates continue to rise in the Amazon. The most recent deforestation analysis, released last year, showed that forest clearing rose about 34 percent between 1991 and 1994, reaching 14,896 square kilometers a year.

Of the 12 to 13 percent of the forested area of the Amazon cleared and burned to date, an area about the size of California, only about 12 percent is farmed. The rest is cattle pasture. New areas are made accessible to ranching and agriculture by the building of logging roads.

A recent Brazilian national security agency report on forestry policy concluded that 80 percent of the timber produced in the Amazon is extracted illegally. The 1965 Forestry Code specified penalties to be applied by the courts but failed to authorize executive agencies to enforce the law. Consequently, IBAMA, Brazil's environmental agency, is powerless to levy fines, apprehend timber stolen from public lands or otherwise carry out its enforcement powers. In fact, the agency collects only about 6.5 percent of the fines it levies. There is thus practically no environmental law enforcement in the Amazon.

### Five US Species Extinct

On September 19, 1997, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) published a notice in the Federal Register declaring that five species have been deleted as candidates for listing as threatened or endangered because they have gone extinct. The USFWS's systematic failure to promptly list candidate species is one of the greatest abuses of the ESA.

The High Rock Spring tui chub formerly inhabited three connected springs on the California/Nevada border. Prior to 1980, groundwater pumping extirpated the chub from the Nevada springs. In 1982, the California Department of Fish and Game permitted a business to rear an exotic predatory fish in the same spring system. It escaped from the rearing facility and decimated the chub, which was declared extinct in 1993.

The Marianas euploea butterfly was endemic to the Mariana Islands in the western Pacific Ocean. It was common in the 1930s but declined steadily due to habitat loss. A 1995 survey found no trace of it, and it was declared extinct this year. Three Hawaiian pomace flies with very limited ranges on the islands of Hawaii and Molokai are also extinct.

### Fast Track Blocked

In a surprising move, Congress successfully blocked the passage of the fast track trade bill that would have made it possible for corporations to circumvent existing trade regulations and given Clinton ultimate power in negotiating international trade agreements. The bill would have set into law the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which would allow transnational corporations the unrestricted right to buy, sell and move businesses and other assets wherever they want, whenever they want. First NAFTA, then GATT, now MAI. Declare your opposition to MAI and fast-track! Call Congress at (888) 723-5246. For more information contact Public Citizen's Trade Campaign at 215 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003; (202) 546-4996; e-mail: ctaylor@citizen.org.



# Midwest National Forest Victories

continued from front page

## Timber Sale Stopped in Pennsylvania's Allegheny National Forest

On October 15, following a 16-month campaign launched by the Allegheny Defense Project and Heartwood, federal District Judge William Standish issued his decision on the case challenging the massive 31-million-board-foot Mortality II Timber Sale. The plaintiffs' bedrock claim—that the US Forest Service (USFS) must prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS) for such an enormous timber sale—was upheld in full by the court. In making his decision, the judge cited the fact that the Environmental Assessment was 50 pages, longer than the 15-page threshold after which an EIS is triggered, according to Council on Environmental Quality guidelines. Judge Standish enjoined the USFS from implementing the sale until an EIS is completed.

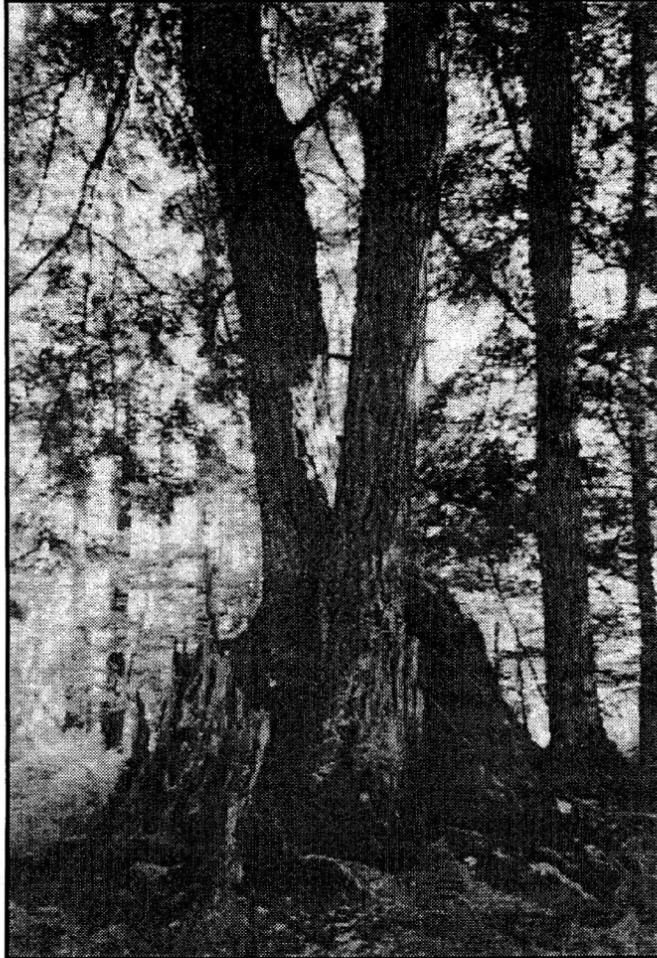
The decision was extremely important since it was the first lawsuit filed against a timber sale in Pennsylvania. The 5,000-acre sale of black cherry trees would have sold for \$12 million.

## Thirteen Sales Bagged in Kentucky's Daniel Boone National Forest

Down in the Bluegrass State, the USFS is having the same luck. A Kentucky Heartwood lawsuit challenging the exclusive use of even-aged management on the Daniel Boone National Forest and the USFS failure to consult with the USFWS on its forest plan is meeting with some success. This litigation sought to prevent 27 timber sales on Kentucky's only national forest.

On October 30, the USFS filed a brief in response to Kentucky Heartwood's motion for a preliminary injunction on logging on the Boone; the Forest Service decided to cancel 12 sales due to inadequate analysis and agreed to enter formal consultation with the USFWS on the Forest Plan. They will, however, move forward with the other 15 timber sales. Heartwood is still trying to get a temporary restraining order or preliminary injunction against those. No matter what happens, the 12 timber sales are stopped.

In a separate lawsuit on the Daniel Boone,



Trees from the Mortality II timber sale area on the Allegheny NF

Photo by Susan Curry

Heartwood succeeded in preventing logging of the Leatherwood timber sale, a 199-acre sale next to the Red River Gorge. The lawsuit against the Leatherwood sale netted more than a protected ecosystem: Heartwood and its attorneys were awarded over \$35,000.

## Two Salvage Sales Stopped in Missouri's Mark Twain National Forest

Judge Russell Clark recently issued a preliminary injunction halting the Windstorm Salvage sales near the 11-Point National Scenic River and Irish Wilderness. The suit is remarkable because it was filed by activists, not lawyers. Heartwood's Jim Bensman, Charles Phillips and Devin Scherubel filed a *pro se* lawsuit. The main issue was the federally endangered Indiana bat.

Judge Clark agreed with Heartwood members on every single issue. He ruled that under the Endangered Species Act the USFS is required to place top priority on the Indiana bat, and that the USFS and USFWS were arbitrary and capricious in failing to use the best scientific information available when they concluded the sale was not likely to adversely affect the bats.

The judge also ruled that, in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act, the USFS failed to take a "hard look" at the impact to the bats. The USFS now must prepare an EIS.

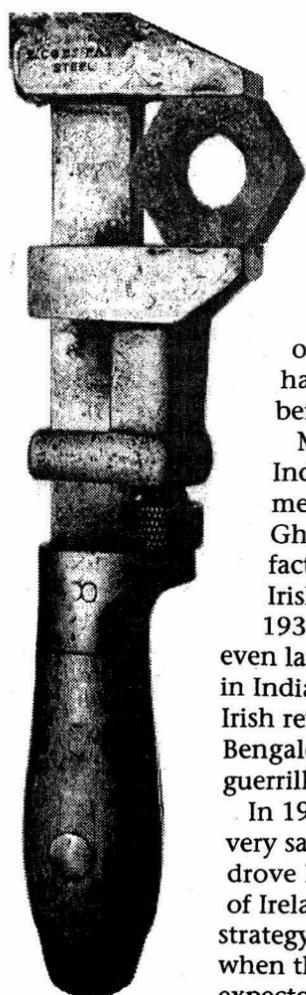
## Cancelled Sales on Ohio's Wayne Forest Net Environmentalists \$11,500

The USFS complied in November with a court order to pay the Buckeye Forest Council (BFC) and its attorneys over \$11,500 for fees incurred during a legal effort to prevent two timber sales. The BFC filed the lawsuit in 1996 after the USFS denied a request to correct discrepancies between the units described in the Environmental Assessment (EA) and areas that were marked to be logged. Approximately 150 acres of the Bluegrass Ridge and Markins Fork timber sales were to be cut despite inadequate review in the EA. In August 1996, the Forest Service agreed not to log the contested areas.

Logging has been shut down on the Wayne National Forest since September 1997 when District Judge Graham granted the Ohio Sierra Club's request for a temporary restraining order against logging. The issue has since been taken up by the US Supreme Court, from which a ruling is expected in the summer of 1998.

Efforts to prevent logging on national forests in other Midwestern states have also had success. There has been a virtual shutdown of logging on the Shawnee National Forest in Illinois thanks to the efforts of the Regional Association of Concerned Environmentalists, the Sierra Club and the National Audubon Society. On Indiana's Hoosier National Forest, Heartwood blocked a hardwood salvage sale through an administrative appeal.

To get involved with these and other forest protection efforts in the Central Hardwoods, contact Heartwood at POB 1424, Bloomington, IN 47402; (812) 337-8898.



## Op Ed: Every Tool in the Box

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1940s long after Ghandi had ceased his campaign. Indian Freedom Fighters knew that if it had been the Soviets or Nazis who occupied India, they would have executed Ghandi long before he became effective.

Many of the elements of India's independence movement that did not adhere to Ghandi's principles were, in fact, inspired by the young Irish Republican Army. In 1930, Bengali revolutionaries even launched an armed uprising in India on the anniversary of an Irish revolt in 1916. The Bengalese carried on their guerrilla campaign for four years.

In 1921, the IRA, opposing the very same British colonialism, drove Britain from the majority of Ireland. The IRA's guerrilla strategy, striking where and when their opponents least expected it, is the same strategy

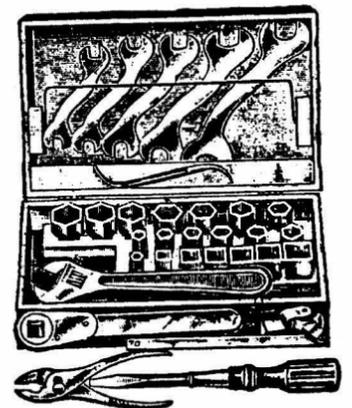
used today in the six counties still occupied by Britain in the Northern Ireland. Inspired by MLK's campaigns, Irish Nationalists in the 1960s began their own civil rights campaign. They repeatedly were met with violence, until the repression culminated in the shooting of 13 peaceful marchers during a civil rights march in 1972. This act led many passive resisters to accept the modern IRA's guerrilla tactics and spurred the largest resurgence in IRA membership since the Anglo-Irish War.

You might say Earth Firsters are not indigenous warriors fighting to win freedom like the Irish or native people here, but the struggle to protect Earth's remaining biodiversity knows no racial boundary. Maybe it's time we ask ourselves why we are not willing to risk as much as warriors fighting the same enemy in other lands. I do not believe we need to use physical violence now, but we should fight a guerrilla war that places intact ecosystems and all that lives there above machines built for their destruction.

Earth Firsters are the last line of defense, the last line of resistance when all other tactics fail, the last line before bulldozers rip into the homes of bears and salamanders, lynx and salmon and every other race. After we fail, there is only the sorrow that we did not do more and the memory of how beautiful this land once was. We must fight now to defend all of it as we

would for our own family and home. The animal and plant nations have no army except for people like you and me. Environmentalists in three-piece suits aren't going to lay their lives and freedom on the line. There is only us. Humans and nonhumans will die if we burn out, surrender to fear or do only what preserves our level of comfort in this society.

Within Earth First! I pray there are warriors who are not afraid of a few years in prison for pursuing the righteous wild passion that tells us to fight a guerrilla war against the evil powers destroying Earth. That war need not be violent to be successful; it need only place more faith in our love of the Earth than our fear of a government-sponsored vacation like the one I now enjoy. We are the warrior generation that Earth depends on most. On every front, let's all work together without criticizing each others' tactics, while encouraging constant discussion of the best strategy, with only one goal in our hearts and minds—to always put the Earth first.



# INTERNATIONAL WHALING COMMISSION

BY MICHELLE STEWART

On the second day of the annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) this fall, it was decided the Makah tribe of Puget Sound, Washington, would be allowed to resume hunting the once-endangered gray whale. No one was too surprised when the quota of four whales was granted because even a draft environmental assessment put out by the National Marine Fisheries Service came close to fully supporting the hunt.

OCEANS

Since the whale's removal from the endangered species list in 1994, the tribe has sought permission to hunt it. It is hard to deny the Makah the right to whale; whaling is deeply entrenched in their history as a people. They even had language added to the Treaty of 1855 assuring them the right. (They were one of the only tribes in the US to do so.)

Nowadays, treaty or no treaty, the decision to allow the Makah to continue to hunt is made by the IWC, not the US. Although many conservationists have heard of the IWC, few know its sordid history. It's a history of Mafia-like activities, billionaire tycoons and backroom deals—an international sham in charge of a precious resource: the oceans and whales of the world.

## Gentlemen Whalers

The International Whaling Commission was formed at the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling in 1946. The first meeting of the IWC took place in London two years later. At its inception, two of the ten species of whales were commercially extinct, and it was decided amongst the participants (14 of 41 whaling nations) that something had to be done to manage the species. The IWC was mandated to have annual meetings to make management decisions in the form of "gentlemen's agreements" on such topics as the opening of whaling season, annual catch quotas, halting harvest when quotas are reached, and not killing nursing females and undersized species. All whaling nations were not required to be part of the IWC, just as all whalers and others in the industry were not required to be "gentlemen."

In its formative years, the IWC was a once-a-year party for the commissioners who came together, smoked cigars and told stories of great catches. At its height in the 1960s, it was a body of 39-member countries, each with a delegate as an IWC commissioner. In nearly all cases, the commissioners were involved in the whaling industry or received compensation for advocating for the industry. All countries were offered an "opt out" policy on decisions made at IWC meetings; they did not have to comply with a decision if they filed an objection notice within 90 days of the decision. It was a management body void of any obligation and vacant of common sense.

## The Onassis Connection

As the IWC stumbled along in its adolescence, many players came onto

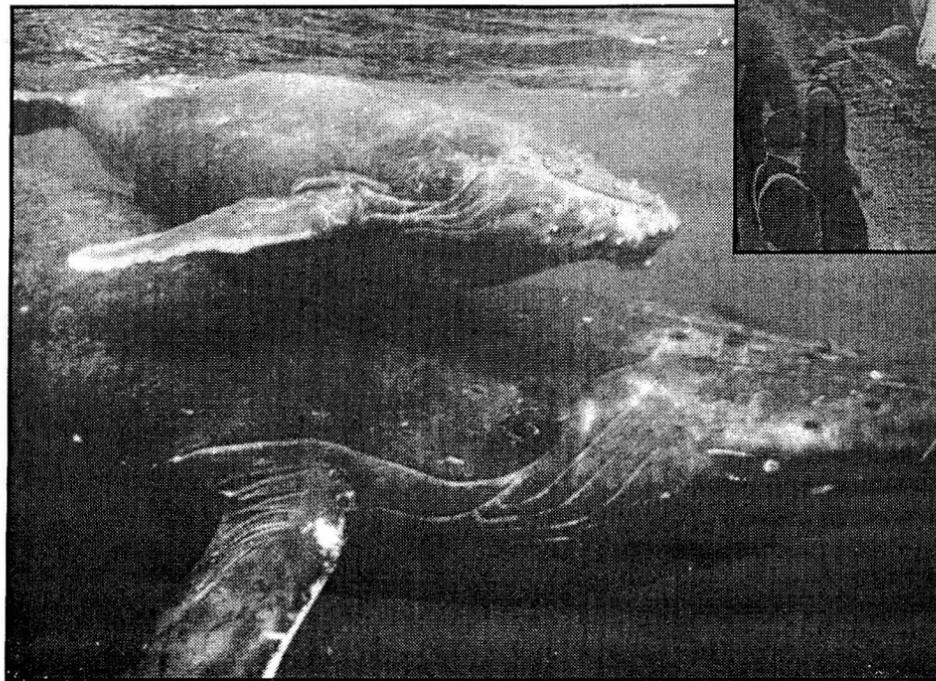
the field, including some who played dirty ball. Aristotle Onassis decided to try his hand at whaling and built a huge whaling dynasty in the 1950s. His success was largely due to the fact that he did not make an attempt to be a part of the IWC, realizing that independence was more profitable. Onassis not only took from the profits of the powerful whaling country Norway, he added salt to the wound with his indefensible business ethics. The manager of the Onassis fleet was a disgraced Norwegian and former Nazi party member. The management of the Onassis company was comprised of former German Nazi

the early '70s, it was apparent that the IWC was becoming more conservative in its approach, so Japan and Russia formed panels and subcommittees of the IWC to advocate their interests. Panels of Japanese scientists granted take permits to the Russians and vice-versa. So-called "objective observers" on Russian vessels monitoring whaling practices were Japanese and vice-versa. Surprisingly, no violations were reported by Rus-

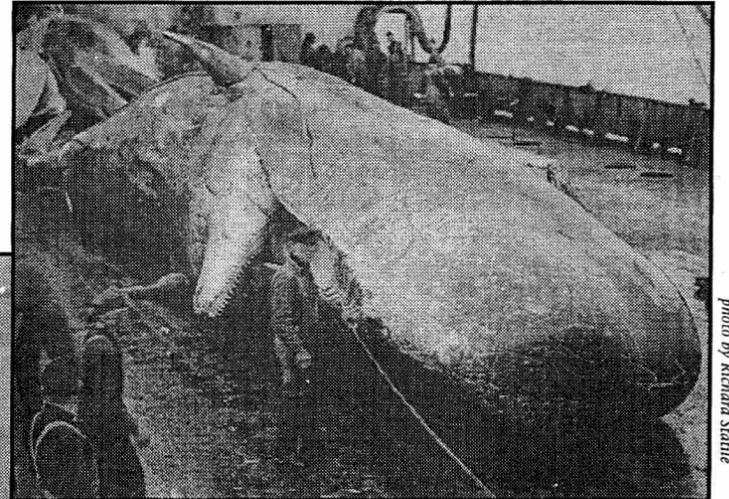
nese hundreds of millions of dollars. Although it was not enforced on this occasion, the threat was made, and the Pelly Amendment became a real lever against "bad" whalers.

## New Management Procedure

Under increased pressure at the '74



A humpback whale and calf near Maui



An adult bull sperm whale on the deck of the Olympic Challenger

meeting, the IWC introduced its New Management Procedure plan, using new concepts for determining annual quotas such as sustainable yields, a scientific-based quota system, species-specific quotas and comprehensive management utilizing modern technology. Ultimately, the result of all this jargon was the same old story—violations continued.

Under the New Management Procedure, the permit process for scientific takes went unscrutinized. Case in point: the 1976-77 season saw no limits in the Southern Hemisphere on Bryde's whales. The Japanese took 225 of them "in the name of science."

At the 1946 meeting of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (the parent of the IWC) a beautiful loophole was written that countries have used for decades to ensure any moratorium on whaling can never be fully implemented. Article VIII reads:

*"Notwithstanding anything contained in this Convention, any Contracting Government may grant to any of its nations a special permit authorizing that national to kill, take and treat whales for purposes of scientific research... as the Contracting Government sees fit, and the killing, taking and treating of whales in accordance with provisions of this article shall be exempt from... this Convention."*

As the '70s came to a close, the IWC roamed aimlessly from whale to whale, decimating a population, protecting it and finding a replacement. Between 1977-1980 the Bryde's whale along with humpback, right, blue and gray whales were declared protected stocks, leaving the large seis and sperm whales to hunt.

## The Moratorium

In the 1982 meeting of the IWC, a 10-year moratorium on commercial whaling was finally adopted. The conniving of the many whaling nations had gone unrewarded, and a new era of IWC operations had begun. The moratorium brought about a three-year phaseout program, the intention of which was to allow whaling countries enough time to slowly eliminate the industry with-

administrators who were responsible for seizing Norway's whaling vessels during the war. Other Onassis employees were in the Nazi navy, and his crew was comprised of assorted Germans and ex-military personnel. Onassis let it be known that he was a force to be reckoned with as his crew scooped up the seas into its greedy nets.

What was shocking was that the renegades (like Onassis) were really no worse for the whales' fate than the members of the IWC. As Onassis took whales unregulated, member countries violated quotas by as many as 5,000 whales each annually. All went unpunished!

## Conspiracy of Management

It should come as no surprise that under the management of the IWC more whales were being killed. In 1933, before the creation of the IWC, 30,000 whales were taken annually; in 1962, under the management of the IWC, 67,000 whales were taken.

Annual quotas were often regarded as idealistic goals, not conservative approaches. The IWC represented the interests of the industry, and the commissioners showed their colors each year when they would come up with arbitrary quotas between drinks. Even with quotas, there was really no way to confirm the numbers of whales actually killed. When violations were reported, there was no system in place to levy punishment. Like an undisciplined child, whaling nations went forward and did what they wanted.

Japan and Russia became the wicked stepsisters of the whaling industry. In

sian and Japanese vessels. The allegiance was a well-concocted, strategically preemptive strike to counter any whaling restrictions.

## The Years Were 1972 and 1973... Where Were You?

In 1973, the United Nations placed a moratorium on the commercial harvest of whales. The resolution was passed onto the IWC for ratification, but they voted it down. Then, the US passed the Marine Mammal Protection Act, revised the Endangered Species Act and ratified the Fishermen's Protection Act. The UN Committee on the International Trade of Endangered Species pushed the IWC to reform its practices. The Marine Mammal Protection Act essentially eliminated the US from the whaling industry, and the Endangered Species Act revisions reinforced the message that the IWC's members would no longer be allowed to hunt whales in US coastal waters. Another big blow to the whaling industry was the Pelly Amendment of the Fishermen's Protection Act which allowed embargoes on fish and wildlife products for violations of international agreements regulating those products. Essentially, the Pelly Amendment gave the US the sheriff's badge to watch over the IWC's member nations. Little did the US realize, the Pelly Amendment would need to be invoked nearly concurrently with its inception.

That same year, Russian and Japanese whalers violated the IWC quota by over 3,000 whales each. The Ford administration threatened to use the embargo allowed by the Pelly Amendment, which would have cost the Japa-

out crippling those who relied on it as a primary means of support.

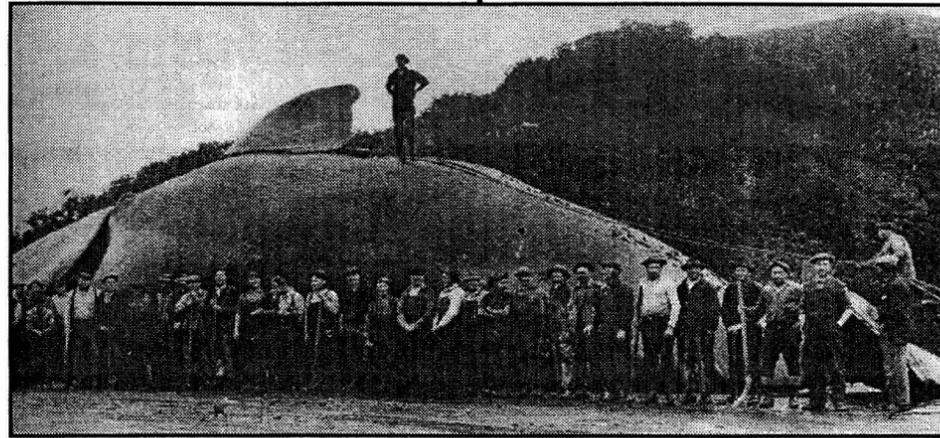
By 1986, most countries had conceded to the moratorium—except the Japanese and a few allies who did not slow the hunt at all. In the years between '82 and '85, the Japanese were closely monitored because they failed to slow their catch. When threatened with the Pelly Amendment, they negotiated to take sperm whales in the North Pacific in lieu of minke in the Antarctic. Conservationists lost a suit challenging the Department of Commerce's role in that agreement which clearly violated the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Endangered Species Act. At the meetings of the IWC from '85 to '87, Japan, Korea and Iceland tried to argue for scientific permits to allow hunting to continue. In 1988, the pro-whaling arguments turned towards a new definition of "small-type coastal whaling." The Japanese argued that they rely on the ocean as a source of protein (the same argument the aboriginal and native groups successfully lobby under). The US watchdogging of Japanese operations was labeled racist, and many Japanese felt that their cultural heritage was being stolen with the implementation of the moratorium.

In 1989, the attempt to appropriate native whaling rights for the Japanese was finally denied, and the Japanese had run out of straws to grasp. An era had essentially ended, and as Richard Ellis, author of *Men and Whales*, put it, "Commercial whaling in Japan ended some time in 1988, not with the roar of a final harpoon cannon, but with a sigh, not unlike the exhalation of a whale."

### Life Goes On and Pirates Find Employment

For all intents and purposes, the whaling industry should have died once and for all in the '80s, however, not surprisingly, that didn't happen. Renegade vessels took to the water. Pirate whaling flourished on a scale

that only Onassis himself could have competed with. The appetite for whale meat was very much alive, and there were enough vessels to fill the quota.



Workers in Kodiak Alaska pose with a right whale.

The prohibition of commercial whaling does not really have any meaning; with little to no muscle to back up regulations, it was (and continues to be) a buyer's market.

The effects of Norway, Iceland and other nations on whale populations has been widely reported, which is why this tale focused more on the inner workings of the IWC and its two wicked stepsisters. The history of the IWC is a foul and tricky one. This article is only a brush stroke when it comes to the history of this agency. It breezes over chunks of history and paraphrases whole ordeals. In the larger scheme of things, it is easy to see that the four whales the Makah will harvest are really not a huge threat. But, bearing history in mind, it is easy to see why people are hesitant to deal out any quotas. Since the IWC has been in existence, seven out of ten species of "great" whale have become commercially extinct.

Many people pride Greenpeace's Rainbow Warrior, the Sea Shepherd and other groups for protecting the whale, for ramming the boats, for fighting in court, for taking pictures to raise awareness and compassion. However, I pay my deepest respect to the whales

who ripped on lines and nets and would not be taken without a fight.

In 1820 and 1850, male black sperm whales rammed and sunk whale vessels

after being pursued or having their cows chased. In 1896, a non-whaling steamboat accidentally traveled into a pod of whales, striking a cow. In response, the whales rammed the boat and came within one strike of sinking it. Most recently and most notably, in 1978 a pirate vessel named the *Tonna* was heading home filled to the rim with 450 tons of whale meat when it spotted a fin whale. Although the vessel was filled to maximum capacity, the greedy captain could not help himself and began the pursuit. Upon being harpooned, the fin whale put up a fight. As the whale thrashed and resisted, the vessel rocked. It swayed so heavily that the deck's sides began to touch wave to wave, taking on water. In a critical mistake by the crew, the deck doors had been left open after the last kill, and sea water flooded the ship. In a last attempt to save its life, the fin dove deep and, with the *Tonna* still attached, carried itself and its hunter to a pelagic grave.

*Michelle Stewart is an ocean issues watchdog focusing on underwater noise pollution, oil exploration and other issues related to marine mammals and the oceanic environment.*

## BARE BONES

### Ballona Wetlands Wins Bulldozing Injunction

The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals issued a temporary restraining order on November 7, 1997, blocking the bulldozing of riparian wetlands occupied by the endangered Southwestern willow flycatcher in Los Angeles, California. Ballona Wetlands, one of the last remaining wetlands in Los Angeles, is under assault by Steven Spielberg, David Geffen, Bill Gates, Paul Allen and developers bent on building Playa Vista, a giant development/special-effects movie studio. The suit was filed by The Wetlands Action Network, Ballona Wetlands Land Trust and CALPIRG.

The appeals court will review declarations provided by Noah Greenwald, ecologist for the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity, Dr. Rudi Mattoni, conservation biologist and geography professor at UCLA and Dr. Joy Zedler. Mattoni, who conducted a biological review for the developers, has concluded that their mitigation plans are a "fraud."

### Paper Mill Emission Promise Broken

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is moving to decrease the cancerous chemicals and foul odors discharged from pulp and paper mills. The tougher air and water pollution controls follow nearly five years of discussions aimed at getting the industry to reduce its use of chlorine in the bleaching process.

The new regulations call on the industry to replace the use of elemental chlorine with chlorine dioxide for bleaching, reducing dioxin discharges into waterways by 96 percent. Pulp mills will also be required to install new equipment over the next three years to cut the amount of other chemicals released into the air, including sulfur, organic compounds and fine dust. Sulfur emissions, which cause the foul odor near pulp plants, will have to be cut in half.

Many environmentalists say the rules do not go far enough because they will not eliminate chlorine use altogether. A number of environmental groups assert that the EPA was backtracking from a more stringent chlorine proposal offered in 1993 in favor of a compromise that was largely fashioned by the industry. "This is not only a weak rule, it's what the paper industry lobbied to get," said Rick Hind, a spokesman for Greenpeace. "These new standards would reflect what most mills are doing anyway. It doesn't push the industry forward," added Todd Robins of the US Public Interest Research Group. "This is a broken promise."

The 1993 proposal would have required mills to abandon chlorine altogether and use oxygenation and other procedures for bleaching, a process already used in Europe. In justifying its rejection of the 1993 proposal, the EPA argued that the shift from elemental chlorine to chlorine dioxide will cost \$1.9 billion, while cutting dioxin discharges by 96 percent. The totally chlorine-free bleaching process would cost \$2.9 billion in capital costs and reduce dioxin releases by 97 percent.

However, the EPA's cost comparison only considers capital expenses and not the lower cost of operating a chlorine-free mill. If both capital and operating costs are taken into account, the overall long-term costs to the industry would be similar.



# A Gaian's Guide to Chemical Warfare

BY KIRK JAMES MURPHY, M.D.

On June 1, 1997, dozens of peaceful citizens engaging in nonviolent civil disobedience were the targets of chemical warfare waged by the Eugene Police Department. As a medical doctor and member of Physicians for Social Responsibility, I believe the June 1 attack in Eugene was a human rights crime: the use of munitions by law enforcement against nonviolent and unarmed civilians. This outrageous and dangerous abuse of power is not restricted to the Eugene police, however. As activists defending the redwoods of Headwaters forest in northern California recently found out, chemical agents (i.e. pepper-mace) are quickly becoming the weapon of choice to suppress nonviolent political activity.

Although it is surprising that our government would use chemical warfare against activists engaged in civil disobedience, it is nonetheless a reality for which we must prepare.

So what's a forest defender to do? A few focused medical approaches may be helpful. First, a few facts on chemical weapons. The nasty brews used against activists in the past fall into two categories: tear agents and pepper spray. Tear agents are synthetic compounds which, when provoked, produce gases that cause painful chemical reactions on the skin and the moist surfaces of the body or mucous membranes. Pepper sprays contain synthetic or crude natural extracts of oleoresin capsicum (OC), the compound which makes pepper hot. Pepper spray causes pain when OC touches certain chemical receptors in the skin, the same ones that burn your mouth when you eat spicy food. OC interacts directly with pain receptor nerves to release "Substance P," creatively named for pain. Although pepper spray and tear gas are often used together, the differences between the two chemical agents requires slightly different treatments.

The most commonly used forms of tear gas are CN (used in personal mace sprays) and CS (used by the police and military). Tear gas is a generic name for several chemicals that combine to damage tissue by creating acid molecules on exposed skin. The speed of acid creation is determined by the moisture of the skin. You can, however, protect yourself against the painful effects of tear gas in three ways: barriers, chemicals and cleaning.

Both of these forms of chemical warfare have their most powerful effect on the eyes, mouth, nose and breathing passages. Pepper spray has such a toxic effect on breathing passages that one in 600 people sprayed will die—usually of respiratory failure. Protection starts with the use of a barrier.

The best possible protection against chemical weapons would be an exposure suit with a contained breathing apparatus. While exposure suits are expensive and wildly impractical, regular military surplus gas masks with eye protection will give you more time before the chemicals take effect. Gas masks without eye protection are less useful—these may be combined with swim masks or goggles for makeshift eye protection. Both tear gas and pepper spray contain oily solvents which will slowly dissolve rubber and plastic, so don't buy expensive swim masks as they probably won't hold up any better. Cheap, well-fitting goggles may be best. *Make sure to take out contact lenses!* The lenses trap irritating gases and compounds underneath them and actually increase the amount of damage and irritation.

The inability of oil and water to mix acts as a barrier against chemical agents. Oils are "nonpolar;" water is "polar." Anyone with grease on their laundry knows

the two will stay in their own worlds without detergents. Detergents are versatile—one side can be polar and dissolve in water, while the other side is nonpolar and dissolves in oil. This chemistry allows grease to be dissolved off fabric. In order for the oily, "nonpolar" substances in pepper spray and tear gas to irritate the nerves in our skin, they must first be dissolved. Keeping the surface of the skin "polar" will prevent or slow the onslaught of pain.

## WHO SHOULD NOT BE SPRAYED WITH PEPPER SPRAY?



## WHO SHOULD BE SPRAYED WITH PEPPER SPRAY?...NO ONE.

The first step before an action is to avoid contacting any detergents. Don't use sprays or towelettes the day of an action, and wash the clothes you'll be wearing with washing soap (*not detergent!*) for several washes beforehand. Avoid newly purchased clothes, as most have substantial detergent residue. If you wash your hair on the day of an action, rinse shampoo (contains detergent) thoroughly, then rinse again.

The second step is to thoroughly wash your body with soap. The wash is important because skin "duff" (inhabited by tiny mites), oils and other detritus act as nonpolar reservoirs for those pesky chemical weapons. Be sure to scrub off any vegetable or mineral oils or plain old grease.

The third step is to build an invisible blockade. For lab dwellers, an extremely weak solution of the common laboratory chemical urea (no, it isn't made from urine any more) and water applied to the skin will help create such a barrier, although it may cause skin irritation after many hours. Adjust the pH to about 8.0 with nontoxic buffers. Experiment to check your tolerance levels for long exposure before just slathering on urea and locking down. Any chemical in high concentration will irritate skin. A less harsh way to create an invisible barrier is to use a very strong soap (Kirk's Castille Soap works great) after washing out shampoo on the day of an action—and not rinsing the soap off. Thus prepared, a forest defender will be literally itching for action.

Other tools applied to the skin can directly oppose the action of chemical weapons, giving active protection in addition to barriers. Without active protection, the large amounts of chemicals used against protesters will slowly diffuse through even thick, passive barriers like soap crud. Active protection agents work because tear gases require an acid

(vinegar-like) environment on the skin to change into nasty chemicals. If the surface of the skin is basic (the opposite of acidic), CS tear gas will be chemically decomposed and CN tear gas will be delayed or less effective. So, if your skin isn't itchy enough from leaving the soap on, a subsequent rub down with a paste of baking soda (dissolved in five to ten times as much water) will add powerful additional protection. Just add perspiration and, *voilà*, instant action.

Since pepper spray and tear gas are usually used together, an additional step will help protect against pepper spray: Use of a compound with capsicum (OC) can actually block the skin pain from pepper spray. How? Well, the body has a limited amount of chemicals which respond to OC. Over-the-counter creams available for arthritis have OC or similar agents in them. When used as directed, these agents fight pain by exhausting the supply of body chemicals used to create pain in response to OC or pepper spray. The creams I've seen are all oil-based: For best results they should be used repeatedly in the days leading up to an action and used only before showering on the day of an action. Oil-based creams speed up the action of the "polar" nasty chemicals in OC pepper spray and tear gas. If you can't shower or wash in some way after using such a cream, don't use it within 24 hours of an action, or you may have greater pain. If you find a "water-based" gel (the best choice) or other form of capsicum cream without oils, it could be left on the skin.

Additional protection is available from commercial products like Bioshield in the US. Bioshield promises specific relief from tear gas and pepper spray and is marketed to police types but sold to the public. It is available from the Altec Company, 201 Rickenbacker Circle, Livermore, California 94550; (510) 606-8245; fax 606-4279. The least expensive form is \$29 for 10 ounces. Also, the skin protection cream "Taktosan" is marketed for use against a variety of irritating chemicals.

If the police or Freddie's aren't torturing you after chemical warfare, the best relief will come from washing your eyes with a solution of baking soda. The Arm & Hammer-baking soda in the yellow box in the baking section will do fine. No more than one part baking soda to 20 parts water for the eyes. On the body, use baking soda solution (better) or plain water (easier) initially, follow with soap and rub vigorously; only then follow with dish detergent. Expect lots of bubbles! Be sure to use dish soap with detergent for desired results.

Activists should be aware that both pepper spray and tear gas are delivered through "inert" chemicals which are largely petrochemicals. These chemicals can cause cancer and birth defects. Additional research demonstrates that the active agent in CS gas can cause mutations and has the capacity to cause cancerous changes in cells. In addition, clouds of CS gas are accompanied by the production of large amounts of carbon monoxide, smaller amounts of hydrogen and cyanide gas (all poisonous), as well as lesser amounts of toluene and xylem. The latter two chemicals are heavily regulated carcinogens that usually require Environmental Protection Agency permits for release.

For these reasons, chemical warfare is dangerous to all living beings, particularly infants, the elderly and the chronically ill. Pregnant women should absolutely avoid pepper spray and tear gas—especially in the first three months of pregnancy.

As with pain compliance holds, the final prescription for chemical warfare is to resist by every non-violent means possible. Consider using international embarrassment. Applying for human rights protection from Beijing or filing complaints at the United Nations or World Court can make good political theater. At home, document, video, take victim and witness statements, file litigation and launch recall petitions to protest the use of chemical warfare against nonviolent citizens. As our power grows, so will the attacks against us, so remember to take a gas mask to basecamp!

# HEADWATERS PEPPER MACE FALLOUT

BY ANNE ARKEE

On October 30, nine plaintiffs and their attorney appeared in a San Francisco federal court to argue for a temporary restraining order against Humboldt County's use of pepper spray on non-violent activists. At a pre-hearing press conference, they showed the media police video footage of actions where chemical agents were used on protesters. That evening, national TV and radio news programs broadcast the harrowing footage around the country. The next morning, the front pages of most of the West Coast newspapers featured a photo of one of our pepper-swabbed comrades.

Headwaters activists have been pepper sprayed several times since Redwood Summer (remember the 1995 post-Rendezvous action?) but never in such a premeditated manner. During three separate Headwaters actions this summer, Humboldt County sheriff's deputies and Eureka police officers tried to force activists to unclip from lockboxes by swabbing liquefied pepper spray on their eyelids and, in some cases, their eyeballs. In the Eureka office of Frank Riggs, our local pro-industry Republican Congressman, as well as backwoods on a bulldozer, activists were sprayed in the face after first being swabbed. In the headquarters of the Pacific Lumber Company, activists withstood the agonizing pepper spraying and were eventually cut out of their lockboxes with metal grinders.

The pepper spray controversy has stimulated a timely debate on the right to protest in a "free society." This tough question has created a booby trap for Riggs, an ex-cop and the highest timber money recipient in Congress, insuring his departure from public office next time around. In his aggressive attempt to avert public sympathy for Earth First!, Riggs even denied that using pepper spray at close range and on juveniles is a human-rights issue. While Riggs accused us of eco-terrorism, sabotage, vandalism and every other branding typically reserved for those who really piss off the corporate bootlickers, we used our perfect record of nonviolence to debunk his rhetoric. We're trusting, perhaps too much, that sensible people will seek out the truth.

"These are not nonviolent protesters, they are wanton lawbreakers..." he blurted in a message to Congress the day after police footage of the pepper spray incidents hit national news. He claimed that "Sixty protesters stormed my office. They threatened, they actually accosted and assaulted my two employees working in the office at the time... they then trashed and vandalized my office, throwing bark and sawdust six-inches deep on office equipment," leaving four young women, one of whom was a juvenile and "should have been in school," locked around a stump.

The next day Riggs put out a press release circulating a fake inflammatory Earth First! flyer the Eureka police chief gave him. EF!ers originally found

the flyer this past summer at local colleges and turned it in to the police as a phony. Citing this classic COINTELPRO-style document as our work, Riggs tried to detract attention from the dirty Headwaters deal he helped engineer and discredit our claims of police abuse. He said that we support the Unabomber and property damage, and he spread numerous false messages from the flyer. Infamous EF! "infiltrator"/wise use private investigator, Barry Clausen even got involved in the shenanigans, but his press release was disregarded by the media.

With each passing day, Riggs grasped at a new reality, sending news releases to media outlets around the country detailing events that never happened. He held a press conference in his Eureka office, introducing "the real victims of the incident"—his office secretaries, who tearfully recounted the chain of events, claiming they had thought a bomb had gone off when the stump was delivered by masked men dressed in black.

Luckily, our videographer, who was in the

into radio and TV interviews with him.

What started as a public relations move by Riggs resulted in dozens of critical editorials and letters of shame from his constituency. Geraldo Rivera turned to the camera one night and dramatically chided, "Eureka, California, be ashamed." In mid-November, mainstream, suit-and-tie EF! supporters held a rally and press conference at Riggs' Napa, California office where they called for the congressman's resignation. In classic foot-in-the-mouth character, Riggs continued his slander campaign.

Riggs appeared on Good Morning America vigilantly defending the swabbing tactic, blathering about the fake flyer and the Unabomber as he waved around a Q-tip, insisting, "This is not a lethal weapon!" In late November, Riggs demanded the state legislature "get busy" and ban lockboxes as implements used in the commission of a crime (resisting arrest). Riggs said he "specifically intended to force more aggressive action on the part of law enforcement." He proposed that

an "Anti-Linking Arms Device" law be treated as a legislative priority, necessary to "ensure the safety of the protesters, the law enforcement officials and the public."

In the same week, Riggs issued another

press release, calling on Earth First! to "reveal the identity of the masked intruder" who delivered the stump and sawdust to the action at his office and then "cravenly slunk away before the police and news media arrived."

Local timber interests and police supporters (who seem to be the same crowd) have responded to the weeks of bad publicity by taking their own public-relations swing at us. A 30-second, local TV commercial sponsored by a coalition of conservative business people featured an out of context video clip from the action at Frank Riggs' office and ended with the question: "Are you next?" When the phrase "torture is good for business" was spray painted on the front of the ad agency's office, they immediately called a press conference and blamed Earth First! for the vandalism.

Someone described the media explosion as a giant magnifying glass that stopped above us for a moment and moved on. We had that moment to show the world what is happening "behind the redwood curtain." Making use of that moment is an art, and it pays to be prepared for backlash, especially when it comes to exposing corruption. It's these media moments, like Tiananmen Square and the Rodney King beating, that illuminate the brutality of capitalism and military repression, provoking the unpredictable whim of society's sympathies which accumulate over time and incite change.



office that morning and left before police arrived, captured the initial events, showing one secretary calmly narrating events on the phone, while the other aggressively chased activists around the office, locked the front door and shouted, "Nobody's getting out of here!" In a last ditch attempt to preserve his lies, Riggs claimed that there was 20 minutes missing from our footage. But the cops arrived within minutes of the lockdown (the station is only five blocks away), and four minutes later, their Q-tips were wet with the noxious pepper solution.

We realized that to get the forest issues beyond Riggs' sly media blockade, we'd have to play some of his games. We came up with sound bites of our own, "The real terrorism is what Frank Riggs is helping Maxxam do to the forest; that's why we locked down." We expended great time and energy refuting Riggs' lies and shouldering our way

## GANDALF cont.,

continued from page 1

career as a Major-General in the British Army, made him unfit to hear the case. "It's no coincidence that Portsmouth was chosen [for the trial]," said one defendant. "It's a highly conservative military-dependent area with the second highest conviction rate in the country." What's more, five of the jurors had military or arms trade connections.

All three of the editors are appealing their convictions, and two others are awaiting their trials. ALF press officer Robin Webb and ALFSG editor Simon Russell were both brought to trial and acquitted, though Webb's acquittal is under appeal by the Crown prosecutor. Another GA defendant, Paul Rogers, had his case postponed due to a witness dispute, but it will be resumed next year.

The justice meted out in the trial is dubious. Using "Public Interest Immunity" as a smoke screen for the activities of the British security services, the judge and prosecution withheld many documents from the defense and the jury.

The GA journalists committed their "crimes" by reporting on ALF activity in New Zealand, England, Australia, Germany and Finland. The verdict can be seen as nothing less than an attempt to stifle the voice of dissent and still the physical attempts of those fighting the injustices against the planet. If we're censored today, tomorrow we'll be told what we can and cannot read. Unless we're fearless in our reporting and relentless in our support of the GANDALF sacrificial lambs, who knows whom will be persecuted next.

The GANDALF verdict must rouse us to organize, to let every tyrannical state know that with each attempt at suppression they only fan the flames. Their flimsy cover is blown when they condemn journalists for reporting on direct action but support government violence. They can shut down a publication, but they can never smother the struggle for justice, green or otherwise. As Molly Ivins said, "Freedom fighters don't always win, but they're always right."

The GANDALF Defendants Campaign can be contacted at POB 66, Stevenage, SG1 2TR, United Kingdom. Write to the prisoners individually at HMP Winchester, Romsey Road, Winchester S022 5DS. Always include prisoner numbers: Saxon Burchall-Wood CK4321, Noel Molland CK4322, Stephen Booth CK4323. Check for updates on the SchNEWS news service website at [www.cbuzz.co.uk/SchNEWS](http://www.cbuzz.co.uk/SchNEWS) or in future issues of the *Earth First! Journal*.

# Happy Solstice to You!

ance Campaign" and something about a "quantum leap towards globalizing our struggle." In the following Mabon issue, the period covered by the campaign, the words "End Corporate Dominance," (much less the concept) do not seem to appear. Then, in the Samhain issue (the place one might expect to find some follow up) we find only a small notice on page 27 telling us "We didn't exactly bring corporate culture to its knees in October." Well, what exactly did we do in October? Here in Western Massachusetts we got in Monsanto's face, raised some awareness and a little hell, but who would know?

—OAK

Oak:

The center tabloid this issue covers the End Corporate Dominance topic extensively.

—LP

To the *EF!* Journal editorial staff, I would like to suggest deleting the Irish Gaelic pagan nature holidays from the cover of the *EF!* Journal.

In the mid 1980's, when I was organizing in the Northeast, there was then a brief surge of neo-pagans, witches, druids, etc. who joined *EF!* efforts and subscribed to the paper. Around 1989, John Davis asked me bluntly, "Don't you think you've gotten everything you're going to get from the neo-pagans?" He was right! I had gone to every pagan gathering in '86 as the only *EF!*er most (all?) of them had ever seen, with my boxes of complimentary *Journals*. That was eleven years ago. In 1997, I do not believe that the *EF!* movement or *Journal* has any reason to feel that it is married to neo-paganism. (Aside from Northern California, most neo-pagans, wiccans, druids, etc. are

"Problem w/ Consensus," pg. 24, 2nd column, "Public land does not belong to activists any more than it belongs to the timber industry." *I beg to differ! Activists are public—Timber is private, Fucking @ duh!*

Also that one guy who wrote in and said that "private property is the basis of freedom—yours included!" probably also believes that he who dies with the most toys wins—personally, I think private ownership is a big problem in our society.

Thanx,

—JULIE GENERIC

Dear SFB;

Re: the otherwise excellent Cove/Mallard article in Samhain, '97 *EF!*. One statement I found rather disconcerting: "Laugh if you wish, but the Rainbows were here; *EF!*ers were not." There is a lot more to *EF!* than the people we see at the Rendezvous and hear from in the *Journal*. Please exercise caution: There is a lot more to the Rainbow Nation than aging leeches and blisssed-out bonus-babies. Arbitrary imposition—even if only in writing or speaking—of sociocultural boundaries has the same effect on human interaction that the arbitrary imposition of political boundaries has upon biotic communities. Another example of how the "us vs. them" mentality still permeates our thinking. Many people in the Rainbow Nation are *Earth First!*; many *EF!*ers are Rainbow Nation.

Sincerely,

—THE RADICAL WEATHERMAN

Dear *EF!*

Michael Donnelly's review of Ron Arnold's book *Ecoterror: The Violent Agenda to Save Nature* was incredibly naive and offensive in many ways. Does he realize who Ron Arnold is and what he has done? Ron Arnold is the founder

understanding of the Wise Use movement, he wouldn't be foolish enough to proclaim that Ron Arnold does a "much better" job of explaining *Earth First!* history and philosophical underpinnings than environmentalists such as Christopher Manes (author of *Green Rage*), Dave Foreman (*Confessions of an Eco-Warrior*), Rik Scarce (*Ecowarriors*), and Susan Zakin (*Coyotes and Town Dogs*). What the hell is with his comment that "Arnold's 'History' chapter is a must read, as is the excellent chapter titled 'Reasons' which examines the motivations of environmentalists and the philosophical bases of deep ecology."?! And the comment "This book is highly intelligent and well-written"?

Donnelly seems to have such a narrow-minded grudge against many of the original *Earth First!*ers that he is willing to praise North America's most violently anti-environmental corporate defender for his analysis on *Earth First!* philosophy and politics. Christopher Manes, Dave Foreman, *Wild Earth*, and those involved since the inception of *Earth First!* have done a hell of a lot for the environment, certainly more than Ron Arnold. Yes, we do have to know our opposition by reading their books but no, we should not be praising them for their political and historical analysis. I've read Ron Arnold's book, and it is precisely designed to maintain just enough factual accuracy, along with reams of half-truths, misinformation, and distorted analyses, to make it seem like a legitimate expose of "environmental terrorism." This will further marginalize our movement.

Oh yeah, and praising the anti-environmental IWA forestry union for blockading the Greenpeace ship in Vancouver that just returned from defending B.C.'s rainforest in the July-August issue

but a far-off blip on the radar screen.

The most effective tool of the corporate raiders has been the use of corporate foundation moneys to supplant real eco-activism with *Earth Day* "blame-is-everywhere-and-nowhere" *New Age* mush, at best; and, at worst, with support for decidedly anti-environmental initiatives, such as the Clinton (de)Forest Plan, NAFTA and pollution tax credits (cancer bonds)—all emanating from the Big Greens who feast at the foundation trough. These real "corporate front groups" have done far more damage than any Ron Arnold wet dream. Ron Arnold has done our movement a favor by exposing the Big Green ties to Big Oil foundations.

Any disputes I may have with former *EF!*ers is based on content. When Dave Foreman stoops to write an unintelligible attack on the Zero Cut movement as he did two years ago in these pages, I will strongly disagree. And I do admit that I find grand "re-wilding" schemes to be diversionary (though well-funded) nonsense as long as existing wild lands are still going down at unprecedented rates. I only wish that Dave and the army of former *EF!*ers now employed producing grant-driven papers on re-wilding and restoration were still spending their energies on defending existing wild lands as they so admirably did in the past.

—MICHAEL DONNELLY

P.S. The "Wise Use" movement is dead. The Big Greens, their Big Oil financiers and the Clinton regime unfortunately are not.

This is an article that I've wanted to write for a long time now in response to the growing impotency of the north american environmental movement and the watered-down, sanitized 90's version of "Earth First!" that recruits among the young and impressionable, misleading them with all types of bad advice on the revolutionary struggle. The "new" *Earth First!* is to the environmental movement what grunge is to punk: a cheap imitation of the real thing, but it still draws in OSPIRG... This has allowed some of the older "Field Marshalls" to replenish their troops but it hasn't led to any real revolutionary activity in the US, just more CD spectacles and empty gestures of disapproval... These older, "more experienced" organizers seem to think that shouting "Earth First!" in front of the media puts them on the cutting-edge of "radicalism," forgetting that the mere USE of the phrase "Earth First!" does NOT make an action, a demo, or most types of civil disobedience "radical" (neither does the use of the circle A for that matter)... A liberal, ineffectual action is STILL a liberal, ineffectual action if the words "Earth First!" are spray painted on a white sheet or sign and held by demonstrators. Most "demonstrations" are hollow, disempowering charades anyway, tolerated and sanctioned by the State as a form of social control, an irritating but harmless and non-threatening emotional outlet for would-be reformers, reinforcing the illusion that we

all live in a "democracy" and have a "voice" when all we're doing is screaming into the void, unseen by the public and laughed at by our enemies.

It is EUROPEAN groups like the ALF, The Earth Liberation Front, the Dongas Tribe, and the UK *Earth First!* who are putting the ideas of Deep Ecology into practice in daring and exciting ways and who have set the standard for militant resistance to ecocide; in amerika, it's easier to view "Earth First!" in the past tense, like the IWW and the Black Panther Party, as a movement to be studied but not necessarily emulated (this is what makes the "merger" of *EF!* and the IWW so symbolic, symbolic of weakness.)

Let's remember *EF!* fondly for what it was, a vehicle that helped get us where we are today but which has too many miles on its engine and needs to be traded in. I for one was never fully satisfied with *Earth First!* and have no attachment to the name or the social scene whatsoever... We're ALL freer without it!!!

Long live the *Earth First!* Journal. Long live *Ecodefense* (may it get the widest distribution possible and may it never go out of print!) Death to all slogans and stagnant institutions that hold us in our place! *Earth First!*'s liberal, letter-writing politics and rigid conformist rules of conduct and behavior (especially nonviolence training ad nauseam) are stifling creativity and growth... Autonomy is power and independent thought is our greatest strength. Quit letting simplistic bumperstickers and the "gospel" according to Judi Bari and the other *EF!* gurus do your thinking for you; stop reenacting all the stupid redneck traditions (like beer drinking) at every Rendezvous, and stop reciting the official party line (REAL *Earth First!*ers! think this...) like a bunch of clones. Ideological and behavioral conformity within *Earth First!* is worse than among Deadheads!

There is no shame in admitting when a once strong social movement has reached a tactical impasse... If we deny *Earth First!*'s weaknesses out of pride or over-identification with an "image," then we do the earth a disservice and make ourselves easy targets for the Police State. Dave Foreman wrote in the very first edition of *Ecodefense* (an otherwise EXCELLENT book) that "Monkeywrenching is not Revolutionary. Monkeywrenchers do not attempt to overthrow any social, political or economic system. Monkeywrenching is merely non-violent self-defense of the wild. It is aimed at keeping Industrial Civilization out of natural areas and causing industry's retreat from the wild. It is not major Industrial sabotage. Explosives, firearms, and other dangerous tools are usually avoided; they invite greater scrutiny from law enforcement agencies, repression, and loss of public support."

Well Dave, I hate to break the news to you but State Repression is here and has been for centuries,

## Letters to the Editors 300 words or less POB 1415, EUGENE, OR 97440

not *Earth First!*ers, either here or in the "Celtic Isles." That's just the way it is.)

I otherwise enjoyed the monkeywrenching witch on the back of the current issue... apropos for the Halloween season.

However, *Earth First!* is not wedded to neo-paganism. Why have "Samhain" on the cover?? This is irrelevant to the International Directory (except Celtic Isles) by the way. I think it may have made some sense ten years ago, but not now.

Thank you very much,

—CRAIG STEHR

Dear *EF!*:

Here is an art thing. Use it or not. Also I'd like to support the *EF!* because I think you have an excellent forum. Couple of comments:

and primary theoretician of the modern anti-environmental movement in North America, the "Wise Use" movement. He is also executive director of the Centre for the Defense of Free Enterprise. The purpose of the Wise Use movement is to destroy the environmental movement and environmental regulations to free up corporations from any restrictions on maximizing profits. They do this by creating "citizens" corporate front groups, setting up public relations firms, by violence and intimidation against activists, and by trying to marginalize the entire environmental movement as extremist and violent, laying us open to repression by the police and corporate thugs.

If Donnelly really did have an

("Wolves and Poodles") is a blatantly anti-environmental stance, especially by a *journal* editor.

What the hell is with the *EF!* *Journal* these past issues?! Have you been infiltrated by Wise Use? Come on, get your act together. For those who want to learn about the anti-environmental movement, I suggest they read Andrew Rowell's new book, *Green Backlash: The global subversion of the environmental movement*.

—KEN W.

VANCOUVER, BC

Donnelly responds:

The "environmental movement" is marginalized by many factors; mostly self-inflicted. When it comes to the real causes of "subversion of the environmental movement," Ron Arnold and the "Wise Users" are

and some of us ARE attempting to overthrow the united states government (or at least seriously undermine it). Our government (like all governments) exists to protect the business interests of the ruling class and industry, and will cause "industry to retreat from areas that should be wild"... The war on Nature isn't occurring in a vacuum, and can't be effectively countered through "single issue" politics. The Mass Destruction that our generation is witnessing can't be separated from historical processes that began thousands of years ago, nor can its causes be isolated from social systems like CAPITALISM as if there is no connection! It is a complex multiplicity of factors, all closely interwoven, that fuel and propel forward the insane Capitalist Death Machine. Monkeywrenching HAS to become revolutionary if its to be an effective tool in combatting this disease, but for that to happen we need to become revolutionary ourselves, in our thinking and in our strategizing. Earth First! is not a revolutionary movement, and at best can only slow down the destruction while revolutionary consciousness is spread among the victims of the Death Culture and the underground fighting forces are organized. For the EARTH and all her children, REVOLUTION NOW!!!!

—MALIK GODWIN

*The following is a compilation of the best lines from our favorite hate mail submitted this issue. It was not submitted as a single letter.*

—LP

You EcoNazi's are really the ones responsible for environmental destruction. I have many examples to back up this statement. Now it turns out the Sun, and not CFS's, cause "global warming." I could have saved all those scientists the money and told them the sun is responsible for this in the first place. Why don't you nuts try to do something productive, like stopping the murder of unborn babies? If I ran up to a bald eagles or a spotted owl's nest, ripped out it's eggs, and jumped on them, you dopes would go ballistic. But murder a baby by abortion, you wouldn't bat an eyelash. I know that if I saw one of you stump humpers out in the woods I would have to shoot out your knees and let you die.

Thank God for environmental whackos like you! Thanks to one of your operatives I can finally put a face on the toilet paper, milled from old-growth forest, I use to wipe my ass! I wish she had broken into my office to protest; she'd wish I'd used pepper spray on her. I think the law enforcement officers in question were easy on her and her friends. I wish I could have been one of them. You Liberal, gay, lesbian, tree hugger's got what you deserved. Next time I hope the police pisses in your eyes...

Now if you'll excuse me, my fried Atwater prairie chicken is getting cold.

Save the earth... KILL YOURSELVES

[compiled from letters by]

—SEAN (SEANRH@EFN.ORG),  
FRED MORALES (OOCHTX@DOMI.NET),  
"BILL WERTH" (BRTW@FLASH.NET),  
DONNA HEIEREN (OROFINO6@LCS.C.EDU),  
J.T. (JTJR@USA.NET)

I just learned of what happened at a sit-in last week in Humboldt. Protesters locked arms in the

lock boxes they've used for many years. Instead of cutting the bolts that bound them, sheriffs forced the eyes of seven people, including 2 teenage girls, and put pepper spray in them with q-tips. I have to admit that I was moved to tears by the story of an eyewitness to the screams. I tried to imagine the scene, and to put myself in the same position, since I agree with their views, that the logging must stop. I can't imagine what those men in uniforms must have been thinking or feeling. How did they justify it to themselves, to look into a 16-year-old girl's eyes as they smeared a habanero pepper into it. I once made the mistake of cooking a habanero pepper in my very small house one night last year. We had to leave for at least an hour, the fumes were so painful. I don't know what would become of me if someone did that to me.

I want to thank you for your courage, for realizing what is truly involved—people's lives—all of life on the planet. You've proven again and again that you will make that sacrifice, the one that will eventually be necessary. And I have faith that it will not be forgotten. Your movement is and must be a light, brighter than any of the lies they feed to their people and shining through the ignorance that keeps them from understanding the harm they do, to others and to themselves.

I hope that people hear about this, and that it makes them realize that their life depends upon all of life. I hope they hear and realize that there is a power greater than any of us, no matter what kind of weapon one may possess.

I wish you all the best...

—RHUDRAS@AOL.COM

It seems to me that you have your priorities mixed up. Trees grow back, why don't you focus on land development in farming areas. Look at the Willamette Valley for instance—it is some of the most fertile ground there is and all they want to do is cover it up with buildings. If we keep this up you won't have to worry about trees because there won't be enough food to live on and it won't matter. Believe it or not America's farmers feed the world and there are fewer and fewer everyday. And another point: if you really care about the earth you would look to the cities where the real pollution is being created, look at Portland every time it rains hard, which is very often, you will see on the news stay out of the rivers because of a raw sewage spill. Look at the Columbia and Willamette rivers; they are getting more polluted everyday and that is not from trees being logged; it is from corp. industrial waste. So you can talk all you want about saving the earth but until you do something about these problems your working in vain. And you also need to realize that corporate america controls this country, and they are not going to stop until they are made to legally. You can't fight them with terrorism. It makes your organization look bad. And that will put the public against you.

thank you and have a nice day

—REMS13T@AOL.COM

I am not worried by "eco-terrorism," but rather the rise of redneck vandalism. Here on the weekend, a 700-year-old tree was ringbarked after a conservation

order forcing shopping centre developers to work around it. Not long before that, the statue of Yagan (an indigenous leader) was beheaded for the second time. We live in sorry times indeed.

Yours,

—MICHAEL

Dear sirs,

I am an active enviro-activist but I am appalled at your trash science and doom and gloom approach to this subject. The extinction of species is a normal progression in the history of our planet, 99.9% of which has occurred from the changes to climate, predatory adaptability and lack of adaptability, or from non-earth catastrophic changes. I appeal to you to look to the current dominant species and educate in well informed approaches to exploitation of nature in a method that is not detrimental. Remember that of all the changes through history to earth, even the ones that eliminated all but the bare minimum of life, the earth has reinvigorated itself completely and prospered in its flora and fauna again.

The concepts you espouse are very nearsighted into saving a planet for the status quo instead of allowing for the normal course of adaptability and change. We weren't here during the Jurassic remember and that burgeoning planet of life came to a screeching halt. REMEMBER THE MOTTO

LIFE WILL SURVIVE, IN ANY FORM!!!

—WES SPANGLER

Dear Friends at *Earth First! Journal*

I am still incarcerated and would like to know if you'll renew my prisoner sub.

The non-profit eco-social organization I started back in '95 called Free Earth Society has gained members, interest and momentum. We have made preliminary plans to acquire land and found a community to put into practice green principles of the New Paradigm. We are now registered with Fellowship for Intentional Communities and Federation of Egalitarian Communities.

Anyone interested in our projected business projects, our foundational principles or our dynamic philosophy can write to me at Scott Sandlin, 201712 TCF, 3225 John Conley Drive, Lapeer, MI 48446

Scott:

*Prisoner subs don't expire at the EFJ!*

—LP

In response to the last two ESA articles written by Marty Bergoffen printed by the *EF! Journal*, I must admit that EF! would support such a weak ESA bill as Miller's "Endangered Species Recovery Act (HR-2351). Earth First!ers should be aware that with the endorsement of the Miller Bill by the Endangered Species Coalition came a split from the grassroots leadership over "No Surprises" and other policies. The Miller Bill includes a perverse utilization of No Surprises, Streamlining the issuance of Incidental Take Permits, and five-acre exemptions for private land holders.

HR-2351 is a mix of good and bad. It doesn't eliminate section 10(a)(1)(B) HCP/ITPs, but it does set some new standards for wild-

life recovery criteria—plant conservation is left out. The Miller Bill could be viewed as a strategy and tool to fight off the worst of two evils, the Kempthorne Bill (SB-1180). Republican, Dirk Kempthorne of Idaho, has incorporated the Clinton Administration's user friendly and flexible policy changes in the so-called "Endangered Species Recovery Act." Codifying No Surprises and extending such "assurances" that adaptive management would be precluded on federal and non-federal lands is truly a frightening prospect. Although No Surprises has been implemented as a "policy" in numerous HCP/ITPs since 1994, legal challenges are still possible. However, if the House Bill or Senate Bill are passed, as is, a legal challenge will be much more difficult. Even though the Miller Bill proposes a HCP and No Surprises "funding mechanism" to compensate for inadequate HCPs and provide public funding for the implementation of adaptive management, the problem of early issuance of Incidental Take Permits still exists. Quite simply, when the species have been "taken," habitat destroyed, and the shopping mall built, a "funding mechanism" is not going to be able to buy or bring the species back to life. Some tough decisions by the conservation community need to be made right now. The Kempthorne Senate Bill (SB-1180) passed committee in October and is expected to hit the floor in January after winter recess.

If the Miller Bill is used as an example of a "better bill" it is possible that a future negotiated compromise bill may still end up with No Surprises and other weakening amendments. Another choice that activists have is to oppose both bills and continue with the message that we need a stronger ESA—one that does not include No Surprises, Safe Harbors, Candidate Conservation Agreements, Streamlining Take Permit Approval, five-acre exemptions (Hey doesn't that sound like the ESA that we have already?).

Obviously, conservation groups that are

needed right now. A stronger ESA would be to eliminate section 9 exemptions for Incidental Take Permits (section 10(a)(1)(B)). To stay true to protecting biodiversity, and implementing the science of conservation biology, would require opposition to both the House and Senate Bill. At the very least, those conservation groups that have been backed into a corner and agreed to support the Miller Bill need to be honest in their lobbying of grassroots support. The message from the Sage Council and National Endangered Species Network has always been "Just say "No" to No Surprises." Therefore, the Miller and Kempthorne bills are not acceptable.

—Leeona Klippstein

*Bergoffen responds:*

*While HR 2351 is certainly not a perfect bill, I never claimed it was, as my first article indicates: "[T]he ESA's loopholes must certainly be closed. The ESRA goes a long way in this respect, although there are still problems." I am certainly no fan of No Surprises and its related destructive policies. And while I consider the change in HCP priorities a move in the right direction, it certainly doesn't go far enough: "HCP's should 'contribute to' recovery, a positive standard rather than a neutral one." Given the groundswell of support in the Senate for Kempthorne's extinction bill, I would again urge readers to support HR 2351, but in deference to Leeona's comments, I would also implore that Miller's bill be amended to reject No Surprises and its ilk, and provide complete protection for imperiled plants.*

—MARTY BERGOFFEN



members of the Endangered Species Coalition will most likely continue endorsing the Miller Bill primarily because they are so personally invested. The deal was made between these groups and Miller that if he introduced the perverted ENHA bill that they would support it.

A strong unified message on No Surprises is

# Earth Night News

## THAR SHE GOES!

On November 11, 1997, the Norwegian whaling vessel the *Morlid* was sunk at dockside in Bronnoysund, 430 miles north of Oslo. The sinking occurred just 12 days after intruders dressed in Halloween pirate costumes scuttled another Norwegian whaling vessel, the *Elin Toril*, at Mortsen in the Lofoten Islands and six months after a third Norwegian whaling vessel, the *Senet* (which was previously sunk in harbor in 1994), was firebombed while in drydock.

Another Norwegian whaling vessel, the *Nybraena*, was sunk by Sea Shepherd Conservation Society in 1992 but was refloated and returned to work killing whales. The *Morlid* and the *Elin Toril* are likely to be recommissioned as well. But, because of such immense and persistent economic sabotage on the whaling industry, all Norwegian whaling vessels have to pay for war insurance.

However, the *Morlid*, belonging to the world's most notorious whaler and sealer, Steinar Bastesen, may not have had war insurance. Bastesen is claiming accidental causes for the sinking, not sabotage, to collect insurance monies.

## WEYERHAEUSER DERAILED

Weyerhaeuser Canada Ltd. took a \$200,000 hit on July 15, when a front-end loader was borrowed from its Grande-Prarie mill. After breaking through the property fence of the mill, the loader ripped up 380 feet of railroad track, halting the movement of pulp cars as well as chemical shipments from Sterling Pulp Chemicals. The finale brought the loader crashing into a power pole, taking out the main powerline at the motor control center.

The action followed a ground-breaking report in the *Edmonton Journal* suggesting a link between higher-than-average birth defects in northern Alberta and pollution in the Wapiti, Smoky and other rivers.

Weyerhaeuser has received several such visits, including the burning of rail cars full of pulp in 1995 and again in 1996. Once thought to be unrelated, Lloyd

Steeves, spokesperson for Grande-Prarie's Weyerhaeuser Canada Ltd., postulates that "as more of these events occur it causes one to believe they're not at random." The loader was found against the powerline with its wheels still spinning.

## HOG FARM TIED

On October 21, 1997, \$100,000 in damage was caused at the construction site of a controversial hog farm in Neligh, Nebraska. Antelope County Sheriff Ralph Black said the farm faces strong opposition from people who fear the facility will seriously harm the environment.

## SABOTEUR CUTS OFF POWER

Utility officials heightened security at power stations around San Francisco on October 31 after FBI investigators determined that a saboteur deliberately cut power to the city's downtown area. The saboteur cut power coming into and out of a power station, reported FBI spokesman George Grotz. "It was a deliberate act. It was not an accident, and it was not a computer intrusion," said Grotz.

"We have stepped up security at a number of facilities in the greater Bay Area as a result of this event," said Robert Glynn, Jr., president and chief executive officer of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. He declined to comment on whether the alleged tampering was an inside job. But Grotz said there was no sign of forced entry into the locked city substation, and agents are looking at records of about 75 employees who had access to the building.

Sabotage of an electrical facility is considered a federal offense. FBI agents have examined the switches and dusted the equipment for fingerprints. The switches in the substation were toggled in such a way as to maximize the power outage, causing a bank of transformers to fail around 6:15 a.m., blacking out electricity to 126,000 customers—about 250,000 people—in a five-mile, mid-city stretch from the Marina to the Sunset districts for 90 minutes or more.

Meanwhile, the city was back to normal the next morning, with traffic and omnipresent coffee machines humming as usual.

# Save the Sea Turtles...

*continued from front page*

this in the hopes of attracting sharks to the bloody carcass who will eat the evidence," said Allen. "This sinking of dead turtles is just another strategy to hide their bloody and inhumane actions."

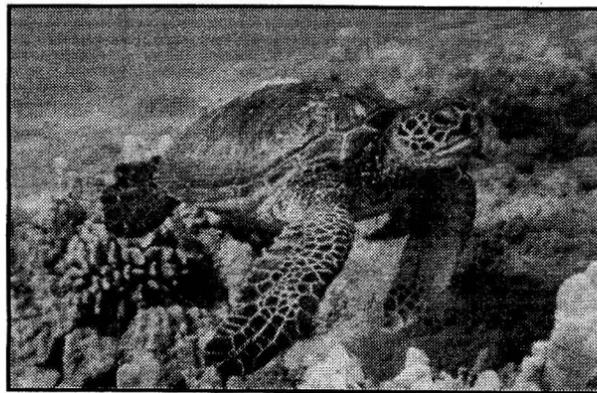
Dismantling TEDs is common in the industry. An undercover study by HSUS, released in spring 1997, documented a 41-percent non-compliance rate in Texas waters. TEDs are metal grates in the mouth of a net that allow 97 percent or more of all turtles to escape when properly used. Nearly 500 dead turtles have washed ashore in Texas this year and more than 2,000 have died in US waters from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic coast.

Sea turtles live in the same shallow, warm waters where the shrimp industry trawls the coastline year after year. Some shrimpers seem to be bloodthirsty for turtle meat. During the HSUS investigation, one shrimper was audio taped admitting that he not only ties his TEDs shut, but he also mutilates and kills endangered sea turtles.

## Denials and Delays Thwart Protection

The shrimp industry continues to flatly deny links between shrimpers and dead sea turtles. In Texas media reports, Wilma Anderson of the Texas Shrimp Association blamed park rangers at Padre Island for mutilating the sea turtles and trying to frame shrimpers. "You can't shut down the shrimping industry based on allegations. This is America," Anderson said in a report published in the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*. "Besides, there's no documentation showing shrimpers are responsible for these mutilations. We get blamed for killing turtles, red snapper, sea grass, and now they're trying to say we're all a bunch of heroin addicts." The heroin remark referred to the recent overdoses by four people who worked as seasonal shrimpers in Aransas Pass.

In the same Corpus Christi newspaper, a spokesman for the Texas Seafood Producers Association said that he didn't know any shrimpers who would intentionally hurt a sea turtle. Sea turtle activists wish this were true. The shrimper taped during the HSUS investigation, however, was recorded bragging, "Who's going to fuck with me. Where I go, yeah... I get 'em... and cut their fucking head off." He claimed that many other shrimpers he knows also tie their TEDs shut. In one 1994 letter to the editor, a shrimper wrote, "Get rid of the Ridleys, convert them to turtle soup."



A green turtle cruises through the sea.

## Enforcement Efforts Not Enough

With few resources, National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) officials have been ineffective in proving the turtle/industry connection and slowing the Texas sea turtle massacre. NMFS has offered its own \$5,000 rewards—one for the chained sea turtles and a second for the mutilations. Enforcement agents are interviewing shrimpers and searching for the offenders, who could face criminal penalties of up to \$50,000 and jail sentences. But no shrimper has ever been caught or punished for these types of crimes.

For decades, NMFS has sided with shrimpers and helped delay the implementation of TED use. This bias is reflected in the ludicrous denials about the recent sea turtle mutilations.

"I don't think anyone can look at a turtle with a cut and determine just by looking that it was human induced," said Chuck Oravetz of NFMS in a *Houston Chronicle* article. "It could have been a clean shark bite." Sharks have jagged teeth and leave gaping holes. Knives have straight edges that slice. Has a new species of shark evolved in Texas that has square jaws and leaves straight cuts?

Fisheries agents claim that most shrimpers properly use TEDs. However, most boarding inspections are done by the Coast Guard, which uses easily identifiable vessels that shrimpers know are coming long before they are boarded. On October 27, however, agents did seize 600 pounds of shrimp off a vessel that had its TEDs tied shut. NMFS special agent Gene Proulx said that the shrimper is being prosecuted for a civil offense, not criminal, and that the shrimp boat is currently out on the water.

## Sea Turtles In Decline

Sea turtles are ancient ocean dwellers that have survived since the era of the dinosaurs. Six of seven species of sea turtles are threatened with extinction

and protected under the Endangered Species Act and international treaty. The Kemp's ridley turtle is among the top 12 most endangered animals in the world. It nests mainly at one beach in Mexico, spending most of its life along the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Coast. The nesting population now totals less than one-half of one percent of historic nesting populations of 40,000.

Marine biologists are alarmed that 13 adult Kemp's ridleys were found among the carcasses of the recent strandings. Given the species' current status, the loss of mature animals directly reduces already decimated populations by preventing breeding females from laying hundreds of eggs. The strandings occurred in critical beach nesting areas on Padre Island, where nine sea turtles laid eggs last year—the first such nestings ever recorded there.

## Help Stop the Massacre

Shrimp trawling is the number one threat to the survival of the species, a fact confirmed in 1990 by the National Academy of Sciences. Even if we continue to protect nesting beaches around the world and stop the black market trade in tortoise shells and skin, sea turtles will continue to decline if shrimpers around the world don't change their ways.

As this story is written, the Texas shrimp fisheries remain open. Trawling has not stopped, and sea turtles wash ashore dead every day. None of the people responsible have been arrested or detained. No strong step has been taken to stop the slaughter.

If the public does not hear about this issue soon, it may be too late for the sea turtle. Even if you don't eat shrimp, nor have traveled to the areas where sea turtles live, now is the time to take a stand. If you live in Texas, please go to the beach and take photos and videos of dead turtles. Send them to us. Tell other activists what's happening. Write letters to the editor. Demand that stores stop carrying anything but certified turtle-safe shrimp. Join the Sea Turtle Restoration Project Activist Network and request an activist kit. Volunteers are badly needed to take direct action during the 1998 shrimp season in Texas. If we can't save the sea turtle, symbol of our earth, can we save the oceans, the forests and the planet?

Contact Sea Turtle Restoration Project, POB 400, Forest Knolls, CA 94933; (415) 488-0370; fax (415) 488-0372; e-mail: [turtlesafe@earthisland.org](mailto:turtlesafe@earthisland.org); <http://www.earthisland.org/strp/strpindx.html>.

Demand a closure of Texas shrimp fisheries and Padre Island National Seashore. Write to Assistant Administrator for Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Room 14555, 1315 East-West Highway, Silver Spring, MD 20910; e-mail: [schmitten@noah.gov](mailto:schmitten@noah.gov).

# Unfolding

i am not inanimate  
unchanging  
predictable  
steadfastly clinging to promises  
made by a society  
which demands accountability  
of an emotional state

my being is wild  
i am rivers deep current  
barely rippling surface  
becoming rapids, cascades  
plunging  
falling  
spraying  
roaring off high cliffs  
into pools where otters play

i am ripples  
fertile beds of creation  
fed by ephemeral streams  
which appear to go dry  
under the blazing sun

i am that stream  
that trickle  
sinking deep into the Earth  
reemerging in a marsh of reeds  
where croaking frogs  
rhythmically pay homage  
to the moon

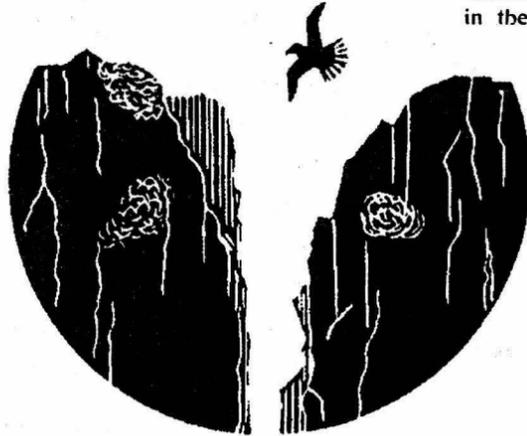
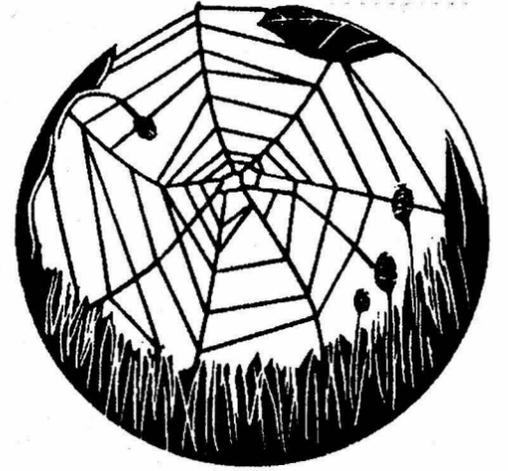
every form  
is my love  
but i cannot dam  
the changes  
of the river...  
—Paloma

## Song for Winter Solstice

Gone now, the weight  
of daylight's long declining.

We have burrowed plenty deep  
in the billowed shade of southern blooming,  
and so this darkest day recalls us  
to the gathering light.  
We celebrate the seeds of summer.

Ten thousand cycles of sowing  
and harvest are woven through  
our common sense of where  
and who and when we are.  
Our wheeling 'round a raging star  
unfolds its own rituals, echoes  
in the drumming of our hearts.



SEND POEMS TO:  
WARRIORS POETS SOCIETY  
ASUC Box 361, BERKELEY, CA 94720-4510

Only three, four generations removed  
from the farms to this concrete  
abstraction of life, and already  
we seek sustenance not in the soil,  
but plastic-wrapped in shadowless rows  
of neon. Grazing our bellies full  
in climateless ease, it's little wonder  
we've forgotten our shotgun wedding  
to sun and rock and rain.

But even if the modern mind,  
furiously trivial in the blue glow  
of progress, neglects its ancient obligation,  
our muscles, bones—our very cells—  
respond and chase the roots  
of human memory through cracks  
in the brittle city shell, worming  
our way home into the living earth.

## THE POET RISES

Slowly, methodically dusting off  
Her ancient butt,  
The Poet  
Rises from the ashes  
Of a hundred  
Drowned campfires.  
Her voluminous bag  
Bursts with things  
That have no name,  
While at her neck  
A circlet  
Of live lizards crawls  
Round and round.  
Her shawl is patched  
With the rags  
Of Gypsy camps,  
The rotten fabrics  
Of Anasazi midden-heaps,  
And with the wings  
Of buzzards.

The eyes of eighty pagans  
Turn towards her  
As one,  
Watching her face  
Writhe  
Behind the bonfire's  
Rising heat.  
A moan parts the hot night.

Heed Me!  
Shrieks the Poet.  
I tread the paths  
Of the pathless forest  
I crawl the sewers  
Of sin!  
I've caused the fall  
Of a thousand kingdoms  
I've seen all that has ended,  
Begin!

I've been to the source  
Of the sourceless river  
And to places where stars  
Never shine!  
I hitchhiked the length  
And breadth of Atlantis  
And sampled  
King Solomon's wine!

A drum sounded,  
Booming deep  
In the hollow hill.  
Pagans swayed  
To the merciless rhythm,  
Feet following feet,  
Shuffling a dusty dance.

Do you not know me?  
She wailed.  
I am the priestess  
They jailed!  
I am the witch  
That was burned  
I am the Earth  
Overturned!  
I am the fox  
Not the hunt  
I am the tree  
Not the saw  
I am backcountry  
Not front  
I am anarchy  
Not law!!

The Poet  
Began to whirl  
Spinning her ragged shawl  
Like a parasol,  
Faster and faster,  
A dust devil  
Seething under the dark  
Desert sky.

You who build shrines  
To the dollar!  
There's no end for you  
But defeat!  
Earth-wisdom and money  
Are Sundered  
And never the twain  
Shall meet!

She spun into the flames,  
And green fire  
Spat from the hearth!  
Smoke enveloped  
The gasping crowd,  
And when it cleared,  
A huge she-wolf  
Sprang from the blaze,  
Gave one long, quavering howl,  
And disappeared into  
The night!

Bending to inspect  
The ground  
I found blood  
In the wolf tracks.

—Philip R. Knight

ARMED WITH VISIONS  
CLEAR AS CUT GLASS  
AND JUST AS DANGEROUS

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## NAFTA Roads Awareness Project

In the 1950s, politicians and military officials (and probably a few people from the automobile, petroleum and construction industries) got together and built east-west highways across North America. The roads were promoted as escape routes in case the communists invaded.

Well, the highway promoters are again getting together to build transcontinental highways, this time north-south. The proposed "NAFTA Superhighways" will enable a '90s-style invasion of low-cost goods from Mexico to consumers in the rich north. One of the NAFTA Superhighways' boosters, the I-69 Coalition (which has at least one well-connected \$300,000-a-year lobbyist in Washington), is promoting the multibillion-dollar route from the Mexican border in south Texas, through Louisiana, Arkansas, Indiana and finally Michigan where it meets the Canadian border.

The first stage of the I-69 Superhighway is proposed for rural and rustic southern Indiana. Residents opposing the highway are proving to be effective in their opposition; they and their allies recently forced an environmental assessment process.

Anti-NAFTA Superhighway groups are now forming in a loose coalition to halt the project before it goes any further. Write to the NAFTA Roads Awareness Project at POB 5142, Arcata, CA 95518.

## Nonviolent Resistance to Honor DR. King

Activists from Northland College in Ashland, Wisconsin and surrounding regions are planning a celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday this January 16-19. Following the speeches and workshops, a group of nonviolent resisters will attempt to conduct an official citizen's inspection of weaponry of mass destruction at the US Navy's thermonuclear command center, Project ELF, located in northern Wisconsin.

Schedule of events:

**Friday, January 16**

"YouthPeace and Justice: A Peace Movement Imperative in the Spirit of Dr. King" at St. Scholastica College, Duluth, Minnesota. Malkia M'Buzi Moore, US coordinator of YouthPeace for the War Resisters League will speak.

Contact (715) 364-8533 or Tom Morgan (218) 723-6442.

**Saturday, January 17**

Program at Sigurd Olson Environmental Institute, Ashland, Wisconsin, 9 a.m.-9:30 p.m.

- What is Project ELF? What is Trident? What is the current nuclear arsenal situation? What is international law with regard to weaponry of mass destruction?

- Legal consequences for nonviolent resistance to ELF

- Civilian-based defense roundtable

- Nonviolence training (required for participation at the action on January 18 at Project ELF)

- Potluck dinner and keynote address by Malkia M'Buzi Moore

- Music by The Sheeptones and Dakota Road

**Sunday, January 18**

- 9 a.m. —Talking Circle "Why am I resisting?"

- 12-2:30—Citizen's inspection of Project ELF

For more information, contact Donna and Tom Howard-Hastings at 12833E STH13, Maple, WI 54854; (715) 364-8533 or Bob Cornett at (715) 682-1289 or 682-3932; e-mail: sunbikes@ncsc.net.

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—Rod Coronado

For postpaid copies send \$8 to  
The EFi Journal, P.O. Box 1415, Eugene, OR 97410 USA

## SAVE LITTLE ALFIE!

Last December, seven Minnesotans—some of them old Earth First!ers, some of them new—blocked logging trucks from reaching one of the last stands of old-growth white pines left in Minnesota. The blockade started small, but within 12 days the action had blanketed the state's newspapers and changed the way the Forest Service manages national forests in Minnesota. (See *EF Journal*, Brigid '97.) The actions of these few committed individuals not only forced the Forest Service to pull and reassess the sale but also to look at another 500 sales. Thirty-eight sales already sold were postponed for reassessment.

The Forest Service has done their reassessment, and they have decided to go ahead with the cut. This year the sawmill won't be getting the 3,500 red and white pines previously scheduled for logging; they get 6,000 red pines.

Appeals are in and could be disposed of by the Freddie's soon. After the appeals are denied, we only have 15 days to rally people for what will be a healthy dose of winter camping. This could happen any time this winter but probably sooner than later. Come to the Big Woods! Bring your friends and your camping gear (some has been secured, but more is needed).

We need warm bodies, four-season tents, sleeping bags, cooking gear, radio equipment, an AC inverter and first aid supplies. Send supplies to the Action Resource Center, 520 W. Lake St., Minneapolis, MN 55408; (612) 825-4745. Come and put your body where it's needed. Contact Big Woods Earth First! at POB 580936, Minneapolis, MN 55458; (612) 362-3387; EarthFirst@juno.com.

## Western Ancient Forest Conference Ashland, Oregon • February 13-15

Hundreds of forest activists will convene for Headwaters' 7th Annual Western Ancient Forest Activists Conference at Southern Oregon University in Ashland. This is a great opportunity for activists to gather and make new acquaintances while networking with friends and colleagues from throughout the West. We'll be reviewing the successes and setbacks of 1997 and planning future strategies.

Specifically, we will be planning for the '98 elections and the next year of legislative battles. We'll have an update on the state of the grassroots forest activist movement, with representatives from across the West.

Several intensive workshops will offer activists training sessions to improve our effectiveness. These will include ecopsychology, media skills and strategies, computer (GIS) mapping, on-line networking, soil monitoring

for activists, coalition building, and a workshop for board members of activist organizations.

Shorter sessions will include wilderness campaigns, federal forest issues, legislation (Zero Cut, Clean Water, ESA), legal (Option 9, ICBEMP), grazing issues, immigration issues, private lands protection strategies, direct action, corporate power, citizen ballot initiatives, and a discussion on the culture of activist organizations.

As with previous conferences, academic credit through Antioch University will be available for attending the conference as the core of a three-credit course in science or social studies. For further information, contact D.E.E.P. at POB 1377, Ashland, OR 97520; (541) 899-1712; e-mail: deep@mind.net.

To receive more information about the conference, contact Headwaters at POB 729, Ashland, OR 97520; (541) 482-4459; e-mail: headwtrs@mind.net.

## CONSOLIDATED LIVE IN CONCERT!

The spoken word, hip-hop, animal rights band Consolidated is on tour with a new album. Don't miss 'em when they come to your town.

Consolidated is looking for activists to help with their shows. They are inviting groups to set up information tables or booths, pass out literature and speak on stage about their campaigns.

Below is their tour schedule. To participate, contact Carrie at (212) 226-6713, fax 226-6795; solstuff@aol.com.

January	25 St. Petersburg, FL
9 Seattle, WA	26 Tampa, FL
14 San Francisco, CA	27 Miami, FL
15 Los Angeles, CA	28 W. Palm Beach, FL
17 Tempe, AZ	29 Orlando, FL
18 El Paso, TX	30 Jacksonville, FL
19 San Antonio, TX	31 Atlanta, GA
20 Austin, TX	<b>February</b>
21 Dallas, TX	2 Little Rock, AR
22 Houston, TX	3 Tulsa, OK
23 New Orleans, LA	5 Denver, CO
24 Tallahassee, FL	6 Salt Lake City, UT

## Fund for Wild Nature

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## NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION

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contact: 707•825•8911

# SHUT DOWN TAYLOR!

January 10,11,12 • Winter Weekend of Action in San Luis

Come to San Luis, Colorado to learn about the struggle in the upper Rio Grande and take action against the oppression and destruction on the Taylor Ranch. [See article on page 16.] Since logging started about two years ago, winter has seen the heaviest cutting and hauling of any of the seasons. Immediate action is the only thing standing in the way of this winter wonderland becoming a winter wasteland.

February 2 • National Day of Action

Activists will be holding protests across the country to call attention to one of the largest timber sales in the nation, the logging on Taylor Ranch. We can help with ideas, targets and strategy. Be creative!

For more information on either event, contact Ancient Forest Rescue at POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152, (719) 672-3012; e-mail: afr@amigo.net.

## DILLON CREEK FREE STATE LIVES!

On October 23, during a protest at Dillon Creek, an activist was run over by a log truck. In September, an activist had the contents of a 500-gallon water truck dumped on his head while he was locked down. The violence against the forest has been equally severe.

Dillon Creek, a majestic tributary of the Klamath River, lies in the heart of the Klamath National Forest of northern California. This endangered ecosystem has been a focal point of resistance since day one of the plan to salvage-log 67 units of burnt and intact old-growth forest. The Outside timber sale at Dillon Creek was the last salvage sale to be approved under the infamous Salvage Rider.

Ironically (or not?), some 23,000 acres in this watershed were intentionally

charred in an effort to stop a wildfire, employing the practice of "backburning." One local was right when they said, "The Forest Service used to log then burn, now they burn then log."

The wildness of northern California is crying for your help. The fight to save the Dillon Creek watershed will continue until this logging is put to a halt. Basecamp is well established and is continuing through winter. Your help is needed immediately! If you are unable to come in person, material assistance is appreciated (money, video camera, winter camping gear, food, and does anybody know how to fly a helicopter?). The Dillon Creek Forest Defenders can be reached at POB 83, Happy Camp, CA 96039. Call (707) 825-8911 for more information.

## Cove/Mallard Regional Strategy Meeting

The winter regional Cove/Mallard strategy session will be held at the University of Montana in Missoula on the weekend of January 10-11.

Everyone is invited to submit proposed agenda items and personal statements in advance so that they can be copied and distributed before the meeting takes place. E-mail responses are welcome because they'll save time, energy and paper.

Please get the word out to as many of the Cove/Mallard activists as possible. Contact one of these groups for final details: the Native Forest Network, POB 8251, Missoula, MT 59807; (406) 542-7343; nfn@wildrockies.org; or the Cove/Mallard Coalition, POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843; (208) 882-9755; cove@moscow.com.

## Peoples' Movements vs. "Free" Trade Worldwide Conference • February 18-27

On February 18-27, hundreds of representatives from movements around the world will meet in Geneva to establish a platform for action against trade liberalization: the Peoples' Global Action

The first big-scale action will be a wave of decentralized mobilizations and protests around the world paralleling the Second Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization, May 18-20.

If you want more information about the conference, contact Play Fair Europe!, e.V., Turmstr. 3, 52072 Aachen, Germany; +49-241-80 37 92, fax +49-241-88 88 394; e-mail: playfair@asta.rwth-aachen.de; <http://www.agp.org>.

## The EF! Conference, Winter Rendezvous & Night to Howl February 5-9

Wild Rockies EF! of Missoula, Montana is now the host of the icy-cold Organizers Conference (OC) and Winter Rendezvous (formerly known as the Activist Conference). Each bioregion should try to send at least one representative to the conference. We would also like to see some hardy souls stick around for Wild Rockies Winter: the buffalo campaign, Cove/Mallard and other forest campaigns already underway.

The dates of the conference have been changed to February 5-9. Attendees should arrive in Missoula on Thursday for the "Night to Howl" poetry reading and pre-conference strategizing. If you call ahead, we will arrange for a place for you to stay. We will provide rides from the airport and bus station in Missoula to the conference until Friday evening.

### Hot Springs, Montana

The OC will be in, yep, you read that right, Hot Springs, Montana. We will be staying at the Symes Hotel, a historic, family-owned, 28-room hotel at the foot of the Cabinet Mountains. (Since we are staying in a hotel, people must leave their dogs at home. No joke!)

Because of the limited number of rooms, people should decide who they want to room with, and call us beforehand so we can assign the large rooms to groups. There will probably be at least three people per room, which means not everyone will get a bed—people may have to share! The hotel has claw-foot hot tubs in a few of the rooms and a large bath house on the main floor. There is also a large outside hot pool which costs two dollars per day. The town itself is very small with only a couple of small stores and free healing mud pots and outdoor hot tubs. (Important note: bathing suits are mandatory in the public pools and pots. There will also be a bathing suit contest, to be followed by the first annual "swimsuit issue" of the EF!.)

### Structure of the Conference

The structure of this year's conference comes from a proposal formed at the 1997 Activist Conference (published in the EF! Journal, Eostar '97). It was recognized that there is a conflict between the need for a smaller EF! organizers meeting (two to four reps from each region or group) and a larger rendezvous-type atmosphere that the tribe

seems to desire more than once a year. The first two days will be geared towards getting concrete work done and decisions made. The rest of the time is open for whatever people want to organize.

### Structure Outline

Thursday (in Missoula): Meeting junkies arrive, agenda proposal formed. At night, the "Night to Howl" poetry reading. Friday: At noon, the OC meetings begin. Saturday: OC continues. Movement-wide discussions. At night, the rendezvous begins.

Sunday: Workshops, updates and action planning. Performances in the evening. Monday: Wrap up and afternoon action.

### Funding of Conference

A sliding-scale fee will be charged to all participants. We will provide three meals a day and ask everyone to donate \$30 for this great room and meal deal. Some money raised will go towards travel allowances for the geographically impaired and will be allocated towards an emergency fund for unforeseen expenses. (Keep your receipts).

### Important Travel Information

Driving in the winter can be a frightening and dangerous experience; come prepared. Ensure your car is ready for very cold temperatures: winter-weight oil, gas-line antifreeze and quality radiator antifreeze. If you don't bring tire chains, carry a shovel and kitty litter for traction in case you get stuck. Bring extra warm clothes, a sleeping bag, extra water, candles, non-perishable food and a lot of patience (for slow driving on ice).

Hot Springs is just off Hwy. 28 in northwestern Montana. To get there you take I-90 eight miles west of Missoula, then turn north onto Hwy. 93. Travel 27 miles and turn west on Hwy. 200. Twenty-one miles later in the town of Perma, turn north on Hwy. 382. (If this road is too snowy continue on Hwy. 200 another 28 miles until you intersect with Hwy. 28 north. Sixteen miles later you will meet up with 382.) From Perma, travel 16 miles north on Hwy. 382 which ends at the intersection with Hwy. 28. Turn north and follow the signs the rest of the way to Hot Springs. It is virtually impossible to miss the Symes Hotel.

We need RSVPs from everyone, so please call (406) 543-0524, or write POB 9286, Missoula, MT 59807; kmaenz@wildrockies.org.

## Student Democracy vs. Corporate Control

Following on the success of the Democracy Teach-Ins in October 1996, a new wave of Teach-Ins are planned for March 1-7, 1998. In 1996, over 40 campuses and thousands of students participated in a coordinated series of mass educational events and actions that explored and exposed how giant corporations are ruining our educational system and our world at large.

### Democracy Teach-In: Moving Ahead in '98!

Teach-Ins are intended to bring together students, citizens and community members who have struggled against corporations and their effects on families, communities, ecosystems and individuals. Teach Ins give people the opportunity to join a democratic movement. If you would like to participate, contact us at our outreach office at (617) 354-9363. (You can also subscribe to our e-mail listserve by e-mailing to listpro@envirolink.org with "subscribe corporations <<your name>>" in the body of the message.)

### May 1—May Day of Action Against Corporate Domination

Students and community members will use the tools and information they have learned in the Teach-Ins to take action against corporate control of our communities and our societies.

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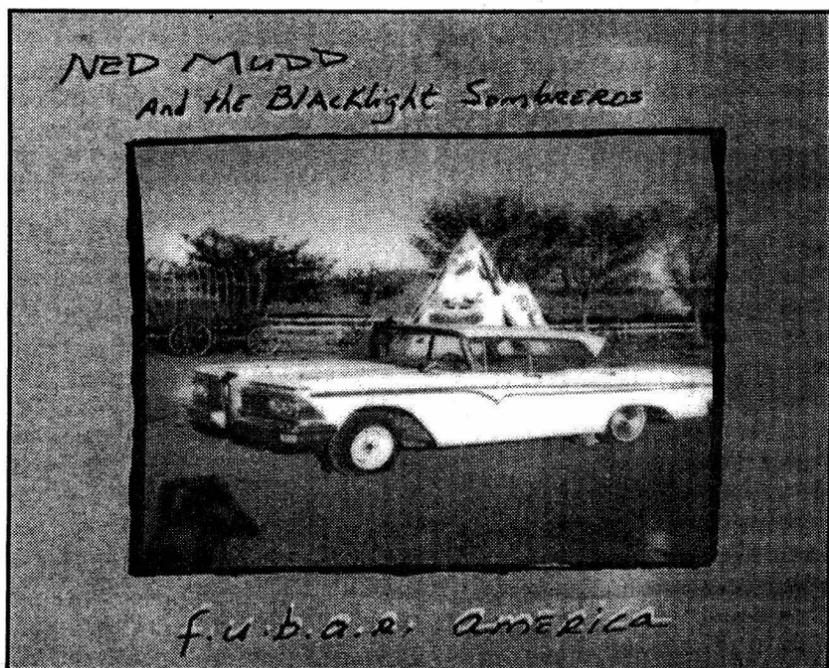
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# I THINK, THEREFORE I ART

BY JASON TOCKMAN

"Eat more grits," announces the liner notes of Ned Mudd and the Blacklight Sombreros' newly released album *f.u.b.a.r. America*—f.u.b.a.r. being short for "fucked up beyond all recognition." Ned's rebellious swamp grunge

nonetheless." Sounding every bit as deranged as the piano, Mudd prescribes as the solution to this "land of the free, home of greed" a bold plan: "You take the high road and I'll take the low road and blow like Charlie Yardbird Parker through the tepid vibrations of



cuts loose, departing from the traditional tweaky Cajun/country non-electric vibe of past albums.

Much more than grits, *f.u.b.a.r. America* delivers a rambunctious audio treat that includes intensely soulful instrumentals, twangy banjo tunes and dark, demonic songs with such lines like "microwaving social distortion" and "Hello, this is the first piece of cybershit." With this newest release, Ned seems to have become even more playful with musical styles, experimenting with a variety of sounds reminiscent of Lou Reed, Midnight Oil, Pink Floyd, the Pixies, David Bowie, Jefferson Airplane and Sonic Youth, all the while maintaining the genuine flavor that has won him a following.

The second track, "Riding with the Devil," deals out a heavy dose of condemnation of the lifestyles of excess in overdeveloped countries: "He's raping mother nature while you all are standing by/you think his name is Satan, but the mirror never lies." Eerie, screeching guitars and hard-hitting percussion accompany this tune's lyrical broadside against the avaricious greed of American political and corporate life.

The grinding of "Riding with the Devil" is offset by "From the Bottom of the Deck," a brief and sad melodic riff that mixes electric and acoustic guitars into pure ear candy. Highlighting the band's talent, this song is joined by "Copperhead in the Kitchen," "Anesthesia" and "Banjette" as a diverse array of instrumental songs staggered throughout *f.u.b.a.r. America*.

The album's title track mixes schizophrenic piano with spoken word that feels sounds Consolidated. "Cactus Ed said never in history have slaves been so well fed," preaches Mudd, "thoroughly medicated, lavishly entertained—but we're slaves

Kerouac's *Fellaheen Night*."

The music on track nine, "While You Were Out," harkens back to Mudd's emotional tension found in "Living on Borrowed Time" and "The Legend of Dollar Bill." In "Alabama," a song about the state's right-wing politics (the governor declared that God runs Alabama), Mudd sings, "See the Senator lining his pocket, sucking up the corporate drool" and "you're spilling blood all over Mother Nature."

Harder and more electrified than most Mudd, *f.u.b.a.r. America* takes a bold and experimental leap into every direction. From eating grits to overthrowing America's status quo, *f.u.b.a.r.* is catchy and driven. It lives up to Illyn Jones' quote found on the liner notes, "They're seeking the American Dream and killing America in the process." Dedicated to the Alabama sturgeon, it will be a valued addition to every Earth First!er's music collection. Order your own CD for \$15 on p. 33.



## THE LEGEND LIVES... AND HAS AN ALBUM DANNY DOLINGER HITS THE STUDIO

BY ROBERT HOYT

Let's get to the point. If you get the chance to purchase Danny Dolinger's *Rome Wasn't Burnt In A Day*, do it. Now, unless you need convincing, you don't have to read further.

Rarely does a songwriter come along who can bring a chuckle and a tear like this man. His songs are brilliant, keen-witted and possess a sincerity that cannot be expressed in words.

Some of us were first introduced to the genius behind the coke-bottle glasses through his recording *Live At Ruby's*, which came out in the early '90s. Although only a few hundred cassettes of this recording were officially released, untold numbers were bootlegged. Raw, warts-and-all recording that it was, the songs far outshined the recording's limitations. Those of us who had the good fortune of owning a copy have longed for a quality, studio-produced version of Danny's music. We have finally gotten our wish in *Rome Wasn't Burnt In A Day*.

This album is at once both acoustic and electric, with bass, drums and electric guitars that are supportive, not distracting. Here we find many old friends from the *Ruby's* tape and some new tunes as well. It opens with "Dollar and a Quarter," a love song from society's underside. Our bard warbles, "If I had a dollar and if I had a quarter I would buy for you a bottle of the very best malt liquor..."

Some of Danny's compositions have already become "folk" songs in the sense that they are often performed by others. The foremost of these is "End Of the World," a sweet song about the state of the planet. This is among the best environmental songs of all time. "I like to sing and take time to play my guitar/Lie on a bank and watch for a falling star /Forget all the mayhem and utter destruction that's tearing my planet in two/And I want to spend the end of the world with you."

We are treated early in the album to a couple of previously unrecorded good-time tunes "Hillbilly Hippie" and "Coming Home Early." These are followed by "Blow Me Away," a bittersweet, one-sided love song.

The driving, electric "She Is" has many guitars, all played by Danny. There's a really great solo break that shows he doesn't just write and sing; the boy can pick as well.

One of my favorites on the album, "Sleeping With the Enemy," is sung with just a little too much feeling for the story not to be real. A little background can help you appreciate the song more fully.

A few years back, a golf course was to be built near Austin with taxpayer money on endangered species habitat. With the support of others, Danny decided to bring attention to the destruction by locking himself to a bulldozer. During the ensuing legal maelstrom, his wife, rather than supporting his action, used it as the excuse to leave him. Danny relates this latter turn of events succinctly in one of my favorite lines of all time:

"In my time of need/You spit me out like a watermelon seed."

Now you would think that the audience that could relate to such a set of circumstances would be limited to the radical few. But Danny is a master at presenting his uniquely personal experiences in such a way that we all see ourselves in his place. Most of us are rebelling in one way or another against the American nightmare and will find much to relate to here: "The cozy world where you sleep/Is overflowing with sheep/Unapologetic zeal for the elusive happy meal/To have more lawn than the neighbors/Searching hard for the answers/To long lives without cancers/Constantly screening out the deeper meaning/Of the fruits of your labors."

"Ghost of a Chance" shares with "End of the World" the distinction of being one of the best environmental anthems of all time. Put simply, this recording kicks ass. The fullblown production with bass, drums, haunting slide guitar and just a hint of backing vocal takes this already great song to new heights:

"And I'm gonna raise my voice and sing out across the prairie/Over the desert, into the mountains, out to the shore/A ghost of a chance is all in the world I need to carry/ This message of hope across the frontier to your door"

The album closes with "Walking In Power." I would like to program this song as the alarm on my alarm clock so as to start my day with the right attitude. As with a lot of great art, I did not find this song appealing at first, but it grew on me. It is about self-empowerment, something most of us could use a little more of. If there is anything disappointing about this album it's what was left out. Those of us who have heard the *Ruby's* tape miss songs like "Jamming With Nero," "Something's Rotting in My Room," "Crooked House," "Going to Austin" and "Racer X." Hey, that's half an album already! Danny, your fans anxiously await.

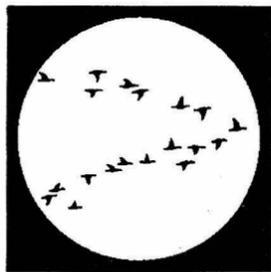
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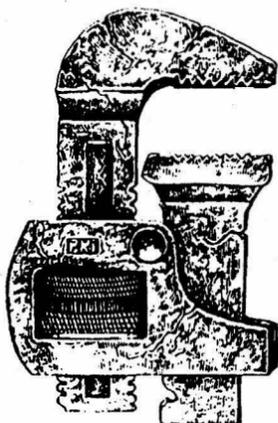
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