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EARTH FIRST!

September 23, 1983

MABON EDITION

Vol. III, No. VII

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

ONE DOLLAR

OREGON RARE II SUIT

by Andy Kerr
Associate Director
Oregon Natural
Resources Council

A federal judge has issued a preliminary injunction against further construction of the Bald Mountain Road in Southern Oregon. As regular readers recall, the road goes along the current boundary of the Kalmiopsis Wilderness Area and would sever the Silver Creek

Canyon from the designated Wilderness core.

U.S. District Court Judge James Redden issued the injunction after an all-day hearing on July 13 in Eugene. Earth First!, Oregon Natural Resources Council (ONRC), and nine individuals were listed as plaintiffs. The defendants were the U.S. Forest Service and Plumley, Inc., the contractor for the road.

The Bald Mountain suit is the first citizen suit challenging the legal adequacy of the Forest Service's second Roadless Area Review and Evaluation (RARE II). The State of California (bless former Resources Secretary Huey Johnson) won such a suit in 1980. The California suit was upheld by the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals on October 22, 1982. The Bald Mountain plaintiffs relied heavily on *California v. Block* in making their case.

The government defense was based, not on their belief that RARE II was indeed a legal process, but rather an attempt to show that all of the plaintiffs had no standing. It challenged the Oregon Natural Resources Council because it had previously joined a Sierra Club suit to halt construction of the road. That previous suit did not raise RARE II inadequacy grounds. The Sierra Club lost. The feds contended that ONRC should be barred because it had failed to raise all issues in the previous Sierra Club case. The judge pointed out that even though ONRC knew about the action brought by the State of California, so too did the government. Both sides failed to raise it for political, although different, reasons.

The government sought to

show that plaintiff Earth First! came to court with "unclean hands" since it had attempted to stop road construction by "illegal" means, i.e., the blockade. The same tactic was used on some of the nine individuals, but all were not members of Earth First! or blockaders. In the end, the judge ruled that there were parties to the case of which the government could not in any way challenge their standing. So even if he did toss out the other plaintiffs, the case would continue.

BUT WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

Four years after the atrocious RARE II process, some conservationists finally acted in court. "Some" is emphasized because the decision to proceed with a lawsuit was not unanimously received with pleasure among all national environmental groups. They feared a backlash against such an action and a loss of credibility.

The environmental backlash has been forecast since environmentalists became a force to be reckoned with. It has yet to appear. If credibility comes at the cost of losing acres, what value is credibility?

cont pg 4

HERE WE GO AGAIN!

In our Thanks-to-you last issue for your financial support of the Kalmiopsis Blockade, we expressed the hope that we wouldn't have to go to you very often with hat in hand begging for dimes. We have just learned, however, that our share of legal expenses for the historic North Kalmiopsis RARE II Suit (Earth First! vs. Block) is \$1,200. Our attorney, Neal Kagan of Roseburg, has not charged us any fee but there are over \$2,000 worth of expenses and costs which we must share with our co-plaintiffs, the Oregon Natural Resources Council. Any contribution which you can make to us for this extremely significant lawsuit (see separate article) would be deeply appreciated. Make your checks out to Earth First! and send them to Earth First! Legal Fund, P.O. Box 235, Ely, NV 89301. Thank you!

ACT NOW ON KALMIOPSIS

I wish to thank all the people involved, some of whom made long journeys, for all that was given in our struggle to save the North Kalmiopsis.

Contributions took many forms: letters, articles, money, bodies, hopes and prayers. All were much appreciated.

It seems now with the granting of an injunction to halt the destruction, we can rejoice in our victory. The largest tract of Old Growth now remaining in Oregon is safe!

The sad fact is what we have won so far is precious time. A few months to try and bring a permanent halt to this unconscious act of ecocide. In the last few issues of the newsletter there have been requests to write letters to Sen. Mark Hatfield and send copies to Sen. Packwood and your state's senators. If any of you are like me, I'm sure you've heard this refrain of "please write your representative" more times than you care to remember and perhaps like I've done many times before, you have decided to let this one slide. But consider this: in 1976, Sen. Hatfield proposed that the North Kalmiopsis be added to the Wilderness system. In response to this a group of southern Oregon timber barons formed a lobbying organization to pressure against protecting the Rainforest. After launching a media blitz that generated a few hundred letters and the implicit threat that big money carries in reelection campaigns, the good senator beat a hasty retreat. It's now 1983 and Mark Hatfield sings a new tune "Not one acre more."

Only the bodies of some of my brave brothers and sisters have stopped the bulldozers ... for now.

Earth First! has no lobbyists in Washington, no battery of lawyers or Political Action Committee. Earth First! is only as strong, as effective as YOU. The timber beasts would have us believe that these ancient trees are theirs. Say NO. Please write and write again, tell friends, ask that the North Kalmiopsis be declared Wilderness. Don't waste what was so hard won - time.

- Steve Marsden
Grants Pass, OR

(Ed. Note: If an Oregon Wilderness Bill passes without the North Kalmiopsis all that we have done over the last six months will be lost - the blockade, the RARE II lawsuit. Bulldozers will be rolling again next spring and we will have no way of stopping them this time. But if every reader of *Earth First!* would write one letter or postcard to Senator Mark Hatfield, the chances are very good that the North Kalmiopsis will become wilderness and the Bald Mountain Road will be dead forever! We don't ask you to write often. Now is the time. Write: The Hon. Mark Hatfield, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. Send a copy to Sen. Bob Packwood and to your state's two senators (if you live outside Oregon). Same address. Get others to write. Do it now. Please, let's not lose what we have won.)

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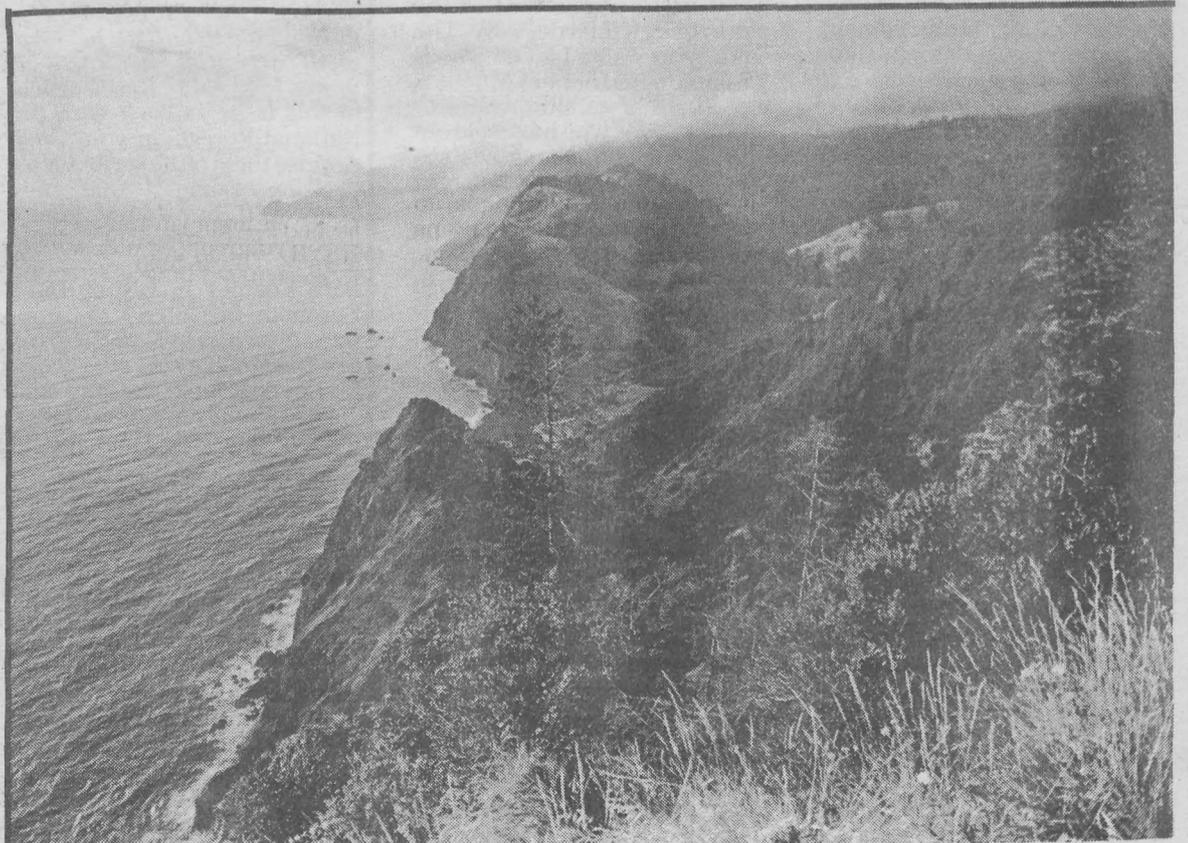


Photo by David Cross

CALIFORNIA'S SINKYONE COAST AND REDWOODS UNDER ATTACK BY GEORGIA-PACIFIC. STORY AND PHOTOS ON PGS. 6 & 7

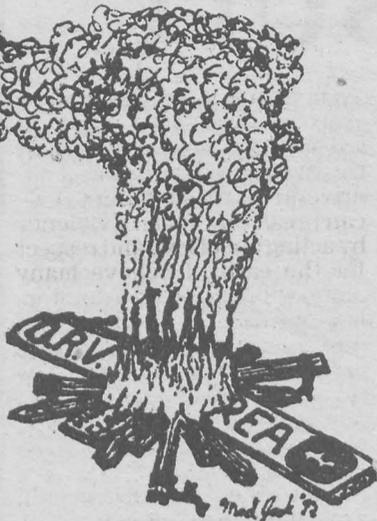
EARTH FIRST!

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL
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PO Box 235
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Around the Campfire



Will Small in this issue's Letters to the Editor chides us for the last Cat Tracks column in which Chim Blea calls for subsidized, free abortions. Will, who opposes abortion, fears that this sets Earth First! policy. I would encourage everyone to read the masthead in the upper right corner of this page. Earth First! is not an organization with officers and a hierarchy. It is a loose, informal movement of people who believe the Earth comes first. But there is a problem in having an anarchistic "organization." That is dealing with the state - the IRS, post office, etc., etc. Our solution was to set up *Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal* as an independent entity, a private business, within the broad Earth First! movement. This private business publishes the *EF!* newspaper and sells t-shirts and bumperstickers. Any profits made are channeled back into the movement to support such things as the Kalmiopsis Blockade or developing state wilderness proposals. *Earth First!* is not the newsletter of the Earth First! movement. It may function that way and it is a forum set up for communication within the Earth First! movement but it is independent. Note that *EF!* is a forum at the service of the movement. Everything printed in these pages is not necessarily *EF!* "policy" or even the policy of this newspaper. As editor and publisher, I print a wide variety of views - not all of which I agree with. Much of what is published here is controversial - particularly Cat Tracks. While I may like much of what Chim Blea writes, what is in regular columns (including Cat Tracks, Grizzly Den, Dear Ned Ludd, Mutterings From Mama) is not the dogma of Earth First! or this newspaper. Yes, we are hard to pin down. It has been designed that way.

A good example of this paper's role as a forum for the *EF!* movement is our special section this issue on Earth First! and Non-Violence. This section came about because of criticism from our friends in the Kalmiopsis Action Alliance during the Bald Mountain Road Blockade. Some of them felt *EF!* was too combative, that our logos of the green fist and monkeywrench belied our non-violent action. I asked them to write their views for this section two months ago. I, unfortunately, have not received them. However, Peter

Swanson has written a short, yet thoughtful, essay from this perspective. Howie Wolke takes a differing tack - he argues for tactical non-violence. A couple of articles from Australia discuss the costs and tactics of direct action. Chim Blea asks where reality is within this context. I try to set out the different roles in the diversity which is the Earth First! movement. Jim Stiles weighs in with a reply to Doc Raccoon's piece last issue on Dignity. And Nagasaki Johnson's cartoon of Gandhi and Hayduke perhaps sums it all up. Naturally, we'd appreciate your comments on this discussion.

Another good example of our role as the forum for the militant environmental movement is our front-page article on the Sinkyone Wilderness by The Man Who Walks In The Woods (Woods to his friends). Woods is not afraid of naming names or organizations who have sold out the local wilderness activists in the area. If there are different viewpoints or defenses of those whom Woods criticizes, we'd be interested in considering them. The Sinkyone is a major Earth First! issue and Mike Roselle is working on it with California *EF!*ers.

I've moved. That means this newspaper has also moved. I've taken up residence for a year in Chico, California, and *Earth First!* will be published and mailed in Chico. I'd also like to welcome Bart Koehler back as Associate Editor. After a summer in Wyoming, Bart is returning to Ely, Nevada, to work on the paper and to keep watch on wilderness in the intermountain West. Please note the box on this page explaining our new address situation. Ely still remains our official address.

I'd like to give my special thanks to Earth First!ers in Jackson, Wyoming, who have been mailing this rag for the last year. They've done a fine job with little recognition.

EDITORIAL: KILL THE BILLS

RARE II Wilderness bills for several states are pending in Congress. They range from the bad to the truly ugly. Even the best of them, the House-passed California bill, would release hundreds of thousands of acres of currently roadless and undeveloped wild lands to the chainsaw, bulldozer and drill rig. The worst of them, such as the ghastly Wyoming, Idaho and Utah bills, are a nightmare. None of the bills are wilderness protection bills. They are wilderness development bills.

Nonetheless, many conservationists have supported them because they have thought they were the best we could get (like the very poor Colorado, New Mexico and River Of No Return bills in 1980). The fear is that if we don't get some areas protected now from the depredations of the Forest Service, the Fred-dies will rape every roadless acre (like they were trying to do in Oregon's Kalmiopsis) before Congress can designate even minimal acreage as protected wilderness.

But there is a change now. Judge James A. Redden's July ruling in Oregon stopping the Bald Mountain Road because it violated the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decision that RARE II violated NEPA has in effect ordered the Forest Service nationwide to halt all development activities in RARE II areas. (See Andy Kerr's article in this issue.) Check with the National Forests in your area. Apprise them of Judge Redden's decision. Demand that they honor it. If they do not, immediately file an appeal or specific lawsuit. (We'll help - contact Bart Koehler in Ely or Dave Foreman in Chico.) *Development activities in RARE II areas are illegal. We can stop them. Do not dawdle. Make sure that your National Forests are obeying the court decision. Earth*

I hope that mailing the paper now from Chico will speed delivery since we will not be bogged down with shipping time between printer and mailer. Of course, much of the delay in getting your copy of *EF!* to you is due to the slowness of 3rd Class Mail. We are considering the option of offering 1st Class Mail for those willing to add \$5 to their subscription fee. If there's enough interest in this (let me know), we may offer this service by next issue.

cont pg 3



JOHN ZAELIT

EARTH FIRST!
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Contributions are welcomed and should be typed or carefully printed, *double-spaced*, and sent with an SASE. All contributions should be sent to 230 West 7th Avenue, Chico, CA 95926, except for poetry which should go to Art Goodtimes, Box 160, Norwood, CO 81423. Dave Foreman, Editor & Publisher

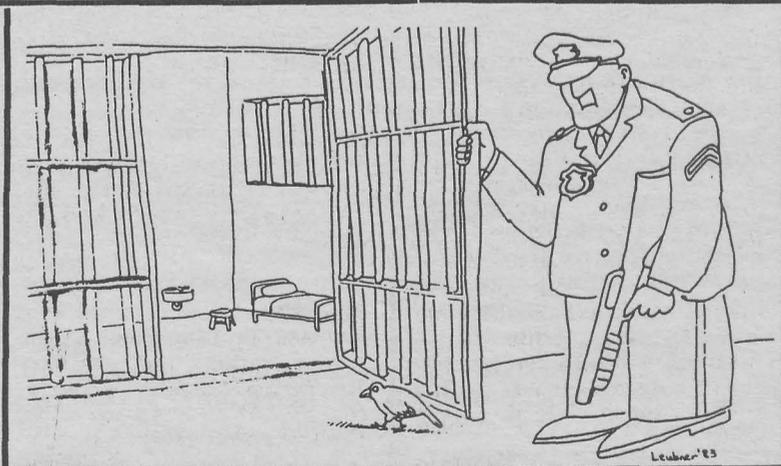
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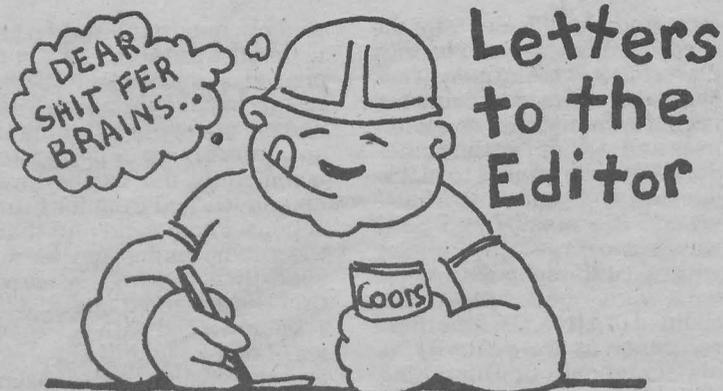


EARTH FIRST! ADDRESSES

For Subscriptions, Merchandise Orders, Donations, Inquiries, General Correspondence, to correspond with Wildcat Annie or Bart Koehler: POB 235, Ely, Nevada 89301 (702) 289-8636.

Letters to the Editor, Articles, etc., for *Earth First!*, Clippings, Road Show, Topo Map orders, to correspond with Dave Foreman: 230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, California 95926 (916) 343-6547.





Letters to the editor are encouraged. Lengthy letters may be edited for space requirements. Letters should be typed or carefully printed and double-spaced, using only one side of a sheet of paper. Be sure to indicate if you wish your name and location to appear or if you wish to remain anonymous. Send to 230 West 7th Avenue, Chico, CA 95926

Dear EF!
After reading the Beltane issue I felt I had found brothers and sisters of common thought and desires: to save what is left of our homeland from being raped, pillaged and concreted over. I am living about 30 miles west of the Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex and desire to meet other EF'ers in this area. Please list me as the North Texas contact and direct any existing local EF'ers my way. I am self-employed so my time is flexible but I get home late in the day as a rule if you want to contact me by phone.

— Don McDowell
3204 Mineral Wells Hwy.
Weatherford, TX 76086
(817) 594-4935

Dear EF!
Your magazine recently received an enthusiastic review in "Mushroom" — the "alternative" magazine in this country. Please start my subscription with the current issue rather than waiting for the next — I am impatient for inspiration and guidance to effective non-violent action.

— New Zealand

Campfire

cont from pg 2

Our good buddy, Airhead (Kevin Everhart), Jackson hunting guide and Kalmiopsis Blockade organizer, tried to cut a new irrigation ditch with his face recently. He totalled his motorcycle but is now out of the Jackson Hospital with a hundred stitches to show for his adventure. Nagasaki reports that handsome Kevin is even better looking now, with a chin like Kirk Douglas'.

The Samhain issue of EF! (Nov. 1) will have a full report on the trials of the Kalmiopsis Blockaders. Join us then for a soap opera saga set in the Josephine County Court House, Oregon.

Due to my move to Chico, we are using a new typesetter and the entire EF! Local Contact list has been reset. If you're on it, please check your address, phone, name, etc., and let me know if correx are due.

Finally — Ned Ludd has enclosed a special insert in this issue. Copy it. Use it. Enjoy, enjoy.

— Dave Foreman

Dear Dave,
Litha edition great! You guys are getting *into it*. Sending copies off all over Oz and Solomons.

— John Seed
Australia

Dear EF!

I wonder how many folks out there saw themselves in Rick Davis' article "Sunshine Environmentalists" (EF!, Aug. 1, 1983)? I know I did. It is entirely too easy to point an accusing finger at others when in truth maybe some reforming efforts could start with ourselves. Save heat. Use less water. Drive cars that pollute less. And — have fewer kids. The world is overcrowded already.

If we pay attention to these small details, then perhaps we will have earned the right to stand in front of bulldozers.

— Larue

Dear People

Congratulations on Howie's several inches of type in the Sunday *New York Times*! I can't describe to you what a thrill I felt: I started reading the article about the mainstream environmentalists caving in on the power line in Montana, and thought, "This reporter should hear what Earth First! would say about this!" — and lo and behold, the next paragraph was quoting Howie Wolke!

— New York City

Dear EF!

My husband and I live and work at Pt. Reyes National Seashore. Just a note that might be of interest to people in this area:

Ray Arnett and gang are in the process of trying to open Pt. Reyes National Seashore to public hunting — ostensibly to control the deer population in the park. It seems entirely inappropriate in a wilderness area used by so many urbanites as a "wilderness refuge!"

— Pt. Reyes

Dear EF!

It is the end of another fine day in the life of Yours Truly and bedtime is near. But first, I've written four senators on the Kalmiopsis as you requested. And I must send you more money. Rarely do I read anything cover to cover (except good books); that's what I did today in my spare time with the Lughnasad Edition. It's reviving to my spirit!

— Barbara

Dear EF!

Re: Kalmiopsis and everything else you're doing — RIGHT ON! You guys lift my otherwise sinking heart. Bless you!

— Liz

Dear EF!

Please find enclosed a tape copy of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* broadcast of 5-28-83 featuring Earth First! It makes me proud.

— Peoria

Dear Dave,

The June 21 issue sure is heavy-duty! First I cried, then I got mad! Almost came to that blockade. Glad now that I didn't 'cuz I couldn't keep myself from using violence seeing you run down, the others bulldozed. You folks are so dedicated and full of positive action. I don't hardly go through a day without thinking of you and asking the great spirit to guide you and keep you from harm.

may the wings of the raven guide you ...

Dear EF!

I have been meaning to write you for a long time and the final straw was my reading of the "Monkey Wrench Gang" by Edward Abbey. I am getting fed up with bureaucratic hassles and the consideration of an economic environment that is there to be exploited. I presently work in the Canadian Federal Government in a department that builds roads. I am rapidly losing what little respect I had for the organization and have really begun to question whether natural environments and development can co-exist. I used to believe they could but I now have serious doubts. My own country's government is trying to remove a large section of land from non-disposition status. It was once set aside for all of Canada and the rest of the world. The reason: oil exploration in the Beaufort Sea. An area where oil production would be "uneconomic" at present prices.

— Ottawa

Dear EF!

The newsletter gets better and better. I am almost at the stage of getting chills when I read it. It is so alive and exciting, everyone's dedication and energy is just oozing out of it. I get so recharged and refreshed when I read it. It's an opportunity to remember what it's really all about. I sit down with it and read it back to front and back again ... can't put it down. It's like a Ken Kesey book that you never want to end. I get sad that I have to wait so long between "fixes." Congratulations on spawning a real movement. It's really going to go!

— Pablo Deserieto
Tucson

Brothers & Sisters,

Here's a few bucks to help out in the field. I hate to pay others to do my dirty work (perhaps "heroic deeds" would be the better phrase). I'll have to actively join you when work permits. I only wish I had more money to give.

— The Wizard of AZ

Dear EF!

Been meaning to join for a while but after two months on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon figured the time had come. Been getting into the back country of southern Utah a lot. All that controversy about BLM wilderness is horrible. It should all be wilderness from Canyonlands to Zion. Also prayed on the bridge at the Glen Canyon dam for one little pre-cision earthquake.

— North Rim

Dear EF!

My condolences to our sisters and brothers who didn't make it to the Round River

Rendezvous at Bald Mountain in Oregon over the 4th of July weekend! It was a wonderful, fun-filled occasion as all celebrations of independence should be.

When I arrived at the spot for the RRR and found no one there, it was a bit of a surprise, but then I had wondered how anarchists could be organized. After a couple calls back to town, the EF'ers were located in a bar, in celebracious ritual, toasting themselves for the just-announced TRO and the release from jail of the Berkeley blockaders earlier that day. The revelry later moved to local EF! headquarters and a long night of sitting around talking over fears, laughs and victory ensued.

Listening to people's bulldozer stories was dramatic at each telling. It stood out how non-violence was an unexpected response to the violence and threats of violence from the cat drivers and road builders. If we can break that cycle of violence by acting out of love and respect for the earth, I believe many more will have cause to stop, look and listen and perhaps genuine dialogue about this nature around us can become a reality. It is a sad statement indeed that our environment has become so ravaged, our remaining wilderness so small, that we have come to the point that people are willing to kill over it.

The following days of the Rendezvous, now that the tension of the possibility of another blockade had been abated, were probably some of the best party days the environmental movement has seen. Music in the meadows, dancing in the sunlight and beer around the campfire all made for a great time. Though the creek was probably too polluted to drink, it made fine skinny-dipping pools when the dancing weather got too hot. There was some delicious barbecued chicken and a pot luck of food for dinner meals. It was fun to see what other EF'ers are like and make new friends around the country. Most of the states west of the Rockies had representation. A good time was had by all, but I think Nagasaki Johnson looked to be having the best time of all.

I'm already looking forward to the next RRR. Till then, keep wrenching those monkeys!

— Roland Rose
Oregon Coast

Dear Dave,

I want to thank you for the orderly fashion in which you and your group conducted the Round River Rendezvous Rally. To my knowledge, there were no problems and the group cleaned the area to my satisfaction. I have issued notice to the Forest Supervisor to release your cash-in-lieu of bond.

The Forest Service appreciates the extra work that your group did on the old 4-wheel drive roads that damaged the meadow and the maintenance of the fish weirs in Taylor Creek. The mulch and the water bars on the roads should prevent further erosion.

Thanks again for your cooperation.

William E. Butler
District Ranger
Siskiyou National Forest

Dear EF!

The Legend of Parker's Cave is a story, co-op published in chapbook form, of the life and

times of the building of Shasta Dam on the Sacramento River. To quote the flyer put out by the publisher, "Dr. Tom Parker was a pioneer ecologist, Ah-tira Sam Coldstream an Indian shaman. Aged but undaunted, they confronted the rising waters behind Shasta Dam."

Write to me to request a copy and send \$2.00 (the regular sale price) to Earth First! (POB 235, Ely, NV 89301) to help the good work going on and I will send you the book postpaid.

Sincerely yours,
Everett Whealdon
314 Logan Street
Port Townsend, WA 98368

Dear EF!

Re: your Earth First! philosophy — all of us (me and my friends) joined EF! because of what it was — not what it might become. We also belong to some other groups but there are many to which we don't send money. Without your hard ass stance you could become one of the "others."

— Mississippi

My Dear Earth First!

I was preparing a letter of comments regarding what is either included or excluded from EF! policy, when I received the Aug. 1 "Lughnasad" edition. I'm still proud to be in EF!, but we must be open to correction of any errant belief and beware of any rigid doctrine. I have to jump you for the extremism of "Cat Tracks" by Chim Blea. The first assumption that there are too many people on earth demands examination. If this is true, then we must try to have some appropriate answers, but wholesale murder via abortion is surely not one of them, and I rather resent the promotion of it in an article, as it then appears to be EF! policy.

There is also a clean way out of the messy sterilization procedure, but the Medi-Corp-Monster is hiding it because of investments. This device is simple and cheap. It works on the fact that a woman's body temperature rises some as soon as she ovulates. A temperature-monitoring device would be worn (built into your watch or ...) that stores info continuously and will produce a graph with which one can project the likely "B-days" and then confirm it quite reliably (a red light comes on) upon possible ovulation.

The desired result would be the freedom of voluntary conception, non-drug birth control, and no more chopping out our vitals.

But now back to the first point. Are there too many people on earth? I am painfully aware of the fact that humanity is far more a deadly cancer snuffing out a cell than "the worthy colony of God's children" we are supposed to be, but there are signs of awakening across the whole spectrum as it is perceived that we are in grave danger on many fronts.

The population is not going to recede any meaningful amount in the short time we have to rearrange our priorities anyway, so what we have to do is change our ways.

This Nevada country boy in paradise invites letters ...

Love to Y'all,
Will Small
POB 413, Mt. View, HI 96771

RARE II Suit (cont)

Some Washington, D.C. lobbyists were openly pleased, others secretly so, while a few were still trapped in their defense posture of stopping bad "release" language from getting through Congress (which would mandate the destruction of the roadless areas).

The only problem with their theory is that the roadless areas have already been "released" since the end of RARE II. Roads, timber sales, mineral leases, and the rest have, and are, proceeding full speed.

Earth First! can be very proud of its role in catalyzing and filing this landmark lawsuit. While the blockade itself did not stop the road, it slowed down construction and focused the necessary public attention to enable the Oregon Natural Resources Council to raise some of the necessary money to pay out of pocket legal costs. Along with a contribution from Earth First!, legal counsel was obtained. Neil Kagan, a Roseburg ("Timber Capital of the World") attorney took the case without charge. Unlike some "free" environmental legal services, Kagan's work has been top notch.

What this points out is the flexibility of Earth First!. It will do what has to be done to save the wilderness: non-violent maneuvers on site or to cite the law in court.

Such a resounding victory has yet to break the will of the Forest Service. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John Crowell, while admitting RARE II was flawed, has stated that while the Forest (dis)Service will conduct additional reviews, it will continue development in the meantime.

On September 15, a hearing will be held regarding another RARE II suit, the Pyramid Timber Sale in the proposed Middle Santiam Wilderness. If the Forest Service doesn't halt all roadless area development in Oregon after that expected victory, the Oregon Natural Resources Council will have no choice but to file suit over the entire three million acres of RARE II lands in Oregon.

The Oregon Natural Resources Council has learned a very important lesson as a result of RARE II. Not that you can't trust the Forest Service, that's been known for a long time. It's that offense is usually, if not always, better than defense. ONRC went along with the mainline national conservation group strategy of no RARE II suits, for longer than it should have. In perfect hindsight, this and other suits should have been filed much earlier.

It's not too late to "sue the bastards" in other states. Anyone needing assistance doing so, should contact the Oregon Natural Resources Council at 1161 Lincoln Street, Eugene, Oregon 97401; or Earth First!, 230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926.

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TO EARTH FIRST!
Details on Page 23**



BLOCKADE #7

We six: Becky, Sally, Ed, Kevin, Peter and myself had driven up from the Bay Area on Tuesday, June 28, with the intention of hiking in during the night and doing our Bald Mountain Road blockade Wednesday morning. We re-grouped after a visit from the sheriff during our campground meeting with the Oregon support folks (who were sent dashing into the woods since virtually all were on probation from earlier blockades). That and another 4 a.m. visit from the law convinced us that they were onto something happening (and would, therefore, be waiting for us at the blockade site) so we decided to put off the action 'til Thursday to retain some element of surprise.

Our change in plans really was a good one, because it got us city folks a little more in touch with the wilderness we were to defend the following dawn as we hiked in the eleven miles on the Illinois River trail. Strange, though, to hike this beautiful trail, really absorbing and enjoying the wilderness, then the shock to the senses of the view of the ugly roadcut — a fresh wound in the side of a steep hillside, masses of logs lying below the cut like the Earth's lifeblood flowing out the new wound. And at the end of the cut, there is Mother Nature's stuff left untouched, but the idea that tomorrow they would push a bulldozer into that hillside, fell those big trees standing "in the way" is appalling and disgusting.

The next morning, June 30, we woke at a quarter to five, jumped into our clothes as the dawn brightened, and were

BLOCKADE #5

At 3 a.m. on the morning of the Memorial Day blockade I was looking at my watch with leaden eyelids. Was I really going to haul my tired body out of a warm sleeping bag in order to climb a steep, rocky trail by flashlight? I already had a head-start on the other blockaders in our 2,000-foot climb to the Bald Mountain Road worksite from our encampment by the Illinois River, but when a pacemaker keeps your heart beating 72 times a minute no matter what is asked of it, you don't do 4 miles of steep trail quickly. Since the "road" was closed to the public, we had to take the "back way" through the Kalmiopsis Wilderness.

The eight other blockaders — Bill Goodell, Paulette Pratschner, Jim Ferrara, Ginny Frundt, Lou Gold, Al Gwin, Mark McVie and Dave Rusk — and support people — didn't catch up to me until mid-morning, having decided to blockade during the workers' lunchbreak. Violence at previous blockades had made us wary of trying to stop a moving bulldozer.

Now only one short uphill bushwack remained, or so I thought. But at the top of the ridge I found not the road, but a breathtaking view of the Silver Creek watershed — a long drop down a frighteningly steep slope.

headed down the road by 5:15, maintaining a high level of excitement. We stationed ourselves up on the hillside in our hiding place, behind two big doug fir trees, whispering, listening, watching the ugly scar of a roadcut in the beautiful Kalmiopsis woods for signs of the work day starting its destruction. Time dragged so slowly as we tried to sit still and be quiet, listening to Ric murmuring into his tape recorder, wondering what time it is, oh god, you don't think they're not coming to work today, do you? ... But finally, the noise droning in the distance came closer, closer, then there they were, the two tree fellers stopping directly below us to discuss the footprints in the dirt — smaller than theirs, and there's a tennis shoe — yikes! Were they on to us? But they finally decided they were from two hikers they had seen, so they continued on their way to the end of the roadcut. The bulldozer motor then started up and in turn started our motors. Up jumped Kevin, and we were all off, sliding, skiing down the hill on our heels, lining up across the road with arms linked. We held up our starred and striped, red, white and blue banner proclaiming, "AMERICA'S WILDERNESS: LOVE IT AND LEAVE IT ALONE." The moments of standing there, facing the bulldozer revving up its motor, hands quivering from nervousness, but feeling so powerful, so strong in our convictions: these were some pretty powerful moments. I felt empowered, I felt scared, I felt high — real high.

Our blockade was fairly undramatic, partly because there was a certain amount of expectation on the part of the Plumley

Getting to the worksite required a precarious trek along the proposed road which was still just a one-footprint-wide track in the mountainside. Would the old ticker hold out? I wondered behind each gasping rest. I fell far behind the rest, but a few support people patiently stayed with me the whole way.

The trail worsened as logs and slash blocked the way. Fortunately the tree fallers were not working that day or it would have meant a long hike around them. At last I caught up to the group, which had stopped to discuss the best way to approach the dozer, whose roar we could hear round the bend. Suddenly our scout returned, saying the bulldozer was stuck in a hole. Now was our time to act. As quickly as we could, we log-hopped the last yards to our goal. A false step would mean falling downhill into sharp slash.

The bulldozer operator — none of us were sure of his name — scarcely reacted to our presence. Merely warning us not to touch the machine, he left for help. The dozer leaned at a crazy angle on the slope and obviously wasn't going anywhere whether we were there or not, to the disappointment of some of us, who had wanted to create down time. Then someone suggested blockading the rescue bulldozer, and we sat down to await developments.

"You folks are a little late, aren't you?" said the driver

crew and sheriff's dept. by the time our (7th) blockade took place, but it was one more work stoppage, one more demonstration of commitment to wilderness and was not without incident: We were invited to blockade the tree fellers ("Whatsa matter? No guts?") and Sally was able to serve Doug Plumley with a court subpoena while we were handcuffed and chained to a tree. (He was there recording us for posterity, or his scrapbook, or something, with his Instamatic.)

As far as future non-violent direct actions are concerned, I have some thoughts to share:

Even with the non-violence training, it's hard for everyone to really be prepared for jail if you haven't been there before, because it's like nothing else. Jail is heavy duty, no doubt about it, so no one should take lightly an agreement to be arrested. Our two days and one night were not as harrowing as a jail experience can be, certainly (I mean, people get raped and beaten ...), but we had a tattooed biker cellmate who did not like "goddamn California protesters" and was the type whose threats of "rubbing faces on bars" and kicking ass one took seriously. Encountering this is par for the course, I think, rather than the exception, but is nonetheless shocking, and so something that folks should prepare themselves for. And how come the guys got more privileges than the women? Well, I guess that's another issue.

Thoughts on support people: I was impressed and moved. The work and running around (and patient waiting while we Bay Areans landed and got ourselves together) and so much positive energy directed our way had much to do with our strength of spirit and confidence. Strong support is ex-

amicably when he returned. "The TV people were here until noon, but they couldn't wait all day."

My heart sank. The last minute change to blockading at lunchtime had cost us TV footage.

Two or three other workmen showed up. They all treated us with that same mixture of disdain and grim amusement which seemed to be the unspoken rule. Where was the violence, the obscenities of previous blockades that I'd heard so much about? Apparently the threat of Earth First! lawsuits was working. I asked the driver, comfortably curled waiting on the bulldozer, if he was paid for down time. "You bet," he nodded.

Soon the low roar of a bulldozer could be heard coming round the bend in the road ... but it was only smoothing the way for a sheriff's vehicle. It was all over. Our blockade had lasted perhaps 45 minutes.

The deputies handcuffed us and the nine of us flopped like fish in the back of a pick-up for a mile or so ride to a transfer point where we were loaded into a paddy wagon. So *this* was why the deputies had responded so fast. The Forest Service now paid Josephine County to keep officers at this point specifically to arrest demonstrators.

As the paddy wagon carried us along yet more of the Bald Mountain Road, I was shocked

tremely important and on this action it was there — when we arrived on the blockade, bailing us out of jail, in the courtroom and in between, and I think the structure of the support system is something that can be drawn on and learned from for future actions. I commend and thank those who supported us and send them my love wherever they are scattered now.

I'm intrigued with the theories of non-violent direct action and consensus decision-making (time-consuming and confusing though it may be, it does work and fosters respect for the individual). I was impressed because it worked with our affinity group, most of whom did not know each other before the action. Not the best of circumstances, but what are you gonna do when you're the only EF'ers in the Bay Area willing to DO IT and you don't know each other? But being strangers impedes the process and I agree with the contentions of Diana, Doug and William concerning solidarity (in their blockade account in a previous newsletter).

Finally, seeing the concept of non-violent direct action actually *work*, in action, in the wilderness, was/is a wonderful experience and strengthens my belief in it that much more. We CAN stop them from raping the Earth! As I said in court (even though it bounced off the judge's cold scaly skin), I think that if my beliefs concerning the preservation of wilderness and diversity of species being essential to the survival of the planet are really sincere, then it is my *responsibility* to act when I see things being destroyed. In taking that responsibility, I felt so right and so powerful. There's no high like it.

— Karen Pickett

to fully realize how much of the road had already been roughed out. And every day a bulldozer ate the dirt ribbon farther along the green slope. Blockades since the beginning of May had so far failed to convince the press that this was a national issue, and our particular blockade had slowed them down scarcely a half-hour. It remained to be seen whether our efforts had had any effect. All this went through my mind as we endured the cramped, stifling ride to Grants Pass, our hands useless as braces against countless curves in the road.

We were released from jail following arraignment the next day. We all pleaded "no contest" and we all received the same sentence: a fine, a year's probation during which we were to stay off *all* National Forest lands in the state of Oregon, and — a new twist — a restitution payment to Plumley Construction for down time, amounting to \$82.00 per person. Restitution is still being challenged in court as of this writing.

— Shelley Thompson

NEXT ISSUE

- Oregon Blockaders' Trials
- Sinkyone Action
- Road Spiking

OREGON WILDERNESS HEARING

Earth First! Oregon representative Ric Bailey testified at the Oregon wilderness hearing held August 25 in Salem by Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Louisiana Pacific), who intends to introduce wilderness legislation for Oregon in response to the pitiful 1.2 million acre bill recently passed by the House of Representatives.

Hatfield's infamous position on wilderness is demonstrated by the fact that during his 17-year "representation" of Oregon in the Senate, Oregon has accumulated less wilderness and National Park acreage than any state in the West, except Nevada. He has been somewhat willing to protect mountain and glacier country, but has repeatedly fought against protection of forests. His pro-industry bias shone through at the hearing as he constantly referred to forests as "productive timberlands."

The ecologically obscene anti-wilderness forces maintained a boisterous presence at the hearing and, as usual, provided some fine entertainment. One woman proclaimed that "wilderness creates strange ecosystems."

Another razor-voiced creep proclaimed that Oregon has too much wilderness already. "1.2 million acres may not sound like a lot," he insisted, "but that's the size of the state of Delaware!"

One chunky dude from Southwest Oregon lied through his yellow teeth. "Environmentalists," he said, "harassed workers and destroyed equipment up on Bald Mountain."

Other memorable quotes were: "If you lock up those trees, we'll starve," and, "If people can't drive through the wilderness, how can they enjoy it?"

And, of course, the overweight timber industry lobbyists were on hand, supporting the mega-hog chainsaw philosophy with a professional tedium that brought puke to the throats of many. No sense repeating any of that.

Then there was the boring Sierra Club-type testimony: "Heck, Senator, our wilderness proposal only has .9 million board feet on it!" And: "Mr. Hatfield, 2,000 hikers a year use this wilderness proposal!" Along with: "The fisheries contained in this proposal contribute \$2 million to the economy every year!"

The economic justifications for wilderness persisted until Sherry Welborn took the microphone. She told a story of an Indian woman who watched the white man's encroachment upon the Oregon coast. The Indian woman symbolized the Oregon Coast Range Mountains, sight of the most hideous rape of forest ecosystems in America. Wellborn, as the voice of the Indian woman, lamented, "They've taken my body, now they want my heart and soul." The heart and soul being the Wassen Creek and Drift Creek Roadless Areas, the two 12,000 acre islands of old growth which have thus far survived the assault on the Coast Range, which 150 years ago was a 3 million acre forest wilderness.

Then Earth First! Representative Ric Bailey occupied center stage and immediately presented Hatfield with the new Earth First! 7 Million acre Oregon Wilderness proposal (the Oregon Natural Resources Council only called for 3.4 million acres of wilderness), com-

plete with map packet (which was adorned front and back with the EF! monkeywrench/tomahawk symbol), and proclaimed that the EF! proposal was not based on economics, but on moral conscience, emotion and respect for nature. Bailey told Hatfield that, "There are things in this world more important than human pursuits, and value in things that do not bring people material profit."

Bailey's speech was one of the few which received a healthy ovation from the packed Kresge auditorium crowd.

The impact of the EF! testimony remains unknown, since we are dealing with powers soaked in the persuasions of monetary and political manipulation.

To those of us who view the 7 million acre EF! proposal as the beginning of a return to ecological sanity, this battle is only the beginning.

WILDERNESS TESTIMONY OF RIC BAILEY EARTH FIRST! REPRESENTATIVE before SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS HONORABLE SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD PRESIDING

My name is Ric Bailey, I am a native Oregonian who visits Oregon's wilderness areas regularly. I am the Oregon Wilderness Coordinator for Earth First!, a national environmental action movement. My testimony will support the Earth First! wilderness proposal, not limited to the Siskiyou National Forest, the bulk of which is shown on maps I have furnished for your review.

This proposal is not designed



THE EARTH FIRST! OREGON WILDERNESS PROPOSAL

Area Name	Acreage
Mount Hebo	54,000
Drift Creek	39,000
Coast Creeks	48,000
Wassen Creek	43,000
Grassy Knob	90,000
Kalmiopsis	480,000*
Red Buttes	75,000
Mt. Mazama	310,000*
Rogue-Umpqua Divide	285,000
Diamond-Thielson	240,000*
Calapooya Range	195,000
Cascade Volcanoes	560,000*
Old Cascades	150,000
Middle Santiam	180,000
Mt. Jefferson	110,000*
Hidden	160,000
Salmon-Huckleberry	170,000
Badger-White River	130,000
Cascade Falls	150,000
Gearhart-Upper Sycan	190,000*
South Fork John Day	250,000
Strawberry-N.F. Malheur	245,000*
Elkhorn-N.F.J.D.	580,000
Blue Mountains Complex	390,000*
Nez Perce	800,000*
Total	5,954,000

+ other unroaded = 1 million (approx.)

13% of state land area, 44% of state National Forest Land

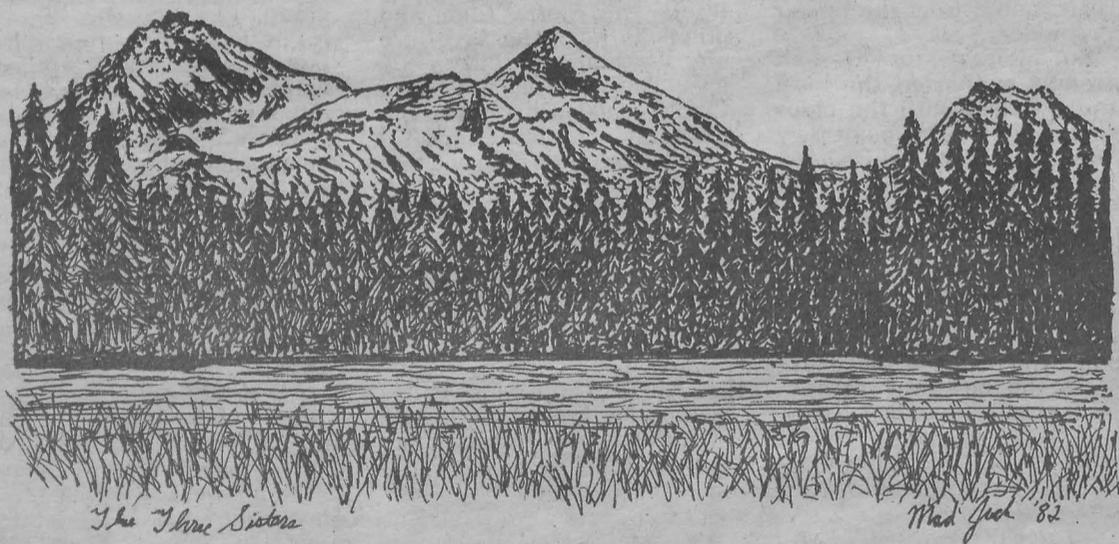
*Does not include acreage of designated wilderness or National Park existing within proposal.

for compromise, or to appear "reasonable" within certain abstract or arbitrarily conceived criteria. It is based on conscience, emotion, and an organization of priorities in pursuit of survival. Because man and the organism of Earth cannot survive without clean air and water, fertile soil, an abundant continuum of natural resources, and an ecological foundation, all of which are provided by the most dependable "producer" of sustained yield we will ever know: Wilderness. Our pursuit in this proposal is to ensure that that ecological foundation is provided.

Our motivation behind this proposal is mainly based on the fact that it would be safer and wiser to create large wilderness preserves than not to. It has also allowed for the fact that the loss of wilderness is an irreversible loss, except in the measure of age-long geologic healing, whereas the loss of what is so boldly referred to as timber base is not.

We would also like to bring up the fact that public forests were originally designed as reserves. Yet we find today that

continued on page 20



EARTH FIRST! PROPOSES 7 MILLION ACRES WILDERNESS IN OREGON NF's

By Ric Bailey

Okay all you two-fisted Oregonians, ever hear of South Fork John Day proposed Wilderness? How about the Nez Perce or the Cascade Volcanoes? Then you obviously haven't heard about the Earth First! Oregon wilderness proposal. Too bad. It's what we should have been pushing for since 1964. It starts out by demanding wilderness designa-

tion for all 4.5 million acres of defacto wilderness, and then tacks on 2.5 million acres of "wilderness recovery zones," where nature will be allowed to reclaim developed land. Patches of roaded old growth forest, and patches of somewhat intact watershed and habitat have been added to perpetrate some real wilderness in Oregon, as opposed to the token recreation

areas, being proposed by "reasonable" conservation groups.

Obviously, it isn't enough to be asking for wilderness designation for some of the frayed roadless remnants that the Forest Service has thus far neglected to devour in their assault on Oregon's Forest Ecosystems. We should be demanding that many previously logged, roaded and otherwise developed areas

be allowed to be restored by natural forces.

The following are some of the highlights of the Oregon EF! wilderness proposal (which was revealed for the first time in front of Senator Hatfield during his Oregon Wilderness Hearing August 25).

CASCADE VOLCANOES: Includes core of existing Three Sisters and Mt. Washington Wildernesses. Runs from Santiam Hwy. (20) south to the Willamette Hwy. (58). Closes Route 242, the McKenzie Pass Highway, and includes Chucksney Mtn., McClennan Mtn., Waldo, Maiden Peak, Charlton Butte, Bend Watershed, Bearwallows and Century Lakes defacto wildernesses, as well as the entirety of the North Fork of the Middle Fork of the Willamette River. It also would protect the entire South Fork McKenzie River, and recommends removal of Cougar Dam. (880,000 acres, including existing wilderness.)

NEZ PERCE: Starts out with the entire Hells Canyon National Recreation Area and existing Eagle Cap Wilderness. Adds Joseph Canyon to the Northwest, and the McGraw Creek BLM area to the Southeast. Includes all proposed Eagle Cap additions and much developed land to the south, particularly in the Eagle Creek drainage. Protects the totality of the Minam and Imnaha Rivers, and closes the ridiculous Imnaha

River, Lostine River, and Hat Point roads. (1.2 million acres including existing wilderness.)

KALMIOPSIS: Combines entire Kalmiopsis Roadless Area with the Wild Rogue Wilderness. Includes entire upper drainages of the Pistol, Chetco and Winchuck Rivers to the west, and all the Briggs and Rough and Ready Creek drainages to the East. Closes the Illinois River Road at Cedar Gulch. Recommends that Bill Covey and Les Moore remove all the gravel from the Bald Mountain Road with their teeth. (710,000 acres including existing wilderness.)

The EF! Oregon proposal also recommends: Four large preserves in the Coast Range, from 39,000 to 54,000 acres; six in the west Cascades ranging from 150,000 to 285,000 acres; four along the Cascade Crest (including the Cascade Volcanoes) from 270,000 to 880,000 acres; and six major preserves in Eastern Oregon (including the Nez Perce) from 300,000 to 1.2 million acres.

Anyone wishing to provide input, or obtain further information on the EF! Oregon wilderness proposal, contact me at P.O. Box 605, Joseph, OR 97846.

And by the way, next time you contact your congressman regarding Oregon Wilderness, be sure to recommend the 7 million acre Earth First! proposal.



Photos by Sam Camp

SINKYONE: LAST BATTLE OF THE REDWOODS?

The Sinkyone People were virtually extinct within ten years of encountering their first white person. These Sinkyone Indians of northern California's rugged Lost Coast were massacred ruthlessly. Now it appears that also within ten years a scoff-law multinational corporation will succeed in massacring the primeval coastal forests which are the remnants of the ancestral Sinkyone home. They have already nearly succeeded.

Here is the only significant unprotected wilderness on America's West Coast. Located in the northwestern corner of Mendocino County, the Sinkyone Wilderness is rugged mountains with old growth redwood forests on steep slopes that fall into the sea. The coastline is stunningly scenic with 700-foot high sea cliffs in places. It is also a major wildlife resource. For example, hundreds of marine mammals — official counts show groups of up to 1,500 animals at once — gather in the cove at Little Jackass Creek. And just inland in the Usal Basin is the largest osprey colony in the western U.S. Or was. Georgia-Pacific Corporation (G-P) has just about finished clear-cutting the Usal.

And now also gone to G-P's Fort Bragg mill is Hotel Gulch. Anderson Gulch. Dark Gulch. At least half of Little Jackass. 1900 acres of harvest plans have been approved for Jackass. And a 370-acre harvest plan has been approved for the Bear Harbor watershed on the very borders of the small, northern

part of the Sinkyone Wilderness that has been spared as a state park. The devastation is tragic and ugly. The massive erosion will permanently degrade streams and habitat. Archaeological sites have been wasted. Species that are dependent on coastal old growth habitat will disappear. G-P's forester in the Sinkyone Wilderness, Jere Melo, achieved 78 separate citations for logging violations in a 3-year period. From this it appears that breaking the law is a way of doing business at G-P.

Local activists have been fighting since 1977 to save the southern Lost Coast. But a ruthless multinational corporation has not been the only enemy. "Liberal" Democratic legislators have forcefully demonstrated that northern California has only one political party: The Corporate Party. And as in numerous other North Coast issues, the Sierra Club is once again on the cutting edge.

Assemblyman Dan Hauser, liberal freshman Democrat, badly betrayed activists and dismayed his liberal constituents. Last January, Hauser wowed environmentalists with announcements that he would accomplish major gains for the Sinkyone Wilderness and he even proposed a moratorium on all further logging there. But the bill he subsequently carried (AB 125) was a thoroughly Georgia-Pacific one which ends all prospect of establishing a real Sinkyone Wilderness. We must also note that the dark power behind Hauser is Sena-

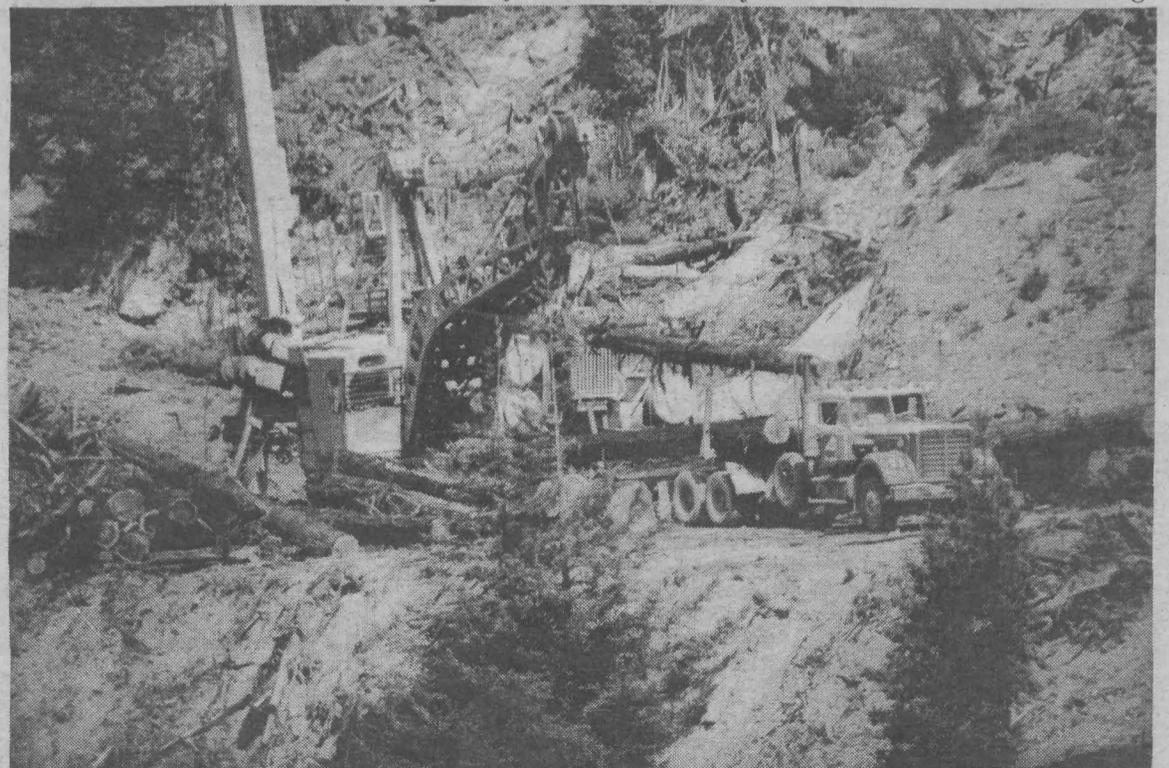
tor Barry Keene, another liberal Democrat, who received everything from special hunting privileges to heavy "campaign" bucks from the timber corporados.

The Sierra Club long and strongly supported the local lead activists until the chips were down. At that point they chose to deal off the issue on their own. They were fearful of criticizing the liberal Hauser, who threatened that if they

didn't back his G-P bill it would be "a cold day in hell" before he'd ever do anything for the Sinkyone. Hauser desperately wants the Sierra Club and others to help him save face and legitimize his dirty dealings. This fits well the Sierra Club's escalated involvement in electoral politics. Unfortunately, more often than not, that involvement requires the Club to sell out issues, including especially those on which they

have never been the lead activists. Local activists should always be careful in trusting their fortunes to any national group.

The legislative process has failed. Georgia-Pacific's greedy hands are free. Local activists intent on saving the remaining trees are looking to legal action. Years of slide shows, radio talks and articles have given the Sinkyone Wilderness an informed and enthusiastic local backing.



Loading Logs in Anderson Gulch



Fresh Desolation in Jackass Creek

Many have announced they will protect the great trees with their bodies. A Timber Harvest Plan to clearcut the 75-acre Sally Bell grove has been approved.

Sally Bell was the last Sinkyone Indian. Action may be taken to protect the Sally Bell Grove, and perhaps has already begun as you read this. Join us in the fight to save the Sinkyone Wilderness. Write the Sinkyone Council at Box 397, Garberville, CA 95440 or telephone (707) 923-2931. The issue is now or never.

— The Man Who Walks In
The Woods

Non-violent direct action may become necessary to save the Redwoods of the Sinkyone from liquidation. Only 4% of the old growth Redwoods remain (see Bill Devall's book review in this issue). We must save those in the Sinkyone. Contact EPIC in Garberville or Bay Area Earth First! contacts (Ed Heske 415-549-1424; Tim Jeffries 456-7433; or Karen Pickett 376-7329) to plan for action or trips to the Sinkyone. Westopped the Forest Service in the Kalmiopsis, now it's time to stop Georgia-Pacific in the Sinkyone!



Anderson Gulch Rape Scene



Beach and Lagoon at Mouth of Jackass Creek

TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR SINKYONE WILDERNESS OLD GROWTH

The Sinkyone Wilderness is located on California's north coast between the King Range on the north, and Usal Creek on the south. Surely it is the wildest, most rugged shoreline on the west coast (outside of Alaska). Because of the Sinkyone's rugged character, Highway 1, when being built, was forced inland where it meets Highway 101 at Legget.

The Sinkyone is home to black bear, osprey, golden eagles, hawks, sea lions, deer, and many more, once including the now-extinct Sinkyone native people. Roosevelt Elk have recently been re-introduced to the King Range. We saw about half of this migrating herd in the Sinkyone on a recent hike.

The Sinkyone issue is not uncommon in the Pacific Northwest. It is the genocide of old growth habitat. It is the clear-cutting of whole watersheds, small coastal watersheds which were, and are forested with towering redwoods and Douglas fir. Georgia Pacific (pathetic) is kill-

ing the Sinkyone. Their desire is to liquidate the remaining old growth. Steep slopes and an annual rainfall in the neighborhood of 100 inches causes thousands of years worth of topsoil to erode into the streams in just a few winters. This senseless destruction has put old growth habitat on the endangered species list.

In the Wolf Creek area (Jackass on USGS map) there was an old logging road called "the old Wheeler road." During spring of this year, G.P. sent in their Earth-raping machines to widen, grade, and gravel this road which had not been used for logging in many years. It is now a G.P. log truck highway, with many new skid road offshoots. On these roads will travel the last stands of Sinkyone Old Growth Redwoods and Douglas Fir. The reality of losing the Sinkyone is very sad. The Sinkyone is our last chance to have and preserve a coastal wilderness. After all, if it were not for wilderness, the human race would have never evolved. We must treat our living old growth ancestors with more respect.

— Sam Camp

EARTH FIRST! LOCAL GROUPS AND CONTACTS

AUSTRALIA
John Seed
 Rainforest Information Centre
 POB 368, Lismore
 New South Wales 2480
 Australia

JAPAN
Rick Davis
 612 Kyoto-shi, Fushimi-ku
 Tanaka-sama-kata
 Tai Bun-shi sama
 Kyoto, Japan

WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS
Vincent Vaguni
 Rainforest Information Centre
 POB 31 Munda
 Western Solomon Islands

ALASKA
Fairbanks - Tom Pogson
 SR 20056
 Fairbanks, AK 99701

Juneau - R. Farnell
 POB 1756
 Juneau, AK 99802

Kenny Lake - Judi Thurmond
 Star Route, Box 334
 Kenny Lake, AK 99573

ARIZONA
Pablo Deseriato
 Box 40154
 Tucson, AZ 85717
 (602) 882-0830

ARKANSAS
T.A. Aldaron
 1827 North Jackson
 Little Rock, AR 72203

CALIFORNIA
Arcata - Bill Devall
 POB 21
 Arcata, CA 95521
 (707) 822-8136

Berkeley - Ed Heske
 51 Del Mar
 Berkeley, CA 94708
 (415) 549-1424

Chico - Mitch Wyss
 POB 1373
 Chico, CA 95927
 (916) 342-3078

Fresno - Michael Bordenave
 SAFE
 3771 Circle Drive West
 Fresno, CA 93704

Marin County - Tim Jeffries
 22 Claus Circle
 Fairfax, CA 94930
 (415) 456-7433

Placerville - Jake Blue & Becky Windmiller
 Box C
 Lotus, CA 95651
 (916) 626-9970

Sacramento - Dennis McEwan
 3424 Von Bauer Way
 Sacramento, CA 95281
 (916) 487-1376

Santa Barbara - Matt Buckmaster
 6764 Sueno Apt. B
 Goleta, CA 93117
 (805) 968-8812

OR
Lawrence Worchester
 935 Camino del Sur
 Isla Vista, CA 93117
 (805) 968-4478

Santa Cruz - Jean Brocklebank
 418 Olive St.
 Santa Cruz, CA 95060
 (408) 426-9266

San Diego - Linda Svendsen
 POB 2236
 Leucadia, CA 92034
 (619) 436-3927

San Francisco - Phillip Friedman
 2300 Ortega St.
 San Francisco, CA 94122
 (415) 665-0794

San Luis Obispo - Jean C. Gordon
 12414 B Mill St.
 San Luis Obispo, CA 93401

Sonoma County - Ken D'Antonio
 10101 Hwy 116
 Forestville, CA 95436
 (707) 887-9107

COLORADO
Boulder - Richard Ling
 1020 13th #K
 Boulder, CO 80302

Durango - Steve Rauworth
 8593 Hwy. 172
 Ignacio, CO 81137
 (303) 884-9864

Ft. Collins - Chris Johnson
 1850 Laporte #B9
 Ft. Collins, CO 80521
 (303) 482-2382

Glenwood Springs - John Flippone
 POB 1091
 Glenwood Springs, CO 81601
 (303) 945-2075

Steamboat - Scotty Sidner
 Bear Pole Ranch
 Steamboat Springs, CO 80477

Telluride - Art Goodtimes
 POB 160
 Norwood, CO 81423
 (303) 327-4767

CONNECTICUT
R. Neil Harvey
 235 South Park Street
 Williamantic, CT 06226
 (203) 423-2926

FLORIDA
Ronnie Hawkins
 10830 SW 8th Court
 Gainesville, FL 32601
 (904) 495-9203

GEORGIA
Julia Heinz
 378 Oakland Avenue SE
 Atlanta, GA 30212
 (404) 525-2271

HAWAII
Will Small
 Box 413
 Mountain View, HI 96771

ILLINOIS
Chicago - Chris Sherbank
 1654 W. Cortland Street
 Chicago, IL 60622
 (312) 227-7877/235-2839

Prairie Grove Group EF!
Don Johnson
 Woodside Farm
 1841 South River Rd
 Des Plaines, IL 60018
 (312) 296-7960

OR
Tim Byers
 (312) 463-8045

Urbana - Bill Enos
 1206 East Michigan
 Urbana, IL 61801
 (217) 384-9016

KANSAS
Manhattan - Neil Schanker
 1221 Thurston
 Manhattan, KS 66502
 (913) 594-4935

Oskaloosa - Daniel Dancer
 Sleeping Beauty Ranch
 Oskaloosa, KS 66066

MAINE
Brunswick - Gary Lawless
 POB 186
 Brunswick, ME 04011
 (207) 729-5083

Harrington - Charles Ewing
 RD 1
 Harrington, ME 04643

MARYLAND
Leonard J. Kerpelman
 2403 West Rogers
 Baltimore, MD 21209
 (301) 367-8855

MINNESOTA
Tom Lewanski
 3718 Columbus
 Minneapolis, MN 55407

MONTANA
Randall Gloege
 343 North Rimroad
 Billings, MT 59102
 (406) 256-0965

NEVADA
Jomayne R. Stevens
 65 Vine Street
 Reno, NV 89503

NEW JERSEY
Bob Ludd
 246 Fawn Ridge
 Mountainside, NJ 07092
 (201) 233-7656 (N)
 (201) 624-7446 (D)

Stacey Washko
 RD #4 Box 350
 North Brunswick, NJ 08902
 (201) 821-9647/821-8644

Mike Lidestri
 96 Merritt Avenue
 Bergenfield, NJ 07621
 (201) 385-2047

Bob Philbin
 Box 698 Meadow Ave. RD #2
 Blackwood, NJ 08012
 (609) 227-8248

NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque - Karen Brown
 500 Princeton SE, Apt. 3
 Albuquerque, NM 87106
 (505) 277-5716 W

Sante Fe - Rue Christie
 POB 5910
 Sante Fe, NM 87501
 (505) 988-4284

NEW YORK
Troy - Ralph Meima
 251 Liberty Street
 Troy, NY 12180
 (518) 272-2496

Tully - Milton Bieber
 Stevens Road RD #1
 Tully, NY 13429
 (315) 696-8072

NORTH CAROLINA
Andrews - Hank & Mary Fonda
 Route 1, Box 640B
 Andrews, NC 28901
 (704) 321-4086

Asheville - Jay Gertz
 120 High Valley
 Alexander, NC 28701

Star - Ron & Sue Correll
 Star Farm Rt. 1, Box 78 A-1
 Star, NC 27356

OHIO
Reed Noss
 140 North West Street
 Westerville, OH 43081
 (614) 891-4814

OKLAHOMA
Forrest Johnson
 1402 Rebecca Lane
 Norman, OK 73069
 (404) 364-3555

OREGON
Corvallis - Lynn Cochran
 744 NW 27th
 Corvallis, OR 97330
 (503) 753-6486

Eugene - Marcy Willow
 2551 Emerald Street
 Eugene, OR 97403
 (503) 342-7040

Grants Pass - Steve Marsden
 6166 Monument Drive
 Grants Pass, OR 97526
 (503) 474-0259

Portland - Melinda Lee
 POB 594
 Sherwood, OR 97140
 (503) 628-2814

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia - Lisa Jo Frech
 233 Plymouth Road
 Gwynedd Valley, PA 19437

TENNESSEE
Charlotte & Carl Leathers
 107 South Bellevue Drive
 Nashville, TN 37205
 (615) 352-8716

TEXAS
Dallas/Ft. Worth - Don McDowell
 3204 Mineral Wells Hwy.
 Weatherford, TX 76086
 (817) 594-4935

Terlingua - Rio Grande Guides Assoc.
 Box 57
 Terlingua, TX 70852

UTAH
Escalante - Robert Weed
 Calf Creek Box 60
 Escalante, UT 84726

Logan - George Nickas
 422 North 400 East
 Logan, UT 84321

Moab - Bob Phillips
 POB 381
 Moab, UT 84532
 (801) 259-8953

Park City - Judi Bell-Marcy
 POB 2159
 Park City, UT 84060
 (801) 649-2777

Provo - Ken Wintch
 1101 Elm Avenue
 Provo, UT 84601

Salt Lake City - Spurs Jackson
 POB 26221
 Salt Lake City, UT 84126
 (801) 355-2154

VERMONT
Linda Hay
 POB 781
 Springfield, VT 05156
 (802) 263-5427/885-9459

VIRGINIA
Manassas - Lee Few
 7610 Glenolden Place
 Manassas, VA 22111
 (703) 361-2239

Staunton - Alan Kinchloe
 Route 1, Box 54A
 Millboro, VA 24460

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Terry J. Harris
 108 North Adams Street
 Rockville, MD 20850
 (301) 762-1312

WEST VIRGINIA
J.R. Spruce
 Box 222-A RR 1
 Ridgeley, WV 26753
 (304) 738-2212

WISCONSIN
Madison - Bob Kaspar
 305 North Sixth Street
 Madison, WI 53704

Pembine - Coldfoot Creek
 Route 1
 Pembine, WI 54156
 (715) 324-6422

Southeast - Meri Kuehn
 703 Union Street #2
 Hartford, WI 53027
 (414) 673-6372

WYOMING
Jackson - Hiroshima Svendsen
 Box 2166
 Jackson, WY 83001
 (307) 733-4793

Sundance - Harry Longbaugh
 POB 1015
 Sundance, WY 82729

EARTH FIRST! STATE WILDERNESS COORDINATORS

The following people are coordinating the development of EF! wilderness proposals and comments to agencies in their respective states. If you'd like to coordinate wilderness studies for EF! in your state and comments to the BLM, Forest Service, etc., please let us know so we can list you here. If you'd like to help with such studies and comments, contact the State Wilderness Coordinator listed for your state.

ARIZONA
Pablo Deseriato
 Box 40154 Tucson, AZ 85717
 (602) 882-0830

CALIFORNIA
Nancy Morton
 230 West 7th Avenue
 Chico, CA 95926
 (916) 343-6547

IDAHO
Howie Wolke
 Box 2348
 Jackson, WY 83001
 (307) 733-5343

MONTANA
Howie Wolke

NEVADA
Bart Koehler
 POB 235
 Ely, NV 89301
 (702) 289-8636

NEW MEXICO
Karen Brown
 500 Princeton SE Apt. 3
 Albuquerque, NM 87106
 (505) 277-5716 W

OREGON
Ric Bailey
 c/o 342 North 9th
 Madras, OR 97741
 (503) 475-2105

UTAH
Bart Koehler

VERMONT
Linda Hay
 POB 781
 Springfield, VT 05156
 (802) 263-5427/885-9459

WYOMING
Howie Wolke

SLEEP CHEAP

Want to meet other EF'ers as you travel the country? Want to avoid the expense of motels or the excitement of sleeping under picnic tables at roadside rest stops? Then SLEEP CHEAP is for you. SLEEP CHEAP is a listing of EF'ers willing to provide floor space for other EF'ers passing through. Travelers should be considerate and give their prospective hosts plenty of warning by writing or phoning in advance. If you'd like to be listed as a SLEEP CHEAP host, contact the newspaper.

Clod Funstonn, POB 767
ANCHORAGE, AK 99510

Eagle Rock (Dave)
 (505) 243-2096
ALBUQUERQUE, NM
 (call for address)

Julie Heinz (404) 525-2271
 378 Oakland Avenue SE
ATLANTA, GA 30312

Chris Sherbank (312) 227-7877/
 235-2839 1654 W. Cortland St.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

Chris Johnson (303) 482-2382
 1850 Laporte Avenue #B9
FORT COLLINS, CO 80521

Charles Ewing (207) 483-9763
 RD 1
HARRINGTON, ME 04643

Marzapan
 124 3rd Avenue SE
RONAN, MONTANA 59864

Richard Warnick, POB 374
MONTICELLO, UT 84535

Coldfoot Creek (715) 324-6422
 Rt. 1 Pembine, WI 54156
NORTHEAST WISCONSIN

Lawrence Worchester
 (805) 968-4478
 or Steve Schuman
 968-6123 935
 Camino del Sur,
 Isla Vista, CA 93117
SANTA BARBARA AREA

Nancy Martin, Star Rt. 34
 Dulzura, CA 92017
SAN DIEGO AREA

Ken D'Antonio 10101 Hwy. 116
 Forestville, CA 95436
SONOMA COUNTY

Thoron Lane (602) 744-1001
 Box 87, Cortaro, AZ 85230
TUCSON AREA
 (no pets or children)

Pablo Deseriato (602) 882-0830
 Box 40154
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85717

Bill Enos (217) 384-9016
 1206 E. Michigan
URBANA, ILLINOIS 61801

ROAD SHOW

The East-of-the-Rockies Earth First! Road Show planned for this fall has been postponed until spring of 1984. Nonetheless, folks willing to promote an appearance by the Road Show in their area should contact Dave Foreman now (230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926). The Eastern Road Show will consist of musicians Johnny Sagebrush and Cecelia Ostrow, speaker Dave Foreman, the Cracking of Glen Canyon Dam movie, and will focus on preservation of the world's rainforests.

An Earth First! Northern Rockies Road Show is being planned, however, for this fall (last week of October and first week of November). The tour with Howie Wolke, Dave Foreman and possibly Johnny Sagebrush (Bart Koehler) will hit Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. It will concentrate on wilderness preservation in the Northern Rockies: developing EF! wilderness proposals, preventing development of roadless areas by means of the EF! RARE II lawsuit in Oregon (EF! vs. Block), direct action where needed and the organization of local EF! groups in the area. The schedule is being worked on now and can include everything from meeting with a handful of EF! activists in a private strategy session to an appearance before a large public audience to radio/TV/press interviews. If you would like Howie, Dave and Bart to come to your area in Idaho, Montana or Wyoming, contact Howie Wolke immediately: Box 2348, Jackson, WY 83001 (307) 733-5343.

WANTED - FILE CABINET

The cardboard box routine is getting a little out of hand so we're looking for a generous soul with a used metal file cabinet who would like to donate it (or sell it cheaply) to the Earth

UTAH WILDERNESS

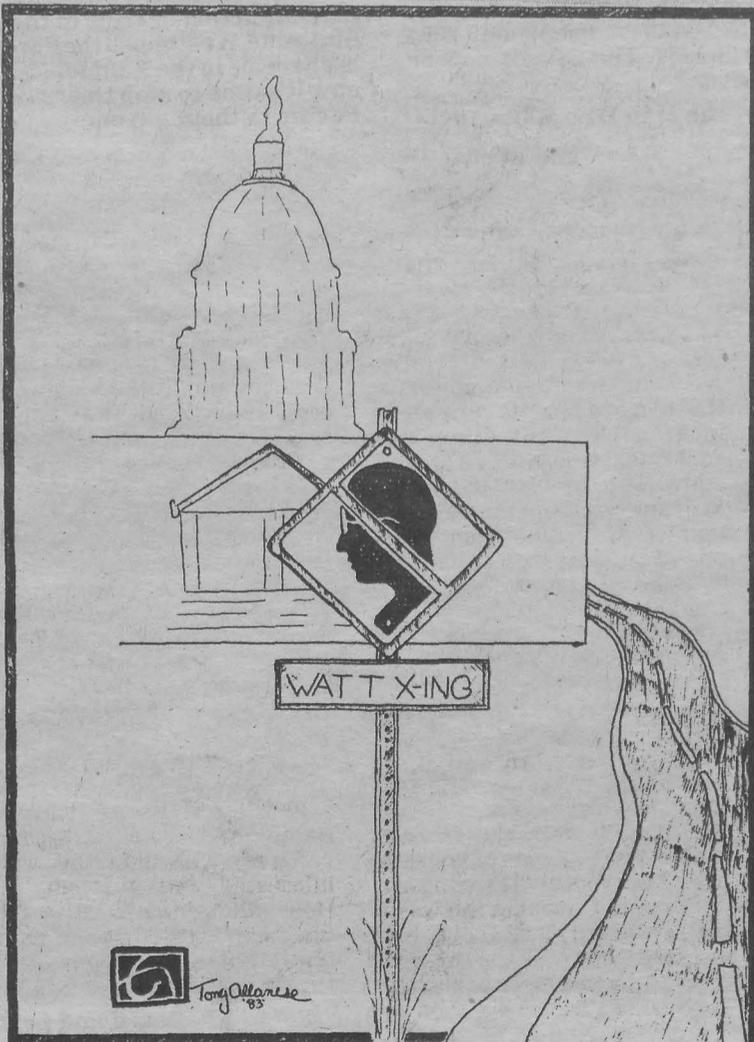
The Utah Congressional Delegation and Governor have announced their plan for National Forest Wilderness in Utah and conservationists are reeling in shock. Even the restrained and moderate Utah Wilderness Association was stunned. Earth First! spokesperson Spurs Jackson of Salt Lake City said, "I can't believe that these venal bastards (the Utah Delegation) have the arrogance to call this a 'wilderness' proposal! It is a plan to destroy Utah, plain and simple."

Utah currently has only one designated wilderness: the tiny (29,000 acre) Lone Peak area near Salt Lake City. Of the 3 million acres of roadless National Forest lands identified during RARE II in Utah, the Utah Delegation is proposing a minuscule 615,000 acres. The Utah Wilderness Association and other groups are only proposing 1.6 million acres for wilderness.

"We won't buy either the 'rape-and-run' proposal by the delegation or the 'sell-out' proposal by the other environmental groups," said Jackson. "There is no good reason why all 3 million roadless acres in Utah's National Forests should not be wilderness. Earth First! is also looking at roaded areas that should be rehabilitated and allowed to return to a wilderness condition."

Bart Koehler (P.O. Box 235, Ely, NV 89301 702-289-8636) is coordinating the development of the EF! wilderness proposal for Utah. If you can help or have suggestions, contact him immediately.

First! office. We can pick it up anywhere in Northern California but could possibly arrange to get it to Chico from other areas as well. Contact us at 230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926. Thanks!



NOTE TO LOCAL CONTACTS

Please check your address, name and phone number to make sure they are correct. Please send in change of address or phone number information promptly. Also make sure that you are listed. If not, let us know.

Wisconsin EF! meeting

Wisconsin's first EF! meeting was held in the southeastern part of the state in July. Fifteen people were present for a lively discussion on just what Earth First! should mean in Wisconsin, a state with precious little large-scale wilderness but with tremendous pressure from mining interests, nuke dump plans, and the Navy's Project ELF — all slated for our northern counties.

On the local front, action was considered against the scheduled shipments of spent nuclear fuel through Mulwaukee.

The freedom of our waters was an important topic. A possible long-term goal discussed was the removal of the Wisconsin River's dams.

More discussion and a firm-up of action plans is bound to happen at our second get-together: September 18th in Madison. Flyers will be sent to Wisconsin subscribers.

For more information, contact Meri Keuhn, Rt. 1, Box 99A, Mayville, WI 53050 (414) 673-7345.

CANYONLANDS NUKE DUMP ACTION MAY BE IMMINENT

Our spies warn us that the Department of Energy may try to slip into the Davis Canyon area next to Canyonlands National Park in Utah this November or December to begin test drilling for the nation's first high level nuclear waste dump. Earth First! is pledged to confront the DOE to blockade ANY activity for the nuke dump near Canyonlands. We are watching. If you would like to participate in non-violent direct action at Canyonlands or help in a support capacity, please contact Bob Phillips, POB 381, Moab, UT 84532 (801) 259-8353 or Spurs Jackson, POB 26221, Salt Lake City, UT 84126 (801) 355-2154.

CLIPPINGS

Please send any newspaper clippings mentioning Earth First! or subjects of interest to us at 230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926. Thank you!

EF! PROPOSES 7.3 MILLION ACRES WILDERNESS IN IDAHO

Mike Roselle, an oilfield worker from Driggs, Idaho, testified for Earth First! at a U.S. Senate hearing in Idaho Falls in early August on the Idaho Congressional Delegation's plan to essentially destroy the remaining Forest Service roadless country in the state. While the Idaho timber industry proposed 600,000 acres of additional wilderness for Idaho (rock and ice, of course), Roselle resolutely called for 7.3 million acres of Idaho National Forest land to be added to the Wilderness System.

In a letter to U.S. Forest Service Chief Max Peterson, Earth First! national wilderness coordinator Howie Wolke, a guide and outfitter from Jackson, Wyoming, said, "Idaho has more unprotected wilderness — over 7 million acres — than any other state. Nearly all of it is threatened. Earth First! will not allow the destruction of this internationally significant wildland resource. We intend to actively resist the timber industry,

been allowed to occur in the first place. But the vast majority of our proposal consists of lands that are currently in a wilderness condition. We've identified over 7 million acres of these lands, while the Forest Service has, thus far, only recognized 6.5 million acres of roadless forestlands in the state. Without legal protection for

these areas, the exploiters will win; the land and the people of Idaho will lose."

For more information on the Earth First! Idaho Forests Wilderness Proposal or to help in refining the proposal, contact Howie Wolke, Box 2348, Jackson, WY 83001 (307) 733-5343. The areas included in the Earth First! proposal are:

NATIONAL FOREST WILDERNESS PROPOSAL FOR IDAHO:

Name of Area	Forest	Acreage
Lionhead	Targhee	17,000*
Mt. Jefferson	Targhee	7,000*
Garnes Mtn.	Targhee	130,000
Palisades	Targhee	145,000**
Italian Peak	Targhee/Salmon	206,000*
Bear Creek	Caribou	105,000
Caribou City	Caribou	90,000
Stump Creek	Caribou	104,000
Gannett-Spring Creek	Caribou	20,000**
Worm Creek	Caribou	42,000
Mt. Naomi	Caribou	30,000\$
Clarkston Mtn.	Caribou	15,000
Elkhorn Mtn.	Caribou	50,000
Oxford Mtn.	Caribou	50,000
Bonneville Peak	Caribou	34,000
Scout Mtn.	Caribou	28,000
West Mink	Caribou	21,000
Cache Peak	Sawtooth	29,000
Mahogany Butte	Sawtooth	23,000\$
Smokey Dome Mts.	Sawtooth	100,000
Sawtooth Additions	Sawtooth/Boise	448,000
White Cloud-Boulder	Sawtooth/Challis	675,000††
Pioneer Mts.	Sawtooth/Challis	280,000
W. White Knob Mts.	Challis	50,000
E. White Knob Mts.	Challis	80,000
Pashimeroi	Challis	100,000
Borah Peak	Challis	140,000
King Mtn.	Challis	100,000
Jumpoff Mtn.	Challis	25,000
Lemhi Range	Challis/Salmon	585,000
Danskin Mts.	Boise	25,000
Breadwinner	Boise	38,000
Trinities North	Boise	86,000
Trinities South	Boise	40,000
Steel Mtn.	Boise	24,000
Eightmile	Boise	120,000
Deadwood	Boise	62,000
Scott Mtn.	Boise	195,000
Snowbank Mtn.	Boise/Payette	36,000
Lick Creek	Payette	92,000
Needles	Payette	73,000
Lick Creek East	Payette	70,000
French Creek	Payette	160,000
Council Mtn.	Payette	16,000
Hell's Canyon Additions	Payette/Nezperce	205,000†
Gospel Hump Addition	Nezperce	51,000
Silver Creek	Nezperce	36,000
Beaverhead Mts.	Salmon	75,000*
Allan Mtn.	Salmon	47,000*
Jureanco	Salmon	31,000
Goat Mtn.	Salmon	34,000
River of No Return Additions:	Bitterroot/Boise/Challis/Nezperce/Payette/Salmon	628,000*
Selway-Bitterroot Additions:	Nezperce/Bitterroot/Clearwater	365,000*
Great Burn	Clearwater	151,000*
Big Horn-Wietas	Clearwater	250,000
El Dorado	Clearwater	11,000
Pot Mtn.	Clearwater	50,000
Moose Mtn.	Clearwater	18,000
Mallard-Larkins	Panhandle	290,000
Sheep Mtn.	Panhandle	30,000*
Grandmother Mtn.	Panhandle	40,000
Trout Creek	Panhandle	8,000*
Scion Kop	Panhandle	31,000
Tepee Creek	Panhandle	5,000
E. Cathedral Peak	Panhandle	21,000
Scotchman Peaks	Panhandle	32,000*
Selkirks	Panhandle	120,000
Upper Priest	Panhandle	15,000
Salmo-Priest	Panhandle	20,000‡
Magee	Panhandle	37,000

TOTAL: 7.3 Million Acres

*Contiguous proposed wilderness is in Montana.
 **Contiguous proposed wilderness is in Wyoming.
 \$Contiguous proposed wilderness is in Utah.
 †Contiguous proposed wilderness is in Oregon.
 ‡Contiguous proposed wilderness is in Washington.
 ††Acreage figure includes approximately 85,000 acres BLM lands.



Idaho's White Cloud Mountains

Photo by Howie Wolke

DESTROYING CAPITOL REEF: MASADA 1984

The place is Waterpocket Fold in Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Instead of the Roman Army, an even more powerful U.S. Government is proposing in HR 3363 to appropriate \$6,000,000 to engineer a breach midway in the 100-mile long Reef and continue the desecration of pavement from Bull-(shit)frog Marina on Lake Foul to the still remote Shangri-la community of Boulder.

Instead of 700 Jews defending the rock, the Burr Trail fans who have traveled the scenic, rugged route will be trying to defend this backcountry partially owned by the National Park Service from paving and blasting. For those of you who are familiar with the bizarre Muley Twist Canyon (a favorite of backpackers in the south part of the Park), imagine the wash bed contained in a cement conduit 100 feet above the dugway as it descends into a blasted crevice 250 feet deep; then in

defiance of Waterpocket Fold's tilt, which doesn't meet federal highway standards, a Masada-like causeway visible for 50 miles in both directions will descend into Strike Valley and cross Hall's Wash over a massive steel bridge.

This one monumental cut and fill, costing the Park Service 6 million dollars out of their puny budget to take tourists literally through the Park, is only a teaspoon in the bucket of bullshit bulldozing and blasting that Senator James McClure of Idaho pushed through his subcommittee dealing with the Interior Department Appropriations Bill.

When Congress convenes in mid-September, McClure and radical developers Senators Hatch and Garn (Utah's gang-bangers) will slide the well-lubricated bill through the House and Senate to satisfy Calvin Pimp Black's dream come true: the raping of southern Utah's wildlands.

— Yeti

Forest Service and Reagan Administration in their coordinated effort to destroy Idaho's wild country."

Earth First! spokesperson, Wendy Warren of Pocatello, commented, "The timber industry proposal is ridiculous. It would open more than 90% of Idaho's unprotected wildlands to logging, road construction and other kinds of development. Idaho's wildlands are valuable just as they are for wildlife, watershed, recreation and the maintenance of our planet's biological diversity. The EF! proposal is the only way to maintain Idaho's high quality of life. This is a conservative proposal in the true and positive sense of the word."

Warren said that a few currently roaded and developed areas were included in the EF! wilderness proposal and would be allowed to gradually revert to a wilderness condition as "Wilderness Recovery Areas." She explained, "In some cases, the only way to have an ecologically viable wilderness is to close down destructive developments that never should have

DEAR NED LUDD

CAMOUFLAGE

Traditional camouflage is fine if you want to do nothing but sneak around and hide *all the time*, but for practical purposes and usefulness there is a better way to go about it.

VEHICLES - Paint your truck, van or whatever one color with a good automotive 'semi-gloss' or flat paint. Good colors are white, yellow, orange, green or brown.

Install a CB antenna or two, even if you don't have a CB radio.

Paint the wheels the same color as the vehicle or flat black. Avoid 'raised white letter' tires or any other custom accessories.

Avoid 'suggestive' bumperstickers on the vehicle. American flag decals are good.

Cover any packs or other camping gear with a plain canvas tarp. Leave tool boxes, torches and other 'working gear' out in the open (so long as the gear looks like it belongs on the job). Two or three sets of 'official looking' magnetic door signs could be useful.

CLOTHING - Coveralls are the best camouflage you can wear. Get some blue, orange or white ones. You can buy used coveralls for a reasonable price at most any linen supply company. Also wear a hardhat. Try to have two or three that are the same color as your coveralls.

If you use these hints you should be able to drive up to or even right into any construction development or energy exploration site with no trouble at all. Act like you belong.

Just remember: The most obvious is most often the most overlooked.

- Redeye

CONGRESSMAN VICTIM

House minority leader Robert Michel (R-IL) has been the victim of a rash of small round green and white stickers found attached to the door of his local office in Peoria, Illinois.

EARTH FIRST! LUDDITE BEAR CAPTURED

A 150-pound female black bear, believed to be a member of Earth First!, was captured in August on Fort Lewis Mountain in Virginia. She is suspected of damaging aircraft radio beacons on the mountain and will be removed to the George Washington National Forest by state game commission trappers.

LOGGING BLIMP

Financed by the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Forest Service is having a \$10 million dirigible constructed for logging in remote, roadless areas of the Pacific Northwest. The new tool of the timber beasts is being constructed by Piasecki Aircraft Corp. of Philadelphia from four Navy H-34 helicopters and a 340-foot dirigible salvaged from a Navy blimp. The "Heli-Stat" will be filled with 1 million cubic feet of helium.

LOVE CANALS ON THE PUBLIC LANDS?

A high-level working group under Secretary of the Interior James Watt is exploring the possibility of using federal lands (public lands) to store toxic and hazardous waste produced by private industry. Watt has already said that he would not object to drilling for a high-level nuclear waste dump in Utah's Canyonlands National Park. Perhaps the Grand Canyon can be filled with old uranium mill tailings or Carlsbad Caverns stuffed with dioxin. And who would notice a few rusting and leaking 55-gallon drums scattered about in the Gates of the Arctic?

CYPRESS MURDER

Pro-development chainsaw vandals have murdered the world's largest Santa Cruz Cypress in Santa Cruz County, California. The massive tree, listed on the National Big Trees Register of the American Forestry Association, was 75 feet high with a 5½ foot diameter trunk and a limb spread of 60 feet. The great tree was on private land slated to be cleared for a vineyard and was cut down in late April after an effort had been made to encourage the Santa Cruz County Planning Department to save the tree. **ANY INFORMATION ON THIS CRIMINAL ACT SHOULD BE SENT TO EARTH FIRST!**

MACHINERY BURNED

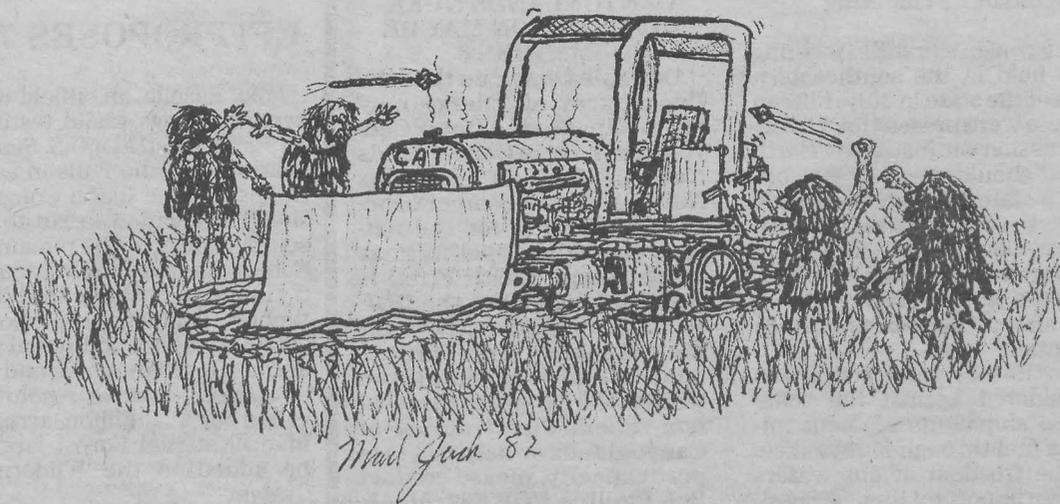
From the U.S. Forest Service Daily News Digest, June 13, 1983: **MACHINERY BURNED** - Logging equipment valued at \$82,000 has been destroyed by anti-herbicide protestors in Oregon, says the *Oregonian*. The equipment was burned on land owned by Starker Forest, Inc. The vandals left behind messages which read: "You spray, you pay." and "You kill, we will."

ELEPHANT DANCE

(Jakarta, June 24) - According to the June 24 edition of a local evening newspaper, *Shin-aru Harapan*, a settlement in the southern part of Rampon Province, Sumatra, was set upon by a herd of elephants; over fifty dwellings and farmland including coffee trees were completely destroyed. The two hundred inhabitants, only one of whom was injured, fled to a neighboring village.

This area had originally been a forest, where the elephants lived a life apart from humans, and had plenty of fruit and such to eat. But in recent years, the trees have been cut down, roads built, and the area covered with the villages of settlers. The elephants were pushed into a nearby "protected area," but this area is small and marsh-like with few trees, so the elephants left it and began to wander in search of food.

The twenty or so elephants which attacked the settlement ran wild for several hours until late at night. It is said that they repeatedly ran over houses which had already been mashed flat, and also chased the fleeing residents.



FOREST SERVICE: ORGANIC FERTILIZERS CAUSED ABORTIONS, NOT 2,4-D

Ray Wineman, the Forest Service's California Regional Director of Timber Management, is out to make John Crowell look like a Sierra Clubber. Responding to protests that an unusually high number of miscarriages in Northern California and Oregon may be due to Forest Service spraying of herbicides, Wineman was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as saying that the miscarriages are more likely due to the use of organic fertilizers and drinking goat's milk than to spraying the National Forests where the women lived with 2,4-D.

The Forest Service in Northern California is planning a massive herbicide spraying program to convert National Forests into tree farms. Local residents are vowing resistance - with no pledge to stay within the law or even remain non-violent.



"Let 'em eat cheese.."

from an inspiration by Richard Labovitz

The TRAIL of RISING and FALLING BIRDS



MAY-SEPT. 1983

PAINTINGS of...

RISING BIRDS: where nature is reasserted.... at mud slides, earthquakes, self-destructed bridges, banks, + industries, alternative energy sites, earthlife + holistic institutions.

FALLING BIRDS: where nature is threatened.... at toxic waste dumps, dams, nuke places, existing/proposed energy horrors, earth- and mind-rape industries and institutions.

EXECUTED...

all over the U.S.A. on highways, billboards, power lines, oil tanks, etc., at "environmental" sites that are symbolic of the way our world is today...

by...GreenEagle/LN

HEXES & JINXES APPEARING ALL OVER THE WEST

Mysterious signs and symbols have been appearing on billboards all across the West in the past year. Letters with strange squiggles and birdlike figures have been dotting the highways and biways from county roads to Interstates. Nothing further has been known about these mysterious symbols until the following appeared in the mailbox.

Be on the lookout for these curious "bird curses" and to the anonymous perpetrators, whoever they may be, good luck and we hope they work.



JINX ON WHITE RIVER DAM & SHALE PROJECT
2.9 m. S. Bonanza, S-end of W.R. bridge.

EARTH FIRST! AND NON-VIOLENCE

A DISCUSSION

What is the role of non-violent direct action within the Earth First! movement? What is the role of Earth First! within the non-violent movement? Does the acceptance of monkeywrenching negate non-violence? Are the Earth First! logos of the Green Fist and the Monkeywrench violent? Would an acceptance of philosophical non-violence weaken and compromise the militant stance of Earth First!? Important questions. A variety of Earth First!ers and others discuss them on the following 4 pages in this special section. We would welcome comments from our readers on this important issue.

Perhaps the question I am most often asked by reporters is this: "How do you reconcile non-violent actions like the Kalmiopsis Blockade with your advocacy of ecotage?" My friend, Montana, asks the question from a different angle in this issue's Letters to the Editor column. She asks, if our direction is to become the path of Gandhi, where she fits into Earth First! since she just wouldn't put up with being pushed by a bulldozer.

When I am in a flippant mood, I quote Ralph Waldo Emerson: "Consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." But more than frivolity is required. It is in either form a fundamental question. I can only answer by saying Earth First! is not a monolith. There is not a central directorate at its helm. There are many of us, with many styles, many abilities, many callings. We are united in a belief in Earth first. There are many tools in the pursuit of that goal and many places within the broad movement that is called Earth First!. Among those tools and places (with considerable overlap) are: lifestyle, philosophy, traditional environmental activism, demonstrations, guerrilla theater, non-violent direct action and ecotage.

Some are called to experiment with lifestyles, to develop ways of living *in* the Earth as "plain citizens" instead of "Lord and Master." How can we lower our demands on the life support system of Mother Earth? How can we give plenty of room to the many other species sharing this planet with us? How can we re-inhabit the *place* in which we are? If human beings, particularly "civilized" human beings, are to continue to live on Earth, we must find a better way.

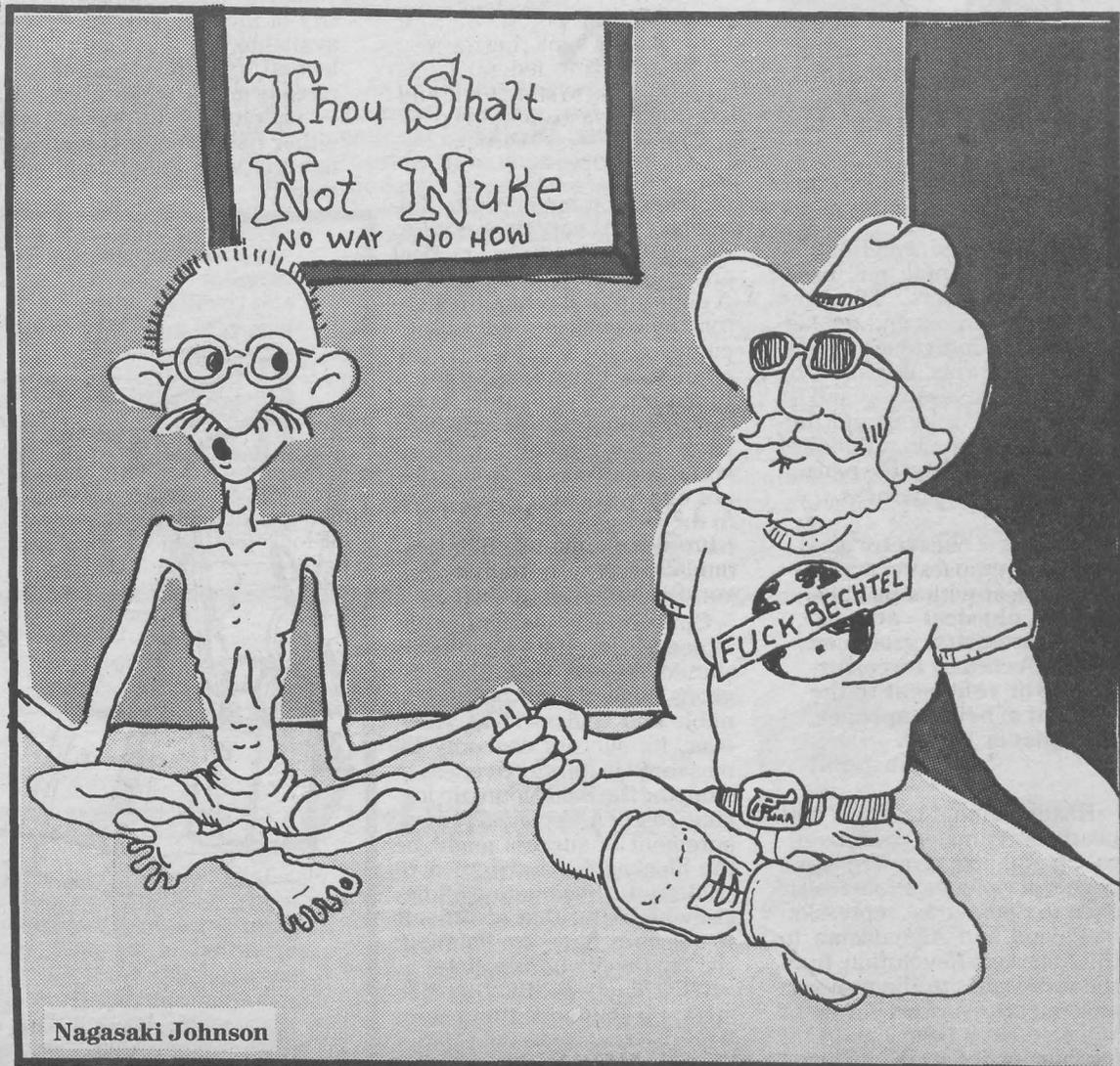
Others are drawn to philosophy, to creating a new paradigm — one of Deep Ecology or biocentrism. An Earth-compatible lifestyle must be grounded on the solid bedrock of a worldview in harmony with ecological law. So must activism to protect Earth. The intel-

lectual dust of ages must be swept away to change attitudes of "multiply and subdue" and "God put these resources here for *people* to use." Cartesian consciousness must be replaced with aboriginal consciousness.

Many Earth First!ers work within the system to protect natural diversity but from a perspective of Deep Ecology. They find their role in drawing up no-compromise wilderness boundaries, identifying lands that can be rehabilitated (roads closed, dams torn down, clearcuts revegetated, extirpated wildlife reintroduced), testifying at hearings with intransigent stands, lobbying bureaucrats and politicians, educating the public and filing tough lawsuits. They are fighting in the same arena as do the Sierra Club and Audubon Society but without accepting the rules of the game as devised by the industrial power brokers. This may be less glamorous than direct action but it is extremely important. It was, after all, a lawsuit that stopped the Bald Mountain Road.

Many of us feel a need to take to the streets peacefully and legally — but passionately — to voice our opinions about those who would rape our Mother. Our Glen Canyon Funeral this May is a good example. Some would take this a step further into guerrilla theater as we did two years ago with our "Cracking of Glen Canyon Dámn" or when Tiny Logsden in Albuquerque smashed up the oil rig of "Earth Last!" Such demonstrations and stunts can gather much-needed media exposure. (Music and humor are critical elements of this approach.)

There are an increasing number of cases, however, where legal methods — no matter how militant — fail and the only recourse to protect wild country is to go beyond the narrow confines of what is "legal." It becomes time to place our bodies between the machine and the wilderness. To do this, we must be deliberate, we must be prepared, we must be fully com-



Nagasaki Johnson

mitted to act non-violently. To engage in non-violent direct action, we are going beyond the laws of the state. We may be arrested. We may be fined. We may be jailed. We may be physically assaulted, even injured. But besides the courage required to face such threats, we must also be fully prepared to *remain non-violent no matter what the situation*. Non-violence under these conditions means not to even verbally assail those to whom we may be in "opposition." We must remain calm and peaceful even in life-threatening situations. Why? When we enter into a non-violent action, after great deliberation, we have made a public commitment. To break that bond will destroy the moral force which is the strength of *ahimsa*. It will ruin our future credibility. Moreover, it will endanger others who are engaged in the action with us at the time or who may engage in such actions in the future.

I am not by nature a pacifist. Indeed, I have ethical objections to an all-pervasive philosophical pacifism. But I am fully convinced through direct experience of the power of non-violence. I am impressed by the strength one gains by such action. I am impressed with the effect such action has on the general public, the media and one's "opponents." Nonetheless, non-violent action is most definitely *not* for everyone. Go through a non-violence preparation. You should be able to judge yourself afterwards. (I recommend a NVP even for those who do not plan to participate in such actions because

they will better understand NV actions and will become more deliberate in other things as well.) If you cannot make a full commitment to non-violence for the *specific action*, if you have any doubt, then do not do it.

There are many good reasons not to engage in a blockade or other NV action. For personal or business reasons you may not be able to be arrested. You can still help as a support person, though, if you wish. Your personality may not be right for such action. You may have philosophical or practical doubts about non-violence. You may just not want to do it. Fine. There are many other roles — just as important — in defense of Mother Earth. It is heroic, yes, to put yourself between a bulldozer and the wilderness. But it is not at all cowardly *not* to. Do not feel pushed into blockading. Do it only if it is right for you and if you are fully prepared to face the consequences.

Non-violent direct action is expensive in many ways (see the articles by Australians Trudgen and Russell in this section). We cannot do it everywhere natural diversity is threatened by the rough industrial monster. In many cases it is not applicable or practical. There is another step beyond NV direct action. This is monkeywrenching (or ecotage). I consider monkeywrenching to be non-violent since it is not aimed at harming any life. It is directed only towards machines in self-defense of Earth. Monkeywrenching is also a very deliberate action. It should not be undertaken lightly or with-

out deep consideration. But it can be very inexpensive and effective. *Earth First!* does not and cannot officially endorse such action. It is a personal decision. But it can save the wild when other methods fail. Consider, for example, the impact of several hundred people throughout the United States spiking trees or vehicle trails in threatened wild lands. That alone could effectively protect millions of acres of Forest Service and BLM roadless lands from logging, ORVs, and mineral and energy exploration and development much as the tsetse fly protects millions of acres of wildlife-rich wild lands in Africa from humans and their ravaging cattle.

Non-violent direct action and monkeywrenching are like milk and beer. They are very good individually but godawful when mixed. When a NV action is taken in defense of wilderness, we must strongly discourage any kind of ecotage. The slightest monkeywrenching will muddy the water, fog the air and destroy the whole thrust of *ahimsa*. It also may lead to those acting non-violently being physically assaulted or blamed for the monkeywrenching. If the monkeywrench is your tool, *stay away from blockades!* There are many other issues and places where you can practice your very important, courageous and effective art.

I see all of these as tools in a tool box. You don't drive nails with a screwdriver, you don't tighten nuts with a hammer. Use the right tool for the job. Find the role which you best fit for a particular time and place.

-DF



THE GRIZZLY DEN

by Howie Wolke

On violence

Violence is as American as motherhood, apple pie, baseball, gas guzzlers, TV game shows, wilderness and the fading ideal of individual liberty. In various forms, it is used by the federal government and its sister energy, mining and timber corporations in a fanatical campaign to destroy the remaining American Wilderness.

Violent — characterized by extreme force; marked by abnormally sudden physical activity and intensity; produced or effected by force; furious or vehement to the point of being improper, unjust or illegal.

(Webster's)

History should teach us that nearly every major socio-political change has required some degree of violence. From resistance to Communist repression in Poland and Afghanistan to the American Revolution, from the civil rights to the anti-war movements, various forms of violence have been important instruments of social change. I suspect that violence will soon become inevitable if we are to succeed in building an effective RADICAL environmental movement and in preserving, maintaining and re-creating REAL wilderness.

Understand, however, that I am not advocating — except in self-defense — violent acts towards human beings or even violent acts of ecological sabotage (Earth First! cannot and does not advocate or engage in ecotage). I am merely stating a belief, even a hope, that pretty soon, the shit is going to hit the corporate fan: Americans will be hearing more about exploding bulldozers, smashed helicopters, sabotaged power plants, spiked roads and trees, and people generally getting downright militant in defense of their rights and in defense of all living and non-living components of the biosphere.

I have a great deal of admiration for my brave brothers and sisters in the Kalmiopsis. These dedicated Earth defenders have put their lives on the line for their belief that non-violent civil disobedience can save wilderness. They have withstood violence directed upon their bodies, political and verbal abuse, and they have remained steadfast in their actions and beliefs while watching the Industrial Monster wage an unmitigated and violent war upon the most beautiful and diverse coniferous forest ecosystem on Earth. Through it all, they have maintained their commitment to remain non-violent; to shun the tactics of the enemy. Their courage should be an inspiration to us all.

Earth First! is using non-

violence as a tactic in the Kalmiopsis. It is very important to distinguish between tactical and philosophical non-violence. A philosophical commitment to total non-violence, under all circumstances, would, in my opinion, be both unrealistic and unnatural. The most basic human animal instinct is to fight back when under attack or when members of your tribe are under attack. My hat is off to those brave individuals who have remained non-violent under some very trying circumstances.

Our experiment with non-violence in the Kalmiopsis should be just that: a courageous experiment born of a noble and selfless ideal. However, its success can only be measured in its effectiveness in stopping the Bald Mountain logging road. A secondary measurement of success might be the blockade's contribution to wilderness preservation efforts elsewhere. But that is difficult to measure. Save the Kalmiopsis! That is the bottom line.

What happens if it becomes apparent that something more is needed to stop the Bald Mountain atrocity? Or the Little Granite oil rig? Or a thousand other threats to wilderness? At what point do we stop being peacefully carted off to the slammer while the rape goes on? When do we begin to fight fire with fire? Should Earth First!'s role formally end with non-violent civil disobedience?

These are difficult questions to which there are no easy answers. Each situation, each socio-political set of circumstances will require its own set of tactics, its own defined "breaking point." And each individual must decide where he/she best fits in and can be most effective. To some of us, the very idea of not physically resisting a violent assault is a prostitution of personal beliefs.

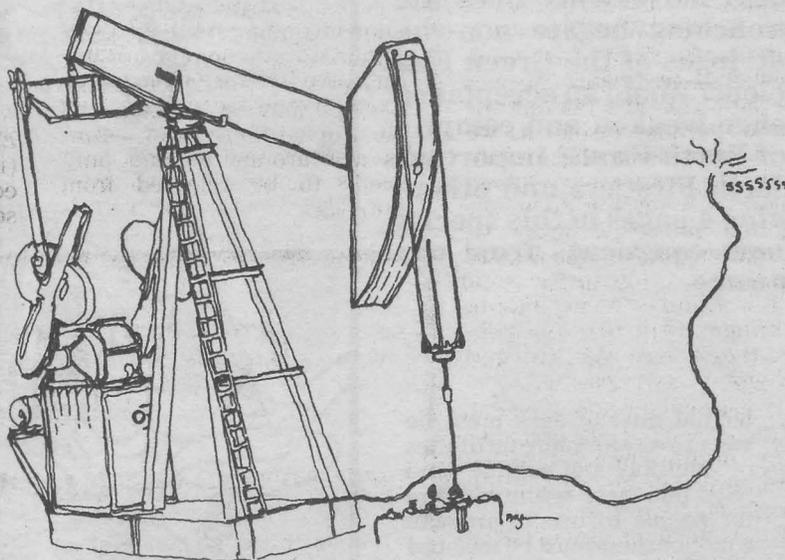
The Kalmiopsis blockade, Little Granite Creek, the Salt Creek Wilderness — all have received a lot of publicity. But there are a thousand Bald Mountains and Little Granites that remain unknown to most that aren't being defended because the environmental movement has either given up or has never tried. We will never have the resources or the numbers to defend all of these wild places from the onslaught of mad technology. But the bastard culprits must be made to pay a heavy price.

We need to build Earth First! into an effective grassroots movement wherever there is wild country threatened. In addition to some of the more conventional tactics in support of our radical proposals, we must continue to carry out non-violent direct action in an increasing number of wild places under siege. But we also need those individuals on the dark and shadowy fringes of society

to be out there day or night, obstructing, resisting and incapacitating the tools of devastation. The greedhead destroyers of life believe and act on the supposition that their end justifies their means. In defense of wilderness, freedom and diversity of life, we must use every available tool and tactic: intellectual, political, legal, illegal, passive and — when necessary — "violent." In the end, we will either have won or gone down fighting with dignity and self-respect.

"I'd Rather Be a Hammer Than a Nail"

— Montana



EARTH FIRST! — VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE?

I give thanks for the existence of Earth First! Your courage and imagination speak directly to the hearts of those who still care about life in this cynical, materialistic age. But, like any fledgling non-organization, Earth First! is going through some philosophical growing pains and I'd like to share some thoughts that have been brewing since the Kalmiopsis Blockade.

The conflict between violent and non-violent attitudes within EF! is a powderkeg with a short fuse. Although my personal philosophy is one of non-violence, I don't claim to have a lock on truth. There are situations where violent resistance is the only viable approach. I just don't happen to believe that that's where we are now.

The issue, however, is one of choosing an approach and following it, both in words and actions. Non-violence, to be effective, must be an attitude that is expressed in our lives every day. To see it as a tactic that can be used whenever it's convenient is to invite trouble.

When we engage in civil disobedience, the actions of the people we face are influenced by their perceptions of us. Right now, EF! is seen as both Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: peaceful protestors acting out of moral imperatives by day, wild-eyed revolutionaries wielding sticks of TNT by night. And we're encouraging both perceptions. I'm convinced this conflict in our attitudes contributed to Diana Warren nearly getting killed last May.

When we label ourselves as

"militant" or "radical" we accomplish nothing — except to establish ourselves in the mass mind of the American Consumer. And by tacit advocacy of violence, as in the Dear Ned Ludd column, we put ourselves in a shaky position. That is, when sabotage occurs during a non-violent blockade, we deny responsibility for what we encourage. The truth of our message is our greatest weapon, and if we're going to advocate something, we've got to back our words all the way. To do less is to compromise our integrity and in the end that's all we have.

When you're standing in front of a bulldozer, you have to be absolutely clear about what you're doing. We have to make a choice: monkeywrenchers or peaceful protestors. If we don't, people will get killed for no good reason.

I don't intend for this to sound harsh or overly critical. I'm with Earth First! all the way and I'm sure that the varying viewpoints within EF! can be reconciled in a way that will make us all stronger. Each of us has a little piece of the truth and if we're all willing to listen, maybe we can put it all together.

— Peter Swanson



Dear Dave,
"I'd rather be a hammer than a nail."

Well, after reading the Litha issue of EF! I am so compelled to write that I am almost shaking. While reading it, I have shed tears of frustration, anger, happiness, pride and other emotions I'm not sure I can describe.

I have done a lot of thinking about standing in front of bulldozers and such. And I seriously doubt that I could be non-violent in such a situation. I guess I am a level-headed person, but I am also proud (too proud?) and don't think I could let anyone smash me up and not come back with something. When it comes down to it, in a life and death situation, my instinct is to kill, rather than be killed. Isn't yours the same?

Please understand, I am not advocating murder! Or killing, or hurting. But I do have a hard time accepting violence against myself (or the earth). Even though I see the reason for non-violence action — I understand it and its principles. Yet ...

Maybe I'm just chicken shit? But this goes beyond being brave or not. I definitely feel I will lay my life on the line for the earth. I don't feel my life is anything when it comes to defending the earth. But to do this without a fight? That's where I have trouble.

In all this, I am trying to find a spot in EF!. Someone in the last issue explained it well. They said that each person in a group has to know where the others stand. Of course, we are all dedicated. But who will take what action? I like to take action. I am sick of people who say, "Yeah, man, far out," and do nothing. But, in a bulldozer versus people situation, I would (probably) not stick to EF! tactics. So perhaps road blocks are not for me??? I do not want in any way to hinder EF! or go against its principles (in the name of EF!).

I have always been aggressive and outspoken, and these traits have not always been beneficial. But damn, I disdain the lack of them at times, too. Our love and friendship are with you at all times.

May you soar on eagles wings,
Across a clear sky,
As the wind,
Over the mountains

— Montana

PEACE OF MIND AND LOWERING DAMS

The following essay was sent anonymously to ecologist Reed Noss in Ohio. I've published a shortened version of it with Reed's reply because it seems to touch on the discussion of the "style" of Earth First!'s practice of non-violent direct action as well as on monkeywrenching.

— DF

Among the Classical Chinese there were three groups having intellectual influence: Moists, Confucians and Taoists. The Moists believed only in more solutions: for them everything got better when everything grew.

At the center of ancient China stood the temple of Chou. This temple was used for harvest ceremonials. A peculiar bronze votive-vessel, the *chieh chih ch'i*, stood in this temple and every harvest season this jar would be filled to the brim with the grain of the harvest and meticulous ceremonies would be conducted. It was feared that if at any time there was any sort of deviation from the proper rituals handed down by the ancestors, heaven and earth would get out of balance and the next harvest would fail and there would be famine across the central kingdom.

One year, in the middle of the exacting ceremonies, in the midst of all the priests and nobles, there was a fearsome message from heaven. The giant bronze jar, top heavy, unbalanced, full of the fruit of the harvest, suddenly tipped over with a great clatter in the stillness and spilled its contents across the polished tiles, spilled its contents over the meticulously-embroidered slippers of the notables.

It is unknown how the Moists think this problem was solved because their belief that limits exist merely to be defied was considered too ridiculous. The Confucians claimed that a proper solution was found by continuing to fill the jar while posting a priest next to it to hold it upright. The Taoists claimed that the solution was to refuse to overfill the vessel.

You can see what was at stake here. Both the Confucians and the Taoists were reacting to the dangerous excesses of the Moists and to their lust for the ever-expanding solution. The Confucians, undeluded by dreams of perpetual expansionism, unimpressed by the claim that problems can be solved by making them bigger, yet believed that life is best at its fullest. They believed that the proper role for the Confucian scholar/bureaucrat was to display personal merit by standing alongside the full vessel holding it upright at its fullest. They were ready to risk another tipping, another catastrophe, in order to have this plenitude and in order to have this ascendancy. But the Taoists disagreed both with the insatiable Moists and with the careerist Confucians. "You are deluded," they insisted, "life is best at its extremities." They insisted that to prevent catastrophe it would be necessary to control the contents of the great bronze vessel, and ensure not only that it never got empty but also that it never got full. Adhere to proper limit

and there is no need for anyone to hold anything upright.

America is full of these Confucian bureaucrat/scholars, all trying their best to demonstrate their personal excellence by holding over-full and top-heavy jars upright so they can remain over-full and top-heavy. The established in the government sector (such as our friends in the U.S. Forest Service) are struggling to hold the jars. The established in the private sector (such as our friends in the Sierra Club) are struggling to hold the jars. What I sense is that Earth First! has overreacted: we are trying to tip over the jars. This has tainted our hearts, because insofar as we are in opposition to these establishment types, we have defined ourselves in terms of their conceptual categories when we should have been discovering ourselves as we are in the world as it is. There is no need for us to struggle to tip over any of the jars they are struggling to hold upright, for two reasons:

1.) a jar will tip soon enough, suddenly spilling the precious grain of the human harvest across the polished tiles of this temple we inhabit, and

2.) it is not appropriate for us to be struggling.

No, struggling to accomplish something is not the way to live and struggling to destroy something is not the way to live. Did you hear about the farmer who was impatient with the slow growth of cabbage seedlings and began to tug at the stems every morning to make them come up faster? Perhaps the reason why many dams are being raised, and none are being lowered, has to do with our efforting to lower them. Perhaps if we stop efforting for forty days and forty nights, the waters of this flood will recede. (I'm not suggesting we give up, but the opposite.)

Granted, before one can talk to a dam one must get its attention, and granted, one can get a dam's attention only by offering it a prize package of Alfred Bernhard Nobel's best. But the bearer of such a gift must be as pure in heart as the virgin who pets a unicorn, else the dynamite does not detonate and the dam does not disappear.

Let us rectify our hearts by removing this dichotomy between creation and destruction, so we will no longer define ourselves ineffectually in opposition.

Let us abandon all hope for the future lest we do as much present viciousness and violation as those whose religion is the future. Let us act with balanced hearts, knowing that in a world of balanced hearts all things are in balance and that in a world in which all things are in balance, as many dams lower themselves to the earth as raise themselves to the skies.

These days the minimum standards are hard: one can only be a fit warrior by abandoning all desire to be extreme. Light the fuse, but don't try to force dynamite to go off. Let dams lower themselves. Allow the waters of this flood to recede, if they recede, not by our will but by the Will of Heaven.

A TAOIST REPLY

by Reed Noss

I don't believe the heart of the Earth First! movement — the ecological resistance embodiment of Deep Ecology — wants to tip over the jars. I think we just want to splash a little of the excess, to bring the level down to proper limits. And, admittedly, we might want to benignly splash a few people in the face, hoping they will wake up to see the folly of fullness. But I honestly believe this splashing is, for most of us, *wu wei* — a natural and spontaneous reaction to the excesses of our culture, not a struggling and striving for some future glory. It may be utopian, but the utopia is here, now, within us and around us and only needs to be released from bondage.

"Splash a little of the excess"

As for the ranting and raving, guerrilla theater and other antics of EF!, I see a parallel in the humorous impulsiveness of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, lyrical Taoists who practiced *feng liu* ("wandering from convention"). You can raise hell and still have peace of mind. Nonhumans do it. Have you ever seen a band of chimpanzees or howler monkeys, or a flock of macaws? How about a tornado?

As I pointed out in my letter to Hargrove in *Environmental Ethics*, ecological resistance (including sabotage) is to the ecocentric an extended form of self-defense: regrettable but

necessary. There were Taoist warriors but they fought no wars of conquest. Their attitude was not bloodthirsty and destructive — they simply did what was necessary to defend their home. Regret legitimizes the use of force in this case. As a long-time practitioner of Taoist yoga, tai chi ch'an and Okinawan karate, I do believe this *Bushido*, this gentle "way of the warrior," can be cultivated in deep ecologists, and the apparent conflict between activism and passive non-involvement resolved in *wu wei*.

One more point: would you really like a world, right now, where as many dams lower themselves to the earth as raise themselves to the sky? Don't you think some purification, i.e., removal of dams, is necessary before we settle for such a balance? Maybe that's the environmental imperative now: purify first, shift to a natural steady state, then sit back and peacefully watch.

CAT TRACKS

by Chim Blea

THE ARROGANCE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

I have heard it said that a wise man can find wilderness in a courtyard garden, can see a grizzly bear in a hothouse flower. Perhaps. Perhaps an enlightened woman or man can find such natural peace, such wildness in the mundane, such gladness in an artificial world. Such an ability is doubtless healthy. It allows one to rise above the tawdry mess of civilization, to find unity with nature even when that natural unity has been destroyed. It brings peace, contentment and serenity. It prevents ulcers and high blood pressure.

But what does it do for the wilderness? What does it do for the grizzly?

Where is the real world? What is reality? Is it within ourselves? In our minds, our consciousnesses? Is reality only what we perceive? Are our minds paramount? Or is reality apart from our heads? Is the real world out there? Independent, autonomous, sovereign? Not ruled by human awareness? Is the grizzly in our heads or is she out there in the Big Outside — rooting, snuffing, roaming, living, perceiving *on her own*? Is wilderness merely our attitude toward it or is it greater, far greater, than ourselves and our perceptions of it? Do we create reality or does reality create us? Is it "I think, therefore I am" or "I am, therefore I think"?

Important distinctions. And I fear that too many of us who seek after wisdom and enlightenment fail to see that the external reality of the Redwood is far more important than our enlightened attitude towards it, that the wilderness is greater than we and thereby greater than our illuminated view of it.

Some time ago, as I recall, someone wrote in to *Earth First!* criticizing the Dear Ned Ludd column on the grounds that secret monkeywrenching was not uplifting. That if one destroys destructive machinery one

should do it in the open in some kind of holy manner. Poppycock! Here the confusion is made complete. The results of protecting the Earth are not important, it is the enlightenment or the uplifting from it which count. What arrogant religiosity! What a mad delusion to think that one's pretentious mental gyrations are more important than the *reality* of actually protecting a 2,000-year-old Redwood or a 1,000-pound grizzly or an unpeopled wilderness that is a nation unto itself!

I fear that those who argue for the process of action rather than the results are corrupted by a delusion of an afterlife. Christian, Buddhist, pagan, whatever — those suffering from the arrogance of enlightenment evidently see Earth as merely a way station in the eternal progress of their soul, that *they* in this life are what is important and not the Earth. But if you want heaven — it is here. Walk through an aspen grove on a bright autumn day. The gold in that light is more real than in the streets beyond the Pearly Gates. If you seek total union with the cosmos, float a river, drift into rivertime, let the rich red of the San Juan or the crystal of the Salmon make you part of All. If it's Valhalla you desire, stand with your bold friends before a bulldozer and then eat, drink and make merry with them in victory celebration afterwards! And reincarnation — yes, that, too. Your atoms are of the everlasting rocks, will become buzzard, weasel, dungbeetle, worm and on for eternity after your simple brain sleeps. Heaven, Nirvana, Valhalla, everlasting life — it's here and now. It's in the *real world*, the world in which we find ourselves at this moment. We need nothing more than this paradise in which we were born.

B. Traven wrote "This is the real world, muchachos, and you are in it." How true. The world exists independently of us.



When a tree falls in the forest and no man is there to hear it, it still falls, the shock waves still echo from one cliff to another, the bears and the birds still hear, and life goes on. Only an arrogant fool could think otherwise. We can sit in perfect peace and contemplation in our manicured gardens but if there are no grizzlies in the Big Outside, there can be no grizzlies in our flowers. And if, after the last Redwood is cut, we are able to say, "Ah, but I had an enlightened appreciation for the essence of Redwoodness," then our words will be the sound of one hand clapping. If we discourage others from acting with boldness in defense of the wilderness because their hearts are not yet pure enough, then we become Quislings to life.

Do not misunderstand my words. I seek after wisdom and enlightenment, too. I go alone into the wilderness in quest of visions. I sit in high windy places and listen to the powers of the Earth. But I do not delude myself with my own self-importance. I do not for a moment pretend that I am any more than an insignificant speck in this rich, voluptuous, living Earth. I do not puff myself up so that I enthrone reality within my skullbox. It is out there. In the Big Outside. And my action in defense of it — raw, rank, brawling, and boorish as I may be — is vastly more important than all the enlightenment with which I can swell my head in the instant in which my consciousness exists.

Abstract:

Non-violent direct action (NVDA) is accepted as an appropriate technique for use by forest activists, but caution is advised in its use. Problems involved, including stress, burn-out and size of undertaking are commented upon. Some views on Western Australian experience are given.

(1) Acceptable Technique?

In situations where those with power (governments, government departments) use it in the face of public opinion, non-violent direct action is justified. It is then a peaceful response to what is arguably a moral and psychological violence; the destruction of heritage and birth-right.

(2) Why Use It?

(a) To demonstrate degree of concern held by those involved.

(b) To focus attention on the issues and areas involved.

(3) Problems

(a) These can be large ventures, e.g., occupations of refinery sites, which require large inputs of time and energy. Thus they can require substantial organizations to run them if other important parts of a campaign are not to be neglected.

(b) **Stress** - getting large numbers of people organized, in agreement on action and tactics can be stressful. Added to this is the stress from the confrontation situation. This can lead to the burn-out of people involved.

(c) **Expectation** - if non-violent direct action is used as a last-ditch make-it-or-break-it technique then there is a tendency for many people to believe that it is time to give up when non-violent direct action does not produce a desired breakthrough. In the context of forest conservation activism, NVDA should be seen as another tool. Preferably the next major activity will have been planned so that people do not "deflate" after an NVDA event and not know where to put their energies.

(d) **The Other Side** - These hopeless idealists, who believe that they can forever go on destroying nature without paying the price, will attempt to make life difficult. To counter this, it is necessary to have your arguments well-prepared and effective spokespeople to present them.

Western Australia Experience

Two groups of occupiers

assisted by support groups and rallies occupied Alcoa's Wag-erup refinery site (first group 12, second 23). After the first, occupation charges were dismissed due to ineffective prosecution. After the second occupation, \$20 fines were imposed. A subsequent appeal was won. In response, the government closed the loop holes with special legislation and substantially increased the maximum penalties (from \$1500 and/or 18 months imprisonment to \$5000 and/or 18 months). This, coupled with energy burn-out, prevented a third occupation from being held. The occupations were very effective in focusing public attention on bauxite mining in the Darling Range, and I believe, feared by our opponents. When the second group was arrested, in front of TV cameras, we were calm and the police *literally* trembling. In the face of an exceedingly resolute government it would appear many people believed that we had done all we could, and failed. Some people have associated the failure to prevent the expansion of bauxite mining in the Darling Range with the use of NVDA. I do not believe that this is so. We were simply overpowered and need the resolve to keep going.

Non-violent Direct Action works best against a principled opponent under observation by neutral onlookers. If the opponent is callous or predatory, then only rigorous economic threat will convert his plans.



80-year-old Quaker lady being arrested at Franklin River Blockade in Australia

PAPER ON DIRECT ACTION

by Rupert Russell

The term Direct Action (DA) is here used to refer to non-violent physical opposition to a proposal or activity. DA can be used as a tool to 1: display grief, anger or defiance; 2: publicise a situation, if secrecy is advantageous to the opponent; 3: hinder, delay, control or stop the actions of an opponent; 4: force the opponent into communication and negotiation by displaying the ability to cause economic and social harassment by DA.

The fourth item in the list is perhaps the most constructive result which can issue from DA. As an advocate of DA in situations where a demonstration of resolve may be of value, I offer some thoughts on what procedures may lead to best success for DA by an individual or group:

As soon as the activist/s realise that DA may become necessary several steps to pre-set the stage become advisable in order to establish that DA has been resorted to "only when" other more usual methods were frustrated. Thus written requests, petitions, delegations, are all useful pre-DA moves.

Activists who take the stage must be seen to be

1: undergoing some hardship to press their case. As I saw repeatedly in India, a very simple procedure, often by a single person, was to just sit down in some exposed spot such as the stairway to an office or the front garden of an opponent, and remain thus, on view, importunate, until the activist's request is met with a favourable response.

2: motivated by some altruism rather than narrow self-interest or monetary greed. Thus, action to protect a natural feature has a higher "altruism factor" than action by a tenant resisting eviction from a building due for demolition, or a grazier seeking higher compensation for drought stricken stock.

DA must be planned in secret to the last moment, and then launched with as much publicity as possible. Secrecy is necessary because (a) surprise always carries advantages, (b) advance publicity can bring harassment to "ring-leaders," e.g., police raids on "planted" drugs, (c) advance publicity allows the opponent to organise opposition, overtly, by promulgating a "state of emergency" or passing new laws, or covertly by inducing opposition groups to stage counter-demonstrations or a fracas. Good publicity at the very last minute alerts potential supporters who had not previously declared themselves, alerts the police to their task of keeping the peace, and alerts the media to possible news.

For maximum impact the strongest *sustainable* action should be put into operation from the outset. Thus a total blockade of office or road from the outset will function better than a partial blockade with talk of more to come. The reason for this view is that half-measures allow the opponent time to anticipate the next step, and prepare a counter. Sustainable actions are those which will not

quickly exhaust the activist forcing an abandonment of effort prematurely. Emergency measures to reinforce the impact of DA may be planned as a reserve if the opponent appears to be successfully ignoring or thwarting the D.A.

Thus a hunger strike in which solid foods are refused can be added to a blockade, or a sit-in within an office can be substituted for a blockade of the entrance.

Because the most intense sustainable action should be launched from the outset, the likely results should be made clear to all potential activists, so that supporters can decide at what level they can participate. Full use of all levels of support should be made so that those who cannot expose themselves in the maximum effort can nevertheless hand out leaflets, hold up banners, conduct street polls, ring up media and politicians, write letters, all of which is as important as "lying on the road," once DA starts, for activists will feel the need for support.

A clear statement of aims must be presented to the opponent, and any other enquirer, with no indication of how many aims must be met before DA might be terminated. Offers of compromise, negotiations, etc., must all come from the opponent.

Difficulties with DA are:

1. The cost to the activist: time off from work, loss of leave or income, threat of loss of job; risk of physical injury.

2. Exhaustion of resources, without success, necessitating disengagement while trying to avoid the appearance of being defeated. This difficulty can best be avoided by a pre-planned escalation of action, to force either negotiation or break-up of the DA by police.

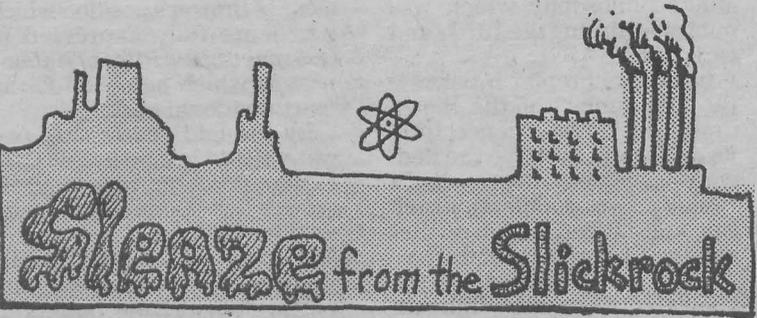
3. Non-violent DA works best against a principled opponent under observation by neutral onlookers. If the opponent is callous or predatory then only rigorous economic threat will convert his plans. Opponents of totally differing culture or politics or religion are not satisfactory targets for non-violent DA.

Direct action requires that the activist takes the role of altruistic and tenacious supplicant who assumes that the opponent is basically humane and desirous of being fair, and will be reasonable once the activist's viewpoint is fully understood.

Activists must take care that the image created during DA, and which lingers in the opponent's and the onlooker's memory after the stage is vacated is one of well-informed, resolute, even likeable idealists with realistic alternatives to offer.

One of the major benefits of participation in non-violent direct physical opposition to a plan or activity is that, unfortunately, it is very likely that there will be future occasions when "direct action" will again be necessary.

from Australian Conservation Foundation



It is me again – the head of Joaquim. I must tell you, my friends, sometimes I miss the rest of me. My eyes fill with envy when I see others filling their stomachs with green chile burritos and dos equis beer. And what *good* is it that my nose gets large when a beautiful woman walks by?

But let me tell you something else. Because I have no body, you think perhaps that I have no heart. Right? You are wrong, amigos. The heart is a state of mind, not a physical condition. I see these narrowminded fools ravaging my slickrock with dollar signs in their eyes and greed in their so-called "hearts" and I am the heartbroken one. But I have no heart, so perhaps I am "headbroken." I do not know. Let me tell you what is happening ...

GLEN CANYON DAMN IS FALLING DOWN, FALLING DOWN

Glen Canyon Damn still stands ... but for how long? As you all know by now, the Colorado River was "out of control" this summer. With flows way over 100,000 CFS (cubic feet per second) roaring into the foul reservoir, BuWreck had to open its spillways (for the very first time) to keep the raging waters from going over the top of the dam and/or flooding out Del Webb's Wahweap Lodge & Marina and submerging their 37 million dollars worth of new asphalt that James Watt consecrated last spring.

When the spillways began breaking up, a very nervous Tom Gamble, BuWreck Mgr. at the Dam, frantically considered the possibilities of averting (to him) disaster. This included blasting channels out of the Navajo sandstone *around* the dam to draw off the overflow. One of my spies (G.W. Hayduke, janitor at the dam) tells me that Mr. Gamble made a mad dash to the toilet when the dam started *shaking* from the massive pressure, which sent wave after wave of rippling water back across the oily black water's surface.

Repair work on the battered and eroded spillway has only just begun, but who is to say how much damage has occurred already? Certainly not the BuWreck. Perhaps that first tiny crack has already been born. The river will win, my friends. The river is laughing at these point-headed engineers with their hardhats and pocket calculators scurrying about like not-yet-drowned red ants trying to cover their asses and issue responsible high-toned statements to the press like "The damn will probably not fail"; and we are laughing, too.

BULLDOZERS INSIDE ARCHES N.P.

More crimes against the parks. As unbelievable as it may seem, the Nat'l Park Service issued permits to Frontier Ex-

ploration to use *park roads* as access to seismic sites on Dry Mesa – an area now technically outside the park boundary but which until 1972 was part of Arches Nat'l Mon. In direct violation of the permit, the drillers unloaded their equipment *inside* the park and "re-arranged" the terrain, making it more suitable to their needs. Damage to the vegetation was extensive. Now it has been learned that *new* permits have been issued so that this wanton destruction may continue. Even one of the juggies commented at a local bar that they couldn't believe they were issued the permits. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. Let the park superintendent know what you think: SUPERINTENDENT, c/o CANYONLANDS NATIONAL PARK, 446 S. Main, Moab, Utah 84532.

They say the pen is mightier than the sword, so give it a try. But if not, screw it. Sharpen your swords, amigos. Those bulldozers on the Dry Mesa Road aren't going to get away with it ...

SURVEYORS NABBED AT ARCHES

Every once in a while though, we do not get even. Last month, a helicopter for Mountain Explorations landed on top of Elephant Butte, inside of Arches National Park, a violation of all sorts of rules. A ranger on patrol spotted the chopper, called for assistance and climbing equipment and headed for the butte. The surveyors, unaware of the ranger's ascent, continued to take transit readings. Just *seconds* before the helicopter was to lift off, the rangers reached the summit and apprehended the depredators. Fines in excess of \$200 were imposed on the surveying shithheads. It was a sad day for land rapers.

EXXON PIGS IN LA SAL MOUNTAINS

The long-awaited and feared EXXON drilling project in the La Sal Mtns. (at Gold Basin) has become a heartbreaking reality. Heavy equipment is turning that once-tranquil paradise into a Dante's inferno of chaos and destruction. In spite of U.S. Forest Service (pronounced Whorest Circus) regulations specifying a 16' roadway, the Exxon D-9's have cut a 6', that's six-zero, swath through the heart of the forest. Hundreds ... no, thousands of ponderosas have fallen to the blade, all in the name of a tax write-off for the EXXON PIGS. *A word of warning:* Apparently fearful of "ecotage" – whatever that is – the license numbers of all vehicles in the area (La Sal Mtn. loop road) are being recorded and run through the NCIC computer. According to my spies, one name that kicked out was one E. Abbey of Oracle, Ariz. I wonder what that guy's doing up there?

SELDOM SEEN SMITH MOVES TO MOAB

To conclude on a high note,

something *good* happened to Moab and the slickrock country this summer. KEN SLEIGHT, aka Seldom Seen Smith – a friend of these red rocks, these red rivers, and us – moved to Moab. Along with compadre Jane, they're running a book and map store on the highway north of town (next to La Hacienda) and doing packtrips, in addition to keeping a watchful eye on the local bozos. Ken is one of the most decent, dedicated men I know, and if he had been around 133 years ago, he would have never let those vigilante bastards chop my head off. It is good to know he is nearby and I wish him well in his endeavors. When passing through, stop in and say howdy and buy some books or maps from him.

Well, my friends, it is time again to get back in the jar. Until next time, keep in mind the answer to the eternally asked question, "Why wasn't Jim Watt ever circumcized?"

The answer, of course, is "Because there's *no end* to that prick."

Adios, amigos.

EARTH FIRST! ATTORNEYS NEEDED

We discovered during the Kalmiopsis Blockade in Oregon just how much we need sympathetic attorneys. Our effectiveness was certainly lessened by the lack of full legal assistance. We need the following help:

CRIMINAL – to assist with criminal charges both state and federal arising out of non-violent civil disobedience in defense of natural environments. Several critical legal complications have arisen out of the Kalmiopsis Blockade. They include financial restitution to a construction company for downtime caused by a blockade and release-from-jail or probation requirements prohibiting entry on national forest lands. Both of these provisions need serious legal challenge or the tool of non-violent direct action will be considerably weakened.

CIVIL – lawsuits for damages resulting from assaults by construction workers in blockades should be done. Also, a federal civil rights violation suit against Josephine County, Oregon, may be appropriate.

CONSERVATION – The Oregon RARE II lawsuit (Earth First! vs. Block) has set legal history and essentially extends protection of RARE II areas to all states. We must follow up on this with specific appeals or lawsuits on national forests where this ruling is not being obeyed. There are many other possible conservation lawsuits that establishment conservation groups are afraid to touch that Earth First! should undertake.

What is needed is an Earth First! Legal Group consisting of attorneys, paralegals, etc., to coordinate all of this. Also needed is someone who will take on the responsibility to get such a group functioning. If you would be willing to coordinate the organization of such a group, participate in it, or provide any legal advice or services to EF!, please contact Dave Foreman (230 W. 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926 916-343-6547).

TALKING TO THE TREES

by Cecelia Ostrow

I live six miles up Big Creek, in one of the wildest remaining areas on the central Oregon coast. I came here to heal myself and to learn from nature.

The land here, like that of the adjoining Rock Creek Proposed Wilderness Area, was badly burned some 150 years ago. Big Creek recovered much quicker than Rock Creek, and was homesteaded and logged again in many places, then left. Now there are only five families on Big Creek.

Herbicides were not used back then. The land is coming back naturally, in profusion that is wonderful to see.

I have talked to some trees who survived the logging and one tree who survived the fire. I am going to relate these exchanges to you.

Insights and visions come straight out of the unconscious, I feel, and tend to occur (to me) in sort of dogmatic kinds of thoughts. It is important to remember that this is only one way of looking at things. Seeing a vision changes the way you look at everything. But it would be foolish to try to analyze everything according to the vision.

The first tree I met, and my dearest friend here, is a 100+ year old hemlock that grows in a little hollow just down from my cabin where homesteaders logged nearby about 30 years ago. Its bark is reddish and soft, and its branches, which grow almost to the ground, filter the light in a most pleasing way on both sunny and cloudy days.

I believe that each tree has a "power spot" that you can find by intuition. If you sit there you can best feel the tree's presence and listen to it – or to the two of you, as you like.

When I sit under the hemlock, I get the sweetest, most peaceful feelings I could imagine.

One day as I sat here I had a powerful vision. I understood that people were supposed to have machines and technology in order to understand the universe, but I understood that technology is to be related to in a much different way than most people do.

People, like every other plant and animal, have a place in nature. We are our own special kind of recorders, with our songs, stories, and our knowledge – a memory for the earth, and a fine mirror of earth-consciousness. That is our particular way of knitting together every form of life.

But today, people are mostly like greedy children using these previous objects and principles to destroy the earth.

I once read a statement by some Hopi elders saying that white people had originally chosen to learn about machines to help the world, but had forgotten their purpose. I encountered a very similar thought – independently – under the hemlock.

On the hill across the little creek where I get my water, stands an old spruce. Isolated in a landscape that is now mostly alder and salmonberry, it is the first truly sad tree I have ever known. I think that before the fire, this forest was mostly spruce. But after the fire, the climate, which had changed since that time thousands of years ago when spruce first began to grow here, was too dry and hot in the summer for many spruce seedlings to grow again.

The old spruce is trying to start a spruce forest. It, like the hemlock, has branches all the way down to the ground.

I am particularly drawn to this tree because it is like me, trying to create a forest in this world where the forests are dying.

I was sitting under the spruce one sunny morning when it did not seem so sad, and the thought came to me very strong, "I am forever." Now I had just recently been to the ancient spruce forest of Cummins Creek (proposed wilderness) a few miles up the coast, and the feelings that phrase evoked in me were power, glory and intelligence of untouched wilderness. This is God to me and it is forever, though the forest seems to be perishing. Perhaps if it is being destroyed in one place, it is being created in another, I thought.

As I paused to muse about these things, under my favorite cedar tree on the hill behind my house, the thought came peeling through the cedar branches – "The Earth is coming back! The Earth is coming back!"

I went down finally to visit my hemlock friend once again. There I had the vision in my mind of a logger coming up the road in his heavily armored truck with all his equipment, being very like a dinosaur lumbering along some trail millions of years ago, apparently in full power but unaware that somewhere, deep within the workings of the universe, the energy that sustained him was beginning to fail.

And so it is. The Earth is coming back. My part is to find the best way I can to help bring about the changes. The spruce said that for me, it is music. What is it for you?

Remember last year I wrote about our fight to keep developers from building a big resort at the mouth of Big Creek? The struggle continues! We are taking our legal appeal to the Oregon Supreme Court. Our public outreach has brought so many letters and phone calls to the Lane County Commissioners, that Commissioner Jerry Rust has promised to introduce a motion in July to re-open public hearings on Big Creek. Your letters can really help now!

Lane County Commissioners: Jerry Rust, Scott Lieuellen, Peter DeFazio, Chuck Ivey, Bill Rodgers, c/o Public Service Building, 125 East 8th Avenue, Eugene, OR 97401.

Help save the elk herd, wild fish, federally-listed Endangered Species Silver-spot butterfly, not to mention peace and quiet which you will find there now!

BATTLE FOR THE REDWOODS

Redwoods for scientific study and meditative recreation. "Parks," concludes Schrepfer, "were as much a fulfillment of as a rebellion against modernization." "Far from being dismayed by industrial society, (the league founders) ... found the new order offered them opportunities for civic involvement, professional advancement, and profit ... A college education, membership in certain clubs and an urban residence on either coast were necessary without being sufficient to explain participation. Lacking strong religious affiliations and educated at increasingly

secular institutions of higher learning in Europe and America, these men and women enjoyed an organized civic and professional involvement and the pursuit of a faith combining scientific respectability and romantic intensity."

Both the League and the Sierra Club were moderate reform groups, The Club, founded in 1892, split over Muir's campaign to defend the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite Park from dam building to serve the industrial needs of the city of San Francisco.

Both preferred to work with state and federal agencies and corporations and professional groups through the "old boy" network. Accommodation and compromise rather than conflict and militancy characterized both groups before 1950. While the Club worked for new roads and trails in the Sierra, the League worked to buy groves of Redwoods along major highways north of San Francisco.

The cosmopolitan professionals in both organizations favored moderate reform with centralized administration in a rational bureaucracy guided by professional expertise and tempered by boards composed of volunteers. The commission system of government in California exemplified this type of reform. The State Parks Commission, appointed by the Governor and Legislature, would set policy for a statewide bureaucracy administered by professional staff informed by the expertise of scientists.

The League relied on private donations and the willingness of large timber corporations to sell some of their prime old growth Redwood groves as well as quiet negotiations between the League, timber corporations and the government agencies of California.

In a chapter on John Merriam, scientist, professor, and long-time League president, Schrepfer finds a hero of moderate reform. "Research, he believed, was an act of reverence. Scientific technicalities were divine truths, so there was no reasonable basis for conflict." Merriam's philosophy might be called a progressive Republican idealism. "To Merriam, preservation was a religious mission" and the Redwood parks were "holy places." Merriam declared, several decades before Teilhard de Chardin attempted his grand synthesis of the doctrine of progress, evolution and Christianity, that the human race was destined to "have almost complete control of the biological

world." "Unlike the transcendentalists, (Merriam) did not reject the machine as the destroyer of the garden. He assured a colleague, 'the machine contributes to our opportunity.'"

While defending science and economic development, the leaders of the League strenuously objected to the approach taken by the National Park Service in developing "visitor services" and "industrial recreation" in national parks. Parks were places for contemplation. League leaders were also suspicious of the New Deal which led to the League to veto attempts to establish a Redwoods National Park during the 1930's. During the 20's and 30's Chambers of Commerce and local governments in Humboldt and Del Norte counties were very receptive to the idea of a Redwoods National Park. In the 1960's when the idea was revived, there were very few old growth stands to save and local government was almost unanimously opposed to the park.

Schrepfer argues that during the 1950's the League and the Club diverged in their approach to preservation and diverged in their worldviews. In the older vision of ecology, evolution and society, still followed by League leaders in the 1950's, "technology was the fulfillment of natural history." Evolution was progressive and humans were at the apex of evolution. By the 1950's many biologists, geneticists and paleontologists were expounding a theory of evolution that was not teleological but more random and opportunistic. Schrepfer calls this a philosophy of "naturalism" which found poetic voice in Loren Eiseley who expressed the notion that man is inescapably part of nature.

"Biology," says Schrepfer, "revealed interdependence, specialization, and adaptation, but it allowed no judgment as to the superiority of species. Man was the accident of the chance-filled course of human genetics. Thus the Club moved (in publicizing Eiseley's vision) from the philosophy of John Muir, with his faith in a universe of 'law, order, creative intelligence, and loving design,' toward that of Eiseley, whose deepest thoughts were, in spite of his love for nature, 'all of night, of outer cold and inner darkness.' The change was the result in significant part of a mid-century shift in American science."

Other historians, particularly Stephen Fox in his book, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*, argue that the Club returned to Muir's central ecological insights during the 1950's under the leadership of David Brower. Muir saw humans as plain citizens of the universe and rejected the notion of "intensive management" of national forests. Muir's disagreement with Gifford Pinchot and the progressive Republicans over the management of forests was to be a continuing difference between those who wanted small groves of trees reserved for science and those who wanted wilderness parks of very large size. Schrepfer does not examine Muir's philosophy in any specific chapter and does not review the

large body of scholarship on Muir's philosophy which was published during the 1970's and early 1980's.

Instead Schrepfer interprets the "militancy" of the Sierra Club and its divergence from its old friend, the Save the Redwoods League, as the result of a "union of philosophical naturalism and citizen activism that emerged out of the 1950's."

While most historians see the 1950's as the grand fulfillment of the "American dream" of material affluence, vast recreational opportunities, rapid economic growth, and low internal social conflict, David Brower and other leaders of the Club were appalled at the rapid changes brought by this post-War industrialism to the landscapes of the American West - building of huge dams, clearcutting the last watersheds of old growth Redwoods, massive highway programs which ripped through parks.

David Brower, who became Executive Director of the Sierra Club in the early 1950's, was sponsored for that position by the "old boys" in the Club but was not himself an "old boy." He rejected cozy chats by the fireside with bureaucrats and businessmen. Instead he denounced the bureaucrats of the Bureau of Reclamation for plans to build dams on the Colorado River and he attacked timber corporations in the struggle for a Redwoods National Park as "legislating by chainsaw."

Schrepfer documents the growing tension between the moderates and what she called the "militants" in the Club during the 1950's and 60's with Brower's attempts to move the Club more into national and international environmental concerns. The Sierra Club book,

The Last Redwoods, was a statement of Brower's position which was more fully expressed in *Galapagos: The Flow of Wilderness* in which he called for an "earth national park."

By the mid 1960's only two watersheds in northwest California still contained enough old growth Redwoods to be considered for national park status - Mill Creek and Redwood Creek. While the League still attempted through private donations to buy some of these groves, the price was too high. Only the federal government had the power and the money to buy these last stands. And the Sierra Club moved to arouse public opinion, in the tradition of John Muir, to save the Redwoods. Demonstrations, mass advertising, intensive lobbying of legislators, threats of court suits and attacks on the corporations as "bad guys" were used by the Club in a successful campaign to get Congress and President Johnson to support a compromise Park Act in 1968.

At the same time Brower's leadership was under attack by moderates in the Club and in 1969 he was forced to resign as Executive Director.

The "old boys" who had sponsored Brower - Ansel Adams, Dick Leonard, etc. - finally fired him as he began to attack the ties between the Club and the oligarchy of California - particularly Pacific Power and Electric. Although briefly mentioning Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant, Schrepfer does not take the opportunity to examine that story for its irony and intrigue. Nor does she fully explain Brower's growing "militancy" and the reasons why some upper-middle class professionals became the leading spokespeople for the ecology movement. She quotes C. Wright Mills' early 1950's assessment

THE FIGHT TO SAVE THE REDWOODS: A HISTORY OF ENVIRONMENTAL REFORM, 1917-1978.
Susan R. Schrepfer, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983 (\$22.50)

By
Bill Devall

Susan Schrepfer is a history professor at Rutgers University. She has worked as a consultant with the history committee of the Sierra Club and with the Forest History Society and has interviewed Sierra Club leaders for the oral history project of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

Her book is a sophisticated interpretation of the struggles to preserve some stands of old growth Redwoods in California. She sees the battle for old growth Redwoods protection in the context of changing philosophies in the conservation-ecology movement as exemplified by two of the leading groups in California, the Save the Redwoods League and the Sierra Club.

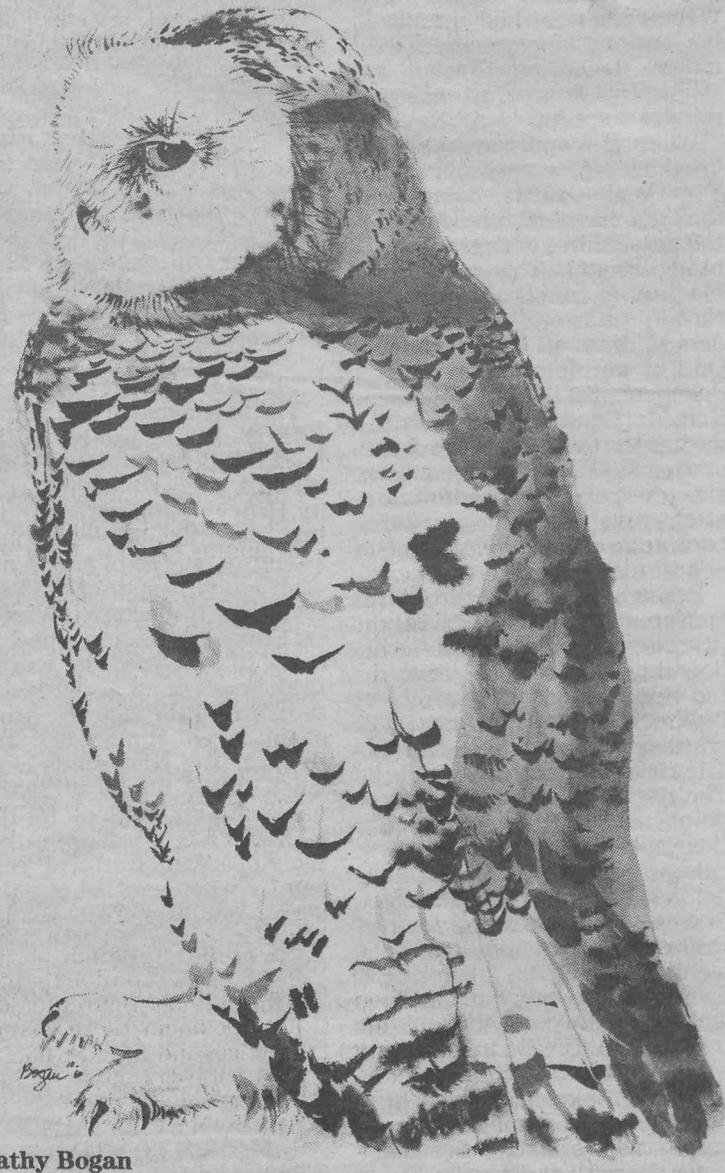
Most campaigns to establish national parks and wilderness areas in America have concerned lands already in the public domain. By the 1880's, however, when the forest reserves were first considered on federal lands, virtually all the valuable old growth Redwoods had been transferred into private ownership. These Redwoods were logged at ever increasing rates to build the cities of California.

Redwoods grow only in a narrow coastal belt extending from Big Sur in the south to the Oregon border on the north. Climate, soils and terrain combined to provide a home here for the last stands of the vast Redwood forests once covering Europe, North America and Asia.

In the so-called "progressive" movement before World War I, some scientists preached a brand of ecological conservation which included preservation of some stands of old growth Redwoods as examples of evolution's grand progression.

Preceding the formation of the Save the Redwoods League in 1920, citizen groups had formed to buy private lands and donate them to the State of California to form Big Basin State Park in the Santa Cruz mountains and a small grove of Redwoods in Marin County had been given as a gift to the Federal government as a "John Muir National Monument."

The League, in Schrepfer's interpretation, was formed through an alliance of scientists and progressive Republican businessmen who believed it was the responsibility of the upper classes to facilitate economic development while preserving some small groves of



Kathy Bogan

that the new professional class could not turn out radicals and then proceeds to show how many of the most aggressive environmentalists of the 60's and 70's were college professors, engineers and other professionals. The best she can offer is a Weberian thesis that ideas are a force in history. But she does not elaborate on the criticisms of modernism found in the professional classes and articulated by Paul Goodman, Lewis Mumford, Marston Bateson and Loren Eiseley. She uses various surveys of Club members to show that few businessmen joined the Club in the 60's and 70's but does not develop the theme that a shifting paradigm was bringing environmentalists to a radical *conservative* position in American politics.

The most unsatisfactory chapter in her book, however, is her interpretation of the battle for the second Redwood Park Act of 1978. The Compromise Act of 1968 left the upslope watershed of Redwood Creek unprotected. Yet the Club had argued for many years that the integrity of the watershed must be protected, not just "dedicated groves" along major highways. Massive flooding in 1955 and 1964 had sent silt and gravel from cutover upslopes in Bull Creek through many groves in Humboldt Redwoods State Park which had cost the League millions of dollars to acquire.

Before the ink was dry on the 1968 park act, local activists in Humboldt County were calling for the federal government to "enlarge the worm," the thin strip of land along Redwood Creek which was included in the Park.

Studies commissioned by various state and federal agencies began to document the extent of erosion in Redwood Creek and impact of accelerated logging upslope from the park. But after 1972 the struggle to enlarge the park took an ugly turn. The passage of the Coastal Act of 1972 was a high point in the environmental movement in California during the 1970's and activated corporations to form alliances with labor unions to attack environmental groups for their "anti-progress" position.

While some liberal Democratic politicians supported environmentalist goals, this same liberal wing was responsive to the demands of labor unions and minorities for "jobs and security."

Could the environmentalists' goal of preservation of the remaining stands of old growth timber be reconciled with the social welfare agenda of the liberal Democrats? Only with the most fragile of compromises suggested by a Congressman from San Francisco (Phillip Burton) who never hiked in the Redwoods.

The so-called "Burton Bill" provided protection for Redwood Creek by dramatically enlarging the Park, provided massive public works (a freeway project around parts of the Park), a workmen's compensation provision which allowed workers who lost their jobs due to Park expansion to receive up to five years of benefits at government expense, and a huge settlement for timber corporations whose lands were taken for the park expansion.

In Schrepfer's conclusion, "The act was a logical outcome of the activists' strength within the liberal and pro-labor wing of the Democratic Party, their ideological drift leftward, and their wish to defuse labor's opposition. The act's passage is evidence that the Sierra Club had become one of the most powerful lobbies on the Hill."

Whatever the merit of the final sentence, the rest of her conclusion is suspect. In my estimation, Schrepfer omits from this chapter a discussion of local environmentalists in northwest California during the 1970's. Reviewing my own notes, I sense a growing alienation between local activists and national lobbyists for the Sierra Club during the 70's. Local activists were told repeatedly to be "reasonable" and "compromise" but it was the local activists who kept up the pressure on the national Club and politicians to enlarge the Park.

Schrepfer sees local groups such as Citizens for a Redwood National Park and the Emerald Creek Committee as just extensions of the national Sierra Club. Yet these local activists were quite independent of the Club and took actions which the Club leadership did not endorse or support. Schrepfer does not even mention the names of people who risked their jobs and sometimes their lives in the increasingly-polarized climate of the 1970's to present a vision which included not only an enlarged national Redwoods Park but a society where bears, wolverines, whales and wild rivers had a "right" to exist for themselves, not just as commodities in a human marketplace. These people included Ruflo Harper Lee, John Amodio, Rudi Becking, Lucille Vinyard, Susie VanKirk, Tim McKay, David VanderMark, Steve Lau, Steve Brewer and Ray Peart.

While many local environmentalists in northwest California were opposed to the war in Vietnam and the massive nuclear weapons buildup of the 1970's, to describe them as having a "leftward drift" is a gross oversimplification. They had (and have) an uneasy position in the Democratic Party. They resent being just another constituency in the Party but find no opening at all in the Republican Party and no "green" party (as is found in some European countries) in which to find a political home.

The second Redwood Park act was not the end, but the beginning for many local environmentalists. The most positive feature was a provision for rehabilitation of the damaged watershed of Redwood Creek. But the Act itself was too little, too late. It was a bitter victory.

The vision of Vietnamizing California haunted local environmental activists. In the Redwoods "battle," the vision of "ecocide" dominated their nightmares. The conversion of old growth timber into "tree farms" which were sprayed with herbicides from the air was part of changing patterns of management of international timber corporations. Schrepfer does not document these changing practices and she does not treat the political economy of timber corporations. She sees the companies more as acted upon rather than as actors radically changing landscapes.



White oak

THE BISBEE DEPORTATION

by Peter Wild

FORGING THE COPPER COLLAR

By James W. Byrkit. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. \$24.95, 435 pages.

Americans like the happy-go-lucky cowboy yodeling across the plains. They cherish the lumberjack, the homesteader, and the prospector, those independent types who settled the West. Yet, however the figures appeal to the popular mind, historians have known for some time that they belong more to the world of fiction than of fact.

In fact, corporations shouldered aside the little guys of mining, timber, and ranching and ran the show pretty much the way they wanted. From its earliest days, the West was a colony, and well-heeled interests east of the Mississippi siphoned off its resources with long corporate straws. As is the case with most colonies, democracy was stifled, the environment plundered at will.

This is well illustrated by James W. Byrkit's *Forging the Copper Collar*. For years, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona wore copper collars. Their people were not governed by freely-elected legislators but ruled by

In the early 1980's even black bears were declared a "menace to industry" by some timber corporations who demanded the bear population be reduced or "liquidated" because they sometimes eat part of the young trees on managed "tree farms."

As John Muir once said, "if a war ever comes between the humans and bears, I think I would be tempted to fight on the side of the bears."

For many local environmentalists, they were fighting on the side of the bears.

They did not become more "leftward," the dominant culture became more radical in its attempts to dominate and control vast areas of wild nature.

Schrepfer's bottom line is correct in a certain sense, "for the moderate reformers — as for the old redwoods — there was no place to stand."

With the specter of nuclear war bringing the most radical ecocide to the landscape, the Redwoods are "islands of hope." After nearly a century of effort only about four percent of the old growth Redwoods are preserved. The "fight" to save the Redwoods was therefore a great success, or a great failure, depending on one's perspective.

the mining interests which owned the newspapers, paid the axe-handle-wielding goons, and rigged the elections — and thus ran the states as their fiefdoms while cashing their dividend checks back in New York, Boston, and London. Byrkit focuses on one company and state, Phelps Dodge of Arizona, and in particular on one event, the Bisbee Deportation, to illustrate the power and rottenness that controlled much of the West.

On the morning of July 12, 1917, a thousand armed vigilantes swept through the mining town of Bisbee, Arizona. They broke in doors, beat up protesting wives, and hauled off hundreds of men. These workers, the "troublemakers" and "sympathizers" behind a peaceful strike against Phelps Dodge, were marched under the sights of machine guns, loaded into cattle cars, then dumped without food or water nearly two hundred miles away, off in the blazing desert of New Mexico. It happened to be the hottest day of the summer.

Fearing for their lives, few of the men returned. A federal investigation dragged on for years and finally fizzled. The lesson was clear: don't mess with Phelps Dodge.

It makes good reading, the kind you can grind your teeth over, while you get to applaud the little feller who occasionally gets in a free poke at the corporate giant. But there's a problem here and perhaps a lesson too for present-day activists. Byrkit, a professor at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, has written a study that is well-documented and objectively told. But the events he describes are so bizarre in themselves that, like the cowboy earlier mentioned, they seem to belong to the realm of fiction.

Raised on a diet of C-grade movies with "good guys versus bad guys," expecting the Gestapo to wear crew cuts and jackboots, the public tends to think that such things don't happen in real life. Or at least that they couldn't in our supposedly enlightened day. Perhaps corporations don't march protestors off into cattle cars anymore. But that is only to say that their tactics have changed, become more subtle and technologically sophisticated. *The China Syndrome*, with its intricate plot of blackmail and media manipulation, certainly pointed this out. For that, the destroyers can be even more dangerous and difficult to expose.

MY SENTIMENTAL FAVORITES

by Louis D'Manure, M.D.D.T.

As stated in a recent issue by that gentleman of letters, Spurs Jackson, not all of these books deal directly with the wilderness or with environmental issues, yet all carry implicit messages in some ways more effective than conventional environmental works.

TENDER CARNIVORE AND THE SACRED GAME

by PAUL SHEPHERD

This book was the first on the responsibility of being an ape. A strong hunting and gathering message. It drew fire when published for its obviously crazy proposal to limit human habitation in North America to small enclaves with the great majority of the land reserved for "primitive" activities (NOT ORVS). Here at EF! headquarters in Snakenavel, that proposal is sometimes considered too conservative (why any human habitations at all?) from certain large hairy EF'ers.

THE BIG SKY

by A.B. GUTHRIE, JR.

Captures like the hands of Godzilla the old west in the days of the mountain men. Its eventual destruction by those who loved it is nearly unbearable to both its hero and the reader. Presents in fiction the same life Bernard DeVoto presents as nonfiction in *Across the Wide Missouri* and is more effective, although DeVoto gives a better characterization of Christianity as a major force in the destruction of the American West.

Ironically, the best actual autobiography of a mountain man is *Journal of a Trapper*, by Osborne Russell, who in later years discovered religion and as a result renounced his previous life and became a realtor, speculator, miner, and politician; suffered from "bilious attacks" and ended up dead in a county hospital in California.

TONGUES OF THE MONTE

by J. FRANK DOBIE

The best book by the only Texan to ever write an entire column in admiration of the coyote, and an article in admiration of the skunk. This somewhat autobiographical work concerns the days when a Texan with legal problems could find a friend and a horse and head south across the Rio Bravo to a land of jaguars and shy maidens; wilderness and romance. For another similar situation about Uruguay before its destruction by civilization, try *The Purple Land That England Lost* by W.H. Hudson.

RIVER NOTES

by BARRY LOPEZ

Hardly anyone is able to put into language the universe which Barry Lopez sees. A unique style about a parallel universe just up the trail and over the ridge.

JOY OF MAN'S DESIRING

by JEAN GIOINO

What the title says; about the smell of growing things and not about wanting color TVs.

SEXUS by HENRY MILLER

A sequel to *The Big Sky* by a different author; the protagonist is now lost in New York City. About the antipathy of modern civilization towards life, and about its efforts to destroy the natural world, including man.

JAPAN GREEN PARTY CALLS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

I. We believe that the human race and the world ecological system are in danger of being destroyed.

While we believe that the human race has brought this upon itself, we consider the chief offenders to be the advanced Western countries, including Japan, and especially the dominating countries with the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, at the head, and the warped (pursuit of profit, and military expansion) use of their materialistic science and technology.

The rulers of the advanced Western countries and the Soviet Union consider liberalism (capitalism) and socialism (communism), two camps; the imminent dangers of nuclear war and the destruction of the environment have been brought about through, and spurred by, the ceaseless confrontation between these two ideologies, and on this point, the adherents and rulers of both are equally guilty. It is no longer possible to entrust the future of the human race to the advanced countries; they are, in fact, merely leading the Earth and the human race farther in the direction of disaster.

In order to extricate ourselves from this situation, we believe that there is only one possible course of action: in that these two ideologies both see human beings as the supreme good, we must build a global society, based on natural principles, which transcends these two ideologies, and in which all living things can coexist.

We have invited Mr. Ramiro Reynaga, coordinator of the South American Indian Council (elected at the first Council meeting, March 1980), from Kolasuyu (Bolivia), to participate in the writing of a joint declaration.

II. Having reached agreement upon our present situation as stated above, we propose that, in order to preserve the human race and life on Earth, we promote concerted action on an international scale among the Japan Green Party, the Indians (aboriginal peoples) of the world, and environmentalists of the world. We also propose an international conference in order to bring everyone together.

The said international conference shall be not only for the good of human beings, but a Life on Earth Conference, the purpose of which shall be to preserve nature and the Earth for all living things.

We propose that the international conference be held in Japan during the first part of October, 1984 (for a period of seven days) and we are prepared to make arrangements for the conference with the participation of the Indian organizations of the world.

We call upon our Indian brothers and sisters, who protect and respect all of nature, all environmentalists and peace-loving women, and those involved in anti-nuclear movements, to participate in this international conference, where we will discuss ways to preserve the human race and life on Earth.

July 1, 1983

by Ramiro Renaga

I. The Present World Crisis
This crisis touches every facet of our lives — the economic and political, our sources of energy and the food we eat. The industrial monster sells us things we do not need, thereby contaminating our lives and our planet. These problems all have the same root: a disconnection from the interdependent harmony called Life, and therefore a disrespect for the life of the forests, the rivers, animals, and even other humans, who are also Nature.

Even now, on this little planet of ours, are enough nuclear weapons to kill every human being fifty times over, and to make this world another dead planet like the moon. Yet, the superpowers, obsessed with overkill, are busy inventing and producing even more powerful bombs. For the first time in the life of this planet, there is the very real danger of exterminating every plant, animal, and human. And we have Europe, thought to many to be the most civilized of societies (I consider the United States the same as Europe), to thank for this.

II. Capicom Both the United States and the Soviet Union say that they must produce more nuclear weapons in order to prevent nuclear war, which makes about as much sense as saying that we must store more gasoline in order to put down a conflagration.

No ideological difference is big enough to justify the further production of nuclear weapons. And the United States and Soviet Union are more similar than different.

They both speak in their own interests using ideological language.

In both countries the govern-

HUMANS NEED A NEW POLITICAL OPTION

ments are becoming bigger, and the people smaller; the people are losing the ability to choose their own food, dress, housing, medicine, education, and pleasure. Their individual personalities are becoming suppressed, and in this way they are becoming totally dependent upon the growing centralized government.

Both nations consider "progress" the killing of Nature in order to grow the machine.

Both are trying to make everyone the same, one using money, and the other power. And in the final analysis, of course, money and power are the same, a whip to control people.

They depend upon each other for their very existence. The reason for the existence of anti-communism and anti-capitalism is to attack each other. It is almost as though there is a tacit agreement between them; as long as the world is divided into right and left, they can continue to dominate it.

The most important choice we can make now is not between capitalism and communism. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can solve the problem because they created, and have become, the problem.

The important choice we must make today is between life and death, between arming or disarming those who would start the Third World War.

The United States and the Soviet Union are the powers of war and death. They are not two forces; they are a single military system divided into two

mutually dependent parts. The two parts form the European military monster with two heads, right and left, both mad, both eager to destroy each other, and every plant, animal, and human.

Capitalism and Communism form a single entity. And a single entity needs a single name. I call the nuclear monster Capicom. This new name clarifies the situation because the present vital alternative is between Life and Capicom.

This monster must be stopped in a special way. Its two heads must be lopped off simultaneously. If not, the attack against one will make the other grow. We, this strange and dangerous kind of animal called human beings, need a new political option, one which can release us from the deadly alternative between North American and Soviet nuclear weapons. Otherwise the dichotomy will keep making the contradiction deeper and irreversible. This dichotomy fools people, and chains the thinking and feelings of whole populations to the irrelevant, which is the fight between right and left. Capicom uses this fight to conceal the relevant, which is the alternative between Life and nuclear war. These alternatives are totally different, and do not allow for a compromise.

Whoever adores the part does not adore the whole. Sectarian ideologies think they can save the part by destroying the whole. Conversion to this kind of ideological thinking is a kind of sickness which works inside the brain to attack the ability to respect and appreciate the dif-

JIM STILES ON DIGNITY

I read with interest, and then a growing sense of frustration, Doc Raccoon's essay on Earth First! and "dignity." I have spent many years writing letters to congressmen, commenting on environmental assessments, joining organizations and signing petitions. And I am frustrated. I don't know where Doc Raccoon lives, but if he lived in SE Utah, if he could see the day-in/day-out savage destruction of places dear to me (and to him), if he could hear the mindless, greedy oratory of the many people here who see this land only in terms of the number of dollars that can be squeezed from it, perhaps he too might be inclined to step down from his lofty castle and throw a few punches too. There is no dignity in defeat, especially when the loser is the planet we're trying to keep healthy. I don't care if my punches are above the belt, or below — so long as they hurt.

It is impossible to keep this struggle on a "high plane." Our opponents' preconceived perception of us gives us no choice. And when I say "opponent" I am speaking of those persons who will stop at nothing to destroy everything that is green,

and clean, living and beautiful. To these greedheads, an environmentalist is a long-haired, communistic, smelly degenerate on welfare and food stamps, whose affinity for the EARTH comes from the fact that we live under a rock and waddle about in our own excrement. It is pointless to even attempt to convince them otherwise. Others have tried; they have all failed. For God's sake, James Watt thinks we're all disciples of Satan, and has compared us to Hitler's Gestapo. Is there *anyway* we could stoop lower than that?

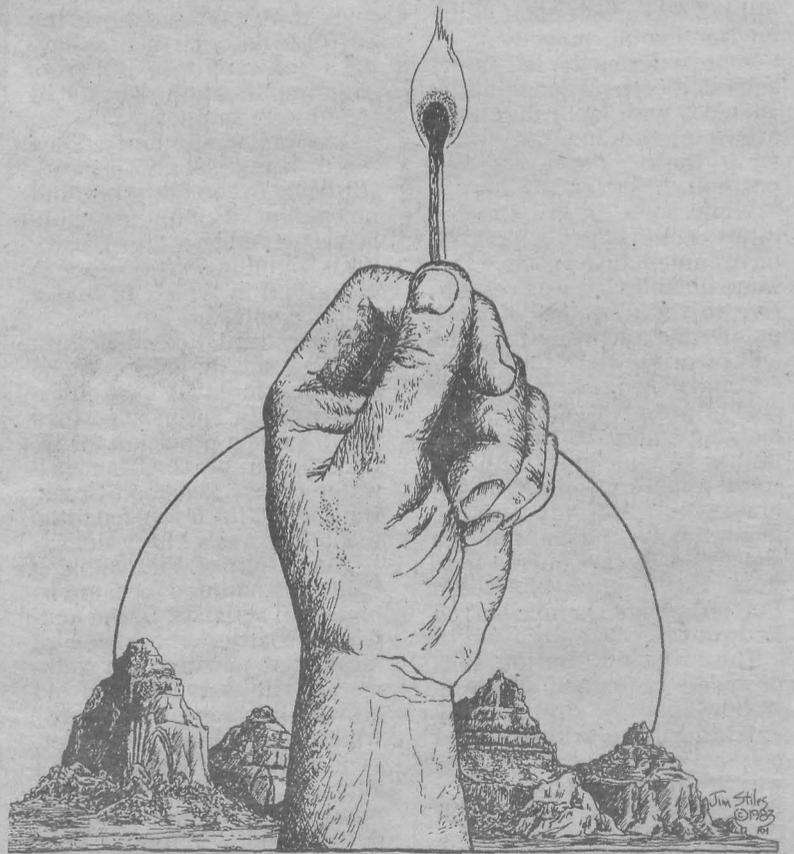
Watt and his ilk have no use for patient, rational opposition. They look at it as a sign of weakness. After all, Jim Watt is on a mission from God. The only thing he fears is the DEVIL, and if that's what it takes to make the sweat trickle down Watt's ribs, I'll be a horned, fire-breathing Lucifer any time.

As for Thoreau and Muir, their eloquence and gentle love has always moved me deeply. But I doubt in their vilest nightmares, they even dreamed that the cancerous destruction of this planet would reach such tragic proportions. Faced with what we have today, I would bet they'd be reaching for a monkey wrench, too.

And as for my drawings, they are intended to provoke. I'm not primarily looking for laughs — I'm mad. I'm emotional, not logical. If some people think they're crude and obscene, they don't have to look at them — turn the page. But someday soon, I'm sure all the birds *will* organize and they *will* crap on Jim Watt. And then, instead of being a vulgar, scatological cartoonist, I'll be called a prophet. People will come to me and say, "Who will be crapped on next, oh wise one?" The High Priest of Scatology.

But I'm drifting from the point here. Which is, that the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, et al, have taken the high road, the "dignified approach" for years. And where are we? I'm not saying we should deliberately take the low road, but I will take *any* road that will keep one more tree from being cut, one less survey stake from being driven into the ground. Because the *real* stakes here — the Earth's survival — are just too high to worry about etiquette.

Thanks for listening,
Jim Stiles
Moab, Utah



Carry a torch to burn, to ignite.
Since quietude is like mire
Risk your blood and your soul.
—Vladimir "Ze'ev" Jabotinsky

EARTH FIRST! FESTIVAL

ferences among persons and peoples.

In Asia, Africa, and the Americas, we must move to stop this dangerous colonizing mania. Environmentalists, women's groups, youth groups, and anti-nuclear and workers' organizations are all working toward the same goal. It is a good time to start working together.

As part of the Inca people which is organizing the forces that will stop the colonial oppression affecting the immense majority of the Andean population, I am very glad to be in Japan, and among this remarkable people. I must also thank the Green Party for having made this possible, and for giving me the opportunity to talk with my Japanese friends.

Ramiro Reynaga
Kheswa, Kollasuyu (Bolivia)
International Coordinator of the
National Indian Youth Council
June 15, 1983

Reynaga is head of the South American Indian Council and recently met with the leaders of the Japan Green Party.

TUOLUMNE!

The modern environmental movement was born 70 years ago on California's Tuolumne River when John Muir fought with the last strength of his body against the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park. Muir lost the battle and soon his life. Today, Hetch Hetchy is a toilet bowl in a cathedral, the darkest blot in the history of the National Parks. But below ugly O'Shaughnessy Dam, the sweet-throated song of the Tuolumne is heard once more as the river reasserts her wilderness spirit in foam and rock and whirlpool. The Tuolumne below Hetch Hetchy is considered by many boaters to be California's premier whitewater river. But like an earlier generation of greed-head destroyers of life, the water and power interests of California's Central Valley see only the potential of dollars in this lovely wild stream.

More dams are proposed for the Tuolumne - dams that will finish the job that killed Hetch Hetchy Valley and John Muir. A variety of conservation groups are organizing to fight these assaults on the river within proper legal channels. But Earth First! and a group of river guides are prepared to fight *without compromise* if the establishment groups fail. Not only are we saying "Never!" to more dams on the Tuolumne, we are also saying, "Tear down O'Shaughnessy Dam and free Hetch Hetchy!" as well.

The Earth First!/River Guides coalition is proposing a massive rally against the further damming of the Tuolumne on John Muir's birthday (April 21) next spring at O'Shaughnessy Dam. If you want to help organize the rally or help in any way, contact Don Presley (916) 283-4310, POB 3021, Quincy, CA 95971.

"It was a helluva show," said one unidentified Utahn heading home in the rain after the August 14 Earth First! Festival in Salt Lake City. And indeed it was. Diverse. But one helluva show.

The crowd of 300 at the Utah State Fairgrounds was less than had been hoped for, but the turn-out did not dull the audience or the performers. Musicians for the 8-hour long show were folksinger "Wobblie" Bob Phillips from Moab, rock'n'rollers Maggie Beers and Friends, Tophat, Liz Draper and the LZ5, country singer Hardin Davis, and, of course, Johnny Sagebrush and the Wild Goose Band. Poets included Art Goodtimes of Telluride, Jose, Simon Ortiz from New Mexico, and Pulitzer Prize-winner Gary Snyder. The speakers were rancher Cecil Garland, Ken 'Seldom-Seen Smith' Sleight, and master of ceremonies Dave Foreman.

Although swelling afternoon thunderheads over the Wasatch Mountains may have kept some people away, they provided the high points of the festival. As Simon Ortiz was giving an Acoma Pueblo prayer to thunder, the huge black cloud rearing behind him happily obliged. When darkness fell, so did the rain. The audience scurried into a shed for protection just before Gary Snyder was scheduled. But a lantern was found and Gary read his poetry and spoke of re-inhabitation and deep ecology in its warming glow to the crowded but hushed group remaining.

Special thanks go to the musicians, speakers and poets for their appearances (all gratis); the stage-crew and other roustabouts; t-shirt sellers and ticket takers; go-fers and all the rest. And to Mike Roselle and Marc Brown for a month's solid work to plan, promote and organize the Festival.

For those of you who weren't able to make it, we share here with you Gary Snyder's Smokey The Bear Sutra, and Ed Abbey's greetings from Desolation Canyon.



earth first! turtle island.

by Chipmunk Rose; no rights reserved.

SMOKEY THE BEAR SUTRA

Once in the Jurassic, about 150 million years ago, the Great Sun Buddha in this corner of the Infinite Void gave a great Discourse to all the assembled elements and energies: to the standing beings, the walking beings, the flying beings, and the sitting beings - even grasses, to the number of thirteen billion, each one born from a seed, were assembled there: a Discourse concerning Enlightenment on the planet Earth.

"In some future time, there will be a continent called America. It will have great centers of power called such as Pyramid Lake, Walden Pond, Mt. Rainier, Big Sur, Everglades, and so forth: and powerful nerves and channels such as Columbia River, Mississippi River, and Grand Canyon. The human race in that era will get into troubles all over its head, and practically wreck everything in spite of its own strong intelligent Buddha-nature."

"The twisting strata of the great mountains and the pulsings of great volcanoes are my love burning deep in the earth. My obstinate compassion is schist and basalt and granite, to be mountains, to bring down the rain. In that future American Era I shall enter a new form: to cure the world of loveless knowledge that seeks with blind hunger; and mindless rage eating food that will not fill it."

And he showed himself in his true form of

SMOKEY THE BEAR

A handsome smokey-colored brown bear standing on his hind legs, showing that he is aroused and watchful.

Bearing in his right paw the Shovel that digs to the truth beneath appearances; cuts the roots of useless attachments, and flings damp sand on the fires of greed and war;

His left paw in the Mudra of Comradely Display - indicating that all creatures have the full right to live to their limits and that deer, rabbits, chipmunks, snakes, dandelions, and lizards all grow in the realm of the Dharma;

Wearing the blue work overalls symbolic of slaves and laborers, the countless men oppressed by a civilization that claims to save but only destroys;

With a halo of smoke and flame behind, the forest fires of the kali-yuga, fires caused by the stupidity of those who think things can be gained and lost whereas in truth all is contained vast and free in the Blue Sky and Green Earth of One Mind.

Round-bellied to show his kind nature and that the great earth has food enough for everyone who loves her and trusts her;

Trampling underfoot wasteful freeways and needless suburbs; smashing the worms of capitalism and totalitarianism;

Indicating the Task: his followers, becoming free of cars, houses, canned food, universities, and shoes, master the Three Mysteries of their own Body, Speech, and Mind; and fearlessly chop down the rotten trees and prune out the sick limbs of this country America and then burn the leftover trash.

Wrathful but Calm, Austere but Comic, Smokey the Bear will illuminate those who would help him; but for those who would hinder or slander him,

HE WILL PUT THEM OUT.

Thus his great Mantra:

Namah samanta vajranam chanda maharoshana
Sphataya hum traka ham nam

"I DEDICATE MYSELF TO THE UNIVERSAL DIAMOND
BE THIS RAGING FURY DESTROYED"

And he will protect those who love woods and rivers, Gods and animals, hobos and madmen, prisoners and sick people, musicians, playful women, and hopeful children;

And if anyone is threatened by advertising, air pollution, or the police, they should chant SMOKEY THE BEAR'S WAR SPELL:

DROWN THEIR BUTTS
CRUSH THEIR BUTTS
DROWN THEIR BUTTS
CRUSH THEIR BUTTS

And SMOKEY THE BEAR will surely appear to put the enemy out with his vajra-shovel.

Now those who recite this Sutra and then try to put it in practice will accumulate merit as countless as the sands of Arizona and Nevada.

Will help save the planet Earth from total oil slick,
Will enter the age of harmony of man and nature,

Will win the tender love and caresses of men, women, and beasts

Will always have ripe blackberries to eat and a sunny spot under a pine tree to sit at.

AND IN THE END WILL WIN HIGHEST PERFECT ENLIGHTENMENT.

thus we have heard.

(may be reproduced free forever)

GARY SNYDER

ED ABBEY TO EARTH FIRST!

The undersigned deeply regrets that he cannot be here in the flesh - or what there is left of it. Pressing moral obligations and inescapable spiritual duties require my physical presence elsewhere - in this case, floating down a river with some old cronies and a few dozen cases of beer in some godawful place called Desolation Canyon, Utah. Rejoice that you are here instead, under the blazing sun (or the drenching rain) of the fairgrounds in Salt Lake City, Shithead Capital of the Intermountain West. Although my feet, head, belly, etc., are out yonder, my heart is here with all of you posie-sniffers, toadstool worshippers, eco-freaks, earth-lovers, anti-nuke hardheads, environmental blowflies, FBI agents, innocent onlookers, Mothers for Peace and Winos for Ecology. You are the new salt of the Earth.

I am with you in spirit, whatever that means. And it does mean something. It means first of all that I wish to salute and honor everyone who took part in the recent EF! road-blocking operations in the Kalmiopsis wilderness of Oregon. You are heroines and heroes and no praise for your courage, daring, resolute will and irrespressible good-will can even come close to expressing the admiration that we feel. I would like to name names, read the entire roll of honor, and if it were not for fear of overlooking somebody, I would do so. But you know who you are, and your pride in what you have accomplished should fill your hearts with a golden glowing for the rest of your lives.

It is not enough to write let-

ters to Congressmen, deliver sermons, make speeches, or write books. The West that we love is under violent attack; the earth that sustains us is being destroyed. Words alone will not save our country or ourselves. We need more heroes and more heroines - about a million of them. One brave deed, performed in an honorable manner and for a life-defending cause, is worth a thousand books. At some point we must draw a line across the ground of our home and our being and say to the bulldozers, the earth-movers, the government and the corporations, *thus far and no farther*. If we do not we shall feel, instead of pride, the regret of Thoreau, that good but overly-bookish man, who wrote, near the end of his life, "If I repent of anything, it is likely to be my good behavior. What demon possessed me that I behaved so well?"

Yes, we must continue to talk with one another and with our fellow citizens. We must continue to take part in political action, to reason with our adversaries, to think and meditate and develop a philosophy that gives moral justification to what we believe. But at some point we must also be prepared to put our bodies on the line. Philosophy without action is the ruin of the soul.

We must stand up, speak out, talk back - and when necessary, fight back. The great powers raged against us - industrial, governmental, military - may seem omnipotent. But they are not. If enough of us resist, strong enough and for long enough, the huge concrete wall of the Corporate State will

begin to crack. Its dams are already beginning to crack - the very bedrock beneath them is crumbling - and someday soon, if the river of the water of life continues to flow, the state's dams will go down like dominos.

Concrete and asphalt and iron are heavy, oh, so terribly massive and heavy - but water is stronger, grass is stronger. So long as the light of the sun continues to shine, the green tough grass of life will continue to grow and to break through the dead heavy static oppressive barriers of the industrial prison-house. If we are on the side of life then life is on our side. And if we are wrong we might as well get down on our knees and crawl into our little separate cells in the Beehive Society of the Technological Superstars. But we are not wrong; the grass will overcome the cement. The continuity is all.

Meanwhile, a final homily: Let's keep our bodies strong and enjoy the world. Eat more crunchy granola. Climb those mountains, run those rivers, explore those forests, investigate those deserts, love the sun and the moon and the stars and we will outlive our enemies, we will piss on their graves, and we will love and nurture and who knows - even marry their children.

Turn on, tune in, take over. Let's keep our minds, our senses and our common sense strong also. Who's in charge here? We're all in charge: every man his own guru, every woman her own gurette. Who is our leader? We are all leaders. What is our program? Earth first and life first; power and profits and domination - last.

I thank you, partners.

Bailey (cont)

with few exceptions, all public forests not designated as wilderness are being scheduled for logging, even in areas under designations such as National Recreation Areas. In view of the fact that our public land managers seem to have abandoned foresight, and forgotten the principles of multiple use, and their agencies have become agencies motivated almost singularly by politics, we have designed a wilderness proposal which seeks to pursue the true intent of public lands: To preserve a land base which will provide sustained yield and create a balance against privately-

owned lands which are managed for resource consumption to provide for the needs of our economy.

Our proposal would designate half of Oregon's public forestlands as wilderness while allowing the other half to be used for resource consumption and developed recreation. There will never be expert testimony on an exact amount of wilderness that will be prudent, or sufficient. This will be determined by our judgement, as citizens and legislators. In our judgement, allocating half of these lands for wildlife and the multiple uses wilderness provides is a fair compromise.

Those who oppose wilder-

ness designations, or favor only relatively small tracts for protection, such as HR 1149 would do, are supporting the notion that man should dominate and attempt to control nature. But protecting only a small part of the available small islands of Oregon's wild landscape in its natural condition is not sufficient to allow natural forces to reestablish and maintain the ecological character that is our very life support system. We need to protect entire ecosystems, total ranges of habitat, and complete watersheds, not just token recreation areas. Therefore, we strongly but respectfully propose that all roadless areas on public forestlands

in Oregon be immediately designated wilderness areas, and that wilderness recovery zones be established in some of the previously logged and roaded areas, as indicated on our maps. This is necessary to allow rejuvenation of our forest-based ecosystems, given the pitifully minute and bisected nature of Oregon roadless areas. We want to see the wolf and the grizzly back in Oregon, but we never will if we are satisfied with asking only for protection of the frayed roadless remnants that the Forest Service has thus far overlooked in its zeal to consume our forest heritage.

The concern put forth by those in opposition to wilder-

ness areas is jobs, which is most certainly something to be concerned about. But in this case, it seems to be merely a strategic issue with which to emotionally rally the working people against wilderness. The industry lobby is actively (and erroneously) advertising massive job losses because of wilderness designations: Threatening people into believing their livelihood is endangered. Yet we find the same boards of directors in those industries mismanaging their private holdings, exporting raw logs, automating their mills and shutting down mills because of over-cutting, all of which cost more jobs than almost any amount of wilderness ever could. It is also intriguing that those industry wilderness opponents, who actively advertise the "trees are our renewable resource" concept, insist that we must cut the last of our unprotected wilderness. Is this because there is nothing else left to cut? We have an obvious contradiction here. Let it suffice to say that we simply cannot buy the theory that nature created just enough forests so that only if we cut them all can we maintain a sustained yield of timber. There is obviously some other motivation behind this anti-wilderness campaign; probably profit margin.

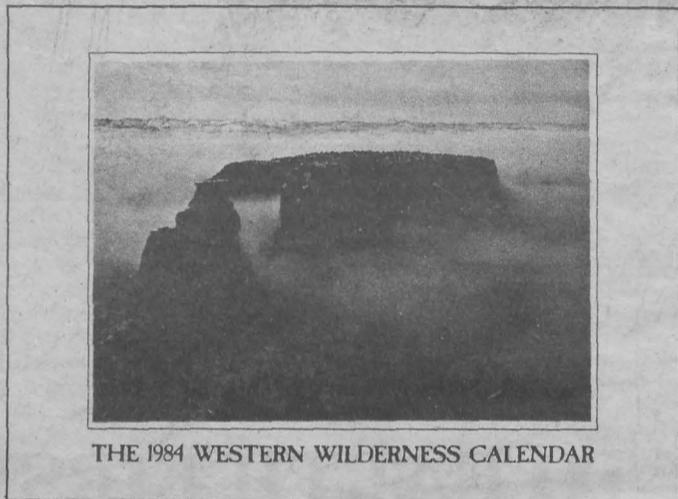
But if indeed trees in Oregon are being mined, not harvested, the urgency of protecting what remains is multiplied, lest we selfishly dispose of all of our forests: Their wood fibre potential, their watersheds, their habitat, their genetic diversity and their grandeur, and leave our environment, and our economy in shambles.

Regarding the jobs issue, Earth First! recommends that our public forests be managed labor intensively: That there should be specific labor requirements for every million board feet cut, that no unmilled lumber be exported from public or private forests, that only small locally-owned companies without large land holdings be allowed to bid on federal timber. If these guidelines are established legislatively, we can destroy the myth that wood products jobs and wilderness preserves cannot coexist. But the mistake made in the beginning, which we must seek to amend, is that growth-oriented industrialists attempted to manipulate the timber resource to conform to desired short-term production instead of tailoring production and the growth of the economy to the long-term capabilities of the resource.

In this debate, we must keep in mind that economics is only a human justification for human actions. It is our feeling that wildlife and trees have standing also, or should have. We are doing our best to speak for them. Yet in either human or "wild" terms, Oregon is tainted. There are no designated or defacto wildernesses here where one is free from the sight of smog and clearcuts, or the sounds of automobiles and aircraft. In many, there is a risk of ingesting toxic chemicals from the water. Acid rain threatens some, and all have lost much of their native species of wildlife. There is little or no true wilderness left in Oregon. The last of the remnants are impaired by civilization,

DREAM GARDEN CALENDARS FOR 1984

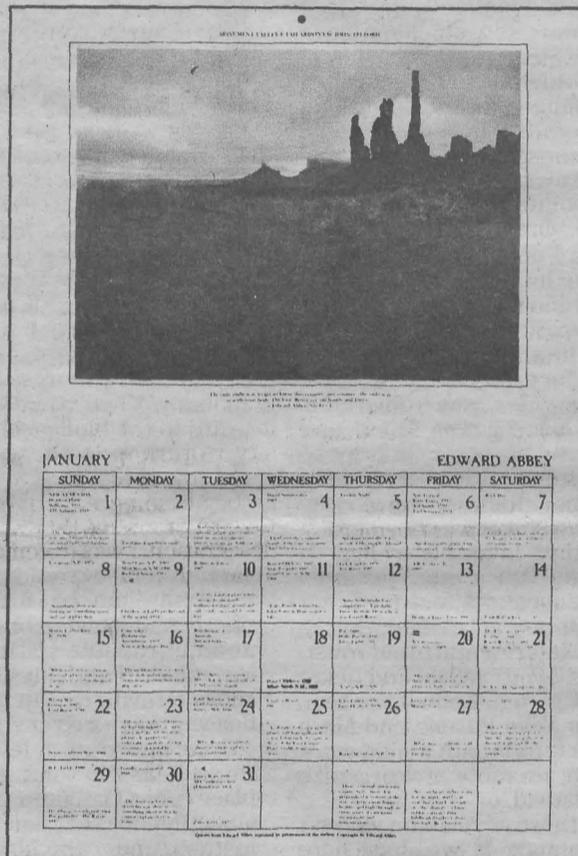
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THE 1984 WESTERN WILDERNESS CALENDAR

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

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26 pages, 8 1/2 x 11, \$5.00



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



ROAMING THE WEST

which can be felt, smelt, viewed, tasted, heard and sensed in all of them.

To unselfishly suggest, in this human dominated atmosphere, that at least one of the reigns be returned to nature in the form of generous wilderness preserves, is not unreasonable. Our proposal would preserve 13% of the state land area of Oregon, and about half of our public forestlands in a natural condition (or a status which would allow natural forces to restore natural conditions). Only those who would uphold that maintaining the social comfort of man at any cost is the utmost purpose in this world would feel that that is extreme. Extremism is more obviously exhibited by those who have shamelessly come forth proclaiming that wilderness is a waste of land because they cannot make money off it.

Our task today should not be to perpetrate the continued consumption of the very fabric of the Earth without restraint, but to amend our past mistakes, made in our position of technological prowess, and to begin living with the Earth as if tomorrow mattered, and realizing that there is more to the scheme of life than the devices of man. In this spirit, wilderness designation is freedom for the land, and for life forms other than man, and is an unselfish gesture in a measure of human justice; that we could show respect for, and acknowledge kinship with nature by admitting that there is value in things that do not directly bring us material profit, and that there might be things in this world equally as important and complex as ourselves.

The beginning of the pursuit of those principles, for us to guarantee freedom for nature, from ourselves, rests in generous wilderness designations. So before any decision is made regarding this critical legislation, the decision makers should give serious thought to the true meaning of freedom: Liberty and Justice for all, as it were. For if there is no place one can go to be free from the stressful nature of society, if the wild creatures cannot be allowed to live in their naturally intended habitat, if there is no place where nature maintains a stronghold from the constraints and demands of man, freedom cannot survive.

The maps I have provided show the major wilderness areas proposed by Earth First! for the Senate version of the Oregon Wilderness Bill. Our proposal also recommends wilderness designation for all roadless areas on USFS land over 5,000 acres in size (and all roadless lands of any size adjacent to existing wilderness), and includes all areas, whether or not they were inventoried in RARE II.

In cases where state and private lands are included in wilderness proposals, land exchanges are recommended to be undertaken on a negotiable basis for state and industry-owned lands, while individual owners will either be paid the fair market value of their land, or will remain the owners of the land, and allowed to dwell there provided they abide by the guidelines established under the Wilderness Act; with the exception of the clause in the preamble which states, "Where

GLOBAL TOMORROW

by Ronnie Hawkins

I'm happy to report that Earth First! was represented at the Global Tomorrow Coalition Conference that took place June 2 & 3 in Washington, D.C. Members of 65 other organizations were there as well, ostensibly to confront the global problems outlined in the *Global 2000 Report to the President* commissioned under Jimmy Carter and published in 1980. A computer projection based on data available in the late seventies, the report predicts that, if present trends continue, Earth in the year 2000 will be characterized by a human population of over 6 billion, extinction of about 20% of presently living species, steadily expanding deforestation and desertification, increasing chemical pollution, dwindling nonrenewable energy sources and an ever-widening gap between rich and poor nations. The report is a prophesy of doom, however, *only if present trends continue*, and my reason for attending the conference was to see to it that they do not.

Jimmy Carter delivered the keynote speech, outlining the pressing concerns and rebuking, rather moderately, I thought, the present administration's undeniable withdrawal from a position of leadership on global issues. He was followed by a panel that included two representatives of the Reagan point of view, of whom Max Singer was the more noteworthy. Like his colleagues Julian Simon and Herman Kahn, who contributed to a recent Heritage Foundation study that attempts to deny both the *Global 2000's* findings and its premise that we should look that far ahead, Singer doesn't think there's anything wrong with our present course. He proceeded to pile one preposterous statement on top of another, asserting, for instance, that present methods of agriculture can feed at least 30 billion people, who will all grow progressively richer rather than poorer because humans "produce more than they consume." Waxing moralistic about the glory and sacredness of human life, he confided his belief that our increasingly destructive impact on the planet is simply a matter of making the welcome "transition from the natural world to a human world." The crux of the matter was finally revealed when he heralded "our triumph is mass production and mass consumption as well as democracy," and that any criticism of our wasteful lifestyle is

man is a visitor who does not remain."

We also recommend that agency motorized and mechanized equipment and vehicles be allowed in wilderness recovery zones for a period of two years, exclusively for the purpose of removing structures (fences, powerlines, pipelines, buildings, etc.), reclaiming roads, and generally restoring a natural appearance. After two years, they will be fully closed to all motor vehicles under the guidelines of the Wilderness Act.

"an attack on the moral foundations of the United States." Recognition of our part in the destruction of ecosystems and assumption of responsibility for modification of our future actions, in other words, would be an admission of guilt that we must seek to avoid at any cost, including outright denial of biological reality. Singer's smug veneer admitted a crack or two, however, when a certain member of the audience (I must admit it was the Earth First! delegate) met him on his chosen ground of righteousness: when asked how our forcing of so many of God's other creatures into extinction could possibly be morally justified, he was visibly taken aback for a moment, to the crowd's delight, stammering something about Man having created other forms of life (which he may actually believe!) before retreating into the "standard Judeo-Christian belief" in homocentricity.

Up to 4½ hours of conference time had been set aside for workshops, which spanned such topics as population, biological diversity, oceans, acid rain and the nuclear threat, all running concurrently. Since I tend to take the ongoing destruction of the tropical rainforests quite personally, I had been looking forward to the biological diversity workshop as the drawing card of the conference, a chance to begin some effective effort toward stopping this needless desecration. I was to come away disappointed, however, since the agenda had already been programmed into a tedious reiteration of the same lukewarm suggestions that have proven so nonproductive in the past. I managed only one brief glance into another workshop, just in time to hear the Oceans committee deciding *how much* of Antarctica to sacrifice to oil spills and *how much* krill to steal from the whales; I decided I wasn't missing a thing.

To be fair, a few reasonable targets for legislative action were generated by the workshops. For instance, while there is no longer any significant disagreement that cattle ranching on cleared rainforest land is not sustainable for more than 5 to 10 years, the practice is still encouraged by the "incentives" of inflationary land markets, tax write-offs and the like. It was brought out that the planning of such "development projects" funded by the international banking community is virtually mindless, directed as it is by mysterious market forces rather than by intelligent human beings. Of a staff of over 5,000 people, for example, the World Bank is said to have only 5 ecologically trained individuals, of whom 3 are assigned to review the 300 new projects arising annually that carry an average price tag of \$260 million.

Those who still have faith in a legislative solution to these problems are urged to request that the U.S. refrain from contributing to multilateral development banks that continue to finance ecologically damaging projects; address your letters to Senator



Robert Kasten, Chairman Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510; and to Rep. Clarence Long, Chairman House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, and Rep. Jerry Patterson, Chairman Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance, House Banking Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Those who no longer trust in the legislative process may simply look forward to the day when the whole monstrosity collapses of its own weight, perhaps hastened along by the "developing" nations developing the smarts to default on their loans, thus monkeywrenching the global waste machine that is presently destroying their lands.

The last session featured a panel addressed to "organizing for effective political action" that was designed to, and did, generate some audience enthusiasm. Highlights included Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-Rhode Island), who gave a rousing speech about citizen initiative and getting involved (*she did* — and just look at her), and Ted Turner of Turner Broadcasting, the only business organization belonging to the Coalition. One of the few capitalists who seem to know it's not the numbers game that's important but what you do with it, Turner confided he won't be overly concerned if he loses a million or two of the \$6 million he just gave Jacques Cousteau for a special on the Amazon. The freshly drafted

conference statement was approved following the panel, basically calling for a rebuilding of U.S. leadership on pressing global concerns. Comments from the floor were a strange mix of attention to details of wording (one participant wanted to strike "dangerous" from the context "... actions necessary to deflect these trends from their dangerous course ..." to placate those who might call us doomsayers) and validation of our reasons for being there. An approach that seemed to generate the most energy in the crowd spoke to the moral and spiritual dimensions of the issues at hand, perhaps being a novel idea to those who've run the gamut with rationality to little avail.

While I couldn't help feeling frustrated that a strong rainforest taskforce had failed to materialize, I could see most of the attendees were happy that the conference had happened at all, and to that extent so was I. It seems plain that we will not be able to stop our destructive actions on the planet until we transcend the exploitative culture that gives rise to them. Before tackling that, however, the many well-meaning people at the conference first will have to experience more personal empowerment, learning to trust their gut feelings for land and sea and sky and to separate the living reality from the distracting and confusing abstractions that currently serve as false motivators in our society. I think I saw signs of the beginning of this empowerment, and I hope I was able to sow some seeds of it myself.

— Ronnie Hawkins

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-taken from *The Search*
 by Tom Brown, Jr.

This is our ideal. We don't follow it as a rulebook, as the trail is often distant for lack of perception, + overgrown from lack of use, but it reflects the song in our hearts. If this is your Song also, we are at Goldfoot Creek/Echo + Dan

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The back cover of this issue of *EF!* is one of the illustrations of the 1984 Earth First! Calendar.

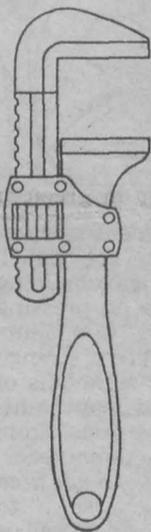
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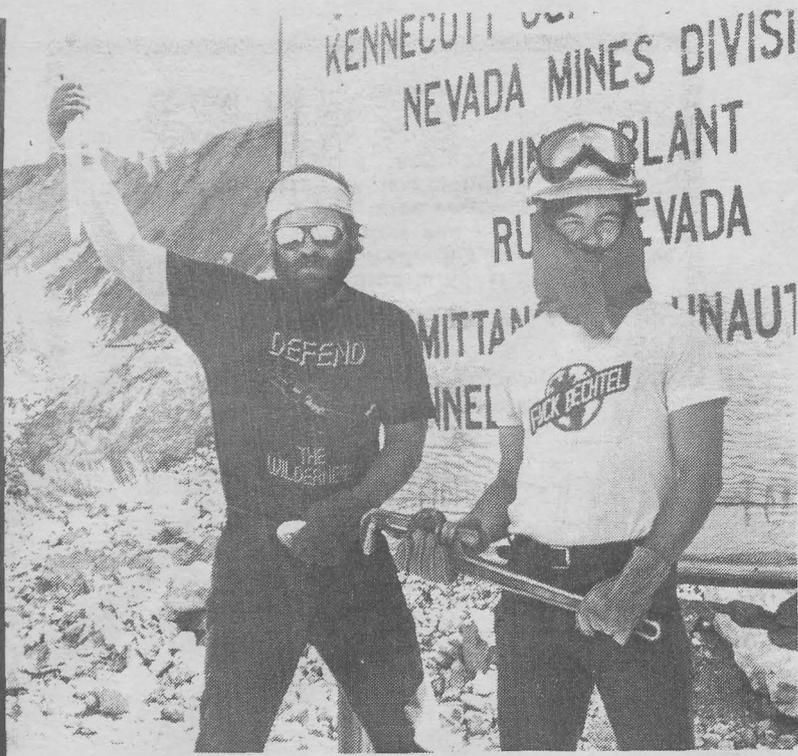
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YULE Dec. 21, 1981: *EF!* Road Show overview, tree spiking, *EF!* Preserves.

BRIGID Feb. 2, 1982: Oil & Gas Leasing in Wilderness Areas, Dave Foreman's *EF!* article reprinted from the *Progressive*.

EOSTAR Mar. 20, 1982: Nukedump in Canyonlands, Mardie Murie Interview, Coors Boycott.

BELTANE May 1, 1982: Little Granite Creek (Gros Ventre) Oil Rig, G-O Road, How Seismic Survey Crews Work, Jail: A Primer (Preparing for Civil Disobedience Arrest).

LITHA June 21, 1982: McKinley Grove Sequoias Threatened, 22 Things to do as an *EF!*er.

LUGHNASAD Aug. 1, 1982: Pete Dustrud Resigns as Editor, RRR Highlights, Rally for McKinley Grove & Dinkey Creek, Little Granite Stakes Pulled—Again.

MABON Sept. 21, 1982: *EF!* & SAFE Crack Hetch Hetchy, Environmental Strategy for the 80's, Road Spiking, Marshall's 1936 Roadless Area Inventory, Update on Little Granite.

SAMHAIN Nov. 1, 1982: BLM Wilderness Corruption in Utah Exposed, Abbey on Books & Gurus, Closing Roads, Forest Service Assault on Big Wilderness, Nuclear War as an Ecological Issue, Guidelines on *EF!* Wilderness Proposals.

YULE/BRIGID Dec. 21, 1982: Battle of Salt Creek, Nightcap (Australia), Bisti, Closing Roads, Primeval Wilderness Management, Earth Bonding (very few copies left).

EOSTAR Mar 21, 1983: Franklin River (Australia), Salt Creek Arrests, Kalmiopsis & Siskiyou, Deciduous Forest Preserve, Ned Ludd's Tool Box: The Cutting Torch, Dismantle the Wilderness Act!, Road Show Diary, Bisti Circus, Creative Littering.

BELTANE May 1, 1983: Kalmiopsis Blockade, Canyon Country Issues, What You Can Do As An *EF!*er, How To Form An *EF!* Local Group, California Desert, Privatization, Australian Rainforest.

LITHA June 21, 1983: Wilderness War in Oregon, Wilderness Preserve System & Map, *EF!* & Watt At Lake Foul, Franklin River Victory (Australia), Ed Abbey: Conscience of the Conquerer.

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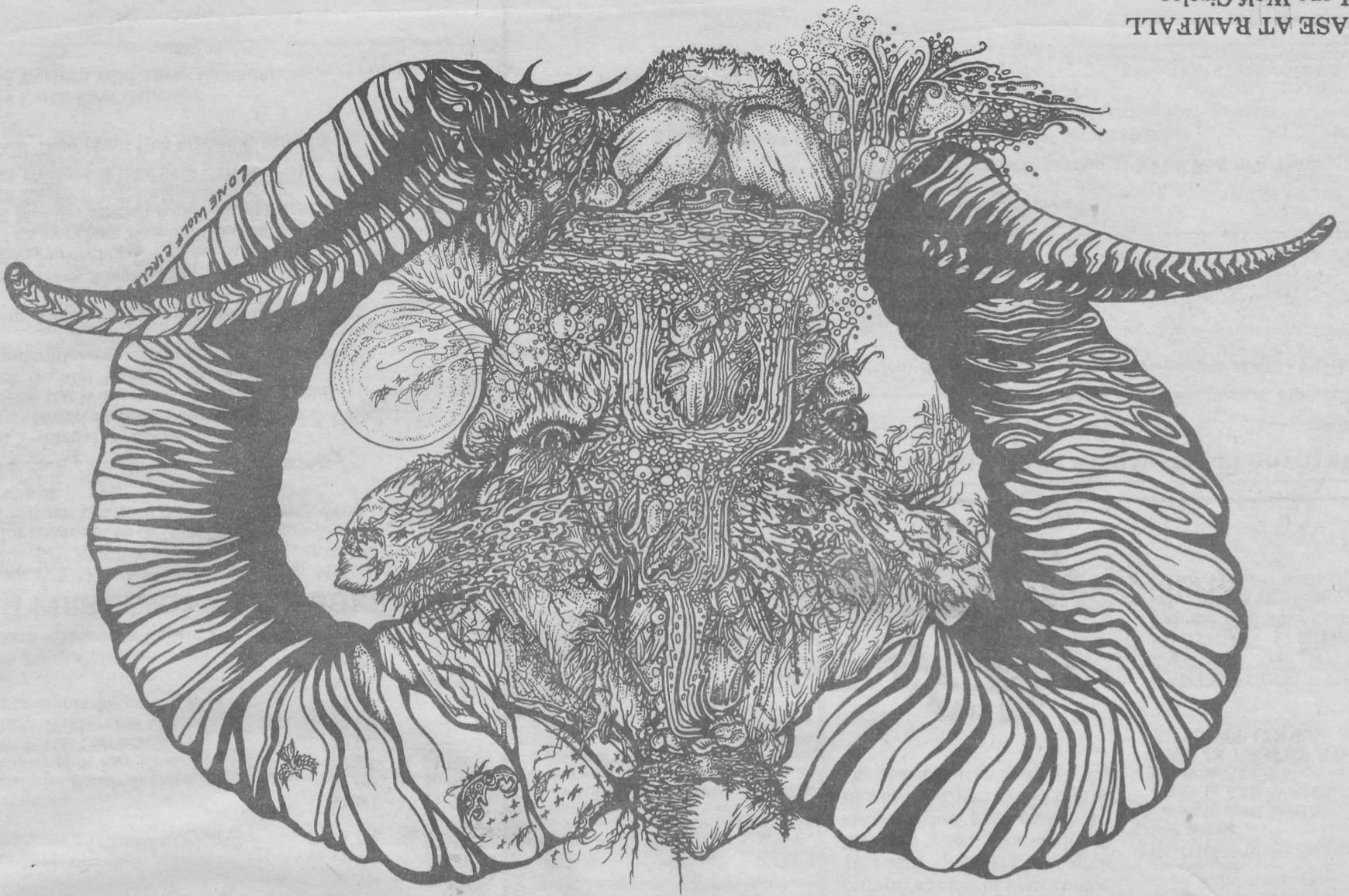
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