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# EARTH FIRST!

BRIGID EDITION

February 2, 1990

Vol. X, No. III

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

THREE DOLLARS

## Colorado EF! Hits Cowboys Again

by Mike Stabler

Denver, Colorado. The beginning of the West. The home of the "World's Largest Livestock Show." The perfect place for a showdown over public lands grazing.

In January of 1989, Earth First!ers from Colorado and other Western states converged on the Livestock Show to express outrage over the continued destruction of public land by ranchers and their livestock. The 1989 Livestock Show actions were a big success; through the rest of 1989, we generated ideas for the 1990 show on how best to garner public support.

One answer was to shout our message, "Livestock Off Public Lands!" right under the welfare ranchers' noses. We decided to enter a float in the opening day Livestock Show Parade! To help ensure our entry, we registered under the name "Nederland Old West Society." Colorado EF!ers spent over 350 hours (and as many dollars) building the float on a 1955 Ford flatbed truck. Starting off as an innocuous Wild West setting, the sides could fold down to reveal an entirely different scene. Inside, an evil-looking cow, sheep, and rancher were on one side of a barbed wire fence, scowling at the trees, grass, and wild animals on the other.

Monday, January 8: Parade Day. We've rented Old West costumes for the parade. We've finished the float, obtained the permits ... we're ready!

Then something goes wrong. A parade official demands to look inside the float, and discovers our alternate scene. The float is pulled from the parade. Major depression ensues ...

But wait! We shall overcome! Three EF!ers take anti-grazing signs and join the parade — right behind Ronald McDonald's float! Then, two more EF!ers join the ranks — then five more — until we have a large procession of radicals marching the length of the National Western Livestock Show Parade with anti-grazing banners flying!

Parade spectators were at first confused, but we handed many of them flyers explaining the grazing issue. The decommissioned float added style by following the end of the parade. Thus we still got out the anti-grazing message in good fashion.

Wednesday night we threw a benefit party, complete with slide show, radical speeches and a good band. About 250 people came, which helped defray expenses and add to group spirits.

Saturday we went to the heart of Cowboy-dom. Over 30 EF!ers carried signs, leafleted, and performed guerilla theater in front of the Livestock Show coliseum. The impact was reinforced when Lee, Todd, and Brian of California and Michael of Colorado hung a large banner above the coliseum entrance proclaiming RANCHERS: KILLERS OF WOLVES & GRIZZLIES; GRAZING = EXTINCTION; GET THE HELL OFF OUR WILD LANDS! The four were arrested and released on \$100 bail each. Charges included Disturbing The Peace and Decorating A Public Building. The lawyers think charges will be reduced or dropped.

Colorado EF!ers plan to do more direct actions this year, targeting the BLM and the Colorado Cattlemen's Association. We won't rest until all mutants — cattle, sheep, and ranchers — are off our public lands!

photo by Brad Lewis



Lee Desseaux rappels off the Denver Livestock Show building, hanging a banner with three other activists (and one cop).

## LOG SHIP LOCKDOWN

### EF!ers Revive 1919 Wobbly Laws

by Connie Firr, Portland EF!

In 1988, Oregon and Washington exported 4.3 billion board feet of unmilled logs to be processed overseas. To call public attention to the issue and demonstrate soli-

arity with workers losing their jobs because of log exports, four members of Earth First! shackled themselves to the loading cranes on board the *Ace Accord*, an export ship in Longview, Washington, which was heavy with logs slated for China. After six hours of sitting atop the 60 foot cranes, the activists were brought down by police and charged with a subsection of Washington's 1919 Sabotage and Anarchy law (9.05), Interfering with Owner's Control (9.05.070). Here's the story of the action:

On 7 December 1989, under cover of the night and fog, four EF!ers crept aboard the ship and climbed four cranes used to load logs onto the ship. Atop the cranes, they chained themselves to cables or railings with kryptonite bicycle locks around their necks.

Meanwhile, a support group hung banners on a nearby bridge, which was soon congested with traffic traveling between Washington and Oregon. One banner read "WHERE ARE WE GONNA WORK WHEN THE TREES ARE GONE?" At daybreak, the four climbers unfurled banners reading "USA and JAPAN: STOP THE WAR ON NATURE," "STOP JOB EXPORTS," "EARTH FIRST! SUPPORTS US MILLWORKERS," and "STOP LOG EXPORTS." The support group passed out literature and explained the action to the longshoremen, media and police.

The reaction from the workers was mixed. A few protesters claim that a guy driving a yarder tried to run them over. There were the usual observations that EF!ers look like a bunch of social rejects.

Though many of the longshoremen questioned the protesters' method of addressing the problem, not one worker defended shipping out unfinished wood products. Every worker there expressed a strong solidarity for millworkers and a strong preference for exporting milled wood, rather than raw logs. One worker asked the protesters, "Where have you guys been? They've been making us do this for 15 years."

A long dialogue between Earth First!ers and longshoremen resulted in a breakthrough. The historian from the Longshoremen's Union invited EF!ers to a union meeting to discuss the issues with workers and to hear their perspective. Because of the legal trouble resulting from the action, talks will begin by mail.

After we had spent two hours of talking with workers and media, the police arrived. They set up a barricade and asked us to retreat to the parking lot. The support group and media were escorted to the property line.

Just after our removal, a third group of 25 protesters arrived with banners and a tree costume. They stayed on the bridge interfac-

ing with people driving by and were amazed at the positive response.

Meanwhile, the police brought in hydraulic boltcutters, the bane of the kryptonite lock. When the first person's lock was too difficult to cut, the police began cutting the rail of the ship to which he was locked. At that point, he unlocked himself voluntarily, telling the officer he did not want to cause property damage. The second person also unlocked voluntarily, sensing that his objectives had been achieved. The final two had their locks cut by police. All four protesters came down peacefully and the police gave them hot coffee.

That was probably to make up in advance for the charges that ensued. The four were booked for Interfering with Owner's Control, a subsection of the 1919 Anarchy and Sabotage law, a law used to persecute the radical labor union, Industrial Workers of the World. The Longview Four were held on \$15,000 bail apiece and may be expected to pay up to \$50,000 in restitution fees for wages lost.

The historic parallels between IWW and EF! are close. The two have similar philosophies and tactics and now EF! is being persecuted by the same "criminal syndicalism" laws that were used to divide and crush the Wobblies in the late teens and early twenties.

Both groups have gained notoriety for their anti-hierarchical organizational structure, and they share a strategic pattern of direct action. In fact, the IWW revived the use of sabotage, or corporate property damage, in the 20th century as a means of influencing bosses through their profits. This is similar to EF!ers sometimes taking credit for tree-spiking and machinery damage.

continued on page 5



Mark Lipe sits locked to the cables of a crane on a log export ship in the port of Longview, WA.

### CONTENTS

Letters	3
Timber Compromise	6
Native Forest Protection Act	7
FBI Update, RICO Threat	8
Grizzly Bear Task Force	9
Social/Deep Ecology Debate	10
Tribal Lore	10
EF! Directory	16
EF! Bulletins	17
Wild Mountain River Country	18
Idaho Connection	20
Biodiversity Updates	21
Floral Legacy of Megafauna	23
Consensus Decisionmaking	24
Columbian Legacy	25
Brower to the Sierra Club	26
Roadkill	27
Greenfire, Human Horde	28
View From The Outhouse	29
Fragments of Earth Wisdom	29
Dear Ned Ludd - MW Appraisal	30
MW - Venerable Tradition	31
Reviews	32
Armed With Visions	35

# EARTH FIRST!

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## RAMBLINGS



This issue is late.

It contains, however, important articles, with a focus on the forests of the Northwest. Together, the Northwest forest articles reveal a situation even more critical than the mainstream environmental groups would have us believe. Unfortunately, as Mitch Friedman explains in his article, one of the mainstream groups, the Sierra Club, actually supported the Hatfield/Adams Amendment that doomed Washington and Oregon old-growth forests to further liquidation.

The Sierra Club receives quite a bit of bashing in this issue. This is partly an attempt to prod and cajole the Club into boldly wielding the immense power it could have if it would stop equivocating. Though probably all three authors herein who criticize the Club would readily acknowledge the Club's tremendous historical importance in the wilderness movement, all three would probably also agree that the Club is in need of infiltration and radicalization. In recent years, it has become dangerously moderate, and seems to be falling behind grassroots environmental groups and some other big groups — notably The Wilderness Society and National Audubon Society — in the effort to save North America's remnant wildlands. Grassroots wilderness proponents would do well to become active in local Sierra Club groups and reform America's first wilderness organization from the ground up.

Another mainstream group, The Nature Conservancy, has just scored what appears to be a great victory. TNC last month purchased the 320,000 acre Grays Ranch in New Mexico's bootheel. TNC will likely turn the land over to the federal government for the establishment of an Animas National Wildlife Refuge, which will be home to more mammal species and subspecies than any other Refuge in the System. Amazingly, the Animas purchase has scarcely been noticed by the national media. The *New York Times* gave the story only about four obscure column inches.

Another story of great global significance being ignored by the media is the Morocco oil spill. The spill occurred December 19, finally gained a little coverage January 31, released at least twice as much oil into the ocean as the Exxon Valdez spill, threatened to devastate Morocco's rich coastal habitat, and dropped out of the news. Does anyone know what happened to Morocco's coast and off-shore waters?

Not adequately covered in this Journal lately has been monkeywrenching news. Indeed, some readers have inquired, "have we seen the end of the Ned Ludd column, since Dave Foreman has been arrested?" To the contrary, Dave has indeed been embroiled in legal struggles, but the main reason he presently lacks the time to compile a lengthy Ned Ludd column each issue is that he is writing a book to spread the radical environmental message to a much broader audience. Dave intends to renew the column and to publish the *Ecodefense Supplement* after completing his book and his affairs with the FBI. So inundated has Dave been of late that he has not even had time to read the Journal, let alone write for it.

We do have in this issue, though, two inspiring essays for Ned's column. Lester Rhodes shows that radical direct action has historically been important in struggles of the oppressed, while CM shows that monkeywrenching in the US is proving effective. Anyone doubting the efficacy of monkeywrenching or civil disobedience should read these reports. We also have an article that will help activists become more proficient at CD actions: Non-violence trainer Mary Beth Nearing explains the consensus process.

One area that CM didn't address is BLM land. Newspapers have been running reports about sabotage to ranches out West, which

sabotage is being attributed to Animal Liberation Front and Earth First! These reports should be read skeptically. One knowledgeable EFLer in Nevada told us that this is mostly media-hype. Ranching sabotage is not (yet?) prevalent in Nevada, this EFLer said, but ranchers and politicians are trying to stir up sentiments against radical groups. Indeed, Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) has introduced legislation to stiffen penalties for sabotage of farm or ranch equipment. As CM notes, such retaliatory efforts — whether reacting to real or only imagined acts of monkeywrenching — suggest that eco-defenders are truly hindering land exploiters.

So too are some of the fledgling EFL groups. New EFL groups in North Carolina (see Tribal Lore last issue), Michigan (TL this issue), and Pennsylvania (this issue) are already making their presence felt. Our Bulletins and Tribal Lore describe some of their actions and upcoming events. Among these events will be *rendezvous* (how to make that word plural is among the most intractable problems facing our movement) in Ohio, Illinois, and Central Appalachia, and events during Earth Day and Week. Earth Day will likely prove particularly fruitful for EFL groups, as that day will affirm lessons we've been emphasizing for years. Moreover, EFL groups will have not only the 20th anniversary of Earth Day to commemorate, but also the 10th anniversary of Earth First!, which falls about this time. (A precise date would be hard to determine, since EFL wasn't so much founded as it was envisioned and gradually manifested starting in the spring of 1980.)

In addition to Dave Foreman's aforementioned book, to be titled *Confessions of an Ecobruite*, numerous others by or partly about EFLers and other radical environmentalists will be published in coming months. Ned Ludd Books will soon publish Howie Wolke's *Wilderness on the Rocks*, which explains why our Wilderness is limited to the rocks. Lynn Jacobs will soon finish *The Wasting of the West* — a manifesto against public lands grazing. Mary Davis has completed *From Walden Pond to Muir Woods: An Ecologist's Guide to the US*. Christoph Manes has all but completed *Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization*. Various national publications recently bid for a chapter from Christoph's book: *Atlantic Monthly* lost in a close race to *Penthouse!* Bill McKibben's book, *The End of Nature*, which insightfully discusses the EFL movement, is being hailed as a second *Silent Spring* (except by *Forbes* magazine, which sees it as a second *Bambi* — a supreme compliment to Bill!). New books by Ned Fritz, Judith Plant, Terry Tempest Williams, and

Mark Gaffney are gaining favorable reviews, as you'll see in our review pages. The article we ran by George Sessions last issue is to be part of an anthology entitled *The Wilderness Condition: Essays on Environment and Civilization*. Mark Williams has written a chapter on civil disobedience for an upcoming Green book. Peter Galvin is writing a book on old-growth of the Southwest. Dan Conner is progressing on his novel, despite his exacting duties for the EFL Legal Defense Fund. Stephanie Mills's new book is sure to have a receptive audience, given her popularity as a *Whole Earth Reviewer*. Dave will write his novel (presently in his head) soon after publication of his *Confessions*, the *Ecodefense Supplement*, and a book of wilderness proposals for North America. Not to be outdone by her prolific (in the literary sense) husband, Nancy Morton will this year end her dissertation — a spellbinding piece on Cardiac Conditions of the Post-Operative Patient in the Recumbent Position, or some such esoteric subject. No doubt, *Nursing Today*, the *Journal of Immunology* and others will soon be vying for reprint rights on that potboiler. David Brower's autobiography will be released on Earth Day. Doug Peacock's reflections on war and Grizzlies will likely soon be a best-seller. Of course, *Hayduke Lives* is available now... and as enthralling as we'd all hoped! Most of these books are or soon will be available through EFL Books or Ned Ludd Books.

All of which necessitates a quote from Ed Abbey: "Ah well, many books. Of the making of books there is no end. I will close by reminding myself and others that writing, reading, thinking are of value only when combined with effective action. Those I most admire in the conservation movement are those who act: such men as David Brower, Paul Watson, and the legendary Bulgarian brigand Georges Heiduk. Sentiment without action is the ruin of the soul. One brave deed is worth a hundred books, a thousand theories, a million words."

Brave deeds we've indeed seen in the radical environmental movement lately. In addition to those described in this issue are these: Hawaiian activists have maintained their direct action campaign to save the last tropical lowland rainforest in the US. Bald Mountain sage Lou Gold has continued inspiring people throughout the country to defend Oregon's North Kalmiopsis Roadless Area. Dana Lyons, John Seed, Mickey Dulas, and Syndee Brinkman have spread the EFL message farther afield down under; a rash of direct actions followed their wildly successful road show in Australia and New Zealand.

—John Davis



Colorado EFLers march with anti-grazing messages in the 1990 Western Stock Show Parade.

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Although we do not accept the authority of the hierarchical state, nothing herein is intended to run us afoul of its police power. *Agents provocateurs* will be dealt with by the Grizzly Defense League on the Mirror Plateau.

Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or carefully printed, *double spaced*, and sent with an SASE if return is requested. Electronic submissions are even better, either on Macintosh disks or via Econet (send to "earthfirst"). Art or photographs (black & white prints preferred, color prints or slides OK) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested. Please include explicit permission to reprint slides. Due to our tight budget, no payment is offered except for extra copies of the issue.

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For subscriptions, merchandise orders, donations, inquiries, general correspondence, Letters to the Editor, articles, photos, etc., send to: Earth First!, POB 7, Canton, NY 13617. Phone: (315) 379-9940.

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Mailing: Tucson Earth First! Group

### SCHEDULE

*Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal* is published 8 times a year on the old pagan European nature holidays: Samhain (November 1), Yule (December 21 or 22), Brigid (February 2), Eostar (March 21 or 22), Beltane (May 1), Litha (June 21 or 22), Lughnasadh (August 1), and Mabon (September 21 or 22). Deadlines for articles, artwork and ads are three weeks before the cover date. The newspaper is mailed Third Class on the cover date. Subscriptions cost \$20 a year. First Class delivery is available for \$15 extra a year. Surface delivery outside the USA is available for \$30; airmail delivery overseas is available for \$45 a year.

Subscriptions or questions should be sent to: Earth First!, POB 7, Canton, NY 13617.

Dear SFB,

Just had to comment on the "Roughed" Grouse in Jeff Elliot's fine article in the Samhain issue. Never seen such a bird in these New England hills. Got plenty of Ruffed Grouse, though.

— Dick Tionary, Holland, VT

Dear Sir:

Although I use the term "sir" loosely, I couldn't figure out how else to address this letter.

Recently the enclosed sticker was found on a corral used for CATILE in Bear Valley down on the Blue, Arizona.

Either your [sic—all misspellings from original] uneducated or stupid, either way, you have not done your homework. First, those grazing rights you call welfare ranching sell for about \$600 a cow unit. To a rancher with 300 cows, that's about \$180,000 just for the right to graze. Then, each year he pays about \$3,300 for grazing fees, not to mention all the other costs for the other half of the year. You call that WELFARE? Your nuts. Then he has to develop waters, build fences, fight hunters and environmental idiots like yourself. Do you know what percentage of those grazing fees support education, or do you even care? Maybe your the kind out there molesting those children or pushing dope, in my books, your in the same class.

I come from a long line of pioneers who helped settle the west, while no doubt your ancestors were eating off silver spoons in the east. After you ruined that country, you moved west and want to take away our traditions and ruin our culture. Not without a fight from me. It is as much a part of our heritage to have cattle grazing the range as see beautiful pine trees swaying in the breeze. GO HOME YANKEE!

Ranchers are hard working people dedicated to a way of life far beyond high profits and so called moral causes. They average longer days of hard work than you've probably ever put in your entire life. If you succeed, I hope you get the joy of paying \$15 a pound for a tough bull, like they do in China, which, by the way is where I wish people like you were. You don't even realize public grazing decreases beef costs in the market.

What do you propose the public do with its grazing lands? Total wildlife habitat? Do you think the Arizona Game and Fish will buy grazing rights? Do you think they will pay grazing fees. I can tell you the answer to that is NO. If ranchers are welfare grazing, the Arizona Game and Fish are grazing thieves. They pay nothing, no depredation, no deprivation, no improvements. Do you want more hunters, faces painted black, camouflage gear, throwing beer cans and cigarette butts out the window? Some of them shoot a bull Elk for his head leaving the carcass. Do you want more infernos like the Gila Wilderness was last summer when lightning struck. There had been no cattle grazing and the 3-foot-high grass was like a combustible can. Cattle grazing serves a much more important part of our ecological environment than you flatlanders have enough sense to realize. My blood boils when I see such an idiotic sticker circulated by some city organization. I wish you'd solve some of your own problems (which are plenty) instead of thinking you are smart enough to solve ours. I'm truly glad I don't have to see whoever you are face to face because for the first time in my life, I would really be tempted to spit in yours.

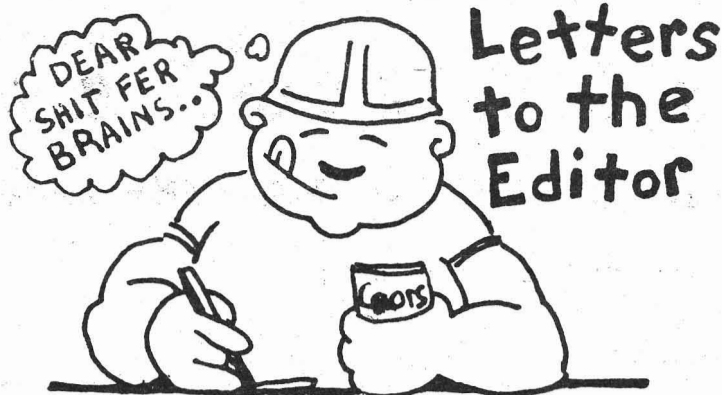
—Emphatically yours, Bonnie B. Udall  
Ed. note: While I hate to flog a dead cow, I must note that in 1987, the US Treasury took in about \$65 million from BLM and Forest Service grazing fees, while spending \$65 million directly on BLM and FS ranching. Indirect expenditures on public lands grazing by the two agencies run about \$100 million per year, and the total of all tax-supported expenditures runs close to \$1 billion annually. —DT

Dear Shit Fer Brains,

Just a few thoughts in response to the response to the Dear SFB column in the November 1 edition by J. Edgar Oldsmobile from Desert Shit City: Why does this clown want to pin Earth Firsters into a humorless pigeonhole? Is he some kind of humorless FBI asshole?

Alright—wilderness and biodiversity are the prime goals of Earth First!, and all that other stuff is Yulewrap. But, we can be 10,000 puny individuals writing more fucking bullshit complaints to the blind, ignorant bureaucrats who look at the letters and file them in the trash with the letters from Auduboners and Sierrans. We can keep pulling the same tired demos and protests. We can plod along, trying to keep five billion people off "our" continent, and we can ignore all the millions of other people plodding along in each of their little social causes.

All we are right now is another minor blip in the social machinery of the world. As long as we keep to ourselves we'll continue to be a small group of social misfits. We need to be wiser than the rest of the pack. We need



Letters to the editor are welcomed. Lengthy letters may be edited for space requirement. 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 want your name and location to appear or if you wish to remain anonymous. Send letters to POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703.

to have short term goals, such as lobbying our politicians to keep the Burr Trail unpaved (at least some of it). We need to have medium term goals of preserving all the remaining roadless areas on this continent. And we need some long term goals—like returning human society to some semblance of sanity—so we need the thoughtfulness of Dolores LaChapelle and others, and we will probably piss off a few Republicans and "mainstream" environmentalists.

It's not the yuppie envirocreeps we need to work with. It's the other pissed off people, like Joe Sixpack and Jane Choice. We need to listen to them and to people like Alexander "Lifter Than Thou" Cockburn who calls us Malthusian every chance he gets (I'm glad he got that much right. Now if he could just explain to people what that is.)

I want a world with lots of big wilderness. But not goretex-polyester wilderness. I want working wilderness, with folks driving bison herds, not RVs. I want a world of biodiversity, with a little Neanderthal, and some Cro-Magnon, and some Celtic, and some Zulu, and some Anishinabe, and some Penan, and some Kayapo. Enough with McReagans, Sears Morebucks, and the dominant denominator.

We've got a lot bigger job than just saving a few species and some backcountry. We have to help usher in the future, a future where it's clear that the human race is a part of the wildness, the wilderness, the sacredness of Earth (woowoooo!!!), not just some airhead weekend visitor looking for a cool place to mate.

—G. Gulo, Madison, WI

Shit for Brains,

I can't stand it. Howie's dogmatic article on "Thoughtful Radicalism" makes me wanna puke all over again, even at the risk of alienating someone. Don't get me wrong—I don't think he's completely wrong. His tactics have merit and I often adhere to most of his "rules"—when the time is right.

But to go and make an outline that activists should follow in order to save the MOST wilderness while alienating the LEAST people—he's totally full of shit.

The problem lies in his fear of dreaming, and he admits it. The most he can hope for is that a little nature might be saved since the rest of the world is gonna go to hell anyway. And he doesn't even really believe that we can accomplish that much.

Well, I think if Howie and all of his despairing cohorts want to put on their suits and ties (or cowboy hats and boots), pay for their Exxon gas, and go out to try to reason with that Almighty 70%—maybe beg for the life of a grizzly or two (but politely, of course, so they don't alienate any yuppies), I think that's fine. But, why should we all do it like that? Why would anyone want to encourage us all to act alike?

See, there's another audience that I prefer to try to reach. It's the audience that I believe lies buried somewhere inside of almost everyone. It's the wild spirit that most people have effectively locked away, but is still there, somewhere. It's the romantic dreamer, the neanderthal who would love to have the guts to drive off without paying Exxon, who wishes he/she could spend the day running naked in the woods, or fishing, or climbing a mountain and sleeping in the sun, it's the wild soul who would rather be making love in a meadow or dancing madly around a campfire, who would really rather be wearing a dirty deerskin robe than a starched white shirt and tie. I want to talk to the day-dreamer who stares out the office window wishing for the guts to walk out and never go back. . . I want to touch the person who can be more moved by the story of Crazy Horse than the image of a well-dressed Environmentalist.

Maybe I'm a fool, but I'm daring to dream that it's possible to change the world. And I don't believe that the world can or will be changed by the unoffended Yuppie nodding in agreement with the nice environ-

mentalists on the six o'clock news. It can be changed however, if those wild spirits, encouraged by the example of other wild spirits, start breaking out, and with courage and joy in their hearts, start creating a better life—for all of nature, including humans. (This is where the dogmatic EFler labels me a "humanitarian.")

I've done a lot of "thoughtful" actions in my time, but I've also done my share of what Howie calls "juvenile" and "alienating" actions. And I think it's sad that my own allies can't see the benefit of some of those actions. No, a shopping mall puke-in isn't going to halt the "insanity of modern consumerism"—but it didn't alienate anyone either, with the exception of the overly mature activists like Howie. The folks who did the puke-in didn't carry signs saying Earth First! They didn't even call the media. Simply, they were disgusted by consumerism and they said so. Sure, it was gross—but I bet a lot of shoppers felt the same way deep down inside (most of them didn't even notice). Anyway, it was just a knee-jerk reaction to a seemingly hopeless situation and a lot of activists got a big laugh out of it. Some also felt encouraged to do other actions that require courage, and there's the merit. It was, after all, only reported on in Live Wild or Die, so most of Howie's precious 70% didn't even hear of it, only other activists.

Howie also points out that a bunch of naked anarchists smoking dope in the woods isn't going to either "speed the demise of the industrial dragon or save a besieged roadless area." Well, maybe not, but neither is a lot of other stuff we do. That doesn't mean there's no benefit to it. Maybe those folks gain encouragement, a feeling of freedom and camaraderie, communion with the wild lands they love and the wild hearts they share.

What I'm trying to say is there's room for as many different types of actions as there are different activists, different issues and

different audiences. I can't understand why Howie or anyone else would want to limit us.

I gotta say it—I get the feeling from reading the Journal lately that the FBI is winning. The dream seems to be dying before our very eyes. The pages of this journal don't encourage the growth of a movement, not any more. They are beginning to encourage dogma, rhetoric, narrowness of view, fear that the best we can hope for is to save a little nature before it all collapses. I'm all for saving wilderness, but let's not lower our dream, let's not be afraid to really be the beginning of a movement, which means we can't be afraid to move. Don't push any more dogma on us. Let's use these pages to encourage each other with strength, freedom, creativity, humor, and all the wildness we can muster. Maybe while we're saving the wilderness we can save our own wildness too.

Howie, please pardon the pseudonym, but I'll write you personally and let you know who I am. Sign me,  
— A Dangerous Woman

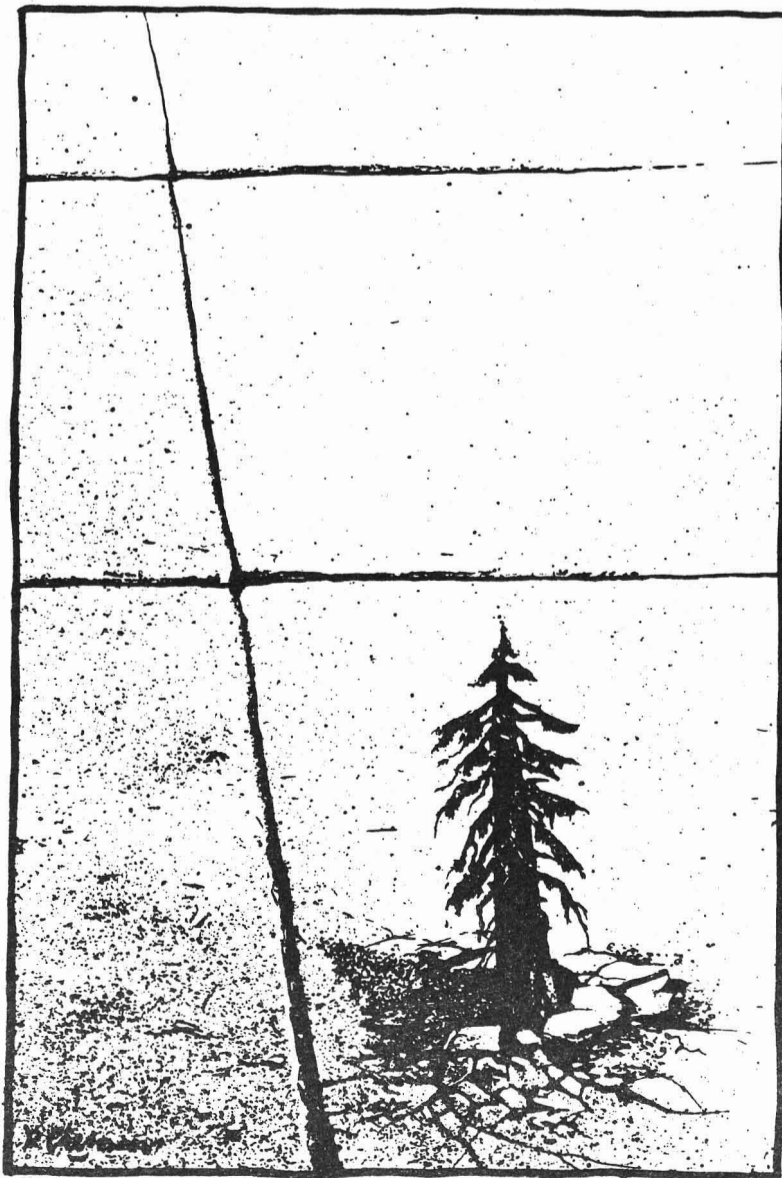
Dear SFBs,

Our editor, although both eminently competent and ultimately huggable, misses the point in his reproach of "woo-woo." The wilderness proposals he calls for, as well as the unspeakable strategies for which EF! is so famous, are "applied spirituality." Even the most ardent crystal smasher, trembling at the thought of joining hands in a circle, recognizes the specialness—power—uniqueness (spirit) in all manifestations of nature. These lovable redneck friends of mine are at their best when responding to their intuitive—instinctual—animal centers (their spirit). The FBI, etc., seek to crush not only illegal acts, but the intangible energy-delight-consciousness (spirit) of our movement.

John desires for our journal what the Earth requires for itself—lifeforms acting on their awareness, spirit practiced on every level, happily divergent elements in perfect balance with each other. The value of diversity seems lost on the letter-writer Militant Angora. If we reduced the West Coast to activists living up to his rigid dress code, there'd be no one to hold the banners or drop off the spike-laden ecodefender. Drums, nudity, ritual, and even reggae are empowering elements of our coming together in resistance to the murderous system that has forgotten how to play, how to be real.

An issue earlier, one of our heroines called on us to abandon the "baggage" of the EF! name/organization. If EF! was truly only a slogan, we could easily abandon it the first time it was associated with an idea we didn't agree with. The EF! I cherish is a tribe, an extended family I am proud to be a part of, humbly learning to accept each other's differences while reconnecting with our wildness and the Earth. It may very well be cataclysm, not human intervention, that heals the planet, but it is our shared tribal

continued on page 4



# Letters . . .

continued from page 3

resistance that heals the human spirit. Real human evolution is at a standstill outside of the tribal, anti-industrial movements.

We are a tribe with no static dogma, and no standard uniform. We are united by a passion, a struggle that must precede all social causes. I am proud of my cell-mates this summer who joined me at the Kalmiopsis after my "you can't meditate the world into wellness" concert at the Rainbow Gathering. They benefit from a shot of radicalism as much as we benefit by the added color of the rainbow.

And believe me, there's nothing more comfortable than a nice cotton skirt. If only it didn't look so funny with my cowboy hat!  
—Barefoot in 40-degree weather, Lone Wolf Circles, Reserve, NM

Sirs:

I'm often offended by your snide references to "Freddies," as if all Forest Service employees were the enemy. You know better. Most of your information about Forest Service misdeeds comes from inside. Many, perhaps most, Forest Service professionals are as angry as you are by the corruption of the Service in the Reagan-Bush years.

This letter is prompted by Mark Gaffney's report on the Forest Service reform conference and his reference to "Greg DeBonis, renegade employee-activist and editor of Inner Voice. . ."

It's Jeff DeBonis, not "Greg." To call him "renegade" turns language upside down. A renegade is one who abandons or turns against his faith. DeBonis is upholding his conservation faith at no little risk.

I've been waiting more than a year for you to report that over a thousand "Freddies" have joined the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics. Jeff DeBonis is the founder and President, not just the editor of the Association's paper. They have joined despite warnings of top brass. At risk of their jobs and careers they are speaking publicly, signing their names, telling it like it is.

—John Perry, Winter Haven, FL

Dear SFB (just kidding),

Here's a reflection by an x-mas survivor (me) on my encounter with some relatives over the holidays. One of the clan is a 28-year veteran civil engineer of some renown for that bureaucratic wonder, the Forest Service (he's forged many a new backcountry road in his time). Of course, I couldn't resist broaching a few subjects with him, including the issues of old growth forest destruction, threats to the habitat of the Spotted Owl, and whether replanting after clearcutting can ever restore the original forest's biological integrity. Unk's true colors really showed through; he is an Organization Man to the bloody death (or retirement, whichever comes first). His assertions were as if recited from some FS policy manual directly: "Old growth forests are untidy and a fire hazard, and need to be cleared; clearcutting benefits wildlife by enabling new vegetation to grow for forage; eventually all old growth forest on federal lands should be cut and replanted with fast-growing trees so as to sustain maximum economic use." As for the Spotted Owl, he said with exasperation that "no one knows for sure" about its habitat needs, so why not cut away.

I don't claim to be an expert on these subjects, but as our conversation spent its energy, it became clear to me that as a representative of the USFS mindset, Unk's ideas are generally half-baked, misinformed and exist primarily to preserve one thing: the Organization. But heck, he's five years from a fat, happy retirement, so why bite the hand that feeds him? I was troubled by his complacency, mainly because he is a prominent, high-ranking Freddie quite susceptible to the cronyism that's rampant in such bureaucracies. How many of his cohorts share his views? Do we have to wait another ten years for automatons like him to be weeded out via retirement? Can the forests withstand another ten years of the FS's self-preserving practices? Moreover, is there any reason to hope that a younger generation of FS officials would be more enlightened about protecting our remaining virgin forests, or will the "new crop" inherit the old ideologies? Stay tuned for the next exciting episode. . . .

—Fyodora, from Underground, Prescott, AZ

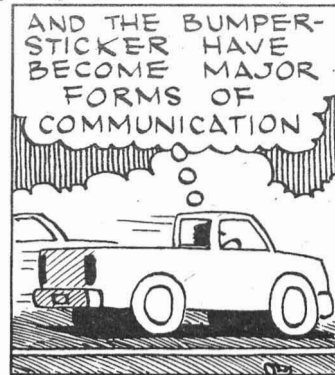
Dear EF!

Tom Stoddard's article in the Yule edition, "The Human Horde," is a mishmash of facts, opinions, and prejudices cloaked in an educational format.

Aside from his nationalistic, racist, frightened stance on immigration (Stoddard doesn't sound like a Native American name to me, where'd your people come from,

Page 4 Earth First! February 2, 1990

## MODERNE MAN



Tom?), I take strong exception to his characterizing pro-choice advocates as people who, among other things, "oppose the birth of grossly deformed children. . ."

As a midwife, feminist, pro-choice activist, and counselor to scores of women (pro-choice and otherwise) I can say that the pro-choice movement has no such party line. All that being pro-choice indicates is that the person favors the right of women to control their own reproductive decisions. Period.

If Tom has some axe to grind about handicapped or uneducated kids, let him do it under his own banner, not the pro-choice movement's. Once again it's some full-of-himself male telling the world about women, birth, and abortion as if he knew.

—Loren Cruden, Port Townsend, WA  
P.S. I'm far more concerned about the criminally insane timber barons and corporate executives than I am about the Cubans. It ain't the immigrants who are killing the Everglades, bro.

Dear Ka-ka Noggin, aka Mr. Davis:

I have to take issue with Gary Schiffmiller on a couple counts in response to his letter in the Yule issue.

First, derogatory epithets to denigrate others who share perhaps different views can be funny (and therefore world-challenging and useful, viz. the column under which I write) or insulting. I found no humor or good reason in Gary's letter for characterizing Rainbows as "Rainbozos." As a Rainbow and an Earth Firster for almost a decade, I find the two movements not only compatible, but both essential for hastening a re-inhabitation of this continent and a return to the practice of the wild. The Rainbows don't simply "fight one battle every year" (to couch reality in the martial phraseology of the military, as Gary does), although that is the primary public conflict that Rainbows do engage in almost annually. Rather, the Rainbow Gathering, for any who have attended, challenges the whole rule of law, the very foundations of "civilization." Here is an event where thousands of people assemble peaceably, without permits or passes or payment, and all get fed, take care of the sick, teach the children, live without centralized government, learn what it's like to live close to the earth, and have lots of fun. I can think of few more radical actions in the face of empire than the continuing success and existence of the Rainbow Gatherings.

Second, while I respect the strategic tactical choice of not challenging the Fredies on permits for the RRR (I helped negotiate one such permit myself one year), I must say that acquiescing to the rule of law on this issue suggests a compromise position and an unwillingness to challenge a system whose laws perpetuate the destruction of wilderness, the murder of native peoples, and the crushing of progressive movements all over the world. To say a refusal to participate in an unconstitutional permit system is "not worth the effort" but refusal to allow permitted loggers their bark of blood is crucial seems, arguably, inconsistent.

All of which is to point up the hubris of linguistically ridiculing others, who take a "no compromise" stance vis-a-vis the powers that be, while wrapping oneself in the shroud of expediency. I say Viva Rainbow! and Viva Earth First! Let us all stand where our hearts take us, whether in defiance of the rapacious Caterpillar or in defiance of all government.

And really, Gary, as I'm sure you know, we're all bozos and mudheads and woo-woos of one stripe or another. So rather than calling each other names, let's give and get respect. That's really all the Mother asks of us.

—Art Goodtimes, Cloud Acre, CO  
Ed. note: The original reference to "Rainbozos" came in a letter from Dawn Walker, a Rainbow, in the Samhain issue. —DT

Dear EF!

I am a lifelong conservationist and a recent member of EF!

I support and respect each and every one of you and do what I can for the cause. At age 71, it is not difficult to look back and realize how much damage the land rapers can do in one lifetime. Many places that in my youth were lovely and natural have now

been trashed for profit and can now be described in one word: ugly.

Why don't we hurt these people where it hurts worst, in their wallets?

This idea may not be a new one, but I know it to be effective on a small scale having participated in one such activity. The president and vice president of this development organization are now suing each other, and they are feeling much financial pain.

Why not monkeywrench from within? Legal and very effective if done by a few hundred stock holders, each holding one or two shares.

Federal law requires quarterly and annual reports to stockholders. The printing and mailing of these plush reports has to be costly and a burden on a company.

I have tried this for effect, and companies just want no part of such stockholders, and in many cases try to purchase the stock back.

One woman for years has purchased one share each in a number of companies and devotes her time to disrupting stock holder meetings. Why not us? Imagine what 200 stockholders could do at a stockholders meeting of that obscenity Plum Creek Logging and we could also further offend them by contributing our dividends to EF!

The only real problem is to get all of us involved. EF!, Sea Shepherd, Sierra Club, Friends of Animals, Washington Wilderness Coalition, etc. Combined we could have great impact at little cost. All we need is a coordinator to put it together and a few dollars each. What fun!

In conclusion, today the Fredies just sold 74 acres of first-growth trees in the Seattle watershed despite some strong protests by the city.

—Sparks, Langley, WA

Dear EF!

Enclosed is an out-of-date press clipping about the local battle to save Temagami. Contrary to the article, the battle continues as the local Indian band (Teme Augama Anishnabe) start two blockades tomorrow; we are sending six more people immediately, and more will follow in the weeks ahead.

This issue is fast becoming a major embarrassment for our Provincial Gov't., particularly since the NDP leader (our 3rd party) got arrested on the blockade. Most of the local EF'ers have gone up, and EF! Eastern Canada is customizing Temagami t-shirts with people's arrest #, the charges, a statement that they are "Guilty and Proud — Earth First!" over the Smokey Chainsaw letter illustration (great discussion starter).

We have also begun a series of NVCD workshops (very popular; why wait till the dozers have started?). Recently won a fight to stop development of some city parks. Hope things are well with the Phoenix 4. Love to all. Earth First!

—Mike Kaulbars, EF! E. Canada

Ed. note: More info on the Temagami fight is available from the Temagami Wilderness Society, 19 Mercer Street, Suite 307, Toronto, Ontario M5V 1H2, CANADA.

Dear shit,

In the spirit of Leslie Lyons' recent article in Samhain, "Revolution Can Begin With the Young," I would like to offer a Yule gift suggestion. I suggest a bit of insightful reading for our youth by Dallas Lore Sharp.

Recently, I came across an old hard-bound volume of Mr. Sharp's in the basement bookshelves of my hometown, St. Vinnies. It is entitled A WATCHER IN THE WOODS, and I was lucky enough to recover the edition especially edited for teachers of the 8th grade.

Mr. Sharp was a regular contributor to Atlantic Monthly around the turn of the century and an ardent naturalist. In that same periodical, the great naturalist John Burroughs hailed A WATCHER IN THE WOODS as being the best natural history book of the times. This about a book targeted at an 8th grade audience.

While many may believe that a natural history text written in 1903 and aimed at youth could be nothing more than quaint anthropomorphic slop-over from the previous century, it is not. In spite of the Teddy Roosevelt gunsight-natural history rage that was sweeping the country at the time, Sharp vehemently attacks hunting, or the "gun-

ning season" as he calls it, in nearly every chapter. Most importantly, he urges his young readers to forsake the superficial standards of what happens to please our eyes and actively seek the hidden beauties of first-glance repulsiveness (slugs, insects, etc.). He dedicates a whole chapter to the glories and necessity of dead trees.

In the chapter "In the October Moon," Sharp takes his readers on a nighttime exploration of the forests. In it, he has this to say about the times:

"Our forests by daylight are rapidly being thinned into picnic groves; the bears and panthers have disappeared, and by day there is nothing to fear, nothing to give our imaginations exercise. But the night remains, and if we hunger for adventure, why, besides the night, here is the skunk; and the two offer a pretty sure chance for excitement. Never to have stood face to face in a narrow path at night with a full-grown leisured skunk is to have missed excitement and suspense second only to the staring out of countenance of a green-eyed wildcat. . . . If there is any genuine adventure left for us in this age of suburbs, we must be helped to it by the dark."

I hear Sharp's words here echoing almost perfectly the opinions of many Earth Firsters on the intrinsic value of wilderness (i.e., if there isn't something out there big enough or bad enough to hurt you, then it ain't wilderness). He goes on to say in the last chapter that "the skunk needs a champion." This could easily be Doug Peacock talking of his beloved grizzlies. "We can well afford to part with a turnip, a chicken, even with a suit of clothes," Sharp says, "now and then, for the sake of this wild flavor to our fenced pastures and close-cut meadows."

I believe, like Ms. Lyons that children can be the skunk's champions, and our champions. I know that Sharp's books can help them along.

I'm sure his books will be hard to locate, but it is well worth the search for those truly interested in inspiring children to the great task at hand.

—Shingebiss

To the editor and Jasper Carlton, EF! Biodiversity Project:

Thank you for your informative article "Of Politics, Extinctions, and Ecological Collapse" in the Samhain edition of EF! As an ecologist and environmental educator, I am always glad to see someone looking at the "big picture," especially on a subject as important as biodiversity.

However, looking at the "big picture" is no excuse for getting the details wrong. I question some of the species you listed as being threatened by the destruction of old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest. What are your references for this list? I teach a class on old-growth forest ecology and I have never come across any evidence that Great Blue Herons, American Kestrels, or Foothill Yellow-legged Frogs are dependent on old-growth forests. Since at least two of these are species that are common in other habitats, many people are likely to catch this error and therefore doubt the accuracy of the rest of your article, which would be a shame. Environmentalists, and EF'ers in particular, should know that the industrialists are looking for opportunities like this to discredit us and so we need to keep our facts straight. I found the same kind of errors in a pamphlet distributed by the Ancient Forest Rescue Expedition (the EF'ers who toured the country in a log truck to educate the general public).

As for the other species you listed, I cannot even find a Black-eyed Grosbeak in my bird book; is this a recent name change? Some of the other species you listed (hawks, ducks, wrens, chickadees, and flickers) are associated with older forests, but are probably not as dependent on old growth as some species you did not list (Oregon slender salamander, Northwestern salamander, Pacific Giant salamander, Olympic salamander, tailed frog, northern goshawk, vaux's swift, pileated woodpecker, Pine grosbeak, Red tree vole, Yew tree, and at least one species of lungwort lichen). It is true as you said that scientists are unsure exactly how many species are dependent on old growth forests, but we should at least educate the public with the

continued on next page

# Northwest Jobs Hit the High Seas

The issues surrounding the export of raw logs are complex and rife with bureaucracy. The basic problem is that logs are exported from private lands for huge profits and then timber corporations demand logs from public lands, regulated by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, to keep local mills open. (General Accounting Office Report, 11-7-89)

If the logs were kept for processing here, the need for timber from federal lands would decrease. Furthermore, the present timber wars could be somewhat defused because the impending threat to millworkers' jobs could be delayed.

Despite the restrictions on exporting logs from federal lands, exports increased by one billion board feet between 1984 and 1988. There are three common ways of circumventing the regulations: cants, substitutions, and "ratcheting."

To avoid going over their legal limit of raw log exports, corporations have their workers process the logs into cants. Cants are minimally milled, with 2-6 rough cuts on the edges, but this still qualifies them as processed.

Another method of circumventing the law is through substitution. One kind of substitution, replacing private timber that is exported with federal timber marked for local milling, is condoned by the House Committee on Appropriations, though its legality is questionable. The second type of substitution, third-party substitution, which involves resale of legally acquired timber to parties not allowed to buy it directly, is condoned by a lack of regulation.

In October 1973, an appropriations provision prohibited the export of raw timber from federal lands in the Western United States. The provision additionally "prohibited purchasers from using timber harvested from federal lands in their processing plants

while exporting private timber that could have been used in those plants." However, the House Committee on Appropriations explained in a February 1974 letter to the Chief of the Forest Service that they intended to "allow historic patterns of trade without disruption" and that the provision was targeted only at preventing log exports from increasing. In light of the one billion board feet increase between 1984 and 1988, it is clear that the present legislation has not been effective. (GAO Report 1989)

Although it is illegal to export logs obtained from public lands, it is done on a regular basis through what is called third-party or indirect substitution. If a company goes above their quota on log exports and is not allowed to buy federal timber directly from the agency for local milling, they may still buy timber from another company that

can legally purchase it. The total amount of third-party substitution was estimated by the Forest Service to be 107 million board feet in 1987 and 114 million board feet in 1988. The Bureau of Land Management keeps no records on third-party substitution from its land.

To further complicate the problem, these two federal land agencies regulate their export quotas differently. The FS makes raising export quotas beyond historical levels difficult. In fact, it is possible only through company mergers. However, the BLM is vulnerable to companies raising their own limits through "ratcheting." By the BLM's regulations, a company violates the rules only if they exceed limits (historical levels) of both log exports and federal purchases. Thus, one year, a company can buy more federal timber while keeping exports

constant. The next year, they increase exports, shipping off the excess timber they bought the previous year, while keeping federal timber purchases at the same level as the first year. The third year, they increase federal purchases again and keep exports within the quota. Over the years, "ratcheting" companies increase both purchase and export volumes without a ceiling.

The regulations are further rendered ineffective by the federal agencies' reliance on company reports to monitor export practices. The companies are not audited nor tested to verify compliance. Violations are only discovered if one company reports on another company. From 1981-1989, the BLM and FS identified 8 violations of substitution laws, but only one purchaser has been punished significantly, and none has been barred from timber exporting.

## Lockdown . . .

*continued from page 1*

In the most famous case of the Anarchy and Sabotage law, the only one that was appealed to the Supreme Court, O. Kowalchuk was prosecuted for "loosening bearing shafts and putting grit into bearings in the ship building concern for which he was employed." In related cases, seven other Wobblies were arrested for simply being card-carrying IWW members. Their guilt by association was covered by subsections 9.05.030, "assemblage of anarchists," and 9.05.100, "displaying emblems of seditious and anarchist groups," among numerous others that serve to restrict the right to free speech and free assembly.

Other subsections include rationales for accepting hearsay in court and for not allowing accused and subpoenaed witnesses to stand on the fifth amendment for fear of self-incrimination. The following is some hear-

say testimony taken in the State v. Kowalchuk case: "William Josh ... testified that members of the organization were instructed by them to do, in all instances, no more work than they were compelled to do to continue on a job, and to do such work as they did, so far as they could, in such a manner as to cause it to be done over again; that if they were railway employees it was their duty to lose all freight possible, and their duty to send such of it as they could to stations to which it was not consigned; that if they were working in the mills, in other industries, or in the woods, it was their duty to let the steam in the engines ... die down, and thereby cause stoppages and delays in the work; to misplace, lose, and destroy as many of the working tools as possible, and generally to do anything they could to injure property, and 'make a hole in the boss' pocket' — the object and purpose being to make the operation of industries unprofitable to their owners and

cause their abandonment, when they could be seized and operated by the workers themselves."

Current research has unturned no previous cases where the subsection used against the EFlers was used. Since no property damage was threatened or intended, and none occurred, their actions are hard to define as sabotage. Furthermore, the action was so disorganized, it would be hard to say it had anarchist intent.

As if the charges brought were not adequate, the four received an additional charge at their arraignment hearing. This charge, Vehicular Prowl (9A.52.0951), is also a felony. It is defined as entering any vehicle (such as a boat) with intent to commit a crime. It is generally used to arrest people trying to steal car stereos.

*The Longview Four need moral support, free legal advice, and money. To help, please contact Portland EF! (see Directory).*

## Letters . . .

*continued from previous page*

best available scientific knowledge, and to do this we need to consult with the scientific ecologists, as Diamondback points out in his excellent article "A Clash of the True Believers" (same edition of EF!).

—Sharon Teague, Eugene, OR  
*ed. note: Thank you for catching our error on the grosbeak. It should have read "Black-headed Grosbeak." As for wrongly identifying species as old-growth dependent, I don't think we did so. Please read again the paragraph. It says certain species are "threatened by old growth forest destruction." It does not say those species are old-growth-dependent. Indeed, the last line of that paragraph says, "Scientists are unsure how many plant and animal species are associated with or dependent upon old growth." You are certainly right, however, in emphasizing the need for us to be biologically accurate. —JD*

Dear EF!

As an organizer of the first Florida Green Conference who was quoted disapprovingly by Diamondback, Ph.D., in "Scientific Ecology and Deep Ecology: A Clash of the True Believers?" (Samhain edition), I feel compelled to respond.

Diamondback refers to an exchange of correspondence with me in which he asked why no ecologists had been invited to speak at the conference. I replied that "I frankly do not see the need to have professional ecologists speak at a conference that is for activists. We are having a panel on ecology issues at which ecology activists and advocates ... will share information on ecological campaigns and issues in Florida. I think it much more likely that activists rather than scientists will impart useful information to fellow activists and inspire them to action." Not that scientists don't have useful information, just that they tend to be too technical, boring and uninspiring when giving speeches.

Unfortunately, my judgment on this matter was confirmed recently when I had a marine scientist speak at a program on global climate warming. He was well-meaning but boring and disinclined to advocate the radical social change needed to stave off or at least mitigate this one-of-many ecological disasters.

This is not to say that all scientists are boring and afraid of advocacy. There are exceptions, like Dr. David Suzuki of Canada, but such exceptions seem to be few and far between. As Diamondback points out, the threat of jeopardizing their scientific credibility, and therefore careers, gives scientists understandable hesitation when it comes to advocacy.

Therefore, Diamondback, the organizers of the 1st Florida Green Conference did

not go "out of their way to assure that no scientific ecologists were involved." And we certainly don't "suggest that scientists are the enemy." Rather, we were not aware of any locally who were likely to impart useful information to activists and inspire them to action. I'm glad there are courageous scientists like you who are the exception. It's tragic for our planet that the scientific/governmental/corporate establishment makes advocacy so difficult and dangerous for you.

Perhaps your next EF! article could explore how ecology activists can help shield scientists engaged in advocacy from bureaucratic retaliation. We need each other.

Earth First! readers may be interested to know that the 3rd Florida Green Conference will be held April 6-8, 1990, near Orlando. The focus will be learning organizing skills. For more information, contact Florida Greens Clearinghouse, AFSC, 130 19th Ave Southeast, St. Petersburg, FL 33705; (813) 822-5522.

—Bob Brister

Dear Editor:

A brief note to mention an educational institute worth supporting. The Sigurd Olson Environmental Institute, an affiliate of Northland College (Admiral Leahy Dr., Ashland, Wisconsin, 54806), is promoting an educational program "addressing the importance of biological diversity in managing both public and private forest lands. The program is aimed at natural resource professionals, such as corporate and government foresters, soil scientists, wildlife managers, and public school science teachers. Long-term objectives of the program include reduction of habitat fragmentation and preservation of healthy diversity within plant and animal communities in northern forests." Northland also has a strong Native American Studies department.

—Brian Carter, Concord, NH

Dear editor:

We do a weekly environmental radio show for an Ohio college station. About a year ago we sent a letter to this journal soliciting material for the program. I would like to thank the many people who responded and contributed to the show. I would also like to renew the request for material — from people everywhere. If anyone would like to send copies of tapes or come in and get on the show, please let us know; we by no means restrict material to the conventional or mainstream issues.

We are aware of only one or two other environmental radio shows around, and would like to encourage more. We would appreciate hearing about any others that exist, and trading material/notes.

Every college radio station in this country should have at least a weekly environ-

mental program. For those seriously considering joining what we call the "John Muir Radio Network," we'll be glad to be of whatever assistance we can. If you want a copy of one of our shows, send a tape to copy it on.

—The Lone Ranger and Tonto, 41953 Adelbert St., Elyria, OH 44035

Dear EF!

An open letter to all Earth Firsters and like-minded folks. BUY LAND WITH US!!

How many times have you been stricken with the urge to write a letter to a land raper, take a walk in the woods, plant a tree, spike a tree, or just weed the garden, but were forced to go to work instead, and spend the money on rent? This is the situation that we find ourselves in, and we think it sucks. We want nothing more than to live in balance with our ecosystem, but in order to do this we need to "own" land. With land prices in Vermont skyrocketing and wages remaining on a predictably even keel, the time to act is now.

If you relate to this situation, and would like to trade in your worn out work-or-die lifestyle for a life of self-determination, real work, homesteading, and ecodefense, read on.

We are a man and a woman living in northern Vermont and saving money to buy land. We are looking for several intelligent, responsible, and hardworking people to join us in buying up a chunk of the Connecticut River Valley, or thereabouts. We are not looking for a communal living situation, but rather a cooperative land trust. The only requirement is a desire and active commitment to live an ecologically sound life. We cling to no rigid dogma, and welcome any replies. If you've got some cash, some muscle, and a yen to live in Vermont, write to us!

—Susan Dacombe and Alan Brown, POB 144, Lyndon, VT 05849

Dear SFB:

Amid the recent round of debate over personal reproductive choice and overpopulation, a related and possibly even more insidious problem has generally been overlooked: mis-population. That is, what do you get when limiting the size of one's family is the responsible, moral, but voluntary course of action? A population increasingly predisposed toward immoral, irresponsible actions. The tragedy of the commons, in spades—the personification of entropy.

My gut reaction is that large-scale, cosmopolitan civilization selects as well against reverence for Nature and other seemingly altruistic behaviors, which formerly received some positive survival feedback in the context of the genetically and socially close-knit, ecosystem-dependent bands and tribes of indigenous man. At a time when the protec-

tion of the biosphere requires some kind of emergency transfusion to our moral senses, the evolutionary regime of civilization seems to be drifting us ever farther in the opposite direction.

—James Irwin, Hillsboro, GA

Folks,

American Express is offering a catalog through their American Express Travel Related Services company. In this catalog there are 24 pages of fur coats for women. Toll-free number to call 1-800-528-8000; demand a discontinuation of this "service." A person who needs to hear from us desperately: Mr. Steve Goldberg, c/o American Express, 200 Vesey Street, New York, NY 10285

P.S. When calling the toll-free number, tell the operator that you would like to make a complaint in every department. One need not obtain an American Express card to call.

—E. Holden, Marysville, MI

Dear Earth First!

I have recently undertaken an undergraduate research project under the loose title "Deep Ecology versus Women." The aim of this project is to discuss the attitudes of the Deep Ecology towards the issues of patriarchy and the social status of women and their role and status in a 'deep ecological' society. Unfortunately, relevant material for this work is very sparse in Britain and I would be most grateful if you could forward to me any relevant material which you may have published or read. I feel that this is a very important issue which warrants consideration especially in the light of recent eco-feminist criticisms of the 'Deep Ecology' movement.

—Alan D. Stanley, 70 Lisson Grove, Mutley Plain, Plymouth, Devon, England



# THE 1989 TIMBER COMPROMISE: Will Environmentalists Ever Learn?

By Mitch Friedman

For the natural forests of the Pacific Northwest, these are desperate times. Ironically, on the heels of what has been labeled the "timber compromise" (Hatfield-Adams Amendment), 1990 will see the heaviest cutting in the history of public lands.

Many saw 1989 as a watershed year for ancient forest protection. It was the year that sweeping court injunctions were placed on federal timber sales, that Northwest forests were broached to the awareness of the nation, and that conservationists forged a great alliance for the woods.

Why, then, do the sounds of chainsaws drown our howls of elation? We awoke the nation's sleeping giant of environmental concern, only to see it yawn and roll over the forests. Since time is short, and past errors must be avoided in our future strategies, I offer the following.

## The "Compromise"

The Hatfield-Adams Amendment mandates the sale of 7.6 billion board feet of timber from Oregon and Washington National Forests in 1989 and 1990, a 10% reduction from previous years. The reduction is deceiving, for these reasons: 1) Since legal constraints limited Forest Service operations for much of 1989, the vast majority of these sales will be concentrated into just one year (ending September 1990) — even the FS is complaining that it won't be able to produce the volume. 2) The cutting level is even higher than what the combined Forest Service's draft forest plans would call for. 3) The amendment comes largely in response to federal injunctions brought on by envi-

ronmental lawsuits. In other words, we finally convinced the courts that the logging level is illegally damaging, so Congress has intervened to nullify the law. The slight reduction is a bone tossed to passify, not resolve. The amendment forced us to release more than two-thirds of the roughly 140 timber sales involved in the injunction; sales known to conflict with Spotted Owl habitat needs.

Clearly, these aspects of the "compromise" were brutal assaults on the remaining forests. Now let's look for our gains.

**judicial review:** The original draft of the amendment restricted citizens' ability to sue on environmental laws. This was later modified to only expedite judicial review. However, our primary suit (involving the above injunction) is now neutralized. Though some claim the retention of judicial access as a victory, it's really one step forward, two steps back.

**old-growth protection:** The amendment suggests the FS should avoid fragmenting remaining large blocks of old-growth forest. The bottom line, however, is that 7.6 billion board feet will be cut. What isn't taken from classic "ancient forest" will be logged from other irreplaceable virgin stands. As the FS Regional Forester says, of the slated stands "95% meet somebody's definition of spotted owl habitat."

In many areas where habitat connections at the landscape level are, at best, tenuous, the amendment offers no relief. It may, in fact, increase pressure on "last hope" corridors and low-elevation old-growth islands.

**advisory committees:** The amendment directed each National Forest to assemble a 7-member citizen's advisory com-

mittee of "balanced interests" to review timber sales. These committees will be under enormous pressure to rubber stamp proposed sales, since the high cutting level affords no flexibility. On the Gifford Pinchot NF, for example, the FS actually has less sale volume planned than the law mandates it sell. What options does this leave the advisory committee?

Congress also gave the committees — which have, not surprisingly, turned out to be dominated by timber interests — no real authority. They are essentially public relations smoke-screens.

The amendment made no promises for future logging reductions. It also said nothing about log exports or programs to assist timber communities through the inevitable economic transition. Score another round for political brushfire-fighting and timber industry arm-twisting.

Most disturbing about this disastrous legislation is that some conservationists publicly supported it. Writing in the September issue of *Washington Wildfire*, the Sierra Club's Mark Lawler shocked the conservation community by claiming that only two groups opposed it. In actuality, the Sierra Club was virtually the only organization supporting the amendment.

Sierra Club leadership even helped write the compromise. Many think the Club's complicity, from the so-called "Hatfield summit" in June to the amendment's final wording, greased the skids for the deal. Certainly the Club's supportive statements in press made attacking the compromise futile.

Why would the Sierra Club undercut the opposition of other Ancient Forest Alliance groups? Possibly because a hardline position in this fractious issue would jeopardize their open-door access to Congress on other issues. Or perhaps their goals for Northwest forests are lower than those of other groups. Some even speculate their motivation to be the glory and membership-boosting coup of settling first and claiming victory.

Whatever the reasons, such behavior has led to distrust and contempt within the Ancient Forest Alliance. The Washington AFA has not met since summer, due to lost faith. The Oregon AFA is engulfed in a decision-making power struggle between grassroots and larger groups. Instead of

cooperating on legislative proposals, factions are scrambling to release their own.

At the time when unity is needed most, we conservationists have divided ourselves, allowing timberbeasts to conquer. Somehow the industry can remain unified over the contentious log export issue, but we can't hold together on what to protect. It's an outrage that, after the destruction of over 70% of the natural forests (and 90% of the old-growth) of western Washington and Oregon, any conservation group would take a position other than STOP NOW.

## Future Prospects

In 1990 we must regroup and amend our strategies. I suggest a good dose of democracy. Those closest to the ground, from Audubon chapters to Earth Firsters, should decide their standards for resolution of the issue, then articulate their positions to Congress, the media, and the national groups.

Grassroots groups must stay involved through all of 1990. This may mean anything from lobbying to timely direct action. It at least means monitoring the situation to assure that the restricted agenda of one or two groups does not undercut the strength of the remainder of the conservation community.

The overall level of logging on federal lands should be the primary focus of these efforts. In a recent caucus, the National Audubon Society formed a position for reducing the current cut by at least 60%. The Native Forest Council is gathering support for its Native Forest Protection Act of 1990 [see sidebar], which eliminates, nation-wide, any logging of previously-uncut federal forest. Others are saying that no further logging (exempting some thinnings) should occur on public lands until second growth stands — to which the cutting should be limited — are ready. This is an historic battle. Our behavior on the ancient forest issue may strongly influence the environmental movement of the 1990s. A united front, formed from an ecological position with national efforts representing local goals, would engender hope and success. Anything else will bear the same old failures.

*Mitch Friedman is a veteran Northwest EF! activist and president of the Greater Ecosystem Alliance.*

## Eastside Follies Hatfield-Adams Rider Wrecks "Non-Owl" Forests Too

*ed. note: The following is excerpted from a report by the Oregon Natural Resources Council, 522 Southwest Fifth Ave, Portland, OR 97204.*

Most Northwest conservationists know by now that when Congress passed the Hatfield-Adams rider, it significantly increased the 1990 timber cut level — the "allowable sale quantity" (ASQ) — for the National Forests and BLM lands that hold the last of the Northern Spotted Owl's ancient Douglas-fir forest habitat. But because lobbyists were busy defending owl habitat on federal lands west of the Cascades in Washington and Oregon, many conservationists didn't notice that the rider also boosted the 1990 cut on the six National Forests east of the Cascades, where the more arid Ponderosa Pine forests do not harbor the Northern Spotted Owl. One indication of the way FS officials are interpreting the rider comes from the Winema National Forest, where the annual cut has been increased from 138 million board feet (mmbf) to 158 mmbf to meet the rider's targets.

When the battle over the Hatfield-Adams rider was just beginning, the FS and the Northwest congressional delegation threatened to increase the ASQs for the "non-owl" eastside forests to "make up" for shortfalls in old growth timber sales west of the Cascades. Conservationists' outraged reaction to that idea prompted the Northwest delegation to offer assurances that they would "hold the eastside forests harmless" and leave the eastside ASQ at recent levels. When it became clear that the rider actually set a 1990 ASQ for the six eastside forests that is 20% higher than 1989's cut level, Nick Ashmore, assistant to Speaker of the House Tom Foley, claimed that the change had been "a mistake."

Investigation has shown it was not. Despite the promises made, both the Forest Service's Washington, DC headquarters and the Northwest delegation increased the cut levels for the eastside forests. It is possible that FS personnel were only grossly incompetent, but it is more likely that they knew very well that by presenting 1988's gross timber sales as net, they were making it possible for certain Congressmen and their staffs to increase the cut level on the eastside forests by more than 100 million board feet without appearing to change a thing. Politicians like Les AuCoin, who started the whole net-and-gross number juggling game, aggravated the situation. Rather than correct the agency's misleading figures, the delegation slapped a premium of 50 million board feet on the already-inflated cut level.

In the moist, dense Douglas-fir forests west of the Cascades, an average ranger district will sell 80-100 mmbf in a year under "normal" cut levels, twice that amount under the Hatfield-Adams rider. They could possibly sell almost 50 mmbf a year under a sustainable timber program. Cutting 50 mmbf over and above prevailing levels, on the other hand, would be destructive. In the drier, less productive and more fragile Ponderosa Pine and fir forests that grow east of the big mountains, 50 mmbf is roughly one-third the entire ASQ for several of the six eastside forests, or about five percent of the overall eastside ASQ for 1988. Cutting so much more timber from the east side in a single year will be devastating: at 20,000 net board feet to the acre (a reasonable yield for eastside forests), 50 mmbf means 2500 acres of additional clearcuts.

Even 2500 acres of clearcuts is a drop in the bucket, though, compared to the 52,500 acres of eastside forest that will have to be sold in 1990 to come up with 1000 mmbf (one billion board feet) of net timber sales — the amount the eastside forests must sell in FY 1990 to reach the Hatfield-Adams target. Coming on top of a year like 1989, when nearly 900 mmbf were sold and units sold up to five years earlier were cut to feed a rising market, the cumulative effects of the clearcuts that will be prepared this year are horrible to contemplate. If the individual National Forests are forced to use FS headquarters' bad data, it could drive sales as much as another 50 mmbf higher.

All of this comes after the Forest Service has admitted, in the course of developing new Forest Plans for the six eastside forests, that it is presently overcutting in every forest. Forthcoming Forest Plans propose ASQs that are significantly lower than 1988's, not to mention 1990's. Conservationists contend that overcutting already approached 100%, which means that eastside ASQs should be reduced to roughly half their 1989 levels. That might even make it possible for the government to break even on eastside timber sales (like most National Forests, timber sales in the eastside six usually lose money for the taxpayer). But if the Hatfield-Adams rider is any indication of the direction of future Congressional decisions on timber issues, those much disputed Forest Plans will be altered in appropriations committees. ASQs will be increased, and timber production will continue to dominate, and decimate, all the other values of the Northwest's remaining forests.

## Sierra Club Undermined Efforts Against Hatfield Rider

By Dale Turner

The Hatfield-Adams "compromise" rider highlighted some major differences between various groups working on the old growth issue, the most notable being a split between Sierra Club and almost everyone else, including the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund (SCLDF — pronounced "skullduff").

According to Andy Kerr of the Oregon Natural Resources Council (ONRC), most conservationists did not sign off on the rider. "ONRC, Audubon, and the National Wildlife Federation opposed it to the bloody end. Sierra Club was working for it all along, and obviously accepted it. The Wilderness Society decided it was all right after the fact." SCLDF not only opposed the rider, but actually hired a lobbyist to fight it because they weren't satisfied with the lobbying efforts of the mainstream groups.

Bill Arthur, regional staff representative for the Sierra Club, agrees that the Club "did participate in working out the details rather than just oppose it on the House floor." Following the June "Hatfield summit", Arthur said, "we thought the basic formula could be a workable arrangement for one year if the details could be fleshed out."

According to Arthur, there was a "very volatile" situation in the Northwest and it was clear that some kind of legislation was going to be introduced. "Our desire was to see a one-year package to stabilize the political situation," giving all involved more time to work out better arrangements. He said Sierra Club is "not satisfied with the outcome, but it's a marginally acceptable arrangement for a one year period."

Kerr said this was not the first time the Sierra Club has come down on the other side of a fight in the Northwest. "The Club's attitude is 'Since we're going to get screwed,

we might as well help them do it so it's done in a less harmful manner,'" Kerr said. "ONRC's feeling is that if they're going to screw us, they're going to have to do it on their own."

SCLDF's role in the fight began with their representation of 26 plaintiff groups in three lawsuits about listing of and management for the Spotted Owl. The suits had sufficient impact to bring on Hatfield's rider. (Sierra Club was a party to two of the three suits, though the Club has not been a major client of SCLDF in the Northwest.) Among other things, the rider voided some court injunctions brought on by the SCLDF suits and limited future judicial review of timber sales. As these elements would directly affect on SCLDF's activities, they went beyond their usual role in the courts and jumped headlong into the legislative arena.

They could do that, despite the Club's clearly different position, because SCLDF is an entirely independent organization. It was spun off from the Club about 20 years ago and now shares only the name. According to SCLDF's Buck Parker, "The relationship between the two is essentially that of lawyer and client."

Parker sees much of the split on this issue as between local or grassroots organizations and those that are centralized and national. He would place SCLDF in league with the former and said that while SCLDF could not accept the judicial limitations of the rider, "Other groups did support it because of other provisions and because they felt it was politically necessary." When asked if Sierra Club was one of those groups, Parker would say only that "Sierra Club I think of as a national group and not as a regional group."



## THE NATIONAL & NATIVE FOREST PROTECTION ACT OF 1990

[The following is the NNFA 1990, formulated by the Native Forest Action Council, POB 2171, Eugene, OR 97404, and printed here slightly condensed.]

Whereas, the Congress of the United States of America, recognizing that less than 5% of our nation's native, virgin, and ancient forests remain; and that over 72% of the nation's forestlands are now in private ownership; and if properly managed and operated under a free enterprise system without unfair competition from subsidized timber sales from public lands, are capable of producing all of the wood products the nation requires for its domestic market in perpetuity;

Therefore, the Congress expressly declares that the forestlands now in public ownership shall be maintained as natural, diverse forests for their broad ecological and environmental purposes, for the long-term public benefit of the nation and the earth's biosphere, and shall not be cut or converted to tree farms.

In carrying out this mandate, the Congress specifically prescribes the following actions and mandates:

### Part I — Protecting Native and Virgin Forestlands

All federal land management agencies are hereby directed to fully protect the remaining virgin native forestlands now in public ownership and to prohibit any timber sales, cutting, or salvage, from such lands,

effective immediately.

Federal land management agencies are directed to classify and designate, by no later than March 1995, all native and virgin forestlands that comply with the specifications set forth in the Wilderness Act of 1964, as additions to existing Wilderness Areas or as entirely new Wilderness Areas. The National Park Service is directed to study and recommend to Congress that qualifying forestlands be added to existing National Parks, or established as new National Parks and the Park Service shall be obligated to fully protect such lands.

For native and virgin forestlands in public ownership unqualified for Park or Wilderness status, the public agencies are directed to classify the lands, regardless of size, as National Native Forest Preserves, National Biological Areas or National Forest Natural Research Areas, which permit a broad range of non-consumptive, recreational, and biological uses, but prohibit any timber harvest.

### Part II — Economic Mitigation and Worker Protection

To assure both permanent protection of the nation's remaining native and virgin forests and the continued availability of forest resources for domestic requirements, the Congress directs that no logs, merches, cants, chips, or pulp of any kind be exported from any lands. Exports of any wood product that has not undergone maximum processing by domestic labor is discouraged. A graduated excise tax shall be instituted on the export of all forest products, which decreases as extent of processing increases.

Congress shall make available to the wood-products workers and industry the funds to assist the mandatory and inevitable industry transition. These funds will include forest rehabilitation jobs; workers' education, retraining, relocation, family health care, mortgage payment assistance, property tax deferrals, and other assistance needed; federally-guaranteed, long-term, low-interest loans to build value-added product manufacturing facilities and to re-tool or to close old-growth mills; tax incentives for small, non-industrial private woodlot owners to manage for a sustainable timber production; directing the Forest Service and the BLM to provide jobs in forestland rehabilitation, to restore biological diversity and ecological values.

Congress shall make available a trust for stable payments to counties and schools to replace the loss of expected revenues from federal timber sales. Payments are to be structured to create national parity in payments to counties with federal lands. Such payments shall be based on "in-lieu-of property taxes" as if the land were privately owned, rather than revenues based on the extraction of irreplaceable living natural resources.

To reduce the demand for wood products to sustainable levels, Congress directs the Secretary of Commerce to promulgate regulations (including incentives) for paper

recycling and innovative product design for minimizing consumption and waste of wood products.

The FS and BLM shall identify all roads in our federal forestlands not absolutely essential to the forest-wide general travel network. These roads shall be closed without delay and re-vegetated by 1 January 1993.

### Part III — Rehabilitation of Multiple-Use Forestlands

The Congress directs that all public forestlands not classified as native forest be classified under a concept of perpetual forestlands. Such lands shall be managed in a manner that best restores and then retains the original climax forest with its historic biological composition, gene pools, species, and age diversity. Congress further directs that any sale of timber from such lands be on a long-term, sustained-yield basis, with ages not less than 300 years, that harvest quantities on any logging site not exceed 2% of the biomass per acre in any one decade, and that the full range of ecological and successional attributes of a native, virgin forest be maintained. No trees shall be cut on Class 4, 5, 6, or 7 soil sites and no risk of loss of biological diversity shall be permitted.

Furthermore, Congress directs that no timber sales shall be permitted that do not fully recover the replacement and environmental costs to the public of such specific sales, individually and collectively, so that the primary private-sector timberlands are not harmed by below-cost sales of public timber.

## FOREST SERVICE REFORM UPDATE

In the November 1989 Journal ("FS Reform: The Continuing Saga"), I reported that events set in motion by last summer's Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants conference, "Reforming the Forest Service," would produce a revised draft bill for comprehensive FS reform, which would then be introduced in Congress. That prophecy proved to be half accurate. The revised bill did materialize and was printed in the October issue of *Forest Watch* magazine, labeled as the National Forest Reform Act (for a copy, call CHEC at 503-343-1092 or 652-7049).

However, no plans are currently afoot to introduce the bill in Congress. True to form, the various environmental organizations continue to squabble over details, i.e., the relative merits of a truly comprehensive approach. In particular, the National Wildlife Federation has reportedly balked at the provision in the revised bill that would repeal the Knutson-Vandenberg Act, because,

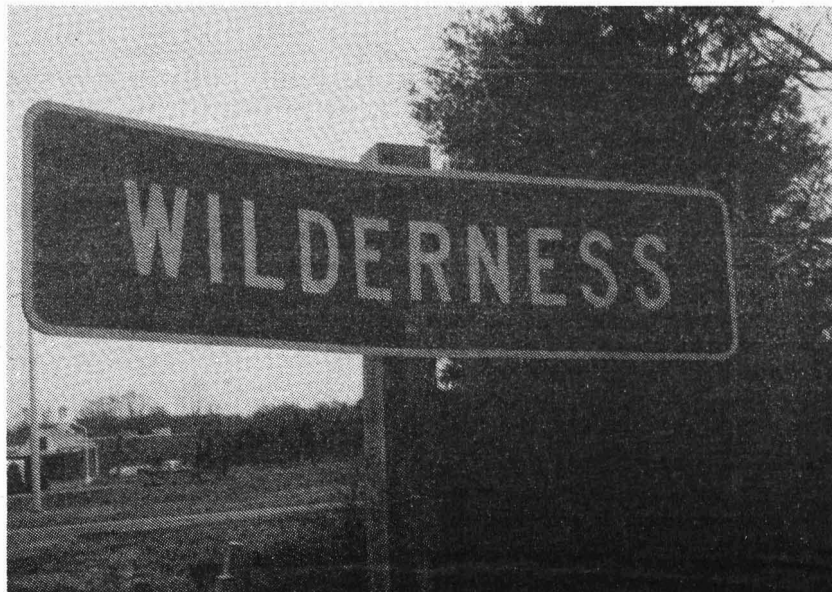
incredibly, they believe the K-V Act is good for wildlife.

Thus we are presently in a hiatus where more education and dialogue must occur before a FS reform initiative can move forward. Recently, Randal O'Toole told me that he hopes consensus can be achieved and a bill introduced in Congress by early 1991.

For EFlers who would ban all logging from all National Forests, the present legislative doldrums offers a golden opportunity to present their case to a wider audience. Their efforts can add momentum to a truly comprehensive approach.

Thanks to all the EFlers who answered Judith Johnson's appeal for help in building an old-growth lobby. The response has been very encouraging. As the lobby grows, we become stronger on Capitol Hill, where key legislative battles to save our forests will be fought in the coming months.

—Mark Gaffney, Chiloquin, OR





# Arizona 4 Are Now 5

## Tapes Show Political Motive Against Foreman

By Dale Turner

In late December, an Arizona grand jury indicted a fifth activist on charges related to monkeywrenching of a uranium mine. Ilse Asplund, who was living with Mark Davis prior to his arrest, was charged with two counts of "Destruction of an energy facility." She was notified through her attorney on December 20, and went voluntarily to the Federal Courts Building in Phoenix today to face arrest and processing.

Asplund is a single working mother supporting two young children, yet the FBI waited until Christmas time, seven months after the related arrests, to get a grand jury indictment of her. They have been threatening her with arrest for much of that period, and have threatened to take away her children, in an effort to force her participation in their investigation of Davis. Despite that pressure, she has remained an outspoken environmental activist in the Prescott area.

### FBI Agent Bugged Himself

In related events, the trial for the AZ 5 has been put off again; and meanwhile, evidence found by Dan Conner of the Legal Defense Fund has confirmed the political motivation of the whole investigation.

In listening to the FBI's tapes, they found an instance where undercover agent "Mike Tait," real name: Michael A. Fain, neglected to shut off his tape recorder after an encounter with Dave Foreman and Nancy Zierenberg. He talked to them at the Journal office during a Tucson E! yard sale, and requested money for an unspecified plan. He

had previously requested funds from Foreman, but was directed to ask Z for some money out of the Journal's petty cash. Z gave Fain \$100, shushing up his attempt to talk about "the nuclear thing."

Fain then drove off to meet with two other FBI agents, Robin Andrews and Paul Szczepaniak, at the nearby Burger King. He left his body wiring running, recording a most revealing conversation. What follows is a verbatim transcript of the conversation between Fain and the other agents, with a short passage excised because it might prejudice the case of one of the other defendants. Fain begins by counting the money. (In what follows, ellipses indicate pauses in the conversation, not deletions.)

FAIN: "Well, we got 20, 40, 60, 70, 80, 90, a hundred."

ANOTHER AGENT: "No more?"

FAIN: "They're havin' to dig deep. All they got was a hundred dollars."

ANOTHER AGENT: (inaudible) . . . "some sting over in Tucson. Stay with us, Mike."

(laughter) She [Nancy Z.] gave it to you?"

FAIN: "Yeah, she gave it to me. He [Dave F.] was there, but he doesn't even mention it. You hear him in there? Doesn't say a word. So she just gave us a hundred dollars, which is about what they did the first time — about half of what we had asked for. So . . ."

ANOTHER AGENT: "Small-time operation."

FAIN: "Yeah. Real small. They use everything that they have for what they print up, what they write. These people live on nothing. I mean, this isn't much, but for them it's about everything they've got. They're short

on material assets, but they're long on dedication. . . (inaudible comments) . . . Did ya hear what I said in there about nuclear? She [Nancy Z.] goes 'shhh!' (laughter) I said, 'Well, sometimes I make mistakes,' and she goes, 'Yeah, you gotta watch that' . . . (inaudible comments) Like I say, she won't say anything. I didn't figure we'd ever get that much out of her. So . . ."

ANOTHER AGENT: "It's hard to hear on the tape too, so . . . (inaudible) . . . shhh!"

FAIN: "Oh, Jesus."

ANOTHER AGENT: "Lot's of static."

FAIN: "Oh, well, You wanna give me that film and I'll take it up there too?"

ANOTHER AGENT: "You want to take the tape up too to Lori [Bailey, FBI agent in charge of the operation]? The one that we have? You going to see her today?"

FAIN: "Yeah, I'm gonna give her all this stuff. . . So, in actuality we probably ought to give them their money back when this is all over because they don't really say what it's for."

(laughter) Now they're low budget, and I don't really look for 'em to be doin a lot of hurtin' of people. . . (short exchange about another defendant excised here) 'Cause this [Dave F.] isn't really the guy we need to pop — I mean in terms of actual perpetrator. This

is the guy we need to pop to send a message. And that's all we're really doin', and if we don't nail this guy and we only get Davis, we're not sending any message he hasn't predicted, 'cause in the Rendezvous last year he says somebody oughta be prepared to give his life this year and somebody oughta be prepared to do hard time."

ANOTHER AGENT: "Oh, really?"

FAIN: "Yeah."

ANOTHER AGENT: "They take that real seriously?"

FAIN: "These people are dedicated — I mean, they just don't have any money. That's why the yard sale to help put together their legal defense. Unless it's done for nothing, they don't . . . You know, it's the old sixties stuff."

ANOTHER AGENT: "Do they have a beef right now that they need a defense fund for? Is this for a prospective. . . ?"

FAIN: "Ah, well, they're always doing civil disobedience and gettin' arrested, so they need that, and they have what they call their Direct Action Fund where — they're always giving money to this — and their Direct Action Fund is strictly for illegal activities. . . Ohhh. We don't need that on the tape. Hoo boy." (turns tape machine off)

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND (DIS)ORGANIZED CRIME

by Christopher Manes

Earlier this year a federal appeals court upheld a decision that 26 anti-abortion protesters had violated RICO, the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970. Although Earth First! is not a hotbed of support for anti-abortionists, we should take note of the way the federal government and private parties are attempting to use this powerful law to silence dissent. It is likely that in the near future RICO will be turned against ecological protesters engaged in civil disobedience. Forewarned is forearmed.

RICO was designed to deal with the difficulties that arise in the prosecution of organized crime figures, one such difficulty being that mobsters often used their ill-gotten gains to mount massive legal defenses and avoid jurisdiction. To prevent this the law gives prosecutors the discretion of freezing a defendant's assets as soon as a RICO indictment is brought. The civil provisions of the law also encourage private actions against gangsters by allowing successful plaintiffs to get treble damages. Conviction under RICO requires a showing of a "pattern" of racketeering, threats, extortions or similar nefarious activities.

I leave it to legal scholars to decide whether RICO was a good or even necessary law. The point here is that the government and plaintiffs knew a good thing when they saw it. In 1985 the Supreme Court ruled that RICO was not limited to organized crime in its traditional form. This opened the floodgates of litigation against any organization that could be characterized as showing a pattern of criminal activity.

The expanded scope of RICO has had both good and bad results. On the one hand, it has allowed consumers to sue corporations and utilities for collusion, bribery and deception of regulatory agencies. Last year, for instance, Suffolk County New York won a \$22.8 million judgment in a civil RICO suit against Long Island Lighting Co. for illegally raising rates to help finance its ill-fated Shoreham nuclear power plant. On the other hand, corporations have used RICO to bust unions, and the government has used it to abridge free speech by going after bookstores selling "obscene" material. Even the threat of a RICO suit is often enough to frighten organizations into stopping their activities. It was fear of RICO charges that caused Drexel Burnham Lambert to admit securities violations before even going to trial. RICO coercion is especially successful in civil actions where the standard of proof is only "the preponderance of evidence," rather than "beyond a reasonable doubt" as in criminal cases.

Since RICO is a rich man's game, radical environmentalists have not had to worry about it. I believe the only reason the government hasn't brought such a suit is our well-known penury. With quasi-radical environmental groups spinning off from E! and attaining a certain amount of (alas) respectability and hence funding, RICO

should be kept in mind. Any group that engages in civil disobedience over a period of time may be slapped with a RICO suit. A politically ambitious district attorney or slick resource industry lawyer may claim, as in the anti-abortion case, that the civil disobedience was an attempt to coerce a company from exercising its legal right to carry out its lawful business.

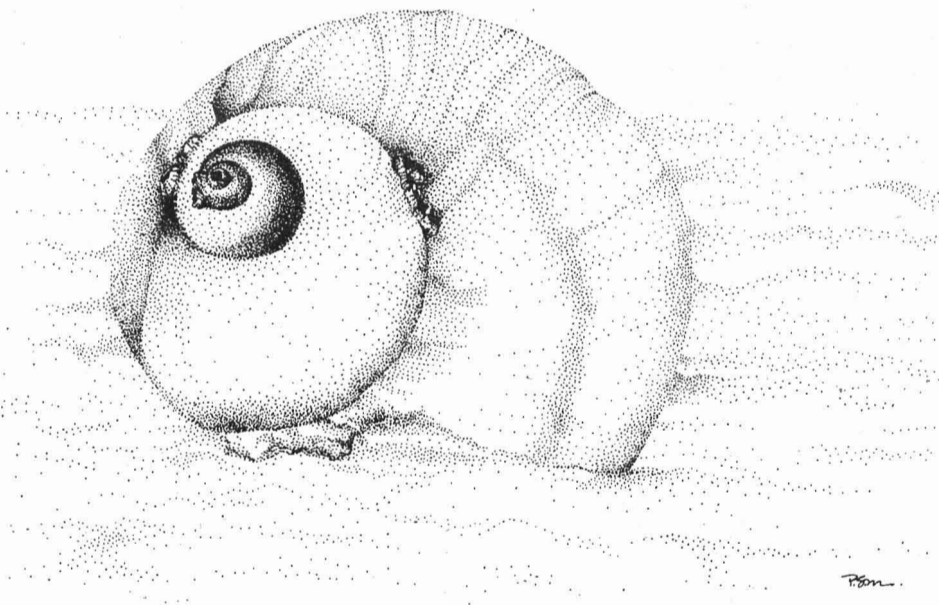
The ultra-conservative Mountain States Legal Foundation, formerly headed by the glabrous James Watt — "the thinking man's imbecile" — recently began the ambitious task of compiling information on all acts of ecotage. Unwittingly MSLF is probably doing a real public service since it will confirm just how widespread and effective monkeywrenching has become (something radical environmentalists have long suspected), but its actual purpose may be to assist in a future class action or RICO suit against Earth First!

Fortunately, it isn't very difficult to avoid the sting of RICO. Groups like E! that haven't become organized enough to be accountable as an entity are probably safe. However, environmental organizations with assets, bank accounts, some kind of identifiable leadership and a penchant for CD should get a copy of RICO and read it. They should be scrupulous in keeping their demonstrations peaceful in order to get the full protection of the First Amendment, however effectual that remains in these dark days of post-Reaganite winter. The appeals court in the anti-abortionists case noted as evidence of coercion that the protesters pushed and shoved patients. I believe there is a place for raucous, sub-violent protest (as in the demonstration at the Okanogan National Forest headquarters after the 1988 RRR), but groups that are organized and public enough to be held accountable for their actions should be careful about putting their imprimatur on such protests.

Finally, RICO is a double-edged sword, one which radical environmentalists should pick up and use to lop off corporate heads. A young aggressive good-looking radical environmental lawyer should immediately begin research on bringing a civil RICO suit against specific timber companies for their illegal harvesting practices, exacerbated by their threats and use of violence against environmental protesters, and by their collusion with the Forest Service. Evidence of bribery (which I'm sure exists) in the Forest Service would be extremely useful in pursuing a RICO case.

We are entering an age of guerilla lawyering when attorneys with an environmental conscience will play an important role in harassing, frightening and bankrupting the lawless corporations that have seized control of the world's ecology. Monkeywrenchers and lawyers, unite and take over!

*Christopher Manes, a frequent contributor to our pages, is a young aggressive good-looking radical environmental law student.*



Moonshell by Peggy Sue McRae

## The Christic Institute and the U.S. Legal System

Recent court decisions against the Christic Institute (best known for its past work in the Karen Silkwood case) are a flagrant instance of the use of the legal system to try to destroy a public-interest group. The Institute had charged 29 people, including Maj. Gen. Richard Secord, with complicity in a racketeering enterprise that, the Institute alleges, among other criminal acts, detonated a bomb at a press conference in La Penca, Nicaragua, in 1984. A "summary judgment" delivered by a federal judge in June 1988 prevented the case from coming to trial. Then in February 1989, at the request of the defendants, the court levied punitive sanctions of \$1.2 million against the Institute for having filed suit on what the court declared to be inadequate grounds. The Institute was required to pay the \$1.2 million within a month.

The bombing in Nicaragua was an attempt to assassinate contra commander, Eden Pastora, who had refused to join his small, independent guerrilla force (ARDE) with the larger contra army (FDN) supported by the US Central Intelligence Agency. Pastora was not harmed but eight people were

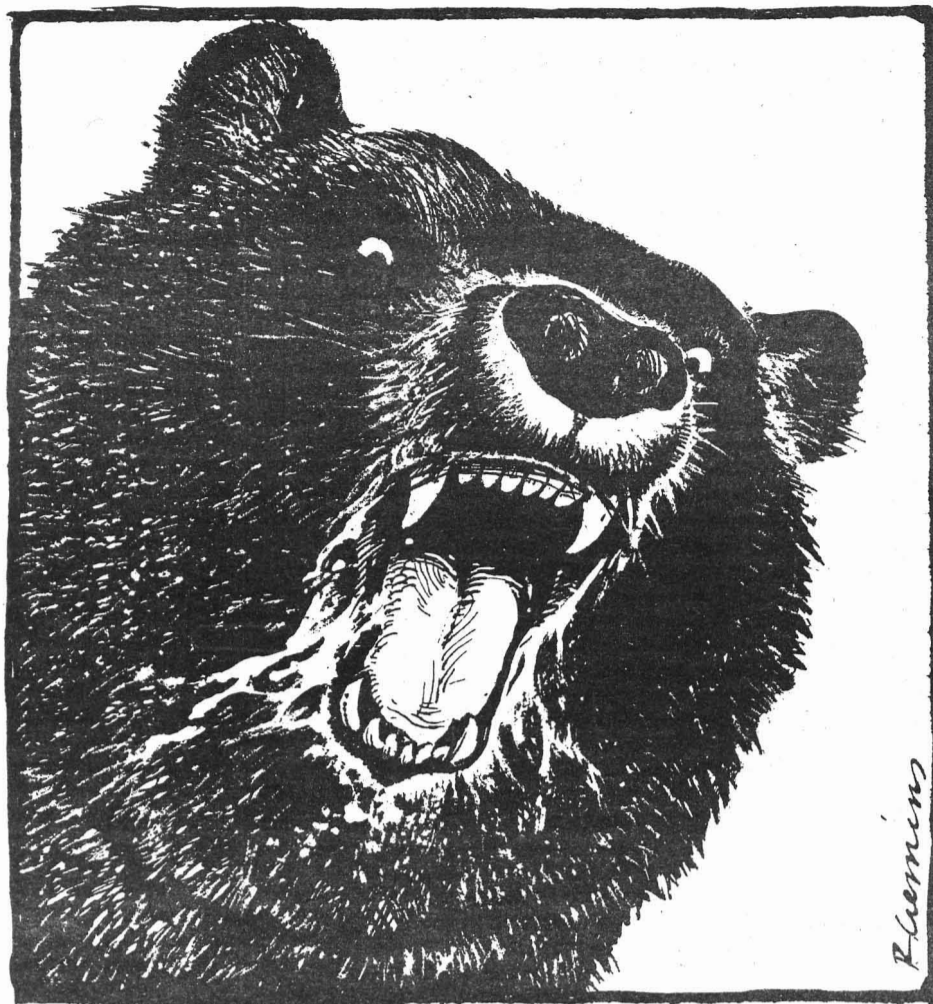
killed. The Christic Institute alleges that senior contra officials and a group of United States citizens planned the attack and that a man posing as a Danish reporter, "Hansen," planted the bomb for them.

According to the court the Institute "presented no direct evidence nor eyewitness testimony showing that Hansen was at the press conference, let alone whether he set the bomb. . . ." The Christic Institute states that the court is in error. The Institute has, it says, more than twenty eyewitness accounts of Hansen's movements, photographs, and a videotape of him backing out of the press conference.

In order to appeal the two rulings against it, the Institute had to post a bond equal to the punitive sanctions plus estimated interest. With the help of its supporters, it did so. Appeals for lifting of the sanctions and reinstatement of the case have been filed in federal appeals court in Atlanta.

For further details contact the Christic Institute, 1323 North Capitol Street NW, Washington, DC 20002; 202-797- 8106, from whom we received the information for this article.

# GRIZZLY BEAR TASK FORCE REPORT



## Grizzly Roadshow Roams Northeast

The Grizzly Bear Task Force spent October and November on the road, spreading the Earth First! perspective about the Great Bear and promoting the Earth First! Yellowstone Wilderness Proposal. As main organizer and show-presenter, I must say it's a hell of a lot of work but definitely worth it.

I did 18 shows from Virginia to Maine, including the headquarters of the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, the Virginia EF! Rendezvous, Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston (!), three branches of the State U. of New York, and the Sierra Club in Columbus, Ohio. Jake Jagoff joined me for the first few shows.

The format of the shows was a half-hour talk followed by a multi-projector slide show with a soundtrack then a final plea for action and support and a question/answer session. We distributed literature and sold posters, T-shirts and stickers to raise funds. I talked about the importance of the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, introduced the Grizzly as a resident of the GYE, and described the plight of the Grizzly in the Lower 48. See below for specific issues and what you can do! Response was enthusiastic with up to 500 people attending shows. Thanks to all who made this possible, especially Patoka Pete, Louise Bowman, Barb and Gary Steele, the EF! Foundation, the show organizers, and Mangler and Jagoff.

—Phil Knight, Grizzly Bear Task Force

## Former/Potential Grizzly Habitat in Colorado Jeopardized by Forest Circus.

Colorado's San Juan Mountains contain some of the finest unoccupied Grizzly Bear habitat in the Lower 48. Extensive studies by independent Grizzly biologist Tony Povillitis have determined that the San Juans could support many bears. The last known Grizzly in the Southwest was shot in the San Juans in 1979. The East Fork of the San Juan River is particularly good habitat. It is also slated for "improvement": a huge 4-season ski resort complete with golf courses, tennis courts, jacuzzis and neon ski geeks riding gondolas. The resort will abut the San Juan Wilderness.

If the Grizzly is ever to return to Colorado, we must stop this resort. The Colorado Wildlife Commission no longer opposes talking about Grizzly reintroduction (thanks to pressure from the Western Earth Support Co-op). Now we must get them to drop their opposition altogether.

The Colorado Endangered Species Act requires that the Colorado Division of Wildlife prepare a recovery plan for the Grizzly, but they have not done so. The Grizzly Bear Task Force has written Senator Tim Wirth regarding this matter and he has requested that the Regional Forester, Gary Cargill, prepare an environmental assessment on the development. We have also written the Supervisor of the San Juan NF and the Deputy Regional Director of the US Fish and

Wildlife Service (FWS). The Forest Supervisor bows to the Colorado Wildlife Commission and their blind opposition to reintroduction; and passes the buck to the US Fish and Wildlife Service, whose Grizzly Bear Recovery Plan makes no provision for Grizzly reintroductions. FWS in turn blames the Forest Service, stating "We act only as advisors to those agencies with decision authority for activities requiring Federal approval." "The Forest Service (is) the responsible agency."

Unless major changes occur, be prepared to join us in March or April for a demonstration at the Regional Forest Service office. Construction may begin as soon as spring of 1991. Meanwhile, visit the East Fork; bring your tools. Also, write to the decision-makers:

\*Perry D. Olson, Director, Colorado Division of Wildlife, 6060 Broadway, Denver, CO 80216

\*William T. Sexton, Forest Supervisor, San Juan National Forest, 701 Camino Del Rio, Durango, CO 80216

\*John L. Spinks, Jr., Deputy Regional Director, US Fish & Wildlife Service, POB 25486, Denver Federal Center, Denver, CO 80225

Demand that the reintroduction of Grizzlies to the San Juans and elsewhere be seriously addressed in the upcoming revision of the Grizzly Bear Recovery Plan for the US.

## YELLOWSTONE:

### "Nuisance" Bear Hunt Proposed for Yellowstone Ecosystem.

The US Fish and Wildlife Service proposed in October of 1989 to open a hunting season on Grizzlies in the Greater Yellowstone area. The idea is to issue permits to "hunters" through a lottery for the taking of bears labeled as dangerous and incorrigible. Earth First! submits that it is humans, not bears, who are dangerous and incorrigible, and that if humans are having problems with bears, it is time for the humans to move. That aside, this hunt idea is dangerous. It would essentially create a "market" for "nuisance" bears and thus an incentive to provide such bears. The agencies involved would have wide discretion in determining nuisance status.

The current proposal is not being considered in the context of recovery of the Grizzly in the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem or overall nationwide recovery goals. Nor have state and federal agencies correlated this proposal with efforts to remove the human attractants (development and associated rubbish) that result in "nuisance" bears.

Public comment was due December 18, but it is still important to write the FWS to oppose any hunting of Grizzlies:

\*Chris Servheen, Grizzly Bear Recovery Coordinator, US Fish & Wildlife Service, NS 312, U. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812

Tell Servheen you want to see reintroduc-

tion to places like the Gila/Blue, High Uintas, Marble/Siskiyou/Kalmiopsis, and San Juans considered seriously in the upcoming Revised Recovery Plan for the Grizzly.

## Grease and Garbage: Heaps of Problems

The grease, garbage and sewage situation in Yellowstone Park is a serious threat to Grizzlies. Every major development in the Park has its own messes, all of which are possible attractants to these opportunistic omnivores. Once a Griz becomes habituated to human food, the best it can hope for is to be dissuaded from its nasty habits through aversive conditioning in the form of rubber bullets and air horns. Relocation is more likely and this is usually a death sentence for the Griz. Being smart and stubborn, the bear will likely return to the scene of the slime and end up with a price on his/her head.

Sewage and garbage problems in the Park include overflows and spills at sewage pumping stations, lack of proper fencing around sewage lagoons, improper storage of garbage by both concessionaires and NPS employees, failure to store garbage trucks and "honeywagons" in bearproof enclosures, and dripping garbage trucks. The NPS has made some effort to clean up these bear attractants but much remains to be done. The Grizzly Bear Task Force will launch a fact-finding mission into Yellowstone next spring and has requested a guided tour of sewage and garbage facilities — not your typical tour of Yellowstone, but needed.

Write the Chief Ranger of Yellowstone to encourage the NPS to continue cleaning up bear attractants in the Park and to ask that the GBTF be shown real progress. Send us any info you find about bear attractants in Yellowstone or surrounding communities (especially Cooke City, Gardiner and West Yellowstone).

\*Dan Sholly, Chief Ranger, Yellowstone National Park, WY 82190

## NORTHERN CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

### Grizzlies "Recovered"??

The Interagency Grizzly Bear Committee (IGBC) is considering a proposal to "delist" the Grizzly in the Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem (NCDE) of northern Montana, where the largest population of Grizzlies in the Lower 48 resides. Delisting would entail removing the Grizzly from the protection of the Endangered Species Act, under which it is listed as Threatened, and turning the management of the bear back over to the State of Montana. Agency rhetoric claims the population in the NCDE (and in Yellowstone) to be recovered and we will undoubtedly see a formal delisting proposal soon.

Earth First! opposes this move. It is politically, not biologically, motivated, as all bear management seems to be at the federal level. The GBTF submits that the real reasons for delisting are to 1) remove the restrictions imposed by the Endangered Species Act (ESA) on resource-extractive activities such as mining and logging; 2) show that the federal government can successfully "recover" a species (whether actually recovered or not) and pave the way for delisting other species, thus weakening the ESA; 3) justify all the money and effort the IGBC has put into Grizzly management; and 4) boost the careers of certain agency personnel. If the NCDE delisting succeeds, Yellowstone will be next.

There are indications that Grizzly populations in both Yellowstone and the NCDE are increasing, even though habitat in both areas continues to be destroyed. Independent bear biologists note that populations of

Bison, Elk, deer, and perhaps other prey species have increased in Montana in recent years. It is postulated that this is due to the unusually mild winters the Wild Rockies have experienced of late, likely a result of the greenhouse effect. So the increase in Grizzlies may be due to factors beyond the control of managing agencies, factors that may well turn around soon to further threaten stressed Grizzly populations. Whatever the case, habitat loss is likely to catch up with the Grizzlies soon, especially if major die-offs of ungulates occur, as happened in the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem last winter.

We cannot afford to turn management of Grizzlies back over to state agencies; we must maintain the legal protection of the Endangered Species Act, however shaky it may be. Earth First! submits that the Grizzly should be relisted as *Endangered* in the Lower 48!

## POLLHAVEN: Grizzly Management Canadian Style

Pollhaven, an 80-square mile area in southern Alberta, was once part of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in the Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem. Now it is ruled by ranchers and has become a death-trap for Canadian and American Grizzly Bears, thanks to the Alberta Provincial Government. Pollhaven borders on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation and Glacier Park in Montana and on Waterton Lakes National Park in Alberta. It contains 54 square kilometers of public (Crown) land and 26 sq km of private. In 1947 the Pollhaven area was removed from Waterton Park. In 1983 it was removed from the Forest Reserve system and placed under the Public Lands Division as a concession to cattlemen.

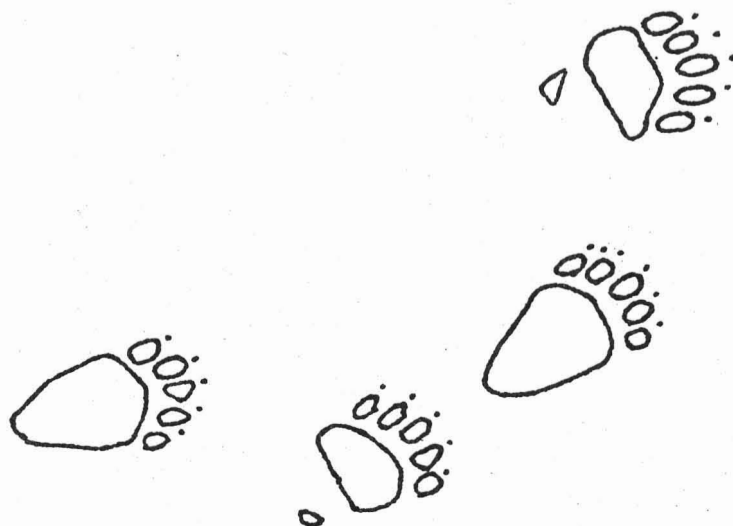
Canada offers Grizzlies no legal protection. Since 1982 at least 59 Grizzlies have been removed from the NDCE Grizzly population in southern Alberta, mostly due to the activities of cattle graziers and the provincial government. Cattlemen in Pollhaven receive full cooperation from the Alberta Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Division — this for the sake of 600 head of cattle grazed for 4 months a year by the 42 members of the Pollhaven Grazing Association. Brian Horejsi of Western Wildlife Environments in Alberta estimates that Alberta taxpayers subsidize stockmen at \$20 per year for each cow grazed in Pollhaven. The 1988 Pollhaven plan allows unregulated killing of Grizzlies, and proposes increased grazing, roading, mineral production, petroleum and natural gas exploration, and motorized recreation.

The 1988 wolf campaign in British Columbia demonstrated that US activists can have an impact on wildlife management decisions in Canada. Next summer we can focus attention on Pollhaven with trans-border demonstrations along the US-Canadian Border following the 1990 RRR in Montana. Meanwhile, write to the Alberta Minister of Forests, Lands and Wildlife and demand an end to exploitation of the Pollhaven area and protection of US and Canadian Bears. Ask that Pollhaven be declared a Natural Area or Wildlife Sanctuary. Send the GBTF copies of replies.

\*Honorable Leroy Fjordbotten, Minister of Forests, Lands and Wildlife, 418 Legislature Bldg, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5K 2B6.

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE GBTF NEWS!

If you would like to receive the quarterly GBTF newsletter, write us. Include a contribution to cover costs if possible. Also send articles, artwork and information of interest to the GBTF at POB 6151, Bozeman, MT 59715 (406) 587-3356



# Social Ecology and Deep Ecology Meet

by Bill Weinberg

"The Great Debate." That's what people were calling it for weeks in advance. The meeting between "Deep Ecology" and "Social Ecology" — and more specifically between Murray Bookchin, Social Ecology theorist, and Dave Foreman, co-founder of Earth First!, which subscribes to "Deep Ecology" — was organized by the Learning Alliance, New York City's community and social concerns education and organizing group.

As our civilization continues to gobble up the planet, the environmental movement is still a marginal voice. Increasingly, politicians and even businessmen are paying lip service to it, but it is still not a political force that can seriously contend with the entrenched economic and political interests working to destroy the biosphere. And there is the danger that as the environmental movement itself becomes an entrenched political interest, carving for itself a comfortable niche in the prevailing power structure, it will become irrelevant and lose sight of its mission.

Hence the need for a radical environmental movement — one recognizing that there is no time left for compromise, one willing, when necessary, to take a militant stand.

This radical movement does exist, but it is a marginal voice even within the already marginal voice of environmentalism. And even within this radical movement there are bitter divisions. The one that has received the most play in media (or at least the alternative media — *The Nation*, *Utne Reader*, etc.) is between Deep Ecology and Social Ecology — between the "biocentric" philosophy which places the welfare of the wilderness and the planet before that of human beings, and the libertarian-left philosophy which sees social transformation as the key to saving the environment.

So it is within the context of massive environmental dilemmas and the large amount of time and energy that has been devoted to this Social Ecology vs. Deep Ecology debate that the Learning Alliance called together Dave Foreman and Murray Bookchin. The Learning Alliance has worked for years to heal the wounds within the radical environmental movement. Last spring, it held a public forum with representatives of Deep Ecologist, Social Ecologist, Green, Bioregionalist, and Ecofeminist philosophies along with hundreds of participants from throughout the Northeast. This work continued with the invitations to Fore-

man and Bookchin. After the arrest and harassment of Dave Foreman and other Earth Firsters by the FBI, an agreement was made for public dialogue with both Foreman and Bookchin on 5 November 1989 to attempt to heal the split in the movement.

Those who anticipated fireworks were disappointed. Bookchin, who spoke first, set the tone of reconciliation, declaring that he stands "shoulder to shoulder with everyone in Earth First! who is trying to save the wilderness." He emphasized his own love of wilderness. He did implore EF! to seriously consider the question of "who is the 'us' we have to save the wilderness from?" He gave an ominous warning of where irrational extremism can lead — a warning that is perhaps also an explanation for Bookchin's own concern with the lingering threat of fascism: "All my relatives in Europe are dead — they were slaughtered!" But he finished his opening remarks, as he began them, with a clear expression of solidarity. Stating that he too has been the victim of FBI harassment, he declared that "we must oppose the FBI's attempt to paint the ecology movement as terrorist. And Dave is on the front line of that question."

Foreman began by looking back at his own political journey which led him from active involvement to disillusionment with mainstream environmental politics. He spoke of how environmental organizations' willingness to compromise on the issues grew in proportion with influence and access to Capitol Hill. The adversarial relation waned as the environmental lobbyists and politicians began to see each other as members of the same elite club of power brokers. "If you organize yourself like a corporation, you start to think like a corporation," said Foreman. Foreman believes that EF!'s environmental extremism has helped redefine the terms of the debate. "In the early years of the Reagan administration, the Sierra Club was considered extremist. They aren't anymore. We allow Sierra Club and other groups to take stronger positions yet appear more moderate than they did back then."

Foreman expounded upon what motivates him: "We may lose one-third of all species in the next 20 years. This is the greatest wave of species extinction in the 3.5 billion year history of planetary evolution — greater than the end of the Cretaceous — due to multinational greed."

Foreman recognized that multinational greed is also the monolith faced by those struggling for human dignity and social justice. "We have the same battle no matter

what we emphasize." In simple terms, he illustrated how the same mindset is a threat to both human freedom and environmental sanity. "Gifford Pinchot, the founder of the US Forest Service, said that there are only two things on Earth: people and natural resources. For the likes of [New York real estate tycoon] Donald Trump, there is only one thing on Earth: natural resources." In other words, seeing the Earth as merely something to be exploited leads to seeing humans in the same way.

Bookchin emphasized that the traditional left, which has raised the issues of domination of human by human, has failed to question the domination of "the natural world" by humans. Therefore, he believes, Marxism doesn't go far enough. But Bookchin feels that he must remind some ecologists that the opposite tendency also has its dangers. "If we don't feel compassion for ourselves and the suffering peoples of the world, how can we feel it for the natural world? We must bring in the human equation profoundly, and have respect for the human spirit. That is what I take from the left."

Juxtaposed against the extremism of Foreman and Bookchin, the day also included comments from Linda Davidoff, executive director of the Parks Council, a New York City environmental advocacy group. Davidoff's role was to highlight recent environmental efforts within New York (including the development of an environmental platform and initiatives by a coalition of over 200 environmental and community organizations) and to offer a moderate perspective which Foreman and Bookchin could agree to disagree with. "We live in a stable society with democratic institutions and there is something to be said for working within the system," offered Davidoff.

"We are not living with a stable society," said Foreman. "Within my lifetime, the greed will come to a head." Citing the destruction of the Northwest forests for the sake of a fast buck as one example of our short-sighted behavior which will ultimately pull the rug out from under our own economic infrastructure, Foreman defined what he sees as his own role in the struggle. "Greens and bioregionalists are working on creating the new society. I'm just trying to save as much as possible from the dollar before the shit hits the fan." Bookchin also denied that we live in a stable society. "This society is rotten to the core, and getting more and more rotten, even though they keep shining and polishing the skin to try to hide

it.... We have to create countervailing institutions to the state and the large corporation. We have to lean on the left libertarian tradition, but it's alright if a few right libertarians come along. We need fundamental changes."

Panelist Jim Haughton, of the black community group Harlem Fight Back, had been chosen by the Learning Alliance to raise the particularly thorny issue of racism. The question of racism is central to ecological concerns, argued Haughton, yet there is very little black participation in the ecology movement, and there is an obvious split between social and ecological issues in modern politics. Haughton asked Foreman and Bookchin how they envision bridging this gap.

Foreman admitted that he didn't have the answer to this question, but emphasized that "you shouldn't let a lack of answers stop you from acting," and gave examples of efforts by Earth Firsters to bridge the gap, such as cooperating with local Afro-American groups to fight a Los Angeles toxic incinerator. Citing the prevalence of AIDS in urban ghettos, Bookchin warned that genocide is still a reality today. He sees the racial crisis, no less than the ecological crisis, as an indication of the need for a "new politics" representing a radical and uncompromising break with the old system.

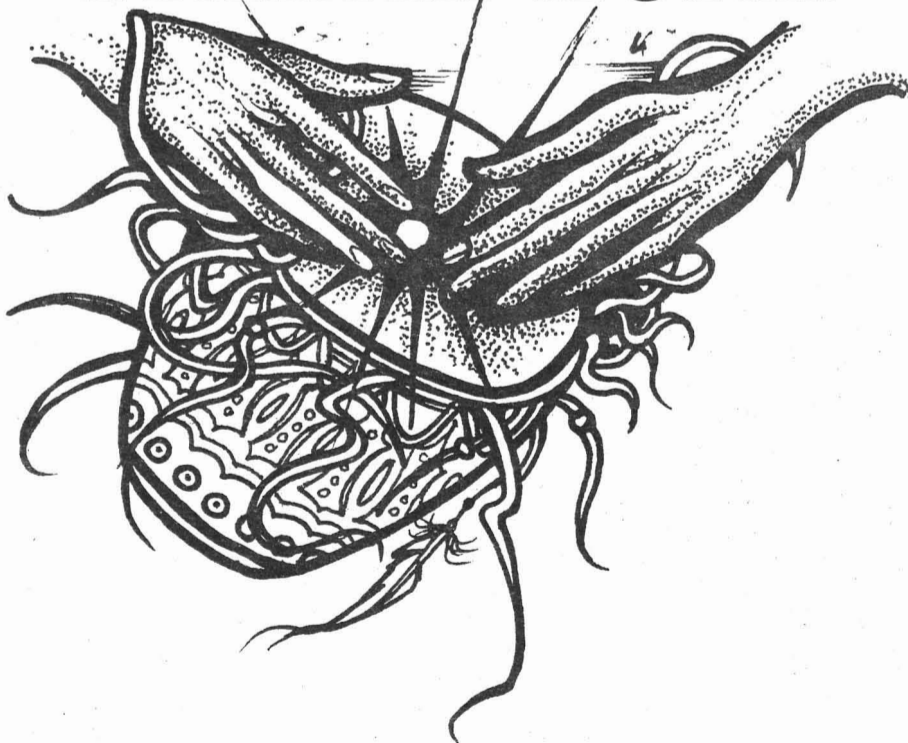
Many questions were raised, aided by the moderator, Paul McIssac. They weren't all answered that day, but dialogue, rather than debate and name-calling, prevailed.

"The very real differences in the radical ecological movement still exist. Yet there is very real hope for continued dialogue and mutual support amongst all those who have committed themselves to very real change," says David Levine of the Learning Alliance. He left the participants with a challenge to continue to ask the critical questions, but, as importantly, to seek the answers and work together for the solutions. "It is too easy to bicker amongst ourselves. But our challenge is to be of mutual support. If Bookchin and Foreman can do it, perhaps it's time for many others of us to move to the next step."

Audio and video cassettes of the forum are available through the Learning Alliance, 494 Broadway, New York, NY 10012; 212-226-7171. Also available is a free catalog of their programs.

Bill Weinberg is a writer in New York who is writing a book on the ecology crisis in Central America.

## TRIBAL LORE



## Hardrock Mining Boom Looms

Hardrock mining is one of the most environmentally destructive practices on public lands today. Yet the public has very little control over how and where mining takes place due to the antiquated 1872 "Right to Mine" law which favors mining over all other activities. The mining industry has tenaciously defended the 1872 mining law, and has succeeded in weakening the Wilderness Act of 1964 by demanding that all existing leases in designated Wilderness be declared valid. Fortunately all undeveloped leases expired in 1984.

Hardrock mining has given Montana the Berkeley Pit and the largest Superfund site in the nation, along the Clark Fork River. Every major river drainage in the state has

been affected negatively by hardrock mining, and 1320 miles of river have been polluted by heavy metals from mining operations. Now a new mining boom threatens to further degrade our public lands. In Montana, the Forest Service reported 246 new plans for mines in 1988, compared to 116 in 1987. Forty-three gold mines are in the development stage, in places like the Sweetgrass Hills (sacred to the Blackfeet), Jardine (3 miles from Yellowstone Park and in critical Grizzly habitat), and Fisher and Miller Creeks near Cooke City (already degraded by old mines but still fairly wild and on the edge of the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness).

The gold mining boom is the result of

the development of a new extraction process called "heap-leaching," wherein huge quantities of ore are processed with cyanide solution to extract often minute gold deposits. It is the massive scale of these operations that make them profitable and extremely destructive. The cyanide solution is spread in shallow leach-ponds and the leachate collected for the concentrated gold. This solution is highly toxic and spills are inevitable. The Jardine mine threatens Bear Creek, water supply for the town of Gardiner, trout spawning stream, tributary of the Yellowstone River. The Golden-Sunlight mine near Whitehall, Montana is a massive heap-leach operation. Two families that live nearby are suing the company, claiming contamination of their water supply, yet the mine is due for major expansion. Cyanide contamination has occurred at other mines near Lewis and Elkhorn.

Gold mining is not the only boom in progress. A huge vein of platinum and palladium, the only one of its kind in the US, is being exploited on the northern edge of the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness. One mine is already in operation and another planned for the pristine Boulder River drainage. A platinum smelter is planned for the area and a chrome smelter (perhaps the most heavily polluting kinds of smelters) for Yellowstone County.

This is just a sampling of the messes mines have produced. Learn about hardrock mining and watch closely as plans develop for new mines. Watch for public hearings in your area. Demand of your representatives that such hearings be held. [ed. note: *The mining threat is also widespread in California, Nevada and elsewhere.*]

The Northern Plains Resource Council provided much of the information in this article: NPRC, 419 Stapleton Bldg, Billings, MT 59101 (406) 248-1154.

POSTSCRIPT: Since the above was written, details have emerged about the mine proposed for the Crown Butte/Daisy Pass area near Cooke City. This area has a long history of mining, but the proposed New World Project would be far bigger than any mine there previously. The schedule includes 2.5-3.5 years of study, 1.5 years of mill and mine construction, and 8-12 years of operation.

The mine would produce 1000-1500 tons per day of ore containing gold and copper. The mine would actually consist of 2 open pit mines and 1 underground mine, to be accompanied by a mill, tailings pond, waste rock dump, and "associated facilities." Land ownership of the proposed mine site is part private, part public (Gallatin NF). The site is about 8 miles from Yellowstone NP and even nearer the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness. Much of it is Situation 1 Grizzly Habitat. The headwaters of Soda Butte Creek and Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone (proposed for Wild & Scenic) would be affected. Reclamation at the 8500-10,500 foot elevations would be nearly impossible. Seven state and federal agencies would have jurisdiction over specific parts of the project — creating management chaos.

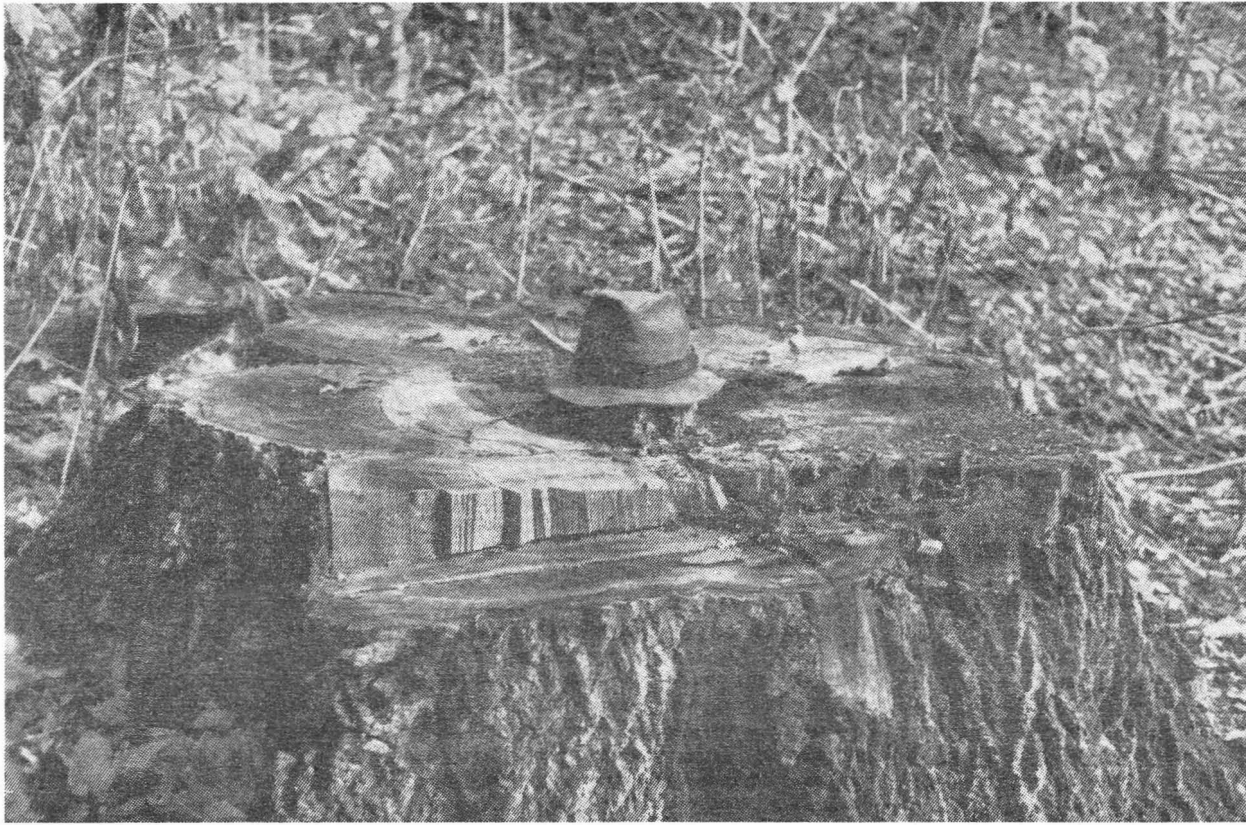
—Phil Knight

## Three Rivers EF! Defends Rager Mtn

ed. note: *The following is from the Winter Solstice newsletter of Three Rivers Earth First!, a new group in the Pittsburgh area focusing its efforts on the Timber Rattlesnake, Black Bear, Monongahela National Forest, and Rager Mountain. To subscribe or contribute to the newsletter, write: deh 'Airt, Mail Blvd #128, Monroeville, PA 15146.*

On a dark and stormy night in 1977, when 12 inches of rain fell in a few short hours, Laurel Run burst its dam, freeing itself from the shackles of human engineering, and removed 146 humans from the scene. Now, in seeming payback, The Run, its entire watershed, and the mountain it nourishes, are being destroyed. Logging already under way is to be followed by stripmining of the entire 10,000 plus acre eastern slope of Rager Mountain. Standing between the mountain and certain death is a small band of mountain residents, Earth Firsters from Three Rivers and Pennsylvania EF!, members of the central Pennsylvania Audubon Society and other environmental activists.

Rager Mountain is part of Laurel Ridge, itself part of the Allegheny range of the Appalachians. It lies due north of Johnstown



From old growth oak to hat stand (hat size 7 5/8) in 30 seconds. This tree on Rager Mountain, PA, was 225 years old when marked with blue for cutting.

and south of Rt.22 in west-central Pennsylvania. Laurel Run starts on the east face of Rager Mountain and flows along its lower slopes, emptying into the Conemaugh River in Johnstown. The east face of Rager has an extensive network of feeder creeks emanating from hollows below the ridge.

A climax hardwood forest dominates the slope, primarily oak and beech ranging in age from 150-300 years old. Hemlock and Mountain Laurel grow densely along the waterways. Mountain Laurel is also found along the sandstone formations dotting the mountainside. Rager is home to the Timber Rattlesnake, hawks, Turkey Vulture, Ring-necked Pheasant [an exotic species in North America], Brook Trout (native to PA), Black Bear, Coyote, Eastern Woodrat, and possibly Eastern Cougar, along with many other fine folks.

In the aftermath of the 1977 flood, the Johnstown Water Authority, owner of the dam and watershed, sold its 4000 acre holding to the Lyme Timber Company of New Hampshire. The mineral rights, formerly the property of Beth Energy (a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel) were reportedly sold to Lyme Timber very recently. Lyme has contracted PA coal baron Martin Bearer to extract the coal. Test hole drilling on the mountain has already been completed by one of his companies.

Any time now, the application may be filed for permission to strip all or any portion of Rager. The Committee to Preserve Rager Mountain will oppose this application within the administrative channels of DER (Department of Environmental Resources), and into the courts if necessary. The committee is also about to file its own petition with DER, asking that the Laurel Run Watershed be declared unsuitable for stripmining. With the preparations for this battle well in hand, attention is now turning to the logging which is destroying the fabric of life on Rager Mountain as you read this.

DER has promulgated regulations that ought to be brought to bear on the logging and on the proposed strip mine; the regulations apply to both public and private land, and Rager includes both. On Rager Mountain's southwest slope is a 2000 acre parcel of State Forest. Rager Mountain's east face south of the Laurel Run watershed includes 4000-6000 acres held in public trust by the Johnstown Water Authority; this land constitutes the Red Run watershed. Much of the ridge top is held by People's Natural Gas, which stores natural gas in an "impermeable" layer deep within/below the mountain. The remainder of the land is privately held (on the east face, by the mountain's human residents).

When Lyme Timber bought the land, they promised to manage for sustainable cutting of oak. Logging in the first few years reflected this objective. However, over the past few years logging has become indiscriminate. Along with one major clearcut there are numerous new cuts that insult the idea of selective/sustainable timber cutting. In a forest dominated by old oaks, every old oak is being cut. Oak slabs left over from milling are being used to fill up the creeks, allowing machinery to pass. Sawdust and mud are flowing into and silting up the streams.

The damage being done to the streams may be in violation of the regulations of the DER and the PA Fish Commission. However, as of now, no agency is willing to admit

jurisdiction in this matter, let alone investigate the logging. The DER recently passed regulation that would keep the cutting 75 feet from any waterway on private lands, thus at least preserving the forest canopy along the creeks. But the state legislature, responding to the cries of the logging industry, has moved to prevent the publication of this new regulation, and without publication the regulation has not the force of law. Consequently, public protest to make the story known is the only legal route open to those wanting to save Rager Mountain.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** Go walk Rager Mountain; know what you're fighting for and you'll fight better. I conduct tours there every Sunday, from pristine ecosystems to clearcuts. Come to a meeting of the Committee to Preserve Rager, every Sunday at 4 PM, and learn how to help. We need people to do library research, contact various government officials, document violations of environmental laws, and generally provide moral support for the mountain residents who are the real heroes and heroines of this battle.

**Epilogue:** After the above was written, Three Rivers EF! blitzed a PA Fish Commission public hearing to speak in defense of the native Brook Trout of Laurel Run and to insist that the Commission take action to defend Laurel Run from logging and stripmining. We also raised the issue of the Commission's role in managing the Timber Rattlesnake for extinction.

As a result of Andrew Weisburd's involvement with the Committee to Preserve Rager Mountain, a central Pennsylvania EF! group is only a motion away. We've received numerous inquiries from Journal readers in eastern Pennsylvania. Unfortunately many of these were lost in a recent household disaster. So if you want to get active in EF! and you're east of Harrisburg, write to PAEF!, c/o deh'Airte, 322 Mall Blvd #128, Monroeville, PA 15146.

## Allegany Thwarts Nuke Purveyors

Since January 1989, the residents and neighbors of Allegany County, New York have been fighting against nuclear power and its waste. When Allegany learned that New York's LLRW ["Low" Level Radioactive Waste] Siting Commission had pegged it as one of 10 potential areas for a nuclear waste dump, 5000 disparate but united individuals jammed a public hearing at the Belfast Central School to tell commission members, "We don't make it; we don't use it; we don't want it!"

Countless meetings, rallies, marches, etc., followed this auspicious plunge into eco-political awareness. Being poor, Republican and rural in New York is no reason to accept the industry's demand for a sacrificial victim, says Allegany County. Early in the process, Allegany challenged the constitutionality of a federal mandate requiring that the states wash the dirty laundry of the nuke business. It initiated state and federal court proceedings and called for a halt to the siting process. It has lobbied, and begun talks with citizen groups in other states. It has engaged in massive acts of civil disobedience....

In September 1989, Allegany learned that, in the state radiation game, it contained 3 of 5 final sites for consideration. Cortland County held the other 2. The elimination procedure that identified nuke sites brought the region's determination to a fever pitch.

So far, all of Allegany's battles have been non-violent and, for the most part, successful.

On December 13, the siting commission's technical team, attempting to perform a "walkover" or pre-characterization study to narrow choices to a final ground, was flushed from the wooded Allen site and then encircled by 100 people on the Old State Road. The protesters, trained in civil disobedience, anticipated mass arrest but, after 4 hours in the frigid air, rejoiced to learn that the only charge to be levied would apply against the team whose members trespassed on farmland not included on the site.

On January 16, the state returned for a "walkover" at Caneadea. Human barricades at critical intersections to the site rejected the commission team, escorted by the local sheriff's department, 4 times. In its last approach, the team had the assistance of state police. Eight protesters were arrested for disorderly conduct before police acknowledged the futility of their own action. Hundreds of Allegany representatives were waiting in defense. Two days later, in a similar action involving hundreds at the West Almond site, 31 protesters were arrested for disorderly conduct in obstructing nuclear progress. Though the radiation delegation promises to return again and again, so far in 1990 it has yet to step closer than half a mile from these sites on Allegany's sacred ground.

—Walt Franklin, Rexville, NY



Photo by Orin Langlelle

A fat pig in a suit demands to fill out a job application for Shawnee NF director Rod Sallee's position. The pig insisted it had all the qualifications for the job. "Just look at me," it squealed.

## EF! Surprises Forest Service on Pearl Harbor Day

On December 7, Earth First! staged an attack at the Shawnee National Forest Headquarters in Harrisburg, Illinois. Protesters from Big River EF! and Southern Illinois EF! demanded an immediate moratorium on timber cutting in the Shawnee National Forest.

The protesters, some dressed as animals or trees, met with newly appointed Shawnee NF public relations man, Tom Hagerty. One demonstrator, dressed as a fat pig in a suit, demanded a job application to replace the

obese director, Rod Sallee. An endangered Indiana Bat commanded that the forest be left alone. Amidst recorded sounds of chainsaws, logging skidders, and falling trees, EF!ers stated that Sallee was too fat and lazy to go out in the Shawnee to see its destruction.

Hagerty asked the demonstrators to select a representative so he could meet one on one and hear EF!'s complaints. The EF!ers refused, stating they were tired of being lied to.

Hagerty asked the protesters to leave, when the chanting became too loud. Illinois state police positioned themselves in cars across the street and a trooper was in the lobby. Finally the protesters moved peacefully outside, where they attacked a chainsaw and encouraged passing motorists to honk for the Shawnee.

An EF!er explained to a local TV station crew that EF! will escalate its defense of the Shawnee. A reporter asked if that meant spiking trees. The EF!er replied, "No, we don't do that; but we're not responsible for the actions of individuals in their own communities."

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** Plan to come to the April Fools Midregion Rendezvous in the Shawnee NF, March 30-April 1. For information, contact John at 618-939-3697, or Orin at 314-257-2437; or write Big River EF!, POB 189, Pacific, MO 63069.

—Orin Langlelle, Big River EF!

## Wapin' EF! Starts EF! Restoration Corps

In an effort to combat the dual scourges of natural area desecration and waistline protuberance, Wapin' Earth First! sponsored a slew of activities in the woods in 1989. Early in the year, we planted 400 trees and erected a series of ORV barriers on public land (legally, no less). An October outing introduced a new concept: the EF! Restoration Corps.

On a glorious sunny day, over 30 EF!ers gathered to protect and regenerate a 10-acre parcel in the Pinckney State Recreation Area. The site had been abused illegally by ORVs for years, denuding the land and causing formation of large gullies in the steep glacial hillsides. We dispatched teams into two areas. While one group erected a set of 19 ORV barriers around a parking area, the other began healing the scars. Several folks staked in bales of hay to arrest further erosion, some spread 200 pounds of grass seed, and others planted Red Pine seedlings, all of which were supplied by the park director. By day's end, we'd planted 1000 trees, and what had been a huge sandy blowout became a regenerating forest grove.

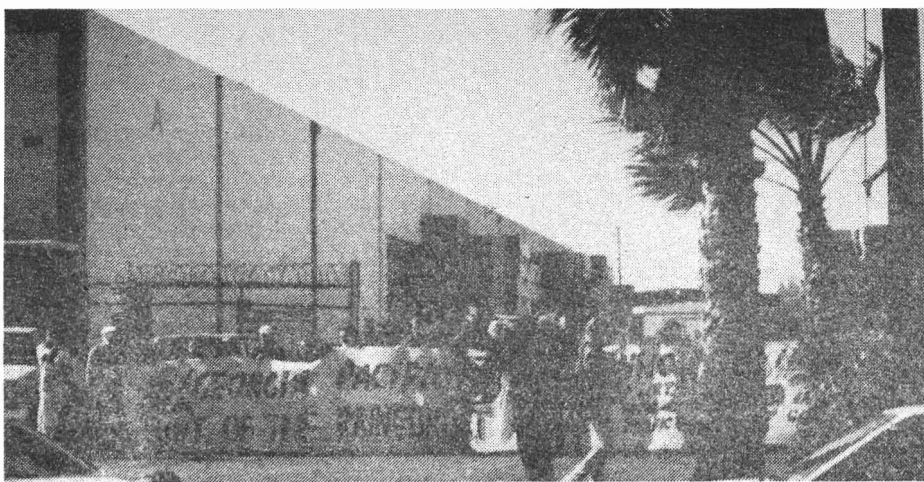
A recent check of the site found the barriers in place, the grass sprouting, and the trees green and full of life. While a laudable beginning, the day's work has caused us to more closely examine the concept of authentic site restoration.

Red Pine and rye grass are not the native species for the site, but were used for several reasons. First, the area was so badly scarred, steep and sandy that nothing had grown there for years; none of the adjacent native species (Quaking Aspen, Red Oak, Shagbark Hickory, grasses) had been able to colonize the site. Red Pine is native to both Michigan peninsulas, but was not originally found this far south. It is, however, "characteristic of well-drained, dry, highly acidic soils of outwash plains and gravelly ridges ... [and] not competitive with hardwoods on the better (heavier textured) soils ..." (Barnes and Wagner, *Michigan Trees*). We hope that the Red Pines will stabilize the soil so that the hardwoods can then migrate and take over. Second, it is very difficult to obtain native species of trees and other plants, especially in the fall. Most nurseries specialize in the more exotic species, and even the state nursery's list of what it makes available is half foreign species, including the Autumn Olive, widely recognized by naturalists and botanists as the scourge of the planet. Third, it was the end of World Rainforest Week and we wanted to capitalize on the energies the events had initiated. Fourth, as mentioned earlier, the trees and grass seed were provided free by an over-worked, well-meaning but uneducated (in the ways of biodiversity) park director who has now been primed to let us do some more accurate projects in the future.

Something is usually better than nothing, but true restoration is best. This is a learning process for all involved, and much more needs to be researched and applied. We are seeking other parcels of damaged land, private or public, for which we will, to the best of our abilities, determine what is appropriate (and available) for the particular area. Over \$200 has already been raised for tree planting around Earth Day.

EF!ers are often portrayed as 'gruff, macho sweatshops who care mostly about who's paying for the next case of beer. As in Alaska with the oil spill cleanup, EF!ers can

continued on page 12



Los Angeles activists block the entrance to a Georgia-Pacific lumber yard.

## Tribal Lore . . .

continued from page 11  
demonstrate "how things should be done," and in so doing more directly feel a part of the mother that keeps us.

—Bob Treemore, Wapin' EF!

### L.A. EF! Ruins

#### Georgia-Pacific Lunch Hour

On 12 December 1989, members of Los Angeles Earth First! and the Rainforest Action Network descended on a Georgia-Pacific timber yard in the San Fernando Valley, to protest that company's use of hardwoods from tropical rainforests.

Activists stood with banners stretched across the entrance to the mill yard, stopping most truck traffic for the noon hour. One trucker, however, who hailed from Chino, site of a well-known southern California institution for the criminally dangerous, chose to run the blockade (slowly), pushing some valiant demonstrators into the yard. This group fought another losing battle against technology, finding they were unable to stop the truck by standing and pushing against it.

The demonstrators were quickly surrounded by angry GP employees, unsettled by the demon masks and near-nude mud-and-straw attire sported by some of the protesters. One GP yard hand held a crowbar; another flashed a running chainsaw at the group, then began yelling about abortion and the rights of unborn babies, who, he reasoned, couldn't enjoy the forests whether they were preserved or not.

The tree-huggers were able to disengage from the tree-cutters without further incident, and the group dispatched just as L.A.'s finest rolled up to issue arrest warnings. Many said they would return to engender further dyspepsia during future lunch breaks at GP.

—Mark Williams, L.A. EF!

### L.A. EF! Waxes Theatrical

At noon on December 22, EF! held an emergency demonstration for the Headwaters Forest at Maxxam Corp.'s offices in Los Angeles on the corner of Wilshire and Westwood, a few blocks from the alleged heaviest traffic for motor vehicles in the world. Maxxam plans to cut much of this old-growth Coast Redwood forest, southeast of Eureka in Humboldt County, very soon [see TL piece on CA initiatives below]. During the protest, Peter Bralver and Mark Andrews were chained to the doors to shut down the front of the building, while 40-50 other EF!ers occupied the steps. Bralver, wearing a semi-mathematically inscribed Coyote mask, claimed to incarnate the principle of the resurrection of wilderness as the Coyote god; while Andrews, a philosopher and activist wearing the mask of a turncoat corporate demon, lectured the crowd and media. Finally, on camera, Coyote unmasked and miraculously stepped from his chains, and Andrews unmasked to be cut loose with bolt cutters by kneeling police. Across the street, the Oxy Petroleum building seemed to cower from the winter thunder.

L.A. EF! has been active on other fronts as well recently. We held a protest at a Georgia-Pacific timber yard [see above]; led a hike in the northern Santa Monicas; infiltrated Hollywood movie-making; started a street theater group; assisted in illegal picnicking operations in Renaissance garb to protect land from condemnation for development; and began planning a Los Angeles EF! rendezvous and Earth Day events.

—Stalking Yuccaskins, L.A.EF!

### Yellowstone Park Log Haul Canceled!

James Ridenour, National Park Service Director, has denied permission for Brand S Lumber of Livingston, Montana to run logging trucks through Yellowstone Park, thus upholding a law banning commercial truck-

ing in Yellowstone. Brand S appealed the decision, but Ridenour did not change his mind. Readers may wish to thank Ridenour for this uncommonly good decision: NPS Director James Ridenour, Interior Dept, 18th & C Sts, DC 20240.

### Missile Destruction Befouls Colorado Air

As a result of efforts by Senator Tim Wirth (D-CO), the US Army will spend up to \$12.5 million in the next 2 years studying how to destroy missiles without polluting the air. Meanwhile, it will use its current harmful method to dispose of Pershings under the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, in Pueblo, Colorado, and east Texas — burning the solid rocket fuel in the open air and then crushing the missiles. Ross Vincent of the Rocky Mountain Chapter of the Sierra Club, which fought this burn procedure, says the propellant is "legally a hazardous waste and that better and safer methods [are] available and should be required." Funding for the study, which was attached to the Defense Department Appropriations Bill, depends on the department reporting to Congress by spring on how it will spend the money. Would that the DOD had to explain all its appropriations!

—Mary Davis, Georgetown, KY

### FBI Uses Familiar Tactics Against Peace Movement

The following report is condensed from a mailing of the Alan Thomson Defense Fund dated June 19, but received in October. For further details, contact the fund at 163 Third Ave, Suite 108, NYC 10003; 212-979-7389.

Earlier this year the FBI arrested the Reverend Alan Thomson, executive director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He is accused of not having reported \$17,000 that he deposited in NCASF's bank account 2 years ago. Supporters of Thomson, who have created the Alan Thomson Defense Fund, charge that the arrest is part of an attempt to discredit and intimidate the peace movement and to help end the relaxation of East-West tensions.

The NCASF promotes friendship between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by means of cultural exchanges, visits of Americans to the USSR, and distribution of educational materials. It has an office in New York, but is composed of autonomous local groups.

Authorities have opposed NCASF for years. In 1953, for example, the US Attorney General characterized it as subversive; and in 1986 a State Department report to Congress charged that the NCASF is controlled by the USSR.

One of the FBI's agents, Barbara Makuch, became a leader at the local level, in Buffalo, and at the national level. She tried to steer NCASF activities in a direction helpful to the FBI and secretly recorded conversations she had with Thomson in person and by phone. The FBI has in its possession at least 76 reels of relevant tapes, but has allowed Thomson's lawyers access to only a few of them. All this should sound familiar to those following the Arizona Four case.

—Mary Davis

### Colorado Wilderness and the Senate Race

Senator Bill Armstrong, who has so far successfully blocked the Colorado National Forest wilderness bill, is planning to retire and this offers a chance to achieve protection for some of the Southern Rockies' remaining wildlands. Representative Hank Brown is running unopposed for the Republican nomination to fill Armstrong's seat, and is raising an enormous war chest. He is generally anti-wilderness and is a vociferous opponent of the South Platte River's remaining undammed stretch at Two Forks (he is pro-dam).

On the Democratic side, neither Representative Ben Nighthorse Campbell nor Representative Skaggs decided to run for the Senate. This is fortunate in the case of

Campbell, a rancher who aggressively represents his bovine constituency, but a shame in the case of Skaggs, a moderate environmentalist who would have been a strong candidate.

Neither of the two declared Democratic candidates, Buie Seawell and Carlos Lucero, have held public office before. Both Seawell, a party functionary, and Lucero, a lawyer, support Senator Wirth's wilderness bill. Both oppose Two Forks dam, though Seawell initially supported it.

Both Democrats support destruction of the Animas River with a giant dam, though Lucero is probably less likely than Seawell to legislatively overturn a possible court ruling blocking the dam (the Animas River is critical habitat for three Endangered fish). Neither will commit to supporting reserved water rights for a future BLM wilderness bill. Though the concept of reserved water rights for Wilderness has been upheld by a federal court, without legislative support low-lying Wildernesses could be drained for agriculture or urban metastasis.

Lucero wants to introduce environmental issues into US foreign trade and lending policies. He cites cheap imports of rain-forest beef as one area that needs changing. Overall, Lucero would likely be a strong environmentalist (albeit, by the ecocidal standards of the US Senate).

Josie Heath, a Boulder County Commissioner, has an excellent environmental record. She is the only elected Democrat considering a Senate bid. Like Seawell and Lucero, she supports the Wirth bill and opposes Two Forks dam. She has promoted county land purchases to prevent development and has voted to restrict development in flood plains. She has supported bicycle paths in Boulder as an alternative to cars, and she personally commutes by bus. She tried to get leghold traps banned in Boulder County, but was overruled by the state Division of Wildlife. Heath is a life member of the Sierra Club, and probably has the strongest personal commitment to wilderness of all the Senate candidates.

Unfortunately, Republican Representative Brown has the upper hand in early publicity and fundraising. His current congressional seat also gives him an edge. He has refused to endorse the minuscule Wirth wilderness bill, and if elected will likely continue Armstrong's obstructionism until the acreage is reduced even further and an anti-water rights guarantee is written to cover a future BLM wilderness bill. In short, any Democrat would be better than Brown; Heath would be the best advocate for natural diversity.

In other Colorado wilderness news, this November a giant bear track was found by an outfitter in the San Juan Mountains, raising hopes that Grizzlies still hang on there. Meanwhile, logging preparatory for construction of the East Fork ski resort has started in prime San Juan Griz habitat. The successful monkeywrenching in Bowen Gulch, however, may just be the visible tip of the proverbial iceberg, as reports have surfaced of damage to Denver Water Board diversion equipment in the Frasier River Valley and of more tree spikings. Where those crafty mechanics and carpenter helpers will strike next, you just never know.

—Michael Robinson, COEF!

### National Day of Outrage Against Oil

Exxon's massacre of many of Alaska's southern coastal ecosystems was not unprecedented. Almost every day, oil spills on land, seas, and rivers further unravel Earth's tapestry of life. A recent spill off Morocco's Atlantic coastline may well dwarf the destruction in Prince William Sound; and last year's pipeline rupture in the Yampa River of Colorado has apparently caused a 90% cent decline in the spawning success of the Colorado Humpback Chub: the Yampa is considered the best habitat of this Endangered species.

The oil industry also destroys wilderness through drilling. Massive equipment and roads are required to test for the presence of oil, and if it is discovered, permanent industrial installations displace wildlife. Currently, in the US drilling threatens thousands of miles of coastline, the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, to name just a few places. In Ecuador, drilling threatens a rainforest national park.

Oil production also has social impacts that reverberate through the natural world. In South Yemen, oil revenues have allowed former tribesmen to satiate their desire for symbols of potency by paying enormous sums to poachers killing the last rhinoceroses for their horns. The several wars and frequent Israeli military maneuvers in the oil rich Sinai Peninsula have had tremendous impacts on the former desert bridge (before the Suez Canal was built) between Asia and Africa.

And while wildlife habitats die sud-

denly from spills and the invasion of oil extracting equipment, petroleum-induced climatic change requires that plants and animals adapt to new habitat that simply is not available. The oil economy's destructiveness is a "positive feedback" system, a death noose that tightens as its victims struggle.

Meanwhile, most environmentalists assure the public that piecemeal reform is sufficient — that no drastic personal change is necessary. Amory Lovins, the energy-savings guru, is quoted in the Sierra Club's glossy as saying, "We don't have to become vegetarians and ride bicycles to save the Earth." He's wrong. Not only do we have to become vegetarians (at least while meat is produced the way it is currently) and ride bicycles, we have to break down the entire system that produces bicycles — industrialism, which is based on oil.

But first things first: No new areas should be entered for oil production. Cars should be taxed or bombed off the streets, whichever seems most effective, and government and citizens should prepare to be weaned completely from oil within a reasonable time, say by the end of the century. On March 23, the day before the anniversary of the Exxon Valdez oil spill, Earth First! will make these and other unrealistic demands. We will alert the public that Exxon, though thoroughly evil, is no worse than Mobil or Conoco or any other oil company. And we will draw the connections between the various ways oil destroys the natural world.

Actions for the National Day of Outrage Against Oil can range from blockades of drill sites and refineries to memorials at spill sites, from pickets at gas stations to civil disobedience at company headquarters. Groups in Alaska and Canada, as well as the mainland US, plan actions. If you want to participate, please contact me at Box 12243, Boulder, CO 80303. I'll send you a press packet and will coordinate media. Let's once again set the agenda by speaking the ecological truth.

—Michael Robinson

ed. note: The following few Tribal Lore pieces are adapted from newsletters or alerts by some of the better grassroots groups in the country. For more information on these issues, write the addresses given.

### Resort

#### Threatens Adirondacks

ed. note: The following is adapted from an action alert sent out by The Adirondack Council, POB D-2, Elizabethtown, NY 12932-0640. It concerns a development proposed for the shore of Lake Placid, in northeastern Adirondack Park.

The Gleneagles developers are attempting to steamroll their application through the permit-approval process. The developers are waging a public relations campaign to convince local residents that the project will put their village — and the rest of the Adirondacks — in the international spotlight. Your letter to the Adirondack Park Agency (APA), the state-level zoning authority now evaluating the Gleneagles application, can help stop it.

The project would include a 301-room hotel, 316 condos, cottages and townhouses, plus the subdivision of 689 acres of open-space land into 108 building lots around a new golf course. The development would permanently degrade the open-space around Lake Placid. This lovely, open landscape adjoins and buffers publicly-owned Forest Preserve land, protected as "forever wild" by the State Constitution. Approval of this project would likely start a chain reaction of other big resort developments. Adirondack Park could soon be full of Lake Tahoes, Vails, Aspens, Stowes, Killingtons and other upscale, environmentally destructive resorts.

Write: Robert C Glennon, Ex. Dir., APA, Ray Brook, NY 12977

### Virginia EF! Confronts Assorted Atrocities

RICH HOLE WILDERNESS AREA  
The newly designated Rich Hole Wilderness faces several potentially devastating problems:

1. Firewood cutting — Since Hurricane Hugo created abundant downfall in the Rich Hole Wilderness, several local landowners have been gathering firewood within the Wilderness. The Forest Service is doing nothing to prevent this.

2. BARC powerlines — The signs marking the boundary for the Rich Hole Wilderness were put up before a Wilderness Plan was drafted. The marked Wilderness follows Rt. 633 on its northern boundary. BARC powerlines are in places 100-200 feet behind the Wilderness signs. This summer BARC brought their private contractors into the area with chainsaws, chippers, and bushhogs and cleared this section of their powerline. The FS must have forgotten to tell BARC that motorized equipment is prohibited in a Wilderness Area.

3. Trails — Hurricane Hugo blew trees down on 2-3 miles of designated trails within Rich Hole Wilderness. The FS is proposing to clear these trails.

4. No management plan — The Rich Hole Wilderness Citizens Committee had to rush to submit a management plan so that it could be approved by the Forest Supervisor's office by August. Yet as of November 1989, the plan has not been approved. Various local FS employees have said that they can't protect the Wilderness Areas until the management plans have been approved by the supervisor's office. The FS seems to want to let local landowners tear apart the Wilderness Areas before approving the management plans.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** Write the following to protest the above abuses:

\*James River District Ranger William Leichter, 313 S. Monroe Ave, Covington, VA 24426

\*George Washington NF Supervisor's Office, Harrison Plaza, POB 233, Harrisonburg, VA 22801

#### ROUGH MOUNTAIN WILDERNESS

From the Rich Hole Wilderness, standing atop Mill Mountain, you can look across the Padd's Creek Valley and see the Rough Mountain Wilderness. Rough Mountain suffers from illegal CSX firetrails, ATVs, and harassment of Eastern Cougars.

1. CSX firetrails — The Forest Service supposedly has written special use permits for all who use the federal lands for profit. However, the FS allows the CSX railroad to maintain — by means of chainsaws, trucks, and bulldozers — firetrails in Rough Mtn Wilderness even though there is no written agreement for the trails.

2. ATVs — ATVs have been running Rough Mtn for the last 10 years and will continue to do so until the federal government stops them. The FS has failed to arrest or write citations for ATVs in the Wilderness.

3. Cougar harassment — Word is that recently after a Cougar sighting on Rough Mtn was reported, a Virginia Game and Inland Fisheries biologist and US Fish and Wildlife Service biologist trapped the Cougar out. Despite continual reports of Cougar in the Rough Mtn area since the area was settled, the federal government continues to say the Eastern Cougar was extirpated from Virginia in 1881. This prevents the government from having to protect the Eastern Cougar under the Endangered Species Act.

To help fight these abuses of Rough Mountain Wilderness, send letters of protest to:

\*Warm Springs District Ranger Victor Gaines, Rt.2, Box 30, Hot Springs, VA 24445

\*George Washington NF Supervisor's Office, address above

#### CALIFORNIA TIMBER SALE

Crickett and Larry Hammond have waged a long battle to stop the California Timber Sale, arguing that the cumulative effects on Bratton's Run watershed of this sale and the Annie, Cold Sulfer Springs, and Nixon Road Timber Sales should be considered. All appeals of the sale have been rejected. However, the White-fringed Prairie Orchid and other rare and Endangered plants have recently been found within the timber sale area.

#### POND RIDGE

The Mill Mountain Timber Sale has been delayed until the new George Washington NF Forest Plan has been approved. This should take at least two years. For a petition to make Pond Ridge an addition to the Rich Hole Wilderness and to stop the Mill Mtn Timber Sale, write Brenda Vest.

For more information on these issues, write Crickett Hammond, Rt. 1, Box 70-A, Goshen, VA 24439; or Brenda Vest, POB 40, Goshen 24439.

—Virginia Highland EF! News, POB 40, Goshen 24439

## Florida Incinerators May Be Poisoning Panthers

According to *Florida Today* (10-26-89), biologists recently discovered a potentially lethal amount of mercury in a dead Florida Panther, and are conducting studies to see if the problem is widespread. John Oberheu of the US Fish and Wildlife Service reported that the liver of a female Panther that died of unknown causes in Everglades National Park in August contained toxic levels of mercury. Tissue analysis showed 98-110 parts per million of mercury — far above the minimum lethal level for humans, and Panthers are generally smaller than humans, with adults weighing 60-130 pounds. A study of a community of Japanese fishermen in 1957 showed that they were dying from ingesting 2-70 parts per million of mercury in contaminated fish.

Biologists fear that mercury may be passing through the food "chain" — starting with fish — and up to Panthers. Mercury bioaccumulates: It concentrates as it goes up the food chain, and Panthers are at the top trophic level.

The Florida Panther, an Endangered species, is now one of the rarest mammals in the world. Only 25-50 wild Panthers survive in Florida, apparently all in the southern part of the state, and their reproductive rate is extremely low.

In Florida, municipal incinerators are thought to be the largest source of mercury pollution, annually spewing an estimated 20,582 pounds of mercury vapor into the air. Florida has five such incinerators, operated by Dade, Hillsborough, Pinellas and Bay Counties, plus the city of Tampa. All the plants have pollution control devices called "electrostatic precipitators" designed to collect ash particles, but these have no effect on gases such as mercury vapor. The state does not routinely monitor the plants for mercury emissions.

—Waste Not #75 (10-26-89) a publication of Work On Waste (WOW), 82 Judson, Canton, NY 13617; 315-379-9200

ed. note: If you're fighting an incinerator, contact WOW. They've already helped stop hundreds of incinerators.

We've heard rumors that the Fish & Wildlife Service is considering attempting to capture all Florida Panthers surviving in the wild and instituting a captive Panther breeding program. FWS can expect fierce opposition from radical environmentalists should it make such an attempt.—JD

## Rockets to Replace Rare Hawaiian Wildlife

Kailua-Kona, the Big Island of Hawaii, is threatened by the proposed Rocket Launch Facility at Ka'u. This facility would have numerous negative repercussions for Hawaii:

Aluminum oxide released in rocket exhaust (the space shuttle releases 150 tons per launch) would endanger the health of Hawaiians. Launches would also release hydrogen chloride (HCl, a pungent, water-soluble gas), which would combine with water and return to earth as hydrochloric acid — acid rain. Acid rain causes toxic metals bound in the soil to be leached into groundwater.

The rockets would also disturb sea life and damage subtidal areas and estuarine lagoons. Sediments and chemical discharges would contaminate nearby waters.

Sandy beaches near the site proposed for the facility are probable nesting areas of the Green Sea Turtle (*Chelonia mydas*, a Threatened species) and the Hawksbill Sea Turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*, an Endangered species). Turtles are herbivores and graze on marine algae. Changes in water temperature and salinity could affect the algae and thus the turtles. Night lights, sand compaction and extraction, and increased beach activity would also impact turtles.

The Hoonoua wetland would be harmed. Present in this wetland are federally-listed Endangered birds, including Hawaiian Duck or Koloa (*Anas wyvilliana*), Hawaiian Gallinule or 'Alae-'ula (*Gallinula chloropus sandvicensis*), Hawaiian Coot or 'Alae Ke'oke'o (*Fulica americana alai*), and Black-necked Stilt or A'eo (*Himantopus mexicanus knudseni*).

Endangered mammals in the affected area include the Hawaiian Bat or 'ope'ape'a (*Lasiurus cinereus semotus*) and the Humpback Whale (*Megaptera novaengliae*). The Humpback Whale breeding season is from November to June. They congregate in waters of 100 fathoms or less. They are attracted to the banks and secluded bays along the Hawaii coast. The South Point area of the Big Island has a resident pod of Humpbacks. Whales are sensitive to noise.

Tall grasses characterize most of the area, with few trees present. Small crevices where water is often available support more diverse vegetation. Plants federally listed as Endangered that may be present at the Kahilipali site include *Sesbania tomentosa* and *Portulaca hawaiiensis*.

Please tell the politicians you don't want rockets in Hawaii!

\*Senators Donald Riegle and Ernest Hollings, both at Senate, Washington, DC 20510

\*Representatives Bill Nelson and Robert Roe, both at House of Representatives, DC 20515

\*President Bush, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW, DC 20500

—Citizens With Space Concerns, 74-5617 Pawai Place, #102, Kailua-Kona, HI 96740

## Klamath Falls Opposes Klamath River

The City of Klamath Falls, in southwestern Oregon, has proposed another version of its Salt Caves hydroelectric project for the last free-flowing stretch of the Klamath River — this, despite Oregon voters having made the Upper Klamath part of the Oregon Scenic Waterways System by passing the Oregon Rivers Initiative. The latest scheme, dubbed



Wolf Action Group, the new musical rage in Spokane, WA, wandered the downtown streets on Nov. 20 as part of the National Wolf Day. The wolves and their groupies sang, danced and got lots of signatures on a petition calling for the USFWS to stop killing wolves and to start a recovery program.

"Salt IV," was proposed by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) as a "no dam alternative." In fact, it's a no river alternative. The project would divert most of the Klamath's water into a canal and destroy crucial trout habitat.

Meanwhile, the US Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has released a draft Wild & Scenic River Study for a 20 mile stretch of the Upper Klamath along the California/Oregon border. The study concluded that 15 miles of the upper Klamath would be a "worthy addition" to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. The 5 mile stretch above the JC Boyle powerhouse was not found suitable. Wild & Scenic designation would prohibit any hydroelectric development on the Upper Klamath. However, the river must be designated Wild & Scenic before FERC grants a power license for the Salt Caves project, or it may be too late. (*Wilderness Record*, 12-89, California Wilderness Coalition, 2655 Portage Bay East, Suite 5, Davis, CA 95616)

Three earlier versions of the Salt Caves dam were rejected. The "no dam" proposal is a clever last-ditch attempt to drain the wild river into the pockets of a few developers. The City of Klamath Falls must start construction of any Salt Caves hydroelectric project by 1 May 1990, or the \$250,000,000 raised for the project will have to be returned to the bondholders. It would be difficult to refinance a Salt Caves project.

**HOW YOU CAN HELP:** 1) Write Oregon's US representatives and senators: Representatives Les AuCoin, Bob Smith, Ron Wyden, Peter DeFazio, Denny Smith, all at US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515; and senators Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood, Senate, DC 20510. If the Klamath River is drained, it will be because the Oregon congressional delegation failed to act. The best way to ensure no Salt Caves project is ever built is to include the Upper Klamath in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. 2) Write Governor Neil Goldschmidt, 254 State Capitol, Salem, OR 97310. Under the federal Wild & Scenic Rivers Act, the governor may ask the Secretary of the Interior to include the Klamath, a state-protected river, in the National Wild & Scenic Rivers System. Ask the governor to make a formal request now.

—Oregon Natural Resources Council, Yeon Bldg, Suite 1050, 522 Southwest Fifth Ave, Portland, OR 97204

## FS Plans to Grind Grider

A coalition of northern California conservation and community organizations has filed a complaint in federal court to halt logging and road-building within the Grider Creek drainage of the Klamath National Forest near the Oregon border in northern California. The complaint, filed in the Eastern District of the Ninth Circuit US Court, claims that Robert Rice, Forest Service supervisor of the Klamath National Forest, violated federal law and Forest Service regulations in deciding to sell four timber sales in the roadless portion of Grider Creek, a tributary of the Klamath River. The local organizations, which include Marble Mountain Audubon Society, Salmon River Concerned Citizens, Klamath River Concerned Citizens, and Klamath Forest Alliance, are being represented in the case by the Natural Resources Defense Council.

The present logging proposal was developed after the 1987 Klamath Fires burned through 7283 acres of the Grider watershed. Contrary to FS claims that 90% of the trees to be logged are fire killed, most of the trees marked for cutting are green and vigorous. Felice Pace of Marble Mountain Audubon says the Grider burn was a classic example of an old-growth fire. "In most of the Grider Fire Area only the understory and weaker or

diseased larger trees were killed ... in some of the stands marked for cutting, you can't tell a fire has been there."

Under Forest Service regulations instituted last year, the plan to log the area has been exempted from administrative appeal. Use of the exemption has forced local groups to go directly to court to halt the illegal log sales.

Since the fires of 1987, record numbers of logs have been cut on the Klamath Forest and sent to nearby lumber mills. Log sales during 1988 and 1989 have been about 150% of what the FS says can be sustained over the long term. Local conservation groups, the timber industry, and the FS had reached an agreement allowing salvage logging in the Salmon River Area of the Klamath Forest to proceed quickly while protecting streamside areas and anadromous fisheries. "But Grider's different," said Peter Brucker of Salmon River Concerned Citizens; "here the Forest Service wants to destroy one of our few remaining watersheds under the pretence of fire damage."

Susan Terrence of Klamath River Concerned Citizens points out that Grider Creek has one of the few significant runs of wild salmon and Steelhead remaining in the Klamath Basin. Klamath Concerned Citizens is one of several groups advocating "wild watersheds for wild fish" as a key part of the Klamath River Restoration Program.

The legal responsibility of the FS to insure that native wildlife survive over the long term will be a key aspect of the Grider court case. The Klamath Forest Alliance advocates corridors to connect lands reserved for wildlife, to prevent isolation of wildlife populations. Grider Creek has been identified as one of these corridors. Much of the Klamath Forest has already been roaded and clearcut. Biologists believe some species cannot survive in second growth forests. Pace warned, "The Ancient Forests of the West Coast are 90% gone, and if we don't stop cutting soon we're going to lose the wolverine, fisher, pine marten and a lot of other critters."

Citing a document released in November that lists Klamath NF logging plans for 1990 and 1991, Pace claimed FS officials want to liquidate the area's last remaining Ancient Forests. "Grider is just part of the problem. If someone doesn't stop them, the Forest Service will destroy Ukonom Creek, Dillon Creek, Clear Creek ..."

The groups who filed the suit want the FS to plan timber sales in areas that already have roads and clearcuts. They will continue to challenge timber sales in the last pristine watersheds and those that would damage fisheries and wildlife values.

Lawyers for the groups have asked the Forest Service to delay Grider timber sales long enough for a federal judge to hear arguments on the merits of their case. If the FS refuses, the groups will ask a federal judge to block the sales.

For more information, contact Felice Pace, Marble Mtn Audubon Society, POB 820, Etna, CA 96027; 916-467-5405.

## Preservationist Initiatives Filed in California

Californians will likely have the opportunity to vote on two state initiatives this year that would help preserve the state's dwindling habitat. The California Wildlife Protection Initiative already has enough signatures to qualify for the June ballot; the Forest and Wildlife Protection Initiative likely soon will have enough for the November ballot.

On November 13 the California Wildlife Protection Committee turned in more than 600,000 signatures to qualify the Wildlife Protection Initiative for the June ballot.

continued on page 14

## Tribal Lore . . .

continued from page 11

If passed, the Wildlife Initiative would purchase and protect rare, Threatened, and Endangered species habitat; deer and Mountain Lion habitat (particularly oak woodlands); salmon and trout spawning grounds; riparian habitat; and habitat corridors. It would also provide money for habitat restoration. Thus, the California Farm Bureau Federation, the California Cattleman's Association, and the National Rifle Association are fighting this initiative.

For more information on the Wildlife Initiative, write CA Wildlife Protection Committee, 909 12th St, Suite 203, Sacramento, CA 95814.

On October 18, Forests Forever, a coalition of forest activists, submitted the Forest and Wildlife Protection Initiative and Bond Act to the state Attorney General's office, the first step in putting the measure on the November 1990 California ballot. The initiative includes a bond issue to gradually buy California's most significant privately-held old-growth stands. If approved by the state's voters, the initiative would also require sustained yield planning for all logging operations; eliminate corporate domination of the State Board of Forestry; and request that Congress ban the export of whole unprocessed logs to other countries, a tactic an increasing number of timber corporations use to avoid paying union wages and following US environmental regulations. After the proposed initiative is reviewed by the Attorney General's office, its supporters must gather 600,000 signatures to qualify it for the 1990 ballot.

Meanwhile, the Coast Redwoods that North Coast Earth First! groups and EPIC (Environmental Protection Information Center) have been defending remain in peril. Pacific Lumber (Maxxam) plans to cut 560 acres of Headwaters Forest — at 3000 acres, the largest unprotected virgin Coast Redwood forest in the world, with trees up to 2000 years old. EPIC's president, Cecelia Lanman, warned, "They want to rip the heart out of Headwaters Forest before California's voters have a chance to save this irreplaceable biological treasure." Headwaters Forest is 15 miles south of Eureka in Humboldt County. It is slated for purchase by the Forest and Wildlife Protection Initiative.

Pacific Lumber, a company once praised by conservationists as a sustained-yield operator providing cradle-to-grave security for its employees in the company town of Scotia, was bought by corporate raider Charles Hurwitz's Maxxam Corporation in 1985. Hurwitz has accelerated the rate of logging to pay off the \$750,000,000 junk bond debt he used to buy the company. Pacific Lumber cut 1000 acres of old-growth in 1989.

Since 1987, EPIC's many lawsuits to halt Pacific Lumber's cutting of virgin forest stands have postponed logging in some of the stands. North Coast EF! groups have held many direct actions to defend the stands.

For more information on the Forest Initiative, write Forests Forever, 106 W Standley, Ukiah, CA 95482.

### Coyotes Attack YNP Tourists

A cross country skier on the Mystic Falls ski trail near Old Faithful Geyser in Yellowstone National Park was repeatedly attacked by a Coyote and later treated for puncture wounds. According to YNP public affairs officer Joan Anzelmo, this was the latest in a series of incidents of Coyotes showing increased aggression toward humans in the Old Faithful area. "We've had two recent incidents of coyote-human interactions at Old Faithful. A boy was bumped by a coyote as he exited the Biscuit Basin visitor's center, and a coyote jumped over a woman's lap as she was watching the eruption of Old Faithful."

The latest victim, after being bitten on the head and arms, beat the Coyote unconscious with his ski, then skied back to the Old Faithful Lodge. He was then airlifted to a hospital in Bozeman, Montana. Anzelmo speculated the attack was related to problems caused by tourists feeding the Coyotes in the Old Faithful area. "The coyotes have become habituated to humans, to the point where they expect the handouts. We're in the process of deciding which of these problem coyotes can be relocated to other areas and which must be destroyed." Tourists have reported contacts with a Coyote with an injured eye, which might account for the aggressive attack.

Coincidentally, a research team from the Wildlife Research Institute of the University of Idaho has been studying Coyotes in northern parts of Yellowstone Park. They

have moved their operations to the Old Faithful area to help Park officials study the problem animals.

—Michael Lewis, Valdez, AK

### Geothermal Project Threatens Alvord Desert

Anadarko Petroleum Corp., a Texas oil company, last October confirmed an underground geothermal reservoir beneath the Alvord Desert in southeastern Oregon. The company will conduct more tests to determine the feasibility of building a plant to harness the energy. Drilling 1479 feet down, the company found water at a temperature of 305 degrees F. (*Corvallis Gazette-Times*, 1-10-90)

The Alvord Desert includes some of the wildest country in the lower 48. (*The Big Outside*) Unfortunately, it is in a particularly negligent BLM district, and Anadarko is a particularly irresponsible corporation. Thus monitoring of this situation is critical. (*Ecodefense*)

### Alaska Board Promotes Wolf Shooting

The Alaska Board of Game (AKBG) last November effectively doubled the area where aerial "Land and Shoot" wolf hunting is allowed. The Board also voted to allow "subsistence" hunters to use airplanes to hunt wolves in National Park Preserves. National Park Service officials want to close Park and Preserve lands to land and shoot hunting, but state officials claim that the federal officials are acting out of their jurisdiction. (Management decisions concerning big game are supposedly made at the state level.) State officials are threatening fiscal constraints on the Alaska NPS regional office should they proceed with plans to close NPS lands to land and shoot.

Please write the following officials and urge them to proceed with their plans to ban land and shoot hunting in NPS units:

\*NPS Director Ridenour, Interior Dept, Washington, DC 20240

\*Alaska Regional Director, NPS, 2525 Gambell St, Anchorage, AK 99503.

—Tom Skeeel, Wolf Action Network coordinator

## WER Editor

### Praises Julian Simon

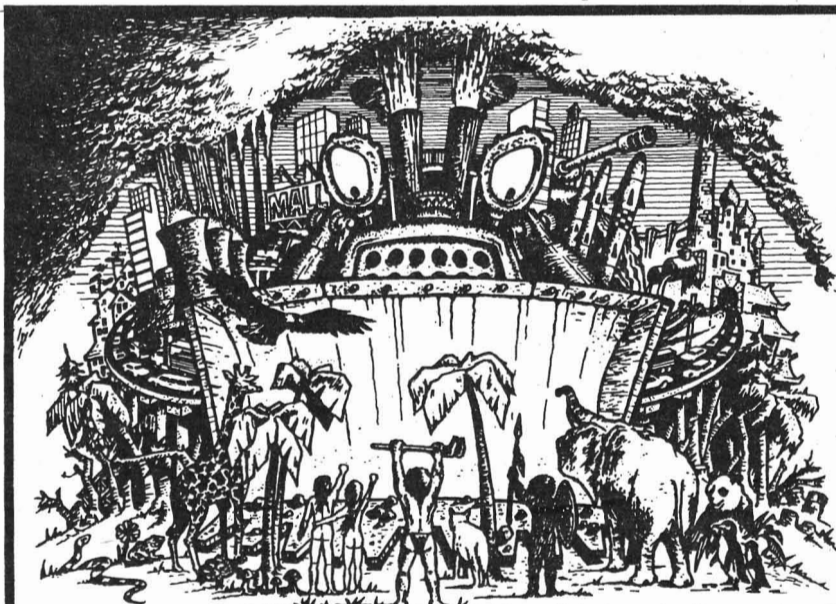
Who among us has not perused the *Whole Earth Catalog*, *CoEvolution Quarterly*, or its current successor, *Whole Earth Review*, in our quest for a more ecocentric existence? Although many concluded that *CoEvolution* took a decided downturn when it merged with the *Whole Earth Software Review* in 1985, nevertheless, it continues to publish many fascinating articles on far out topics not available elsewhere.

In the winter 1989 edition, however, the editors of *WER* sunk to a hitherto unwitnessed low when they published two pieces lauding Julian Simon's *The Ultimate Resource*, one by their current editor, Kevin Kelly, entitled "Apocalypse Juggernaut, Goodbye." It is hard to be brief in describing how dangerous Simon's theories are, or how appalling it is that *WER* should praise them, but I will try.

Julian Simon essentially endorses the ancient Maoist doctrine that people are "the ultimate resource" — albeit with a new capitalist twist, that there is no overpopulation problem, and that the more humans we have, the more minds we will have to solve all the problems that large numbers of humans invariably create. Simon's position was enthusiastically embraced by the Reagan White House, and Simon helped formulate the US "full speed ahead on population growth" doctrine which was presented at the UN conference on population in 1984 and culminated in the US cutting off funding for international family planning efforts. With his metaphysical views on the ability of human technological ingenuity to extend limited "resources" infinitely, Julian Simon is the antithesis of a deep ecologist.

Write *Whole Earth Review* at 27 Gate Five Rd, Sausalito, CA 94965, and ask them why they run such anti-Earth propaganda. Suggest that, until they come to their senses, they change their name again, this time to "The Whole Pronatalist and Technocracy Review."

—Bill McCormick, Charlottesville, VA



### EF!WAG Hugs Gums

ed. note: Shortly before our deadline, we received an urgent call from Australia. It seems Australia's Earth First! Women's Action Group has been leading a series of blockades and tree-hugging actions to save the remnant rainforests of East Gippsland; some of the women have been arrested and at least was one injured by a logging truck. These forests are being clearfelled to produce wood chips for export to Japan.

The East Gippsland of far eastern Victoria, Australia, comprises about 4% of this state's area. It contains 1432 native vascular plant species, many of which are rare. It is the most species rich part of the state.

East Gippsland also contains many rare and endangered animal species. The habitat needed by arboreal marsupials such as the Yellow-bellied Glider and the Feather-tailed Glider doesn't begin to form in eucalyptus trees until they're at least 100 years old. For example, *Eucalyptus cypetocarpa*, or Mountain Grey Gum, and *Eucalyptus obliqua*, or Messmate Stringybark, begin developing hollows when between 110 and 140 years old.

The Powerful Owls require an area of 250,000 hectares to ensure species survival. They will soon lose this minimum area if logging continues.

The most endangered animal in this area is the Long-footed Potoroo (*Potorous longipes*), a small grey wallaby. All small macropods are extremely susceptible to extinction. The two reserves established for

this wallaby's protection are hopelessly inadequate.

East Gippsland contains Victoria's last remnants of virgin forest, yet the state government promotes logging and grazing throughout the region, even in National Parks. National Estate areas are nominally protected by the Commonwealth (of Australia) government.

We must force the commonwealth to enact legislation and fully protect the National Estate areas. This issue is urgent: The logging will destroy the East Gippsland forests by the end of the summer (winter in the Northern Hemisphere) if we don't stop it. Please telegraph or write to Prime Minister R.J.L. Hawke, Parliament House, Canberra, ACT, 2600, AUSTRALIA. Please send copies to Earth First! Women's Action Group, PO Box 256, Mitcham 3132, Victoria, AUSTRALIA.

—Marianne Heynemann, EF!WAG contact

### Queensland Company Blasts Bat Cave

EF! reported in a past issue on the threats to the Mt. Etna Caves in Queensland, Australia. Australian Greenies have employed direct action in desperate attempts to save these caves and their rare fauna.

Defeat has overtaken the bat defenders who kept the Central Queensland Cement Company at bay by occupying the caves targeted by the company for limestone de-

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

posits. On the very day that a hearing was scheduled to save Mount Etna's Speaking Tube Cave, the Cement Company demolished it. The company rejected the study by the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service and used stall tactics in the courts to use up conservationists' resources, then blew up Speaking Tube Cave.

This was an over-wintering and maternity cave for Ghost Bats, used by pregnant bats when the temperature falls. The main reason these rare bats survive on Mt. Etna is because of the diversity of caves available for different needs.

**ACTION:** Protest to the Premier of Queensland and urge him to stop further destruction of Mt. Etna caves. Write: Premier Michael Ahern, Parliament House, Brisbane, Queensland, 4000, AUSTRALIA.

—Animal Welfare Institute Quarterly (summer 89), POB 3650, DC 20007

### Letters Needed to Stop Polish Nuke

We of the Franciscanian Ecological Movement, a Polish environmental group, are campaigning to stop the construction of the nuclear power plant at Zarnowice near Gdansk in Poland. We fear that our action may not succeed because of the existence of a powerful nuclear lobby. We need immediate help!

In the present situation the Polish government is very sensitive to Western public opinion and to the pressure of Western governments. You can support our efforts by sending the letter below to your President or Prime Minister or MP, by having it published in your national press, and by sending it to the Polish government.

President (Prime Minister, MP ...):

It has been brought to my attention that the construction of the nuclear power plant at Zarnowice near Gdansk is a cause of deep anxiety in Polish society. Doubts have been expressed: the situation of the plant on a tectonic fault and above deposits of natural gas; the outdated design of the reactor (VVER type) and lack of a containment structure; and the careless construction.

I appeal to you to pressure the Polish authorities to stop the construction of this plant.

Sincerely ...

Send to:

\*President Bush, The White House, Washington, DC 20500

\*Prime Minister of Poland T. Mazowiecki Al. Ujazdowskie, 1/3 00-583 Warsaw, POLAND

\*the organizers of the action: Franciscanian Ecological Movement, Walowa 28 80-855 Gdansk, POLAND

### Sarawak Update

In September 1989, 117 natives were arrested in Sarawak, Malaysia, for blockading logging roads. Multinational timber companies are clearing this Southeast Asian rainforest for exports to Japan. The arrests took place in the Baram, Limbang, and Belaga divisions of Sarawak. Some of those detained were women; never before had the State of Sarawak arrested women for blockading.

On 29 September, the 87 Penans who were arrested in the Baram area appeared in court and were charged under Section 90B of the Forest Ordinance which makes obstructing logging roads an offense. All pleaded not guilty. The court agreed to release the accused if they would produce a surety each, but they all decided to remain in prison. Many of those arrested said that logging has destroyed their homes and diminished their sources of food, medicine and water. Staying in prison would ensure that they could get some food, they said. In late November, all 117 were released.

The September arrests resulted from the blockades set up simultaneously on 10 September by various native groups in Sarawak, including the Penans, Kelabits and Muruts. The blockades were guarded at each site by scores of women, men and children to prevent lorries from taking logs out of the forest. The police and forest department officials dismantled those blockades they could find.

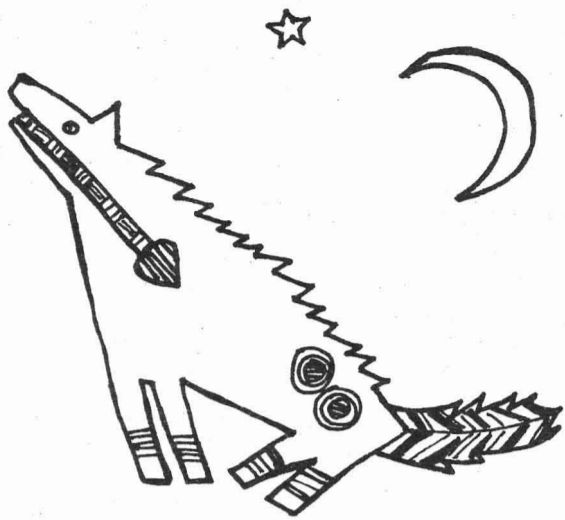
Meanwhile, in October, 25 Penan arrested during blockades last January finally went to trial. All were acquitted.

Government officials have blamed Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM, Friends of the Earth Malaysia) for instigating the blockades. The arrests have received minimum coverage in local newspapers. International coverage is urgently needed.

—SAM, 43 Salween Rd, 10500 Penang, MALAYSIA; and *World Rainforest Report*, Rainforest Action Network, 301 Broadway, Suite A, SF, CA 94133



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### WOLF PRINTS TO BENEFIT WOLF ACTION NETWORK



Jean Drescher, known for her drawing which adorned the cover of the Grizzly Bear Tabloid, has donated full-color, 20" by 24" lithographs of this wolf to help the Wolf Action Network. For a donation of one hundred dollars or more, you will receive a print while providing a major contribution to the Network's efforts for reintroduction and/or protection of wolf populations all across North America.

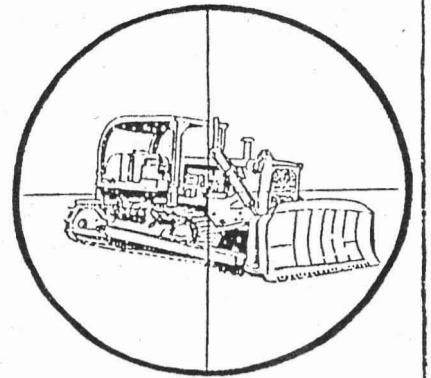
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# Earth First! Directory

The Earth First! Directory lists the contact points for the international Earth First! movement. It is divided into four sections: 1) National EF! offices in the United States; 2) International contacts; 3) Active EF! Chapters or Groups; and 4) Contact persons where there is as yet no active EF! group. If you are interested in becoming active with the Earth First! movement, reach the folks listed for your area.

*Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal* is an independent entity within the international Earth First! movement, and is not the newsletter of the Earth First! movement. It does, however, provide a forum for Earth First!ers around the world. This directory is provided as a service to independent EF! groups. If you would like to be listed as a contact or as a group, PLEASE contact Bob Kaspar (305 N. Sixth St., Madison, WI 53704 (608)241-9426). Please send address changes or corrections to him also. If you do not have a phone number listed, please send it to him. Bob acts as coordinator for local EF! groups for the EF! movement.

**LOCAL NEWSLETTERS:** Addresses marked with a "\*" produce either an Earth First! newsletter or regular mailings for their area or issue. Contact them directly to receive their newsletter or otherwise be on their mailing list.

## NATIONAL EF!

EF! ALASKA TASK FORCE  
POB 1019 San Raphael, CA 94915  
(415) 824-3841

EF! BIODIVERSITY PROJECT  
Jasper Carlton 2365 Willard Road  
Parkersburg, WV 26101-9269  
(304)428-5405

Road Closure & Northern Rockies Coordinator  
Keith Hammer POB 2072  
Kallispell, MT 59903 (406)755-1379

EF! DIRECT ACTION FUND  
Mike Roselle POB 210 Canyon, CA 94516  
(415)376-7329

EARTH FIRST! FOUNDATION  
POB 1683 Corvallis, OR 97339

EF! GENETIC ALERT  
POB 20 Piercy, CA 95467

EF! GRAZING TASK FORCE  
POB 5784 Tucson, AZ 85703

EF! GRIZZLY BEAR TASK FORCE  
POB 6151 Bozeman, MT 59715

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EF! OCEAN-DOLPHIN TASK FORCE  
POB 77062  
San Francisco, CA 94107-7062

EF! RAINFOREST ACTION  
Bay Area Earth First! POB 83  
Canyon, CA 94516 (415)376-7329

EF! REDWOOD ACTION TEAM (RAT)  
Greg King POB 1031 Redway, CA 95560

EF! WOLF ACTION NETWORK \*  
Tom Skeele POB 6733 Bozeman, MT 59771  
(406)587-3356

PAW (PRESERVE APPALACHIAN WILDERNESS)  
Jamie Sayen RFD 1, Box 530  
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## INTERNATIONAL EF! GROUPS

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Rainforest Information Centre  
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New South Wales 2480 Australia  
phone: 066-21-85-05

Marianne Heynemann  
PO Box 256 Mitchem, 3132 Australia

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Paul Watson POB 48446  
Vancouver, BC V7X 1A2 Canada  
(604)688-SEAL

Boreal Owl  
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Eastern Canada EF!  
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Ottawa, ONT K1S 5B6 Canada

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Federal Republic of Germany

KENYA  
Environmental Liaison Centre (International)  
POB 72461 Nairobi, Kenya  
(254-2)24770/340849/336989

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Eco-Solar Ave. Eugenia 1510 Col. Narvarte  
Mexico 03020 D.F. Mexico

POLAND  
A. Janusz Korbel ul. Magi 21/3  
43-300 Bielsko-Biala Poland

Colorado Springs EF!  
528-C N. Tejon St.  
Colorado Springs, CO 80903 (719)473-8164

FLORIDA EARTH FIRST! \*  
POB 13864 Gainesville, FL 32604  
(904)371-8166

Big Bend EF! \*  
Mike Schoelen POB 20582  
Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904)224-6782

HAWAII EARTH FIRST!  
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Paul Rechten 7405 Shields Rd.  
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(312)281-0599 - Gina

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(618)692-3246

Twin Cities EF!  
Kurt Seaberg 2208 16th Av. S. #2  
Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612)722-5022

MISSOURI EARTH FIRST!  
The Gateway EF! Tribe POB 1961  
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Big River EF! POB 189 Pacific, MO 63039  
Orin Langelle (314)257-2437  
A. Woodtree (314)776-3390

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Santa Fe, NM 87504 (505)984-1428

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POB 101 Ithaca, NY 14851

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Blue Ridge Earth First!  
Bob Cargille/Val Muehlhausen  
61 Church St. #202 Asheville, NC 28801

OHIO EARTH FIRST!  
Scioto River Group Steve Moore POB 91  
Greencamp, OH 43322 (614)528-2517

Black Swamp EF! OHIO S.E.C.T.  
Rick B. Van Landingham III c/o Office of  
Student Activities, Student Union Rm 3518  
University of Toledo, 2801 W. Bancroft St.  
Toledo, OH 43606

Oberlin EF! c/o Bill Fleig  
OCMR Box 874 Oberlin, OH 44074  
(216)775-5588

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POB 13765 Portland, OR 97213  
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Austin, TX 78713 (512) 320-0413

East Texas EF!  
Dave Burkart Rt. 3, Box 114  
Cleveland, TX 77327 (713)592-7664

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Erik Sohberg RR1, Box 80-A  
East Corinth, VT 05040 (802)439-6266

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## USUAL DISGUSTING PLEA FOR MONEY

The Earth First! movement runs on your financial support. We don't need as much as other groups since we are grassroots, volunteer, decentralized and have low overhead. Moreover, you get to select where your hard-earned money goes. Don't send your contributions to this newspaper, send them directly to one of these hard working groups:

\*Earth First! Foundation, POB 1683 Corvallis, OR 97339 (contributions to the Foundation are tax-deductible)

\*Arizona Earth First!, POB 3412, Tucson, AZ 85722

\*Bay Area Earth First!, POB 83, Canyon, CA 94516

\*EF! Biodiversity Project, Jasper Carlton, 2365 Willard Road, Parkersburg, WV 26101-9269 (Contributions to the EF! Foundation earmarked for the Biodiversity Project are tax-deductible.)

\*EF! Ocean-Dolphin Task Force POB 77062 San Francisco, CA 94107-7062

\*Colorado Earth First!, Box 1166, Boulder, CO 80306

\*Florida Earth First!, 6820 SW 78th St., Gainesville, FL 32608

\*Grazing Task Force, POB 5784, Tucson, AZ 85703

\*Humboldt County Earth First!, POB 34, Garberville, CA 95440

\*Los Angeles Earth First!, POB 4381, North Hollywood, CA 91607

\*Midwest Headwaters Earth First!, POB 516, Stevens Point, WI 54481

\*New Mexico Earth First!, 456 Amado St, Santa Fe, NM 87501

\*Nomadic Action Group, POB 210, Canyon, CA 94516

\*Ohio Earth First!, POB 91, Greencamp, OH 43322

\*PAW (Preserve Appalachian Wilderness), POB 36, Jefferson, NH 03583

\*Portland Earth First!, POB 13765, Portland, OR 97213

\*Santa Cruz Earth First!, POB 344, Santa Cruz, CA 95061

\*Southern Willamette Earth First!, POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440

\*Texas Earth First!, POB 7292, University Station, Austin, TX 78713

\*Virginians for Wilderness, Route 1, Box 250, Staunton, VA 24401

\*Washington Earth First!, POB 2962, Bellingham, WA 98227

\*Wild Rockies Earth First!, c/o 834 Sherwood, Missoula, MT 59802

\*Wolf Action Network, HCR 79, POB 1046, Crowley Reservoir, CA 93546

\*Yellowstone Earth First!, Box 6151, Bozeman, MT 59715

This fundraising appeal is placed as a service to the Earth First! movement. THANK YOU for your support!

# EF! BULLETINS

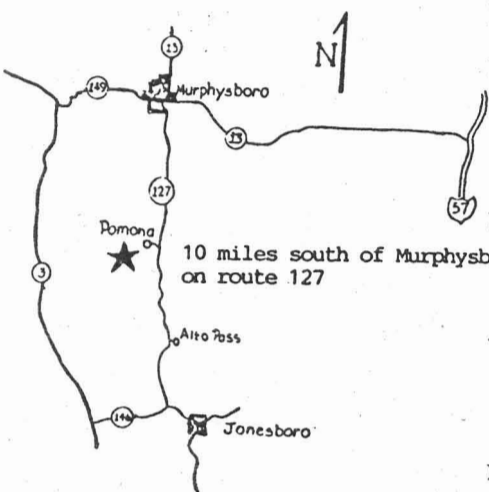
**1990 ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS;** July 9-15; Montana; details forthcoming. Persons wanting to perform during the Rally, July 13-14, should contact The Ecology Center, c/o Jake Jagoff, 137 E Main, Missoula, MT 59802.

**CENTRAL APPALACHIAN RENDEZVOUS.** EF! will hold its 5th Central Appalachian Rendezvous on May 4-6. The location will be the Hammond homestead (same as our fall 1989 rendezvous). Directions and map are given in the Mabon 1989 issue (p.17). For information call the Hammonds at 703-997-0055 or Bob Mueller at 703-885-6983.

An **APRIL FOOLS MIDREGION RENDEZVOUS** will occur Friday, March 30th thru Sunday April 1st in the Shawnee National Forest in southern Illinois. It will be close to Pomona, Illinois (ten miles south of Muphysboro off of route 127).

Come join us and get lost in the spirit of the hardwoods for general merriment, seminars and workshops, discussions on regional and local strategies, and an EF! action (? you decide) to wrap up the weekend.

Be prepared to pack your stuff in for primitive camping. If you need more info, can help with anything, or would like to hold your own workshop, please let us know. Call John (618) 939-3697 or Orin (314) 257-2437; or write: Big River EF!, PO Box 189, Pacific, MO 63069. If you get lost on the way, call Joe or Jackie at the Pomona General Store (618) 893-2997.



**OHIO RIVER RENDEZVOUS.** The first Ohio River Rendezvous will be held May 25-28 in the Wayne National Forest in southeast Ohio. Ohio EF! and PORCUPINE (Prospect Ohio Radical Coalition for the Unlimited Protection of the Inhabitants of North American Ecosystems) are sponsoring the gathering. If interested in helping or willing to hold a workshop or supply music, contact Steve Moore, POB 91, Green Camp, OH 43322. Look for details next issue.

**GABEF! DEMONSTRATION AND STRATEGY SESSION.** At 1 PM on March 3, Greater Adirondack Bioregion EF!ers will gather at The Green (town park) on Main Street in Lake Placid to protest the proposed Glenagles condominium development (see Tribal Lore). Following the demonstration, GABEF!ers will further discuss their Adirondacks Wilderness Proposal, due for completion in April. Please bring signs, costumes, maps. If weather is disagreeable, protest will be held 1 week later.

**GREEN FIRE TOURS.** Two new "Green Fire" road-shows are planned for 1990. Both will be unique, but similar in style to the fall 1989 Green Fire tour. They will again include Dakota Sid Clifford and Roger Featherstone. In addition, the spring tour will feature the talented 13-year old bass player, Travers Clifford, Sid's son. The spring tour will run from March 15 to May 1 or so and will focus on the northern half of the country (maybe even Canada). The fall tour will run from September 15 to November 1 and will hit the southern half of the country. For a brochure with more details write: Green Fire tour, Box DB, Bisbee, AZ 85603; or call (602) 624-3196.

Rough Schedule:

March 15-16	Utah
17-20	Colorado
21	Lincoln, NE
22	Iowa City, IA
23-26	Illinois & Indiana
March 26 - April 5	New England
6-7	Ohio
11	Traverse City, MI
12-21	Illinois, Minnesota and Wisconsin
22	Madison, WI
23	Whitewater, WI
26-28	Montana
29-30	Washington
May 1-3	Oregon

**SOUTHWEST OLD-GROWTH BOOK.** Friends of the Owls is publishing a book on Southwestern old-growth forests and is seeking high quality black & white and color photos (with negatives) of old-growth forests in Arizona, New Mexico, west Texas, southern Utah and southern Colorado. Credit for photos will be given in the book. All old-growth systems, including riparian, pinyon-juniper, Ponderosa Pine, mixed-conifer and spruce-fir, are desired. Also pictures of Spotted Owls, Goshawks, Pileated Woodpeckers, Black Bears, and other Southwest forest critters are needed. For more information, write Peter Galvin, 220 Grove Ave, Prescott, AZ 86301 or call Jim Hobson at 505-255-4089.

**A CALL FROM THE WILD** An inspirational show of entertainment by singer/songwriter, Joanne Rand and author/activist, Mavis Müller. A combined concert, slide-show and dramatic presentation about Wild Alaska...to benefit the Alaska Recovery Coalition's efforts to heal Alaska from the Exxon Valdez oil spill. Come listen to the Earth through slides, soliloquy and song!

tour schedule:

Feb. 14	Arcata, CA
16	Garberville, CA
17	Mendocino/Fort Bragg
18	Ukiah, CA
19	Sonoma, CA
22	Berkely, CA
23	San Francisco, CA
24	Santa Cruz, CA
25	San Jose, CA
26	San Luis Obispo, CA
27	Solana Beach, CA
March 1	San Diego, CA
2	Julian, CA
4	Tucson, AZ
5	Oracle, AZ
6	Bisbee, AZ
7	Prescott, AZ
10	Albuquerque, NM
11	Santa Fe, NM
13	Taos, NM

**ANCIENT FOREST RESCUE EXPEDITION** (tentative itinerary)

March 10	Bellingham, WA
12-18	California
20	Tucson, AZ
22	Santa Fe, NM
24	Austin, TX
27	Little Rock, AR
29	New Orleans, LA

April 2	Atlanta, GA
5	Chapel Hill, NC
8-12	New York state
14-17	New England States
18	Boston, MA
20-22	Washington, DC
24-25	Columbus, OH
25-27	Indiana
28-29	Chicago, IL
30	Iowa City, IA
May 3	Kansas City, MO
4	Oskaloosa, KS
5	Wichita, KS
7	Boulder, CO
9	Grand Junction, CO
11	Salt Lake City, UT
13	Missoula, MT
14-16	Seattle, WA

**Earth Day Wall Street Action.** Next April 22, people across the United States will be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the original Earth Day, a major turning point in the emergence of the environmental movement. Activists all across the U.S. have begun planning for Earth Day, in an effort that promises to involve huge numbers of people of all walks of life. However, the official national organizing committee for Earth Day 1990 is thoroughly dominated by politicians, media figures, and the heads of the large Washington, DC based environmental groups. Rumors of corporate funding abound. It is unlikely that such an effort will, by itself, raise either the underlying causes of environmental destruction, nor the essential connections between ecological and social needs.

To address this situation, Greens in New England and across the country, the Youth Greens, Left Greens and others have initiated a campaign to Radicalize Earth Day. We are encouraging a wide variety of events to illustrate connections, build multi-issue coalitions, and address underlying causes. This effort will culminate in a major direct action to Shut Down Wall Street for a day, which will probably be held on the Monday following Earth Day.

Planning for the Earth Day Wall Street Action is already involving people from a wide spectrum of ecology, peace, and social justice organizations, including the Clamshell Alliance, anti-toxics activists from Vermont and Maine, The Burlington, VT Peace and Justice Coalition and Stop the Slaughter Coalition, the Amis/es de la Terre of Quebec, Colorado's Rocky Mountain Peace Center, and the Vermont All-Species Project, as well as Green groups from all across the country.

Organizations can sign on as endorsers of the action, serve as a local contact for organizing in your own region, or become co-sponsors of the action and participate fully in meetings of the Coordinating Council.

For more information, contact: EARTH DAY WALL STREET ACTION, PO Box 93, Plainfield, VT 05667

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# WILD MOUNTAIN RIVER COUNTRY:

by Howie Wolke

The lone mountain wanderer slowly meandered across the subalpine meadow. He crossed a talus slope of angular lichen-covered granite boulders and then paused in the thin shade of an Alpine Larch. His intense brown eyes scanned the slope above, and then he marched directly to the summit, where a few wind-blashed larches and White-bark Pines clung to the rocky soils on their respective northeast and southwest facing exposures.

The mountaineer was in the heart of central Idaho's "Wild Mountain River Country." But from this peak along the Salmon-Selway divide, no rivers could be seen. Instead, the wanderer gazed upon a 360 degree horizon dominated by conifer forest — by far the largest remaining tract of unlogged virgin forest in the contiguous United States.

On this July afternoon, the forest sprawled beneath building thunderheads. Amidst the slowly moving cloud shadows, the tributary canyons to the Salmon and Selway cut through the high ridges and plateaus, but the canyons were so deep, so far below this isolated summit, that only their uppermost reaches were within view. The lower canyons appeared only as mysterious gaps in the black and green forest thousands of feet below.

No matter. The climber had little interest in the low country or its rivers. He reveled in the coolness of the subalpine forest. He thrived along talus slopes beneath the highest open ridges and in the beargrass (a lily, not a grass) where erosion had worked hard granite to rich moist "pocket meadows." The lone wanderer could melt at will into the closed canopy forest of Englemann Spruce, Subalpine Fir, Douglas-fir, and Lodgepole Pine that clothed the mid and upper slopes of this wilderness. The infernal main canyon bottoms 7000 feet below his perch, where in some places summer temperatures occasionally soared beyond 100 degrees, were beyond his realm. He avoided the lush temperate forested canyon of the Selway almost as thoroughly as he avoided the open Ponderosa Pine parklands of the Salmon River breaks. He stayed high, cool and usually well-fed.

Despite one of the most impressive views of unbroken mountain forest in the world, the climber remained on the summit only briefly. The Wolverine then gracefully descended into the forest, the green blanket of mystery that covers much of the least known, least understood big wilderness complex in America.

Wild Mountain River Country. The sheer size and wildness of this landscape dwarfs all other wildlands in the contiguous 48 states. The heart of Wild Mountain River Country (WMRC) is central Idaho's Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness, generally known simply as the River of No Return, or RNR. At 2.3 million acres the RNR is the biggest officially protected landscape in the United States south of Alaska. But that figure understates the extent of the WMRC. Contiguous roadless lands, including the Gospel Hump Wilderness, bring the "Big Wild" to over 3.1 million acres in a single unroaded tract, the biggest roadless tract in the contiguous US. The RNR is separated from the 1.8 million acre Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness tract (this figure includes the 1.3 million acre designated Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness plus about a half million acres of unprotected contiguous *de facto* wilderness) only by a primarily dirt road across the Magruder Corridor. Additional wild country surrounds these two great wildernesses at the heart of WMRC.

The area occasionally known as the "Central Idaho Wilderness Complex" is, arguably, the largest remaining complex of temperate zone wildlands on Earth. By the term 'complex', I mean a geographic region that includes some developments — in this case, a few towns, ranches, roads, and rural dwellings — but consists primarily of large blocks of designated and *de facto* wilderness, with wilderness units in close proximity and separated mainly by semi-wild habitats. South of Alaska, the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem is the best-known wilderness complex in the US. Montana's Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem, which includes Glacier National Park and the Bob Marshall/Scapegoat/Great Bear Wilderness unit, and the Canyon Country of southern Utah are also large wilderness complexes; but Wild Mountain River Country dwarfs them all. "Wild Mountain River Country" and "Wild Mountain River Complex" are names I prefer to "Central Idaho Wilderness Complex" because the wildness that dominates the region extends well beyond central

Idaho. In fact, it sprawls out of the state known more for potatoes than for wilderness into western Montana and northeast Oregon. WMRC is a large part of the bioregion known as the "Wild Rockies" — the Rocky Mountain highlands and valleys of north-west Wyoming, western Montana, Idaho, the northeastern portions of Oregon and Washington, and the Canadian Rockies. (The recently-formed Alliance for the Wild Rockies is functioning as a bioregional umbrella group for wildlands protection here.)

The Wild Mountain River Complex lacks the obvious appeal of Glacier National Park's soaring peaks, Yellowstone's geysers and visible game herds, and Utah's kaleidoscope rocks. If one accepts the traditional concepts of beauty or scenery, WMRC is less spectacular than the better known wilderness complexes. The traditional European concept of natural beauty flounders in the rubble and pines of central Idaho. Lands resembling the Swiss Alps or pastoral woodlot-flecked humanscapes are conspicuously absent. For the most part, so are the unusual "natural curiosities" that often lead to paternalistic protection. WMRC is simply big, wild, rugged and full of life. Most important, it's a place where evolution, particularly in populations of large vertebrates, still has a chance to carry on.

**The Land:** The core of the Wild Mountain River Complex may be called the "Wild Mountain River Ecosystem," WMRE. The WMRE is defined by the Idaho Batholith, a granitic intrusion 60-90 million years old that forms the bedrock for most of the RNR, Selway-Bitterroot, and Sawtooth Wildernesses, as well as a number of other roadless areas in central Idaho and extreme western Montana. The WMRE includes most of the batholith, but is also defined by a perimeter of paved highways. The Magruder Corridor Road is the only road crossing the ecosystem. In a few places such as the Bitterroot Range, Selway Crag, Bighorn Crag, and Sawtooths, the batholith rocks were uplifted well beyond the general batholith surface. In these

areas, Pleistocene glaciers created rugged alpine landscapes of cirques, horns, arretes, cols, tarns, moraines, and u-shaped canyons. A few small remnant glaciers still cling to high north and east facing basins. The Sawtooths, just south of the core ecosystem, are renowned for their alpine glacial-carved scenery. Within the core ecosystem the Bighorn Crag include some exceptionally rugged glaciated terrain.

Despite these isolated bastions of classic rock and ice wilderness, most of the Wild Mountain River Ecosystem is a land of high forested ridges roughly representing the remnant batholith plateau surface. Older sedimentary rocks overlying the granites, diorites, quartzites and other batholith rocks have generally eroded away, leaving the easily-eroded batholith to form the country bedrock, the parent material for the ecosystem. In a few places, though, slowly eroding Precambrian sediments still top the granite. The old batholith surface is sliced by hundreds of steep, mostly forested canyons. Generally, above 5000-6000 feet the canyons were glaciated and are U shaped reminders that the Pleistocene Epoch may yet return. The lower canyons, though, are V shaped and often unnervingly steep and rocky. Geologists now believe that most of the erosion — which created today's precipitous batholith landscape — occurred during the Pleistocene, the last 2 million years.

WMRC is a region of wild rivers. The Middle and Main Forks of the Salmon are here. Along the western edge of the batholith is the Salmon's South Fork, a river that has been badly abused by Forest Service logging and roadbuilding. The Selway, Lochsa, and North Fork of the Clearwater also drain the region. The Salmon (both forks) and Selway gorges are over a mile deep in places and these three rivers are internationally known for wilderness whitewater float trips. Many tributary canyons in central Idaho contain streams that would be considered rivers elsewhere. Kelly Creek (a tributary of the Clearwater's North Fork), in the proposed Great Burn Wilderness, is one such. Thus, though most of the WMRE consists of

forested ridges, canyons, isolated peaks and occasional plateaus — such as the expansive Yellowstone-like rolling highland in the RNR's Chamberlain Basin — wild rivers define the ecosystem.

East of the core ecosystem but within the wilderness complex is a land of rugged north-south mountain ranges and intervening arid to semi-arid valleys. The basin and range topography of east-central Idaho's Lost River and Lemhi Ranges is reminiscent of Nevada. The rugged Beaverhead (geographically but not geologically a southern extension of the Bitterroots) and Anaconda-Pintlar Ranges form the Continental Divide east and northeast respectively of the Lemhis; these ranges, along with the East and West Pioneers, surround southwest Montana's high and lonely Big Hole Valley. All of these ranges are still primarily wild, and the Big Hole River (which is accessible by road) is a nationally famous trout stream threatened by ongoing and proposed logging in the surrounding mountains.

Various other "fringe areas" are outside the core WMRE but within the wilderness complex. In south-central Idaho, recent basaltic lava flows (some under 1000 years old) have created an unusual volcanic wilderness. The black expanse of young lava rock lies upon Idaho's "high desert," but the "Kapukas" belie the term 'desert'. *Kapukas* (an Indian word) are areas surrounded by young lava rock that, for one reason or another, escaped the most recent lava flows. Because they are islands surrounded by miles of relatively barren rock, many *Kapukas* have never been grazed by domestic livestock. They support a rich flora of sagebrush, native grasses, and native forbs. During spring, *Kapukas* are positively lush. That's why many ecologists consider "sagebrush-steppe" to be a more accurate description of the so-called "high deserts" of southern Idaho. Where desert exists here, it has been created by livestock.

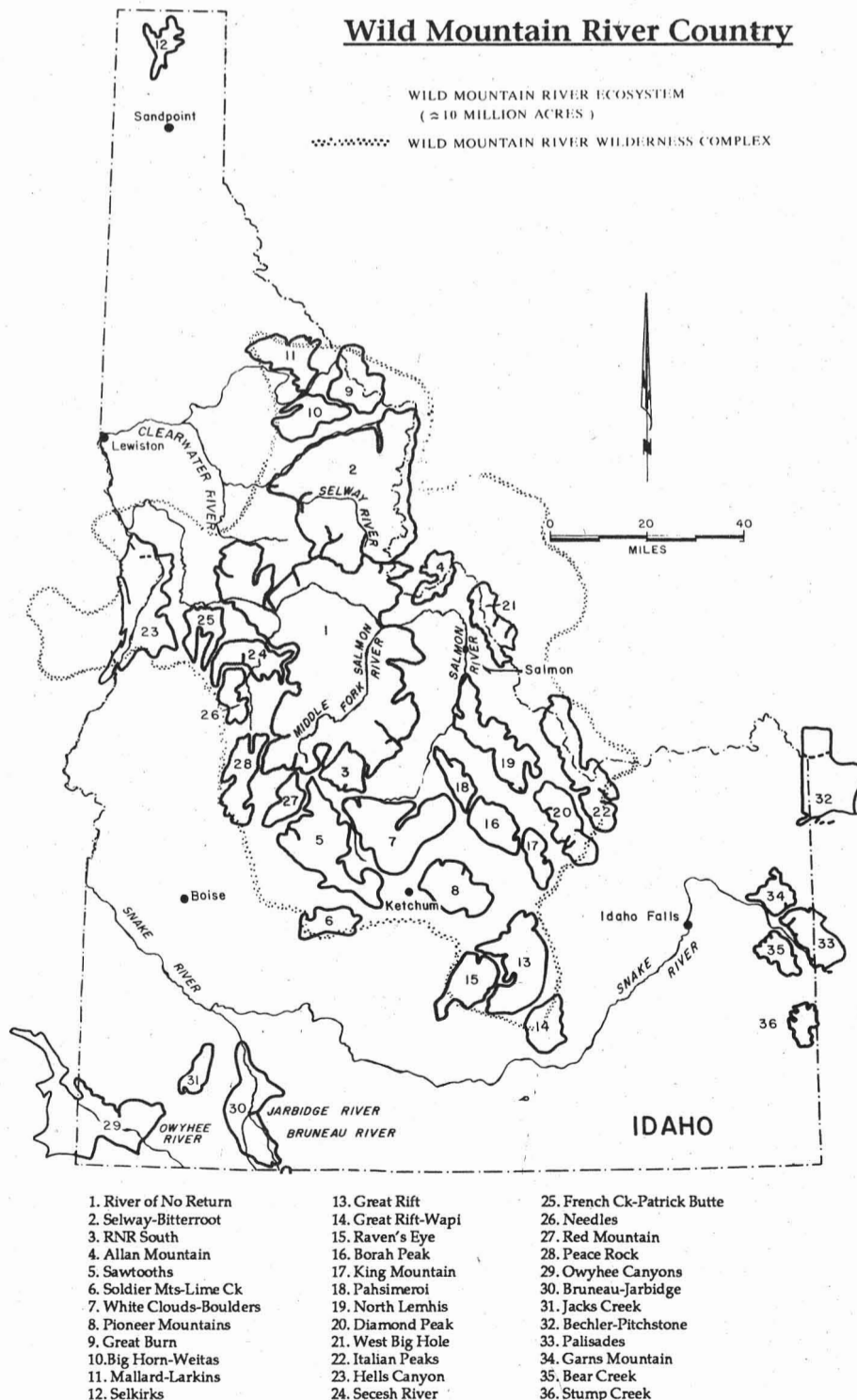
As mentioned, the Sawtooths consist of batholith rock but are severed from the core Ecosystem by a paved highway. Other wildlands on the Boise, Sawtooth and Challis National Forests can likewise be considered part of the WMRE and are definitely important components of the complex. The Soldier Mountains, Smokey Mountains (which are an unbroken extension of the protected Sawtooth Wilderness), Pioneer Mountains, and Boulder-White Cloud Mountains (the largest entirely unprotected National Forest wilderness remaining in the lower 48) are sizable wildernesses in south-central Idaho.

Hell's Canyon of the Snake River, the deepest river-carved gorge in North America (over 7000 feet deep in places) forms the Idaho/Oregon border west of the core Wild Mountain River Ecosystem; and northeast Oregon's Wallowa Mountains, known for the rugged Eagle Cap Wilderness, form the western extremity of the Wild Mountain River Complex. This little-known region, an important ecosystem in its own right, is among the most endangered in the US. Both the Eagle Cap and the Hell's Canyon National Recreation Area contain spectacular protected high country and precipitous canyon slopes, and ecologically critical low and mid slopes under assault by Forest Service loggers. On the Idaho side, the Seven Devils are a glaciated escarpment rising over a mile and half above the Snake.

The northern part of WMRC is in many ways similar to the ridge and canyon topography of the core Ecosystem. In fact, the northernmost big Roadless Areas, Mallard-Larkins and the Great Burn, are partially underlain by Idaho Batholith granite. This region, though, is sundered from areas south by US Highway 12, and tends to be wetter than the RNR and most of the Selway-Bitterroot. Indeed, some of the canyons and slopes are downright soggy and contain disjunct Pacific Coast vegetation. Old-growth Pacific-type rainforests still survive in scattered remote valleys that escaped the great fires of 1910 and 1919, and have escaped the forestry professionals of the 1980s ... so far.

**Climate and Biota:** WMRC is so large and topographically varied that any biotic description can only be understood within the context of its tremendous climatic diversity. Replete with 7000 foot deep gorges, 12,000 foot high peaks, rivers approaching sea level, and mile-plus high plateaus, this landscape has an astonishing array of temperate and subalpine climates.

"Cool-temperate" conveys its general feel, but many areas within the complex defy that description. The lower canyons of the Salmon's Middle and Main Forks and Hell's Canyon of the Snake are hotter in summer than the latter's namesake, and remarkably mild and snow-free in winter, for such north-



Full descriptions of these roadless areas can be found in The Big Outside.

# THE BIG WILD

ern latitudes. Yet within sight of these canyon depths are the mid-elevation montane forests, characterized by cool to cold snowy winters and warm dry summers. "Cool-temperate" describes these forests very well. At higher elevations, the subalpine spruce-fir forests are cold in winter, cool in summer, and collect prodigious quantities of snow. In the subalpine zone, snow can fall any day of the year. The eastern basin and range fringe of WMRC has a drier, sunnier, more continental climate than the rest of the complex. The Lemhi, Birch Creek, Lost River, Pahsimero, and Big Hole Valleys are cool and dry, with long windy winters. Throughout the wilderness complex, summers tend to be dry, autumn long and beautiful, and, except for the eastern fringe, winters cloudy and moist. May and June usually bring substantial precipitation throughout the region. Except where local topography creates anomalies, WMRC has an increasing moisture gradient from south to north, and from east to west. But in this diverse land, anomalies are common.

For instance, Stanley Basin, Idaho, is a 6000 foot high mountain valley rimmed by the Sawtooth, Salmon River, White Cloud and Boulder Ranges. Stanley probably has colder winters than anywhere else in the conterminous states, though confirmation of this would be difficult because it has no official US Weather Service station. Ambient air temperatures colder than -65 degrees Fahrenheit have been recorded there more than once. Radiational cooling and cold air drainage from the surrounding highlands can create a double whammy in Stanley that makes Nome look warm. Warm days in Stanley are about as rare as Dan Quayle's wit. Winters are only slightly less Siberian in Montana's Big Hole; yet just over the Continental Divide to the west and north, temperatures in the Bitterroot River drainage rarely fall below -25 degrees F. This is because as one moves north and west in WMRC, wet and mild Pacific air moderates winter temperatures, but dramatically increases winter precipitation. Along the crest of the main Bitterroot Range annual precipitation, most falling as winter snow, approaches 100 inches! The northern Bitterroot crest in the proposed Great Burn Wilderness is even wetter. Yet barely 150 miles to the south, Challis, ID, averages a mere 7" of annual precipitation, about the same as Phoenix, Arizona. In the Pahsimero Valley (between the Lost River and Lemhi Ranges) winters are frigid but sunny; while along the Selway, Lochsa, and North Fork of the Clearwater Rivers, Pacific drizzle slides down the Western Red Cedar trunks to the sopping snowpack of frequent Pacific Northwest winter thaws. In these Pacific Northwest forests, temperatures rarely fall below zero, even in January.

Obviously, then, WMRC is a mosaic land, especially in winter when arctic air invades from the northeast, often clashing with the moist but mild "Pacific Express." Superimpose the varied landscape upon these general patterns and the result is a wilderness complex of tremendous climatic and ecological diversity.

**Biotic Communities:** Sagebrush steppe ("cow desert") is the characteristic flora of the south and of the eastern fringe valleys. Mixed Rocky Mountain conifers cloak most of the core ecosystem, and an array of disjunct Pacific Northwest species inhabits moist pockets to the north. Douglas-fir is the dominant tree species in WMRC's montane (mid-elevation temperate) forests. Grand Fir, Western Red Cedar, and even a few Western White Pine add diversity to the montane forest as one moves west and north. Western Hemlock thrives in the wettest climates of the northern fringe of the wilderness complex. Throughout most of the region, Ponderosa Pine is an important component of the montane forest, especially in relatively warm dry habitats where it frequently forms pure open stands. Scattered grasslands, occasionally mixed with sagebrush, occur throughout much of the complex on dry south and west-facing slopes at low elevations. Seral, post-fire forests of Lodgepole Pine and Western Larch (the latter in wetter habitats) are often extensive, and thrive in both the montane and lower subalpine zones. The cold snowy subalpine forest is dominated by Engelmann Spruce, Subalpine Fir, Whitebark Pine (on high dry slopes), and Alpine (sometimes called "sub-alpine") Larch. Alpine Larch occurs in WMRC only north of the main Salmon River, and usually in the highest, coldest rocky basins. On the high wet slopes of the Great Burn Roadless Area, old-growth stands of Mountain Hemlock form an unusual — and threatened — subalpine ecosystem.

Alpine tundra is uncommon in the Wild Mountain River Complex, primarily because the few summits high enough for it tend to consist of steep hard granitic rocks that do not easily erode to stable soil. There are, however, a few areas of true alpine tundra. For example, well developed tundra ecosystems thrive atop some isolated Arctic-like plateaus in the Lemhis.

At any given location in the WMRC, plant communities tend to change abruptly. For instance, at my home on Montana's West Fork of the Bitterroot, open stands of Ponderosa Pine characterize south and west facing slopes, while dense stands of Douglas-fir dominate the wetter and cooler north and east facing aspects. Engelmann Spruce grows in frost pockets along streams, and there are also smatterings of Lodgepole Pine and Quaking Aspen. In the drier country to the south, sagebrush steppe-conifer ecotones are particularly abrupt where opposing slopes rise from canyon bottoms and fall from ridge crests. In the foothills of the Lemhis, Lost Rivers, and southern Bitterroots, Curleaf Mountain Mahogany (not a mahogany, but a member of the rose family) thickets soften the transition from grassland to forest. Although mountainous regions are generally characterized by frequent and abrupt changes in biotic communities, and by a wide variety of communities, this ecosystem diversity is particularly impressive in the Wild Mountain River Complex — in part due to its ruggedness, and in part to its sprawling vulnerability to different air masses and climatic influences.

**Animals:** The Wild Mountain River Ecosystem probably has the healthiest Puma (Mountain Lion) population remaining in the US. Elk, Moose, Mule and White-tailed Deer, Bighorn Sheep, and Mountain Goat are all abundant in various parts of the core ecosystem. Perhaps the most significant habitat is the expansive coniferous forest of the core ecosystem, where rare (in the US) mammals such as Lynx, Wolverine, Fisher, Marten, and Mink still thrive. The WMRC is a stronghold for deep forest species such as Northern Flying Squirrel. Temperate climate species such as River Otter, Bobcat, Raccoon, Striped Skunk and Badger thrive at the lower elevations, particularly in the river canyons where native grasslands and brushlands are interspersed with stands of Ponderosa Pine and Douglas-fir. Other mammals common here are Coyote, Red Fox, Mountain Cottontail, and Snowshoe Hare. Black Bear are abundant throughout most of the forested mountains of the complex. In the sagebrush steppes outside the core ecosystem, Whitetail Jackrabbit and Pronghorn "antelope" speed across the high open valleys.

Because of the spectacular ecosystem diversity, avifauna is particularly varied. In their respective habitats, Ruffed Grouse (thickets), Blue Grouse (montane forest), Spruce Grouse (subalpine forest), and even a few rare Columbia Sharp-tail Grouse (broken grass- and shrublands) all inhabit this region. Varied Thrush, Vaux's Swift, Winter Wren, Pileated Woodpecker and Chestnut-backed Chickadee thrive in the dense, mature and old-growth Pacific-type forests in the north. Boreal Owl, Northern Goshawk, and Golden Eagle grace remote cliffs and forests. Ravens are ubiquitous, and Bald Eagles are increasing. Harlequin Ducks, rare throughout most of their range, still thrive in remote mountain streams. The Chuckar and Ring-necked Pheasant — both exotic species — inhabit arid rocky and agricultural habitats, respectively.

In short, the biota of WMRC is a unique mixture of species characteristic of the northern boreal forest, the Pacific Northwest rainforest, the Rocky Mountains, and the Great Basin. Hence the internationally significant natural diversity of this little-known region.

**Missing Links:** A few Grizzly Bears and Gray Wolves occasionally wander through the WMRC, but no viable populations remain. Although the federal government is required by the Endangered Species Act to promote the recovery of these and other Threatened and Endangered species, bureaucrats unrealistically insist that natural immigration will occur from distant populations. Park Service biologists admit that a wolf reintroduction program in Yellowstone is the only way to restore a viable population of wolves there, but the government is playing ostrich regarding wolves and Grizzlies in WMRC. Because of heavy development, including an Interstate Highway corridor, that severs the WMRC from Grizzly and wolf populations in Canada and in Montana's Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem, reintroduction programs for both species are



Castle Peak in the White Clouds roadless area.

necessary for the wilds of central Idaho.

Bison once thrived in the high open steppes of WMRC's eastern fringe. They've been replaced by cattle. Moo. To the north, historic evidence places Woodland Caribou as far south as the north rim of the main Salmon River Canyon. Although a small herd still survives in extreme northern Idaho's Selkirk Mountains (and is being augmented with Canadian Caribou transplants), restoration efforts are needed to return this majestic antlered symbol of the north woods to more of its native historic habitat, including much of the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness.

Peregrine Falcons once thrived, but are now extremely rare, in the WMRC. More research is needed to determine the historic range of the Common Loon and Trumpeter Swan in WMRC. Both are, for all practical purposes, absent today. Similar research is needed to locate the entire historic range of the Bison in this region, and also to confirm the former presence of the Black-footed Ferret in the open country along the eastern fringe.

In days of old, anadromous salmon spawned in WMRC's rivers and streams by countless millions. Grizzlies, Bald Eagles, Osprey and a wide array of other predators annually feasted on this aquatic banquet. But during the brief instant of biological disaster we call the 20th century, a series of massive cement plugs have thwarted rivers and ravaged the ecology of the entire Columbia River Basin. Today, Chinook Salmon and Steelhead (ocean-going Rainbow Trout) still "run" to spawning beds in many of WMRC's streams, but their truncated numbers are but a faint reminder of a rich and teeming past. Although recent studies in the Selway-Bitterroot affirm the quality of existing habitat for a possible Grizzly reintroduction program, the Wild Mountain River Ecosystem cannot be restored to a semblance of its former health without major restoration of native fisheries. This entails tearing down the dams.

**Forest Ecology:** Wild Mountain River Country's forests are the product of a long history of lightning-ignited wildfires. Because summers are dry here, frequent July and August thunderstorms have created a varied mosaic of forest types. This mosaic is most evident in the expansive continuous forest of the core ecosystem. Ridgetops and other fire-prone habitats are often clothed with Lodgepole Pine forests that burn repeatedly, never attaining a climax condition. In the western and northern parts of the ecosystem, Western Larch plays a similar post-fire ecological role, usually on wetter sites, but sometimes mixed with Lodgepole Pine. Old-growth and "climax" forests of spruce, fir, Douglas-fir, and Western Red Cedar-West-

ern Hemlock in the wet north, occur mainly in moist canyon bottoms and on north and east facing slopes where the natural fire cycle is one of many centuries or even millennia. On the other hand, in the relatively dry canyons of the Salmon River's Middle and Main Forks, splendid old-growth park-like stands of Ponderosa Pine mixed with scattered Douglas-fir are actually maintained by frequent wildfires (intervals of 20-30 years or less) that fail to kill the big old thick-barked trees, while maintaining an open relatively brush-free understory. Thus we see two opposing ecological "strategies" for coping with fire. The thin-barked Lodgepoles and larches are easily killed by fire, but reproduce profusely in its wake. Indeed, Lodgepole Pine in WMRC tends to have serotinous cones; that is, they can only open and spread seed if fire breaks the resinous bonds that bind the scales. The thick-barked Ponderosas and Douglas-firs, in contrast, simply survive the fires and carry on.

Therefore, random but somewhat predictable (in time) catastrophic events (fire, wind, avalanches, native insects, etc.), superimposed upon a rugged landscape of sudden changes in aspect, have created a rich mosaic of forest stands in varying stages of ecological succession. Fire is, by far, the most important agent of change.

Unlike the soggy coastal forests of western Washington, British Columbia and southeast Alaska, old-growth stands probably always comprised less than half of the post-Pleistocene forest in WMRC. (Old-growth forests are not necessarily climax stands; old-growth has more to do with forest structure than with species composition. Successional forests can reach an old-growth condition long before they reach a climax with regard to species composition. Most research on old-growth habitat to date has dealt with the coastal Northwest forests. We still know little about old-growth ecology and extent in other bioregions including WMRC and the Northern Rockies in general.) Old-growth stands occurred — and still do, mostly in protected areas — as important but scattered components in a continuum of conifer forest successional ecosystems. That's why the terms 'old growth' and 'virgin forest' are not synonymous. Virgin forests are those that have never been logged or otherwise disturbed by modern humans. In the Rockies, most virgin forests are successional forests, born in fire. Therefore, virtually all forests in an old-growth condition are virgin, but not all virgin forests are old-growth.

Nonetheless, throughout the Rockies (as elsewhere in the US) mature, old-growth, and expansive unbroken forests in general are becoming increasingly rare due to extensive and expensive new logging and

continued on page 20

# THE IDAHO CONNECTION

Mention the Idaho Connection and Kamikaze level kayakers think of a surf wave on the Snake River, purveyors of pre-packaged potatoes think of frozen french fries, and Montana motorists consider a mountain pass between the two states. The Idaho connection to which this article refers is a biological one in the vicinity of one of those mountain passes.

Lost Trail Pass, a little less than half way along the Montana-Idaho border from Wyoming to Canada, is where the connection is made. Here the mountains of central Idaho and the mountains of the Continental Divide are continuous. From Yellowstone National Park to Lost Trail Pass, the Continental Divide is the states' boundary. Then the Continental Divide turns east and north into Montana while the Bitterroot Divide runs west and then north around the Bitterroot watershed.

Lost Trail Pass was so named by Lewis and Clark. The choosing of divides at Lost Trail Pass historically has been the subject of much conjecture. Apparently, the survey party set out to place the boundary between Montana and Idaho along the Continental Divide but took a wrong turn and followed the Bitterroot Divide instead. At Lost Trail Pass, the Divides change direction, the rivers change direction, and now local conservationists are trying to make the Forest Service change direction.

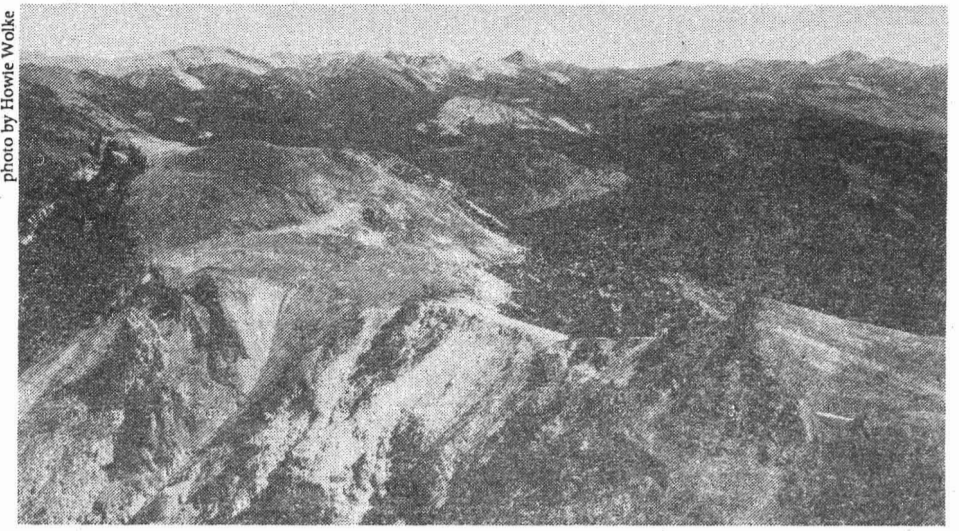
Central Idaho, where wild rivers carve canyons through the granite of the Idaho Batholith, contains the largest roadless area — the River of No Return Wilderness and contiguous *de facto* wilderness — left in the continental United States — even larger than any roadless area in the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem or the Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem. Along the Continental Divide are unprotected wildlands serving as biological corridors between the large wildlands.

In the current debate over the future of these connecting wildlands, the location of the state boundary is proving unfortunate. Senator McClure of Idaho has proposed anti-wilderness legislation that would open most of Idaho's roadless lands to development and gut the Wilderness Act. Montana's congressional delegation has failed to propose worthwhile Wilderness designation, and has been especially weak on the wildlands shared by the two states. Logging and roading are further fragmenting the border wildlands as the Forest Service invites development in the name of community stability.

Contiguous with the RNR Wilderness is the Blue Joint Wilderness Study Area — half of which is planned for timber management by the Bitterroot National Forest. Outside the areas in the Blue Joint drainage currently planned for "timber harvest," a large mining company, Pegasus, has filed over 100 claims.

Immediately east of Lost Trail Pass the Anderson Mountain Roadless Area is slated for timber harvest. The Salmon National Forest management prescription for the area includes "meeting anadromous fish species habitat needs and producing high timber outputs." That's like protecting wetlands by filling in the swamp. The Salmon NF "primary cutting prescription" for the area is "regeneration by clearcut." They claim that "clearcuts ... will not damage the water resource," and that "we do not clearcut because it is the most efficient method of producing logs — we clearcut because it is the best way to produce a new stand of trees and/or accomplish multiple use goals."

Central to the controversy over the wildlands shared by Idaho and Montana is the Allan Mountain Roadless Area (AMRA). The 153,000 acre area (as inventoried by the FS) fills almost the entire gap between Lost Trail Pass and the River of No Return Wilderness. Wild Allan Mountain, a local support group, has identified 164,000 roadless acres



Junction Peak in the North Lemhi roadless area.

in its Wilderness proposal. Most of the additional acreage is in big game winter range.

Lacking the rugged alpine peaks of the main Bitterroot Range, AMRA is an area of high forested ridges, subalpine meadows, and steep canyons. Elevations vary from about 4000 feet along the West Fork Bitterroot River to 9154 feet atop Allan Mountain.

Vegetation is similar to that of the surrounding areas, with dense stands of spruce, fir, and Douglas-fir interspersed with south sloping meadows and Ponderosa Pine parklands. Understory varies from beargrass and huckleberries to grasses and sagebrush.

Animals in the area include Black Bear, Martin, Fisher, Mountain Lion, Bobcat, Elk, Mule Deer, Moose, Mountain Goat, and Pileated Woodpecker. The area is a Gray Wolf dispersal corridor for the Wolf Recovery Plan.

AMRA's primary biological importance is as a connection between biological provinces (the wilds of central ID and the Continental Divide wilds of western MT). It is a key link in the Wild Rockies wilderness chain.

AMRA is surrounded and threatened by clearcutting. Indeed the roadless area is defined by roads and clearcuts; it is an island of habitat. The two large lumber mills in nearby Darby, MT, Stolze-Conner and Darby Lumber, can mill almost three times the Bitterroot Forest "annual allowable sale quantity" of 24.1 million board feet. In 1989, Friends of the Bitterroot, a grassroots environmental group, filed appeals on two proposed timber sales in AMRA.

The Bitterroot National Forest is planning a 15 year reduction of 18,000 of the 102,000 roadless acres on the Forest. The Bitterroot managers have issued an EIS on the sales with a FONSI (Finding Of No Significant Impact). Friends of the Bitterroot, Wild Allan Mtn, Ravalli County Fish and Wildlife Association, and Trout Unlimited Bitterroot Chapter have officially disagreed. Their appeals, together with the appeal on the nearby Tolan Creek timber sale, have practically shut down the Bitterroot Forest. Negotiations with the Forest Service have begun. The FS has violated agreed upon guidelines by letting additional timber industry representatives into the meetings. This is the type of abuse of process that leads individuals to consider direct action.

Not being considered in the present process is a greater vision of the connectedness of the Wild Rockies. While the Friends of the Bitterroot are looking past the FS into the cumulative impacts on the AMRA, envi-

ronmentalists should be fighting the continued fragmentation of wildlands all along the Great Divide.

It's time to stop breaking connections — and start replacing them. Time to recognize the foolishness of state borders and protect whole ecosystems. Time to reach hands across the hills, minds across the mountains, and keep the connections wild and alive.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** 1) Write your congressional delegation (Senate, DC 20510; House, DC 20515). Tell them to oppose Senator McClure's anti-wilderness bill, S 371. Urge them to support a bioregional approach to wildlands preservation in Idaho and Montana; that is, protection for all 16 million acres of roadless Forest Service lands in Montana and Idaho. Advocate a Montana, Idaho National Interest Lands Preservation Act (MINILPA) preserving 16 million acres of wilderness. 2) Support the groups working for the Wild Rockies as a bioregion: Americans for Wilderness Coalition, Box 4784, Missoula, MT 59806; Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Box 8731, Missoula 59807; and Wild Rockies EF! (see Directory).

—The Wild River Rambler, an errant Freddie

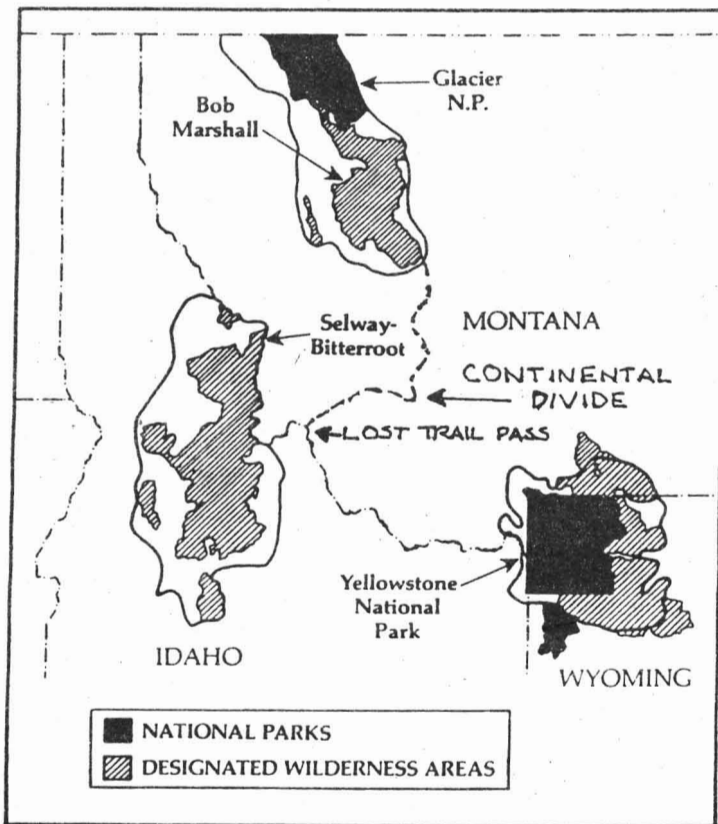
## Wild Mountain River Country . . .

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roadbuilding. Therefore, deep forest, mature forest, and old-growth dependent species are also being depleted. The Wild Mountain River Ecosystem, replete with old-growth and successional forests in an unbroken continuum, is one of our last bastions of habitat for uncommon deep forest and old-growth dependent species, as well as for wilderness-dependent species such as Harlequin Duck and Wolverine. In other words, there's still hope for true forest evolution in WMRC, but only if we reverse today's trend of destruction.

**Politics and Threats:** Idaho Senator Jim McClure and Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield are two of the most venomous timber industry pimps ever to pollute Senate seats with their flatulence. Idaho's other Senator, Steve ("We shoot spotted owls at our border") Symms, is even more vitriolic in his anti-environmental fanaticism, but fortunately he is inept. Hatfield and McClure are not. Montana's Western District Congressional Representative, Pat Williams, is no environmentalist, but the other yahoos "representing" the WMRC bioregion make him look good by comparison. Fortunately neither Montana nor Idaho has yet had a post RARE II Wilderness bill. McClure's dismal proposal for Idaho, supported by Governor Cecil Andrus, would release nearly 8 million acres of *de facto* wilderness, mandate an obscene level of overcutting on the Idaho Panhandle National Forest, and instruct the Forest Service to survey anything resembling a road in *existing* designated Wilderness and then recommend to Congress which Wilderness lands should be *de-classified*! This is the *worst* so-called Wilderness bill *ever* introduced, and because of that it probably will fail.

Nonetheless, clearcutting and roadbuilding are rampant on unprotected National Forest lands in WMRC. Although new entry into RARE II areas is still illegal due to past RARE II lawsuits, many roadless lands weren't inventoried in RARE II (a million acres on the Beaverhead Forest, for instance; this includes vulnerable wildlands in the Big Hole) and are being clearcut rapidly. More-  
*continued on next page*

## WOLF RECOVERY AREAS



## Elite Outfitters Threaten RNR

A few outfitters in the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness in Idaho are fighting to gain a special exception for their clients to the "pack it in — pack it out" policy in National Forest Wildernesses. They want the *right* to cache equipment and supplies at campsites. This issue first emerged soon after the 1964 Wilderness Act passed. Canoe outfitters in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness in Minnesota wanted to cache supplies to ease the pain of difficult portages. The Forest Service determined that maintenance of caches is illegal under the Wilderness Act. Accordingly, Chief Ed Cliff established the "pack it in — pack it out" policy in 1965. It has applied equally to all Wilderness users. The BWCA outfitters accepted the decision and Wilderness outfitters throughout the nation have successfully operated without caches for many years.

Before the RNR Wilderness was established in 1980, outfitters had used caches there. The Forest Service, with full public involvement, completed the Management Plan for this new Wilderness in 1985. It required phased removal of caches and per-

manent structures. The Idaho Outfitters and Guides Association appealed the plan. Forest Service Chief Max Peterson denied the appeal, then retired shortly thereafter. Eleven outfitters filed suit in federal court.

Current FS Chief Dale Robertson did not agree with Peterson's earlier decision and secretly agreed out-of-court to establish a task force to review the policy. The task force was established in 1988. After interviewing many people (including outfitters) and making 2 trips into the RNR, they reported to Robertson on 19 December 1988 and reaffirmed the validity of the "pack it in — pack it out" policy for all Wildernesses.

Robertson rejected the task force recommendation. On 20 April 1989 he authorized continued storage of equipment during an interim trial period while FS field personnel worked with the outfitters with the long-term objective "to promote the use of lightweight, portable equipment that can be taken in and out of the wilderness at the beginning and end of the use season." He promised to evaluate the results and make a final decision after the 1989 season.

Related to the problem of caches is the problem of inholdings in the RNR: Some hunting outfitters own permanent hunting lodges and airstrips *within* the RNR Wilderness. They actually fly in their clients and provide them with modern accommodations. Needless to say, lodges, airstrips, and machines do not belong in a Wilderness Area.

The "pack it in — pack it out" principle is critical to the integrity of the entire National Wilderness Preservation System. If outfitters in the RNR are permitted to cache supplies for their clients, outfitters everywhere will want to do the same. So also is the purchase of RNR inholdings critical to the Wilderness System. Please write Chief Robertson and tell him to forbid caches, permanent structures, and airstrips in Wilderness Areas: Forest Service Chief F. Dale Robertson, Interior Dept, 18th & C Sts, Washington, DC 20240. Write your congresspersons with the same message, and urge them to appropriate money to purchase RNR inholdings. Ask your friends to write letters too.

# BIODIVERSITY REPORTS

## Yellowstone Bison Slaughter: Part II

Last winter, 569 Yellowstone National Park Bison were shot by "sport" hunters on winter range just north of the Park. This January through March, the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (MFWP) hopes to have hunters kill an additional 100-200 animals. This would complete herd reduction by 70% — from about 900 to 200-300 individuals. If the planned hunt outside the Park results in too few dead Bison this winter (the animals might not exit the Park, particularly if weather conditions stay mild), the National Park Service (NPS) may conduct a management kill within the Park itself.

The Bison killing program results from an "interim management" accord between MFWP, NPS, and the US Forest Service (FS) on behalf of the Montana cattle industry. Citizens who contact these agencies in opposition to the slaughter receive a brochure (illustrated with silhouettes of Buffalo, presumably marching to their deaths) explaining how this is all part of "managing a national heritage." (MFWP officials prefer the term 'harvest' to 'slaughter', reasoning perhaps that Buffalo slaying by the modern day Bill Cody is more like plucking cucumbers than annihilating wildlife). The brochure invites the public to provide comments on a final "management plan," which will be completed after most of the Bison have been killed.

The agencies say the Bison slaughter is necessary to protect domestic cattle from brucellosis, a disease that affects cattle by causing sterility, fetal loss, and weak new born calves. Over 50% of Yellowstone's Bison are said to harbor *Brucella abortus*, the bacterium that can cause the disease. K.L. Cool, MFWP director, summarized his agency's views during a recent kill-the-bison lobbying trip to Washington DC with Robert Barbee, Yellowstone Park Superintendent. "If the bison leave the Park," explained Cool, "they are fair game ... we're faced with a threat to our own livestock industry. The animals are not welcome in Montana."

Prior to the 1980s, Bison seldom traveled beyond the Park, with the exception of

a few bulls. This changed when some cow-calf groups discovered lower elevation habitat along the Yellowstone River. By 1984 the herd as a whole expanded its winter range north across the Park boundary. (The original herd in the area was exterminated about a century ago.)

What alternative is there to killing the Bison? Federal and state agencies should secure enough rangeland along the Park's northern boundary to fully protect Bison and other Park wildlife. This could be done through land acquisition and private land easements. In the meantime, the brucellosis threat could be controlled through frequent testing of cattle that come into contact with Bison and by screening all cattle that are shipped from the Yellowstone River Valley. (This would involve about 800 cattle between Yankee Jim Canyon and the Park boundary.) If any cattle did contract the disease, they could be killed or quarantined. (Brucellosis recently occurred in cattle near Dubois, Wyoming. The animals were sent to an out-of-state quarantine feedlot and slaughtered.) Finally, the cattle in the area can be vaccinated against the disease, with a vaccine believed to be about 70-90% effective. The cost of such a program could be met through a modest increase in the unreasonably low fees that stockmen pay for grazing livestock on public lands throughout the West.

With such efforts, few cattle are likely to be lost to brucellosis. In fact, though the disease has been transmitted experimentally from Bison to cattle, there is no documented case of this happening in the wild. Moreover, no evidence has been found of infectious discharge (placental membranes, fluids, dead fetuses, etc.) from Bison in the area. Fetal loss from brucellosis in Yellowstone Bison may actually be uncommon, as the herd seems to have developed some resistance to it through the process of natural selection. (There is a peculiar lack of information on the transmissibility and effects of brucellosis in Yellowstone Bison.)

The Montana livestock industry and MFWP are not likely to adopt a brucellosis risk management program, even though they cannot expect zero risk (brucellosis occurs also in Elk over much of the Yellow-

stone area). They aim to keep livestock interests above those of Yellowstone wildlife. The hysteria over brucellosis is like the hysteria over the Gray Wolf (which hysteria, also caused by ranchers, has blocked Endangered Species Act restoration of that species).

The Bison killing on the northern range is further undermining the natural integrity of the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. (Other factors include excessive Park development, use of rubber bullets on bears, expanded winter use of the Park by snowmobilers, and increased road-building and logging on National Forests adjacent to the Park.) The Park's northern Bison herd is being decimated precisely when it should be naturally expanding with new foraging opportunities created by recent fires. A wide range of wildlife, including Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, Coyote, Golden Eagle, raven, crow, and Black-billed Magpie, are being impacted since they depend on Bison as carrion or prey.

The NPS has once again sold out on its responsibility to preserve natural processes in Yellowstone National Park. Caving in to political pressure, it has sanctioned the removal of the very wildlife it is assigned to protect.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** 1) Urge President Bush (The White House, Washington, DC 20500; 202-456-1414) to halt the slaughter of Yellowstone's Bison. Urge him to have the Interior Secretary secure winter rangeland for Bison and other Park wildlife in the Yellowstone River valley through land acquisition and/or private land easements. Propose that, as an interim measure, federal and state agencies develop a livestock screening program to control the risk of brucellosis in cattle near Yellowstone Park. 2) Contact Wayne Pacelle, 850 Sligo Ave, Suite LL 2, Silver Spring, MD 20910; 301-585-2591 for information on direct actions to prevent the killing of Bison this February and March.

—Dr. Tony Povilis, Senior Scientist, Humane Society of the US

*ed. note: Letter writers may also wish to emphasize that cows should not be allowed on public lands; removal of cows from BLM and FS lands north of YNP would largely eliminate the excuse for killing Bison.*

## ME Caribou Program Plans Expansion

The Maine Caribou Transplant Program has announced that it will receive 75 Caribou from Newfoundland over the next 3 years. This program should be renamed the Maine Caribou Assassination Program. It is modeled on General Westmoreland's "send more bodies" Vietnam strategy — keep throwing the bodies in there and eventually something will survive and win. Caribou have died at every step of the process. They have died from bad drugs and stress during capture. They have died during transport. They have died in the pens in Orono. Early this summer 12 of the 17 calves died in the pens, many from a "mysterious illness." Adults in the pens have died from brainworm. Of the 12 Caribou released into Baxter State Park last summer, 10 are now dead. It is time to come to the defense of the individual Caribou, and to speak out against this project.

The Maine Caribou Transplant Corporation is a "group of private individuals interested in restoring Caribou to the state." It remains unclear whether or not these private individuals are actually interested in restoring a large mammal for hunters. The project is "by design a scientific experiment to evaluate the feasibility and practicality of reestablishing caribou to Maine." This is a private group, subject to political whim and public opinion. They have waged a public campaign for funding, giving names to individual Caribou (now deceased in many cases) and having public viewing days of these supposedly wild animals in their pens at the University of Maine in Orono. It would probably be better for the Caribou if this were a federal project, not subject to local politics, and run by people with experience in Caribou biology, as with the Caribou reintroduction project in Idaho, where the Caribou have federal protection (and a very low mortality rate for the project). Habitat suitability studies should be done before receiving shipments of kidnapped Caribou.

Another shadow over Maine's program seems to be the paper companies, who don't want Caribou on their lands, especially if

*continued on page 22*

over, illegal sales slip by conservationists. The timber industry is also ravaging its own forestlands. And even in already roaded areas, overcutting is rampant, damaging fragile watersheds and converting the fauna to one dominated by the same weedy species common in civilized places throughout America. Although overcutting has been the norm in WMRC since the early 1950s, the pace has accelerated under Reagan and Bush, and under a recent timber industry policy to abandon sustained yield on private lands in order to "liquidate" its "assets" (the forest).

Other threats to WMRC include mining around the edges of the Idaho Batholith, a contact zone where mineralization is common. Mining, much of it open pit mining, has already destroyed lands within (in "cherry system" exclusions) and adjacent to the RNR, and is a constant threat to this fragile land. Both mining and logging, along with the new roads that accompany them, encourage the spread of exotic plants such as Spotted Knapweed, an aggressive native of Eurasia that is displacing native grasslands in the canyons of the Selway, Salmon, and Snake. Spotted Knapweed is an immediate threat to the main Salmon River Canyon in the RNR Wilderness.

Development in WMRC not only degrades watersheds and impoverishes gene pools, it also opens the door for more road hunters, poachers, ORVs, illegal dumping and other uncontrolled dispersed forms of wildland destruction. The ongoing rape of this unknown treasure is as though we allowed Yellowstone to be clearcut, the Grand Canyon to be dammed, or (in purely human terms) the last existing tape of a Hank Williams Sr. ballad to be dubbed over by a punk rock or a rap "tune." Unfortunately, the threats to WMRC are the threats to wilderness throughout our continent. WMRC is a large microcosm of our public wildlands, throughout which an extraction-based approach to management prevails.

One of the most alarming facets of the modern conservation movement in America is its failure to prioritize WMRC for protection and restoration. For example, although some 700,000 acres of unprotected National Forest roadless lands are contiguous to the designated RNR Wilderness, most conservation groups in Idaho propose less than 10%

of those lands for Wilderness. Whereas the Greater Yellowstone Coalition and the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance have been formed to try to save the biotic wholeness of their respective bioregions, no such holistic effort has been made for the wilds of central Idaho and beyond. Unless wilderness activists can recognize, promote, defend, and restore it, the Big Wild won't be for long.

### A MODEST PROPOSAL

1. Designate the entire Wild Mountain River Complex an "International Temperate Zone Evolution Reserve." Within this area all public lands shall be protected with no additional development allowed. Livestock shall be removed from all public lands.

2. Designate as Wilderness all roadless lands in the Reserve.

3. Close the Magruder Corridor Road to reunite the River of No Return and Selway-Bitterroot Wildernesses, "creating" a single core Wilderness unit of 5 million acres. Restore the road to its former condition leaving a packtrail for foot or horse access.

4. Outlaw all mineral exploration and development within the entire Reserve.

5. Restore to a natural condition all logged, mined, and otherwise degraded public lands within the core ecosystem.

6. Restore wilderness on public lands where closure of logging roads, replanting of badly eroded areas, and protective management could easily and inexpensively result in wilderness recovery. Although the entire Reserve should be studied for wilderness restoration projects, several locations are obvious:

\*\*The Mallard Larkins, Great burn, Meadow Creek, and Bighorn Wietas Roadless Areas could be reunited to form a million acre wilderness at the northern end of the WMRC simply by closing and reclaiming logging roads that provide access for below-cost timber sales. The area is uninhabited and most of it is public land.

\*\*The Magruder Corridor Right of Way could easily be restored to a wilderness condition (see #3 above).

\*\*All "cherry system" intrusions into the RNR Wilderness could be closed and restored.

\*\*Abused areas on the Payette National Forest, particularly in the drainage of the Salmon River's South Fork, could be restored by means of road closures and replanting.

\*\*A few cherry system and peripheral road closure/restoration projects would result in a 700,000 acre Boulder-White Clouds Wilderness.

7. Reintroduce all extirpated native fauna.  
8. Empower an independent body of conservation biologists (e.g., Paul Ehrlich, Michael Soule, Bruce Wilcox) to preside over the reserve. The commission would locate potential wilderness restoration projects and be empowered to carry out such projects. The commission would have full regulatory power to police all actions of federal agencies and individuals on public lands within the Reserve.

**Summary:** The Wild Mountain River Complex provides a unique opportunity to protect in a relatively natural condition a large region of extraordinarily diverse wilderness and semi-wilderness habitats. The proposed "International Temperate Zone Evolution Reserve" would consist of a pristine wilderness core and an outlying buffer zone of smaller wildernesses, semi-wild forest and rangelands, and scattered human habitations. Because the entire WMRC is either sparsely populated or uninhabited by humans, enactment of the proposal would dislocate nobody, and would allow existing human activities compatible with the generally wild nature of the region to continue.

All of America's remaining big wilderness complexes — including the Northern Cascades of Washington, Florida's Everglades-Big Cypress Region, the Canyon Country of southern Utah, the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, and New York's Adirondacks — are in trouble. Although each wilderness complex is unique in terms of its politics, land ownership patterns, and ecology, it is time to recognize the big wilderness complexes as our last hope for the continued evolution of native ecosystems and all their components, particularly large vertebrates. Conservationists must place special emphasis on these special places, and act. This proposal for an International Temperate Zone Evolution Reserve for Wild Mountain River Country could serve as a useful model, from which similar proposals for other wilderness complexes could be adapted.

The WMRC is the largest North American wilderness complex south of Canada.

However, as with all the temperate world's remaining wild regions, it faces ongoing despoliation. Although humanity's war against nature has escalated during the 20th century, we've waged this war for at least two millennia. Our challenge is nothing less than to reverse the tide of modern human history; that is, to choose life and continued evolution over destruction and impoverishment. There is no better place to begin than in the wilds of central Idaho.

### WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Write your representatives in Congress (senators, US Senate, Washington, DC 20510; representative, House of Representatives, DC 20515) and inform them that ALL remaining wildlands should be protected. Tell them to cease funding ALL roadbuilding and logging programs on our public lands.

2. Write them again and emphasize the need to protect our remaining big wilderness complexes. Tell them what a wilderness complex is.

3. Write them yet again and tell them that anti-wilderness extremists like Jim McClure, Mark Hatfield, Steve Symms, Conrad Burns and Ron Marlenee should not be allowed to dictate the future of our wildest remaining region, the Wild Rockies of northwest Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, northeast Oregon, and northeast Washington. Tell them you want WMRC, in particular, protected.

4. Develop and advance proposals such as this one for our remaining big wilderness complexes.

5. Join and support (with action and money) no-nonsense conservation groups working to protect wilderness, particularly those utilizing a bioregional approach.

6. Read *Ecodefense* and vacation frequently in WMRC. Get on the mailing list for one or more National Forests or BLM Districts in WMRC; this will provide the needed information to locate your vacation activities.

*EF co-founder Howie Wolke is a backcountry guide based in Montana. He has nearly completed his book Wilderness On The Rocks, to be published by Ned Ludd Books.*

## Biodiversity . . .

continued from page 21

they become federally protected. There is also the question of containment. The pens at Orono, where the Caribou have much human contact, are like a zoo. Direct releases should be considered, with minimal human contact. The brainworm, carried by White-tailed Deer, is another consideration. This is part of the reason Maine lost its Caribou. They are dying from brainworm both in the pens at Orono (which brings up the question of how they got it) and in the wild in Baxter.

We need to respect the rights of the individual animals. To quote the columnist William Clark: "The caribou-moving project puzzles me. The sponsors are supposed to be animal lovers. The claim is questionable. If they love caribou, why don't they leave them alone? The caribou, as far as I know, are perfectly happy up there in the Maritime Provinces."

Now they plan to bring down 75 more, to add to those still alive in Baxter and the pens. It is time for us to take action and change this program. We need to write letters supporting the listing of Woodland Caribou in Maine as an Endangered species under the federal Endangered Species Act: \*Regional Director, US Fish and Wildlife Service, One Gateway Center, Suite 700, Newton Corner, MA 02158

\*representative, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 \*senators, Senate, DC 20510

We should also write to Newfoundland to question their participation in this program:

\*Jim Kelland, Minister, Dept of Environment and Lands, St Johns, Newfoundland, Canada

We need to involve animal rights groups. We need to raise public consciousness with letters to the editor, and demonstrations at the pens, at the entrance to Baxter, and in Newfoundland when they attempt to bring more Caribou. We need to speak out for the Caribou, and either change this program of pain and death, or end it as a failed experiment.

—Gary Lawless, Gulf of Maine EF!

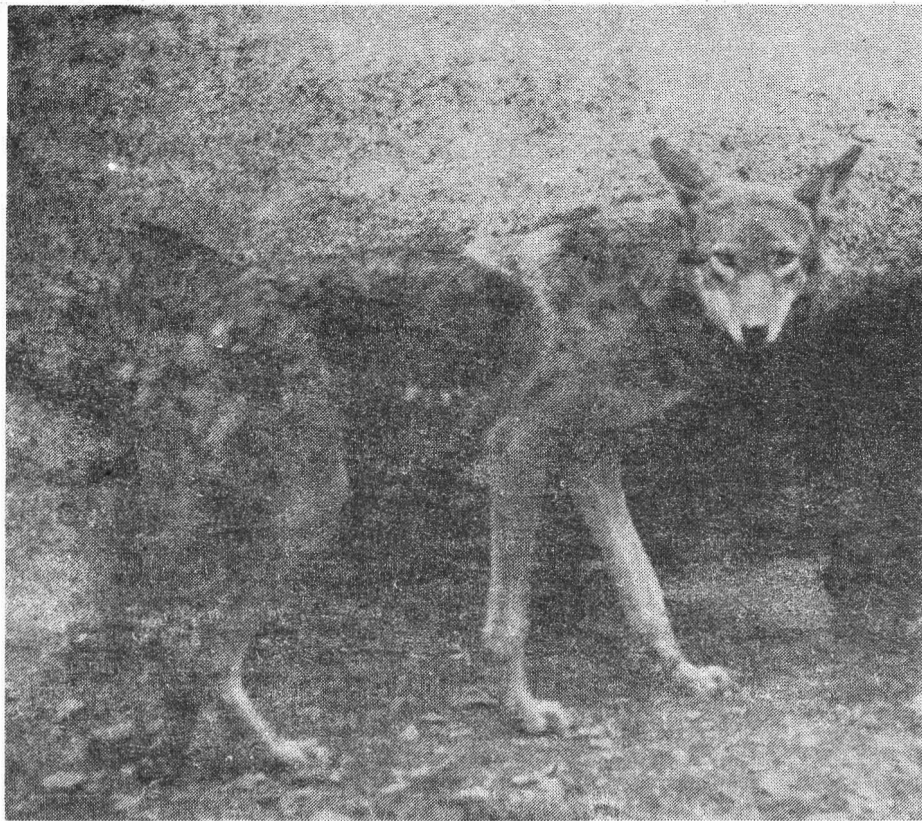
### Arizonans Ponder Lobo Recovery Strategies

On the National Day of Action for the Wolf, Tucson and Phoenix Earth First!ers hosted a showing of a US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) slide show on the Mexican Wolf [*Canis lupus baileyi*, a subspecies of Gray Wolf]. It was suggested then that activists "adopt" a wolf reintroduction area, as Wilderness Study Areas have been "adopted." Arizona EF!ers were also asked to write Governor Mofford to support a wildlife advocate for Arizona Game and Fish Commissioner. The Commission largely controls the future of the wolf in Arizona. We have also worked on repeal of the stock-killer statutes that allow ranchers to kill wolves, as well as Mountain Lions and Black Bears. Repeal of the stock-killer statutes must precede wolf reintroduction.

Many believe we need to focus on reintroducing the captive wolf population as soon as possible. Several mammalogists who spoke with us believe that the only impediments to successful wolf recovery are political. However, biologist Dennis Parker said that the genetic base of the captive-bred Mexican Wolves is an inadequate foundation upon which to build a viable population. He said that since wild Mexican Wolves still persist in Mexico, efforts for the wolf should first focus on preserving wild ones.

Both arguments have merit. It's more difficult to reintroduce a species once extirpated; but how do we help the Lobo in another country? Parker says the most effective way to save the wild Lobo is through livestock compensation programs. The EF! response is that livestock don't belong on the land in the first place, so why compensate? Yet even in this country, a compensation program will be a key element of any reintroduction program. Another suggestion is a "debt-for-nature" swap or other means of securing wolf habitat.

Others support a strong emphasis on public education in the US to prevent Arizona from passing a state law, as did Texas, prohibiting wolf reintroduction. FWS's Mexican Wolf slide show, copies of which are available from the Phoenix and Albuquerque offices, has a tepid script but contains good information. EF!ers in the Southwest should consider showing it. A Wolf Symposium will be held at Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, March 23-24. The conference will explore the folklore, natural history and current status of the wolf throughout its range in North America. Keynote speaker will be David Mech. For



This Red Wolf in the Birmingham Zoo, AL, is part of the USFWS captive breeding program.

details, contact PAWS, 1413 E Dobbins Rd, Phoenix, AZ 85040.

Meanwhile, I'm putting together a package of information for those who would like to adopt a reintroduction area. (With some modification, it may also serve New Mexico and west Texas.) I'm looking for a few good "adopters." Qualifications are a willingness to ask agency representatives a lot of questions, and at least a one year commitment. Adopters should contact me (see Directory), and try to attend the Wolf Symposium. Adopters will work with and/or harass land managers to support wolf reintroduction in the development of resource management plans.

We will be watching Arizona Game and Fish Department (AGFD) closely as they explore wolf reintroduction. Neither they nor the AGF Commission have made any commitment to reintroduce the wolf. They've made any possibility of reintroduction contingent upon a process beginning with an attitude survey. The survey was to have been mailed in December to individuals from the Arizona Cattlegrowers Association, Defenders of Wildlife, a hunter group, AGFD staff, and the public. We must demand that the survey results be disseminated to the public and the Commission proceed to the next step, which is a request to US Fish and Wildlife Service for money to evaluate potential reintroduction sites.

On other fronts, New Mexico EF!'s Wolf Action Group (WAG) recently filed a 60-day intent to sue FWS over their lack of implementation of wolf recovery. It's clear that FWS regional director Michael Spear is impeding wolf recovery. For instance, he has stated in writing that implementation of the Endangered Species Act for Arizona's wolves depends on, first, evidence of public support in AGFD's attitude survey; and, second, support from Arizona's congressional delegation. These are political, not biological considerations, and thus he is violating the ESA. Others are also considering suing FWS for their lack of action on behalf of the wolf.

—Julia Swanson, AZEF!

### Return of the Red Wolf

*Canis rufus*, the Red Wolf, is one of the most endangered carnivores in the world. Once roaming the entire southeastern United States, *C. rufus* has been relegated to a few locations in the wild administered by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS). The fate of the Red Wolf is anybody's guess. What with having to dodge cars, Coyotes, and Alligators, it is a wonder that America is still graced with this ancient species.

The Red Wolf most likely evolved from a common ancestor with the Coyote, its origins dating back to the Pleistocene. Current theory holds that "the primitive stock of small wolves in the New World entered Eurasia where they eventually gave rise to what we now know as the gray wolf (*Canis lupus*)." (Nowak) During the early period of canid evolution in North America, the Coyote and Red Wolf emerged as separate species, giving the Red Wolf the honored distinction of being the "only North American wolf to have evolved entirely in the New World." (1)

Separating into three subspecies, Red Wolves secured a territory ranging from central Texas through the Ozark-Ouachita uplands, into southern Illinois and Ohio, most of Kentucky, parts of Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida, and all of the deep South. These subspecies have been identified as *C. rufus floridanus*, *C. rufus gregoryi*, and *C. rufus*

*rufus*. Of these three, only *gregoryi* remains; the others are considered extinct.

As in other parts of the country, early settlers to the Southeast brought with them a fear and hatred of wolves. This prejudice, bred in Europe, easily translated over to the Red Wolf even though *C. rufus* is considerably smaller than its cousin, the Gray Wolf. In an effort to safeguard livestock (and perhaps their Protestant souls), wolves were hunted extensively throughout their range, with bounties beginning as early as 1695 in South Carolina. (2) Subsequent centuries witnessed increased killing of all predators in the South. Concurrently, Southerners began cutting the great forests of the region, reducing the habitats of the Red Wolf and its prey. Thus, by the early 20th century, only remnant populations of Red Wolves remained. Then came *Canis latrans* — Coyote.

Wolves and Coyotes usually don't mix. David Mech, celebrated wolf biologist, has noted that Coyotes essentially vanished from Lake Superior's Isle Royale after Gray Wolves became established there post 1957. Coyotes did not inhabit the southeastern US until wolves, either Gray or Red, declined. (3) But as the Red Wolf fell to persecution, habitat destruction, and loss of prey species, *C. latrans* managed to assert its presence and its genes into the life of *C. rufus*. Thus, by mid 20th century, many of the remaining Red Wolves harbored Coyote lineage, further diminishing the chance of *C. rufus* surviving as a species. By the early 1970s, the Red Wolf roamed (genetically intact) only in parts of southeastern Texas and southwestern Louisiana: still hunted by man; still faced with encroachment by Coyote. In 1973, the US Fish and Wildlife Service stepped in.

With the discovery that "hybrid swarms" of Coyote/Red Wolf populations existed in the aforementioned area, FWS chose to remove all remaining Red Wolves from the wild to begin a captive breeding program. The long-range goal of the project was to return *C. rufus* to the wild. From a pool of over 400 animals, only 40 were certified as "probable red wolves." Eventually 17 remained. (4)

Altogether removed from the wild, *C. rufus* underwent an intensive breeding program in association with the Point Defiance Zoo in Tacoma, Washington. Fifteen years later, FWS calls the project "the most successful endangered species captive effort in the United States." (5)

After a few quasi-productive attempts at reintroducing *C. rufus* on several islands within the National Wildlife Refuge System, the need for a large mainland Red Wolf sanctuary became apparent. Being seasonal travelers, Red Wolves need more space than coastal islands offer. Nowak reports that some packs can inhabit territories of up to 40 miles in diameter. (6)

In the mid-1980s, with the help of the North Carolina Nature Conservancy, FWS procured some 120,000 acres of bottomland from Prudential Insurance Company in Dare County, North Carolina. This land is now the Alligator River National Wildlife Refuge, and site of the Red Wolf's reintroduction to the wild. In 1986, 4 pairs of Red Wolves arrived at the site to be acclimated to the area and its native prey. Eventually, 12 Red Wolves were released into the Refuge. Only half of them still survive.

Members of the Red Wolf Recovery Team concur that many potential recovery locations cannot be utilized due to negative reactions from a public that still fears wolves running amok. To avoid repeating past fail-

ures at securing sites, FWS hosted a series of public forums in Dare County to assuage residents' misgivings regarding Red Wolves. Fortunately, the area has no significant livestock industry — traditionally one of the major opponents of wolves. But, concessions were made: trappers still operate within the confines of the Refuge, as do hunters with their deer-chasing dogs. So far, these interests have remained friendly to *C. rufus*.

Red Wolves are shy, nonaggressive creatures. They are also highly social, associating in packs usually consisting of 5-12 individuals. The alpha pair tend to be monogamous. Disruption of the family strains each wolf's capacity to adapt. In areas where natural associations of wolves have undergone severe stress, resulting in loss of social structure and mates, the Red Wolf has often turned to the Coyote in a desperate attempt to procreate. Thus, it is imperative that the Red Wolves of Alligator River establish a healthy, reproductively competent social hierarchy within their range in order to resist a further nexus with Coyotes, which are moving into North Carolina. The "hybrid swarm" so prevalent in much of the Red Wolf's old range must not occur in Dare County.

FWS estimates that to "maintain genetic variation and retard genetic drift within the species, it is likely that 200 to 250 red wolves will have to be continually maintained in captivity." (7) They hope to put another 200 in the wild, but space is limited. Like so much of America, the Southeast is undergoing rapid development; public lands are scarce. Alligator River NWR, with its 120,000 acres, is estimated to have a carrying capacity of up to 25 wolves. (8) Where to locate other recovery efforts is an ongoing problem as bottomlands, marshes, and other coastal wetlands succumb to the designs of man.

The Red Wolf, though smaller and perhaps more humble than its more celebrated kin, the Gray Wolf, is likewise one of America's great symbols of the wild. Maligned for centuries, the only hope for *Canis rufus* resides in the hands of those who nearly relegated it to extinction: *Homo sapiens*.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** Americans, ask to receive FWS "Red Wolf Newsletter." Tell FWS that you support the Red Wolf recovery program. Ask your elected officials to support land acquisition bills to enlarge public lands that might be used for reintroduction. Emphasize that wolves need land! Southerners, research and evaluate potential sites for wolf reintroduction. Start by asking the National Park Service what plan they have to acquire or expand NPS managed lands in your area. Alabamians, the Mobile-Tensas bottomlands are a distinct possibility for Red Wolf habitat. Encourage Alabama's Department of Conservation (and Fish & Wildlife) to promote Red Wolf recovery plans for this region.

\*Fish & Wildlife Service, Asheville Field Office, 100 Otis St, Rm 224, Asheville, NC 28801.

\*Alabama Dept. of Conservation & Natural Resources, 64 N. Union St., Montgomery, AL 36130

\*representative, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515

\*senators, Senate, DC 20510

\*NPS Director James Ridenour, Interior Dept., DC 20240

—Ned Mudd Jr., POB 130411, Birmingham, AL 35213

#### RED WOLF FOOTNOTES

1. US Fish & Wildlife Service; Red Wolf Management Series, Technical Report #3, A History of *Canis rufus* and Its Recovery Potential; FWS, 100 Otis St, Asheville, NC 28801. Note: Much has been said about Red Wolves being a cross breed of *C. lupus* X *C. latrans* (Lawrence & Bossert, 1967). Recent taxonomic studies discount the crossbreed hypothesis. See FWS Red Wolf Management Series Technical Report #5, "Red Wolf Taxonomy, A Review," by Warren Parker; FWS, Asheville.
2. Nowak, R.M. 1972; The mysterious wolf of the South; *Natural History* 81:51-52, 74-77.
3. Mech, David L. *The Wolf, The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species*; 1970; U of MN Press.
4. FWS Red Wolf Technical Report #3, p.7.
5. Ibid.
6. Nowak.
7. Red Wolf Technical Report #3, p.14.
8. "Wildlife in North Carolina," 9-89; NC Wildlife Resources Commission, 512 N Salisbury St, Archdale Bldg, Raleigh, NC 27611; p.23.

# FLORAL LEGACIES OF THE MEGAFUNA

by R.F. Mueller

All is concentrated in a life intense  
Where not a beam, nor air nor leaf is  
Lost

—Byron

Wander from the sea coast to the Appalachian crest — indeed almost anywhere in the Eastern US — and you will meet a familiar tribe — the hawthorns. Although most concentrated in Eastern North America, with more than 100 species, the genus *Crataegus* is found throughout the north temperate zone and on many mountain ranges in the southern part of the continent. Small trees, or frequently only bush-sized, the hawthorns catch our eye with their hedge-shaped arborescent forms, heavy autumn crops of conspicuously-colored fruit and, above all, their formidable armament of long, sharp thorns.

The thorns of hawthorns are clearly intended to fend off browsers, who find both leaves and fruit highly desirable. Other plants in the rose family, of which the hawthorn genus is a member, are similarly deeded. But what do the thorns fend off? Almost the only native browser in the Eastern United States in modern times, and for that matter during the entire Holocene Epoch, is and was the White-tailed Deer. The only other browser, the Moose, was confined to northern bog areas, and though Elk and Bison were present in the historical period, they are primarily grazers. Smaller browsers such as deer, and domestic goats, are not stopped by large thorns which easily reach between them. These thorns, which in the Cockspur Hawthorn (*Crataegus crusgalli*) reach 5 inches in length, were evolved to protect the plant from large browsers.

To find these large browsers we must look in the fossil record, back 12,000-15,000 years during the Late Pleistocene, when an impressive megafauna ranged the land. According to John Guilday (*Quaternary Extinctions, A Prehistoric Revolution*, Paul S. Martin and Richard G. Klein editors, U of AZ Press, 1984) these large browsers included the Mastodon (*Mammut americanum*), Jefferson Ground Sloth (*Megalonyx jeffersoni*), Harlan's Ground Sloth (*Glossotherium harlani*), and the Stag Moose (*Cervalces scotti*). In addition two mammoths (*Mammothus*) and a horse (*Equus complicatus*) probably browsed some. Other browsers larger than the Whitetail included a tapir, a large peccary, and Caribou.

The browsing habits of these larger animals must have been quite different from those of the delicate-muzzled deer. It seems likely that they would have broken off whole branches or engulfed entire branch ends, stripping off the leaves and small twigs, as existing elephants do. Feeding leaf by leaf as deer and goats do would not have satisfied their enormous intake requirements. With these aggressive browsers the long thorns would have been the perfect counterpoise to maintain a balance between the eaters and the eaten. The hawthorns even went so far as to protect themselves from possible assaults on their nutritious inner bark by evolving "monkey puzzles" of large complex thorn growths on their trunks.

If thorns were so effective in deterring browsers, why didn't more of the hundreds of other tree species in North America evolve them? The answer to this is complex and probably will never be completely known. However, as indicated previously, many members of the rose family seem to be particularly attractive to browsers. Also it is likely that many other species found it more economical to invest their energy and nutrients in chemical defenses.

Several other members of the rose family do have thorns for defense. An example is the Wild Crab Apple (*Pyrus coronaria*) which is almost as well defended as the hawthorns. Another is the Wild Plum, though its thorns are less impressive. Additionally, thorns are prevalent in the legume family. In the Eastern US, the thorny legumes include the Black Locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) and the Honey Locust (*Gleditsia tricanthos*). The latter has impressive thorns on both branches and trunk.

Another factor governing the development of thorn protection is habitat. Evidence indicates that, by and large, the megafauna occupied open savannas and spruce-pine-shrub parkland rather than deep forests. This open country would probably also have been the preferred location of hawthorns, crab apples, plums, and locusts because all are intolerant of shade and today are more at home in forest edges and clearings than in deep woods. At present we can see hawthorns flourishing in openings of montane Red Spruce forests of the high Alleghenies, a habitat that approaches that inferred for the Pleistocene mastodon. Species of maple, oak, and other compo-

nents of the great mixed deciduous forest would have been exposed to heavy browsing only at forest edges since forest interior habitat would not have been favored by the megafauna. Finally, many plants may not have adequate genetic resources to evolve thorns.

Clearly, the hawthorns, Honey Locust, and other heavily-thorned plants are relics of another time and most significantly of a fauna long vanished. This fauna became extinct approximately 10,000-11,000 years ago, a time span apparently sufficiently short for the thorns to persist. There simply have not been enough generations of trees since the Pleistocene to breed out a feature so beneficial when the large browsers were around. Also there is probably some residual benefit in the thorns since they do slow even small browsers. However, the thorns represent a considerable investment in energy and nutrients and one would expect them to gradually disappear or be replaced by smaller thorns.

Very likely, thorns are not the only persisting relics of the megafauna. They are simply the most visible. There may be a host of chemical repellants that are specific for mastodon, ground sloth, and other megafaunal browsing niches and have not yet vanished. The same may be said of fruit and seeds designed to be dispersed by the

megafauna. An example of a fruit may be that of the thorn-bearing Osage Orange (*Maclura pomifera*), which is at present consumed by horses but not by cattle, and would probably have also appealed to Pleistocene horses and other megafauna (Gus Mueller, personal communication). Even form and growth habits of trees and bushes were probably sensitive to influences of the great browsers.

The thorn plants we see today are graphic reminders of how much the planet has lost since the Pleistocene. They are messengers from the grand age of wilderness that for some unknown reason underwent a transformation at the beginning of the Holocene but still retained its ecological integrity until European man began to destroy it. The megafaunal browsers can be regarded as predators of a type, albeit of plants. Like their legacy of thorny plants, existing ecosystems are part of the preexisting complex of predator-prey relationships. Although the most important large predators of the Holocene have been extirpated in the Eastern US, the "ghosts" of these predators haunt us by the wild characteristics we so admire in their remaining prey fauna — the fleetness of the deer and the craftiness and stealth of smaller herbivores and carnivores that were hunted by them. The absence of the large carnivores has thrown these ecosystems out of balance.

## HOW RIVERS ARE CLEARED IN THE JUNGLE

by Peter Gorman

The history of South America has been one of continuous exploitation since it was discovered by Europeans nearly 500 years ago. The destruction of its lands and the decimation of its peoples in pursuit of profit is one of the worst examples of base human behavior imaginable. Fortunately, during the past 20 years enough attention from global watchdog groups has been focused on the continent that the genocide and enslavement of its indigenous peoples has largely been stopped.

Deep in the interior of Amazonia, however, the slaughter continues and little is ever heard about it because it is not big genocide, not international politics genocide. The killing isn't genocide at all, semanticists would argue, since it isn't directed at a particular group — it's simply the elimina-

tion of people who stand in the way of progress, indigenous people and mestizos alike. It is incidental killing, necessary to protect the capital of overseas investors, most of whom have no idea of the havoc they are promoting. Which doesn't make it any less real.

What I mean is this: Let's say you're a New York businessman and you decide to open a small Brazil nut plantation down in the jungle. You contact a South American investment specialist who knows whom to contact about good land for that sort of plantation.

The investment specialist calls his friends in South America and they decide on where you ought to get your land. Let's say it's a small river, the Auchyako, which means Indian River. They get back to the investment specialist, who gets back to you and says he has just the place for a Brazil nut

The small carnivores, the Raccoon, the Opossum, skunks, and foxes, have increased in numbers to where they contribute significantly to the decline of many birds and other prey. Also it is likely that some endemic plants have been brought to extinction by the overabundant deer which leave high browse lines on trees in many areas. The sum of these effects is genetic deterioration, loss of species diversity and general environmental degradation. What began as perhaps a "normal" ecosystem transformation at the end of the Pleistocene has turned to pervasive decline heading toward collapse.

We can't bring back the thorn-molding megafauna but we can and must bring back the assemblage of wolves, Panthers, Wolverines and large raptorial birds that form the peak of the trophic pyramid and are needed to balance the system. We must also try to bring back the large ungulates, the Elk and Bison, to reclaim their important niches. More than an atavistic wish, this restoration of the rightful heirs to the land is an ecological imperative that is gaining credence with each passing day as our dependence on nature and ecosystems becomes more evident.

R.F. Mueller is a former NASA scientist and present Virginia EF! contact.



## Rainforest Destruction for the Masses

Play the famous tape of the reporter describing the burning of the Hindenburg, and then magnify it in proportion to all the acres of densely-packed life called rainforest destroyed per day, and you'll hear how the rainforest disaster should be announced to oblivious mankind. An entire species being killed — and certainly a million species being killed — is a greater loss to the Earth than 7 individuals of a species being killed aboard a space-shuttle, or 36 aboard a dirigible.

The rainforests are vanishing at the rate of a football field per second! In the course of an average football telecast — about 2 1/2 hours, including half-time and time-outs (there are no time-outs in the rainforest massacre) — 9000 football fields' worth of rainforest have been torn and/or burned from the face of the Earth. They should flash that statistic on the scoreboard during the Super Bowl!

Super Bowl 88 was stretched out so more millions could be made on commercials for cars, fastfood burgers and the Army. While Denver went down 42-10 in 4 1/2

hours, 16,200 football fields' worth of rainforest went down forever.

A 7-point earthquake preempted the first World Series game to be played in San Francisco in 27 years, severing the bridge connecting the cities of the two competing teams. During the half-time of the next Super Bowl game, a football field's worth of rainforest should be trucked in on semi-trailer flatbeds like floats in the Tournament of Roses parade and assembled on the Super Bowl field. Then the football field should be blasted by four converging drum and bugle corps with flamethrowers while panthers leap and parrots fly screaming into the stands full of fans, and the second half of the game should be played on the charred stubble.

The Earth is trying to tell us something. But we're too glued to the soap opera/sitcom/footballgame/gameshow/top-40 of Nature-eclipsing human self-importance to hear.

—Jeff Poniewaz, Milwaukee eco-poet

plantation. You say Great, here's the go-money, there's just one thing: I've heard other businessmen have lost on deals as a sweet as this because the locals resented them — robbed their materials and made off with their goods. Any chance that will happen to me? Any hostile people on the Auchyako River?

Your investment specialist says he'll find out and hangs up. The minute he's off with you he's on the line with South America saying, Don't make me look bad here. Any hostiles on that river?

And the men in South America who picked the location say We don't know. We'll ask the local general.

And the local general, stuck way out in the middle of the jungle, says he'll have a party go check. After all, if a foreign investor lost money in the area he was sent to be in charge of, it would look bad for him and who knows where they'd send him next?

So the local general calls together a squad of men and tells them to head up the Auchyako River to look for hostiles who might steal the international financier's things, a financier who will bring money into the area. And in the backwaters of the South American jungle, money is a rare commodity indeed and can make a man something of a god.

The squad takes their little *peque-peques*, their motorized canoes, and heads up the river looking for hostiles, whom of course they don't know how to identify. And when they come on a little clearing with a little jungle hut built on stilts on the bank of the river, a fisherman's house or an Indian's house, they are too embarrassed to admit that they have no way of knowing whether the people who live there are hostiles or not. But they do know that if they say the people living there are not hostiles, and the people then steal something belonging to the international financier, things will not go well for them. So they take lunch with the people, and when they've finished lunch and still can't decide whether or not the people qualify as hostiles, they just want to leave but they can't afford to leave possible hostiles there on the river so when they say Thank you for the lunch and the *chica*, the corn beer, they shoot the fisherman or the Indian and his family and toss the bodies into the brush where the myriad of carnivores who live in the jungle will finish them off fast. That way, if it turns out the people weren't hostiles, there will be no evidence they killed them. And if they were hostiles, well it's best it's done.

And when they've spent the two days or two weeks it takes to eliminate possible hostiles on the river, the three or four or five families living there, they report back to the local general, who proudly reports back to the men who found the land who in turn call the investment specialist who calls you straight away with the good news that No, there are no hostiles on the river.

There will, of course, be blood on all of your Brazil nuts.

Peter Gorman is a free-lance writer whose recent articles include the cover story, on psychedelics and religion, in the January 1990 issue of High Times.



# Steps to a Consensus Decision

by Mary Beth Nearing

The Consensus Process of Decision Making offers a method for quick decision making which can be used by a variety of groups. Hand signals and a chronological approach to discussions provide time-saving techniques. The circular format promotes democracy and encourages people to take part in the decision, so that the product is something they support. The process empowers people to be leaders and to share responsibility.



CALL ON ME

## Elements of Consensus

The Consensus Process was formalized by the Feminist movement in an effort to replace Robert's Rules of Order and the expectation that one person leads while the rest obey. Consensus seeks to involve all participants in the discussion and synthesize their best ideas into a proposal. Everyone has the opportunity to speak. Everyone has veto power. All these factors combine to empower people so they are more committed to the decision and the work necessary to carry it to fruition. This is especially essential in civil disobedience, since during "actions" we may put ourselves at significant risk and will want everyone's deepest commitment.

The element most critical to successful consensus process is shared goals. People of diverse backgrounds, life-styles and interests can work in consensus if they share goals. When the goal of Wilderness is kept firmly in mind, personal goals and attachments are kept in perspective. People must acknowledge that the life and goals of the group are more important than any one person or any one decision. The Consensus Decision Making Process is different from "building consensus" between two opposing groups negotiating on an issue.

In time, as people gain experience working with the process and grow to know and care about each other, a sense of community develops. Showing up at the agreed upon meeting time, sharing responsibility, and listening carefully are examples of behaviors that display respect for the others. With mutual respect and trust comes the ability to critique each other on more and more personal levels and we can begin to help each other grow as individuals. This improves group dynamics dramatically and increases our collective power.

The circle format is important both practically and symbolically. Sitting in a circle allows everyone to see and hear everyone else, as well as monitor the emotional weather. (How is everyone doing? Are we all attentive, or have we lost people due to bad feelings or poor communication?) Our commitment to work toward our goal as a group will move us to interrupt the process to bring a disenchanted individual back into the discussion. This does not mean an Earth First! meeting is the place to work out personal problems, but if something in the discussion causes someone to check out emotionally, the group should try to learn what the problem is and alleviate it.

The circle visually demonstrates our equality. No one person is leading; rather we all create proposals and enact solutions together. Individuals must learn to offer their strengths and consciously sit back sometimes to give others room to share their strengths or practice new skills.

The circle demonstrates our unity, group strength, and equality to onlookers, be they workers, decision-makers, law enforcement officials or the public. We present a united, active, committed front.

Active listening is essential to good process. Body language and eye contact indicate active participation when you are not speaking. So that everyone feels that their comments are being heard, only one person may speak at a time. Interruptions are not acceptable. Side conversations must be redirected, either to be continued as part of the group meeting or to be removed from the circle.

## Problems in Consensus

Many people have a bad experience with process. Failures are the fault of the group or the facilitator, not the process itself. For example any single person, if she or he can solicit power from the group, can manipulate the group to meet her or his own agenda. If one person is allowed to fill one role exclusively, that person can amass power and manipulate the group. Be wary of facilitators who express opinions in discussions.

As a group you must call "bullshit" on such behavior and insist that the individual participate in the process or exclude themselves from the group. "Bullshit" is a seldom used but essential process call. Times to use this call are obvious, and include untruths, unwillingness to confront personal behavior issues, power tripping, taking group attention or resources for personal gain, stepping ahead of the group and making decisions for the group, or even speaking for the group without having been formally empowered to do so by the group.

This is a group of people you choose to work with for a specific purpose; no tenet says you must work with everyone who shows up. Don't waste your valuable time trying to solve problems not related to your goals.

Perhaps the most deleterious problem is long meetings. Time is like money: you will use as much as you have. Individuals must monitor comments for both frequency and content: "Is this germane, or is it 'me first'?" And the group must monitor itself. Begin and end on time; use a timekeeper to prioritize and move through the agenda. Divergent goals, too large a group, or uncomfortable physical conditions can slow a decision down. In the case of direct action, a 3 hour decision the night before can be accomplished in 30 minutes, or even 3 minutes once the action is in progress. Know when to call a discussion off.

We use civil disobedience to attack power structures in hopes of a more democratic system. To be consistent we must, in our group process, question our own power structures and dominating relationships. Consensus works best for people who truly believe in the superior intelligence of the "group mind," and are willing to change a little along the way in order to incorporate new ways of being exemplified by the consensus process and nonviolence.



POINT OF INFORMATION  
- PERTINENT FACT

## Steps in the Consensus Process

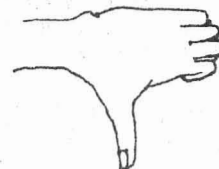
1. Introductions
2. Issue is raised: Why are we here, together, now?
3. Questions — to clarify the issue, and make sure we are all discussing the same idea.
4. Discussion: Bring out all options, pros and cons; establish points of disagreement as well as common ground. Any concerns should be brought up now (e.g., "I'm concerned that we won't be allowed access to the Forest Supervisor if we storm the building.")
5. Proposal: Do not begin a meeting or discussion with a proposal. It must be a product of a group discussion, and should reflect the best ideas, as well as the concerns raised.
6. Friendly amendments: Discuss the proposal to make sure everyone shares the same understanding. Amendments may be added at this time.
7. Rearticulate (amended) proposal and Test for Consensus: As a preliminary to a formal request for consensus ask for any concerns or reservations, offering one last chance to amend the proposal rather than attempt consensus and fail due to a concern not adequately addressed.
8. Formal Consensus: Ask for group consensus and use hand signals to indicate agreement. Congratulate yourselves!
9. Details: Decide upon the details of



CONSENSUS



STAND ASIDE



BLOCK

timing, site, target, logistics and the image you want to create for the media. Resist the temptation to spend time on the specifics until you have reached a decision.

10. Process Evaluation: Stress accomplishments and positives, but also bring out problems to avoid in the future. This is not meant to be another discussion, but a brief look at our group process to increase our effectiveness in using the process.

## Suggestions for Effective Meetings

Begin a meeting with introductions. We need to know each other to develop trust. Use intros to discover why people are present and what they think about a particular question. Define the question and write it on the agenda to help people stick to it.

Formulate the agenda and rank the items (don't spend much time here), and assign a time limit to each one. Start with a positive item or one that can be dealt with quickly to get warmed up. Larger items should be broken down where possible.

Take breaks for stretching or treats, or try a Semantics Break — a quick agenda item to bring up objectionable language, be it sexist, racist, anthropocentric, or violent.

Announcements should go at the end. People tend to deal with them much more quickly when they are tired and ready to go home than at the beginning.

Evaluate your use of the process: brainstorm a list of pros and cons. Don't evaluate the evaluations (all are entitled to their feelings). The evaluation also provides a sense of closure; or sing or do whatever suits your group. Evaluation will naturally occur in small groups after any discussion, and this is good.

The same applies to actions. This debriefing is most effective when done immediately after the action with the entire group. It helps clarify events, and sharing a few laughs can relieve tensions.

The psychological tone of the meeting can have great impacts. This can be set by the group, by tradition, or by the loudest person. Do participants feel welcomed to express their feelings? (For example, "I feel an ego clash between you two;" or "I am concerned about our safety on this blockade if the media is not called.") Is joking and having fun allowed? The psychological climate can also be affected by the physical comfort of the group. This becomes especially evident on blockades in inclement weather and as people get tired.

## Discussion Techniques

A *Go-Around* is used to begin an issue that has no obvious beginning, or that may be emotionally charged. Simply go around the circle, giving everyone an opportunity to speak. Pass if you don't have a comment or would be repeating one already expressed. Passing a smooth stone or other object when each speaker is finished saves time on the transition between speakers.

A *Brainstorm* is a fast and fun way to narrow down a big issue, or start from scratch on a new agenda item. You'll need a blackboard, a notetaker and a timekeeper. Allow only about 5 minutes, and consider using this between long and/or difficult agenda items to break things up. Without evaluating any ideas, fire words or phrases as fast as the notetaker can write them down. Be creative; laugh a lot. When you have twenty or forty ideas, stop and choose one or two to discuss.

*Small Group Discussions* can be used to allow more speaking time for each person on touchy issues. Randomly break up and spend a specified amount of time in small groups. Then regroup, and have each small group report back with a synopsis to begin a full circle discussion.

Very large groups (50-5000) wanting to do civil disobedience can use a similar *Spokeswheel* technique to coordinate many affinity groups into a cohesive act of CD. Two concentric circles are formed with the affinity groups in the outer hub, and the representatives of each affinity group in the

center. The people in the outer hub listen but refrain from comment unless essential, and then through their spokesperson. These spokespersons can be formally empowered to make binding decisions for their affinity groups, or may operate under an agreement to return to the small group with a proposal for consensus. This latter necessitates one more round of the spokes to get agreement from all the groups.

## Key Roles in Consensus

**Facilitator** — encourages an orderly discussion, bearing in mind the steps in the consensus process. The facilitator calls on hands in the order they are raised, and helps to refocus on proposals. The facilitator stops time wasting behaviors, such as interrupting or rambling, and is respectful but firm. Flexibility is allowed according to personal style and group needs under different circumstances.

Beware that the facilitator's seat tends to take on power. You can help minimize this by addressing the entire group, not the facilitator. While facilitators must be servants of the group and should not be involved in discussions, there is a provision should they need to comment. They must formally and physically "Step Aside," briefly comment, and then "Step Back" to demonstrate that they are of the circle, with equal standing. In the same vein, facilitators must not recap the discussion, lest their comments take on more value than deserved. Rotate the facilitator's role among everybody.

**Co-facilitator** — is a good role by which to learn a new skill, working with the facilitator to monitor the group process and keep track of hands. The co-facilitator takes over if the facilitator needs a break or steps aside to comment.

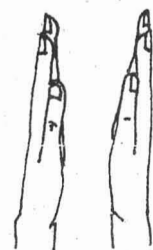
**Timekeeper** — helps keep the group within the agreed upon time frame and sticking to priorities set in the agenda. The timekeeper can give a half-time, and a 3 minute warning before indicating time is up.

**Notetaker** — keeps record of proposals agreed on (more for ongoing meetings than actions); records the next meeting time and place and keeps any contact lists generated. On an action the notetaker keeps a record of everyone arrested.

**Vibeswatcher** — also called the Snake, this person only surfaces if the group runs into emotional weather: tension between or among participants, bad feelings after a decision, etc.

For tactical and practical reasons, all these roles must be rotated. The more skills we gain as individuals, the stronger the group becomes. No one should be irreplaceable, and no one should be easily identified as a mover and shaker by the authorities. In consensus we're all movers and shakers!

Leadership is a role that at times needs to be filled. It is a role an individual can step into and out of. It is important to be sensitive to times when leadership is essential to help the group move forward, and other times when an experienced person can step out of the role to allow an inexperienced person to practice a new skill.



FOCUS  
- PROCESS FAILURE

## Hand Signals

A Hand Up means "call on me please," and can be relaxed as soon as the facilitator catches your eye and acknowledges that you have a place in line. This signal must be

# The Columbian Legacy: We'd Better Start Preparing Now

by Kirkpatrick Sale

recognizably different from a Single-Finger raised to indicate a "point of information."

A point of information should not be confused with a strong personal opinion. It is used to add a pertinent fact or new data to the current comment. This slightly different hand signal lets the facilitator know to call on you immediately so that information may be added to what is being said.

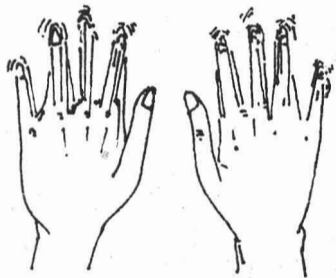
The "silent cheer" is indicated by Two Hands Up Fingers Wiggling ["twinkling"]. This shows agreement for the idea being expressed without taking the time to be called on and speak. This feels silly at first; but try it, you'll like it.

The "focus" or "process" signal is Two Hands Raised Facing Each Other. This indicates a lack of, or need for, focus; also known as a "process failure." A process failure could be two people talking at once, noise, or anything disrupting concentration.

Thumbs Up indicates "agreement" with a proposal. If everyone's thumb goes up, we have consensus.

Thumb To The Side indicates that an individual wishes to "stand aside" from the decision. The person's concerns were not adequately addressed in the discussion and resulting proposal. The person will allow the decision to be made but will not participate in the project. It is best to avoid this situation.

Thumbs Down is a "block" of consensus — a definite no. One of the techniques that empowers everyone is the block, or veto. This would indicate a moral stand and would keep the whole group from proceeding. Like the "stand aside," this would have come up in the discussion, so it should not be a surprise. It should be very rare. If it comes up often for a person, she or he needs to question if her or his goals match the group's.



SILENT CHEER

## Conclusion

The consensus process will not suit everyone. However, when people share goals, learn the techniques and believe in the group, the process becomes organic and can flow quickly. Currently, there are corporations, boards of directors, churches and colleges being run by consensus. The consensus process has been used in civil disobedience actions with up to 1200 people agreeing! The essential openness, personal critiques, mutual support and group evaluations help us grow as individuals even as we keep up the fight!

Mary Beth Nearing is an EF! Nonviolent CD Trainer (see Directory) who has been arrested during numerous actions in the Northwest.

The official hullabaloo will not begin for another two years, but it is not too early to start worrying about it now. Because it will be one of the most hyped-up, decked-out celebrations of patriotism, pride and privilege in this age already so well endowed with ceremonies of the grotesque, it behooves us to be ready to puncture its balloons, deny its propaganda and offer truths in place of myths.

The Quincentennial Celebrations of the "discovery" of America by Christopher Columbus will feature a world's fair in Sevilla, the Olympics in Barcelona, tall ships and fireworks in New York and San Francisco harbors, special state affairs in every Latin American country but Paraguay, and enough conferences, speeches, displays, parades, boat races, festivals, stamp issues, and statue unveilings to reach from one side of the Atlantic to the other. All this, even though it was not really a discovery (since there were already 100 million people living in the New World who had discovered it long before, and since even some Europeans had landed there 700 years earlier); it was not America (which name was not coined until 1507 and not common until the 17th century), and the man's name at the time was Cristobal Colon, "Columbus" being a much later Latinism fancied by the English.

This "discovery" was an extremely important event, and its anniversary deserves world-wide attention. Not, however, because it celebrates the genius of European exploration, or the indomitable spirit of Western culture, or the opening up of the world to rationalism and science and progress, or the process by which civilization was brought half-way around the world, or the act that led to the creation of the United States of America. Those reasons are all pernicious.

Rather, because it offers us the occasion to question the entire matter of European expansion and colonialism. What better time to examine the deleterious consequences of its five centuries of worldwide domination and draw attention to the calamitous effects it has had on the original people of these continents and the natural world they cherished? These 500 years put us in a unique position to confront the realization of what the results have been of a nature-hating culture destroying a nature-loving culture.

Columbus was in many ways a perfect representative of the culture of Europe, and thus a perfect symbol of what it was and what it sent forth. A restless, rootless man, he never knew a home, never had a sense of place — after a childhood in (probably) Genoa, he went to sea for a decade, then hopped from Lisbon to the Madeiras to Palos to Cordova and on and on. He was deeply, and at times quite dementedly, religious, convinced of the imminent end of the earth and his special mission to take Christianity to all the heathens of the world and to take back from them their gold so that he might spend it on armies to recapture Jerusalem. He was thoroughly Eurocentric, never for a moment doubting that he, or Spain, had the right to find, acquire, exploit, and dominate any part of the world.

He was a man of Europe, especially of the early-modern Europe then starting to

take shape. It was a morbid and death-centered subcontinent, still wracked by plague, war, disease and famine; a troubled and disillusioned subcontinent, with a church corrupt from the local high-living voluptuary priest up to the murderous and vernal voluptuary pope, and a loss of faith so profound it would lead to schism and the Reformation in a few decades; a violent and largely heartless subcontinent, where tortures and killings were the stuff of everyday life and the murders of ordinary folk, in autos-da-fe in the south and witch-burnings in the north, were the stuff of every village square.

It was also a land fashioning the central tenets of the culture it was about to launch on the world: *humanism*, for example, and the Renaissance belief that man (*sic*) was the measure of all things and (but for angels) the highest and best of God's creatures; *rationalism*, and the Western idea that processes of the brain can explain the world; *materialism*, and the concept that the accumulation of objects and the wherewithal to purchase them was blessed and divine (for the earth's treasures were put there by God for the pleasure and enrichment of those who could take them first and fastest); and *nationalism*, and the proposition that the hierarchical, patriarchal state was the proper and inevitable instrument by which the few should assemble, and the many submit to, power.

How sad that it was *this* culture that "discovered," and thereby conquered and destroyed, the world. How much better it would have been if it had stayed at home and spent its prodigious energies trying to resolve its own pathologies rather than having them set on fleets of armed caravels to be sent across the oceans.

Columbus landed somewhere in the Antilles in October 1492 and spent the next 3 months exploring a land more beautiful than he could have imagined. Of one setting he wrote:

*Large and very green trees, and great lagoons, around which the trees stand in marvelous groves. The singing of small birds is so sweet that no one could ever wish to leave this place. Flocks of parrots darken the sun and there is a marvelous variety of large and small birds very different from our own ...*

Within a year Columbus and a massive contingent of Spanish settlers had begun to change all that as the trees were cut down to make *rancheros* for imported cattle and sheep and soon plantations for sugar and cotton. Pigs, goats and horses were allowed to roam freely, and as a result destroyed forage, trampled native farmlands, and made savannahs bare. Placer and ore mining silted and diverted rivers and denuded mountains. Within a decade the face of Espaniola (and to a lesser extent Jamaica and Cuba) was wholly transformed, and the once-beautiful land ravaged.

Once begun, the process had no end. It would be carried to the mainlands, south and north, across to the other ocean, and it would leave virtually nothing unchanged in its path.

Columbus also wrote of the people he encountered, a people subsequently named the Taino, who had achieved in the Caribbean one of the most idyllic societies then on Earth — one of remarkable stability and peace, abundance without labor and social harmony. He said:



*They are so affectionate and have so little greed and are in all ways so amenable that I assure your Highnesses, that there is in my opinion no better people and no better land in the world. They love their neighbors as themselves and their way of speaking is the sweetest in the world ...*

Within a year Columbus had established a regime that wrought horrible massacres upon these people, enslaving those it did not kill, terrorizing those it did not enslave. Several thousand were shipped off to Europe, inaugurating a trans-Atlantic slave trade that would eventually stamp Europe's ugliest mark on three innocent continents. Many thousands more succumbed to European diseases to which they had developed no immunity. Not a few chose suicide.

The population of the Caribbean in 1492 is now thought to have been 7-8 million, largely on on Espaniola. Within a decade there were fewer than a million, within another decade a quarter of that; by the middle of the 16th century, the Taino were extinct.

That process, too, had no end. It would be carried to the mainlands, across to the other ocean, and even beyond, and would achieve the effective equivalent of genocide.

That is our Columbian heritage, the past that the US honored by making its official national symbol Columbia and marking every October 12 as an official national holiday, the legacy that will once more be celebrated in 1992. It behooves us to come to understand that heritage, and try to assure that all our fellow citizens understand it too.

That is the only way we will ever start to shake off this awful thing called Western culture which has now, inevitably, brought the world to the brink of ecocide. The only way that we will ever come round to opening ourselves up to the culture, as near as we can construct it, of the people native to this land.

Kirkpatrick Sale is a bioregional writer from the Hudson Valley. He is the author of *Dwellers in the Land* and other books. This article appeared in a slightly longer version in *Raise the Stakes*. (See the note on RTS in the book reviews of this issue.)

## LOADED LANGUAGE and LOGGING

I used to say "girls" when referring to women. Use of the word 'girl' in reference to a woman infuriated my wife, who continuously reminded me that the term 'girl' had a host of values attached to it, including a subliminal message of immaturity when used to describe an adult female and thus the inference that the individual was perhaps less capable. Certainly that was not my intent, but my wife's criticism was quite correct.

In a similar manner we use many value-laden words in describing natural resources. For example, foresters often refer to trees past the age of maximum wood production as "overmature." However, to many people, including most foresters, the word 'overmature' has many other connotations as well, including that such a forest is declining in health. An overmature forest is one skidding toward "decadence" — another favorite term of foresters. Both "overmature" and "decadent" are economic, more than biological, descriptions. Again, intended or not, these terms carry a host of implied values, which, biologically speaking, are inaccurate.

Recent research by forest scientists has shown that the time a tree is alive represents

only a small fraction of its ecological "life" and, consequently, of its total biological value. Some scientists even suggest that a dead tree is more ecologically valuable than a live one. In terms of the forest ecosystem, there is no such thing as a "decadent" forest. To an ecologist, a "healthy" forest is one that has dead and dying trees. A timber stand "cleaned up by foresters" is a sick forest. This is an entirely different view of the forest than is implied by the terms 'overmature' and 'decadent'.

A stand of dead and dying trees performs many ecological functions absent in a younger stand. The abundant snags in older tree stands are homes for cavity nesting birds. Many cavity nesting bird species feed on insects. Studies have shown that predation by birds can reduce insect populations to one-fifteenth those of control areas where birds are excluded. By removing dead trees, we may increase insect populations and cause what we inaccurately call an "epidemic." In a natural forest, more dead trees would result in more insect eating birds, which would in turn help regulate insect numbers. When we log a stand with an

abundance of dead or dying trees on the assumption that we are protecting the forest, we may in fact be removing some of the forest's own defenses.

Similarly, we almost universally speak of fires "destroying" the forest. Yet most ecologists would dispute headlines proclaiming so many acres "destroyed" or "damaged" by fires; rather, they might talk about how a fire has "created" age class diversity or "new wildlife habitat." Even these terms are value-laden, however, showing how inadequate our language may be for describing such ecological events. It's hard to avoid saying the fires "destroyed" so many acres — even if you are conscious of the values hidden in that terminology.

Terminology influences how we perceive issues. It also affects how we allot funds on public land. Since we view dying trees as a disaster, we spend huge sums of money to keep forests free of disease, insects, fires and other natural agents which our language and foresters tell us are "destroying" the forest. We frequently spend more protecting the trees than they are ultimately worth as timber, even as we destroy the ecological proc-

esses that ultimately preserve the forest ecosystem. The forest is not destroyed by fire, blowdown, insects or disease; only the trees' value for timber production.

We need to purge value-laden terms from our vocabulary, or at least use them more accurately. Foresters know a little — a very little — about how to grow trees for timber production; they (and the rest of us) know almost nothing about how a forest grows. A forest is more than trees. It is the interrelationships between trees, soils, water, insects, fungi, fire, other wildlife and a host of other influences which most of us don't even know exist.

It is not the forest that is "overmature" and "decadent"; rather it is the underlying assumptions and values engendered by such words. Given what we know about the complexity of forest ecosystems, such value-laden words should be "clearcut" from our vocabulary. Perhaps as more women choose careers as foresters they will begin to change the way the "boys" who have dominated forestry think about language and will influence the way we view forests.

—George Wuerthner

# The Politics of Environmental Compromise

*ed. note: David Brower wrote this historically important letter following the Sierra Club's annual summer conference, at which Dave Brower and Dave Foreman were invited speakers. Speaking to the gathered dignitaries and activists, both Brower and Foreman urged the Club to stop compromising. After their speeches drew overwhelming approval from the audience, Doug Scott gave a speech rebutting the Daves. Readers wanting to know more of the history David Brower sketches herein will enjoy his autobiography, For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower, to be released by Peregrine Smith Books on Earth Day 1990, and thereafter to be available from EF! Books.*

July 13, 1989

From: David R. Brower, 40 Stevenson Ave., Berkeley, CA 94708

To: Doug Scott, Conservation Director  
Sierra Club, 730 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109

Re: The Sierra Club and Compromise

Dear Doug:

At the Sierra Club's International Assembly here in Ann Arbor you listened to my "rhetoric" and I listened to your advice about the real world of decision making. Perhaps we're even. We are not, however, in agreement. Neither of us has yet been persuaded by the other, especially on the Sierra Club's role in compromise. So under my new philosophy I need to try to find out where you are coming from and what drives you. Or what drove you away from where you seemed to be coming from when I first knew you. Answers to both these questions may emerge better from long discussions than from an exchange of letters. I think answers are needed. Perhaps what follows will stimulate some.

My thesis is that compromise is often necessary but that it ought not originate with the Sierra Club. We are to hold fast to what we believe is right, fight for it, and find allies and adduce all possible arguments for our cause. If we cannot find enough vigor in us or them to win, then let someone else propose the compromise. We thereupon work hard to coax it our way. We become a nucleus around which the strongest force can build and function.

For a specific example, take the proposed Grand Canyon dams. You alluded to them but missed the point in doing so. We said we'd accept no dams. People knew what we stood for and gathered around. If we had said (or thought) we'd accept one, but not two, clarity would have vanished from our deeds and faces. People would have seen that we were just arguing about how much rape, not opposing it. They would have gathered elsewhere if at all.

In 1938 the Sierra Club would have given in to Forest Service decision makers about the Kings Canyon High Sierra had Secretary Harold Ickes not come out to stiffen the board's resolve. With a film (mine), a book (Ansel's), a brochure (Colby's), and a lot of Bulletin articles (many authors), we got a national park — in spite of opposition by the National Parks Association, The Wilderness Society, Forest Service, and California State Chamber of Commerce. We then had only 3000 members and World War II was under way. (I was working half-time for the club at \$75 per month.)

The Sierra Club wanted to compromise on the Colorado in 1949. First, Dinosaur was just "sagebrush country" not worth fighting for. Then Bestor Robinson proposed that we go for one dam (Split Mountain), not two, a suggestion happily abandoned. The club

wanted two dams in the Grand provided Reclamation first build silt-retaining dams in Glen Canyon and on the Little Colorado, construct nice tourist facilities for flat-water boating on the reservoirs, and slightly enlarge Grand Canyon National Park. Bestor again. He had the directors trying to please the decision makers in the Bureau of Reclamation. I fell for it for a year, then climbed back up, as did the board. I didn't fall at all in Dinosaur. I stayed out of the compromise business and persuaded the club to stay out.

There are no dams in Dinosaur or in the Grand Canyon. If I had followed what is now your advice there would be two dams in each.

So I was pretty good, right? No. Because I became a wimp, somehow, and let the board compromise on Glen Canyon. The decision makers put the dam there, and we could have stopped them had we refused to compromise and simply stood up for our own club policy. Instead we pleased the decision makers.

The board compromised on Diablo. There are two reactors there. It compromised again at Bodega Head — a compromise violating club policy. Dick Leonard said, "That's our policy but we're not going to do anything about it," and we didn't. There's a hole in Bodega Head, but not a reactor on it — thanks to Dave Pesonen, who would not compromise, and had to leave club employ because he wouldn't.

There is massive scenic vandalism along the Tioga Road, perpetrated by the decision makers of the National Park Service, because the club compromised. We could have stopped that destruction. There is a highway to Copper Creek in Kings Canyon for the same reason. It could have remained entirely a wilderness national park if the board had stood firm.

The Alaska pipeline, bad though it is, is not so bad as it would have been. Four organizations joined and won a lawsuit but lost in Congress by one vote — Spiro Agnew's tie breaker — a law that authorized the pipeline and denied opponents the NEPA remedy. The pipe might not be there at all, and the Valdez spill avoided, had the Sierra Club not backed out of the suit in order to play Alaska State politics. If the club had lent its preponderant weight, we might well have got the Canadian railroad alternative — or a program of energy conservation under way much sooner, a big enough program to remove financial feasibility from the pipeline.

The second Rancho Seco reactor does

not exist, nor does the pair proposed for Sun Desert. Somehow the club was nowhere on this. Friends of the Earth, refusing to compromise, came up with the numbers that blocked the three reactors. And now, in part thanks to those numbers, and the bold predictions by Jim Harding, the first Rancho Seco has been voted out of action.

The Sierra Club favored the Peripheral Canal, a potential disaster for San Francisco Bay and the Delta. FOE opposed the club's proposed compromise and rescued northern California. Happily, the next time around, the club's Bay Chapter joined Earth Island in successful opposition to the "son of the Peripheral Canal." In the early years Brock Evans thought we had to accept a nuclear alternative to the proposed High Hells Canyon dam. We didn't. Mike McCloskey thought it impossible to block the decision makers' determination to build the proposed Rampart dam on the Yukon. I didn't compromise. Neither dam is there. We stuck to our guns and found lots of help. The board scolded me for sending Phil Hyde and Paul Brooks to the Yukon; they were key to saving it. The board scolded me for spending \$3500 from my discretionary fund to get them there. The board also scolded me for helping David Sive stay on the milestone Storm King battle, which I think would otherwise have been dropped. The help cost \$1500.

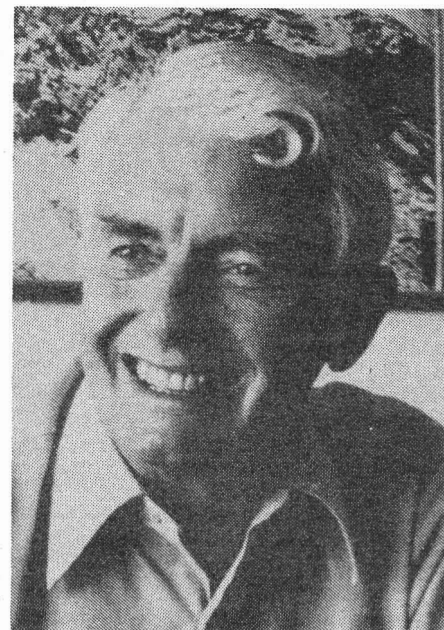
The club folded on the proposed Mammoth Pass highway. Ike Livermore didn't, and the road isn't there. The club folded on the superb Jeffrey pine forest at Deadman Summit, and on the preservation of the Kern Plateau, and we lost both. The club was about to accede to the decision makers of the Forest Service and ski business in the battle for the San Geronio wilderness. I did a Paul Revere act most of one winter night, the board stiffened, and the wilderness is still there. We forced different decisions. The board was ready to fold on the Disney proposal for Mineral King. So was I. Martin Litton wasn't, and saved the day. I forgot how to play Paul Revere and Glen Canyon isn't there.

The Sierra Club compromised enough to lose its best antinuclear group. The club has compromised enough to be of little force or effect in slowing the arms race. The club was asked to act four years ago about environmental concerns in Nicaragua, but has remained silent. The club backed away from saving the California condor in the wild. The club did not join in the fight to block the new San Onofre reactors (a failure of which, quite possibly, could make Southern California uninhabitable). The club so misjudges the arms race that it discourages the San Diego Chapter from protesting in Nevada, as if such a global problem must be left exclusively to the Toiyabe Chapter. The national club, and Sierra Club California, seem to think that the inexcusable charring of giant sequoias in Sequoia National Park and the terminal isolation of giant sequoias of Sequoia National Forest, and the monocultural plantations being planted around them, is the province of the Kern-Kaweah chapter and severe damage continues. The club thinks that stopping the charring of sequoias in Yosemite is the business of the Tehipite Chapter, and the damage continues. The club has not recognized that prescribed burning can be conducted properly, as in the Calaveras Grove, where the State has protected giant sequoias without defacing them.

The Club is so eager to appear reasonable that it goes soft, undercuts the strong grassroots efforts of chapters, groups, and other organizations — as if the new professionalization and prioritization requires rampant tenderization. I go along with Ray Dasmann, when he speaks of those who want to appear reasonable to the Fortune 500 and allies, and who therefore go to lunches, or to other lengths, to demonstrate their credibility, access, insidership, and reasonable strategy. Ray says it is a union between Bambi and Godzilla.

Then I get to the crisis of the ancient forests and the club's role that is so faltering that SCLDF [Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund — ed.] had to come to the rescue of the trees by hiring a lobbyist. And I think of the rude treatment of Dave Foreman, a club invited speaker whom the assembly audience had admired for his courage, courage which gives the club a field to be bolder in, which the club should be grateful for.

Yes, the club has saved millions of acres of wilderness, thousands of acres of ancient forests, thousands (or millions?) of acres of desert, and other very self-satisfying numbers. The club saved them, that is, long enough to let later generations keep saving them if they can — unless they opt for compromise.



David Brower

So the glass is half full.

It is also more than half empty, and there's a plugable hole that will remain open unless the club gets its courage up. Dave Foreman's question is the one we cannot dodge. The club didn't create that wilderness. It helped, more than most I am sure, to draw a line around part of it. So we added sixty-nine million to the number of acres within that line, most of them in Alaska, where all we had to overcome was one Congressman and two Senators (someone else's judgment, spoken to me). Meanwhile, twice that number of acres, land that might have been preserved as real wilderness, wilderness that did exist, have been lost permanently. They slipped through the cracks in the Forest Service and BLM floors. The club had other major campaigns to contend with. No books, no film, little in Sierra. No video.

I don't know which number to accept about how much ancient forest we have left, or how long it will last at the present accelerating rate of ecologically illiterate clearcutting. What I think is the best argument is being ignored by those who think compromise is essential in the real world of decision makers. This argument could reach even Senator Hatfield and still leave him a friend in other critical matters if the club really tried.

That argument, simply stated, is that whatever ancient forest is left, and however long it will last, the end is imminent. Responsible leaders — of the U.S. Timber Service, of logging corporations, of forestry schools, and of the Sierra Club — must demand that people move to their fallback position now.

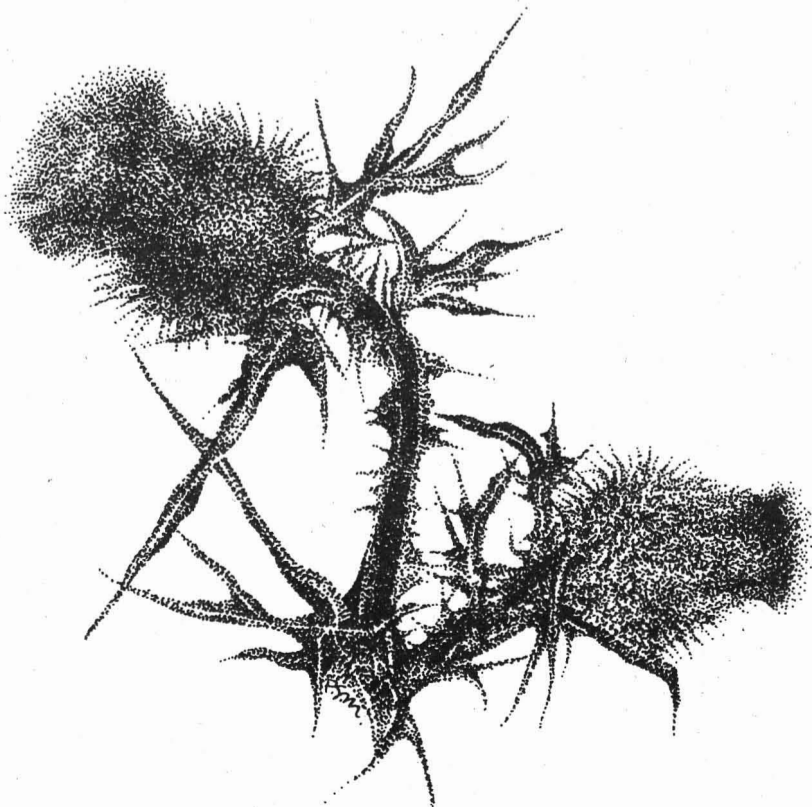
What will they do by 1995 or 2000 when the ancient forests are gone and the successors of James Watt covet what is left in the national parks? Then it is too late.

The fallback position should be:

- (1) Stop the export of any but maximum-value-added wood products.
- (2) Raise prices as necessary to supply wood products from lesser forests and to fund massive recycling.
- (3) At public expense, train displaced people dependent upon ancient-forest jobs for careers with a future.
- (4) At public expense, restore derelict forest land, but not with monocultures.
- (5) Establish Oregon Volcanic Cascades National Park; let the National Park Service protect what the Forest Service refuses to.
- (6) Add the Glacier Peak Wilderness to the North Cascades National Park.
- (7) Place all other ancient forests, including all giant sequoias in national forests, in a biosphere reserve, with a moratorium on any impairment pending a five-year study, modeled on the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review, on how best to protect what would take from five to thirty centuries to replace.

Sierra Club must stiffen, organize, and fight to require that this program begin now. We need the equivalent of the club's and FOE's Oust-Watt petitions, publicized with full-page ads, segments in 60 Minutes, 20-20, Charles Kuralt, Bill Moyers, Dave Foreman on The Tonight show, and feature videos for VCR owners to buy, copy, and disseminate, all with the help of other organizations, with Sierra holding off on auto and Chevron ads and giving major space to the effort, plus a mass-market paperback and Sierra Club Save-the-Ancient-Forests traveling vans. This needs to be a major campaign, and if the club's addiction to priorities gets in the way, send such an addiction out to whoever can treat it.

continued on page 28



Thistle by Peggy Sue McRae

CD as if not more awful

# ROADKILL

NAGASAKI JOHNSON

(Parts of this article are reprinted from LIVE WILD OR DIE #2.)

Lately we've all had to examine where we are. Not just because we were infiltrated and set up by the feds, but because most of us sense that things are somehow different now, that they can never really be the same again. We have made some sort of transition from being the "new kid on the block" to a recognizable institution, one that can now be singled out as a target for repression.

In the early days of Earth First!, we were the ones who picked the targets. Confrontations were done on our terms. We could always disappear into the background and pick up our lives just where we left off. Now it is not so easy to blend in. Some of us are being harassed in our communities, some have even fled to new locations under threat of violence. Anybody surprised? I didn't think so.

I was pondering all this lately while reading Dave Foreman's last installments of *Around The Campfire* and *Dear Ned Ludd* (EFL, November 1989). I felt compelled to respond because I strongly disagree with this whole notion Dave is laying down: that you have to conform to society to be an effective wilderness activist, or that you can't be a casual monkeywrencher. He seems to be saying CD and monkeywrenching are somehow different from each other and are done by different kinds of people.

And what's all this talk about obeying laws? Avoiding illegal drugs? Simon and Garfunkel? Give me a break! Are guarding against becoming a "jail junkie" who "hungers for excitement" or a monkeywrencher who is "captivated by the intoxication of destroying machines" and the dangers of falling into a "delirium" really burning issues for us to be considering at this time? I've never known a jail junkie or a delirious monkeywrencher. It doesn't sound like anybody I have met in Earth First! But I have met various people who have done one or more of the actions Foreman describes. I consider them all responsible people who each have something important to contribute.

Hell, I've been arrested more times than most Earth Firsters that I know, including two times in the last three months: at the World Bank's annual meeting for protesting their funding of mega dams and genocide, and for protesting US backing of the murderous dictatorship in El Salvador. Yet I also get a thrill from the sound of several people spiking trees in unison deep in the old-growth forests. I even get a warm fuzzy feeling when I lick a stamp to send off a letter to my representative in Congress. Those feelings are good, but they have never been the motivation for action in and of themselves. Enjoying those feelings doesn't necessarily make you a junkie.

I have seen and heard a lot lately about how we are supposed to act now that the FBI is watching us, and how we should walk a straight line or become more secretive. I remember when the Yippies were being infiltrated during the 1972 Democratic and Republican national conventions. The saying then was that infiltrating the Yippies was like infiltrating a marshmallow. We had no perimeter to defend, everyone just naturally looked out for each other without much secrecy. Infiltration never was a successful tactic with the Yippies, and neither should it be with Earth First!

That we are now targets for campaigns by the government is a testimony to our effectiveness. It means we are getting people's attention. There is now political hay to be made by dealing with the Earth First! "problem." As we are stereotyped and vilified, others see us as eco-warriors. We started out declaring that we would say what needed to be said no matter what the political realities. Now that the heat is on, should we change?

We are ourselves responsible for the way we are seen by the public. We deliberately served up a tough image of Earth First! to the mass media. Even in its distorted and inflated state, we have accomplished much of what we have tried to achieve to this end. We are the environmental extremists that everyone now uses as a reference point. The question that remains is: Are we still in control? Have we been involuntarily transformed by what has happened to us, or are we now making deliberate and conscious adjustments to the ever changing situation as we advance the struggle to build a move-

ment? The answer lies in how you view the present. Is it a crisis, or is it an opportunity?

It doesn't matter if you're into civil disobedience, monkeywrenching or square dancing, the most important consideration is to maintain personal control and self-respect. When we decide to confront the powers that be, we can maintain some control by assessing and accepting the risks involved, and by taking the necessary steps to minimize our exposure to the unexpected. This is our personal responsibility, but being cautious or pragmatic as opposed to impulsive or foolhardy has little to do with it. Risks are often necessary and unavoidable, and we cannot begin to quantify, much less eliminate, the risk involved in challenging the system. At some point we have to accept this. I know people who think putting their name on the Earth First! mailing list is a foolish risk. Whatever risks we take, we accept the consequences.

I studied avalanches back in the days when I aspired to become a back-country ski ranger. My instructor once told me that if I wanted to be completely sure that a slope wouldn't slide and bury me if I tried to ski down it, I should stay the hell off of it. Nobody goes skiing in the back-country without coming to grips with the possibility of a disaster. In some cases we jump into the chute even though we don't know what will happen to us. We accept a higher risk factor because of the rewards offered.

A friend of mine died unexpectedly several summers ago when he slipped and fell from a glacier in the Grand Tetons. I remember my inability to see or feel it as a tragedy. This was because I knew he lived to climb mountains, and that the risk of falling was an accepted part of mountaineering. So when I hear of a person being arrested for ecotage, I don't want to see that as a tragic or negative event. I want to see it as an affirmation that there is a struggle, that there is a movement, and that there are people who are willing to take risks. They are raising the stakes. They deserve our support, but not our pity. The last thing they would want is for us to back off now because they have fallen victim to the police state. Many people who have been jailed will testify that you are not out of the movement when you are behind bars, you are sometimes at the very center.

I am not arguing that the risks we now face for fighting back should be accepted as normal. We need to challenge the hypocrisy of a legal system that is exemplified by the Orwellian Department of Justice and the FBI. Is it now too risky to advocate wilderness? Is the state, in trying to isolate us from the mainstream, seeking to cast us as a threat to society in order to maintain their control? If so, don't we have to challenge the whole system, or at least the parts of it that threaten us with extinction by holding both us and nature captive.

It is us and them. And we often know who they are. The enemies of wilderness are also the enemies of freedom and democracy. They want to keep women and certain ethnic groups in the underclass. This is the same powerful elite that forcefully establishes large monocultural plantations for chemically dependant, soil depleting agribusiness on the ancestral lands of El Salvador. Complaining about the illegal aliens flooding into our country without examining the causes of poverty in Central America and the deadly results of US military intervention is inexcusable. If we don't address the causes and instead blame the victims, we risk being no different than the racist white South Africans.

While I too believe wilderness is the key to the survival of this planet, I think that the reasons for the bulldozer up in Silver Creek or the oil rig up in the Badger-Two Medicine just might be closely linked to the lack of control we have over our own lives and our own communities. And much of this powerlessness is due to the relentless efforts of an elite, aggressive, and authoritarian government backed by a corrupt legal system. They control the industrial output of this country just as Ceausescu once controlled the industrial output of Rumania. So we know who they are, just as the Salvadoran insurgent knows who his enemies is. Martin Luther King Jr. might have offered that if you have polarization below, you need to bring it up to the surface and see if it can stand the scrutiny of broad daylight. That does not necessarily lead us directly into creating Ayatollahs and Hitlers, as Foreman seems to be suggesting. It

can also lead to a resolution.

Monkeywrenching is just a term for a form of resistance to ecological terror; it is not, as Foreman would have us believe, a codified way of life akin to chivalry. The term itself may not be in need of a new definition. It can still be done in many different ways, some of which are entirely legal. If monkeywrenching is defined as just knocking off an occasional bulldozer or spiking an occasional tree while the wholesale destruction of the planet continues unabated, can you really call that strategic while deriding a non-violent protest as merely symbolic?

Crazy Horse could kill soldiers in battle but he couldn't stop them from coming back stronger. I believe he understood this, and he knew you don't always fight just to win. Sometimes you fight in order to survive, and other times you fight just because you think it's the right thing to do. Although you don't get to make the odds, the choice to fight, who to fight and how to fight is yours alone. No one can take that away from you.

Many Earth Firsters seem to blame the whole human race for the current ecological crisis. I don't understand this collective conspiracy of the consumer theory that seems to say that we are all equally responsible for the destruction of the planet. There is a reason that you can't buy a daily newspaper made of recycled fiber or a quart of fresh carrot juice in a returnable jar. There is a conspiracy, but I doubt that consumers have had much to do with it. The plastics plant that exploded last month in Louisiana killing hundreds of workers because of untrained, poorly paid and understaffed work crews is owned by the same group of poisoners that has bribed and swindled and coerced people across this country to prevent communities from passing recycling laws. They also drill off our coasts and invade our wilderness areas. They also corrupt our political process. They have names like EXXON, DuPont and Louisiana-Pacific. We can't save the wilds without confronting them. And I don't think we can do it without making alliances with all the other people who are victimized at each stage of this evil process, from land rights activists fighting the extraction industries to the suburban housewives fighting the toxic wastes that end up in all of our air and water.

We may be, as Foreman says, a society of laws, and probably always have been. But the legitimacy of a law lies not in how it conforms to existing codes or documents, but how it conforms to your own moral values system. You have the right to disregard any law that comes in direct conflict with principles you hold as inviolable. You may indeed have a responsibility to make sound moral choices, but certainly no one can make them for you. I would not be so quick to condemn a shoplifter or a pot smoker for getting busted on the way to a protest or a legislative hearing so long as they took full responsibility for their actions. To some, getting high can be a direct action against mind control.

Our strategy should be to try and build a movement of active people that can relate to the words Earth First! on a deep and personal level — people who want to be active. We must be organized and reach out to others who share our goals. Movements can be organized and still be decentralized; they can be spiritual and still be pragmatic. They can be dead serious and still be fun. Indeed they have to be all that and more if they want to be successful. I am wary of a tendency by some in our movement toward weeding out those elements that don't conform to rigid thinking.

The key to our strength will not be our diversity so much as our integrity. Diversity alone is meaningless. Respecting each other and working together will be the key to successful movement building. Isolating the opposition and confronting them directly will be the key to reaching our goals. Trying to isolate people within our own movement, as Foreman seems to be doing by his relentless labeling, is counterproductive and does a disservice not only to those he is trying to discredit, but to him and the whole movement as well.

I don't think Earth First! has really changed much. For the individual it will continue to be risky to openly support or participate in the Earth First! movement. It will also be risky not participating in what could be the last chance to save the Earth. Today it is widely understood that the Earth will cease to support complex forms of life like ourselves if drastic changes are not made soon. As more people become involved, it will be more important than ever for movements like ours that support ecological as well as social democracy to be heard above the din of an increasingly cautious environmental movement that doesn't want to rock the boat.

Now is not the time to hang up our pearl handled monkeywrenches, but a time to recommit ourselves to dropping them in the gears of the appropriate machinery. Revers-

ing this holocaust will take much more than preserving a few wilderness areas and stopping a few development projects. It will take more than individual action.

Wide-scale global atmospheric changes are now occurring and will soon affect every aspect of each life on this planet, whether we choose to participate in the deadly process or not. Cooperation between all sectors of society and every region on Earth is now more than ever essential to planetary survival. The rapid growth of ecological movements around the world offers some hope that this can somehow be achieved. The odds may not be in our favor, but our survival, and the survival of our planet, depends on it.

I hope other Earth Firsters will not become dispirited by the recent wave of repression, but will see this as an opportunity to address some of the root causes of the environmental crisis, and see how they are linked to the present distribution of wealth and power.

Another issue I want to bring up is the Earth First! Journal itself. For some time now there has been a lot of discussion about the direction and quality of the paper among the grassroots. Opinions vary from people who think it has been taken over by mutant Aryan Nazi's, that John Davis is from another planet, to people who simply think it isn't as funny or as inspiring as it used to be. And, although I was very grateful that Tom Skeele had brought up some of these concerns in his recent meeting with John in New York, I was very disappointed by John's purely defensive reaction to the friendly criticism that Tom offered.

The response from the Journal seemed to be that the criticisms are not based on any sound reasoning. John continued by stating that not only will there be no changes in the Journal, but the focus in the future will be even narrower. He complained that they weren't getting contributions of funny material. To cap it off, he referred to Howie Wolke's Grizzly Den essay, which repeats many of the sentiments of Foreman's earlier *Around the Campfire* piece, by saying it "says what needs to be said."

I'm sorry, but I think that both Dave's and Howie's pieces are irrelevant to the discussion about the Journal. To my knowledge, pot smoking hippies and shoplifting anarchists have never been a problem at Earth First! demonstrations, nor has anyone shown any noticeable lack of thoughtfulness. Does Howie really believe that people actually "dress like punks and hippies?" In most of the Pacific Northwest, people would think that Howie "dressed like a cowboy," but certainly they would not send him home from a demonstration to change clothes because he was scaring hippies away. Even image conscious Greenpeace doesn't tell you how to dress for a demonstration. And has he really ever tried to get a noted biologist to come to an Earth First! action where he or she might be beaten up or arrested? And has he ever tried to organize a demonstration without the help of a few dope smokin' hippies?

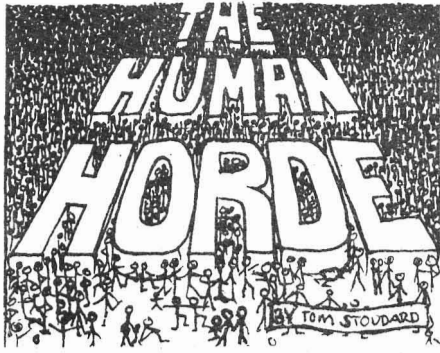
I can't believe that Dave and Howie are now worried about alienating potential supporters. I think for them to advise others on how not to alienate possible supporters is a little hypocritical in light of statements that they have both made recently. We have received more damaging criticism and lost more support from people whom we should be working with from statements they have made than from anyone within Earth First!. Dave has still not responded directly to his critics on issues such as illegal immigration and the politics of the Ethiopian famine. Maybe better he should spend some time doing this than using space in the Journal to attack Earth Firsters he sees as straying from the party line.

Alienation is not even an issue here. I've always felt it was more important to say what you think rather than temper your words to appeal to the broadest audience. The question is not so much being able to say anything you want, but in sticking to the issues. Talking down to people you see as hippies and pondering whether or not AIDS has any positive benefits might be speaking your mind, but it sure the hell isn't going to make it any easier to organize a movement.

It is no wonder that many grassroots Earth First! activists are increasingly seeing the Journal staff as an entrenched, isolated bureaucracy that has little connection to the movement at large. Davis's editorial seems to confirm that when he states that if we don't like the way things are, we can start our own newspaper. This was similar to Foreman's reaction when we came under criticism for his by now well-known position on immigration. Never mind addressing the charges or opening up a dialogue, just man the barricades.

While today's Journal seems to feel it has every right to run things however it sees fit because it is a separate entity within the broader movement, in my mind, this was not always so. At the second annual Round River

continued on page 28



\*\*A frequent suggestion to solve the US's illegal immigrant problem is to have a national photo-identity card system. Those who prize individual liberty may lose it because of this menacing problem. And while not all nations with effective identity systems are repressive dictatorships, all repressive dictatorships do want effective identity systems.

\*\*Secondary and tertiary effects of human population often go unnoticed or unrecorded. British scientists Peter Churcher and John Lawton studied cats' effects on wildlife. By extrapolation they estimated that Britain's 5 million house cats annually kill about 70 million small animals.

\*\*Those attempting to stop voluntary abortions, self-styled Right to Lifers, have the rallying cry, "Adoption not abortion." Of the 1,500,000 unwanted pregnancies that are carried to term, less than 2% are adopted. The remainder are kept by single mothers, most of whom are unfit for parenthood. Another 1,500,000 unwanted pregnancies result in abortions; the birth of these additional unwanted children would place a staggering burden on the environment, social welfare system and taxpayers.

\*\*Population growth in the US is more devastating than anywhere else on Earth. We comprise 5% of the world population yet consume 33% of all resources. One American consumes total products equal to 100 Bangladeshians. We use up to 4 times as much water per capita as Europeans.

## Brower . . .

continued from page 26

We need another David Simons, but Springfield, Oregon, cannot be expected to produce another. The Sierra Club must find one, discard its hubris, learn anew how to listen, abandon its obsolete conventional wisdom (a redundant term), and get a move on. As I said while leaving on May 3, 1969, Nice Nelly won't get the job done.

David Simons came up with the bold idea of an Oregon Volcanic Cascades National Park, an idea that died with him. Where is the innovative courage he had? Imagine, if you will, how reformed the Forest Service would have become had the club picked up that ball. It didn't. The kind of people who had been Muir's opponents, the proliferating Disciples of Pinchot, can now perceive that the club is willing to compromise, and thus propose a scheme that hardly delays the rate of cutting and eviscerates our hard-won ability to litigate when the government becomes irresponsible.

That, at least, is the way I read it, as do many people in other organizations undercut by the Sierra Club. Yes, the club can thus preserve access, remain an insider, be credible, and appear reasonable in the world of decisions. But what has the club lost for the world? Thousands, perhaps millions of endangered species. Those are the plants and animals not yet identified, but up for sacrifice if the club lets those priceless ancient forests vanish, while the board and staff deliberate, so often behind closed doors, about priorities and black bottom lines.

Then there's the matter of SCCOPE's [Sierra Club Committee On Political Education — ed.] backing away from its most important function — exerting the major influence it should in all conscience have found means to exert in the presidential election. Certainly the club could have found a way to do so without troubling funders, and die-hard Republicans need to be troubled — about their party's environmental record. I hope you remember the reaction of the audience to my remark, "Thank George Bush for saying he is an environmentalist, and thank him again when he becomes one." You liked it well enough to repeat it. The Sierra Club members liked it both times. But where was the club leadership when it had a chance to give the country someone better to thank? Think how lonely Bill Reilly must now feel!

Perhaps you can understand why some people are contemplating full-page ads wondering what has become of John Muir's Sierra Club, and asking me about it. I fully expect another computer message from John Muir (via his hacker), threatening once again to resign as founder of the Sierra Club.

In my mountaineering days I learned that when one is lost, one must stay calm, Page 28 *Earth First!* February 2, 1990

\*\*World refugee population has swollen from 9.9 million in 1984 to 14.4 million in 1988 and is expected to continue rising as ecologic and economic deterioration spurred by overpopulation accelerates in Third World countries. President Bush, paying off political debts to the far right, in August 1989 denied funds to the UN Population Fund and forbade federal assistance to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

\*\*Tropical forests are distributed among 70 developing nations, but three — Brazil, Indonesia and Zaire — contain nearly half the total. These three nations have higher than average birth rates, exerting strong political pressure for exploitation of these forests.

\*\*The Supreme Court's recent anti-choice decision has set off the greatest cycle of repressive birth control legislation in 50 years. Some of the more zealous want to outlaw all advertising of contraceptive devices. Becoming a member of one of the freedom of choice organizations is an effective way to fight such repression.

\*\*Some idea of what real overpopulation means can be understood by comparing the delta region of Louisiana, which contains 45,177 square miles, and the delta region of Bangladesh, which contains 55,598 square miles. The former has a population of 4,500,000 and the latter 104,000,000. Louisiana has a population growth rate of 1.1% and Bangladesh 2.7%.

\*\*California is experiencing what is thought to be the highest growth rate in any state's history. It is fueled by large numbers of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, and the high birth rates among these immigrants.

\*\*The Population Reference Bureau reports world population rising faster than previously projected. It was 5 billion in 1987, passed 5.1 billion in 1988, and is expected to pass 6 billion in 1998.

\*\*Barber Conable, World Bank President, is distressed that despite the "magnitude and severity" of rapid population growth, the US has decreased contributions, from \$290 to \$200 million, to alleviate population problems.

—Tom Stoddard

retrace steps to the last known landmark, and proceed from there on a different course.

Has the club leadership lost its way? Remember the members' response to the two Daves. Standing ovations. Again and again members have asked me to "tell it like it is to the club," based on what I have learned in fifty-one years of fighting what Muir fought for. You can see from this letter how much I held back in my Ann Arbor talk.

You too received a standing ovation. How much did that applause come from your telling it like you thought they'd like to hear it? You told them how good they are, and what they ought to do next week to empower themselves. But you told only five hundred listeners out of the five hundred thousand members. Isn't this something *Sierra* should long since have provided the background on, monthly, not bimonthly, if the club is to exert its strength on issues so important? How much applause was linked to your talk being the final one in a great conference?

Do you feel as confident as you sounded that you are doing everything right and need no new ideas? Can you tell this alleged what's-his-name-reincarnate, what has driven you from the damn-the-torpedoes man you were for the Alaska Coalition? Did you like the splendid idea of the Chico Mendes award, or Mike McCloskey's bold move to get people to vote environmentally with their dollars? You didn't say so. At a time like this, before the club's international assembly, should you appear to believe that existing strategies are adequate? Perhaps I wasn't listening carefully enough.

In any event, I am troubled for you and the club — troubled enough to write a letter like this, with copies to people I think care and may want to let you know.

Incidentally, I'd like to see our exchange in my autobiography if you think it can help. People might understand several current problems better, instead of having to rely on what the book on the club history has muddied so badly, as opposed to what you reported in the *Sierra Club: A Guide*.

I know we agree on many things — especially that the Earth's present brief tenants are indeed the last who will have the opportunity to know wildness as we have known it, unless we pass it on. Perhaps you will also agree with the Alwyn Rhys quote Amory Lovins dug up, with a new twist: When you have reached the edge of the abyss, the only progressive move you can make is to turn around and step forward.

You have made great contributions, and I know there are greater to come.

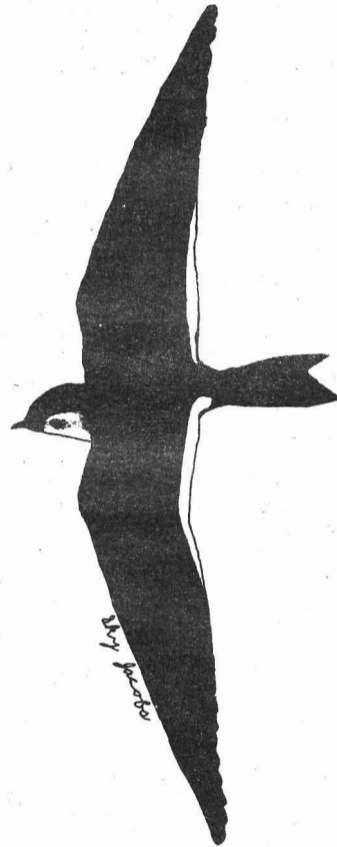
Sincerely, Dave.



Ah, the start of a new decade! The last decade of this century and perhaps the last decade of rampant destruction by man. Let's help make it so.

At the start of every year it's proper to talk about goals, resolutions and all that. I don't usually, but since this is the decade of the environment, I'll stoop to it.

Like any good American should, I spent the New Year's holiday in Mexico. Went for a walk one day out on a sand spit that (during low tide) connects an island with the mainland. It was a nice warm day, wind moving the tide in just right. Sea-birds wheeled in the air. The sand was covered with shells. As I walked, collecting shells for a lady friend back state-side, it occurred to me how meaningless we humans really are in the grand scheme of things. In the vast timelessness of sea meeting desert — a landscape that is still a lot of Mexico — it's hard to worry about humans ruining the planet. We'll leave our mark (ugly to be sure) and then either we'll clean it up or Mother Earth will have to do it. Either way, the tide will still hit the beach every morning.



Then the reality of being back in the states. Truck's broke, I'm not far from it, planet's going to hell in a hand basket, lady friend is a lady friend no longer and I've got this pile of shells sitting on the floor of my office! Nice decade, and it's only just started! When I'm in a bind I usually look at the past.

I looked first at the anti-nuke movement of the 1970s: Other than a few plants stopped here and there (mostly in the Midwest), and things slowed down for a while, the anti-nuke movement didn't really accomplish much. In fact, no movement since the civil rights movement has really made much "progress." Why? Because they spent too much time bitching and not enough time doing. I remember meetings in the mid-70s when 75 people would spend more than two hours to decide if "ne" should be used in press work instead of "he" or "she". You can't get anything done that way. One of the things that attracted me to the EF! movement was that folks remembered the past enough to avoid that pitfall.

Well folks, we are approaching that pit fast. We've only a few months before spring starts and with it another season's work. We need to be planning so we are in the forests when spring hits, not arguing about who is or isn't in Earth First!

There will probably be several meetings before spring that will pull together experienced activists to "chart our course." Although we all hate meetings, there is important work that needs attending to. Those who can add a constructive voice to these "circles" should attend. Let's hug at the door, battle out where we are going (agree to disagree or whatever), hug again when we leave, and then head for trees, the cactus, the sea. Action is what we need, not reaction!

As the environment unravels more and more quickly, more and more people will jump on the environmental bandwagon. This is great. But, "To thine own be true." Don't let yourself be pulled more directions than you want to go. Don't be afraid to say no to issues that others are working on and that dilute your time for wilderness. No one can do a great job on many different issues at once. It's the activist's dilemma.

We need new ideas on ways to bring money into the movement. Being media darlings presently, we should be able to find sources for funding outside the movement, and we need to use all we have for directly saving wilderness. Right now, movement monetary resources are low.

And now a little horn tooting: Dakota Sid Clifford and I will lead spring and fall Green Fire tours this year (see Bulletins this issue). For information, write: Green Fire tour, Box DB, Bisbee, AZ 85603. Or call (602) 624-3196.

—Roger Featherstone

## Roadkill . . .

continued from page 27

Rendezvous, a meeting was held of the so called "Earth First! circle," and among the many issues discussed was the Earth First! newsletter. At the time, the newsletter was a small, low budget affair whose primary function was to keep the relatively few Earth First! activists in touch with each other. Those assembled, including myself, agreed that the newsletter should be expanded into a tabloid format in order to reach a wider audience. Pete Dustard was chosen as the new editor, replacing Susan Morgan, and the new Journal office was set up at Ken Sanders' house in Salt Lake City. It was here that the Journal as most of us know it came into being. It reflected the spontaneity, the outrage, the sense of humor and the irreverence of the people who were involved. While not taking itself too seriously, it still concentrated on the issues.

I was heavily involved in those early days of the Journal in Salt Lake City. I took out the paper's first bulk mail permit in Jackson, Wyoming, where the paper was mailed out until the entire operation was later moved to Ely, Nevada. This move, by the way, came about after a particularly nasty disagreement between Pete Dustard and the rest of the circle over whether to continue running the Dear Ned Ludd column. The dispute was settled when Dustard resigned and Dave Foreman and Bart Koehler took over as co-editors. The paper was eventually incorporated as a business for the purposes of keeping paperwork to a minimum. Since then the Journal has gone on to become an important part of Earth First!

I have had many happy moments work-

ing on the paper as it covered the beginnings of the movement, and as it moved from Ely to Chico, California and then later on to Tucson, Arizona. My original vision of the Journal was as an organizing tool to help link up new people with the rest of the Earth First! movement. I saw it as a call to action as well as a vehicle for expressing diverse points of view on the nature of ecological activism. Over the last few years, however, I have grown more and more disappointed with the general editorial direction of the Journal. I haven't distributed any copies to potential supporters since the summer of 1985, when it became clear to me that the Journal's editors were not nearly as interested in organizing a radical ecology movement as they were in putting out a thinly disguised journal on environmental ethics.

I have heard many comments on the Journal's long, often boring articles on philosophy, and conservation biology, on the grey pages full of small type, the dark photos and the drab layout and those line drawings of wildlife (which would be better suited for a local Audubon newsletter); it has long since ceased to be the type of publication that I would give to someone who knew little or nothing about Earth First! It still has lots of good writing, but you really have to wade through a lot jibber-jabber.

My reason for writing this long diatribe was because I wanted to raise some issues. These are but a few of my thoughts on the issues that I feel we should tackle in the 1990s.

—Mike Roselle, Box 83, Canyon CA (415) 843-8243

## Products for a Healthy Planet?

(The following is written in response to a Bulletin in the last issue of *Earth First!* which gave a plug for "Seventh Generation, a socially responsible, Vermont-based company, offering a catalog of environmentally safe products.")

As the 20th anniversary of Earth Day approaches, and a rising concern for the planet's health rumbles across the land, new businesses will sprout from the compost of such consciousness. All of these businesses will claim to "benefit" the environment in some particular way, and some of them just might, though benefiting the environment is an entirely different matter from simply not harming it. Claims of environmentally "healthy" products or services, however, should not lift a business above scrutiny by consumers, especially those of us who consider ourselves radical environmentalists.

One of the newest businesses to begin surfing the wave of environmental consciousness is Seventh Generation, formed in 1988 and located in South Burlington, Vermont. According to their catalog, the company was born "out of the frustration of idly standing by while the environment rapidly deteriorated around us." They go on to say "It's a unique and delightful experience to have our success hinge on how well we help you, our customers, clean up the planet!" That is a strong and somewhat arrogant, misleading claim. Only a portion of their success hinges on helping their customers

clean up the planet. Part of their success depends on dirtying up the planet, such as relying on the production of electricity (including solar) for their offices and warehouse, reliance on a notoriously dirty system of fossil-fuel based transportation to deliver their products, and the production of several products that even George Bush would claim the planet can do without. But I will begin on the bright side of their business: toilet paper.

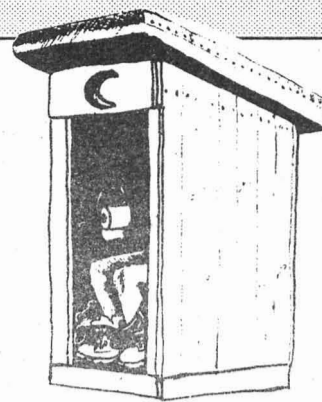
Seventh Generation sells a 2-ply toilet paper made from 100% recycled paper. I know of few people who have given up toilet paper for a more environmentally responsible alternative (fresh snow, leftover pancakes; but that's another column); and it is a fact that every ton of recycled paper saves 17 trees, 7000 gallons of water and 4100 kilowatt hours of the dreaded juice. Seventh Generation is one of only a few sources for recycled toilet paper that keeps my visits to the outhouse less of a planetary burden.

One of our most easily changed habits is accepting a new bag each time we buy something from a store. Among the most offensive companies in this department is "Ames" of New England, which offers only plastic bags and insists on bagging even the tiniest of purchases, unless you are aggressive in refusing the bag. Seventh Generation offers reusable cotton string bags which gracefully solve the problem.

But will someone please tell me how a "solar keychain" contributes to a healthy

planet ("Tired of searching for your keyhole in the dark?" says the catalog)? And what about a solar-powered "house number" that burns brightly all night ("Don't make your friends guess where you live.")? Do nylon "Cool Caps," complete with a tiny battery and solar-powered fan above your forehead, really help the planet. They are superfluous junk on an already cluttered planet.

Seventh Generation is also selling a trip to the rainforests of Costa Rica: "Come see for yourself the incredible beauty and diversity that's at risk." How does flying in a jet for several thousand miles, and then driving around for a few hundred more, contribute to a healthy planet? We cannot have it all. Seventh Generation is basically selling us the status quo in a different set of clothes, rather than promoting the kind of radical lifestyle changes necessary to really help the planet. Energy-efficient lightbulbs (\$18) and toilet dams are not a part of the solution, but rather, only a less harmful part of the problem. These are not worthy of the claim "products for a healthy planet." The type of changes needed to insure the biodiversity and viability of the planet will not be as painless as Seventh Generation and the rest of us would like. It means learning to live again without electricity, not just changing lightbulbs. (Even in the Northeast, many towns have only had electricity since the 1930s or 40s.) It means using a composting toilet, not just a toilet dam. It means walking



to your nearest forest, not flying to Costa Rica.

Most of us have been guilty at one time or another of being overly convinced of the sanctity of our cause, certain that what we are doing is right, and all we are doing is all that can be done. Seventh Generation's catalog displays that flavor: "As a group we try to be as environmentally conscious as possible. We recycle the office trash, conserve water in the bathrooms with toilet dams...." They should be praised for displaying more concern than most American companies, but they should remember that they could achieve a lot more good, with a lot less. They are a long way from being "as environmentally conscious as possible." During the next seven generations, I suspect that the true "products for a healthy planet" will be produced and consumed locally, and discovered by word of mouth rather than colorful catalogs.

—Robert Streeter, Derby Line, VT

### Fragments of Earth Wisdom

## The Norwegian Roots of Deep Ecology

by Dolores LaChapelle

Amidst the growing proliferation of terms such as 'deep ecology', 'ecosophy', and 'ecophilosophy' and confusion about what they mean, there's a danger of becoming so academic that these terms are no longer useful for the earth. Perhaps it is time to dig down to the roots of these terms. They are intertwined with the work of a Norwegian, Sigmund Kvaloy, who is relatively unknown in this country. In addition to being a philosopher and environmental activist, he is a farmer, musician, airplane mechanic, artist, mountaineer and member of a Himalayan sherpa clan. He explains that the Norwegian soul "was a soul of rivers and waterfalls and deep fiords." Norway was industrialized later than the rest of Europe. "A green movement started way back in the 1930s, giving the Norwegian labour movement a special flavor. Half of its popular basis was small farmers and fishermen, not industrial workers."

Kvaloy's diverse background led him to enter the philosophy department of the University of Oslo "to find out about double personalities, but to my disappointment, no such idea was on the curriculum." He soon found himself deeply within the "Norwegian ecopolitical tradition." He explains, "If you vividly feel that the roof may cave in any moment, it's just not possible to sit still at an institute of philosophy, analyzing some Greek concepts presupposing the world to stand still. So, in 1969 on June 24, a group of friends met and founded what we later called the Ecopolitical Ring of Cooperative Action - the RING, for short."

He tells of their first action in 1970: "Our aim was to stop the hydro-electrocution of the Mardola Water Fall — the highest in the world when the springtime thawing of snow in the mountains makes it plunge 2000

feet in one leap into the forested valley by the Eikesdal Lake." They used steel chains to anchor themselves to the rocks so the police could not move them. A 70 year old farmer made the chains from old cow anchors.

Those who were mountaineers used drill pitons and sat on them so the police could not reach them. The Mardola action became famous and was covered in the *New York Times* and *Der Spiegel*. People came to help them from France, America, and Holland. Kvaloy says, "We lost the waterfall but we started a movement...through these practical actions we worked on a new philosophy of man-in-nature. From 1969 we called our way of thinking *eco-philosophy*." Out of this context Arne Naess developed his thinking, which in this country came to be called deep ecology.

I first met Arne Naess in 1977, while I was working on my book *Earth Wisdom*, at a gathering in Claremont, California, to begin the "New Natural Philosophy" program. Before Naess arrived from Scandinavia, Joe Meeker told me the story of Arne hanging from pitons so they would not dam a waterfall. When Arne arrived I asked him about the story and since he only smiled I presumed it was true and put it in *Earth Wisdom*. Later I got a letter from Kvaloy saying this story about Arne was a fable. I referred to it briefly again in my latest book, *Sacred Land*, so, finally, Kvaloy wrote me the whole story in a letter which just reached me this September. I quote below from the letter because it gives remarkable insight into the whole matter.

"Arne never took part in the planning and execution of the Mardola Water Fall action, and there has never been any 'Arne Naess' famous cliff exploit. Arne had been a great inspiration to us — especially through his work on Gandhi, but he did not show up (as we had wanted him to) when the time came to start the ecophilosophy seminar in 1969, so I had to start it alone. That's how we started using the designation 'ecophilosophy', and when Arne started working on his book a year later and wanted us to change to 'ecosophy', we in the Eco-philosophy group refused, since we had spent a year publicizing 'ecophilosophy' — since we wanted to occupy that word before the academic community picked it up (as we knew they would) as a name for a value-neutral discipline — and because we wanted to keep 'philo' (love) for our strivings. Well, anyway Arne's part in the Mardola action came when he and his wife, Siri and daughter, Lotte answered our call and came up to the mountains at the end of the fifth week of the action and joined us in a last sit-in in front of the bulldozers, before we were all carried away by the police. It took about five minutes. Of course we appreciated that very much, because we were very few at the time but it just shows how

modern mass media — and our society — works, when the photo of Arne getting carried away by two policemen flew around the world, while nothing like that happened to the local farmers, who were actually the important strugglers in that conflict. It was the first time that we succeeded in carrying out a large-scale action with intimate cooperation between local farmers defending their own place and environmentalists from the cities — that was just fantastic, and an enormously consequential inspiration to Norwegian/Scandinavian ecopolitics!"

Kvaloy says the media and our society wants "stars" while they always worked as a group. "That's why the jazz band and the square-rigged fishing boat were our symbols." Near the end of a talk Kvaloy gave for the British Schumacher Society, printed in 1984 in *Resurgence*, he explains the importance of these symbols:

Psychologists in this Industrial Growth Society always stress the importance of building one individual identity; "all success is based on the possibility of defining one and only one personality structure as a skeleton for the healthy and sane individual." Actually, Kvaloy tells us, "we can conceive of a human being as a being who at birth is like a very complex root system which is trying not to fix a permanent personality structure, but to grow a multiplicity of personalities."

Our civilization wants us to be controllable "elementary particles" so we can be used as interchangeable bricks in the pyramidal systems where the leaders are at the top. Yet we have "the capacity and even an urge to create a whole society of personalities...given us by nature to cope creatively with a vast variety of situations...Going into it deeply you should discover that you are psychically invulnerable because you no longer have just one single personality with its specific vulnerability....And you'll accept all kinds of people, because you find them in your own inner society...And finding all the elements of nature within, your feeling for the earth's ecosphere will be lifted to a new level."

According to Kvaloy, among the more rewarding places to look for healthy multiple personality structures are semi-nomadic societies, because they are made up of people who live two or more parallel lives. On the Norwegian coast until about 70 years ago, the people were "stationary in one place with their farms and neighbours and then every winter for three months they left home on a sailing vessel to go fishing at the Lofoten Islands far away to the north. They often had very rough weather, and this little, open, square-rigged viking type boat wasn't easy to handle. But they were masters at it, and the only way they could manage, was through total mutual integration. The six of them, together with the boat and its rigging, became like one organism.

"These men in the tiny nutshell of a boat — 40-50 feet long, riding the storm, had actually lost their egos in that situation. One of the part-personalities of each man combined with the similar one in each of the

others, producing — with the boat, the waves and the wind — an over-individual, organically functioning form."

He's not talking about split personality but about a "radical utilization of an enormous potential for complex, deep interpenetration, an urge we all have from childhood, but which we are not permitted to follow in our society. And the clinging to isolated individuality, a hardening of the membrane, is the root of suffering. IGS is a society demanding that we close up our membranes, so that we may be used as bricks in the pyramid."

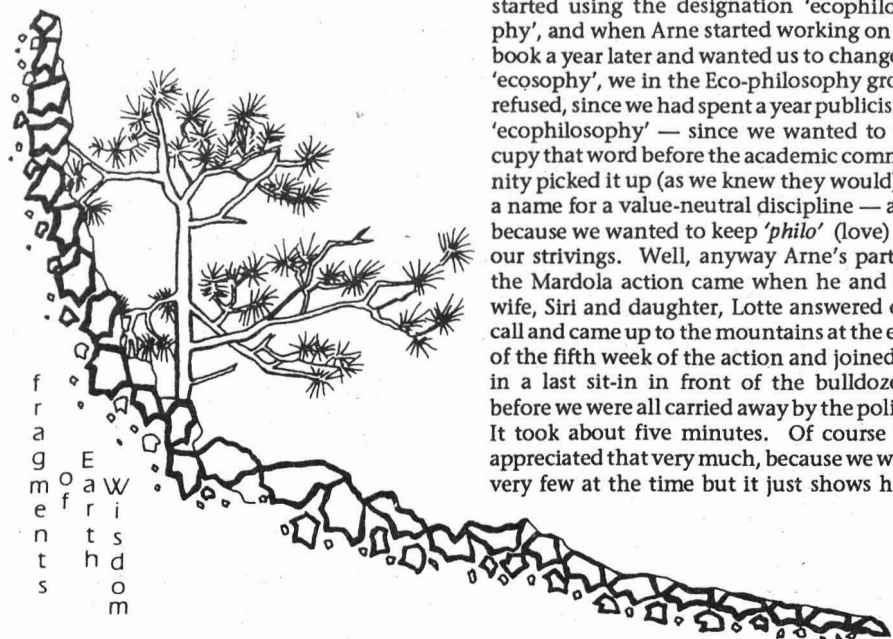
Kvaloy uses his own life as an example: "I exist in several geographical places at the same time because personality is defined through participation which is not confined to one spot. Right now, one of my personalities is speaking here at Bristol University, another is working the farm in Trondelag, Middle Norway. The activity that defines one member of my personality group goes on there, where it is partly carried on through the activity of my son and Tashi, a Sherpa and by some of our neighbours as well." Another part "is still active in The Plow-Furrow, the remote Himalayan valley. That's because I've spent so much time there, taken an active part in village life, been adopted with my family into three Sherpa clans."

He concludes: "If this sort of personality structure...was cultivated as the dominant paradigm — there would not be any suffering in the Buddhist sense, because there would not be any individual to inflict suffering upon. Activity does not suffer. Activity does not die, as long as there's someone to carry it on. Nirvana in Buddhism is not Heaven or a state to be achieved after physical death; instead, Nirvana is our way of life from that moment when we are liberated completely from the prison of the individual struggling to hold on to his individuality. And Nirvana means...to be free to swing, as partaker in the cosmic jazz band."

Kvaloy's concept of multiple personalities is an integral part of most traditional primitive cultures and is furthered by celebrating seasonal rituals. In the month of February we have the remnants of the ancient Roman Lupercalia and the Feast of Lights, celebrated with lighted torches and fires to welcome the return of the goddess from the underworld and the rebirth of nature in spring. In Celtic countries, we have the sacred fire of St. Bride or Bridget. These festivals later became the Carnivals held just before Lent where masks and dancing allow all aspects of the personality to be expressed.

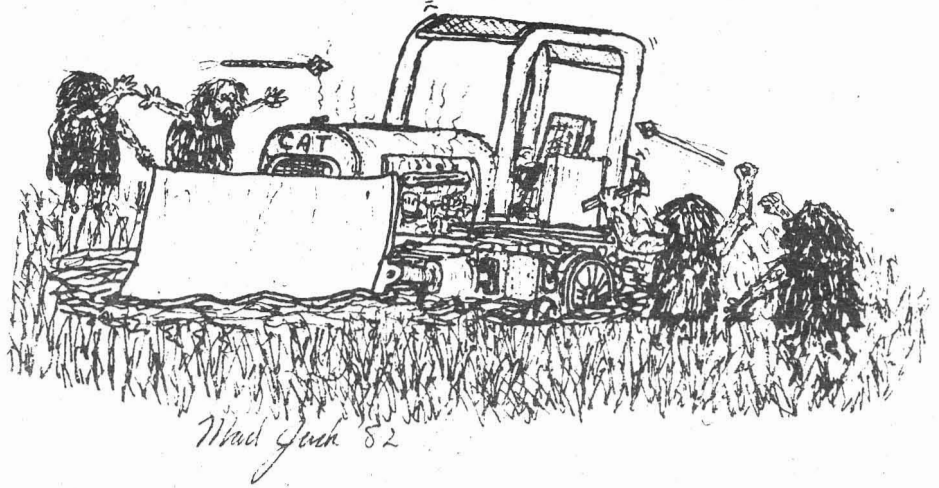
Such rituals help keep our membranes open so that we can no longer be used as "bricks in the pyramid" of power for this Industrial Growth Society.

For Sigmund Kvaloy's complete essay, "Complexity and Time: Breaking the Pyramid's Reign" write Way of the Mountain Center, POB 542, Silverton, CO 81433. \$3.45 (including postage). It is also reprinted on p. 319 of *Sacred Land, Sacred Sex*.



# DEAR NED LUDD

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



## An Appraisal of Monkeywrenching

by CM

Our duty is to destroy billboards.  
—Doc Sarvis

Over the past year or so, a number of groups and individual activists associated with *Earth First!* have distanced themselves from the radical environmental banner, ostensibly over the issue of ecotage. They argue that they can more effectively inform and influence the public if they don't have to bear the spike-ridden cross of vindicating this controversial practice. There is no point in disputing this reasoning. The field of environmental activism is broad enough to let each plow his or her own plot (though some of us would rather put the farm out of business and encourage natural succession). No one is quarreling with the goal of informing the American public on the environmental cataclysm now taking place, and doing so without getting bogged down in arguments about property rights, law and order, and violence, if this is possible.

Nevertheless the fact that monkeywrenching looms so large in these considerations calls for an appraisal of its effectiveness, a report card to compare with less direct methods of expressing environmental discontent.

The controversy over monkeywrenching is nothing new. In 1982 the editor of *Earth First!* (then the mildly named *Earth First! Newsletter*) resigned over *EF!*'s sympathetic coverage of monkeywrenching. Gary Snyder, an early supporter of *EF!*, also criticized ecotage. Over the years disputes have flared up intermittently during particular campaigns between those committed to civil disobedience and those using ecotage. The controversy is likely to stay with us until industrial society crashes to the ground and happily makes the question moot.

Meanwhile, it's fair to ask: what has monkeywrenching accomplished? The answer is, a great deal more than is obvious.

Oddly enough until recently no one, either in government or industry, has kept track of the cost of ecotage. The Forest Service, always on the cutting edge of lethargy, simply lumped ecotage incidents with vandalism and other crimes. The timber industry, already beset by insurance problems because of its shameful safety record, was reluctant to give the insurance companies another category of risk for raising rates. All this is changing. The Forest Service law enforcement division in Washington is overhauling its reporting methods, and they expect this will allow a more accurate accounting of ecotage. Moreover many Forest supervisors are now going back and reevaluating reports of "vandalism" to see if environmental motives were involved. According to *Eco-Media Toronto* there are also a half dozen "Pinkerton-like" private groups starting to monitor ecotage, as well as to infiltrate radical environmental groups. One of these, the ultra-conservative Mountain States Legal Foundation (once headed by the glabrously messianic James Watt), is now in the ambitious process of cataloguing all incidents of monkeywrenching nationwide, with the stated purpose of informing the public and the rumored aim of bringing a class-action suit against *Earth First!*

Bad accounting aside, reliable estimates do exist for the cost of ecotage to the industries and government agencies now in control of our public lands. A forest policy analyst for the Association of Oregon Loggers and its unintentionally self-defining alter ego Prevent Ecological Sabotage Today — PEST — estimates that the average monkeywrenching incident causes \$60,000 in damages, including equipment loss and downtime (but not law enforcement investigation and insurance). This accords with what most newspaper accounts, Forest Service special agents, and ecoteurs say. In a typical incident last Labor Day weekend, for example, an International 15 bulldozer and

two skidders were silted and mangled, causing \$45,000 in property damage plus about \$15,000 in downtime. According to a timber industry spokesman, an average tree-spiking incident costs about \$15,000 assuming the spikes are found and removed, or, more likely nowadays, marked with tape to allow loggers to cut around them (thus many small nails placed in a helix pattern around the tree are more effective than a few large ones). The above estimate also includes the value of the wood in the larger stumps the loggers have to leave to avoid the spikes. The cost goes up astronomically if a spike hits a bandsaw in the mill, as several did last summer in southern Oregon. Though the timber industry is loath to talk about it, one timber industry spokesman called this a "monthly" occurrence. The saws themselves typically cost \$1500-5000. A damaged saw can be changed in an hour or so (assuming a replacement is on hand). The big expense comes if the saw shatters and shrapnel flies into the head-rig. Head-rig repairs can cost \$20,000.

The actual cost of an average monkeywrenching incident climbs to well over \$100,000 when you figure in police investigation, private security, insurance hikes, and the fatuous efforts of groups like the Mountain States Legal Foundation (whose lawyers, if they follow the usual practice of double billing, will run up an account of over half a million dollars on this public-spirited project, subsidized in part by taxpayers, since the Foundation has tax exempt status — which should be challenged in court!). When you consider the typical monkeywrenching incident probably costs the ecoteur no more than \$100 and a night's sleep, this is a remarkably cost-effective way to register one's disapproval of present resource industry practices.

How much monkeywrenching is happening? Again, until recently no one was keeping count. According to industry and Forest Service officials in southern Oregon, there were "dozens" of reported incidents last summer alone, and most of these can be tallied from newspaper accounts. As already mentioned, however, the timber industry often avoids reporting sabotage or lies about the cause of the damage so as to keep their insurance companies in the dark (their natural element). Timber industry spokesmen suggest that 1 out of every 2 monkeywrenching incidents goes unreported. According to Forest Service agents in region 5 (California), at least a dozen tree-spikings occurred in their jurisdiction last year. These tend not to get into the papers since monkeywrenchers realized a while back that once the incident reaches the media the Forest Service will stop at nothing to go through with the sale in order to show that it is in control of the public lands. And, of course, this estimate doesn't include incidents on private and state land, which, as the Maxxam battle indicates, are significant in California. In Washington monkeywrenching is so rife that special agent Ben Hull simply won't talk about it. Several years ago, Hull did a survey of Forest supervisors across the nation to get an estimate of how common monkeywrenching is. He has refused to release the information, despite demands by environmentalists under the Freedom of Information Act. He admits he doesn't want to give ecoteurs the satisfaction of knowing how much havoc they're causing.

Admittedly Oregon, northern California and Washington are "hot spots" with an unusual amount of ecotage. However, the number of such hot spots itself is increasing: Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, Alaska, New Mexico, Idaho. Moreover there are many "hidden" costs associated with ecotage, in particular legislative action. For instance, the anti-tree spiking rider in the 1988 Drug Act (18 USCA Sec. 1864) came about only after a long process in which the Forest Service, at the behest of that champion of deforestation, Senator McClure of Idaho,

submitted several draft bills. Never satisfied with halfway measures at repression, McClure has continued to clamor for even more strident legislation. Last June, US Representative Pashayan of California sponsored a bill that calls for 20 years in prison and a \$100,000 fine for repeat offenders. Following the lead of this rogues' gallery, Oregon passed its own anti-spiking act last session.

All this legislative activity costs money. Lawyers write these bills. Consultants and researchers are usually involved. A small, uncomplicated bill like the foregoing, therefore, may cost \$50,000 before getting to a committee of Congress or of a state legislature, where it will probably (4 to 1 odds against any given bill) languish and die.

Taking all this into consideration, ecotage in the United States today is probably costing government and industry \$20-25 million annually. This represents money industry was not able to use to deforest public lands, sink oil wells in the backcountry, invest in more destructive equipment, influence politicians with campaign contributions.... It represents money the FS was not able to use to build new roads, or hide deficit sales, or hire more sub-brutal special agents.

People argue that corporations can simply pass this cost on to their customers and continue their destructive practices. Since no market is completely elastic, this isn't entirely accurate. But even if it is substantially true, a higher cost for wood products will inevitably mean that fewer wood products are bought — according to the vast and sublime free-market paradigm we are all withering under — which is ultimately the point. Sometimes, moreover, monkeywrenching as an economic weapon is completely effective: When in 1985 ecoteurs firebombed the \$250,000 wood-chipper in Hawaii which was grinding rainforest into fuel for sugar mills (without a permit and in violation of a court order), the company went bankrupt.

Thus if the sole purpose of ecotage is to make an adverse financial impact on government agencies and their resource industry clientele, it must be judged a success. This is true even if it is looked at in isolation from a larger strategy involving civil disobedience, legal remedies and public outreach. When the woodsy Leroy Watson (any relation to Paul?) first brought tree-spiking to the attention of *Earth First!* in these very pages in 1981, he probably had no idea it would ever become the headache to CEOs and Forest supervisors it now represents.

Monkeywrenching has also accomplished other aims. In at least two cases the FS has quietly withdrawn timber sales after learning they were spiked. There are probably more such recisions; the FS refuses to elaborate on the subject. Now that the risk of ecotage is publicly known, we can also speculate that timber company CEOs are taking the cost of ecotage into consideration when a sale of old-growth or other controversial ecological matter comes before the board. Failure to do so could get them in trouble with their stockholders. The ability of monkeywrenching to intimidate and unnerve the bureaucratic and the plutocratic mind cannot be measured but likely is significant.

Where ecotage isn't saving biological diversity directly, it is at least making biodiversity an issue. It can therefore be an important part of a larger campaign. The radical environmental message, whether concerning old-growth or dolphins, would not be receiving the widespread coverage it is today were it not for the "publicity value" of monkeywrenching. Most of the coverage *EF!* has received over the years — in *Esquire*, *The Amicus Journal*, *The Nation*, local newspapers, etc. — has concentrated on ecotage, often favorably or at least without overt condemnation. Monkeywrenching seems to strike a cord with many modern Americans

who, for different reasons probably, would also like to get back at the arbitrary powers that dominate their lives. Regardless of sentiments pro and con, by its very controversial nature, ecotage makes biodiversity a matter of public interest and debate. It takes seemingly obscure environmental issues out of the dark of scientific calculations into the limelight of individual passion and commitment. Even when the media distorts it by emphasizing its unlawfulness rather than its motives, it has been, like civil disobedience, an important element in the broader campaign to rally public opposition to wilderness destruction. For instance, in news coverage of the old-growth controversy, the subject of ecotage inevitably comes up, along with civil disobedience, and it's clear this activism attracted the coverage in the first place.

This is what monkeywrenching is doing right now. Whether it should be doing more or less or something different is another topic. Unquestionably it has over the past 10 years revolutionized the way public lands policy is made in this country. It has upset the unhealthy *modus vivendi* that had developed among industry, moderate environmental groups and the government agencies in charge of our wildlands. No longer can the Forest Service or BLM act like a band of medieval forestmeisters without fearing the bad publicity (a bureaucrat's one unforgivable sin) of a tree-spike or a de-flagging. The timber industry is now criticizing the FS for not acting even more one-sidedly for the corporations' interest. The mainstream environmental organizations are beginning to be embarrassed into addressing issues their professional leaders would never have broached if left to their own devices (martini glass, three-piece suit, and half a loaf).

What monkeywrenching isn't doing is hurting people, despite its media image. Whether ecotage is "violent" in itself is an ethical question best left to an individual's own conscience. The ethical rationales for ecotage have been thoroughly discussed by others, so I won't repeat them. But it is a fact that there has not been one authenticated incident in which ecotage caused significant injury to a person. The case inevitably reported as the evil fruit of ecotage is the infamous spike that seriously injured a Louisiana Pacific millworker in northern California two years ago. There is, however, no evidence monkeywrenchers were involved. On the contrary, ecoteurs would have notified the company, and no notification was given. It's possible that a disgruntled LP employee — and there are many of them — put the spike in; or that LP itself did to get publicity, which it certainly got, often of the most exaggerated kind (I talked with a woman who said the spike killed 5 people). Or, ironically, as one newspaper suggested, a radical Republican whose libertarianism was outraged by logging near his property line may have done it. How many bad motives can dance on the head of this problematical spike? No one knows.

Jay Hair, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, once said he couldn't tell the difference between destroying a river and destroying a bulldozer. Blessed with a more conventional sense of values, ecoteurs can, and as the record indicates, they have also fastidiously respected the difference between destroying property and hurting innocent people.

This isn't to say ecotage is a panacea, or that we don't need other people doing other things. No one knows for sure what it will take to save the natural world from the juggernaut of industrialism. But one thing is sure: if we fail and the fragile web of the biosphere unravels, it will not be because there were too many ecoteurs pounding spikes into trees, burning bulldozers and making the guilty squirm.

CM is a widely published writer and scholar whose career dictates anonymity.

# RADICAL ENVIRONMENTALISM: CARRYING ON A VENERABLE TRADITION

By Lester Rhodes

Nighttime became the ally of the underground as law enforcement pressure increased. Talk at home and in public was shrouded in code words to protect vital information from eavesdropping. As suspicion increased throughout the country, one activist posed as an ornithologist to obtain seemingly innocent freedom of movement. Even experienced tracking dogs had trouble apprehending radicals who walked in marshes and streams and used bags of pepper to obscure their scent trails.

These loosely organized but highly skilled lawbreakers were the center of much controversy in the mid-19th century. The system they fought was slavery, and their lawless endeavor was the now famous "Underground Railroad."

Viewed within the context of industrial civilization, the dominant global culture with its "linear" concept of time, the Underground Railroad becomes merely an episode of history (itself an oversimplified and much abused discipline). When an older concept of time is employed, namely the "cyclical" time of our prehistoric tribal past, the illegal acts of the abolitionists become part of the continuum of human progress. The highest measure of this progress is the expansion of inalienable rights, once held by a privileged few and now expanding to include all with whom we share this planet.

It is widely acknowledged that progressive social movements begin with small numbers and modest means, but often overlooked is the way major steps were taken, and obstacles overcome, by the actions of a few. The movement toward American independence was largely initiated by a small nucleus calling themselves "The Loyal Nine." Though their security precautions prevented the keeping of written records that would provide us a detailed history, we know that these successful agitators later were joined by men of influence and expanded to become the Sons of Liberty. How different would history be if these few men had not broken

the law successfully and evaded the legal consequences?

Similarly, the movement for women's suffrage was old and moribund when a small number of radicals descended on Washington DC to force the issue. In the face of World War I patriotic fervor and national unity behind President Woodrow Wilson, these determined women began to picket the White House. While a picket line may seem a tame form of protest today, at the time it was considered extremist and unpatriotic and was soundly condemned even by the mainline advocates of the women's right to vote. Picketers were repeatedly assaulted by mobs of men, often aided by the police. Many were arrested, tried, and sentenced to brutal hardship at the county workhouse. An angry and vindictive judiciary refused to heed their many appeals.

Despite the harassment and condemnation, it took little more than a year of this embarrassing protest to force Congress and the President to concede the women's right to vote — more than had been accomplished by decades of polite advocacy. The largest turnout for a White House protest was only 41 women!

Perhaps the most informative historical precedent for the radical environmentalist and ecoteur is the struggle to end slavery. Blacks were considered a sub-human resource to be exploited for economic gain, possessed of no legal rights, and subject to the whims and cruelties of their lawful owners. While anti-slavery sentiment had long festered in the American conscience, the prevailing view was that national strength and unity had to come first.

Despite a hostile political environment, small numbers of resolute abolitionists began to inspire tremendous fear among slaveholders. The prominent American Anti-Slavery society worked through the turbulent 1830s and 40s with a mere 13 employees. William Lloyd Garrison's fiery newspaper, *The Liberator*, provoked a southern backlash far out of proportion to its circulation of under 3000.

In addition to these outspoken organizations and publications, there existed a parallel clandestine movement of both independent and loosely-affiliated activists who assumed the greatest risks and stirred the most violent anger of pro-slavers — the Underground Railroad. While some operatives took to the field, traveling throughout the slave states and inciting slaves to run away, others kept safehouses called "stations" that passed the runaway slaves along a multitude of secret routes leading to the north and safety.

Because the illegal aiding and encouraging of runaway slaves constituted theft and destruction of private property, the moderate majority of abolitionists denounced the underground. The men and women of the Underground Railroad, never numbering more than an estimated 3000 black and white, aided many thousands of slaves in their flight to freedom. Still, this constituted a minuscule fraction of the total slave population and was never a significant direct threat to the economics of slavery. Despite their small numbers and isolation from the mainstream, the underground came to symbolize the fight against slavery.

Slaveholders responded to this sabotage of their industry in ways that should sound familiar to anyone reading today's news. Though they were only 3% of the southern population, with a direct economic impact on only a quarter of white southerners, the slave owners possessed the political muscle typical of any entrenched industry.

Stirred by dire warnings of lost jobs, a majority of northerners supported the largely working class mobs that attacked and murdered abolitionists and blacks. These rioters were often aided by police and led by prominent politicians and businessmen, many of whom feared a loss of southern trade if the abolitionists were not curbed. When the prominent abolitionist publisher Elijah Lovejoy was murdered by a racist mob, the attorney general of Massachusetts praised the crime. At least one pro-slavery riot leader was elected to the US Congress, and another became attorney general of New York and later the chief justice of that state's supreme court.

While the legal system in the north turned a blind eye to justice, southern grand juries refused to indict slavers illegally smuggling new slaves in from Africa, and placed rewards on the heads of prominent abolitionists — "wanted dead or alive."

With slavery protected by the US Constitution, new laws like the Fugitive Slave Act were readily approved to deter the Underground Railroad. Many underground workers were given lengthy prison sentences, often after being ensnared by undercover agents dispatched to ferret out the secret networks. The Postmaster General allowed local postmasters to illegally destroy abolitionist literature sent through the mails.

These massive attempts at private and governmental repression ultimately failed to stem the tide, as the anti-slavery movement gradually began to sway northern public opinion. US marshalls seeking to arrest runaway slaves were increasingly met by growing crowds that would forcefully free the prisoners. When the Supreme Court upheld the Fugitive Slave Act and ordered Dred Scott back into slavery, the resentment it stirred created a victory for the movement.

Though progress gradually came, the pace of reform was too slow to avert the increasing violence. Territories facing statehood became bloody battlegrounds. John Brown, long pursued by marshalls for his Underground Railroad work, gathered a small band of followers and tried to trigger an armed rebellion by slaves. Ironically, had he succeeded, the deaths of white slaveholders at the hands of black slaves might have set back the cause of abolition. Instead, his failure, trial, execution and martyrdom electrified the conflict. Though newly elected president Abraham Lincoln supported the Fugitive Slave Act and called only for the gradual elimination of slavery in the next century, southerners continued to overreact and finally triggered a bloody civil war.

Does this present us with a dire historical portent? Certainly the decades of environmental reform that began with the "conservation" movement have failed to halt the spreading destruction of ecosystems both in the US and abroad. Moreover, the early stages of violence against reformers are abundantly evident:

\*Mountain Gorilla researcher Dian Fossey, notorious for her radical anti-poaching efforts, is murdered in her jungle home.  
\*Greenpeace photographer Fernando Pereira is killed in a bombing attack by the French foreign intelligence service DGSE.

\*Brazilian rubber tapper and environmentalist Chico Mendes is assassinated by cattle ranchers.

While the above incidents received attention in the world press, Cultural Survival, an international organization advocating the rights of indigenous people, estimates that "more than one person per day has died while attempting to prevent the invasion and destruction of the world's tropical forests; many more have been arrested, persecuted or forced to flee their forest homes." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has labeled environmentalists the "enemy within." The Brazilian military brands them "subversives," a serious charge coming from the creators of the original *Esquadrao da Morte* or "Death Squad."

If the crisis is allowed to worsen, even changes in the law may not prevent the spread of violence. Already, dozens have died in Kenya in a hit-and-run guerilla war between elephant poachers and game wardens. Closer to home, a poacher whose leghold traps killed eagles as well as furbearers was convicted of only manslaughter in the murders of two Idaho game wardens whom he "finished off" with single shots to the head. According to a statistical study of the most violent attacks, the game officer has the most dangerous law enforcement job in America.

The current double standard in law enforcement, particularly in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reads like a history lesson. FBI agents sat in Oliver North's office listening to the paper shredder devour evidence in the next room. A disgruntled former agent reported that his supervisors deliberately dragged their feet in investigations of abortion clinic bombings. The FBI put at least one undercover agent inside Earth First! but did not give similar treatment to violent neo-Nazi groups that murdered several people, including policemen.

Federal lawmakers have passed a law against tree-spiking, and one Congressman advocates logging 100 acres of Wilderness for every acre of spiked trees. This is reminiscent of the Gestapo murders of innocent civilians in reprisal for successful attacks by the Resistance, whom they likewise labeled "terrorists."

Clearly, the radical environmentalist and monkeywrencher is the inheritor of a tradition that includes the Sons of Liberty and the Underground Railroad. Their law-breaking is the philosophical opposite of contemporary organizations like the anti-abortion Operation Rescue and others. These are male-dominated groups seeking to erode women's rights, end birth control, and revert to 19th century morality when abortion was first seen as a threat to the white race. It is essential to distinguish between movements that promote social evolution and the expansion of the ethic of inalienable rights, and those retrogressive organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party who seek to deprive others of their rights and return society to a time of privileged elites.

In addition to those making spurious comparisons between ecotage and terrorism (we are saboteurs, not terrorists), and those likening monkeywrenching to anti-progressive protest, is the largest group of critics, who state categorically that lawbreaking is never justified, regardless of the causes or goals. These well-meaning folks are ignorant of their own history, and oblivious to the present. Today, the legal system itself has subverted lawful protest by a number of means. So-called "hunter harassment" laws threaten fines and imprisonment for the exercise of free speech in the mountains and forests. Lawful protesters increasingly find that friends, families and employers are intimidated by FBI agents asking questions. And across the nation, lawsuits are being used to intimidate citizens who speak out. A farmer in West Virginia was hit with a \$200,000 libel suit after reporting pollution from a nearby coal mine. A letter to the editor protesting a development brought a \$3 million suit from the developer. A Michigan woman had her home seized and faces \$500,000 penalties for criticizing the seizure of pound animals for research labs. The primate-torturers of an Austrian pharmaceutical firm received \$100,000 from an insurance company in a case that another defendant took to court and won. And even a courtroom victory in such instances comes only after great anxiety and expense.

If police are society's first line of defense against terrorism, then the tree-spiker, laboratory animal liberator and bulldozer wrecker might well be the last line of defense. They are society's safety valve, courageous in their assumption of great personal risk, unswerving in their aversion to violence, and dedicated to life and justice.



art by Bob Cremins





ed. note: Some special praise regarding the following review is warranted. The review originally appeared in the fall 89 issue of *Raise the Stakes* (right above an announcement on behalf of the Arizona 4). RTS is the *Planet Drum Review*, a quarterly offering thought-provoking and eminently relevant writing on bioregional topics. *Planet Drum Foundation* is on the cutting edge of the bioregional movement. To join, send \$15 to Planet Drum, POB 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131. The *New Catalyst*, co-edited by Judith Plant, editor of the book below, is also an excellent bioregional publication. To subscribe, send \$15 (\$10 if in Canada) to New Catalyst, POB 99, Lillooet, BC, CANADA V0K 1V0. The reviewer, long-time EFler Stephanie Mills, has herself recently completed a book, which is available from EFl books. The publisher of Judith Plant's book, New Society Publishers, has a long list of important new paradigm books. New Society levies on itself a Green Tax, giving a percent of its income to environmental causes. Recent recipients include Preserve Appalachian Wilderness.

**HEALING THE WOUNDS: The Promise of Ecofeminism**, edited by Judith Plant; New Society Publishers, POB 582, Santa Cruz, CA 95061; \$12.95 + \$1.75 postage.

Lots of bioregionalists, radical ecologists, gosh, a few environmentalists, have arrived at radical analyses of industrialism, capitalism, the market system — even civilization its own self. Meanwhile their wives or spouses are still doing 80% of the housework and 100% of the thinking about the housework. Ecofeminism asserts, among other things, that in these cases the analysis has not been carried far enough. Eco-radicalism that depends on sexism — putting the great man's face out front, while the female partner organizes the child care and washes the tin cans for the recycling center — is radicalism at its most hypocritical.

What is ecofeminism exactly? Even after avidly reading Judith Plant's excellent anthology, *Healing the Wounds*, I am still not exactly sure. The articles are mostly expository, some brilliantly so, and there are stories

and poems that illuminate the spirit of ecofeminism. The theories are not homogeneous, but symphonic. Ecofeminism is both a politics and a manner of seeing. It is only partly about insisting that ecological activism not be one more "radical" movement that wants to change everything but the status of women.

More importantly, ecofeminism appears to be a form of truth-speaking by confronting hierarchy in all its guises, including customs and habits that enshrine male privilege. If there is a commonality in this collection it is the conviction that the emperor has

no clothes: that the emperor's delusion, and pandering to the emperor's delusion, are lethal. Ecofeminism is adamantly rooted in the evidence of the senses. So a clearcut is a clearcut and not a harvest, and the fact that "man may work from sun to sun but woman's work is never done" is oppression, not just an interesting facet of culture. In short, the Dominant Paradigm is the Big Lie. And when, as from reading a work like this, you are pushed outside the lie, you wonder how on Earth you managed to organize your denial so tightly.

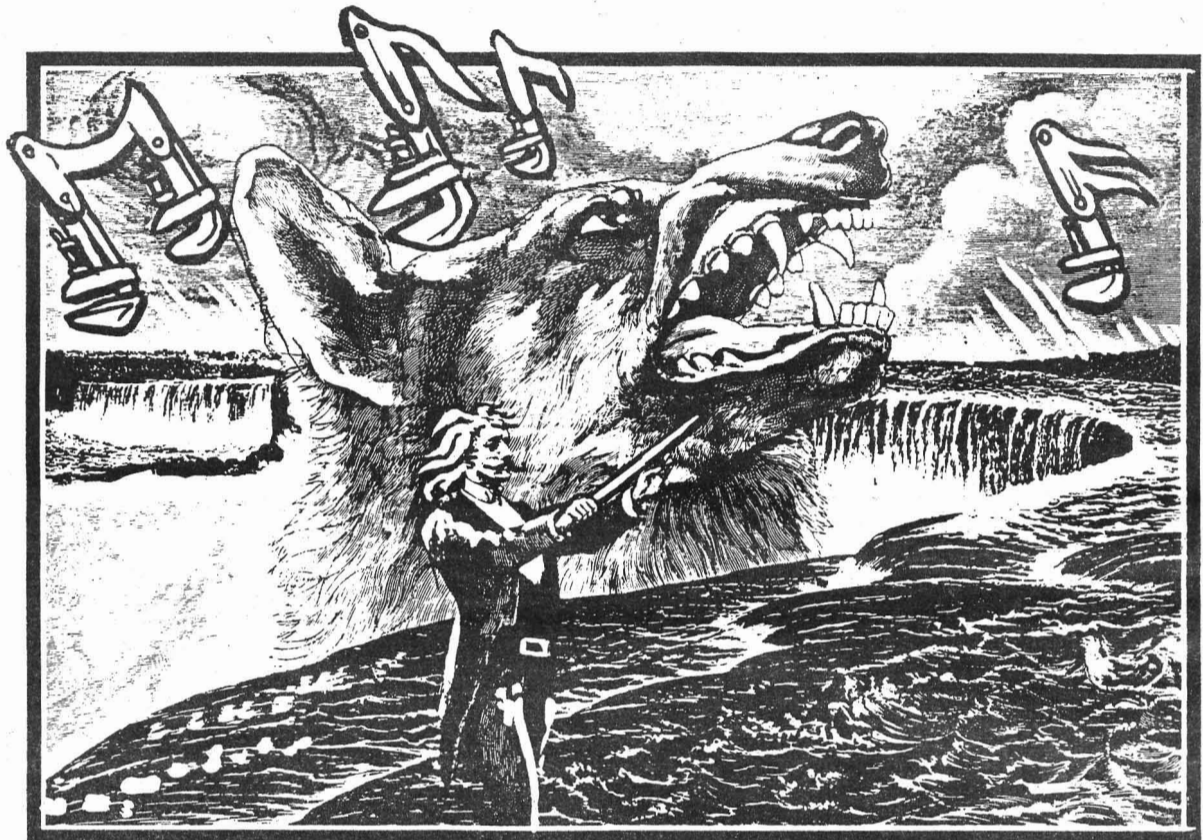
*Healing the Wounds* is more about what women can and must do collectively for the planet and, by extension, for themselves, than it is an attempt to argue the point with Daddy. It describes how women singly and in groups have located their power to work with and protect living systems. Dorothy Dinnerstein, in her keynote piece (which may seem cryptic to those unfamiliar with her entire thesis as developed in her book *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*), says what women must do in relationship to men is to quit carrying their feelings; quit enabling men to treat matter (including *mater*) as Other and lesser. According to Dinnerstein, women must withdraw their complicity in the psychology of destruction. So if the goal of bioregionalism is to develop sustainable culture in place, ecofeminism is essential.

The book is divided into four interleaved sections and addresses the meaning of ecofeminism, its politics, spirituality, and

influences on community. The authors one would expect to see in such an anthology — Ynestra King, Charlene Spretnak, Joanna Macy and Starhawk — are quite present and acquit themselves well. Less well known writers and activists (to me at least) such as Ellen Bass, Pamela Philipose, Rachel Bagby, Dale Colleen Hamilton, and Helen Forsey, enrich the mix.

Following an introduction by Petra Kelly, *Healing* begins to explore the meaning with "Split Culture," a magisterial survey by Susan Griffin of the psychodynamics of Earthrape and war. Elsewhere in Part One, Sharon Doubiago contributes almost the only touch of humor by wittily excoriating macho deep ecologists, and in "The Universal Mode," Corinne Kumar D'Souza mounts a sweeping critique of development theory.

Part Two suggests that ecofeminist politics is oriented entirely around organic process and objectives rather than ideology. Vananda Shiva's piece is a good paradigm-shifter, delaminating the double-speak of development. Anne Cameron, author of *The Daughters of Copper Woman*, rightly snarls at us well-meaning ecologists for wanting to talk about it yet a little while longer, and shrieks at us to Act, having analyzed every situation under the rubric *cui bono*? Marti Kheel's piece on the extirpation of holistic healing — the arrogation of the official franchise to do medicine by a professional elite — illustrates perfectly the politics and beliefs that ecofeminism seeks to move beyond.



## THE DEEP ECOLOGY SOUNDTRACK, Part XVII: New Works

by Lone Wolf Circles

**Warrior of the Earth**, Cecelia Ostrow, \$9  
**In the Ancient Trees**, Bill Oliver, \$15  
**Wreckin' Ball**, Glen Waldeck, \$10  
**Nuclear Dioxin Queen**, Greg Keeler, \$10  
**They Sure Don't Make Hippies ...**, Darryl Cherney, \$9  
**For the Kalmiopsis**, Kelly Cranston, \$9  
 All prices postpaid from EFl Music.

From the moment of our movement's inception, through both growing pains and growing opposition, we have been a tribe characterized less by our philosophies and stratagems than by ineffable spunk, humor, and ... music!

Musica Desperados. Music as zen master's bamboo switch wresting our attention from petty distraction. Music as a monkeywrench in the gears of the mind, halting process long enough for the complete and dramatic reinhabitation of our primal bodies. Music that pulls traps from the snow, pulls the drain-plug of destructive civilization's oil pan, pulls the rug under the compromising lobbyists bargaining with the forces of annihilation. Music as the sensuous touch of deep ecology, as the Earth's sacred heartbeat, and the joyous surge empowering her few defenders.

The earliest Earth Firsters were prodded and cajoled by the cowboy minstrelsy of co-founder Johnny Sagebrush, soon joined by the selfless troubadours we know as the EFl bards. Songs of wit and tears, echoing on the mountain rock of rendezvous sites, arming the hearts of activists on the front-lines of the struggle.

In 16 installments of the *Soundtrack* we've traced the evolution of ecologically relevant music, the lyrics of which serve as springboards for the discussion of environmental awareness and direct action. After a lengthy hiatus, we return to look at the many new releases of 1989.

Some of the earliest roadshows featured the emotive, feather-like songs of Cecelia Ostrow. *Warrior of the Earth* is her strongest gift to us yet. Her still-sweet voice has more muscle, the lyrics are more assertive, with the soft confidence of a mother Cougar's steps. Songs that touch the Earth, leaving behind tracks that suggest a way of being, a direction to travel.

*I walked down by the riverbank, where the moss grows on the stones  
 Cool green water runnin' over my hands, beneath the roots the shadows beckon me.  
 I thought about the whiteness of this tangled river shore,  
 Reaching up like fingers to the rocky cliffs above,  
 Guarded for the elk and eagle for a million years — where did they go?  
 Oh, somewhere in this forest roams the spirit of the bear,  
 Mountain lion, mountain linger faintly on the air.  
 Oh, come back ... from the place you've gone.  
 Take me back.*

—from the haunting "Eagle Creek"  
 We hear the calls of the vanishing feathered-ones in "Bird Song." The credo for the apocalyptic '80s: "Tune-in. Take a stand." Hearing the pleas of the forests, really listening, we must then act.

*The forest is our own true love, so we will stand beside her now,  
 Until the jails are overflowing ...  
 We climbed upon that new-cut logging road,  
 We joined our hands and sang our songs,  
 and for a moment the truth was in the word,  
 for a moment we stopped the bulldozers.*

—"The Blockade Song"  
 Resistance in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds fills us with joy, the ecstasy of right living. Like sunlight in ocean spray, "My Soul is Dancing."

For years the way to tell an EFl campfire was the foot-stomping, face-playing antics of Bill Oliver. He performs tunes Dana tells us "even the FBI's kids could love." The title cut

of his latest tape, *In These Ancient Trees*, is the most beautiful and touching piece he's ever recorded.

Bill was then joined by vaudevillian Glen Waldeck, proving madness is contagious. On Glen's first release, *Wreckin' Ball*, he frolics about, no doubt acted out in the gestures you have to see to appreciate.

Country music got a new bend with the likes of Dakota Sid, evoking both sobs and laughter, towing around a synthesized band on a leash and a parrot in a cage. The ultimate twist was English professor Greg Keeler, his shameless lyrics rolling out like grit-edged rockslides or turds from a Yellowstone Buffalo. He has perverted every aspect of the Western myth, the dominant ptarmigan, the self-absorbed environmentalist. Meet his latest production, *Nuclear Dioxin Queen*.

The lead guitar is scorching, the special effects potent without being overwhelming. Greg lampoons the New Age Cowboy, chasing fads to escape himself; sings an Irish ditty of underwear and a failed laundromat romance. His remix of "Bad Science Fiction" mates a vampire accent to the "organs of Hell," while "Manly Men" shafts the macho hunters we grew up honoring.

Humor was uptempo'd with the debut of one of our most exuberant balladeers, the cuddly Dana Lyons, and the caustic sing-alongs of the Earth warrior, Darryl Cherney.

Darryl is a psychedelic mushroom, a Coyote, a teacher-guru-buffoon who shares songs and jail cells with his Northwest compatriots. His often made-up-on-the-spot lyrics defuse violence while they stiffen resistance. His love for the Earth spreads not as if by tardy osmosis, but as if by electric current — excitement, commitment, fun.

His 89 release demands we "Free The Dead" from their lead-lined boxes, stop offshore drilling before "We're All Dead Ducks," "Knockin' On Extinction's Door." Reacting to Howie Wolke's aversion to "long-hairs"

invading EFl, Darryl composed this, the title song:

*Once there were some hippies, living 'mongst the trees,  
 Pickin' flowers, smokin' joints, hair down to their knees.  
 Then one day they woke up to a nasty chainsaw's roar.  
 A logging crew was cutting down the public land next door.  
 Now our hippies were not happy with Mother Nature goin' down.  
 They called their local congressman and some bureaucrats in town.  
 Our hippies words weren't heeded, but they swore they would prevail.  
 So they bought some Stanley hammers and some 16 penny nails ...  
 No, they sure don't make hippies like they used to.  
 They used to speak of peace, but now they practice what they preach ...  
 No, hippies don't take no shit anymore.*

I remember our early embarrassed gigs, the first heartfelt recordings of our minstrelsy-with-a-mission. I am reminded again of the EFl technique for musicianship — "go for it!" — reviewing Kelly Cranston's first attempt, *For the Kalmiopsis*. Like the builder using rock in "All of Stone," we seek to create something that will outlast our brief incarnations. Responding to the plight of the endangered ones, to the howls of the wild. From "Free the Wolf":

*Full moon is rising over the desert plain  
 Night spirits waiting for its lonely call again ...  
 It's up to you. It's up to me.*

Loose Lip Circles, known to jazz as "Felonious Monk," spends his time out of jail walking barefoot on stickers and composing Goddess poems for reluctant anarchists. For a complete collection of the *Soundtrack*, send \$5 for postage and handling to Box 652, Reverse, NM 87830.

Ecofeminist spirituality, like the politics and meaning of ecofeminism, is diverse as Nature, and undogmatic — eco-memical, as it were. The prose in Part Three begins with a sage and warm piece by poet Deena Metzger who, if I read her aright, is weaving together practices ranging from kabalah to vipassana meditation in a rich and daring plea for a balance between goddess and god. Theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether does a lucid, scholarly job of grappling with the tricky logic on the way "Toward an Ecological Feminist Theory of Nature." She is dazzlingly intellectual, a woman besting male theologians in a much more important discussion than debating the correct angle of knee on which to approach the ol' gaseous vertebrate.

In a tour-de-force of different ilk, Dolores LaChapelle surveys the whole span of human experience from early evolution to the roots of the Tao to the ecological understanding of sex and procreation possessed by hunter-gatherer peoples. (Indeed, LaChapelle's is the most sensitive and salient address of the human overpopulation problem ever, an intelligent and responsible grab at that thistle.)

Radha Bhatt's article providing a Gandhian perspective on non-violent earth-saving actions taken by Indian women villagers in the Himalayan foothills is a real cause for hope; it details courageous, creative and appropriate local response to some civilizational problems afflicting the people of the third world. This and the several other eye-opening articles about the impact of third world development are among the most substantive in *Healing*. Because women in less industrialized cultures bear almost the entire burden of natural provision — from gathering wood to hauling water — grandiose development schemes invariably disrupt not only watersheds but subsistence lifeways and benefit mainly the egos and bank accounts of educated male elites. There it is most obvious that civilization's exploitation of women and the Earth is seamless abuse. Yet, it is in these cultures that women and men have taken remarkably effective group actions to protect their livelihoods — which they know stem from ecology, not the economy.

Part Four begins to describe ecofeminist community with a powerful poem by Ursula Le Guin. In "The Subjective Side of Power," Sharon Howell and Margo Adair surgically disclose the inner structure of dominance, moving the reader closer to the place where the discomforts of compliance outweigh the discomforts of rebellion. There's also a good piece by Caroline Estes on consensus deci-

sion-making and the sturdiness of the decisions it produces.

Judith Plant's attention to and respect for the native people of her region secured for the anthology two of its strongest pieces: testimony by Gwaganad, a Haida woman, and an interview with Marie Wilson, a member of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en people. Plant also contributes a collection of vignettes depicting life in the intentional community in British Columbia where she lives, and highlights the community's learning along the boundary between native and natural. Plant's *pensees* derived from her recent experience and early background all depict ecofeminism as lived.

Although some of the pieces in the book do stress the analogy between women as life-givers and nurturers and the Earth as nurturer of all, the reasoning of ecofeminism is not derived as much from this mystique as from women's and Earth's status as Other and their shared plight of exploitation. Arguing that the habit of exploitation is indivisible and must be relinquished is an uphill fight in a civilization that by its very nature mines the Earth and most of the human species. How shall we live? How shall we think? Won't any convenient assumptions remain?

Because sexism is a reality that not many men dare perceive, and which if perceived, moves almost no men to take personal or collective action to change, I have the premonition that the male readership of *Healing the Wounds* will be smaller than it should be.

Yet *Healing* is a fair challenge to men and a grail for women. As the stakes escalate to the survival of life itself, everything's got to go into the pot — privilege, identity, intellectual pride, individualism, emotional dependency, comfort, limited agendas, the works. And the best we can hope for is to stay in the game long enough to get the change started right, this fiercely urgent labor of generations.

Reviewed by Stephanie Mills.

**CLEARCUTTING: A Crime Against Nature**, by Edward C. Fritz; 1989; Eakin Press; 145pp. & 30 color plates; Forward by Barry Flamm, Chief Forester, The Wilderness Society; \$14.95 hb.

This book does to clearcutting what clearcutting does to a forest — exposes it, rips the ground from under it, devastates it. Instead of chainsaws and bulldozers, the author uses photographs, cartoons, descriptions and analyses.

After 14 years in court and the forests, from coast to coast, Edward Fritz lays

clearcutting bare. With the same tools, he portrays the ecologically superior way to log — selection management.

Pungent words and phrases, like "genocide" and "a butcher who uses only a meat-ax," give the reader a rousing good time. The book also serves as a mind tool for convincing the nation that we need to end clearcutting *now*, to save our public forests. No matter how much anger one feels against clearcutting, this book will increase the outrage, and make it easier to spread the fury to others whose letters to congresspersons are essential to end the forest crime wave.

In simple language the book compares even-age management (clearcutting and its variants) with selection management, ecologically and economically. It includes relative effect on global warming: even-age wipes out carbon-storage capacity of a stand for years. Using Forest Service reports, it shows that selection excels even-age in cost efficiency.

When people see how harmful clearcutting is, they ask, "Why does the Forest Service do it?" Citing forest economist Randal O'Toole, the author gives the answer: An archaic law never intended for this purpose, the Knutson-Vandenberg Act, enables the bureaucracy to pad its budget heavily by using artificial regeneration. Even-aged loggers generally use artificial regeneration, the most destructive part of the process. In contrast, selection managers rely upon natural regeneration, thereby saving major expenses. The bureaucracy is little concerned with saving costs. Under K-V, the FS can pad its budget every bit as much when a timber sale loses money as when it makes money.

Fritz stops short of advocating a total ban on clearcutting. Most foresters, even those who prefer the selection system, insist on not taking the tool of clearcutting from any of their fellow foresters, even those who use it exclusively. As Fritz puts it, "In its wholesale clearcutting, the Forest Service is like a cutting surgeon who amputates limbs from every wounded person brought to the hospital. Worse than that, the Forest Service goes out looking for healthy forests and amputates them."

Fritz is a lawyer, not a forester. But he leans on foresters for his expertise.

Part VI of the book contains regional glimpses of the clearcutting campaign, from the George Washington National Forest in Virginia, to the Olympic NF in Washington. The book tells us about people on the front lines in the Second War On Clearcutting, like scientist Dr. Bruce Means in Florida, and hunter John Dennington in Oklahoma.

After exposing Forest Service chicanery

and delay tactics, the author concludes that the agency is not likely to reform itself. It will take a congressional strengthening of the sieve-like National Forest Management Act to achieve reform. The law must place a finite maximum on the portion of commercial timberland in any National Forest that the bureaucracy can log by even-age, coupled with an inescapable requirement to maintain native diversity. A large network has adopted this policy.

Clearcutting restraint is only one of the author's proposals. Saving of all remaining old-growth is equally urgent, but that affects only 2 or 3 million acres. Clearcutting afflicts the matrices between the old-growth jewels, over 85 million acres on public lands.

Fritz's first book, *Sterile Forest* (Eakin Press, 1983), is becoming a legend among fighters for federal forest reform. *Clearcutting* may become one of the scriptures.

Reviewed by George H. Russell.

**COYOTE'S CANYON**, text by Terry Tempest Williams, photographs by John Telford; Peregrine Smith Books; 1989; \$15.95 large-format paper; 96pp.

It is my studied opinion that *Coyote's Canyon* is the finest and most inspiring picture book of the moonscape canyon country of southern Utah ever published. And philosophically, you know the book is on the right track when the author acknowledges that "a special debt must be paid to the public relations firm of Peacock, Abbey, Foreman and Sanders for tutelage in desert etiquette."

Terry Tempest Williams is an award-winning Southwestern author, a former teacher on the Navajo reservation in Utah, and currently Naturalist-in-Residence at the Utah Museum of Natural History in Salt Lake City. Her eight lilted, right-minded, largely native-myth-based stories in *Coyote's Canyon* are pure magic, reading like secrets whispered close in the ear. Listen to this, from the opening paragraph of "The Coyote Clan":

*When traveling to southern Utah for the first time, it is fair to ask if the redrocks were cut would they bleed. And when traveling to Utah's desert for the second or third time, it is fair to assume that they do, that the blood of the rocks gives life to the country.*

Photographer John Telford, Adjunct Professor of Art at the University of Utah, invested 10 years in creating the 60 hauntingly beautiful color images in this book — an effort that unarguably puts him in a class with Philip Hyde, David Muench, and the handful of other true artists of western American desert photography.

Reviewed by David Petersen.

# Ned Ludd Books

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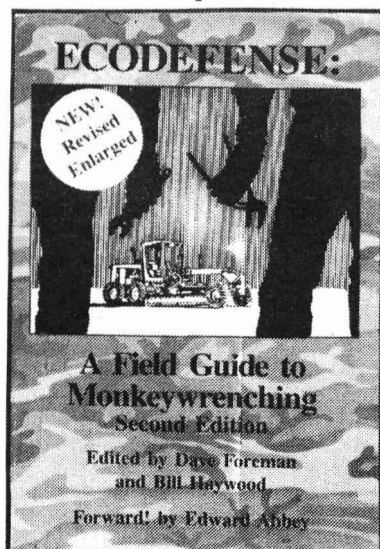
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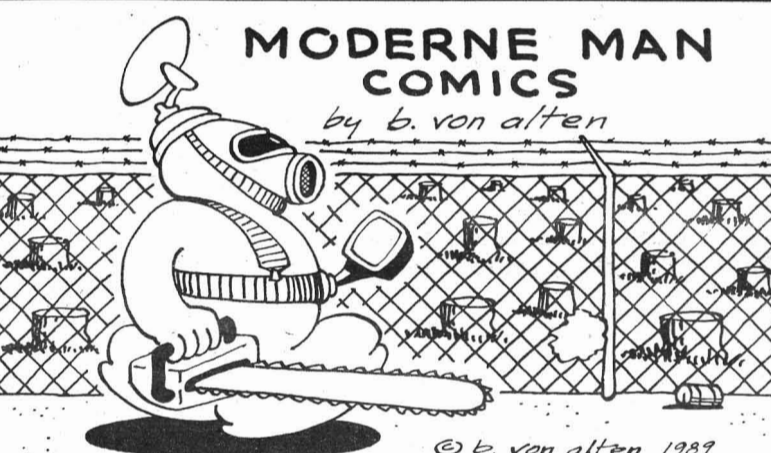
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a trap  
she chews her leg  
off silently  
free she is notorious  
police have verified it  
wolfbone  
the blood is not human's  
danger howls  
won't wait for the moon  
in broad daylight  
magically her leg is  
restored by a song  
a man looks for the  
mathematics section  
it's the holidays  
a lynx goes by in pink  
our snow  
acid rain  
empty horns  
our wolf adapts  
lays low in snow  
scrambled with ham  
nipping the heels  
ducking the wheels  
she knows the old  
stories well  
Ted Arvidson  
Juneau

## THE RAVENS

Their voices fall like corks popping out of gusting clouds  
They dive and play with boisterous wind  
Roll onto their backs for a second of suspense  
And roll back to look down on the eagle  
Their beaks wedge like ebony  
Against the southward leading sky  
They eat what has to be eaten  
And keep a giant profile  
Broad black feathers realize strong wings  
For traveling the coast and feasting the eyes  
Up and down where the horizon is heaven's summit  
Feathers as wide and stiff  
As cat tails in the wetlands I used to know  
Jenny Hoegler  
Villa Park

## MUTE DAY

A forsythia sun sets  
in the west corner of the window.  
The day isn't talking.  
Her lips are sealed with cloud  
and dusty cherry blossoms.  
Deanna Kawatski  
Stewart



In a house of bones we  
call down the spirits.  
and the plants grow.  
and the animals move freely.  
We light candles, calling for the return,  
and the flame of life  
burns through the buildings,  
nothing but ash,  
and the plants grow,  
and the animals move freely.  
Gary Lawless  
Margaret Leonard  
Chimney Farms



## ALL THAT BREATHES

All the breaths all the people  
who ever lived or are alive now  
breathe in their life put together  
could fit in a space  
as big as  
Lake Michigan,  
Whereas an ant's total breaths in its life  
would fill a space  
the size of  
your body,  
And a human breathes  
a space of air in its life  
the size of  
the Empire State Building,  
And a Blue Whale breathes a volume  
so large in its life  
you could go backpacking in it  
for a month  
and see no one.  
Antler  
Milwaukee

## DIETY CHANT

Pan  
Wodan  
Baphomet  
Cerenunnos  
Osiris  
Astarte  
Diana  
Hecate  
Demeter  
Kali  
Unanna  
Craig Stehr  
Yogaville

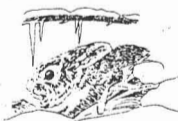
## a burial site, considered

I taped it well  
with magic Scotch  
to hold in the stench  
buried it deep  
in a suitable, discrete spot  
away from the flower beds  
near the back of my lot  
on my neighbor's property  
something to forget  
now that it's under the ground  
I hear the faint roar of trucks  
speeding down the highway  
huge 18-wheelers with large canisters  
covering up "activity"  
heading south with waste  
to be carefully placed in salt beds  
in a neighboring city  
close to the border  
something to forget  
now that it's under the ground  
they say "water runs down stream"  
so I live on high land in the north  
I hear a rumble in the earth  
plates moving, fault lines  
echoes of ancient rifts  
under a neighboring city  
far away, they say  
something to forget  
since it's under the ground.  
Elizabeth J. Roll  
Albuquerque



## THE RETURNS FROM SOUTHERN UTAH: NOVEMBER 8, 1988

On the Escalante this morning  
sandstone voted to hold firm,  
but the river was talking  
big change. Grass plotted  
to win by numbers, deer  
were listening to every side  
and under all cliffs the scree  
was united-downhill, but slow.  
Cottonwoods carried a motion  
of wind, which quietly threw  
its support to the hawks,  
and with the sky wide open  
to any suggestion, the sun  
took a while to make up its mind  
before it said yes to everything.  
John Daniel  
Portland



## ANIMAL LOVE

You purr in my arms  
like a cat  
stretch your long supple  
back like a cat  
Your  
sweet tawny fur  
soft and electric against my hand  
The tip of your little pink tongue  
on the tip of my nose  
you look deep into my eyes—  
It's morning  
The winter clouds red  
with the sun rising  
We're warm in bed  
and love is everywhere—  
so it's not  
I suppose  
so surprising  
that for a moment I forgot  
you and I are two different species—  
forgot for a moment that  
you are in fact a cat.  
Rick Fields  
Boulder



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**CONSERVATION BIOLOGY** "The Science of Scarcity and Diversity" edited by Michael E. Soule. 584 pages, index, bibliography. \$29.50  
**THE OLD WAYS** By Gary Snyder. \$5.50  
**WITH JUSTICE FOR NONE** "Destroying an American Myth" By Gerry Spence. 370 pages, hardcover, index, references. \$21.  
**"THIS IS DINOSAUR** "Echo Park Country and Its Magic Rivers" edited by Wallace Stegner. \$10

**ZODIAC** "The Eco-Thriller" by Neal Stephenson. Paperback, 283 pages. \$9  
**THE WHISPER BEHIND THE WIND** By Walkin' Jim Stoltz. 44 pages. \$7.50  
**RESPECT FOR NATURE** A Theory of Environmental Ethics  
 By Paul W. Taylor. Index, bibliography, footnotes, 329 pages. Paperback. \$14.  
**WILDERNESS VISIONARIES** By Jim Dale Vickery. \$12.  
**ON THE BRINK OF EXTINCTION** "Conserving the Diversity of Life" by Edward C. Wolf. 54 pages, index. \$4.  
**RIVERS OF EMPIRE** Water, Aridity & The Growth of The American West By Donald Worster. Index, footnotes, paperback. \$14.50.  
**YELLOWSTONE AND THE FIRES OF CHANGE** By George Wuerthner. Many color photographs, bibliography, maps, 64 pages, paperback, oversized. \$10.

## MAPS

We are offering several fine US Geological Survey maps — all suitable for wall mounting, as well as being necessary reference tools for wilderness activists. Prices listed are postpaid. Maps are mailed folded (although they can be sent rolled for an extra \$2 per order, except for the Wilderness System map).  
**NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM** This full color, large map (40" x 25") shows all designated Wilderness Areas by agency in the US (including Alaska and Hawaii), plus a list of all the Wilderness Areas by state with their acreages. Scale is 1:5,000,000. Information is current to January 1987. Rivers, state boundaries, and major cities are also shown. \$3.25.  
**US POTENTIAL NATURAL VEGETATION** A beautiful multi-color map showing 106 different vegetative types in the US. This is the Kuchler Ecosystem Map the Forest Service used in RARE II. The reverse side shows Alaska and Hawaii and offers a fairly detailed essay about the map and potential natural vegetation. A National Atlas Separate; scale is 1:7,500,000 (28" x 19") \$3.25.  
**MAJOR FOREST TYPES** A multi-color map showing the 25 major forest types in the United States including Alaska and Hawaii. A National Atlas Separate. 1:7,500,000 (28" x 19"). \$3.25.  
**FEDERAL LANDS** A National Atlas Separate, 1:7,500,000 (28" x 19"), showing National Forests, Grasslands, Parks, Monuments, Wildlife Refuges, BLM lands, military, Indian Reservations, Bureau of Reclamation, etc. in different colors for all 50 states. \$3.25.  
**ALASKA NATIONAL INTEREST LANDS** A splendid color map of Alaska with shaded relief, rivers, lakes, elevation points, communities and roads. The National Parks, Preserves, Monuments, Wildlife Refuges, Wild & Scenic Rivers and Wilderness Areas designated by the December 2, 1980, Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act are shown, as are the Tongass and Chugach National Forests. 24" x 18". \$3.25.

## BOOKS ON TAPE

### AN EVENING WITH JOHN MUIR

This is a recording of Lee Stetson's one-man stage play, based on the life and works of John Muir. In it, we join Muir in his home on the evening of Dec. 19, 1913, as he awaits a decision by President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson must sign or veto the bill authorizing a dam within Yosemite National Park, a decision to either provide new water to San Francisco or to preserve the exquisite Hetch Hetchy Valley. For Muir, this is the last battle in a 25-year-long struggle to preserve the National Park System he helped create. Cassette, 90 minutes. \$11 postpaid.

### JOHN MUIR'S STICKEEN

Performed by Lee Stetson. This is Muir's gripping story of getting trapped on a glacier during a howling storm in the company of the dog, Stickeen. This "little, black, short-legged bunchy-bodied, toy dog," as Muir described him, "enlarged my life, extended its boundaries." The tale was one of muir's most popular, and has lost none of its power in this recorded performance. Cassette, 38 minutes. \$10 postpaid.

### FREEDOM AND WILDERNESS

#### Edward Abbey Reads From His Work

Two cassettes (2hrs. 52 minutes) of Edward Abbey reading selections from his books. Includes Come On In (The Journey Home), Fire Lookout (Abbey's Road), The Dead Man At Grandview Point (Desert Solitaire), Down There In The Rocks (Abbey's Road), Cowboys (Desert Solitaire), Watching The Birds: The Windhover (Down The River), In Defense Of The Redneck (Abbey's Road), Merry Christmas Pigs (Abbey's Road), Freedom And Wilderness, Wilderness And Freedom (The Journey Home), Planting A Tree (Down The River). Hear it from Cactus Ed himself. \$18.50 postpaid.

### THE EARTH FIRST! LI'L GREEN SONGBOOK

78 terrific Earth First! songs by Johnny Sagebrush, Cecelia Ostrow, Bill Oliver, Greg Keeler, Walkin' Jim Stoltz and others from Australia and America. Guitar chords are included with most songs. An absolute must for every true-green EFler to sing along with our minstrels or to play the songs yourself. Dealer inquiries welcome. \$6 postpaid, \$4 postpaid special to Earth First! subscribers only! (\$3 plus shipping for prepaid wholesale orders of 5 or more).



## NEW MUSIC

### The Wallys "Rainforest Roadshow '89"

After years of playing second fiddle to John Seed, the Wallys have recorded a tape of their own. If you've seen them at the Rendezvous, you know these cocky kids can match any of our established old fart musicians for energy, commitment, and clever lyrics! Imagine a garage band from the Australian rainforest and you've got the Wallys. Includes: Once Upon A Planet, Lay Down Your Whopper, Planetary Flag, That's Auker, Expanding Universe, Tonka Toys, Use It Up, Apeman, Leave It In The Ground. \$10 postpaid.

### John Seed "Deep Ecology"

Not to be outdone, John has released another tape of his own, combining his words and music with that of many others, such as Dakota Sid, Greg Keeler, Dana Lyons, Lone Wolf Circles, and Bahloo. Includes: Invocation, Animal Spirits, Expanding Universe, Earth First!, Magic Forest, Subvert the Dominant Paradigm, Make Bucks, Burning Times, Gaia Meditation, I Am An Animal, Earth Am I, The Rainforest Within, Tribesmen of Penan, Angel of Sunshine, Leave It In The Ground, and Everyone is Everyone. \$10 postpaid.

### John Sirkis "The Wild West"

Sirkis showed up on our doorstep with another tape of his socially conscious folk-rock tunes. This high-quality production might be mistaken for a product of the corporate music offices in L.A. if you missed the words. With compassion and wit, he exposes the American Dream and pokes fun at both liberal and conservative know-nothings while making pleasant bouncy music. Includes: Solar Kills, In Jamaica, Roseville Fair, The Wild West, Think For Yourself, New Morality, and Aztlan. \$9 postpaid.

## OLD FAVORITES

Austin Lounge Lizards "Creatures From the Black Saloon" \$9 postpaid.

Austin Lounge Lizards "Highway Cafe of the Damned" \$9 postpaid.

Darryl Cherney "I Had To Be Born This Century" \$9 postpaid.

Darryl Cherney "They Sure Don't Make Hippies Like They Used To!" \$9 postpaid.

Lone Wolf Circles "Full Circle" \$10 postpaid.

Lone Wolf Circles "Tierra Primera! - The Deep Ecology Medicine Shows." \$10 postpaid.

Dakota Sid Clifford "... For The Birds" \$10 postpaid.

Dakota Sid Clifford "No Mercy" \$10 postpaid.

Kelly Cranston "For the Kalmiopsis" \$9 postpaid.

Mark Graham "Natural Selections" \$9 postpaid.

Greg Keeler "Songs of Fishing, Sheep and Guns in Montana" \$9 postpaid.

Greg Keeler "Talking Sweet Bye & Bye" \$9 postpaid.

Greg Keeler "Bad Science Fiction" \$9 postpaid.

Greg Keeler "Post-Modern Blues" \$9 postpaid.

Greg Keeler "Nuclear Dioxin Queen" \$10 postpaid.

Katie Lee "Fenced!" \$12 postpaid.

Katie Lee "Ten Thousand Goddam Cattle" \$14 postpaid.

Katie Lee "Love's Little Sisters" \$12 postpaid.

Katie Lee "Colorado River Songs" \$12 postpaid.

Dana Lyons "Our State is a Dumpsite" \$6 postpaid.

Dana Lyons "Animal" \$11 postpaid.

Mokai "Clearcut Case Of The Blues" \$9 postpaid.

Bill Oliver "Texas Oasis" \$9 postpaid.

Bill Oliver & Friends "Better Things To Do" \$9 postpaid.

Bill Oliver "In These Ancient Trees" \$5 postpaid.

Cecelia Ostrow "All Life Is Equal" \$8.50 postpaid.

Cecelia Ostrow "Warrior of the Earth" \$9 postpaid.

Rainforest Information Centre "Nightcap" \$10 postpaid.

Joanne Rand "Home" \$10 postpaid.

John Seed, Bahloo & Friends "Earth First!" \$10 postpaid.

Jon Sirkis "A Few Less Colors" \$9 postpaid.

Susan Grace Stoltz "Circle of Friends" \$10 postpaid.

Walkin' Jim Stoltz "Spirit Is Still On The Run" \$11 postpaid.

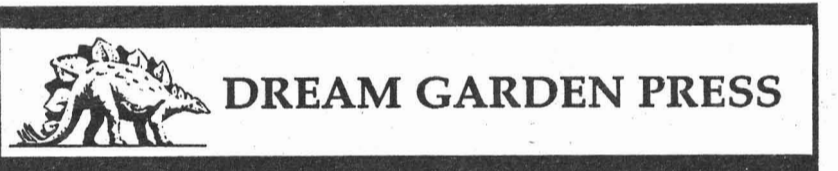
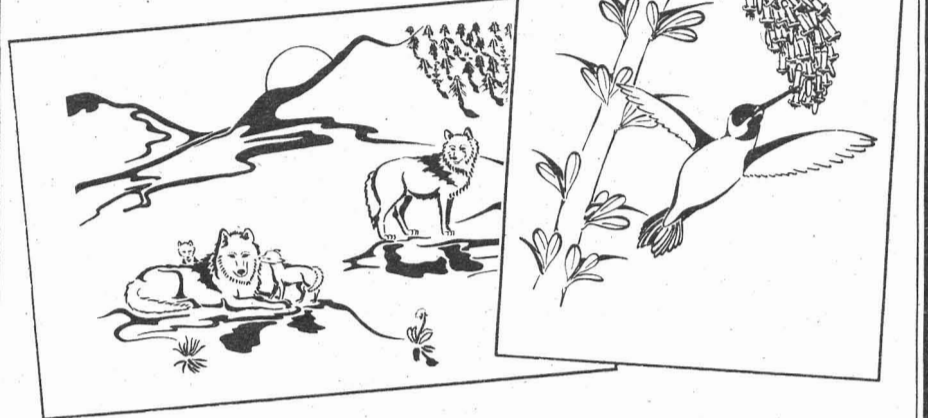
Walkin' Jim Stoltz "Forever Wild" \$11 postpaid.

Walkin' Jim Stoltz "Listen to the Earth" \$11 postpaid.

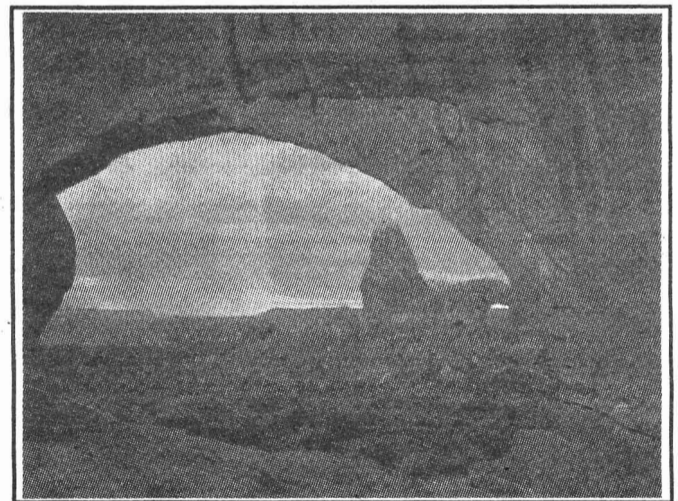
Glen Waldeck "Wreckin' Ball Waldeck" \$10 postpaid.

## NOTE CARDS FROM HELEN WILSON

The *Journal* is proud to carry a line of notecards from wildlife artist and EF! activist Helen Wilson. They are 4" by 5 1/2" and printed on recycled cardstock. \$4 postpaid for a set of eight (two each of four designs), plus envelopes.



Wilderness and National Park Calendars from Dream Garden Press Available through Earth First!



### 1990 Western Wilderness Calendar

Featuring: Edward Abbey Annie Dillard Gary Paul Nabhan  
Mary Austin Jim Harrison David Quammen  
Byrd Baylor Robinson Jeffers Wallace Stegner  
Carol Bly Barry Lopez David Rains Wallace

### 1990 Utah Wilderness Calendar

Our National Parks and Wilderness Calendar which includes: Zion, Bryce, Arches, Canyonlands, Capitol Reef National Parks, Dinosaur and Timpanogas National Monuments, Golden Spike National Historic Site and more.

### 1990 Redwoods and Big Trees Calendar

Our Newest Calendar featuring: Yosemite, Redwoods, Sequoia, Kings Canyon, Muir Woods, California State Parks and other additional parks.

### 1990 Big Bend National Park, Texas Calendar

Far down at the Mexican Border, the Rio Grande makes a great U-turn. Inside this mighty curve lies a remote and magnificent national park known as the Big Bend that relatively few have visited. The Fifth Anniversary Edition.

### 1990 Shenandoah / Great Smoky Mountains Calendar

The Appalachian, Great Smokes and Blue Ridge Mountains are three of the great ancestral mountain ranges of the eastern United States. Together for the first time with the Blue Ridge Parkway.

\$10.00 each postpaid directly from Earth First!

# EARTH FIRST! TRINKETS

## WINDOW STICKERS

**EARTH FIRST! FIST** Green EF! fist with the words "EARTH FIRST! No compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in green on a 3 inch diameter white vinyl circle. **4 for \$1 postpaid.**

**NO COWS** Cow and barbed wire in black with "universal no" red slash and circle. Words: Free Our Public Lands! Stop Destructive Welfare Ranching End Public Lands Livestock Grazing. 3 inch diameter white vinyl circle. **6 for \$1 postpaid.**

## CAMO CAPS

We've got a variety of camouflage baseball caps. They come in either woodland or desert camo with 100% cotton backs. We also have desert camo caps with mesh backs. They all have adjustable tabs so one size fits all. The EF! fist logo and the words "EARTH FIRST!" are printed in black. Be sure to specify what style you want or we'll send you what we have most of. **\$8 postpaid.**

## NON-CAMO CAPS

For you non-militaristic types out there, we now have a non-camouflage cap — the fist and "Earth First!" in black ink on a tan cotton cap with a cloth back. One size fits all. **\$8 postpaid**



## BUMPERSTICKERS

Unless otherwise indicated, our bumperstickers are green lettering on long lasting white vinyl and are \$1 postpaid. \*Starred bumperstickers are multi-colored with designs and are \$1.25 postpaid.

AMERICAN WILDERNESS •  
LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT ALONE  
(with red, white & blue US flag)

ANOTHER MORMON ON DRUGS

BACK TO THE PLEISTOCENE  
(With "Ned Ludd" logo)

BOYCOTT COORS "BEER"

DAMN THE CORPS NOT RIVERS

DARWIN  
(letters in evolving fish with legs)

DESERT RAPER  
(bright red lettering — a sticker with many uses)

DEVELOPERS GO BUILD IN HELL!  
(black and red lettering, 12 for \$5)

DREAM BACK THE BISON  
SING BACK THE SWAN

EARTH FIRST!

ESCHEW SURPLUSAGE

HAYDUKE LIVES

HUNT COWS - NOT BEARS

HUNTERS:  
Did a cow get your elk?

I'D RATHER BE MONKEYWRENCHING  
(with Monkeywrench/War Club logo)

IF YOUR PECKER WAS AS SMALL AS MINE,  
YOU'D NEED A MUSCLE WAGON, TOO!  
(Important note: This bumpersticker is — hopefully! — not for your own vehicle, but to surreptitiously paste on a jacked-up muscle wagon you find in the local shopping center parking lot. Don't get caught! These stickers are constructed out of cheap paper with permanent adhesive to maximize the difficulty of removing them. Special price: 12 for \$5!)

MALTHUS WAS RIGHT

MUIR POWER TO YOU\*  
(white and black on brown with face of Muir)

NATIVE\*  
(blue words with blue, green & white globe)

NATURE BATS LAST

NEANDERTHAL AND PROUD  
(With "Ned Ludd" logo)

OIL AND BEARS DON'T MIX  
(with bear logo)

PAY YOUR RENT  
WORK FOR THE EARTH

PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT  
STOP PUBLIC LANDS LIVESTOCK GRAZING

REDNECKS FOR WILDERNESS

RESCUE THE RAINFOREST

RESIST MUCH, OBEY LITTLE

SAVE THE YELLOWSTONE GRIZZLY  
(red & brown with bear & no ski area design)

SAVE THE WILD

STOP THE FOREST SERVICE  
SAVE OUR WILD COUNTRY

STOP CLEARCUTTING  
(Regular stickers for regular price. Also available on cheap, hard-to-remove paper, 12 for \$5)

SUBVERT THE DOMINANT PARADIGM

THINK GLOBALLY — ACT LOCALLY

VOTE GREEN

WOLVES! - NOT COWS

## Picture Propaganda

### CRACKING OF GLEN CANYON DAMN MOVIE

The excellent 10 minute, color-sound 16 mm movie of Earth First! cracking Glen Canyon Damn in 1981 starring Ed Abbey and Johnny Sagebrush. An inspiring and humorous introduction to the Earth First! movement. Rental fee of \$30 for showing to groups (includes shipping fee); \$5 (shipping only) for EF! groups. Note: rental only; not for sale.

### DAMN MOVIE VIDEO

We now have the cracking of Glen Canyon Damn for sale on video. **\$20 postpaid.**

### OVERGRAZING SLIDE SHOW

"The Eating of the West" graphically displays the devastation of Western public lands at the hands (and hooves) of the livestock industry. The show consists of over 100 high-quality slides from National Forests, National Wildlife Refuges, and BLM lands which portray the shocking magnitude of the problems caused by grazing. The slide show comes with a written script and is rented at cost, \$10. Free copies of a 48-page tabloid on grazing are also available. Please include with your order the name and phone number of a contact person, and the date you need the show along with alternate dates. Orders must include street address for UPS delivery. "The Eating of the West" was funded by donations to Lynn Jacobs and the Earth First! Foundation.

## SILENT AGITATORS

Fun to stick anywhere — bar bathrooms, Freddie offices, trail registers . . . wherever the evil ones need to know that we are about and watching.

### EARTH FIRST! FISTS

Green EF! fist logo with words "EARTH FIRST! No compromise in defense of Mother Earth" in red ink. 1 5/8 inch diameter circles. **30 for \$1.25 postpaid.**

### ANTI-GRAZING

A grazing cow and barbed wire with the universal "no" slash, and the words "Free Our Public Lands!" and "Stop Destructive Welfare Ranching End Public Lands Livestock Grazing." 1 5/8 inch diameter circles. **30 for \$1.25 postpaid.**

### COORS

Spread the word on these villains. Black words on green stickers. 2 x 3 inch rectangles. **10 for \$1.25 postpaid.**

Coors is Anti-Earth  
Coors is Anti-Women  
Coors is Anti-Labor  
AND IT TASTES AWFUL!  
BOYCOTT COORS

### "TOOLS"

The late John Zaelit's Monkeywrench and Warclub design is back by popular demand. Brown design with "Earth First!" in green on 1 5/8 inch diameter white circles. **30 for \$1.25 postpaid.**

## EARTH FIRST! MERCHANDISE ORDER FORM

Make checks out to "Earth First!" or send cash. Mail to Earth First!, POB 7, Canton, NY 13617. Please allow five weeks for delivery (contact us if it has not been received in that time). If possible, please use a street address so we can ship by UPS. First Class delivery can be arranged. Enter size, color, style, etc. We are sometimes temporarily out of certain items while waiting for stock to arrive. We'll send you the rest of your order immediately and the missing item as soon as we receive it. If you are in a hurry, give us a second choice of colors and when you need it by. Orders from outside of the United States must be in U.S. currency and include extra for shipping. Please use a separate subscription form when sending in a subscription.

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**Almost FREE BUMPERSTICKERS!**  
 The following bumperstickers are printed on cheap paper (very difficult to remove) and look great on certain signs throughout the West. We have a large quantity available, and will happily send you some if you'll cover the postage. Send a 25 cent SASE for two stickers, 45 cent SASE for six, or write to inquire about larger volumes.

GET LIVESTOCK OFF  
OUR PUBLIC LANDS  
PUBLIC LANDS GRAZING =  
WELFARE RANCHING

# & SNAKE OIL

# T-SHIRTS

Unless otherwise noted, all shirts are 100% cotton and are available in sizes S, M, L, and XL.



AMERICAN WILDERNESS - LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT ALONE



GLEN CANYON DAMN



Earth First!  
No Compromise in the Defense of Mother Earth!



DEFEND THE WILDERNESS



AMERICAN WILDERNESS  
LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT ALONE

## DON'T TREAD ON ME

Monkeywrenching rattler on front with the words "Earth First!" and "Don't Tread On Me" (no longer printed on back). Brush Wolf's amazing full color snake seems ready to lunge off the shirt. Now in two colors: sand (tan) and watermelon (pinkish). Sorry, no large tans. \$13 postpaid.

## MOTHER GRIZZLY AND CUB

A pretty EF! shirt! A lovely full-color mother grizzly and cub against the rising sun on a light blue shirt. "American Wilderness - Love It Or Leave It Alone" slogan. Art by Susan Van Rooy. \$13 postpaid.

## AMERICAN CANYON FROG

Roger Candee's popular American Canyon Frog (*Croakus abyssus pistoffus*) with the message "AMERICAN WILDERNESS LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT ALONE." A very colorful 4-color design on a grey shirt. \$12 postpaid.

## THE CRACKING OF GLEN CANYON DAMN

Jim Stiles' infamous masterpiece. Keep on praying for that one little precision earthquake! Black design on blue heather 75/25 cotton/poly blend. \$10 postpaid.

## DEFEND THE WILDERNESS

The monkeywrencher's shirt. Art by Bill Turk. Silver design on black 100% cotton Beefy-T for night work. \$10 postpaid.

## EARTH FIRST!

Fist logo with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth!" in black on green or red 100% cotton Beefy-T. \$10 postpaid. In kid's sizes, too! Only color is green, 50/50 blend, sizes S, M, and L. \$7 postpaid. Be sure to specify kid's when you order.

## TOOLS

John Zaelit's powerful impression of wilderness defense both old and new — the monkeywrench and stone club crossed. Black design on tan or blue shirt (blue only in S & M sizes). \$10 postpaid.

## NED LUDD BOOKS

The Ned Ludd Books logo of the Neanderthal with a Monkeywrench (by Brush Wolf) and the words "Back to the Pleistocene" and "Ned Ludd Books." Black ink on a tan shirt. \$10 postpaid.

## FREE THE EARTH

A woman of power in an image by Gila Trout. Purple and silver ink on teal (dark blue), fuschia (hot pink) or wild orchid (purple - NEW COLOR). Our stock of fuschia is low and we can't get more, so give us an alternate choice if you order fuschia. \$12 postpaid.

NEW!

## EARTH FIRST! SWEATSHIRTS

Years of requests and a trip to the Frozen Northlands (upstate New York) finally convinced us to print an EF! sweatshirt, and it turned out to be a beauty. It features the fist and slogan in emerald green on a gray 50/50 Hanes sweatshirt. \$20 postpaid.

## French Cut Clearance Sale!

We are closing out our stock of womens' french cut t-shirts. All french cuts will go for just \$5 postpaid, as long as supplies last. Shirts are all 50/50 blends in sizes S (all patterns), M, and L (Griz and Defend only), with colors and patterns as described in t-shirt listing. Note that these shirts run very small. Please give an alternate selection with your order, just in case.

MOTHER GRIZZLY AND CUB  
DEFEND THE WILDERNESS  
EARTH FIRST!

## LONG-SLEEVED T-SHIRTS

For cool-weather wear, we offer two of our t-shirt designs on long-sleeved 100% cotton shirts, with colors and patterns described in t-shirt listing.  
MOTHER GRIZZLY AND CUB \$16 postpaid.  
DEFEND THE WILDERNESS \$13 postpaid.

## A NOTE ON TAN T-SHIRTS

Alas, we are victims of fashion! We expect to be running out of all our tan t-shirts over the next few months because we just can't get any more. Current fashion trends run to day-glo colors, and none of the big t-shirt makers are producing heavy-weight tan t-shirts. Oh, woe! Much as we at the Journal like tan, our current stock is all we expect to have for some months — until fashions change again. If you really want tan, get it now.

## EMBROIDERED PATCHES EARTH FIRST!

This embroidered patch features the green fist and the words "EARTH FIRST!" and "No Compromise." Green and black on a white 3" diameter round patch. \$3.50 postpaid.

## HAYDUKE LIVES

These are black 3 inch diameter round embroidered patches with a red monkeywrench and the words HAYDUKE LIVES in red. \$3.50 postpaid.

## SUBSCRIBE TO EARTH FIRST!

*Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal* — is an independent entity within the broad Earth First! movement and serves as a forum for no-compromise environmental thought and action. Subscriptions go to publish this newspaper and to fund a variety of Earth First! actions. Please subscribe or resubscribe today!

Keep us informed of ADDRESS CHANGES! The Post Office will charge us 30¢ for an address correction and won't forward your paper.

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LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS — Tired of that little red check mark every year? Want to really help Earth First! and insure that you'll get *Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal* for life (yours or ours, whichever is shorter)? Then become a life subscriber. Send us \$400 and you've got it.

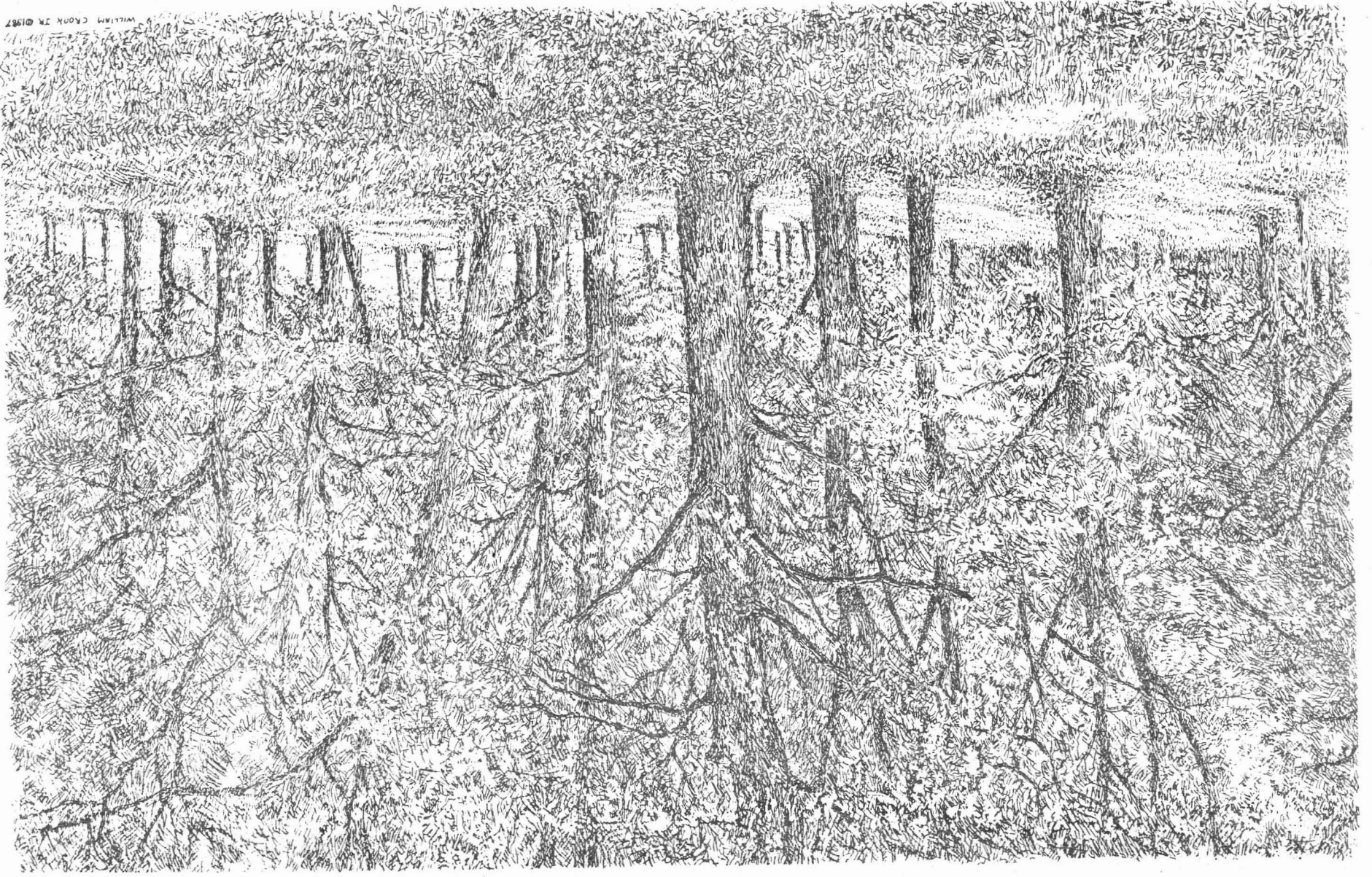
Clip and send to: Earth First!, POB 7, Canton, NY 13617

- Here's \$20 or more for a one year subscription to *Earth First!*
- Here's \$20 to resubscribe to *Earth First!*
- Here's an extra \$15. Send *Earth First!* First Class.
- Here's \$30 (US funds only). Send *Earth First!* to me First Class in Canada or Mexico or surface mail outside the USA.
- Here's \$45 (US funds only). Send me *Earth First!* Air Mail outside the USA.
- We are a government agency or exploitative corporation. Here's \$75 for a subscription (\$100 for First Class mail).
- Here's \$400 or more for a life subscription to *Earth First!*
- Please send a gift subscription to the person below. Here's \$20 or more.
- I'm broke. Please send me a subscription for \$\_\_\_\_\_.
- Please change my address. My old zip code was: \_\_\_\_\_

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The EF! subscription list is kept entirely confidential. You are welcome to use an alias. Make sure the mailperson knows that James What (or whoever) is getting mail at your address.





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