



EARTH FIRST!

A Citizen's Guide to the US Forest Service



MANAGING FOR EXTINCTION



Photo by Tryg-Sky/LightHawk © 1992 Trygve Steen.

The Shelton "Sustained Yield Unit," on the Olympic National Forest's southeast corner, once held dense old-growth Douglas-fir, hemlock, and cedar forests. Now, thanks to the U.S. Forest

Service, it produces a sustained yield of stream-choking silt. Deforestation like this is a big part of the reason Pacific Northwest salmon are going extinct.

Clearcuts, logging roads, and cowpies are now the dominant uses of National Forests once reserved to protect water, wildlife and recreation. Ecosystems are crumbling across the continent, chewed up by chainsaws, bulldozers and cows. The ravaging of America's national forests is a case study in management for extinction, carried on behind a veil of "scientific resource management."

The U.S. Forest Service (USFS or just FS), the once-proud agency charged with the protection of these precious lands, has become an outlaw gang dedicated to resource extraction and wilderness destruction, a world leader not in conservation but in deforestation.

As forester Gordon Robinson has said, you don't have to be an expert to diagnose

SMOKEY BEAR IS A FRONT MAN FOR THE REAL MENACE TO AMERICA'S FORESTS:
the corrupt bureaucrats, industrial barons, and political hacks who pillage public lands to pile up private wealth.

bad forest management any more than you need be a doctor to tell that someone's sick: the symptoms are as plain as the face of the land. The basic problem is that the Forest Service manages the National Forests for money, not ecosystems. That's illegal, and it's going to stop. The public, the media, the courts and Congress are onto the game. Change is on the way.

But the timber beasts who control the agency won't just give up. Under a public

relations smokescreen, the FS is taking a hard line, mounting pre-emptive strikes against the last roadless areas in the National Forests. Forest Service personnel are speaking out against the destruction—and FS bosses are crushing whistleblowers and ignoring federal environmental laws. Now the Bush Administration wants to ban citizens' appeals too.

Wild lands, threatened wildlife species, and whole ecosystems are on the chopping block. If the FS is allowed to road and log the last roadless areas, it won't matter what reforms are instituted in two or three years.

Only **public action NOW** can save our public lands. This primer describes what's wrong, what must be done, and how to get more information. **Save our National Forests. Stop the Forest Service.**



NEW PERSPECTIVES

The Friendly Face of Forest Fascism

Smokey's other self: troopers of the Illinois State Police preparing to arrest Earth First! defenders of the Shawnee NF. Photo © Orin Langelle.

Ecological Collapse: A Problem of Public Relations?

Good public relations are valuable to the Forest Service because they make it easier to get away with poor management. If you complain about the destruction of America's National Forests, or try to stop a poorly-planned timber sale, friendly, lower-level employees will hear you out and offer up a long list of reasons for FS policies. The agency will spend hundreds of (your) hours and millions of (our) dollars to convince the public that its plans are sound. Many staffers have mouthed the agency line so often that they sincerely believe they are doing a good job. But if you somehow stop that timber sale, your relationship with FS staff will sour in a hurry. When confronted

with the cold truths about its policies, the FS routinely lies, denies, covers up, and attacks its critics. Good public relations is a central principle of FS management. But road-building and logging are much more important to the agency than mere public opinion. That, in a nutshell, is the FS's "New Perspectives" program. Agency flacks claim these nebulous "reforms" will produce more ecologically sensitive management. On examination, however, New Perspectives means lots more talking and the same old road-and-cut policy. What's the difference between "gap phase dynamics" and a clearcut? One takes longer to say. Forests can't tell the difference.

New Perspectives or The Same Old Smokescreen?

In truth, New Perspectives is a pleasant veneer for the Forest Service's new hard line, the smile that leads a sucker-punch. The planned invasion of the Siskiyou's roadless areas (see map) is being repeated on an even larger scale in Montana, where the timber industry, Congressional delegation, and Forest Service are pushing to open five million acres of prime habitat to developments.

The Forest Service's Deputy Chief, James Overbay, gave a clear indication of the agency's intentions in August of 1991, when he called on foresters to "look at how we can gear up to move aggressively to carry out our plans in roadless areas."

That these plans would violate a raft of environmental laws bothers top administrators not a bit. The agency's response to legal challenges is perhaps the most chilling part of the Hard Line.

The Montana No-Wilderness bill contains language, written by the timber industry's lawyers, that would end citizen appeals and judicial review for Forest Plans and timber sales. At the same time, Secy of Agriculture Edward Madigan is proposing to ban citizen appeals of Forest Service actions—just part of the Bush Administration's rush to repeal by executive fiat the laws corporations don't like.

On the ground, the FS meets peaceful protests with heavily armed police. Though they like to keep their hands clean by having local cops apply the handcuffs wherever possible, FS law enforcement staff spend most of their time keeping tabs on environmentalists, not criminals.

The REAL Problems:

Internal reforms can't stop the devastation because they can't address the sources of FS mismanagement. The real problems are old, deep, and complex. They are difficult to understand, and will be even harder to change. But no real protection for the natural heritage of our National Forests will be possible until we address the three basic problems of the FS: resource-ism; budget-building; and the Iron Triangle.

"Natural Resource" Ideology

Gifford Pinchot, founder of the Forest Service, once said something like "there are two things in this world: people, and natural resources." As

John Muir would've said, "Gifford, you're full of it."

The Forest Service is run by people like Pinchot, who literally cannot see the intrinsic value of a forest, a species, or an ecosystem. A few do understand that the natural world has its own value apart from any benefit it may provide to humans. They are constrained by the agency's commodity-focused mindset.

Rangers are judged by "outputs" which can be measured in neat units: dollars, board-feet, animal-unit-months, and recreation-days. The messy realities of ecosystem health are as far beyond this way of thinking as Picasso is past paint-by-numbers.

Boondoggle Budget-Building

For FS officers, the overwhelming practical problem with managing for ecosystem health is that they get their money from ecosystem destruction. Rangers get to keep a big chunk — sometimes all — of the money the agency takes in for timber sales for local projects and overhead. Add to that the money Congress gives the FS to build pork-barrel roads, and you have a crazy system. The FS makes money by losing it.

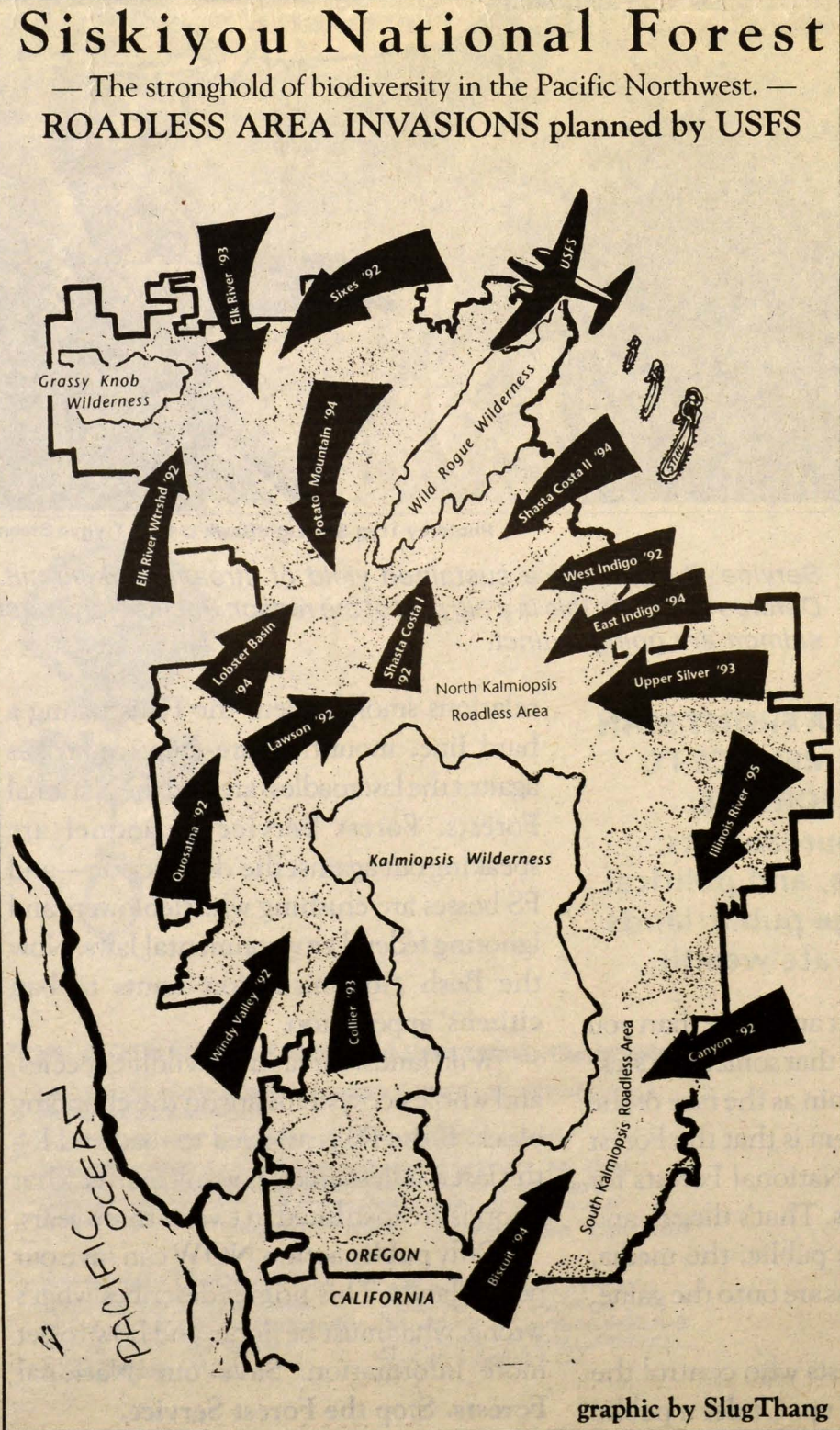
The FS lost \$2.7 billion on timber sales over the last few years. But that's fine with the FS, because it was the Treasury that lost the money and the forests that took the damage. The agency still got money to build bathrooms and pay biologists. Budget-building is a lot of the reason that the FS manipulates planning processes to produce predetermined outcomes.

The Iron Triangle

...Is shorthand for the potent political alliance which has set federal natural-resource policy for more than a century. Top administrators form one corner of the iron triangle. Entrenched members of Congress, often from the West, form another. The final link is the industrial interests who fund politicians from the profits they make from public lands.

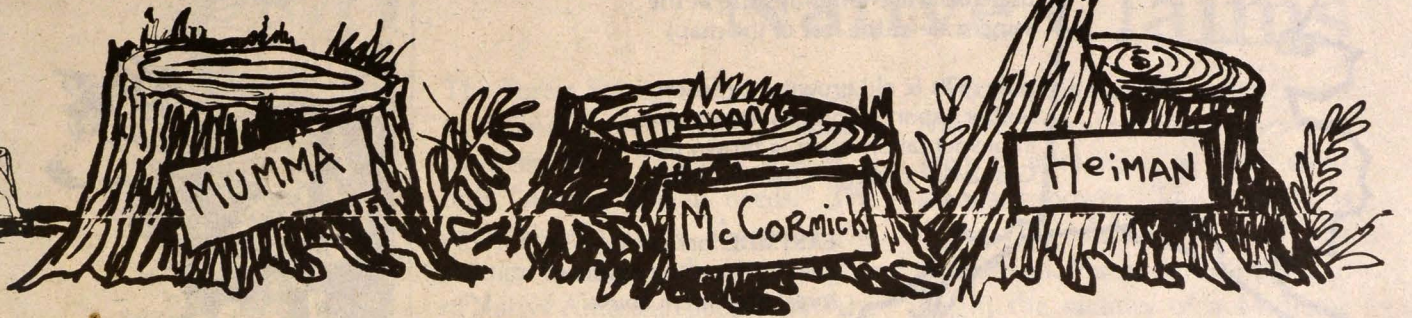
Under the Reagan/Bush regime, industry has found effective allies in the White House, and reached out to form false-front "grassroots" groups that agitate against environmental protection under the banner of the "Wise Use" movement.

Saving species and ecosystems on the National Forests means real change in the FS. Real change in FS policy means restructuring the agency from the ground up. It may mean the same for American politics.



graphic by SlugThang

CAN THE USFS BE REFORMED?



Over the past several years, a long string of Forest Service employees have gone public with stories of environmental abuse, coverups of illegal actions, and retaliation against FS employees who try to protect the environment.

These stories are critical to understanding what's wrong with the Forest Service. They show that agency managers ignore ecological impacts and environmental laws alike in their push to meet timber targets and please agency administrators, local industry, and members of Congress.

What follows is a summary of some of the Forest Service whistleblowers' statements.

John McCormick, former head of the Forest Service's whistleblower protection program, told a Congressional committee in sworn testimony that there is "a pattern of lawlessness" in the agency. "The agency has become comfortable with lying to the public, ignoring long-festering problems and serving the timber industry as government agents of environmental destruction rather than environmental protection." He cited censoring of reports and doctoring data to permit illegal cutting of forests.

McCormick described an "atmosphere of fear and intimidation" in the agency, saying "whistleblowers are routinely harassed... whitewashes, cover-ups and poor investigations are common."

John Mumma is the highest-ranking Forest Service employee yet to come forward. In September 1991, as Regional Forester for the Northern Rockies, Mumma told the House Civil Service Subcommittee that he had been given a "directed reassignment" for failing to meet timber quotas demanded by Idaho and Montana politicians.

Mumma, who said he "feared potential retaliation" told the committee he was testifying "with a heavy heart — a heart that's in shock at what's happening in the National Forests of this country. All I have tried to do is perform my job ... in accordance with federal law ... I have done everything I can to meet all of my targets," he continued. "I have failed to meet the quotas only because to do so would have required me to violate federal law."

Don Oman, Twin Falls District Ranger on the Sawtooth National Forest, has written that "Many resource decisions are and have been made out of fear, rather than what is best for the resource or what the public wants for the resource." When Oman tried to enforce grazing rules, one rancher told the New York Times he would slit Oman's throat. Other ranchers joined forces to get Oman transferred.

When **Jeff DeBonis**, a timber sale planner, was transferred to the biggest timber-cutting national forest — Western Oregon's Willamette — he was so shocked at the devastation

that he started the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics.

Karin Heiman, a botanist for the Nantahela-Pisgah NF in North Carolina, was fired after she balked at orders to complete a survey for threatened plants species in February — when her supervisor knew that the plants would be concealed under

"The agency has become comfortable with lying to the public and serving the timber industry as government agents of environmental destruction."

— **John McCormick**

snow. A pork-barrel logging road is planned for the area: when the head of the NC Natural Heritage program protested, he was fired as well.

Al Isaacson, a former Forest Service hydrologist in Idaho's Panhandle Forest, told the House Appropriations Committee in February of 1992 that he was forced out of his job in 1986 because he complained that excessive logging was damaging water quality in Idaho's Panhandle. "Environmental laws were not taken seriously if they stood in the way of logging targets," said Isaacson. He said road-building and clearcutting had resulted in streams flooding several times a year to the level formerly expected only once every 200 years. Along the upper

Coeur D'Alene River, he said, "The whole basin has fallen apart."

In the same hearings, a former Forest Service forester named **Leroy Lee** testified that the agency keeps two sets of books on its timber inventories: one that it shows to Congress to ask for money, which shows inflated estimates of timber volumes; and another showing the (much lower) correct figures.

Francis Mangels, a wildlife biologist from the Shasta-Trinity NF in California, suffered reprisals after calling attention to plans to log in habitat occupied by Bald Eagles and Northern Spotted Owls. "The attitude was 'how dare you find a bald-eagle nest in my timber sale?'"

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR USFS REFORM from EARTH FIRST!

(Adapted from Howie Wolke's 1988

Save Our National Forests:
A Citizens' Primer to Stop U.S. Forest Service Destruction.

Thanks, Howie.)

- 1 **Repeal the basic laws** guiding USFS action: NFMA (National Forest Management Act, the 1975 law that legalized clearcutting), MUSY (Multiple-use "Sustained Yield" Act), and the K-V Act (which lets the FS keep timber sales receipts).
- 2 **Pass a new biocentric Charter** requiring the Forest Service to manage for long-term ecosystem health.
- 3 **Get the USFS out of the Dept. of Agriculture;** group it with other land, air, and water-protection agencies in a federal Department of Nature.
- 4 **Punish outlaw bureaucrats. Fire everyone** from the district ranger on up. Prosecute top brass. Put whistleblowers in their bosses' jobs.
- 5 **Require decision-makers to be biologists.**
- 6 **Protect all roadless areas,** pending biological inventories and ecosystem recovery plans.
- 7 **Designate Wilderness:** at least two-thirds (125 million acres) of National Forest area. That leaves 65 million acres to be managed sustainably for multiple benefit.
- 8 **Restore roads:** at least 100,000 miles of logging roads need ripping up.
- 9 **Ban clearcuts, cows, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides, new roads, off-road vehicles, slob hunters, new ski areas and resorts.**
- 10 **Cut logging by 90% across the board.**

DEEP ECOLOGY: THE BIOCENTRIC APPROACH

A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise.

—Aldo Leopold

The central insight of John Muir and of the science of ecology was the realization that all things are connected, are related; that human beings are merely one of the millions of species that have been shaped by the process of evolution for three-and-a-half billion years. With that understanding, we can answer the question, "Why wilderness?"

Is it because wilderness makes pretty picture postcards? Because it protects watersheds for downstream use by agriculture, industry, and homes? Because it's a good place to clean the cobwebs out of our heads after a long week in the auto factory or over the video display terminal? Because it preserves resource extraction

opportunities for future generations of humans? Because some unknown plant living in the wilds may hold a cure for cancer?

No—because wilderness is. Because it is the real world, the flow of life, the process of evolution, the repository of that three-and-a-half billion years of shared travel.

All natural things have intrinsic value, inherent worth. Their value is not determined by what they will ring up on the cash register of the GNP, nor by whether or not they are good. They are. They exist. For their own sake. Without consideration for any real or imagined value to human civilization.

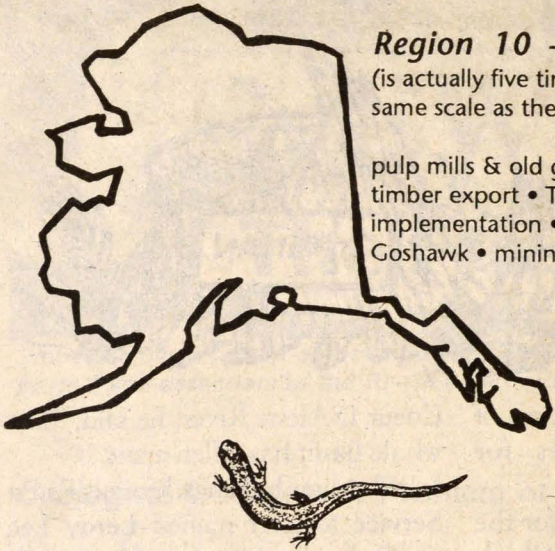
Even more important than the individual wild creature is the wild community—the wilderness, co-evolution, the stream of life unimpeded by industrial interference or human manipulation.

These twin themes of interconnectedness and intrinsic value

form the core of the ideas of such pioneer ecological thinkers as John Muir, Aldo Leopold and Rachel Carson, and are the basis for action by Earth First!ers. This biocentric worldview, as opposed to the anthropocentric paradigm of civilization (and the reformist position of mainstream environmental groups), has been recently developed into the philosophy of Deep Ecology by philosophers such as Arne Naess of Norway, John Seed of Australia, Alan Drengson of Canada, and George Sessions and Bill Devall of the United States, among others.

Earth First!, therefore, does not operate from a basis of political pragmatism, or what is perceived to be "possible." Wilderness, natural diversity, is not something that can be compromised in the political arena. We are unapologetic advocates for the natural world, for Earth.

LAND OF MANY A



Region 10 — Alaska
 (is actually five times this size at the same scale as the rest of the map)

- pulp mills & old growth extraction •
- timber export • Tongass Reform Act implementation • griz & brown bear •
- Goshawk • mining • roadless areas

EASTSIDE: bargaining chip for Westside forests • forest ecosystem abuse: high-grading & fire suppression • salvage & spray program • Pine Marten • Fisher • cavity nesting species • Goshawk • mining • grazing • delisting sensitive species



Region 6 Oregon & Washington

WESTSIDE: Northern Spotted Owl • Marbled Murrelet • Coho, Sockeye, Chinook, Chum and Steelhead • Siskiyou roadless area invasion • wolf recovery • grizzly in North Cascades • small hydro in North Cascades

Region 5 California

- ski resorts • salvage logging • urban encroachment • private land reform • landfills • water grabbing • Headwaters acquisition • ADC • wolverine



Region 1 — Northern Rockies

Montana Wilderness Bill • roadless areas • timber targets • corporate deforestation • grizzly survival • wolf recovery old growth destruction • grazing • oil and gas leases • salmon and trout



Region 9 — East

biomass conversion • neotropical migrants • gas • forest fragmentation • Native claims • mining in Ozarks • the debacle • mining in Rockies • Rattler • forest conversion

Region 2 Central Rockies

resort development • roadless areas • mining • grizzly and wolf recovery • water grabs • aspen devastation • grazing

Region 4 Great Basin

grazing • ADC • aspen destruction • water grabs • coal, oil & gas mining • cyanide heap leach mining

Region 3 — Southwest

Northern Goshawk • Mexican Spotted Owl • Ponderosa pine forest destruction • grazing • riparian (streamside) ecosystem collapse • collusion between FW§ and FS •

Region 8 — South

forest fragmentation • history of abuse restoration of old forests and natural processes • “desert timber” • forest plan revisions • pulping • Black Bear salvage logging • military use of FS land

The Murder of Our Forests

The Forest Service is destroying forest ecosystems across the U.S. By cutting older, diverse native forests and replacing them with tree plantations; by suppressing fires in fire-adapted forests; by drilling and mining in sensitive grasslands; by managing the National Forests as factories for two-by-fours and beef, the FS is driving thousands of species to extinction.

Around the globe, an estimated 100,000 species are being driven to oblivion each year. If the greatest biological crisis in 65 million years is to be halted, we all must act now to protect the remaining intact ecosystems and allow damaged ecosystems to recover their function. With global deforestation in the public eye, it is essential that we protect what remains of the native forests of North America as a first step to a sustainable future.

Extinction is Forever

Forests are much more than trees. They are networks of life, webs of species that have evolved together

over millions of years. From fungi and microorganisms in the soil to the beetles at the top of the oldest, largest trees; from small rodents to hawks and owls; from browsing deer to prowling wolves, every species depends on the network and serves a function within it.

All this says nothing of the enormous values that biodiversity holds for humans: as David Brower is fond of saying, forests hold the answers to questions we have not yet thought to ask. But forests, and the species they support, have their own roles on the planet — and their own intrinsic value. We do not have a right to drive them into extinction for human convenience.

Extinction is the inevitable outcome of present FS policies. Most are only incidental to resource extraction, the unfortunate “price of progress.” But some extinctions have been deliberate — as in FS collaboration with livestock interests to eliminate Griz and Wolf, a conspiracy that continues today in resistance to the great predators’ recovery.

A Formula For Annihilation

Across the continent, the FS has made a policy of cutting the oldest stands of forest first. These ancient forests are the most valuable for timber, but their great biomass and biodiversity also make them the most important parts of the forest ecosystem. The near-elimination of old-growth forests from the continent—a process accelerated by the FS under the Reagan/Bush regime—has made the remaining fragments absolutely essential. Every remaining scrap of old-growth forest is biologically invaluable, and must be protected.

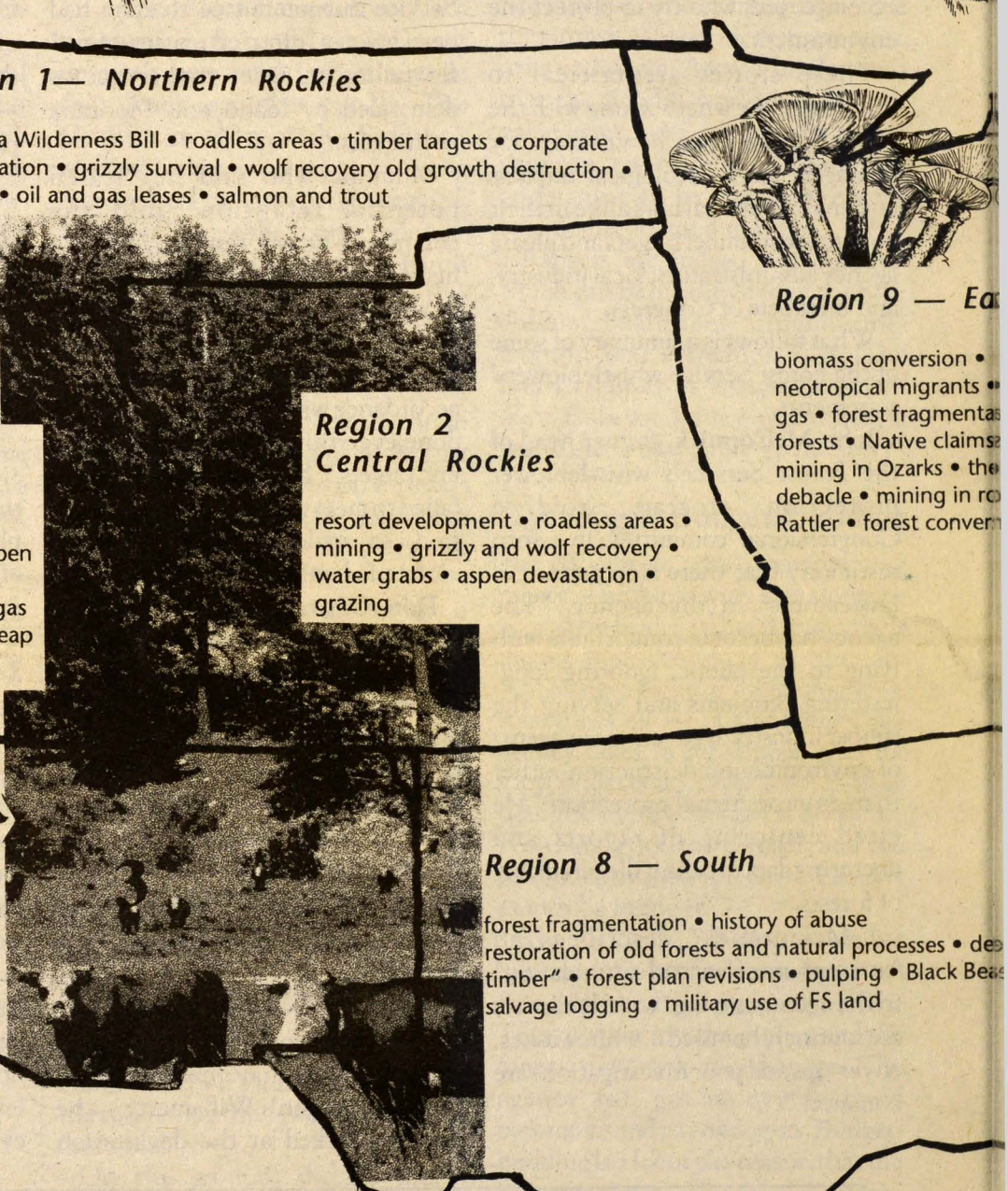
When a native forest ecosystem is sliced up by roads, fragmented by clearcuts and converted to tree plantations, the web of species is pulled apart. In the jargon of resource rape, ripping out old-growth forest and putting in a monoculture of single-age trees which will never be allowed to grow past childhood is

called “stand conversion.” In plain language, it’s called deforestation.

The FS and timber industry claim to be “reforesting” by planting fiber farms. Such “forestry” is nothing more than the liquidation of forest ecosystems for short-term profit. Timber plantations cannot support diverse wildlife populations. Vulnerable to disease, insects, and fires—all normal elements of a healthy forest ecosystem—tree farms need petrochemical fertilizers to replace lost soil vitality, herbicides to maintain the monoculture.

Nature Is The Enemy

Rather than protecting forest ecosystems, the Forest Service has been protecting timber. In the agency’s most successful advertising



BUSES

Sacred Lands

Native Claims

The Forest Service sometimes tries to defend its destruction of native biodiversity by claiming that it is only "serving human needs." The agency's grotesque abuse of the cultural heritage and religious rights of Native American peoples puts the lie to such claims. Destroying nature destroys indigenous peoples; killing ecosystems kills the ancient cultures that still survive to give life to the idea that people need not wage war upon Mother Earth.

It is no accident that the assault on the wilderness coincides with grave threats to Native American religious freedom; to the original inhabitants of Turtle Island (North America), the land is sacred, a part of the people. Other species are not "resources" to be exploited; they are cousins, kin deserving of respect.

It is appropriate that 1992, the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the European conquest of the New World, also marks the 100th anniversary of the creation of the National Forest system. This coincidence should remind us that the public lands were not when troops of the U.S. government occupied them. They had been inhabited for tens of thousands of years, by communities of two-legged, four-legged, six, eight, and no-legged peoples. And though we have done our best to exterminate them, those people still survive, and still have a right to live in peace.

The conflict of FS policies and Native cultures highlights the agency's weaknesses as much as its arrogant power. The agency is destroying things it does not understand. Forest Service plans to log in the vicinity of a Medicine Wheel in Wyoming, and to develop the site as a tourist attraction, have sparked opposition from the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Shoshone, Sioux, and Crow nations. A Forest Service official couldn't understand the fuss. "That's nothing but a pile of damn rocks," he said.

FS archaeologists just make things worse, even when they are allowed to do their jobs. To most Native Americans, a "culture resources" inventory before obliteration is nothing but grave-robbing. Traditionalists—Native peoples who follow the old religious ways—are not generally willing to tell FS officials of a sacred site.

One reason the white government is so determined to ignore the treaty and First Amendment rights of Native peoples is that sacred sites are often not specific places, but whole landscapes. When the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the claims of Northern California tribes to stop a logging road that would destroy their traditional vision quest area, it struck a blow against sacred wilderness that still reverberates through Native America and the environmental movement.

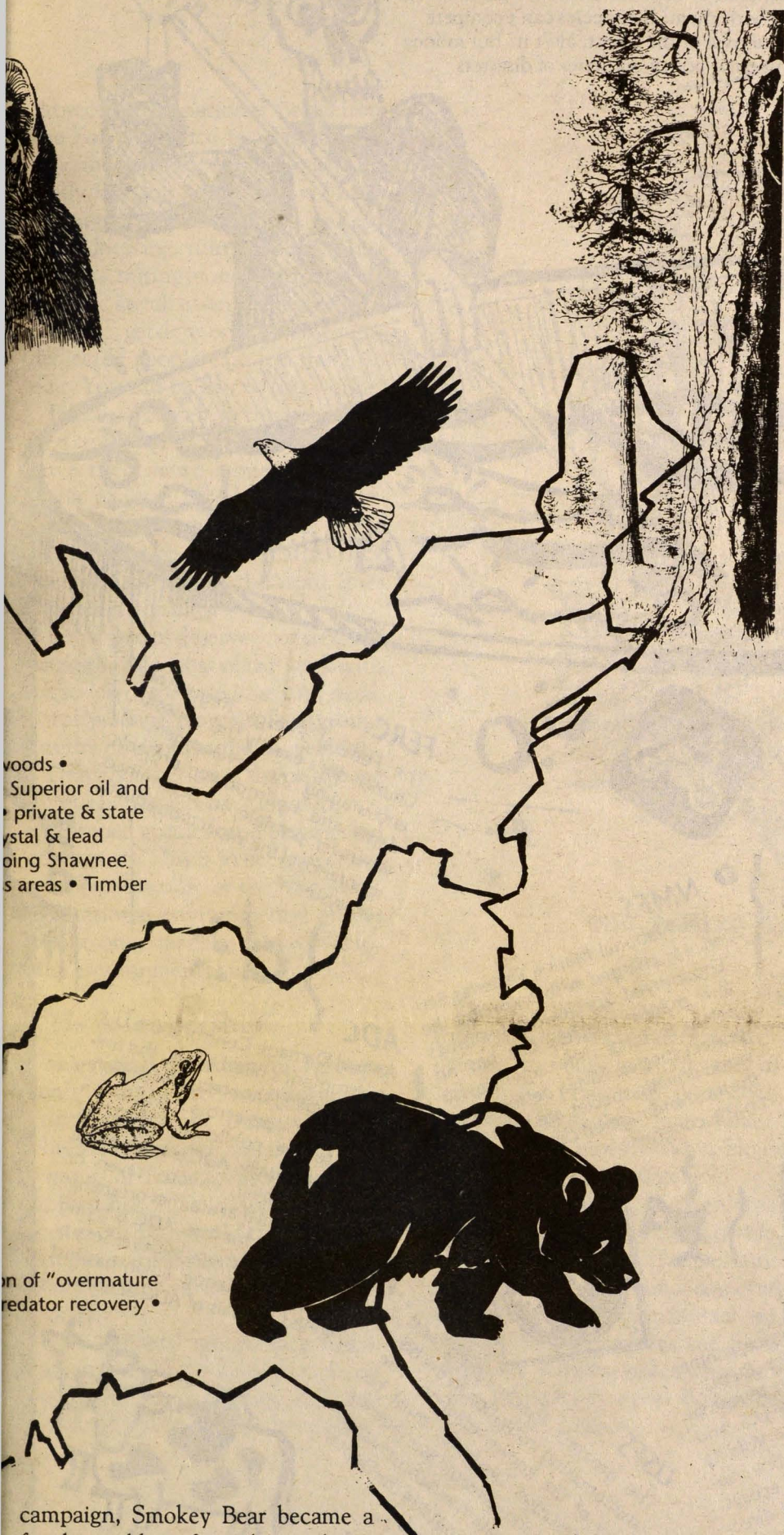
The list of violated places is as long as the history of genocide in the Americas, but consider these examples from recent U.S. history of the intertwined destruction of Native sacred sites and native ecosystems:

- the Tellico Dam destroyed areas sacred to the Cherokees — but made the Snail Darter a household word;
- Glen Canyon Dam flooded the Rainbow Bridge area sacred to many Arizona tribes even as it drowned the river's ecosystem;
- Logging and ski developments on northern Arizona's San Francisco Peaks have been a greivous blow to traditionalist Navajo and Hopi.

Or consider the sites presently under attack by the Forest Service:

- Mt Graham in the Coronado NF of Arizona, where the FS is promoting an observatory on land sacred to the San Carlos Apache and critical habitat for the threatened Mt. Graham Red Squirrel;
- The Badger—Two Medicine area, an unprotected wilderness sacred to the Blackfeet of Montana—and slated for oil and gas mining;
- Oregon's Winema NF was once the reservation of the Klamath tribe. FS clearcutting has wrecked sacred sites, decimated the area's mule deer herds, and hampered attempts to keep Native culture alive.

There are literally thousands of other examples. What is important is that ecological activists and Native Americans work together for the protection of sacred ecosystems. Stay alert for opportunities to support Native peoples in their struggles. Write your elected officials and urge them to support Senator Inouye's strengthening amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.



woods •
Superior oil and
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s areas • Timber

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campaign, Smokey Bear became a familiar emblem of ceaseless vigilance against wildfires' red menace, a Cold War emblem of the long struggle to tame the American wilderness.

But fire suppression is as damaging to forests as clearcutting: without regular fires, the smaller tree species of the understory grow up and crowd canopy species, creating over time a dense, highly stressed system that literally calls insects in. Once a beetle or budworm bloom gets going, the forest is a fire waiting to happen.

This is exactly what has happened to the forests of Eastern Oregon and Washington. In response, the FS has proposed a multimillion-dollar program of "salvage" logging (despite the fact that only 10 percent of defoliated trees actually die) and massive aerial spraying (again, despite the fact that spraying will destroy the moths, butterflies, and caterpillars that many of the most threatened forest species depend upon). This so-called "Blue Mountains Forest Health

Initiative" is yet another instance of the agency's blind unwillingness to learn the lessons of its own mistakes.

How Close to Disaster?

The collapse of forest ecosystems is not science fiction. The Germans who pioneered industrial forestry have a word for it: **Waldsterben** — **Forest Death**. Across Europe, forests are dying out, victims of too much manipulation, too little diversity, and the cumulative effects of unanticipated stress, especially air pollution and acid rain.

With half of the Yellow Pines in California's Sequoia NF dead of air pollution, the Red Spruces of New England dying from acid rain, and the threat of human-caused global climate change looming ever larger, we need to take every possible step to protect forest ecosystems. Instead, the FS is still intent on turning our forests into 2x4s.



FOUL BREW

It's not just the Forest Service. US environmental policy is a foul brew, a poisoned batch of alphabet soup. What's wrong with the Forest Service is also wrong with every other federal environmental agency—and there are lots of other agencies whose purpose is said to be the protection of the land, water, air and ecosystems upon which we all depend. The corporate wizards who've cooked up this fetid stew think things are just fine: all our ailing Mother Earth needs is a bracing draft of their concoction, a good dose of up-by-your-bootstraps free enterprise. If ecosystems can't pay their own way, why bother with them? If a species can't compete with chainsaws, if it can't adapt to poisoned air, soil and water, let it go extinct. That's survival of the fittest, ain't it? But money won't protect us from ultraviolet rays, and it won't prevent climate change. US environmental policy is a series of disasters unfolding before our eyes.

The time to act is now, before the kettle boils over!

EVIL
CORPORATE
DEATH
TYPE



CAUTION
PESTICIDES

NRC

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is devoted to promoting and protecting the U.S. nuclear industry, at the expense of everything that's good and holy.

ESC (God Squad)

The Endangered Species Committee is a cabinet-level group of Bush Administration officials that sits in review of the Endangered Species Act. When protections for endangered species are actually implemented (rare) and someone challenges the protection (less rare) the God Squad gets to decide to snuff the species if it deems fit.

ACE

The Army Corp of Engineers is the largest and most diligent destroyer of rivers in the history of the world. At the cost of untold billions of dollars, the Corps has dammed, diverted, straightened and removed thousands of miles of US rivers, creating the apparatus of the industrial-era hydraulic empire that, through commercial agriculture and ranching, uses public works to enlarge private wealth.

FERC

The Federal Energy Regulatory Council does exactly the opposite, encouraging the development of dams and hydropower projects wherever possible, in determined ignorance of the impacts on aquatic ecosystems.

NMFS

The National Marine Fisheries Service is charged with enforcing the Endangered Species Act for fishes and marine species, but has no power to force other agencies to protect species. NMFS better get to work: aquatic species are probably the most endangered class of beings on the continent.

ADC

Animal Damage Control is the U.S. government's hired killers, the tireless trappers, shooters, and poisoners of predators across the U.S. At a cost to the public of millions of dollars annually, ADC is ready to kill any wolf, bear, coyote, raven or domestic pet that a farmer or rancher doesn't like, for free. ADC is trying to keep out of the public eye: Secy of the Interior Manuel Lujan has just banned appeals of ADC actions.



BOR

Ed Abbey often called the Bureau of Reclamation the Bureau of Wreck-the Nation, and for good reason. BOR competes with ACE to destroy rivers across the West; now it says it is trying to become an environmental agency.

FWS

The Fish and Wildlife Service, another agency of the Interior Dept, is charged with protecting terrestrial biological diversity in the U.S. and managing the system of Wildlife Refuges. Most refuges are tiny, isolated fragments of former ecosystems under assault from all directions, and FWS mostly manages them for game species. Charged with enforcement of the Endangered Species Act, FWS never has the funding or the political backing to do the job—even if it wanted to.



USFS

The greatest roadbuilding and stumpmaking institution in the history of the known universe. The Deforestation Disservice must be dissolved and recreated as an agency for the restoration and conservation of ecosystems—outside the Dept of Industrial Agriculture.

NPS

Built around the romantic ideals of the nineteenth century and an incestuous relationship with industrial tourism, the National Park Service hasn't a prayer of protecting ecosystems under the present anti-environmental regime. As a first step, NPS must be freed from the Department of Ripping Up the Interior.

OMB

The Office of Management and the Budget is the White House hatchet squad. OMB must approve every agency's budget, and it takes malicious glee in hacking away at environmental programs that might inconvenience the corporations that really own the country.

BLM

The Bureau of Livestock and Mining or Bunch of Lousy Managers is the Department of the Interior's hit squad. BLM has control of most of the public's non-forest lands in the West, and some of our most endangered forests as well. BLM doesn't even want to talk about multiple-use: its mission is to convert ecosystems to cold cash ASAP. About the only good thing you can say for the BLM is that they make the USFS look good.

COC

Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness is a secret, closed-to-the-public committee, made up of top Bush Administration officials and a group of corporate CEOs, whose mission is to eliminate regulatory obstacles to Big Business' agenda. This unconstitutional junta has intervened in a large but unknown number of environmental issues, including the infamous wetlands regulations and the (blocked) listing of the Louisiana Black Bear.

EPA

The Environmental Protection Agency, Richard Nixon's answer to Earth Day, is at best a paralyzed, inept, and weak enforcer of the National Environmental Policy Act, Clean Water and Clean Air Acts, and other environmental laws. At worst, it is the handmaiden of destruction, a hapless pawn of Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness.

SAVING the FORESTS

Protecting the national forests from the Forest Service is a big job. To describe the work of the few who are really fighting would take volumes. But organizing, researching, protesting, educating, filing appeals, filing lawsuits, raising money, and applying pressure are all essential, demanding tasks that get done only because some dedicated people care too much to quit. You can be part of this work.

Educate yourself on the issues. Get in touch with **local activist groups**. Give them more money than you think you can afford. More importantly, give them your time. Write letters. Make phone calls. Lick stamps. Get out on the front lines whenever you can.

Local groups deserve your help because they do most of the work with a fraction of the resources they need. For all practical purposes, **local groups are the environmental movement**.

Grassroots action is the only hope for our beleaguered national forests, threatened species, and endangered ecosystems. This is so because of the sorry present state of the "Big Ten," the national environmental groups who so often mistake themselves for "the environmental movement."

This is Leadership?

The national environmental groups don't want to try to reform the Forest Service. Despite overwhelming evidence that the FS is, as a group of Forest Supervisors told USFS Chief F. Dale Robertson, "an agency out of control," the "Big Ten" groups are intimidated by a political "reality" they've forgotten how to change.

The national groups face heavy odds in D.C. these days. Attacks on the Endangered Species Act and Arctic Wildlife Refuge have envi-

ronmental lobbyists scrambling to the defense, too busy to mount any of-fensive for ecosystem protection. Agencies are reeling, overwhelmed by crises and stunned by White House hostility to conservation.

The Senate is hostile to environmental concerns; the House, divided and paralyzed. At root, Congressional politics are built around corporate control of the public lands, exercised through Representatives and Senators from Western states who trade votes to the East for pork-barrel "de-velopment" projects.

Anti-Environmentalism

And now the Bush Administration is taking the gloves off. Having filled the judiciary with pro-business thugs and packed the Supreme Court with right-wing zealots, the Administration's loyal soldiers are rooting out the last vestiges of public service in government. The zombies sense the tide of change that is building, if only as a threat to their wealth and power. Thus they promote a last great buffalo hunt, a frenzied *danse macabre* on the wounded body of our Mother Earth.

Rather than uphold his Constitutional responsibility to enforce the law, George Bush is suspending the law for the convenience of his multinational clients. When Congress complains, Bush's lackeys sniff, "change the laws." To intimidate the few politicians not already in the pocket of extractive industry, the "Wise Use" movement, funded by the corporate exploiters, fires up a well-oiled machine to incite anti-environmentalism in people frightened by change. Jobs are pitted against ecosystems in a series of false choices. Activists are cast as elitist social engineers or dangerous fringe-dwellers. The public's strong but unfocused environmental ethic is dismissed as naive sentimentality.

From inside the D.C. Beltway, it may seem like the only way to get anything done is to work hand-in-hand with the status quo. From a lobbyist's point of view, it doesn't make sense even to *talk about* a ban on grazing in Wilderness or logging on the National Forests. Actually protecting the ecosystems of the Northern Rockies seems out of the question. Try to achieve any of these essential changes—just try it—and you've united the invincible Western delegation. Against you.

Grassroots Action

Out here in the real world things look a little different. A lot of dedicated, competent, and very concerned people are defending the last wild lands. Like the national groups, grassroots activists are all for protecting the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest; unlike the nationals, they don't pretend that passing a bill "to save the owl" will fix what's broke in the Forest Service.

Grassroots activists aren't waiting for the nationals to wake up. The groups listed below need your help, and can put you in touch with people in your area who are doing the real work of protecting endangered ecosystems.

Publications

Getting good information about these issues is a time-consuming, confusing, and sometimes frustrating job. All of the groups listed above, and perhaps a hundred more, distribute newsletters or regular alerts: these are generally the best source of information on local issues. Each of the Big Ten has at least one in-house journal: these compete with the full-color newsstand "environmental" magazines to flood your floor with pictures of pristine landscapes and glossed-over stories. For hard news, real insight, and open analysis, activists follow the "movement press," a few fine regional journals, and the best of the mainstream and scientific press. Ask a local.



The Public Input Process-or

A Short List of Activist Groups

Earth First! local groups in every part of the world are listed in the *Earth First! Journal*.
PO Box 5176 • Missoula MT 59806

Save America's Forests
4 Library Court SE
Washington, DC 20003

Preserve Appalachian Wilderness (PAW)
Box 52A
Bondville, VT 05340

SouthPAW
POB 3141
Asheville, NC 28802

Heartwood/Protect our Woods
Rt. 3 Box 402
Paoli, IN 47454

Forest Reform Network/
Texas Committee on Natural Resources
5934 Royal Lane #223
Dallas, TX 75230

Greater Ecosystem Alliance
PO Box 2813
Bellingham, WA 98227

Inland Empire Public Lands Council
PO Box 2174
Spokane, WA 99210

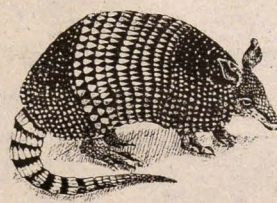
Western Ancient Forest Campaign/
Headwaters
PO Box 729
Ashland, OR 97520

Utah Wilderness Alliance
455 E 400 S
Salt Lake City, UT 84111

Alliance for the Wild Rockies
PO Box 8731
Missoula, MT 59807

North Coast Environmental Center
879 9th Street
Arcata, CA 95521

Forest Guardians
616 Don Gaspar
Santa Fe, NM 87501



Handbook for Forest Activists

Preserve Appalachian Wilderness (PAW) has published a handbook for national forest activists. It details recent illegal and biocidal activities of the Forest Service and provides a step-by-step guide to doing something about the abuse of public lands, including:

- setting up a forest monitoring task force
- reading Forest Plans
- coping with scoping
- managing the media

Copies are 2.50 from PAW
Box 52A • Bondville, VT 05340

EARTH FIRST!

The Earth First! Position

Owls are not the issue.

Public lands provide essential refuge for thousands of species whose populations are already at risk because of habitat loss. The Forest Service has resisted every attempt to get the agency to protect biological diversity. Present Forest Service policies will result in the extirpation of many species from many areas.

LOCAL EXTINCTIONS = GLOBAL EXTINCTIONS.

Jobs are not the issue.

By the Forest Service's own estimates, tens of thousands of jobs could be created immediately if raw log exports were banned, capital invested in value-added manufacturing, and public budgets devoted to a serious program of ecosystem restoration.

THERE ARE NO JOBS ON A DEAD PLANET.

Extinction & Ecosystem collapse are the issues.

We can't get the cut out now and protect species and ecosystems later. The issue is extinction.

EXTINCTION IS FOREVER!

Earth First! Demands:

Immediate protection for all remaining ancient forests and native ecosystems. All remaining native forests are biologically crucial. So are the riparian areas, wetlands, grasslands, and anything else that hasn't been ripped up or paved over. **SAVE IT ALL!**

An end to all logging, road building, mining, and grazing on the National Forests. We have to get the Forest Service out of the timber business. Public lands should be managed to sustain ecosystems, not as a service to extractive industries.

Punishment for violators of federal environmental laws. Agency scofflaws and corporate criminals alike should do community service in environmental restoration to atone for their crimes. Nothing too severe, here: land rapists can walk free as soon as the ecosystems they have disrupted are restored to healthy function.

Ecosystem and species recovery. The overdevelopment of native ecosystems has already gone too far. Protecting what's left is not enough. Saving biological diversity requires restoring wildlands, reintroducing extirpated species, and letting the Earth heal as much as possible.



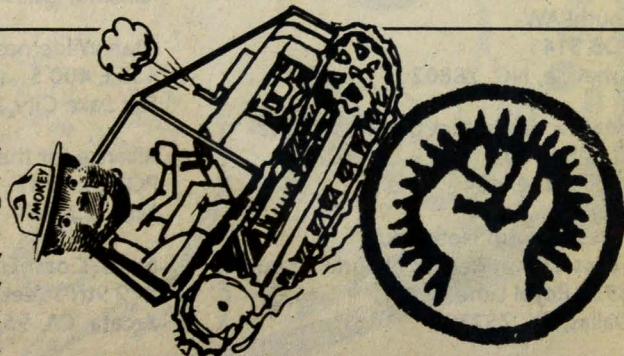
Tree-sitter in All Species Grove, Humboldt County.
Photo by Greg King.



About this Tabloid

This tabloid was constructed by Joe Whiteman, (layout, graphics) SlugThang, (ditto) and Scott Greacen (text), with input from a lot of great people, for the 1992 John Muir Memorial Day of Outrage against the U.S. Forest Service. It is distributed as a public service by Earth First! across Turtle Island. Nobody gave us any money to buy X-acto blades or put it together or print it or anything, but we'd be very, very grateful if you sent checks with many, many zeroes to the

Earth First! Direct Action Fund
PO Box 210 • Canyon CA 94516



For more copies of this tabloid, or for more information, contact the indispensable Earth First! Journal:
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