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# Earth First!

Samhain

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THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

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## RESISTANCE IN THE REDWOODS!

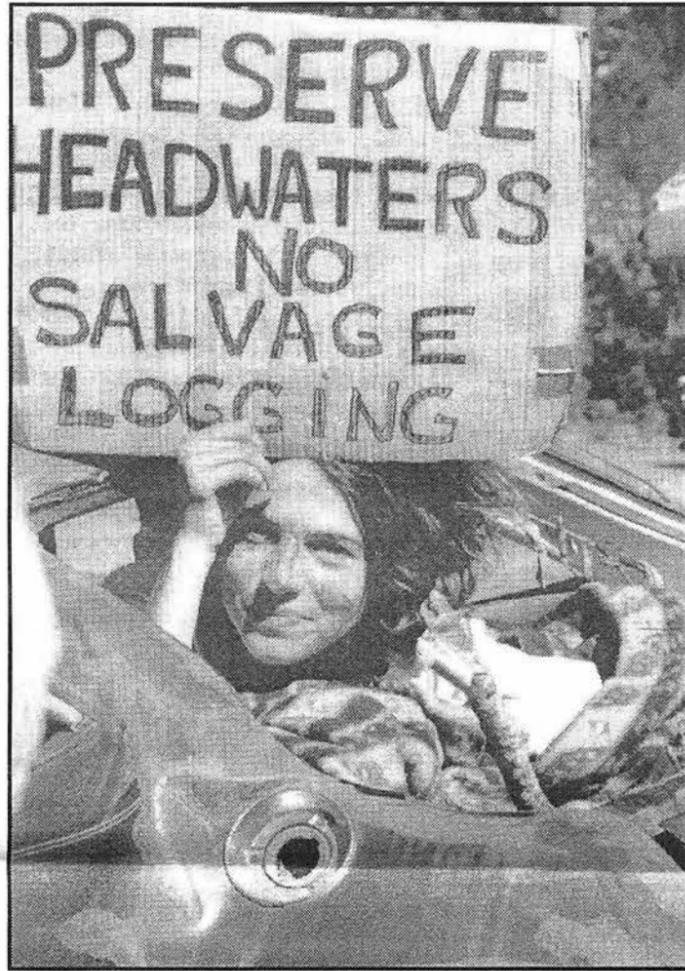
BY HUGH MOROSE

"Save Headwaters Now! Save Headwaters Now!" Alongside a rural highway opposite one of Pacific Lumber's giant mills, nearly 8,000 voices raised in unison chanted the will of the people. On a flatbed truck serving as a stage, a glittering array of speakers and performers rallied the crowd. Bonnie Raitt, Casey Neill, Starhawk, Sierra Club President Adam Wehrbach, and two dozen other local religious leaders, environmental activists, movement minstrels and restoration advocates sang, spoke and prayed. It was truly a sight to behold: the largest forest protest, and one of the most significant civil disobedience actions of any kind, in the history of the United States.

Nevertheless, Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL) is presently ripping ancient fallen trees out of the lush, pristine redwood groves of Headwaters Forest. Years of grassroots resistance in the woods, streets and courtrooms reached a pivotal moment on October 7, when salvage logging tore through the heart of All Species Grove. The smoke has not yet cleared, and the last unprotected redwood wilderness on Earth hangs in the balance.

Back in July, Earth First!, the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) and others hatched plans for a massive September 15 rally. This was the day that marked the end of marbled murrelet-nesting season and the beginning of habitat-destruction season. As the date drew near, organizers were overwhelmed by the incredible depth of public support for preservation of this wilderness. Phones rang day and night at environmental offices up and down the North Coast as people from as far away as Florida geared up for a trip to Carlotta, a tiny mill town in the heart of Humboldt County. Pacific Lumber president and Maxxam toadie John Campbell deepened public outrage with threats to begin salvage logging in the ancient groves on September 16.

While Earth First!ers and others held a series of increasingly tense meetings about the rally with public officials, overfed cops and PL lackeys, a truly illustrious cadre of crooks and compromisers including Maxxam honcho Charles Hurwitz, California Senator Dianne Feinstein and Deputy Secretary of the Interior John Garamendi assembled in a Washington back room. Apparently terrified by the power of a truly massive demonstration, they emerged September 14 to announce a



This car lockdown was one of six blockades on September 16, shutting down every entrance to the Headwaters complex.

vague two-week moratorium on salvage operations, and Feinstein muscled her way onto radio and television stations to urge people not to come to Carlotta.

The moratorium failed to dissuade anyone and people came to Carlotta in droves. Making their way through an incredible deluge of Humboldt County rain, almost 8,000 people gathered in front of PL's Carlotta mill and rallied for hours before marching to a gate on the main haul road into Headwaters Forest. As the daylight dwindled, Judi Bari, Darryl Cherney, Jello Biafra and

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## Foreman's Dream and Clinton's Trail of Tears

BY JEFFREY ST. CLAIR AND ALEXANDER COCKBURN

On Saturday, September 21, Dave Foreman related to his fellow Sierra Club board members an amazing dream he had allegedly experienced the preceding night. Dramatically, the former eco-warrior told how the shade of Edward Abbey had appeared to him as he slept. Abbey, according to Foreman, had been reincarnated as a vulture. The spectral bird told Foreman that he had flown over the Kaiparowits Plateau in southern Utah in the wake of President Clinton's proclamation that 1.8 million acres on the north side of the Colorado River would be designated as a National Monument.

"Dave," croaked Abbey, "this is a good thing."

Foreman paused. "If it's good enough for Ed Abbey, it's good enough for me. I'll vote for the Club to endorse Bill Clinton." For the past two months, Foreman had been a fierce opponent of a Clinton endorsement by the Club. Soon after Foreman recounted his vision, the Sierra Club board ended a bitter schism and voted to grant Clinton their unqualified support, with Foreman providing the vital vote.

The Sierra Club endorsement was a prize the White House had been pursuing hotly for several months. So seriously was it taken that Al Gore himself placed no less than four telephone calls to one board member who had been leaning against the endorsement in the week prior to the vote.

With the administration expanding its lead in the polls and Bob Dole's campaign turning more environmentally hostile by the day, one might ask why the administration devoted such time to securing the Sierra Club's public support. Two reasons stand out. The administration's prime objective was to extinguish any emerging threat from the Green Party's Ralph Nader and his running mate Winona LaDuke. Nader, running an almost invisible campaign, was polling at close to 10 percent in the West, enough to put those otherwise safe states at risk should a new scandal, or explosive Whitewater indictment, break close to election day.

Equally important, however, was the need to update the green credentials of Al Gore, who is using this campaign as a prelude to his inevitable run at the White House in 2000. At best, Gore has been AWOL on the environment for the past four years, remaining silent as the administration collapsed on promised timber, mining and grazing reforms. At worst, Gore has been an effective opponent of progressive

## As Long as the Grass Shall Grow: The Defense of Opal Creek

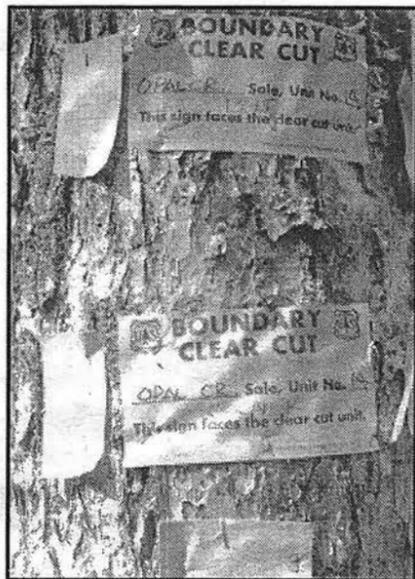
BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

### How It All Began

The Forest Service ranger and his companion state trooper came around the bend into the dilapidated mining camp. This business of burning down these relic inholdings had been an interesting mission. Already the camp on Tin Cup Creek was but a memory and soon Jawbone Flats would also be history.

Out of the bushes jumped George Atiyeh and Indian Billy. They leveled their rifles on the intruders and disarmed them. After a short exchange, George and Billy sent them packing.

Two days later George and Billy surrendered to a SWAT team and, at their later court hearing, they were acquitted. The judge issued a judicial reprimand to the Forest Service. She found George and Billy within their rights to protect their homes and property.



Opal Creek clearcut markers, circa 1982

This dramatic early-70s event saved Jawbone Flats and set the tone for the fierce defense of central Oregon's Opal Creek, the spectacular waterway of ancient forest and mighty waterfalls that meet with Battle Ax Creek at Jawbone flats and form the Little North Fork Santiam River—the only undammed native salmon and steelhead river left in the entire Willamette River system.

### New Wilderness After 12 Barren Years

On September 30, 1996, years of effort finally paid off and Congress passed retiring Senator Mark O. Hatfield's last act (a rider, what else!) to set aside 13,000 acres of Opal Creek as Wilderness. Another 13,000 acres along the Little North Fork and its tributaries will be a Scenic Recreation Area and the little-known but wondrous Elkhorn Creek, home of the lowest-

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# EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!

POB 1415 • EUGENE, OREGON 97440 • (541) 741-9191



## WHERE KEIKO MEETS THE SPOTTED OWL

I was washing dishes the other day when a daddy long-legs jumped into the dishwasher, crumpling instantly. I fished her out, helped her get her legs organized again and set her on the counter. She was back in the sink before I knew it and, half-an-hour later, I boiled her to death by draining the potato water on her.

She was undone; I was momentarily crushed. If people can have "totem" insects, the spider is mine and I mourned my hand in her death. My habit is to hide such sensitivities, though, fearing I might resurrect the torturous animal rights-versus-environmentalism "debate." Side-stepping the issue at this juncture, however, may cause us to lose our way.

In the past few months, I've been disturbed by rumored conflicts between animal rights and environmental activists. Folks at the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) are apparently still upset at Earth First! because of Mike Roselle's criticisms in the *Journal*, Eostar 1996. We've also received letters from the UK describing attempts to deepen the emerging alliance between our movements as simultaneously frustrating and encouraging.

I hesitate in speaking out on this issue because Earth First! is an assemblage of highly opinionated, sometimes-like-minded people who continuously argue about what to eat and drink; who to build alliances with and how to do so; what "deep ecology" means; sexual and procreative ethics; and also our responsibilities to individual animals versus ecosystems themselves. I fear that positing my views here will only lead to people to interpret them as EF!'s "party line"—even though we don't have one. Perhaps the perception that we "have" a party line is what got us in trouble with PETA in the first place! Let's examine how to evolve beyond the debate before stepping into another one.

We can probably agree that the abuse of individual animals and the ecosystems upon which they depend are intimately related, and certainly that an individual organism's most fundamental right is to live in a healthy ecosystem. For our cross-pollinated movement—those people who see with both individualistic and holistic lenses—an alliance seems natural. And on virtually all "environmental" issues it is natural to promote simultaneously the well-being of both individual life forms and their wider webs of relations. Even "extremists" in each movement should find much to unite them; consider:

•Animal testing—Even if you're not concerned with cruelty to laboratory animals, the western medical industry produces an enormous amount of waste, much of it toxic.

•Commercial fishing—If the suffering of marine animals doesn't bother you, trawling has decimated fish populations, precipitating a 50 percent decline in the last five years alone.

•Deforestation—Even if concern about ecosystems is too abstract for you, it is clear that deforestation kills millions of individual animals (and as Dana Lyons sings, "Let's not

forget the plants.")

•Trophy hunting—Both subsistence hunters and vegans should be able to denounce and resist such blood-sport.

•Car culture—Driving creates roadkill and promotes global warming while roads themselves open wildlands to voracious corporate appetites.

•Excessive packaging—Virgin-pulp cardboard and non-biodegradable plastic squander resources and bloat the landfill.

•Bad food-production—Mechanized, fossil-fueled-driven, industrial agriculture and monocropping kill both individual "domestic" animals and ecosystems, as do many forms of ranching and animal husbandry.

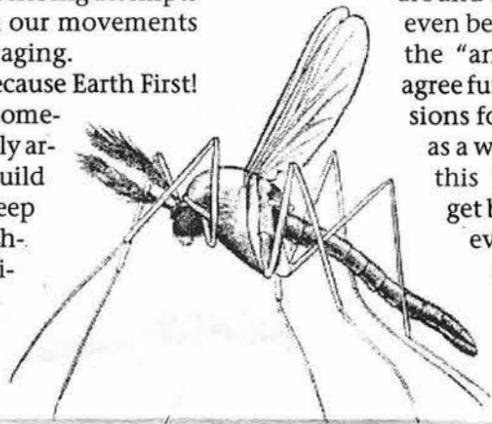
Promoting sustainable alternatives provides plenty of work for the "radical" agenda in the coming years. We'll never want for topics to debate however, such as what ends to pursue, what to prioritize while the world crumbles around us and how best to fight. There will even be times when those with passions in the "animal rights" movement will disagree fundamentally with those whose passions focus more on the assault on nature as a whole. Shouldn't this be expected in this wonderfully diverse world? Why get bitter about it? Perhaps we can even evolve so that we can argue in an open and civil way—not demonizing those with whom we disagree—and of course, cooperating on the many issues where we are natural allies.

So why come together? Pragmatically, because we are outnumbered, outfunded and outgunned (this by choice). Moreover, we who refuse compromise need all the allies we can get!

Personally, because when we work with those who disagree with us, we remain open to learning something new, and we retain the chance to deepen their views as well, strengthening all involved. These perhaps inappropriately juxtaposed issues will not go away soon. And we should not want them to—we can still learn much from them. We invite more discussion in these pages about it. (A good place to start is with Rod Coronado's reflections on pages 26 and 27.) Talk that continues among already-in-agreement clusters and in movement rumor-mills will only fester.

My other totem insect is the minuscule mosquito. Considered annoying by all who come in contact with it, except for those who eat it, this David-sized creature has the power to kill with one sting. I draw inspiration from the mosquito when hurling my relatively insignificant being against Goliathan corporations. Visualize a swarm of well-organized mosquitoes with an agenda.

—BY LESLIE HEMSTREET WITH FANGORN



## SAMHAIN BY PEGGY SUE MCRAE

Samhain is the Witch's New Year. Maple leaves glow scarlet and gold in the afternoon sun. They twirl in gusts of wind piling like quilted blankets over the fallen seeds from harvest. Night comes early and dark. Frost shimmers in the Autumn moonlight, sparkles on black. Snakes, frogs and bears have burrowed into the Earth for winter's rest.

On Samhain, or Halloween night, the dead are close by. As the Earth opens up to swallow summer's fallen bounty, watch out! You might slip through as well. If you are not welcomed into the land of the ancestors on this night they may choose to visit you. When ghosts come to your door be hospitable. Glowing pumpkins with jagged teeth will scare away the evil ones while you entertain your dearly departed. Give them good chocolate bars and apricot brandy. Or beware. The dead require respect.

We will be joining them in perpetuity soon enough.



## Earth First!

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

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

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### Earth First! Journal

POB 1415  
Eugene, OR 97440  
Phone: (541) 741-9191  
Fax: (541) 741-9192  
E-mail: earthfirst@igc.apc.org  
<http://www.envirolink.org/orgs/ef>

**Business Manager:** Connie Ross  
**Subscriptions:** Kimberly Dawn  
**Merchandise Diva:** Sis  
**Editorial Staff:** Natalie Shapiro, Tim Haugen, Craig Beneville, Jim Flynn & Leslie Hemstreet  
**Volunteers:** Lacey, Jeff, Ben, Chelsea, Isabella, Jessie, Ross & Squirt  
**Poetry Editor:** Dennis Fritzinger  
**Artists in this issue include:** Vaughn Frick, Sue Ring, Liam Flynn, Behon LaPraire, Jeff McMorine & William Blake  
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Deadline for the next issue is:

**November 30**

# Every Little Bit Helps

BY KEN WU

Today, it is often acknowledged that Earth First! was largely responsible for shifting the wilderness preservation movement's concern away from preserving scenery and recreational opportunities towards protecting biodiversity. A good example of this is the struggle to protect old-growth rainforests in the Pacific Northwest, an issue first brought into the media spotlight by Earth First! that is now a major concern among mainstream environmental groups. However, there exists another important barrier to effective biodiversity conservation among both mainstream environmentalists and Earth First!ers: the obsession over pristine wilderness without roads or clearcuts, to the extent that more fragmented and partially disturbed ecosystems are completely ignored.

The problem with only emphasizing roadlessness, clearcut-free forests or sometimes even old-growth characteristics in evaluating an area's conservation value is that entire ecosystem types can be completely ignored because no or few remnants exist in such pristine conditions. This is particularly true of low-elevation, productive and riparian ecosystems that are favorable habitats not only for numerous plants and animals but also for humans. The productive deciduous forests of the East, the tall-grass prairies with their fertile soils and the warm, rolling oak valleys of central California are such DOLFIEs (Disturbed, Overlooked, Low-elevation, Fragmented, Ignored Ecosystems). These ecosystems mostly exist as small fragments, often regenerated after human disturbance, on private lands.

Unfortunately, it is precisely in such rich, low-elevation ecosystems that the greatest abundance and diversity of life occurs. For example, in a survey of mammal, reptile and amphibian diversity at varying elevations in western Oregon, the greatest diversity occurred at low elevations while the lowest diversity occurred at high elevations. Correspondingly, private lands occur mainly at low elevations. National Forests and other public lands dedicated to resource extraction occur at middle elevations. Wilderness areas occur mainly at high elevations. Generally, the more diverse and productive the land, the less pristine it is because of increased resource extraction and human habitation.

The subalpine and mid-elevation coniferous forests of most wilderness preservation efforts in the West exclude countless species found in lower-elevation deciduous forests, grasslands and riparian areas. For example, the coniferous forests of Idaho's Greater Salmon-Selway Ecosystem (in which the controversial Cove/Mallard timber sale lies)-the largest roadless wilderness in the lower 48 states and the focus of much conservation effort-contain only a tiny fraction of the reptile and amphibian species found at lower elevations to the south of this area. Similarly, many forest types in North America no longer exist as old growth, having been logged

decades earlier but having recovered many of their natural characteristics. Protecting only mid- to high-elevation old-growth stands while belittling the importance of lower-altitude, second-growth forests means that numerous deciduous trees, birds, reptiles and other species are left open to destruction. To ignore low-elevation, disturbed ecosystems because they no longer exist in roadless, old-growth blocks larger than 5,000 acres is literally a sentence to extinction for thousands of species and habitat types that still exist in these semi-wild areas.



Certainly, pristine areas of all ecosystems must be defended because all natural ecosystems are equally important and, without wilderness defense, would soon join the ranks of the numerous fragmented ecosystems. But nature defenders must also focus much more on including DOLFIE ecosystems in new national parks and wilderness areas. In addition, if sizable, ecologically viable reserves are to be created, protected areas in DOLFIEs must include not only the small, most pristine patches, but also the disturbed, roaded lands such as clearcuts, young regenerating forests, old agricultural fields and overgrazed lands that border the DOLFIE. Restoration is a particularly important aspect of DOLFIE conservation.

Fortunately, there are a few Earth First! campaigns focused on DOLFIEs. These include the struggle to protect southern California's coastal sage scrub from urban development and northern California Earth First!'s proposal to create a 60,000-acre redwood preserve in which the remaining old-growth stands

are nested in younger forests and regenerating clearcuts. Other DOLFIE ecosystems that should also receive campaign priority include:

## Ponderosa Pine Ecosystems

These arid forests throughout the West have been subject to the wrath of logging and overgrazing. Few old-growth stands remain. Although sizable tracts of coniferous forests occur in various wilderness areas, provincial parks and national parks in the western states and in British Columbia, very few include ponderosa pine stands.

## Oak Savannahs

Whether the live oak parklands of central California, the garry oak meadows of Vancouver Island or the oak grasslands of Washington and Oregon, oak savannahs are one of North America's most endangered ecosystems. Most are being overgrazed, converted into farmland or destroyed by urbanization.

## Cottonwoods in the West

Numerous species of cottonwood trees, often growing to enormous size, form thin strips of green along the meandering rivers of the arid West. These forests harbor a far greater diversity of bird, mammal, amphibian and plant species than the surrounding grasslands and deserts. Damaged by hydroelectric projects, livestock trampling and urban development, cottonwood ecosystems are among North America's most degraded and unprotected ecosystems.

## Riparian Hickory/Walnut Forests in the Desert Southwest

Found in Arizona, California and New Mexico, these extremely diverse forests are found along the few streams and rivers in the desert and contain numerous subtropical species from Mexico. Livestock grazing, woodcutting and urban development threaten these rich forests.

## Grasslands

No national park or wilderness area in the United States has been dedicated to grassland preservation. Only recently have grasslands been protected in Canada. The sagebrush steppe of Washington and Oregon's Great Basin, the extensive shortgrass prairie of Alberta, Montana and South Dakota, and the tall-grass prairie of Kansas, North Dakota and Manitoba are all threatened by agriculture and overgrazing. Where are the Earth First! grassland campaigns?

## Eastern Deciduous Forests

The rich deciduous forests of oak, hickory, tulip trees and numerous other species in the East have been long neglected by wilderness advocates. Home to the greatest diversity of birds in North America, a vast deciduous forest national park is needed, comprised of the few old-growth stands, the more extensive regenerated forests and agricultural lands left to regenerate.

*continued on page 27*

## LETTERS FROM YOU TO US

Dear SFB's

A mighty chomp on your well-exposed Achilles heels for your blatant speciesism in your new "Wolves-n-Poodles" section.

Fighting against all stereotypes,

—PUCK THE PIT POODLE

earthfirst@igc.apc.org:

Who says that if we save the planet, that who ever is then in control of it, will allow people like you folks to just trundle around anywhere on it. You seem to be trying to promote yourselves as some kind of elite group that deserves the privilege of seeing everywhere and everything on this planet. Good luck, but you make me laugh.

—BOB CUNNINGHAM

earthfirst@igc.apc.org:

Your people have got to be the most ignorant people I know, and when I do work in Oregon, Idaho, or Washington I carry a gun to protect my stuff I can't wait to use it!!! Another dream of mine is for you to chain yourself to my drive line of a rig so I can teach at least one of you stinky, stupid tree-huggers a lesson. Our earth is in the best shape it's been in for over 75 years because it's being managed properly and it's only going to get better. I thought forests were beautiful, but then I saw an earthfirster in one.

think about your stupidity!!

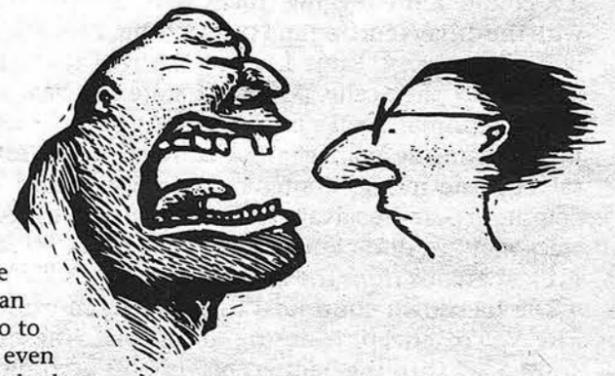
—TIMOTHY LOWRY

<TLOWRY@GLORIA.CORD.EDU>

Dear Earth First!

I am 14 years old and I'm extremely interested in environmental issues and I want to do some direct action but you see I'm only 14 and I don't think I can because I can't just get up and go to a forest and spike trees because even though my parents would let me do that I don't think they will let me do it as much as you Earth First!ers do it because my parents can't drive me to a logging site as often as you go to logging sites, but I really want to become an Earth First!er but I might be limited to how often I can do something.

"Look, I said I'm  
NONVIOLENT!"



P.S. I'm reading "The Monkey Wrench Gang" by Edward Abbey, a book which every Earth First!er should read

P.S.S. I love your commitment to our mother Earth. Your greatest fan!!!

—JONATHAN

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# Outlaws Lockout Lawless Logging Montana Salvage Scam Exposed

BY AARON COFFIN

The Kootenai National Forest in northwest Montana is a magnificent area of rolling mountain ranges, river valleys and ancient mixed-conifer forests. Featuring the lowest-elevation forests in Montana, the Kootenai is ideal habitat for a number of endangered or declining species such as grizzly bear, bull trout, woodland caribou, wolverine, cutthroat trout and inland redband trout. It is also an area of intense industrial logging. Over the past decade the Kootenai NF has been logged more heavily than any other in the US Forest Service Northern Region, an area including all of Montana and three national forests in Idaho.

On October 7, a group of about 40 activists blockaded a logging road leading to the Pulpit Fire Salvage Sale, near the town of Troy, Montana. Four of the activists closed a metal Forest Service gate and locked down to it while another, using ropes and climbing gear, strung a banner across the road which proclaimed "Lawless Logging Kills the Kootenai."

The group, united under the name of Citizens Against Lawless Logging, was protesting a timber sale made possible by the infamous Salvage Rider, and included activists from Montana, Idaho and Washington. The Pulpit timber sale contains healthy, green old growth that will be cut as part of the "salvage" operation.

Immediately after the activists locked themselves to the gate, a logging truck showed up and was turned away. After hearing that the protest was not against him, but against the government, the driver agreed.

"Yeah, the government is all f—ed up," he said.

## The salvage sale contained "live green trees that just don't know they're dead yet"

Before leaving, the driver radioed the situation to his boss. As the first Forest Service and Lincoln County officials arrived, the chants started up, "Hey hey, ho ho, lawless logging has got to go!"

Confronted by the officials, the lockdown group explained their demands: stop the sale, end the Salvage Rider and cease clearcutting in the Kootenai! Activist media and local press took pictures and video as Forest Service officials walked around with cameras taking mug shots of everyone involved in the action. The group settled in for a day of road blocking. Freddie and activists continued to debate the issues:

"You'd be surprised at my views and who I support here," stated one Forest Service Law Enforcement Official, "but I'm not allowed to have an opinion. My views don't matter."

A couple more logging trucks were turned away with the drivers cursing and bellyaching. Tom Faust, whose company, Faust Logging, bought the sale, arrived on the scene. Montana state officials recently reprimanded Faust for operating machinery in a streamside management zone on a previous salvage sale in the Kootenai. Faust was heard to comment that the salvage sale contained "live green trees that just don't know they're dead yet," which evoked groans from the activists.

The lockdown continued through the morning. The Velcro Sheep, featuring an activist (the one suspended with the banner) playing his accordion 15 feet in the air, entertained both protesters and officials. The logging road was temporarily transformed into a mosh pit when activists dressed as giant endangered bull trout danced around. Green Elvis came through with a moving rendition of "In the Clearcut," despite having his neck locked to the gate. Last night's large bucket of red beans and rice



Fierce fearless foursome for the forest giving the only neck they've got for the Kootenai.

(oh no!) was dragged out for lunch. Across the valley, helicopter logging was visible and occasionally the crashes of giant trees being cut echoed through the Kootenai. Large, barren, logged patches with a few scraggly trees could be seen next to areas of healthy green forest.

One of the locked-down protesters, Jeff Juel from the Ecology Center in Missoula and the Inland Empire Public Lands Council, explained the choice of the Pulpit sale for the action: "Both the Pulpit and Studebaker drain into O'Brien Creek which is known bull trout spawning grounds." In fact, Montana Governor Marc Racicot's Bull Trout Restoration Team sent an October 2 letter to Kootenai Forest Supervisor Robert Schrenk stating, "The personnel involved in the design of this salvage... did not seem to realize the importance of O'Brien Creek to bull trout in the lower Kootenai River... [I]t was hard to understand how bull trout were being protected." Juel noted that O'Brien Creek should be labeled a "priority watershed" and questioned the sanity of the decision to "gouge in over 10 miles of new roads and clearcut hundreds of acres of lightly to moderately burned forest."

The Kootenai National Forest has a history of violating Forest Plan standards, particularly in regard to open road densities in wildlife management areas. Since 1992, 32 major timber sales in the Kootenai have gone beyond the boundaries set down in the Forest Plan. The economic history of the Kootenai is also deplorable; the government's own accounting shows a loss of \$23 million from 1992 to 1994.

The lockdown (but not the action) ended at about 2 pm, four hours after it started, when several sawyers who had arrived before we closed the road returned and found themselves locked in.

"We ought to just cut their heads off," commented one as they got out of their trucks.

Forest Service officials intervened immediately. The sawyers were incensed. One claimed to have a court case that afternoon involving a custody battle for his son. After a brief, tense standoff, the activists agreed to let the sawyers leave, stating, "our

argument is not with you." Forest Service officials slickly seized this opportunity to lock the gate open. The activists responded with a sitting blockade of the road.

Finally, at about 4:30, more logging trucks and police showed up and the five activists who had locked down to the gate and hung the banner were arrested for refusing to leave the road and charged with disorderly conduct. The activist suspended with the banner was also charged with resisting arrest for no apparent reason, especially since a logging truck driver was pulling on his legs as officials detached him from the ropes. Fortunately, activist videographers and photographers captured the event and will reveal that this charge is bogus. All five activists wound up spending about 24 hours in Lincoln county jail. This resulted in media coverage for two consecutive days.

By mid-morning, Forest Service District Ranger Mike Balboni announced that timber hauling had been stopped for the day. The action went well and was successful in both stopping logging trucks for the day and drawing attention to the sale.



This activist now holds the record for "largest number of times arrested while playing the accordion."

# Truce over the Tongass

## L-P subsidiary loses its contract in Alaska

BY ANGELA SCHMITZ

The recent news that the Ketchikan Pulp Company (KPC) will shut down its 42-year-old pulp mill in Ketchikan, Alaska, came as a surprise to defenders of the Tongass National Forest in southeast Alaska. In a drawn-out battle involving Alaska's powerful congressional delegation, a violently anti-green Congress, a greedy multinational corporation and a well-funded wise-use effort, no one would have predicted a conservation victory. For Tongass-watchers in Alaska and across the country, it's a sudden end to a long and quixotic struggle that was supposed to be finished six years ago.

In 1990, Congress passed a bill which promised "peace in the valley" for southeast Alaska. The landmark Tongass Timber Reform Act protected over one million acres of critical wildlife habitat and attempted to bring fairness to a skewed timber-pricing system. The Act, cosponsored in the House by none other than Newt Gingrich, enjoyed overwhelming bipartisan support. The legislation had the backing of major Alaska players, including 17 communities, all the major commercial fishing groups and Alaska's then-Governor Steve Cowper. It was also the culmination of a 10-year push for Tongass reform by the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, a small grassroots outfit based in Juneau.

No one could have predicted that the peace would end so soon or that the odds would be so overwhelming. Since the 104th Congress muscled forward their anti-environmental agenda in late 1994, America's largest national forest, the Tongass, has been besieged by legislative initiatives to increase clearcutting and roll back the 1990 reforms. Alaska's notorious pro-development congressional delegation found themselves well-placed to hurl assault after assault on Tongass protections. The final tally at the end of the 104th Congress: 17 legislative initiatives and 15 congressional hearings aimed specifically at the Tongass.

The Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, with a committed membership of tourism operators, commer-

cial and sport fishermen, Alaskan Native groups, sportsmen, small timber operators, visitors and conservationists, expended considerable energy merely deflecting the barrage of bills and legislative riders sponsored by Alaska's Senators Ted Stevens and Frank Murkowski and Representative Don Young. Creative attempts to increase clearcutting included: Murkowski's bill that would have locked in place 2,400 timber jobs; Stevens' "Alternative P" rider, which directed the US Forest Service to choose the industry-biased forest plan alternative; Young and Murkowski's scheme to transfer large chunks of prime forest to unrecognized private Native corporations; and Young's absurd (and dangerous) proposal to transfer the Tongass National Forest to the State of Alaska. Most insidious of all was an effort to extend the KPC's long-term timber contract by another 15 years.

The Tongass is far away from other national forests and far different. Sparsely populated and remote, this coastal rainforest of spruce, hemlock and cedar encompasses the 500-mile-long span of islands and fjords known as the Alaskan Panhandle. To locals it's just "Southeast," a region sprinkled with small villages, logging camps, fishing towns, and the state's capital—Juneau. This largely roadless region is an increasingly popular destination for cruise ships as well as outdoor enthusiasts. Native Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian people gather plants, fish, and hunt as they have for centuries.

Clearcutting in Southeast has always been "last frontier" Alaska-style: extensive and extreme. Southeast's timber industry began in earnest in the 1950s, when two companies were given unprecedented 50-year contracts to clearcut public timber. No other company operating on a national forest has ever had such a sweet deal. For their part, Ketchikan Pulp Company (KPC) agreed to build and operate a pulp mill in Ketchikan, and the Alaska Pulp Company (APC) would build one in Sitka. The scheme was intended to settle the region and provide lumber to rebuild Japan after World War II.

But through the years it became, in the words of columnist Molly Ivins, "one of the biggest rip-offs in the history of natural resources."

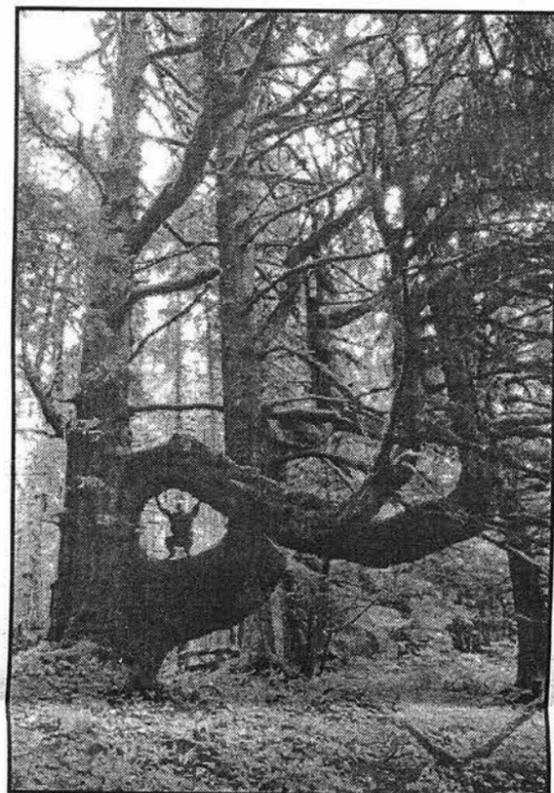
The long-term contracts assured vast quantities of timber through 2004, in spite of increasing evidence that clearcutting was harming fish and wildlife habitat. The contracts also allowed the companies to purchase timber with road-building credits. As credits accumulated, Tongass timber could be had for a fraction of its market value. By 1992, this advantage allowed Louisiana-Pacific (KPC's parent company) to pay only 76 cents in cash per million board feet of timber. By 1993, 75 percent of the Tongass timber that had ever been sold under the 50-year contracts was paid for using road credits. Small timber operators, angry as environmentalists, were forced to pay ten times more than the big guys for their wood. Back in Washington, DC, watchdog groups like Taxpayers for Common Sense began to wonder why the public was paying a corporation to clearcut public lands. A 1995 General Accounting Office report revealed the extent of Tongass' corporate welfare: the Tongass Timber Program was the biggest money loser in the National Forest system, providing a negative net return of \$102 million to the US Treasury between 1990 and 1994.

This bottom-line boondoggle caught the attention of fiscal conservatives in Congress. Many others were eager, after the excesses of the Gingrich Congress, to clean up their anti-environmental image. In the end, Democrat-led by Representative George Miller, D-CA, Republican moderates and the Clinton Administration provided the final roadblocks to the Alaska delegation's anti-Tongass convoy.

In the closing days of the 104th Congress, Murkowski and Louisiana-Pacific demanded deal after sweetheart deal from Congress and President Clinton. The centerpiece of their efforts was a 15-year extension of KPC's contract, due to expire in 2004. The company threatened to close their Ketchikan mill unless the government extended the contract. For Louisiana-Pacific, this really was an all-or-nothing game; closure of the pulp mill would mean breach of their long-term timber contract. With the contract canceled, Louisiana-Pacific would lose all preferential rights to Tongass timber.

However, the Clinton Administration stayed firm in its objections. The contract-extension legislation offered no guarantees for pollution clean-up or local hiring, and it rolled back basic provisions of the 1990 Tongass Timber Reform Act. In negotiations with Louisiana-Pacific, Administration officials refused to discuss any new contract terms until after the completion of the revised 1979 Tongass Land Management Plan.

On September 20, Murkowski dropped his push for the 15-year extension and his attempt to hand over Tongass lands to new Native corporations. But he held out for new language that would protect KPC from contract cancellation—even if they did close the pulp mill. In the newest scheme, KPC could receive full contract volume of timber for its sawmills for the remaining eight years of its contract. Essentially the company

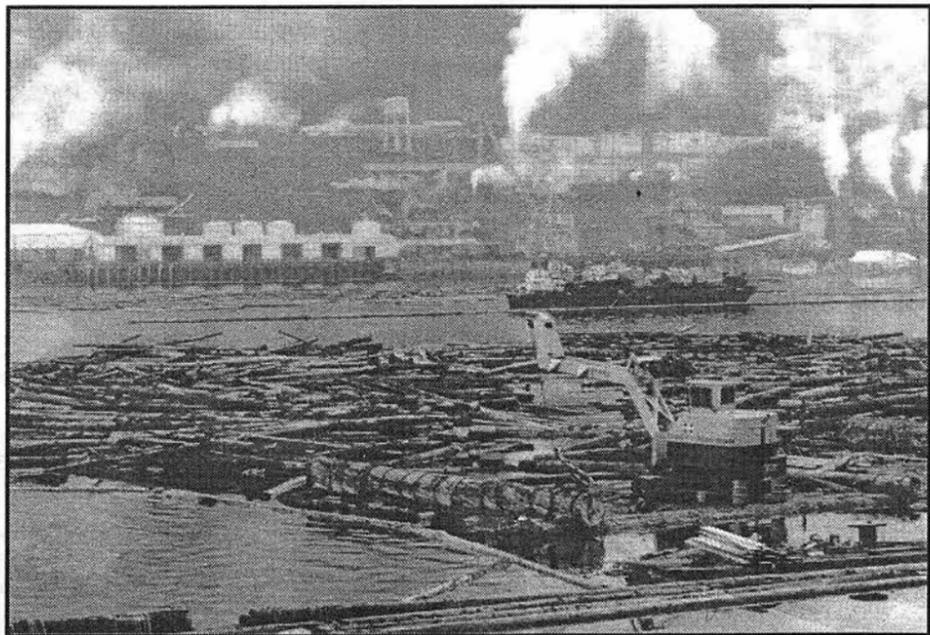


Ancient tree in the Tongass

would get rid of a money-losing pulp mill and maintain subsidized prices for its sawmills—an even sweeter deal for them.

Rebuffed by the Clinton Administration, Murkowski found an equally unfriendly reception on the Senate floor. As chairman of the Senate Resources Committee, Murkowski blocked the widely popular Omnibus Parks Bill, a collection of parks and public lands initiatives affecting 41 states, in an attempt to force action on the Tongass. Senators eager to campaign on the claim that this Congress could get something done were not amused. On Friday, October 4, Murkowski allowed passage of the Omnibus Parks Bill in exchange for a handshake agreement with the Clinton Administration. An Administration letter offered L-P, in the event of contract breach, assistance in keeping two Ketchikan-area sawmills open for two more years. The following Monday, L-P officially announced the closure of their Ketchikan pulp mill anyway.

The future of the Tongass no longer will be dictated by long-term contracts and policies established when Alaska was a territory and the timber supply seemed endless. No one's saying there won't still be skirmishes among fishing, tourism, conservation and timber interests over Tongass management, but the events of October 4 definitely mark the end of an era. Today in southeast Alaska, a timber giant lost its 50-year hold on a forest that belongs to us all.



Louisiana-Pacific will close its Ketchikan Pulp Mill after more than 40 years of operation.

# Temagami Wilderness Invaded

## Canadians and Anishnabi Unite against Extraction

BY NATALIE SHAPIRO

In July 1996, the Ontario Progressive Conservative Government, through the Ministry of Natural Resources, announced plans to open half of Temagami's ancient red and white pine forest ecosystems to logging and the majority of the land base to mining. Less than one percent of Ontario's original old-growth forests remain. These lands are also on unceded First Nations territory. Chris Hodgson, Minister of Natural Resources, rejected the recommendations of the Comprehensive Planning Council and unilaterally withdrew from treaty negotiations with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai.

First on the chopping block was the Owain Lake Ancient Forest in southeastern Temagami. Owain Lake is the third largest ancient pine ecosystem left in North America. However, Canada sold it to Goulard Lumber Company.

Thus, the struggle began. In late August, Earthroots, an Ontario-based environmental action group, set up an action camp in the Owain Lake Ancient Forest, in order to engage in peaceful civil disobedience actions to defend it.

Actions began on September 3, in preparation for the possibility of tree-marking crews arriving. Activists erected a road blockade, with four people affixed to 800-pound concrete blocks and one person sitting high up in a tripod.

Woody Becker of the Ma-komin-ising Anishnabai, a local traditionalist First Nations group, arrived to lend his support to the blockade. A small number of Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) visited the site and made verbal agreements with the activists to avoid a large show of force without warning.

The next day, Ontario Premier Mike Harris held a press conference announcing his support of the exploitation of the ancient forests of Temagami. Shortly after this announcement, twelve police vehicles, including a canine unit, arrived unannounced

at the blockade. Police proclaimed they were just viewing the site and that no arrests would be made that day.

In the late afternoon, the police requested to speak with the police liaison person, who approached them and was then arrested without warning. She was charged with "criminal mischief" and "intimidation" and was presented with bail restrictions forbidding her to return within four townships of the Owain Lake forest. She refused to sign the restrictions and was jailed.

The following day, two additional protesters affixed themselves to concrete blocks on the road. Again without warning, a large group of police moved in, declared the blockade a "crime scene" and said that everyone present was under arrest.

No warning was given to spectators or support people to allow them to leave. Thirteen support people and spectators (who would have left if warned) were arrested immediately. Police spent six-and-a-half hours breaking down each concrete block. Twenty-one protesters were arrested. Ten refused to sign the bail restrictions barring them from the area and stayed in jail to protest these restrictions.

On September 13, the first case was heard before an Ontario Court judge. The judge stated that he was "appalled" at the use of the OPP by the Ontario Government. He declared the terms of release banning the police liaison from four townships unfair, and ruled that she could return to the site as long as she did not "participate, organize, aid or abet in unlawful protests or demonstrations" in the area. She was released from jail later that day.

A few days later, members of the Ma-komin-ising Anishnabai and other First Nations people held a traditional Native ceremony to welcome the action camp participants to the region. Ontario Provincial Police officers interrupted the ceremony and threatened to arrest the participants if they did not move within five minutes. Muskqua, the First Nations person leading the ceremony, declared the ceremony desecrated and promised to spread the word of this desecration to other First Nations communities. Four Native and four non-Native participants were arrested when they refused to leave the road.

Meanwhile, three protesters attended the logging site at Owain Lake and locked on to heavy machinery with Kryptonite bike locks. Road work was held up for three hours.

The next day, Goulard Lumber employees found two protesters locked-down to an access bridge on the Rabbit Lake Road. The protesters had wrapped their arms around the wooden girders of the bridge and placed their arms in heavy lockboxes underneath the bridge. Work was held up for over two hours.

The following day, two activists locked down to an excavator and a skidder with Kryptonites and lockboxes. Removing them took five hours. That same day, Earthroots released a poll showing massive support for the protection of the ancient forests of Temagami. Ninety-two percent of Ontarians who expressed an opinion favored protecting all old-growth forests, and 66 percent supported the ongoing peaceful protests



Ontario Provincial Police had to disassemble this excavator to remove the locked-down protester. It took them eight hours.

## Wolves and Poodles

- A huge howling wolf to the children in Iowa who successfully banned mountain biking from one of the last virgin forests in their state. Five hundred children, teachers and friends got 1,500 signatures to oppose mountain biking. The county supervisors voted 5 to 0 to ban mountain biking completely from the preserve.

- A wild wolf to the Animal Liberation Front for shutting down the Clarence Jordan Mink Ranch in Olympia, WA. This facility was raided by ALF, who released 400 mink and sabotaged equipment. Jordan's son admitted that it was ALF that caused them to go out of business. How!!!

- A wolf to the City Council of Ocean City, NJ, which voted to reject four bids for using tropical rainforest wood to reconstruct a block of boardwalk. Local and regional opposition created controversy over the use of the wood and eventually environmentalists and local townspeople convinced the administration to reject it.

- A young wolf pup to the children at Piedmont Elementary School in Oakland for making Oregon Republican Wes Cooley go stand in the corner for his obscene gesture towards the Sierra Club. The class discussed manners and anger after seeing the photo of Cooley flipping the bird which led them to place a paper doll cutout of Cooley in the corner of the classroom.

- A nip on the ankle by a poodle to Greenpeace for supporting the Dolphin Death Bill. Eighty-five environmental and ocean research groups oppose Senate Bill 1420 which would overturn hard-won dolphin-safe tuna laws in order to placate foreign economic interests who claim such laws violate "free trade" agreements. YAP!

- A coughing, gagging poodle to Trees for the Future™. In a back-ass-wards attempt to make people feel good about driving their cars (and to take their money), Trees for the Future™ of Fort Lauderdale, FL is awarding "Global Cooling Vehicle™" certificates and stickers for your car if you pay them to plant trees for you in Haiti or the Philippines.

- A declawed, perfumed poodle to the Mills Corporation. Their new mall in Ontario, California features a ride called American Wilderness Experience, which allows people to pretend they are walking through the California redwood forests or along the Pacific Ocean.

- A peeing, yapping poodle to the Sierra Club for endorsing Bill Clinton for President. That's right, the man who signed the Salvage Ride, NAFTA, and the Omnibus Appropriations and Immigration Reform Bill. A squirt on the ankle for the Club's foo-foo politics.

by Earthroots at Owain Lake.

On September 22, at 6:30 am, a Goulard Lumber Company cutting crew raced into the Owain Lake Ancient Forest, a day before schedule. Ninety activists made their way to the logging site, but the logging crews left before the activists arrived.

Logging began the following day. Thirty activists protested at the site. One activist successfully locked herself to the skidder and held up work for an hour.

On October 15, over 100 Native and non-Native demonstrators gathered outside the head office of the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) in Peterborough to protest logging the Temagami.

Fifteen people managed to enter the lobby of the MNR. There was a confrontation with the police inside and six protesters were maced by the police without warning. Fifteen people were arrested. Approximately 60 protesters and supporters gathered outside the police station for a spontaneous rally and vigil to support the people held in custody.

As of the end of October, 52 people have been arrested and the action camp was still holding.

Please deluge these politicians with protest letters/faxes: Premier Mike Harris, Legislature Bldg., Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M7A 1W3, fax (416)325-3745; Honorable Chris Hodgson, Minister of Natural Resources, 6th Floor, Whitney Block, 99 Wellesley St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M7A 1W3.

To get involved, contact Earthroots, 401 Richmond St. W, Suite 410, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 3A8, (416)599-0152, fax (416)340-2429, e-mail: eroot@web.net.

# UTAH'S ESCALANTE WILDS PROTECTED? POLITICAL TRIAGE FOR CLINTON

BY GARY MACFARLANE

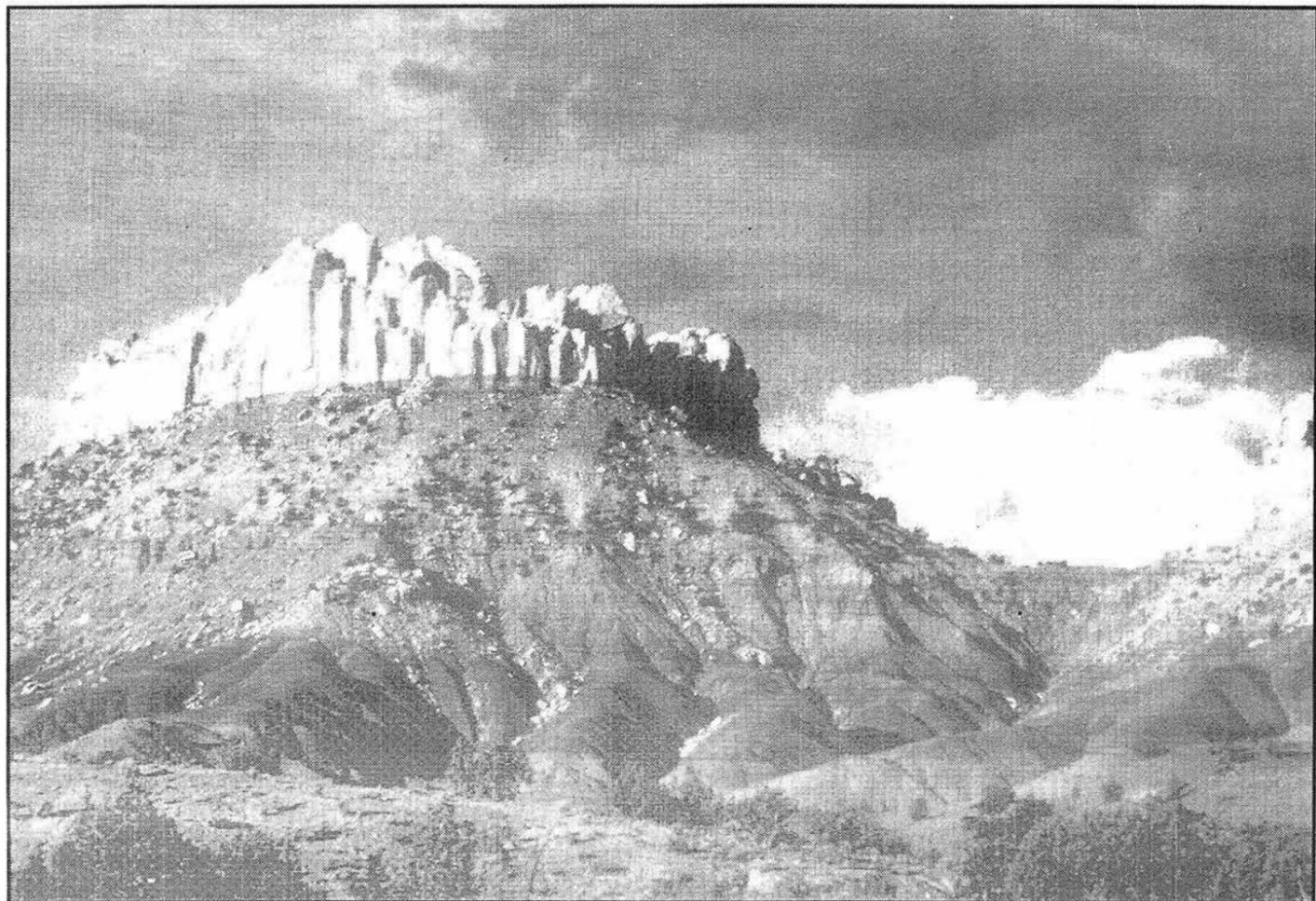
"A symphony of timber, water and rock," describes the Escalante River drainage, the last river in the lower 48 states to be "discovered" by humans of European descent. On September 18, 1996, Bill Clinton's signature created a 1.7 million-acre reservation in southern Utah under the 1906 Antiquities Act: the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument.

Certainly this was a great move, a victory for the earth. However, it is difficult to consider it bold in the same sense that Teddy Roosevelt or Jimmy Carter were bold when they respectively proclaimed millions of acres of the West and Alaska as national monuments using the 1906 law. Clinton's move was more politically motivated. He finished behind Bush and Perot in Utah in 1992; it's unlikely he will do better in '96. Further, Clinton signed the deal in the safety of Arizona.

There is evidence of shady, underhanded dealings, too. While at first it appeared that the environmental community hadn't been informed of the monument plan, now it is rumored that some environmental groups, such as the Sierra Club and the governor's office not only knew about the deal, but also played a role in it. The interesting thing is that the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument is almost identical to a prior proposal from the governor's office (the Escalante Conservation Area proposal).

The new national monument includes several Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs) on the Kaiparowits Plateau and in the central Escalante drainage. However, the WSAs already have interim protection that is supposed to keep them free from "permanent" development. That would not change because the language establishing the monument keeps the WSA status intact. About half of the monument's acreage includes BLM WSAs, so the actual increase in protected acreage isn't as Clinton would like it to appear.

No new mineral leases or mining claims are allowed in the monument. However, monument status does not prevent coal mining companies from moving forward with their claims. Here lies the problem: Andalex Company owns the largest coal claim on the Kaiparowits, with an estimated value of almost a trillion dollars. To keep them from mining, they will either



The Circle Cliffs of the Escalante Wilderness

photo by Scott Smith

have to be bought out or be given land with equal value elsewhere in Utah.

What isn't so clear about the monument are other issues. The establishment of the monument could have the political effect of creating an illusion that enough acreage is saved in Utah's BLM wildlands. The sense of urgency about this issue may have been diluted with the inadequate solution of designating 1.7 million acres to monument status. Grazing, off-road vehicles and hunting will still be allowed. While the language in the proclamation establishing the national monument refers to a frontier setting, there will be pressures for industrial tourism that plague Utah's nearby national parks: Capitol Reef, Arches, Bryce Canyon, Canyonlands and Zion. Furthermore, there are no reserved water rights; in essence, the government cannot reserve any water for fisheries or other wildlife in the monument.

So, don't let Clinton get away with playing a sick game of political triage. He still signed the Salvage Rider and this administration has weakened the Endangered Species Act and the National Forest Management Act more than Bush or Reagan ever did. Remember, Clinton hasn't delivered anything else he's promised. There's no reason to expect anything different here.

## UTAH COUNTIES REACT WITH 'DOZERS

BY KEN RAIT

The response of rural Utah counties to President Clinton's designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument has been predictable outrage. President Clinton and Bruce Babbitt were hung in effigy in Escalante. Kane County officials released 50 black balloons the day the monument was designated, to symbolize their loss of "rights." More importantly, however, the counties have launched a felonious bulldozer-fest in the publicly owned hinterlands.

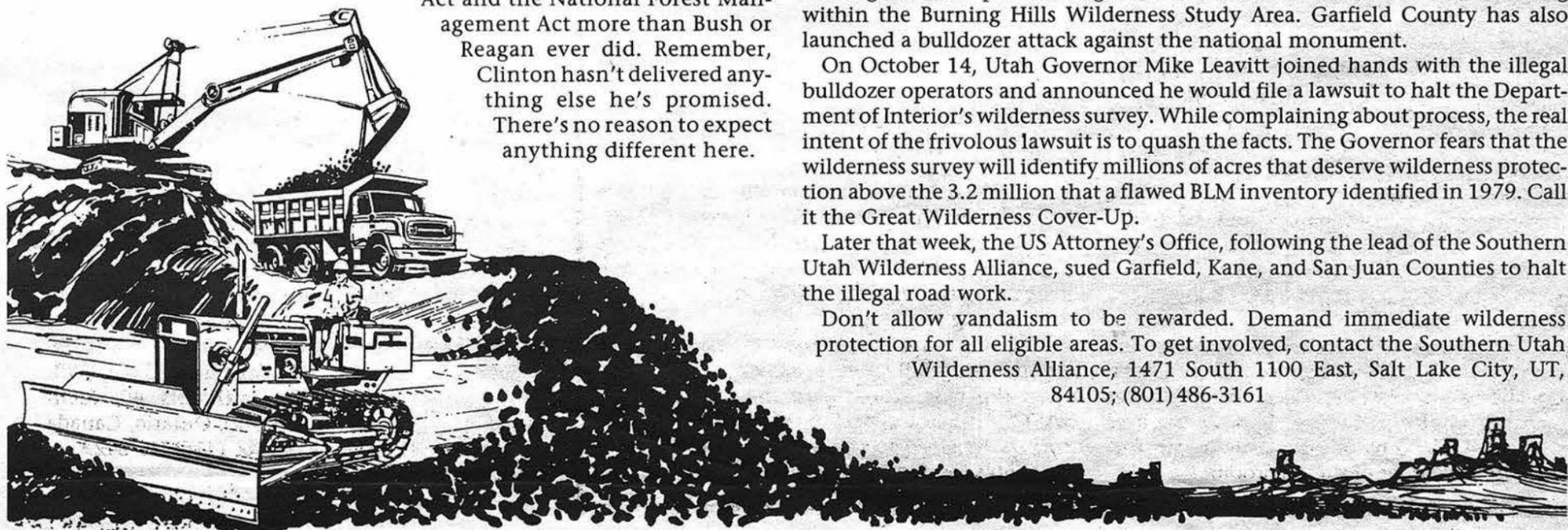
In an attempt to stymie the Department of Interior's current effort to identify additional Utah public lands with wilderness qualities, rural counties have bulldozed a series of roads into wildlands to ensure that human impact is apparent to the wilderness surveyors.

In the Hart's Draw area south of Moab, San Juan County road crews have bladed a series of roads into proposed wilderness in direct defiance of BLM cease-and-desist orders. In the Moquith Mountain Wilderness Study Area adjacent to the Coral Pink Sand Dunes State Park, Kane County illegally bulldozed a seven-mile-long road. In addition, Kane County has done extensive blading in the Kaiparowits region within the national monument, including within the Burning Hills Wilderness Study Area. Garfield County has also launched a bulldozer attack against the national monument.

On October 14, Utah Governor Mike Leavitt joined hands with the illegal bulldozer operators and announced he would file a lawsuit to halt the Department of Interior's wilderness survey. While complaining about process, the real intent of the frivolous lawsuit is to quash the facts. The Governor fears that the wilderness survey will identify millions of acres that deserve wilderness protection above the 3.2 million that a flawed BLM inventory identified in 1979. Call it the Great Wilderness Cover-Up.

Later that week, the US Attorney's Office, following the lead of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, sued Garfield, Kane, and San Juan Counties to halt the illegal road work.

Don't allow vandalism to be rewarded. Demand immediate wilderness protection for all eligible areas. To get involved, contact the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, 1471 South 1100 East, Salt Lake City, UT, 84105; (801) 486-3161



# Corporate Rule and Salvage Logging on the Allegheny

BY JIM KLEISSLER

Under the bright hydrodam-powered lights in the Ridgeway ranger's office of Pennsylvania's Allegheny National Forest (ANF), the US Forest Service planned the Mortality II timber sale. Using the salvage sham handbook of forest health and the wit of timber barons, they contrived a timber sale that will bring the young, burgeoning second growth of the Alleghenies to its knees and drag it away screaming to the sawmill, or more likely, the chipper.

## The Raid at Salmon Creek

Salmon Creek and Little Salmon Creek are high-quality, cold-water fishery streams that originate in the Allegheny National Forest.

These headwater areas fall into the Salmon Creek war zone, an area under serious attack by the Forest Service.

The Salmon Creek war zone is about 1,200 acres in size. The area is riddled with roads, skid trails, "failed" clearcuts and private property. The Forest Service claims the area is dying as a result of insect defoliation and droughts, and calls it a "natural catastrophe." As always, they completely ignore the impacts of prior logging, logging roads, herbicide sprays, insecticide sprays and acid rain.

The result is an unnatural catastrophe of the highest order. Currently, 204 acres are being "harvested" in the "war zone" under previously approved timber sales. Mortality II proposes cutting another 487 acres of (and



What happens when corporations rule

## Georgia-Pacific Stuns Tionesta Hillside

Georgia-Pacific (G-P) has also moved onto the Allegheny Plateau. Buying out a sawmill a few miles south of Fryburg, Pennsylvania, G-P has brought clearcut logging unlike that ever witnessed in the East. A recent "salvage logging" operation cut directly down a steep slope into Tionesta Creek.

The scene is hideous. The soil on the slope has eroded away and dried out. A web of skid roads has left a permanent scar on the earth. Streams are cluttered with oil and debris and are not properly diverted from roadways with culverts.

## International Paper Buys Out Pennsylvania

International Paper bought Hammermill Papers. This is particularly interesting because Hammermill produces a decent recycled, unbleached paper. But everything is changing. Hammermill used to leave their lands open for hunters, hikers and fishers to use at will. But now that IP is the biggest private landowner in Pennsylvania, this might change.

International Paper has a chip-and-pulp mill in Erie, Pennsylvania that discharges massive pollutants into Lake Erie. They also have been working with local wise-use coalitions to influence the next Allegheny National Forest Plan.

## MacMillan Bloedel Moves into Clarion

MacMillan Bloedel is building a \$120 million fiberboard plant in Clarion, Pennsylvania. The plant is expected to produce 110 million board feet of fiberboard out of "residual" sawdust and chips. Producing this much residual waste requires a whole lot of timber extraction. A local sawmill worker said that he doesn't even think there is enough wood for it.

## Defending the Allegheny

Corporate rule has settled into the Pennsylvania highlands of the Allegheny Plateau. The Forest Service is calling for big salvage and the corporate giants are sure to persist in demanding more. The current representative is leaving but is likely to be replaced with a state representative responsible for much of the current industry presence. This is bad news for the Allegheny. But the Allegheny Defense Project (ADP) is responding. We've gone to the press and demanded that the Forest Service implement a zero-cut policy on the Allegheny. On Saturday, October 12, we protested along with the community outside of Willamette's Paper Mill in Johnsonburg. Soon, we will file a federal complaint and appeal on the Mortality II timber sale.

You can help the Allegheny by writing letters, monitoring timber sales and corporations, demonstrating, filing legal challenges, and helping us with much needed funding. Contact the Allegheny Defense Project at POB 245, Clarion, PA 16214; (814)226-4918; e-mail adp@envirolink.org.

herbicide as well). But Salmon Creek is only part of Mortality II. And Mortality II is only the beginning of the story.

## Willamette Blasting Allegheny Communities

In 1989, Willamette Industries purchased the Penntech Paper Mill in Johnsonburg, Pennsylvania. Seven years later, they have two additional high-capacity chip mills in Lantz Corners and Clearfield, Pennsylvania and have more than doubled the capacity of the paper mill with the addition of one new paper machine. Now they plan to add at least three more of these new machines to the mill.

Since Willamette came to Pennsylvania these plants have assaulted local communities. Lime, wood dust,

pungent odors, noise and cancer are becoming regular occurrences in the Johnsonburg community. Noise from the chippers has led to open resistance from one small rural community. Instead of doing something about it, Willamette rationalizes, "Johnsonburg needs Willamette. Willamette doesn't need Johnsonburg."

And then there are the forests. Based on Willamette's figures, in order to feed their two chip mills for one year they will have to clearcut a 17,000-acre area. This translates to Willamette clearcutting an area the size of the entire Allegheny National Forest in just under 30 years, all by their lonesome (and these figures are conservative). This is what the chip-and-pulp industry calls sustainable harvest.



# SALVAGE TO SLAM NORTH RIM OF GRAND CANYON

On July 19, the North Kaibab Ranger District (NKR) of the Kaibab National Forest announced plans to carry out a "rehabilitation project" that would entail cutting 35 million board feet of burned timber from 4,500 acres of the Bridger Knoll fire area on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. The Bridger Salvage sale is the largest salvage sale in the Southwest as well as the largest timber sale in the Southwest in 20 years. The sale area lies within portions of the Grand Canyon Game Preserve, dedicated by Theodore Roosevelt in 1906.

The Bridger Knoll fire burned about 53,000 acres within and adjacent to Grand Canyon National Park from June 20 to June 26. Under the guise of rehabilitation, NKR will virtually clearcut portions of the 4,500-acre sale area. The Forest Service tried to justify the sale by claiming that the proceeds from the timber will fund tree planting on 300 acres of the post-burn sale area. The ranger district will permit cutting right up to the border of the national park.

The area selected for harvest is predominantly ponderosa pine forest. The fire created a patchy mosaic leaving some areas totally scorched and other areas mildly charred. The North Kaibab Ranger District claims that trees with a crown scorch of over 70 percent are officially "dying" and are therefore ripe for the chainsaw. This is obviously an arbitrary figure because other salvage sales in the Southwest require 90 percent crown scorch to be eligible for cutting.

In comments to NKR, the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity (Southwest Center) gave the Forest Service a lesson in fire ecology, explaining that burned snags provide habitat for cavity nesters and contribute to organic matter in the soil, nourishing nature's own rehabilitation cycle. Southwest Center disputed that cutting trees will lead to "rehabilitation," improved forest health, reduced fuelwood build-up, decreased "risk" of burgeoning beetle populations or any of the other rationalizations the agency spoon-feeds to the public.

To aid the rehabilitation scheme, NKR has already dispersed non-native seed on portions of the burn. The Forest Service spread species such as crested wheatgrass that are premium cow cud—no coincidence since grazing plays a significant role in NKR's long-term rehabilitation plan. Under the Southwest Center's Natural Recovery Alternative, the Forest Service would be required to pick up every non-native seed by hand, as needed, and replace them with seeds of species native to the Kaibab Plateau.

The Southwest Center has ignited significant controversy over the sale, submitting extensive scoping comments and making the Bridger Salvage sale the poster child of Southwest salvage sales. The Southwest Center sponsored a benefit concert in Flagstaff and organized an equinox gathering on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. We toured a portion of the sale area and focused our collective equinox energy on the partially burned, live trees slated for death. We invited the Freddie's to participate in a naked charcoal body painting ritual to honor the tree faeries but they declined.

The Southwest Center has also collected over 400 signatures on a petition opposing the project and has been leafleting tourists at Grand Canyon National Park to alert them of the impending destruction planned for the North Rim. When President Clinton visited the Grand Canyon to designate the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument on his endless election-year mission to appease environmentalists, the Southwest Forest Alliance, of which the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity is a member, published a full-page ad in the Flagstaff *Daily Sun* to alert the President to the impending salvage sale on the North Rim and to request a repeal of the Salvage Rider.

The Forest Service is notorious for inflating sale volume prior to environmental analysis in order to convince the public that the agency has given some concessions to environmentalists when the volume is eventually reduced. The North Kaibab Ranger District is continuing the trend. Immediately after the fire, NKR estimated that the majority of what burned was pinyon/juniper and that only 500 acres of ponderosa pine saw fire. The estimate of how much ponderosa pine burned has continuously increased from 500 acres to 900 acres to 5,000 acres and now NKR is using the figure of 5,500.

Ironically, a survey of local timber operators in mid-July reported that five to nine million board feet from the Bridger sale would be adequate to feed their mills, even before NKR estimated the sale volume at 35 million board feet in their initial scoping letter. The Forest Service has released the

abbreviated Environmental Assessment required by the Salvage Rider, and the comment period is expected to end November 12.

For more information about the Bridger Salvage sale, please contact the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity at (520) 733-1391. To submit comments and complaints, write or call: Jill Leonard, District Ranger North Kaibab Ranger District, POB 248, Fredonia, AZ 86022; (520) 643-7395; Conny Frisch, Kaibab Forest Supervisor 800 S.6th St., Williams, AZ 86046; (520) 635-8200.

—SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

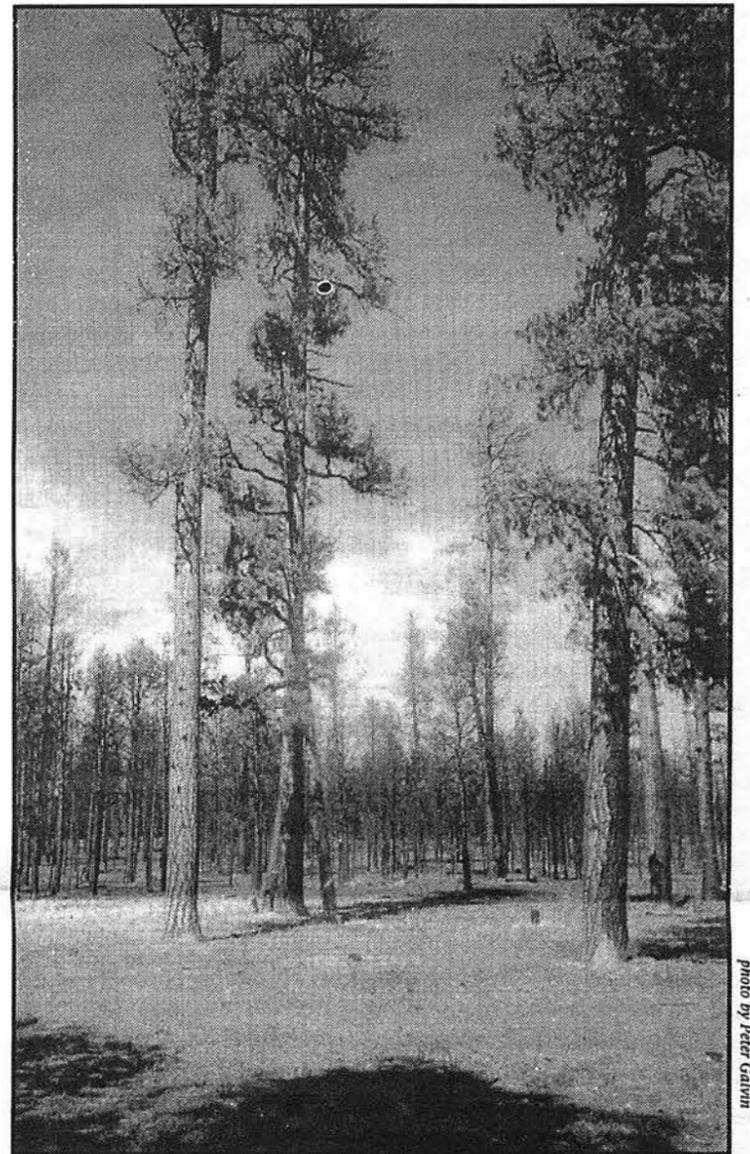


photo by Peter Galvin

## Southwest Center Buys Timber Permits

BY SHANE JIMERFIELD

A couple of efforts using timber industry tools to stop logging and grazing in the Southwest have yielded fruit. The Southwest Center for Biological Diversity (Southwest Center), coordinated individuals to enter a lottery to buy individual trees from a "salvage sale" in the Chiricahua mountains in southeast Arizona and won.

The first sale under the Salvage Rider in the Southwest is in a "sky island," the Chiricahua Mountain Range. There has been little or no commercial logging in the Southwest for over a year, thanks to a federal court injunction seeking to protect the Mexican spotted owl (MSO) (see Litha, 1995). More importantly, the high-elevation, "sky island" ecosystems have not been commercially logged since the early seventies.

When the Coronado National Forest (CNF) informed the public of their intention to salvage a portion of the 1994 Rattlesnake Fire in the Chiricahuas, the Southwest Center countered that the site was important habitat for the Mexican spotted owl. The Coronado NF withdrew the sale and re-released it under the Salvage

Rider. In the process, they eliminated a Mexican Spotted Owl-protected area without consulting the US Fish and Wildlife Service. The Southwest Center then informed the CNF that the injunction did not allow commercial timber harvesting, regardless of the Salvage Rider.

After withdrawing the sale again, the CNF re-released it the next day. This time they found a loophole in the injunction. The sale was to be a viga sale. Vigas are the beams used in Santa Fe style homes. Under provisions of the injunction, vigas can be "harvested" in pine-only habitat. However, the sale was not in pine-only habitat, but mixed conifer and pine-oak habitat. The Coronado National Forest denied the true habitat type, so the Southwest Center filed suit.

The federal judge required that all submissions to the court come from the administrative record. In response to our Freedom of Information Act request for the administrative record, the Forest Service denied the existence of a crucial document—the document containing information on the forest habitat type. Hmmm, sounds like a scandal.

After we lost the case, the CNF an-

nounced they would use a lottery to sell the trees. We quickly sent in enough entries to buy up all of the trees. We were selected and awarded just under half of the total sale. As part of the permit issued to the lottery winners, a stipulation was made that the trees had to be cut down and removed or they would be awarded to another party. NO REFUNDS! We took the challenge and sent in our money. This action has become quite an embarrassment for the Forest Service Representatives (Freddie's) of the Coronado. Nearly every media entity in southern Arizona has come out with scathing commentary against them. Even *The Courier* of southern New Mexico, a rabid wise use publication, found it hard to condemn us (it's hard to figure out what to think about that). This issue has been used to educate the public about Forest Service timber policies as well as grazing policies. Linking the extractive mandates of timber and grazing policy is vital to showing the public that their public lands are being systematically destroyed.

We're optimistic of winning on this issue. Public support is high and there is a good indication that the Freddie's

will not give our trees to someone else.

Next door in New Mexico, the Forest Guardians and the Environmental Center of Las Cruces submitted bids for several state grazing allotments and won a five-year lease to 550 acres along the Rio Puerco. No grazing, no soil erosion and no degraded water quality—just cottonwood, willow and native grass planting.

These successful challenges to a long history of catering to timber and ranching interests are hopefully precedent-setting. Is it time to declare a paradigm shift? Probably not—the sale in the Chiricahuas amounts to the small sum of the 220 million board feet to be cut in the Southwest. Plus, 550 acres out of the 9 million New Mexico state land doesn't add up to a big victory. However, we are making it harder for the heavily subsidized timber and ranching industries to keep their resource-extraction monopoly on the West.

*Shane Jimerfield is the Assistant Director of the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity and an active member of the Student Environmental Action Coalition.*

# BEST FIRE SEASON EVER!

BY GEORGE WUERTHNER

During the summer of 1996, despite the meddling of thousands of firefighters and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in suppression efforts, fire blackened a record five million acres of forest and grasslands in the United States. Most media reports portrayed the fires as destructive, unnatural and yet another example of Nature out of control. From an ecological perspective, however, the summer of 1996 could be viewed as one of the best fire seasons in almost a decade.

Fire is one of the most significant ecological influences on a wide array of native ecosystems in North America. Its importance to everything from southern pine forests in Florida to boreal forests in Alaska is well-documented. Even ecosystems not typically thought of as "fire-dependent," such as the old-growth Douglas fir forests of the Pacific Northwest, often as not, got their start in the aftermath of a fire. Yet federal and state agencies continue to try to suppress and contain fires nearly everywhere they occur.

Although there may be a few instances where fire suppression on a local level is justified, a landscape-wide suppression policy is as misguided as the common practice of killing predators to "save" deer. Killing wolves or coyotes only delays mortality and the deer herd will ultimately succumb to disease, starvation or poor fawn survival. You don't "save" deer by killing predators anymore than you "save" a forest or grassland by suppressing fires. It is a narrow view of the ecosystem that sees fires as "destructive." Although fires kill trees, they support the forest ecosystem. It's a matter of seeing the forest for the trees.

## Benefits of Fire

Fires perform a host of ecological "services" that are difficult, if not impossible, to replicate through human management and manipulation. Fires consume dead litter and debris, releasing nutrients for new plant and animal growth. Fires can thin a forest, freeing up resources such as water and soil nutrients for the survivors. Intense heat and smoke destroy some plant pathogens, creating better growing conditions. Fires create snags and other dead woody debris critical for providing cover or homes for many wildlife species from mammals to birds and insects.

Fires use different selective factors than humans or other animals in determining which plants and animals survive. For instance, in a grassland fires typically burn all plants equally, while grazing livestock select only the more palatable species. The result of livestock grazing is usually an increase in "non-desirable" species, while fire typically promotes a more balanced re-growth.

Despite the recognized benefits associated with fire, we continue to treat fires as if they "destroy" a forest. Fire fighters are often viewed as heroes, instead of like the old-time wolfers who pursued wolves to "save" the deer herd.

## Salvage

One consequence of our relentless fire suppression policy is the idea that we need to "salvage" log the forest, either to remove dead and dying trees burned in fires or to "thin" the forest to remove fuels and thwart future large fires.

The idea that removal of burnt trees in the aftermath of a fire is harmless or even a beneficial activity is easily challenged. From an ecological perspective, dead trees are more important than live ones for a variety of the above-mentioned reasons—snags, wildlife habitat, nutrient storage and recycling. The assumption that dead trees are "wasted" is as antiquated as the idea that deer who are killed by predators, instead of hunters, are "wasted."

Secondly, once timber operations begin on a site, road construction, loss of wilderness qualities, and other associated impacts all contribute to the likelihood of future logging. Often, the time interval between logging rotations is insufficient to replace nutrients stripped from the site when trees are removed. Long-term loss of nutrients is a widespread occurrence, but it is not widely apparent because few places have gone through more than three or four logging rotations.

Thirdly, timber operations introduce a variety of unnatural impacts. These include soil disturbance and compression from the use of heavy equipment and road building, human access created by new roads, and the introduction of non-native plants, diseases and exotic wildlife that degrade ecosystem values.

Finally, nearly all salvage logging operations are money-losing affairs. Not only do we pay in the loss of ecological values, but we wind up paying for the environmental degradation that results.

## Forest Health

The idea that forests need us to thin them for "forest health" is equally bankrupt. For one thing, although many forest stands are now experiencing heavy competition among individual trees for water, nutrients and light, the forest ecosystem is still healthy. A natural response to such competition is increased tree mortality from disease, insect attack and even fires. These are all natural thinning agents that help the ecosystem balance the flow of energy through living and non-living things. The idea that an increase in burned acreage, insect outbreak or disease requires a response and further manipulation from humans is suspect.

Furthermore, while it's true that in some ecosystems fire suppression has contributed to high fuel loading (build up of flammable materials), it doesn't necessarily follow that such forests require mechanical thinning to correct a perceived imbalance.

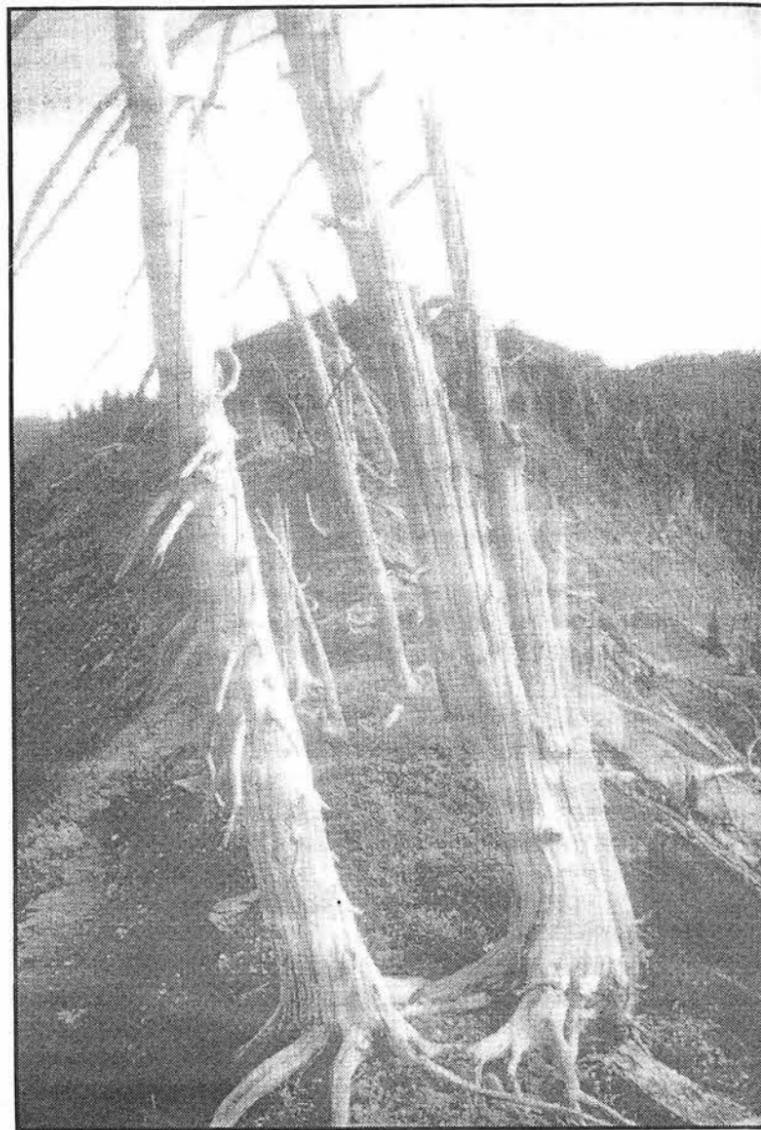
## Management

First off, even if thinning were potentially a "solution," the amount of thinning necessary to make any kind of dent in fuel-loading across the West is immense. Literally hundreds of millions of acres would need thinning to markedly reduce the spread and intensity of fire on anything more than a local level. The financial cost of such thinning would be prohibitive, in part because most of the areas not already logged are among the highest, steepest and least-accessible sites—in other words, marginal sites for economical timber extraction. Furthermore, there are ecological costs to thinning because of the disturbance and disruption of natural processes associated with logging.

Secondly, all fire history analysis has a temporal and spatial component worth examining. The majority of all the areas burned, even in pre-suppression days, were burned by a few large fires. This was certainly true in 1996, when a handful of blazes contributed to the majority of acreage burned. Large blazes are controlled more by weather than by fuels. Conditions that contribute to huge fires are extreme drought coupled with high winds. Thinning forests will not appreciably change the occurrence of large fires because it can't change the climatic influences that create such blazes.

Thirdly, large fires should not be viewed as "abnormal." In many forest ecosystems, for example in the high-elevation lodgepole pine and fir forests in the West, "stand replacement" blazes are the norm. As a rule, these forests burned at widely spaced intervals of several hundred to a thousand years. Fire suppression has barely made any significant changes in fire frequency in these areas. Even the drier, low-elevation forests and grasslands of the West that on "average" experienced frequent, low-intensity burns occasionally experienced stand-replacement blazes.

Remember we are discussing "averages." The average fires prior to wide-spread fire suppression in the ponderosa pine forests, which stretch from east of the Cascades to New Mexico and Arizona, were frequent and low-intensity. But if viewed over a longer time interval, there were always exceptions to this generalization. Just as one can characterize a typical summer day in Montana as likely to be warm and sunny, I have, nevertheless,



Great Burn Area, Clearwater National Forest, Idaho

seen it snow occasionally even in the middle of July. Averages don't necessarily negate the occasional extreme event.

Historically speaking, if one looks back over a long enough time period, even low-elevation forests experienced occasional large stand-destroying blazes as a consequence of climatic variation. Over the short-term, frequent "cool" fires may dominate a site, but every few hundred to a thousand years, severe drought will affect an entire region resulting in intense, wide-spread fires. Though we may characterize such events as "extreme," one should not view such blazes as "abnormal" when considered within the proper temporal perspective.

## Solutions

So what's the solution to our current forest health situation? I believe we need to re-evaluate our relationship with wildfires. With few exceptions, we should allow Nature to determine the appropriate fire intensity, acreage burned and timing of fire events. We should permit fires to burn unregulated over most of the natural landscape. In the few locations where such a policy is inappropriate—around human settlements, locally sensitive animal or plant communities, or other sites—fire defense, rather than suppression, should be the goal. Thinning trees or a prescribed-burn program to reduce fuels around a town, for example, is far less costly to implement than a policy of all-out suppression wherever fires occur.

We should also reduce conflicts with wildfire by zoning or otherwise restricting house construction in isolated, fire-prone locations. At the very least, the public should not spend tax dollars to provide fire protection in fire-prone areas. I have little sympathy for people who construct their homes on river floodplains, barrier islands along the coast or among western forests—all are gambling against what should only be viewed as natural events.

Finally, we need to challenge the assumption that logging, whether for salvage or otherwise, is "cost-free" or can be done in an ecologically sustainable manner. I suspect that any economically viable logging is unlikely to be ecologically viable.

Fires are as essential to most forest and grassland ecosystems as predators are to their prey. If we are concerned about preserving biodiversity we need to preserve the natural ecological processes that maintain that diversity. Fires are certainly a wide-spread and essential aspect of biodiversity preservation.

# Government Exempts Border from Environmental Law

BY LANDI FERNLEY

When Clinton signed the Omnibus Appropriations and Immigration Reform Bill (HR 3610) on September 30, he exempted the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the US Border Patrol from complying with the National Environmental Policy Act and the Endangered Species Act. This includes 40 million acres along the entire US-Mexican border, from Brownsville, Texas to San Diego, California. The corridor stretches 50-miles deep into the US.

According to the Section 102 of the bill, "The Attorney General, in consultation with the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, shall take such actions as may be necessary to install additional physical barriers and roads (including removal of obstacles to detection of illegal entrants) in the vicinity of the United States border..." The bill continues, "The provisions of the Endangered Species Act of 1973 and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 are waived to the extent the Attorney General determines necessary to ensure expeditious construction of the barriers and roads..."

In a press statement regarding HR 3610, Clinton said, "I am, however, extremely concerned about a provision in this bill that could lead to the federal government waiving the Endangered Species Act and the National Environmental Policy Act in order to expeditiously construct physical barriers and roads on the US border..." His "concerns" must've been nullified by signing the bill.

The INS and the US Border Patrol are constructing a 10-foot steel wall along the 2,000-mile stretch between Brownsville and San Diego. About \$181 million has been appropriated for the project. The wall is already standing along a six-mile stretch near Mexicali, where shysters have begun to cut holes in the wall with blow torches and collect entrance tolls. Construction has also begun near Naco, Arizona on a two-mile stretch of the wall. Additionally, materials and permits are ready for erection of the barrier near Nogales, Arizona.

The wall will sever wildlife corridors for 107 threatened and endangered species in Mexico, Texas, New Mexico,

Arizona and California. In Arizona, these include the flat-tailed horned lizard, Sonoran pronghorn antelope, ridge-nosed rattlesnake, Sonora chub, desert pupfish, jaguar and wolf. Because of the exemption, these species are no longer protected under federal laws from environmental impacts resulting from counter-drug operations and border surveillance activities authorized by INS and the Departments of Justice and Defense. These species will be sacrificed in the name of "National Security."

Joint Task Force Six (JTF-6) is an obscure branch of the Department of Defense assigned by law enforcement agencies, such as the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and INS, to construct the border barriers and provide support for anti-drug operations along the border. A Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement was prepared by the Department of Justice in August of 1994 to justify ongoing and future JTF-6 environmental crimes along the border. The JTF-6 is responsible for all sorts of activities, ranging from ground patrols and aerial reconnaissance to construction of firing ranges, training facilities and fences, road maintenance and construction, culvert construction, installation of ground sensors, communication tower installation, and tunnel location and demolition. Under the exemption authorized by the bill, JTF-6 may carry out any and all of these activities with no environmental analysis or public scrutiny.

Joint Task Force Six has shown destructive incompetence in its over-zealous obedience to the law enforcement agencies it serves. It has built unnecessary roads and helipads, disturbed ar-

reas beyond the boundaries of their assigned projects, and made no effort to revegetate or restore the areas after project completion. The US Fish and Wildlife Service has repeatedly chastised JTF-6, stating that their projects are excessive and that JTF-6 troops are environmentally insensitive.

Joint Task Force Six activities frequently occur on federal lands, as the 40-million-acre zone of environmental exemption spans 13 Wilderness Study Areas, six designated and eight proposed Research Natural Areas and 37 proposed Areas of Critical Environmental Concern. Portions of the steel wall are planned for along designated Wild and Scenic stretches of the Rio Grande, through Big Bend Na-



tional Park, the Lincoln National Forest, Coronado National Forest, Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge, San Bernardino National Wildlife Refuge and Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Critical habitat for the New Mexican ridge-nosed rattlesnake in the Animas Mountains of New Mexico, Yaqui chub, Yaqui catfish and beautiful shiner in San Bernardino National Wildlife Refuge, whooping crane in Wilcox Playa, Sonora chub in Sycamore Canyon and desert pupfish in Coronado National Forest all face extinction as a result of the exemption.

Currently, JTF-6 is constructing the wall between Naco and Douglas, Arizona. The plans call for a three-foot "rail barrier" along a two-mile stretch, and the reconstruction of 52 miles of roads. JTF-6 performed only a week's worth of surveys for 20 sensitive, threatened and endangered species residing in the 54-mile construction zone. The Army Corps of Engineers allowed only a 15-day public com-

ment period on the draft Environmental Assessment. A Decision Notice was signed the day after the comment period ended, despite complaints from US Fish and Wildlife Service that the comment period was inadequate for biologists to determine potential impacts. The Southwest Center for Biological Diversity appealed the project before Clinton signed the waiver, citing violations of the National Environmental Policy Act and the Endangered Species Act. Neither the Army Corps nor JTF-6 responded.

In addition to wildlife casualties, increased militarization along the border will be fatal to humans as well. Military presence along the border will further divide border communities and increase xenophobia in border states. Trigger-happy Border Patrol agents have literally gotten away with murder. In a recent case, Border Patrol Agent Michael Elmer shot an "illegal immigrant" in the back, hid the body, which was later discovered by other Border Patrol agents, and months later was acquitted for the slaying, claiming self-defense. Construction of border barriers not only validates these crimes, justifies physical exclusion of "immigrants," and enforces white privilege, but also severs cultural ties between indigenous people living on opposite sides of the border.

Indigenous people have traded and traveled freely over the border since before it existed. Uto-Aztecan languages are spoken from as far north as Taos, New Mexico to as far south as Mexico City. Many of the same tales, deities and cosmologies are recognized by indigenous people in Chihuahua and the southwestern United States, such as Quetzalcoatl, the benevolent snake. Physical barriers erected out of a false need for "national security" will further fragment indigenous cultures surviving on either side of the border.

Despite Clinton's signing of the exemption, the Department of Justice and the INS will not act "expeditiously" to erect the wall, primarily because they are bureaucrats, but also because it is advantageous for the government to proceed slowly. They are deliberately piece-mealing the construction of the 10-foot barrier so that impacts on wildlife habitat and border communities will be less recognizable until the wall is complete. Gradual erection will prevent the US Border Patrol and the Department of Justice from having to defend against attacks by irate citizens and environmental or social justice groups. These rogue agencies are hoping that no one will notice the militarization of the border until it is completely sealed.

The exemption of the INS and Border Patrol from environmental laws opens the door to other federal agencies receiving similar immunity from the National Environmental Policy Act and the Endangered Species Act, laws which emphasize preservation, not militarization. If one agency is exempt from environmental analysis and public scrutiny, other agencies are soon to follow and environmental legislation will be rendered ineffectual and obsolete.

*Landi Fernley is the Appeals Coordinator for the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity*

## ANIMALS IN THE RED: ONE-QUARTER OF ALL MAMMALS THREATENED WITH EXTINCTION

One-quarter of all known mammal species are at risk of extinction, according to a new study published by the World Conservation Union. The 1996 IUCN Red List of Threatened Animals states that 1,096 mammals are vulnerable, as are 1,108 birds—more than 11 percent of the world's bird species.

More than 500 scientists from around the world contributed to the report, which identifies 5,205 animals of all kinds as threatened and is probably the most comprehensive scientific assessment of threatened species ever.

According to the study, habitat reduction, fragmentation and degradation are the most significant threats to the majority of species at risk of extinction. These trends, the report states, are a reflection of human population growth combined with economic development. A surprisingly important factor was the introduction of non-native species, along with exploitation (for fur, etc.), pollution and climate change.

The countries with the largest number of threatened

mammals are Indonesia (128 species) and China and India (75 each). The report notes that these countries are species-rich but also account for 43 percent of the world's human population, which puts tremendous pressure on critical habitats. Indonesia, Brazil and China have the highest number of threatened species of birds: 104, 103 and 90, respectively.

The report lists 253 reptile, 124 amphibian and 734 fish species as being at risk of extinction, but emphasizes that thousands of species in those taxonomic groups have not been assessed. Approximately 30 percent of all 250 known European freshwater fishes are classified as threatened. This high proportion is indicative of widespread changes in the freshwater systems of Europe. River and lake species are at great risk because of extremely narrow habitat requirements.

For more information, contact the World Conservation Union at IUCN/US, Suite 502, 1400 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036; (202) 797-5454.



# REGIONAL ROUNDUP

## MT Forest Salvaged from "Salvage"

BY PHIL KNIGHT

In a victory for local grassroots organizing against the Salvage Rider, the controversial Hyalite II "salvage" timber sale on the Gallatin National Forest in Montana has been withdrawn. The Forest Service (USFS) had proposed logging in Hyalite Canyon under the provisions of the infamous Salvage Rider, which suspends environmental laws and prohibits citizen appeal of so-called "salvage" timber sales on public lands. The Hyalite sale would have logged 670 acres and would have required several miles of new road in Hyalite Canyon, the most popular recreation area in Region One of the USFS and the source of drinking water for the city of Bozeman.

The Hyalite timber sale was originally issued as a green timber sale in 1990. The sale was appealed and the USFS was sued. The court remanded the sale and the Hyalite timber sale was withdrawn in 1994. The Hyalite II sale, little changed from the original green sale, was reissued as a salvage sale following the passage of the Salvage Rider.

Forest activists across Montana used Hyalite as a rallying point against the Rider. Citing such concerns as cumulative impacts from past logging, limits on public access, concerns over public safety due to logging trucks, threats to the city of Bozeman's water supply and incursion into a roadless area, a dedicated contingent of concerned citizens were determined to stop the sale. This group included activists with the Native Forest Network (NFN), the Greater Yellowstone Coalition, American Wildlands, the Montana Wilderness Association and other organizations. A public rally against salvage logging at the Bozeman federal building in November, 1995, drew over 100 people and put Hyalite on the map as a place to be concerned about. Shortly thereafter, the USFS announced plans for several large salvage sales on the west slope of the Gallatin Range in an area already heavily impacted by logging and roadbuilding. These sales were also to be exempted from public review! Another salvage sale, Appaloosa, was proposed on the Hebgen Lake District. This was a sale previously halted three times by appeals and lawsuits!

The campaign to stop the salvage sales on the Gallatin included

two public demonstrations, meetings with the USFS which drew more than 300 people, hundreds of letters of opposition, widespread outreach to activists across the US, and an opinion piece in the *Wall Street Journal*. Yet the USFS remained determined to deforest Hyalite Canyon.

Rumors circulated this past winter that, because of public pressure, the USFS had backed off on all the major salvage sales in the Gallatin other than Hyalite. Finally, an inquiry by the NFN received a reply in May stating "some Gallatin National Forest sales previously identified to be proposed under the emergency salvage provisions are no longer scheduled under those provisions."

The Hyalite Sale's salvation came thanks to the July 2 directive from Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman. The proposed Hyalite II salvage sale clearly contradicted the directive because it was a green sale reissued as a salvage sale; the sale would have entered a roadless area; its Environmental Assessment failed to document the percentage of live versus dead trees; and it failed to meet the standard for "imminently susceptible" to fire or insect attack.

Conservationists celebrated the withdrawal of the Hyalite sale with a well-attended public picnic in Hyalite, but in this game, victory is a fleeting illusion at best. We have been informed by Steve Clark, the Gallatin's timber beast, that a bigger, meaner Hyalite sale will be offered this winter as a regular green sale. In addition, we are facing the nightmare of the Gallatin Land Exchange, a congressionally mandated land swap where up to 100,000 acres of private inholdings within the Gallatin are to be

obtained by the USFS. Big Sky Lumber (BSL), the robber barons who own these inholdings, want at least 85 million board feet of public timber, plus lots of money and other lands, in exchange. BSL is threatening to sell their land, some of which is roadless critical wildlife habitat, for housing and resort development if they don't get what they want. Up to 50 million board feet may come from the Gallatin. So the rescued sales, along with many more, may soon rear their ugly heads as part of the land exchange.

If you have information about Big Sky Lumber or its principle owner, Tim Blixseth of Portland, Oregon, please contact NFN Yellowstone, POB 6151, Bozeman, Montana 59771-6151. Negotiations on the land exchange, which include the NFN, are ongoing.



Citizens rally in Bozeman to oppose logging in Hyalite. It's nice to win one for a change.

photo by Phil Knight

## Curtail the Cuddy Cut

BY NATALIE SHAPIRO

After butchering the French Creek roadless area in Idaho this summer, the Payette National Forest (NF) attacked another roadless gem this fall: Cuddy Mountain. Cuddy Mountain lies in the western part of the Payette NF, less than ten miles from the Snake River.

Boise Cascade won the bid two years ago and were awarded 18 million board feet. In September, Boise Cascade started logging the Grade/Dukes Timber Sale, scheduled to be completed by winter, taking four million board feet of timber. Eighteen miles of new Forest Service-subsidized road is already in, slicing through the upper reaches of the Grade Creek and Dukes Creek.

The rest of Cuddy will be clearcut over the next two years in two other sales. The Forest Service Representatives (Freddies) don't call them clearcuts, of course. The new lingo is "stand-replacement, mimicking fire."

The original Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) in 1990 was successfully challenged by an administrative appeal. A Supplemental EIS (SEIS) was produced in 1994 previous to vast wildfires that created significant changes in the sale areas.

The SEIS failed to analyze the impacts on pileated woodpeckers (a Management Indicator Species), failed to adequately protect old growth and failed to consider cumulative effects on elk habitat. The SEIS also acknowledges that the Forest Service is cutting more old growth than the Forest Plan allows. Amazingly enough, the SEIS acknowledges that the measures taken to protect wildlife and old growth are not adequate but claim the Forest Service will address these problems in the year 2000—when the next Forest Plan amendments are done!

Another problem with the SEIS is that it fails to consider the

effects of the 1994 wildfires on threatened, endangered and sensitive species. Pileated woodpeckers lost 20 percent of their habitat in the analysis area (east side of the Payette) in the fires. The Grades/Duke sale will remove 430 acres of old growth, leaving 79 acres. This means a 92 percent reduction in pileated woodpecker habitat!

Twenty percent of flammulated owl habitat burned in the fires in the analysis area. Grades/Duke cuts 68 percent of suitable flammulated owl habitat. The SEIS itself admits that any further loss of flammulated owl habitat could cause a trend towards listing.

Mitigation measures include designating replacement future old-growth habitat. In other words, old growth that isn't old growth yet, but in a hundred years or so will be. Oh, boy. Even Fish and Game saw through this nonsense and chastised the Freddies, saying there is no scientific literature supporting virtual habitat conservation. Fish and Game also found fault with the SEIS' elk habitat plan, which doesn't consider cumulative effects on elk habitat. Fish and Game feels that the Forest Service won't be able to fulfill elk population goals with the Cuddy Mountain sales as they are.

The Idaho Sporting Congress (ISC) is filing for a preliminary injunction to halt the logging of next year's two other sales because of the blatant problems with the SEIS. They are also appealing a decision by the US District Court regarding the need for an SEIS for the Payette National Forest Plan. Because there have been significant changes in the Payette NF since the Forest Plan came out in 1988, a new SEIS is needed. However, the US District Court ruled that the changes weren't significant enough, so simply taking a "hard look" (as required by the National Environmental Protection Act) at these changes was sufficient.

To get involved, contact the Idaho Sporting Congress, POB 4264, Boise, ID 83711; (208) 336-7222

# Tennessee Valley Authority Sued

BY JOHN JOHNSON

On September 18, four environmental groups filed a lawsuit in federal court against the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the US Army Corps of Engineers (Army Corps). The lawsuit contends that the TVA and the Army Corps have broken federal laws by failing to review the secondary and cumulative environmental consequences of the offsite hardwood logging supplying the growing number of raw log loading ports (13 so far) on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers.

Most of these log docks are chip mill support facilities that ship logs on barges via the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway to chip mills in Mississippi and Alabama. The majority of these chip mills (owned by Weyerhaeuser, Kimberly Clark/Scott, Mannington and their ilk) are sending bargeloads of hardwood chips to the gulf port in Mobile where they are exported to the Pacific Rim.

The plaintiff's complaints target the TVA and Army Corps' ongoing violations of the Endangered Species Act (ESA), National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), Section 10 of the Rivers and Harbors Act, and the TVA Act. Under the ESA, TVA and the Army Corps have a duty to act to protect listed species and critical habitat. In a strongly worded letter to TVA and the Army Corps, the US Fish and Wildlife Service told both agencies: "There is substantial reason to believe that the region's hardwood forest ecosystem as we know it could be significantly and permanently altered if all the permitted and requested hardwood chip mill support facilities operate at capacity at the same time. This constitutes a significant threat to the region's fish and wildlife resources..."

This kind of assault would not have been possible 12 years ago before the construction of the taxpayer-funded boondoggle known as the Tenn-Tom Waterway. Twenty million dollars a year is spent just to keep this export freeway dredged and open. The erosion filling up this human-made ditch is in part caused by the massive clearcutting of forests to feed the chip mills. The funds used to maintain the Waterway are tax dollars appropriated by Congress. This money is justified by the amount of commodities, or "tonnage," that ply the Waterway. Last year, nearly half of the eight million tons of products shipped on the Waterway were logs and chips. It's circular, albeit vicious; the clearcut Tennessee Valley hardwoods help to justify the millions spent to keep this export route open—so that our forests can continue to be clearcut and exported!

To get involved, contact Broadened Horizons Riverkeeper Project, POB 4826, Chattanooga, TN 37405; (423) 267-0813; or the Riverkeepers, c/o Southeast Center for Ecological Awareness, POB 4213, Chattanooga, TN 37405; (423) 267-0813 or Katuah EF! POB 281, Chattanooga, TN 37401; (423) 624-3939.

# CLINTON STRIKES AT BIG MOUNTAIN

On October 11, President Clinton signed into law the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996. Clinton's action solidifies a deadline after which time 250 remaining Dineh (Navajo) families, largely elders, will be forced to relocate.

Dineh living on Hopi Partitioned Land have until January 1, 1997 to sign a 75-year lease which would put them under Hopi jurisdiction until the lease runs out, at which time the Dineh would be forced to leave. The leasees would not be allowed to pass the land onto their children. The lease doesn't address freedom of religion, so the Dineh don't know if they will be able to practice their own religion under Hopi law. Dineh resisters are refusing to sign the lease, but if they don't sign the lease by January 1, they are likely to be evicted.

This means the Hopi Tribal Council could then legally call upon its Hopi Rangers who, in conjunction with Federal Marshals and Bureau of Indian Affairs agents, could begin the relocation.

The US Government has spent over \$300 million in an attempt to get the Dineh people to relocate. The people of this area do not want the money; they want to be free to live on their sacred aboriginal homeland.



percent of the Dineh living on Hopi Partitioned Land to sign the lease.

On October 23, the Dineh people received another blow in their struggle. Their victory over Peabody Coal revoking the Kayenta Mine (see *Beltane*, 1996 issue of the EF! Journal) was overturned.

The Dineh are calling for people to come to Big Mountain before January 1, 1997! They need eye-witnesses, as well as help for various projects.

To get involved, contact the Big Mountain Dineh Alliance, POB 2889, Window Rock, AZ 86515; (505) 371-5551.

# East Oregon Forest Alert!

A number of timber sales in eastern Oregon are still being offered under the guise of "salvage." The projects listed below are the most urgent and need action immediately.

•The "Aldrich" timber sale is in an intact, never-logged forest. The steep, north-facing slopes are the headwaters of wild salmon and steelhead runs that spawn in the John Day River. The Forest Service is attempting to sell Aldrich with four other old-growth sales in a timber package called the "Jobs" sale. Jobs mandates cutting 12 million board feet from 3,960 roadless acres.

To protest Jobs, contact Doug Robin at the Bear Valley Ranger District, Malheur NF, 528 E. Main St., John Day, OR 97845; (541) 575-2110.

•The Clear Creek watershed contains the last functioning old-growth ponderosa pine ecosystem in the Prairie City Ranger District of the Malheur National Forest. Previously offered as the "Clear" timber sale, the Clinton Administration's Glickman directive, which requires a clear insect infestation or presence of disease to define a sale as salvage, forced the Forest Service to divide and re-offer it as other sales, namely "Foggy," "Stormy" and "Misty." Currently under appeal, Foggy is critical due to the rarity of old-growth ponderosa pine in the area. Stormy and Misty are scheduled to be sold this year under the Salvage Rider.

Protest these sales by contacting the Long Creek Ranger District at POB 849, John Day, OR 97845; (541) 575-3001.



•The Umatilla National Forest is offering two major Salvage Rider projects in the North Fork John Day Ranger District: the Oasis timber sale and the Camas Restoration Project. The last intact wild salmon runs in Indian Creek are threatened by Oasis.



The Forest Service persists with its plans to cut Oasis—1.9 million board feet from a 380-acre old-growth area—despite protests, the Glickman directive, (which limits green-tree cutting in salvage sales to 25 percent,) and the lack of bidders. Oasis has 70 to 85 percent green trees. Activists threatening lawsuits against buyers derailed Oasis' auction.

The Camas area contains a tributary for endangered spring Chinook salmon and is home to steelhead, bull trout, cougar, pileated woodpeckers, goshawk, elk, bear, eagles and a variety of songbirds.

The Camas Restoration Project calls for logging 45 million board feet in the next 10 years. The project was canceled, but then brought back from the dead by the Salvage Rider. This year's sales, "Thistle," "Mullein" and "Tarweed," target 10.5 million board feet from 2,600 acres.

To protest Camas and Oasis contact Craig Dixon-Smith, NFJD RD, Umatilla NF, POB 158, Ukiah, OR 97880; (541) 427-3231; and Tom Reilly, Umatilla NF, 2517 SW Hailey Ave, Pendleton, OR 97801; (541) 278-3720.

For more information, contact the Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project at HCR, Fossil, OR 97830; (541) 468-2028.

# MARCH AGAINST MAHOGANY

BY RICK SPENCER

Rainforest activists calling for a ban on mahogany imports marched 12 miles from Dan K. Moore Lumber in Lexington, North Carolina to Thomasville Furniture on September 11. Dan K. Moore is one of the biggest importers of mahogany in the US and Thomasville is one of the biggest users.

A dozen activists devoted an entire rain-drenched day to tell Thomasville, "Mahogany is Murder." The march and rally lasted seven hours and evoked a positive response from onlookers. As a result of the media exposure from the march, Thomasville's Senior Vice-President has agreed to meet with us.

Most stands of mahogany have been depleted, so pirate loggers often invade indigenous lands or wildlife reserves to steal the precious wood. Those who stand in their way are often shot. At least eight Amazon tribes have had people murdered at the hands of mahogany loggers.

Many recent developments in the mahogany campaign show that activists' dedication is paying off. In late July, the Brazilian Congress passed an unprecedented two-year moratorium on cutting mahogany in natural stands. Because reforestation efforts seldom succeed, even more mahogany imports will be made illegal. Along with this measure, Brazil introduced legislation that will decrease deforestation caused by ranching and farming.

Write Thomasville and demand that they stop using all rainforest wood. Thomasville Furniture, Chuck Gordon, 401 E. Main St., Thomasville, NC 27360.

To get involved, contact EarthCulture at POB 4674, Greensboro, NC 27404; (910) 854-2957.

# DI FI GETS COW PIE

BY DAVIS REDWOOD ACTION TEAM

Dianne Feinstein is known for many things here in the extreme lower regions of Cascadia. Being green is not one of them. Princess Di has betrayed mild pinkness in the past on social issues, but more recently whited-out that tendency with her calls for border-zone militarization.

Then came Headwaters Forest, a 60,000-acre redwood ecosystem looking like just another green political football for the pragmatists in the re-elect-Clinton-at-any-cost camp. To Slick Willy, it must have seemed like a shoe-in: Get Princess Di to negotiate with Prince Charles (Hurwitz) for the preservation of the 3,000-acre core grove also named Headwaters and say "I saved Headwaters." To those of us who have had to watch trucks with 10-foot-thick red log sections rolling by, this was just more Democratic bullshit.

Recognizing the shady deal for what it was, the Davis Redwood Action Team (DRAT) made the scene in redwood country and sprang into action. Taking the advice of a local nature boy, we took our opinion of Charles' and Di's criminal conspiracy straight to the source.

At 9 am sharp, after at least two hours of planning, we flew into Eureka like riders on the storm. Of course, our five-minutes-before-the-action reconnaissance told us that our target didn't open until 10 am. So about 30 trying-to-look-casual ruffraff strolled "inconspicuously" a block away.

After a swift banner-painting and with the hippies in position, DRAT dilly-dallied up to the double glass doors of the Democratic Party HQ (opening conveniently onto a busy downtown intersection) and grabbed the handle. Uh-oh, only one of the doors would open, leaving nowhere to put the concrete barrel. Suddenly a Demo staffer ran over and helpfully said that "sometimes the other one sticks and needs to be unlocked." She squatted down in a power suit (no low-bagger she), a mere foot from the barrel, and released the bottom latch. We thanked her, undid the top latch and launched our 600-pound gift into the inner sanctum.



Activists transform into a critical mass on their way to the Democratic National Headquarters.

Two casually dressed DRATs (*Canis genera* and Flora) sat gracefully and locked down to the barrel. Simultaneously, banner-dropping sprites atop the 3-story building's roof unfurled a dramatic proclamation: "Clinton—Save Headwaters, All Six Ancient Groves. Jail Hurwitz." An over-zealous building manager attempted to fling it down and accidentally broke a light fixture that showered the street with glass during a pitch at "arresting" the sprites.

I almost forgot the best part. Some unknown party sprang over the barrel and flung dried cow shit and feathers around the huge office, calling the Di/Charles deal "bullshit and fluff." Ten minutes later, the cops found their way from the court/jail (a block away) and started organizing their own private riot. Having assessed correctly the incredible commitment level of the lock-down crew, they formed a 10-cop protective barrier around the doorway and proceeded to berate and cajole them (ho-hum). Their suggestions ranged from tipping the barrel over ("I don't care if it does break your arm.") to sawing it down the middle ("Hey, you can choose to leave your arm in the way."). And, by the way, when you're locked down, hippie-drumming rules! Though, at midnight before an action it does not. They finally settled on dragging the barrel, DRATs attached, to just outside the door. Hey, don't ask me why. Testosterone maybe?

Now comes the sleazy part. Yeah, we cut a deal with the Democrats. I know, I know, that makes us as bad as Hurwitz, but check this out. After shutting down the office for two hours (and the Republican office across the street—hippie fear factor), the crew got off with no ID-viewing, no arrest, and got to keep the barrel, even after warning the Eureka Police Department and the sheriff that they'd see this puppy out on the road again! After cleaning up our mess, we headed to Scotia for more action.

Epilogue: We got front-page coverage in the *Eureka Times-Standard*, prominent coverage in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and a harshly critical editorial in the *Chronicle* the following day. Fallout: Feinstein, Carl Pope, and *Chronicle* editors decry EF!ers messiness (have they seen a clearcut forest recently?); "wedge" between EF! and Sierra Club alluded to privately (got in the way of their Clinton endorsement maybe?); defensive Feinstein editorial in the *Chronicle* a week later.

## Headwaters...

Continued from front page

countless others sang and spoke to the crowd as one by one, 1,033 people crossed PL's property line in ritual civil disobedience. Long after dark, the bewildered riot cops ran out of plastic cuffs and tickets and failed to even cite the last 150 line-crossers. Hundreds of activists streamed into base camp, glowing with the power of this monstrous action.

The next two weeks sparked with tension as well as spectacular direct action. As the sun rose on September 16, a coordinated series of actions shut down every gate leading into the 60,000-acre Headwaters complex. Most remained closed all day. Lockdowns, blockades and tree sits continued, slowing previously approved clearcut plans in the residual old growth adjacent to Owl Creek Grove and along the northern boundary of Headwaters Grove.

Meanwhile, negotiations resumed in Washington. Hopes for an injunction against salvage operations dimmed as hearings on EPIC's federal lawsuit were pushed back beyond the end of the moratorium. Then, on the morning of September 28, Feinstein, Garamendi and Hurwitz grinned in front of the television cameras and announced the fruit of their long hours of labor: yet another moratorium, covering only two of Headwaters' six ancient groves, and contingent upon an absolute nightmare of a final "deal." While the politicians and media proclaimed that Headwaters had been saved and environmentalists' concerns had been met—Feinstein even called it a "win-win" situation, confirming that the forest would lose—activists picked through the agreement, discovering a horde of devils in every detail.

The "deal" is no deal at all. True to his money-grubbing, swindling ways, Hurwitz merely agreed not to salvage log Headwaters Grove or the adjacent Elkhead Springs Grove for a maximum of 10 months. The area north of Headwaters Grove—a biologically critical buffer zone put on the map and the negotiating table by a grueling year-long direct action

campaign—was also thrown in as part of a complicated land transfer between PL, Elk River Timber and the feds. Hurwitz would pocket \$380 million in cash and as-yet-unidentified "surplus" federal land, and agree to suspend (not dismiss) his idiotic "takings" lawsuit against the government, in which Maxxam made the feeble argument that enforcement of the Endangered Species Act constitutes confiscation of private property.

As if paying off this corporate weasel at the taxpayer's expense one more time weren't enough of an insult, the groveling agencies must expedite approval of a multi-species federal Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) and state Sustained Yield Plan. Implemented by Ronald Reagan as a way to weaken the ESA by making compliance voluntary, HCP's allow corporations to kill endangered species on part of their land in exchange for protecting habitat elsewhere. PL would receive an "incidental take" permit, protected for all time against new biological information by a "No Surprises" clause, which would allow them to devastate the homes of coho salmon, marbled murrelets, spotted owls and a host of other creatures not yet federally identified as endangered. Four pristine groves—All Species, Owl Creek, Allen Creek and Shaw Creek—are not even mentioned in the agreement.

Every one of the nation's dozen or so currently implemented HCPs has resulted in a net loss of habitat, and over 300 HCPs are now in the planning stages. Pacific Lumber submitted a draft HCP for the marbled murrelet some time ago, claiming that existing redwood parks provided enough habitat to justify total liquidation of their old growth. Even US Fish & Wildlife officials laughed that plan out of existence, but they now face enormous political pressure to rubber-stamp whatever PL submits in the next 10 months. The corporate thugs at Maxxam are holding Headwaters and Elkhead Springs Groves hostage while trashing the other old-growth habitat that their HCP supposedly aims to protect. In this case, HCP stands for "Hurwitz Controls the Process."

As both John Campbell and proto-fascist North Coast Congressman Frank Riggs were forced to

admit at a September 30 town meeting in Eureka, the agreement fails to permanently protect a single tree. Either Maxxam, PL or the feds can back out at any time with two weeks' notice, ending the salvage moratorium. Congressional and state legislative approval, both required to make the cash payoff and land trades happen, have been deferred until after the election. Nobody can claim with any shred of honesty that this agreement saves Headwaters.

The thin veil of Democratic Party disinformation stretched over the agreement by spin doctors for Feinstein and Garamendi began to unravel almost immediately. Further Earth First! rallies and actions, including the outrageous "bullshit and fluff" demo at the Eureka Democrats' campaign headquarters, spread EF!'s unqualified message far and wide: "No Deal!" In a wonderfully bizarre media coup, San Francisco's KGO radio, one of the most powerful AM stations on the West Coast, was successfully infiltrated by Earth First!. Judi Bari now calls in action reports almost daily, and two talk show hosts have mounted a month-long filibuster on the Headwaters issue, ensuring that listeners from British Columbia to Baja get a nightly dose of radicalism.

Unfortunately, news from the legal front has been mixed. EPIC's motions for a temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction were both denied in federal court during the first week in October. The judge ruled that restrictions imposed on PL's salvage operations, which only allow PL to drag downed trees from the forest floor to existing roads, were sufficient to avoid damaging marbled murrelet habitat. With the slimmest chance of success, EPIC and the Sierra Club set their sights on October 8, when Pete Wilson's industry-dominated California Board of Forestry were to reconsider their September denial of emergency rules to stop the salvage logging.

In a stunning display of cluelessness, PL began dragging ancient trees out of All Species Grove on the day before the Board meeting. Suddenly, any remaining public illusions about the deal evaporated, and Feinstein and Garamendi spent the day

Continued on next page

# OWL CREEK RISES: CONFRONTATION IN THE HEADWATERS COMPLEX

BY SPRING AND ANNE ARCKY

While 1,033 Headwaters Forest supporters spent September 15 participating in the largest civil disobedience in North American forest activist history, dozens of courageous redwood defenders were busy "conspiring to infringe on the property rights" of Maxxam's Pacific Lumber Company (PL). Although a last-minute voluntary moratorium delayed PL's plans to start salvage logging in the ancient groves, Timber Harvest Plans (THPs) in nearby areas would be open for business starting the morning after the rally.

Frontline activists spent long, late hours before the September 16 preparing for the worst-case scenario: an all-out assault on the six ancient groves of Headwaters Forest. Tightly organized affinity groups worked together to blockade every one of PL's access gates to the 60,000-acre complex and occupy all of the groves, as well as one "residual" and one second-growth area critical to the survival of the coho salmon and other imperiled species.

North Headwaters (THP 096), a second-growth forest adjacent to the main ancient grove, originally appeared to be excluded from the moratorium. Although grassroots and mainstream activists have supported the inclusion of this vital Coho habitat in any deal attempting to preserve Headwaters, corporate bargaining power overcame common sense.

An elaborate gate blockade on the access road to North Headwaters slowed the company's first work day. A logging crew worked into the next week clearing trees for the road and felling sporadically, slowed by several technically complex blockades. By the end of the next week, intense political pressure won a voluntary moratorium for THP 096 that eventually resulted in the inclusion of North Headwaters into the 7,500-acre compromise deal.

In a previously thinned area still home to ancient trees, PL was met with creative and spirited resistance. Six units of "residual old growth" lay adjacent to an ancient grove known as Owl Creek, where a permanent in-

junction has locked PL out since 1994. In one of the few units not yet completed, a dozen "ewoks" erected a tree village that would eventually grow to include six platforms, a hammock, and a 400-square-foot shrimp net. Over the course of 19 days, 17 sitters rotated through the village.

On September 16 and 17, simultaneous actions on the road leading to the village kept the sits undisturbed. During a failed vehicle lockdown on September 17 on the road below the village, a peace-loving Cascadian was accused of wielding a metal lockbox at the cops and was bogusly charged with felony assault of an officer. Later in the day, a ground-support elf was tackled by a sheriff right below the shrimp net occupied by two sitters. The elf suffered a hairline fracture in her wrist from the cop's pain compliance holds, and was later discharged from jail to seek medical attention.

By September 18, fellers had begun logging trees up to 12 feet in diameter. Ground support attempted to intervene, but police presence made it difficult.

Ground support was a vital element to keeping the sit going, especially after the fellers began to work in the unit. Just being in the unit, establishing stash spots for gear, meeting up with new ground support, and keeping the sitters supplied would prove nearly impossible in the coming weeks, as PL security, county sheriffs in camouflage and two "guys in blue," who looked sort of like SWAT team cops, worked together to eradicate the woods of elves and starve or freeze the sitters out of the trees.

September 19 saw the first taste of the militaristic mentality of the industrial logging industry and the authorities at Owl Creek. The sheriff in charge had one of the two dozen workers blast a skid trail into the unit under the shrimp net, where he then built an earthen mound in just a few scoops, drove onto the mound and stood atop the machine to slash the net. The three sitters in the net scurried onto vertical lines away from the gaping hole, through which the cops pulled

all of their gear. The ground-support group watched in horror as the rest of the village desperately screamed at the perpetrators.

Eventually the cops gave up on the net and regrouped. Their next move was to send a PL tree topper/logger up each occupied tree to cut down essential gear. During this slightly unexpected fiasco, sitters tried to retain and hide some of their stuff, but were told by police that if anyone made a move on the climber or reached into their backpacks, hidden snipers would "take you out." One elf was confronted by a sheriff in the unit who feigned pulling a gun on him. While cops were serious about ambushing and chasing down elves, only a handful were actually caught and arrested.

The 'dozer continued through the next week churning earth, flattening the natural contours of the land and totally destroying the vegetation. For each tree, the dozer would scrape out a "landing pad" for the tree to bounce off, and as the week moved on, the felling inched closer to the village.

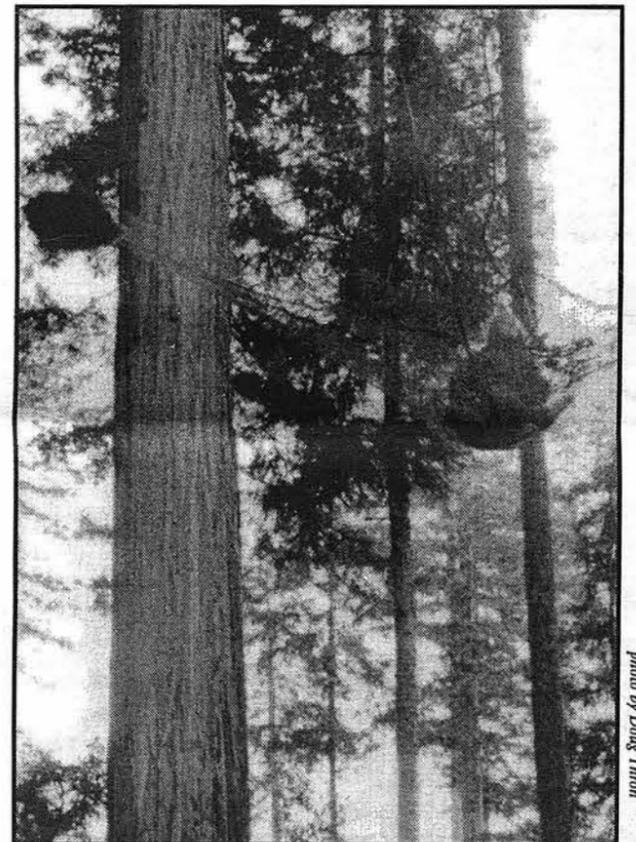
Pacific Lumber's climber ascended twice more before the last sitter was forcibly removed. Some sitters lived on their platforms for two weeks, and at one point hammocks replaced platforms taken by the climber. Elves kept the sitters constantly resupplied with warmth and food even until the end, when the unit was saturated with prowling fuzz.

By the last few days, the unit looked like a dusty parking lot. Three occupied trees remained, and trees were dropped dangerously close to them. A 'dozer side-swiped a tree occupied tenuously by two sitters. Workers even dug up an entire stump of a tree cut only 10 feet away from

an occupied tree to remove the evidence. The last two villagers were lowered to the ground in a cooperative effort by the climber and the cops.

Many of those arrested at the Headwaters actions this season were charged with felony conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. These charges kept folks in jail for a week or longer, but were usually dropped later. Close to 150 people have been arrested since the big rally on September 15—approximately 15 of them juveniles.

The villagers look back at their temporary canopy home as an experiment and a valuable practice for future occupations. The Owl Creek village may well have been the first of its kind in North America. The experience has wizened many activists and served to strengthen our commitment to direct action in defense of the land. The Owl Creek THP is continuing as scheduled, but we hope to use what we learned to grow in numbers and effectiveness and to defend more of the last wild forests.



Activist defies gravity—Owl Creek style

## Headwaters ...

stammering into the cameras with rotten egg on their faces. Facing a tide of public outrage, Feinstein and Garamendi sent strongly worded letters to the Board demanding adoption of emergency rules.

The Board met late into the evening while activists awaited their decision. The stunning news then emerged that the Board had voted tentatively to adopt part of the rules package, responding not to the incontrovertible ecological "emergency" but to the threat to public peace and the general welfare generated by protests and direct action.

About 150 Earth First!ers have gone to jail since September 15, actions continue on almost a daily basis, and Humboldt County is simply reeling from the blows. Congressman Riggs, whose favorite corporate constituent uses the Sheriff's department as a private security force, is now whining for federal aid.

Euphoria over the Board's apparent capitulation to direct action dissipated the next day, when the final rules package foundered on a technicality. Only four members of the nine-person Board voted for the rules package, violating a provision requiring a majority of the Board—not just those present—to legitimize a decision. However, one position on the Board is

vacant, and two members recused themselves on dubious grounds, leaving a 4-2 vote in favor of the rules ineffective. The Environmental Protection Information Center is exploring a legal challenge to this technicality.

That very morning, PL was caught red-handed cutting live, standing trees in All Species Grove, violating the court-ordered restrictions on their salvage operations. The habitually inept California Department of Forestry, which earlier claimed that monitoring of the operations was unimportant because PL's "best interests" were served by compliance, was forced to investigate the violation. They issued a 24-hour stop work order, met with PL for a gentle wrist-slapping session, and allowed logging to continue.

Public officials always act surprised when PL willfully disobeys the law and seem to suffer from amnesia regarding past crimes such as the illegal logging of Owl Creek over Thanksgiving weekend in 1992 and the unapproved "Death Road" slashed through the heart of Headwaters Grove in 1990. Earth First! exposed both of these travesties, and the "Ecotopia Department of Forestry (EDF)" continues to monitor and document the destruction in All Species Grove. In fact, the EDF issued its own "stop work order," in the form of a lockdown on yarding

equipment that resulted in 22 arrests.

Salvage logging continues in the ancient groves, interrupted by woods actions and gate blockades. However, the federal judge who allowed these operations to go forward is now on notice concerning PL's violations, and another hearing is set for late October. The so-called Headwaters "deal" has been exposed as a total fraud, as major national media outlets air Earth First!ers' video footage of destruction in ancient forests.

The immense power and public pressure generated by Headwaters activists over the past few months is truly staggering. While legal experts craft paper monkeywrenches and media hounds hammer home our message, direct action on the front lines turns up the heat on compromising politicians and their robber baron pals. The Democratic Party hacks who handed Hurwitz his dream "deal" now know that the public will never accept it. Until every acre of this redwood wilderness achieves permanent protection, Earth First! direct action and organizing will continue in its defense. Like the song says, "We're not leaving till you're out of the forest!"

We desperately need your help to continue this campaign until late November when the autumn rains send the loggers home. Come join us! Call (707) 468-1660 for information.

# CHERNOBYL REACTOR HEATS UP

BY RENFREY CLARK

Scenes in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev in September were reminiscent of those in April 1986, when rumors flew of a massive accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant 100 kilometers to the north. Residents kept their windows shut and their children inside. At railway stations and airline offices, queues lengthened as parents made ready to send their offspring to stay with distant relatives.

The cause of the renewed alarm was a series of unexplained increases in the recorded level of neutron emissions inside the concrete-and-steel sarcophagus covering the destroyed Chernobyl number 4 reactor. On September 12 and 16, instruments measured two bursts of radiation inside the sarcophagus, recording neutron levels many times greater than those that have been typical over the past ten years.

For some days after the latest incidents government authorities, as in 1986, revealed nothing. Then on September 24, Ukrainian Environmental Protection and Nuclear Safety Minister Yury Kostenko warned that another explosion was possible at Chernobyl.

As news of the latest incidents at Chernobyl forced its way into the open, the first response by national leaders was to try to forestall panic by playing down the dangers. Here, government spokespeople received help from Ukraine's large and influential nuclear power establishment.

A line of argument heard repeatedly at this time was that the increase in neutron emissions had not occurred at all. Heavy rains were said to have raised the levels of humidity inside the sarcophagus, causing measuring devices to malfunction. However, the nuclear industry proved unable to get its story straight, or to stop technical staff from reporting the facts as they observed them. A special commission charged with investigating the neutron anomalies concluded that conditions inside the sarcophagus had remained dry.

Meant to ease public anxiety, the claim that the rises in neutron emissions never happened had exactly the opposite effect. Among the Ukrainian population, the suspicion has increased that the authorities are hiding something dangerous.

Pro-nuclear interests in Ukraine have now advanced a more subtle argument, which has been given prominent treatment by newspapers in neighboring Russia. This argument holds that Kostenko's warning of a possible explosion was a ploy aimed at spreading alarm in the West and forcing other countries to meet pledges of aid to Ukraine.

In April of this year, leaders of the G-7 countries agreed to come up with \$3 billion for building a new sarcophagus and shutting down the remaining Chernobyl reactors. Representatives of the G-7 group and Ukraine were due to meet in Paris on October 11, and were expected to discuss Chernobyl funding.

Ukrainians were thus assured that they could relax. The suggestions that the Chernobyl number four reactor might again explode, media reports implied, were simply a case of politicians peddling scare stories in order to pressure opponents and score an advantageous deal.

Critics of nuclear power might well have wanted to cry "Slander!" But the picture has been complicated by the fact that the impoverished Ukrainian authorities have excellent reasons for wanting to scare Western governments, and in some cases have arguably tried to do so. Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma was reported on September 27 to have rebuked Kostenko for trying to "intimidate people" with his warnings. However, Kuchma added that uncertainty over conditions inside the ruined reactor would prompt him to press the G-7 powers for aid in constructing a new sarcophagus. *Izvestiya*, in a lead story entitled "Nuclear Blackmail for Mercenary Ends?", quoted Kostenko as warning that if G-7 help were delayed, the planned shutdown of the Chernobyl plant in 2003 might have to be postponed.

As these political struggles have unfolded, some of the most pertinent facts about Chernobyl have not commanded much weight. But one point which no-one disputes is that the situation inside the sarcophagus is very poorly understood.

In these circumstances, arguing that another explosion "cannot" occur is simply irresponsible. The stakes, meanwhile, are immense. Accepting that a chain reaction at Chernobyl number 4 was "in principle" possible, *Izvestiya* noted scientific warnings that such a development could lead to an explosion "exceeding the power of the 1986 Chernobyl blast by hundreds of times."

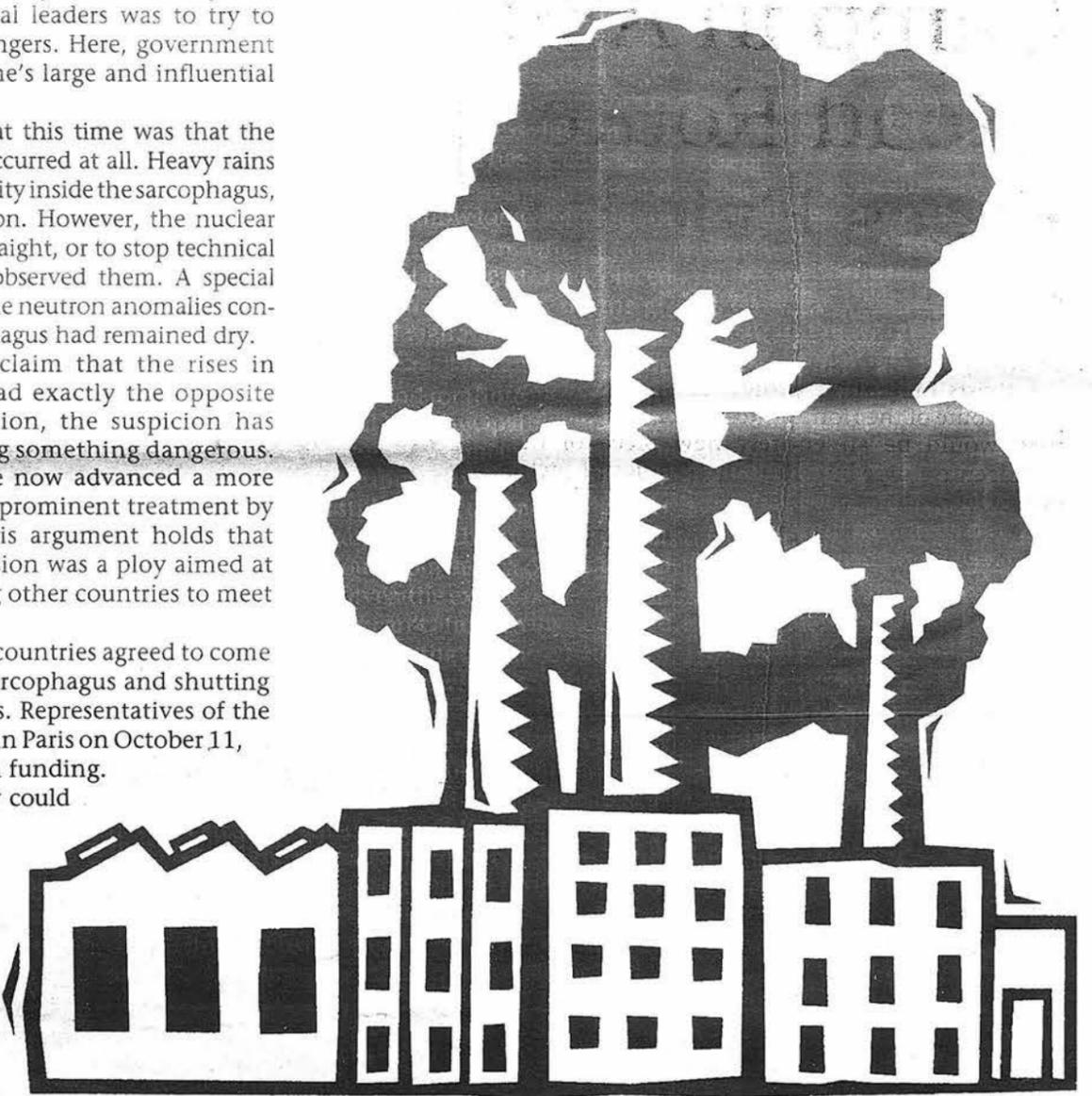
The Ukrainian and G-7 governments therefore have an obliga-

tion to draw up and implement plans on a "worst-case" basis. Kostenko's preferred solution, to remove the melted-down fuel from the remains of the reactor, is almost certainly impossible. That means that a new sarcophagus, strong enough to withstand a major explosion, must be built over the existing, rapidly deteriorating structure. An essential aspect of this task will be the closure of the number three reactor block, which shares a wall with the destroyed reactor.

The expense will be enormous; the Ukrainian government last year estimated the total price of shutting down Chernobyl at \$4 billion. But the Western governments that have pushed nuclear power as a cheap, environmentally acceptable option have no right to deny aid in the quantities required.

To add to the climate of public fear, a new nuclear power plant is slated to be built in the Rostov region of Russia.

For more information, contact Ecodefense, Moskovsky prospekt 120-34, 236006 Kaliningrad/Koenigsberg, Russia; telephone/fax +7 0112 437286; e-mail: [ecodefense@glas.apc.org](mailto:ecodefense@glas.apc.org); <http://cci.glasnet.ru/KOI/SEU/KOLLEKT/ECODEFEN/INDEX.HTM> or <http://www.infochase.com/edu/ecodefense/index.html>.



## SABOTAGE DISRUPTS GERMAN RAILWAYS

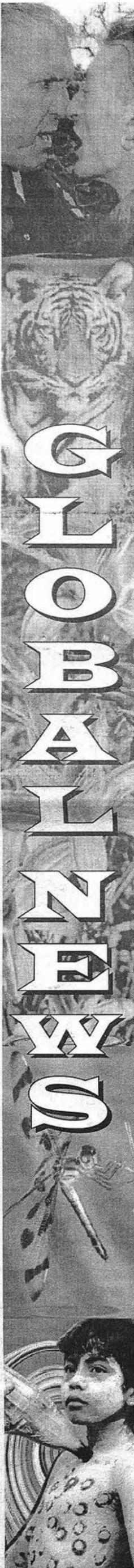
BY IAN TRAYNOR

Anti-nuclear militants were suspected of sabotaging rail services across much of northern Germany last fall by hoisting grappling hooks across overhead power lines.

Four trains came to a halt near the cities of Hanover and Gottingen after hitting the hooks, a spokesman for German Railways said. Thousands of passengers had their services disrupted and several lines were closed as trains were rerouted and lines cleared.

Although no-one claimed responsibility, campaigners opposed to the transport of nuclear waste by rail to a storage site near Hanover were believed to be behind the attacks.

In May thousands of police and militants fought pitched battles near the Gorleben site as protesters tried to block the arrival of nuclear waste from France.

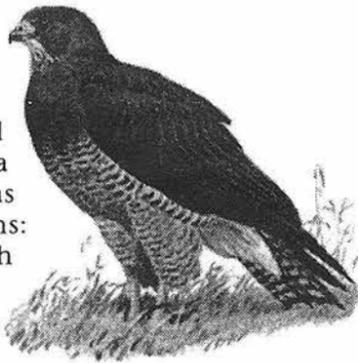


GLOBAL NEWS

# Swainson's Hawks Slaughtered by Ciba-Geigy

BY NANCY VOGEL

This fall, white-bellied Swainson's hawks hunting gophers in the Central Valley of California will do something as certain as the seasons: They'll fly to South America. But there's nothing certain about whether the hawks will return.



In the flat, eucalyptus-studded region of Argentina where Swainson's hawks winter, a pesticide sprayed to kill grasshoppers has been poisoning the raptors by the thousands. Nobody knows how long the mass killing has been going on. Until last year, North American biologists had only a general sense of where the hawks roosted each winter. The birds have been listed as threatened in California since 1983.

In the winter of 1995, US Forest Service ornithologist Brian Woodbridge got curious about

why some of the adult hawks he banded never returned from their migration, one of the longest of Western hawks.

With his supervisor's blessing, he followed two hawks fitted with radio transmitters to Argentina's La Pampa province. There he found piles of feathers and bones—more than 700 dead hawks.

The next winter, Woodbridge returned. He found an estimated 4,000 dead hawks, often clumped together under roosting trees.

"Some were still alive, standing there dazed in the fields," he said.

The culprit, he learned from Argentinian farmers and laboratory results, is a pesticide called monocrotophos. Pesticide manuals describe it as "extremely toxic to birds." La Pampa farmers use it to kill grasshoppers hungry for fields of young sunflowers and alfalfa.

As farmers haul air blasters of pesticides through fields, the hawks swoop into the spray to hunt grasshoppers kicked up by tractors. The birds ingest monocrotophos by eating the grasshoppers or by preening their feathers. It doesn't take much more than a milligram of monocrotophos, which stops

nerve function, to kill a hawk.

Implicated in the deaths of 10,000 robins in Florida and hundreds of birds of prey in Israel, registration of monocrotophos was voluntarily canceled in the United States by DuPont Company after federal registration requirements were tightened in 1988. But Ciba-Geigy Corporation continues to make the chemical elsewhere in the world.

Woodbridge estimates that last year, 15,000 to 20,000 birds were killed on the Kansas-like plains of Argentina. That's about five percent of the entire population of a bird found in California's Central Valley, east across the Great Basin and Great Plains and north into Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Swainson's hawks once swooped over grasslands through much of California, but intensive agriculture and development have wiped them out of the Imperial Valley and the southern coastal plain

where San Diego and Los Angeles now sprawl. "When you find a pile of hundreds of them dead and one with a bird band on that's 19 years old... to be killed by senseless use of pesticide seems like such a waste," Bechard said.



## Camp in A30 Road Route Faces Eviction

BY ANDY RIDGEWELL

The longest-running tree occupation in the UK is currently facing eviction.

Activists built three protest camps on the proposed route of the Honiton-to-Exeter A30 road. The road would be an entirely new piece of dual carriageway plowing through 14 miles of picturesque Devon countryside, destroying the habitat of supposedly protected species and paving over 12 hectares of woodland and 140 hectares of prime agricultural land. Additionally, the prospect of this new road is already producing a flood of applications for potentially environmentally damaging development and new businesses that would be located alongside both the new road and the one it is replacing.

Preliminary clearance work was carried out in October 1994, but two areas of woodland were saved at the time and activists set up camp. But at press time police, acting under the reactionary Criminal Justice Act, are evicting protestors from the bottom end of Fairmile camp. According to the activist group Road Alert, police were refusing to tell people their names and ranks and their badge numbers were often hidden.

Clearance work is also occurring around a third camp, Trollheim, which features a hill fort with battlements and drawbridge.

The protestors built entire tree-villages at the two woodland sites, each consisting of up to two dozen separate treehouses (several of which individually can sleep 10 or more), with all the trees linked by rope walkways 30 to 60 feet up. In addition, Camp Allercome boasts a 30-foot scaffold tripod and a 40-foot tower, the bases of which both begin not at ground level, but from the tops of a series of ash trees! Fairmile has an extensive series of underground tunnels, dug at a depth of 10 to 20 feet, surrounding the site. Activists intend to chain themselves to concrete barrels inside the tunnels to prevent heavy machinery from getting near the trees.

Formal evacuation notices were served at the three camps on September 17. The actual road construction work was due to commence October 1, but was delayed.

This article is appearing simultaneously in the Auto-Free Times, POB 4347, Arcata, CA 95518, USA.

For more information, contact: Road Alert, POB 5544, Newbury, RG14 5FB, United Kingdom, Telephone: 01635 521770



Formidable women of the A30 Trollheim camp: (above) This protester is occupying the fortification wall built around the camp to deter police evictions. (below) This protester receives a plate of food on break from digging the underground tunnels which will collapse and bury activists alive if heavy equipment rolls in.



# DIARY OF A CLEARCUT

BY FRANCIS EATHERINGTON

Late last summer I was driving around our public forest roads just south of Eugene and north of Drain, Oregon, enjoying the beautiful Smith River watershed. Eleven miles west of Interstate 5, I drove through an old-growth reserve toward BLM road 20-6-35, where I knew the Summit Creek Timber Sale was. This area was supposedly protected under the President's Northwest Forest Plan and is considered critical habitat for the survival of anadromous fish. It was now being logged under the Salvage Rider.

When I got there, I could see a big home-made sign up the road that said "Road Closed—Logging Traffic Only." There were no BLM road closures in this area (logging companies can't just close public roads on their own), and it was a weekend—no logging traffic—so I went up to see what I could find.

The Summit Creek timber sale was so environmentally damaging it had been stopped in 1990. This 9.5-million-board-foot sale (that's equal to 1,800 logging trucks) was one of the green, healthy ancient forests that Congress mandated be clearcut by the Salvage Rider without an inch of riparian buffer to protect endangered fish.

I soon came to Unit 1. Big trees were lying on the ground. Big yellow stumps, flowing with fresh pitch, stood out sharply against once green branches, now drying and yellowing. I saw a new road the loggers bulldozed into the top of Unit 1 going right over a little stream that still trickled water in late August. This is how the BLM treats forests that are supposed to receive the highest level of protection! The destruction was awesome.

I continued up the main road to Units 2 and 3. I saw Unit 3 while facing its steep slope across another

clearcut. I saw a totally brown, bare hillside. I was too far away to see the individual stumps, but I could see the trees were not scattered on the ground. They had been pulled (yarded) up to the top of the unit. They were piled high on top of each other, awaiting the longest journey of their life—a ride on a logging truck, through the open air and into the sharp steel blades that convert the green wood into green dollars.

Immediately behind me was another side road, and I could see something up there—cables and red things. I drove on up and found myself on a landing overlooking Unit 2. It was shocking, as all clearcuts are when viewed up close. It was the ugliest thing I had yet seen that day. The unit was huge. It was shaved clean all the way to the bottom of one slope and up the next one. There were nothing but stumps and brown, dying brush. I could see wide, white lines, places where the top soil was scraped away when the big trees had been pulled up to the landing. Most of the trees had already taken their ride to the mill. But some still remained in the far corner of the unit. I guess that was why the equipment was all still there.

On the landing was lots of big, heavy equipment: bulldozers, fire



Photos by Francis Eatherington



Unit 4 of the Summit Creek Timber Sale

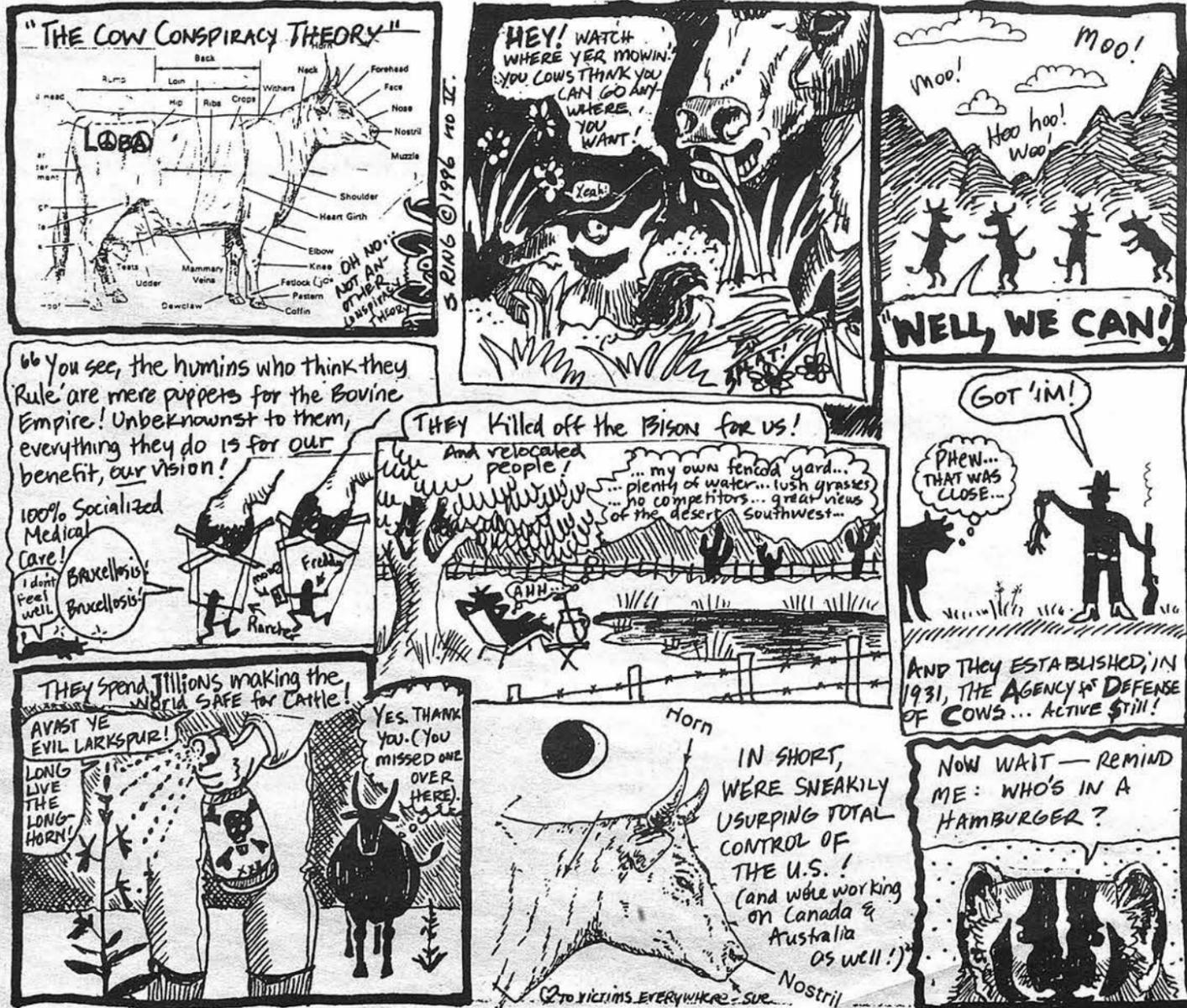
trucks, yarders and something with massive jaws that picks up the big logs and puts them in the trucks, called a loader. There was a tower over 30 feet high, held in place by a dozen cables spreading out from the top—a yarder, used to facilitate dragging the logs over the fragile soil.

I looked in awe at the monstrous machinery, with its giant wheels and treads. Surely mother earth doesn't stand a chance in the wake of such macho power. These profiteers are doing more than raping nature—they are castrating it. The old-growth trees on the edge of the clearcut stood sturdy, towering upwards, and beside them were bleeding stumps. This is the castration process, the cutting off of the life force. It is ultimately self-destruction.

Scattered around the landing were more tools: axes, wrenches bigger than my fist and a hard hat sitting next to a can of Copenhagen. Then I spotted the saws, three chainsaws resting on the landing. Two of the saws had the longest blades I'd ever seen, as long as the wing span of an eagle. They were shiny and sharp like a surgeon's blade, and looked quite able to slice through the biggest, hardest job assigned to them.

I drove away in pain back down the Smith River, once the home of millions of native fish. Now the fish are in grave danger of going extinct, primarily because of logging according to government scientists. My generation has witnessed this habitat destruction and our children will feel the pain of its loss the most. Their children, having never experienced these life forms, will not be able to ever fathom what we stole from them. Losing the memory of our ancient forests will be our most tragic loss.

Francis Eatherington is a board member of Umpqua Watersheds. She developed her strong opinions on forestry practices in the Pacific Northwest by being a forestry worker in the region for over 20 years.



# BLACK & GREEN



Welcome to Black & Green:

This is a collection of articles and essays by biocentric anarchists; this is not a platform or manifesto.

We all come from different places and viewpoints. Some of us are militantly opposed to technology, while others aren't so militant. There are biocentric anarchists who work with MOVE and others who support their struggle against the state, but do not agree with their philosophy. This publication was put together to start a dialogue on these and other issues that we felt were not regularly addressed.

Biocentric anarchists are not new to the EF! movement. We believe in the principles of biocentrism, but we also believe that the entire power structure needs to be dismantled and replaced by a non-hierarchical society based on biocentrism.

We are not a part of the typically PC, left-based, eco-anarchist contingent... or the anthropocentric social ecologist movement, and although we do share the central principle of biocentrism, we are not deep ecologists. We are, simply, anarchists fighting for the natural world.

So, please read this for information purposes, and we hope that you find the info both interesting and worthy of further discussion.

## THE SNAP OF A TWIG

"Force enhancers." The ominous phrase shot across the airwaves with a crack like a 22. I stared at the radio. A Congresswoman was describing her work on transferring military technology to the civilian police force.

In military jargon "force enhancers" refer to technologies that improve the killing capacity of each soldier. An army can never have enough soldiers, so true to Western thinking, there has been an incredible drive to make the individual soldiers

better equipped on the battlefield. We watched the graphic outcome in the Persian Gulf War where death was delivered on a massive scale quickly, mercilessly, and by remote control.

This Congresswoman was saying how today's cop is like a Wyatt Earp, out there alone, with a police cruiser replacing the horse and nothing else to help out. This so called "liberal" legislator sought to deliver "force enhancers" to local police. I guess she felt that there can never be enough police officers in this "war against crime",

I wondered how the military style assault units (SWAT teams), police dogs, police helicopters with infrared, tear gas and riot gear fit into this lone Wyatt Earp image she was painting. I also

wondered what kind of military technology she had in mind for cops of the future.

Never forget that crime is a social and political construct, not an absolute, as they attempt to sell us this business of "fighting crime." The real product beneath all the rhetoric is social control. Police forces defend the owning class. (This becomes clear to any forest activist attempting to stop an illegal timber sale. Enforcers of the law only care about protesters trespassing, not about any violations of environmental laws endangering the greater community.) Laws such as the Seditious Conspiracy Act (18 USCS 2384) have been constructed specifically to criminalize political dissent. The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, originally intended to combat organized crime, has been twisted around to punish political targets. Political prisoners have received up to fifty year sentences just for RICO convictions.

Social control is big business. Every night the cop shows on TV advertise this expensive product. Funding for the criminal "just-us" system has increased seven-fold over the past twenty years, from \$10 billion to \$74 billion a year, with \$25 billion spent for incarceration. Not only is prison construction a major growth industry, but an increasing number of private companies are reaping the benefits of cheap prison labor.

## SEEING THE DANGER THROUGH THE TREES

Upon hearing the crack of a twig, a deer will look and listen motionlessly for a few moments. If there's no apparent danger rushing towards her, the deer goes right back to browsing. This is a dangerous survival strategy in an age where technology allows the hunter to kill at a distance. (The American Left seem to mimic this behavior. When we hear about something alarming, we look up from our work only momentarily. Upon finding that there's still a US Constitution guaranteeing free speech and the right to peacefully protest the government, we go back to painting yet another banner and planning the next demo.)

We forget that the constitution didn't prevent federal agents from raiding radical organizations throughout the country in September of 1918. Thousands were arrested and 500 deported. A thriving socialist press was effectively destroyed, along with the International Workers of the World (IWW) amidst the red scare and war propaganda of WWI.

WWII brought the internment of 100,000 Japanese Americans. The Cold War brought the chill of McCarthyism. Now we are in the middle of a war against drugs and crime, an internal war, against citizens within our own borders. It seems the politicians are getting ready to declare yet another war--this one against terrorism. Better hold on tight to your civil liberties.

A twig snaps... We look up... What? Not another Crime Control Bill! 100,000 more cops on the streets. This is costing us some big bucks. Good thing I don't pay taxes.

Was that the wind... No, just another proposal for a national identification card utilizing fingerprints or retina scans. No need to worry; the American people will never accept that.

Another twig... Anti-terrorism legislation, funding 10,000 more FBI agents and authorizing the military involvement in certain domestic investigations. Hmmm...

Rustling of the leaves... \$50 million dollars spent just on the Unabomber investigation. Library computer records searched for particular books that may have been checked out. Satellites surveillance of Kaczynski's cabin... But that's OK. I ain't no terrorist like he was.

A big thud nearby... Prison population doubled between 1975 and 1985 and then doubled again last decade... But I'm not in jail. Well, at least I'm not behind bars.

## THE TECHNOLOGY OF CONTROL

political climates do swing back and forth between permissive and reactionary. Maybe things will lighten up at the of the millennium. (Fat chance!) However, technology developments are not cyclical like politics, they are linear and exponential. The technology of control is becoming even more sophisticated and pernicious.

The digitizing of fingerprints was a quiet revolution in law enforcement. To check a set of fingerprints once required someone to visually compare them with each set of prints one after another. It was time consuming and labor intensive. Most investigations only compared prints with those on file locally. These days a portable fingerprint scanner in the cop car can check a set of prints against the entire national law enforcement database. No wonder the authorities are eager to get kids fingerprints "for their own

(cont'd on page 4)

## EARTH FIRST! MEET MOVE

MOVE is not an acronym; it means, "to MOVE, to work, to generate, to be active." MOVE, active in Philadelphia since the early '70's, is "a serious committed family of revolutionaries." (Those members adopt the last name Africa as a act of family unity.) John Africa's teachings, which stress living in harmony with Mother Earth, is what MOVE philosophy is based on:

**"MOVE'S WORK IS TO STOP THE INDUSTRY FROM POISONING THE AIR, THE SOIL, AND TO PUT AN END TO THE ENSLAVEMENT OF LIFE, PEOPLE, ANIMALS, ANY FORM OF LIFE. THE PURPOSE OF JOHN AFRICA'S REVOLUTION IS TO SHOW PEOPLE HOW CORRUPT, ROTTEN, CRIMINALLY ENSLAVING THIS SYSTEM IS..."**

As Ramona Africa puts it, "It is MOVE's reverence for life, our absolute commitment to life, our uncompromising protection of life... that led to every confrontation we've ever had with this system because this system don't care nothing about life, this system only care about money.."

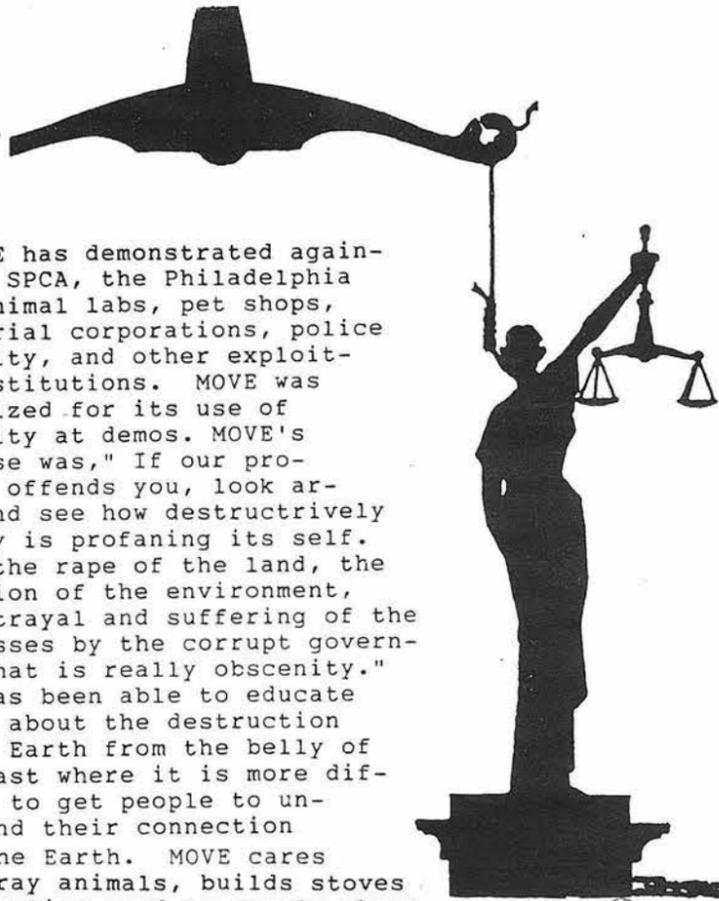
MOVE makes the connection between the struggle against the oppressor of the urban and rural people, especially people of color, and the struggle against the destruction of the Earth. The system that wages war on the poor and people of color is the same system that exploits and ravages the Earth, and neither the Earth, the poor, nor the people of color will be safe until the mentality that oppresses all of them is destroyed. MOVE also makes the connection between

industry and government. Ramona Africa clearly states: "MOVE's fight is with industry because industry is poisoning and abusing life. Industry is responsible for polluting the water, the air, the soil, and making life sick; industry is responsible for drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes; industry is responsible for cars, trains, and buses that pollute the air, poison the lungs and retard the legs for lack of use. Zoos that enslave animal-life is an industry; scientific laboratories that torture animals through experiments is an industry; prisons that enslave the innocent along with the guilty is an industry. Industry is MOVE's target, but industrialists put politicians between us and them by using politicians to legalize, endorse and protect industry... so when MOVE confronts industry, we're confronting politics and politicians, too."



MOVE has demonstrated against the SPCA, the Philadelphia Zoo, animal labs, pet shops, industrial corporations, police brutality, and other exploitive institutions. MOVE was criticized for its use of profanity at demos. MOVE's response was, "If our profanity offends you, look around and see how destructively society is profaning its self. It is the rape of the land, the pollution of the environment, the betrayal and suffering of the masses by the corrupt government that is really obscenity." MOVE has been able to educate people about the destruction of the Earth from the belly of the beast where it is more difficult to get people to understand their connection with the Earth. MOVE cares for stray animals, builds stoves and supplies wood to people whose gas has been cut off, checks on elderly people who live alone, and feeds people as their funds allow. MOVE members believe in order to be an effective revolutionary, one must be a healthy revolutionary, and the key to health is diet. MOVE members eat a raw food diet and do not use alcohol or any drugs. MOVE's no compromising position in pursuit of their beliefs makes MOVE a real threat to the system. MOVE's no compromising stance in exposing one of the most brutally racist police forces in Amerikkka led to repeated attempts by the system to destroy MOVE. The system first tried to silence MOVE by arresting them on trumped up charges. MOVE clogged the court system by defending themselves, cursing and agitating the judges, who responded with contempt of court charges, soon backlogging the courts with hundreds of cases until eventually the courts began dismissing MOVE cases due to back log. The kops took it upon themselves MOVE members on sight; broken bones, bruises, billy clubs broken over people's heads were a regular occurrence. Alberta Africa (pregnant and in jail at the time), Janet and Leesing Africa, both pregnant, all lost babies after suffering miscarriages due to police beatings. Life Africa, an infant, was killed during a police attack. Complaints to the legal system were met with a laugh.

So, on May 20, 1977 MOVE held a demo demanding the release of their political prisoners and an end to the violent harassment by the kops. They showed up outside their house armed with guns. MOVE stated: "WE TOLD THE COPS THERE WASN'T GONNA TO BE ANY MORE UNDERCOVER DEATHS. THIS TIME THEY BETTER BE PREPARED TO MURDER US IN FULL PUBLIC VIEW, CAUSE IF THEY COME AT US WITH FISTS, WE WERE GONNA COME BACK AT THEM WITH FISTS. IF THEY CAME AT US WITH CLUBS, WE'D COME AT THEM WITH CLUBS, IF THEY CAME WITH GUNS, WE'D USE GUNS TOO. WE DON'T BELIEVE IN DEATH DEALING GUNS, WE BELIEVE IN LIFE. BUT WE KNEW THE COPS WOULDN'T BE SO QUICK TO ATTACK US IF THEY HAD TO FACE THE SAME STUFF THEY DISHED OUT SO CASUALLY ON UNARMED DEFENSELESS FOLKS."

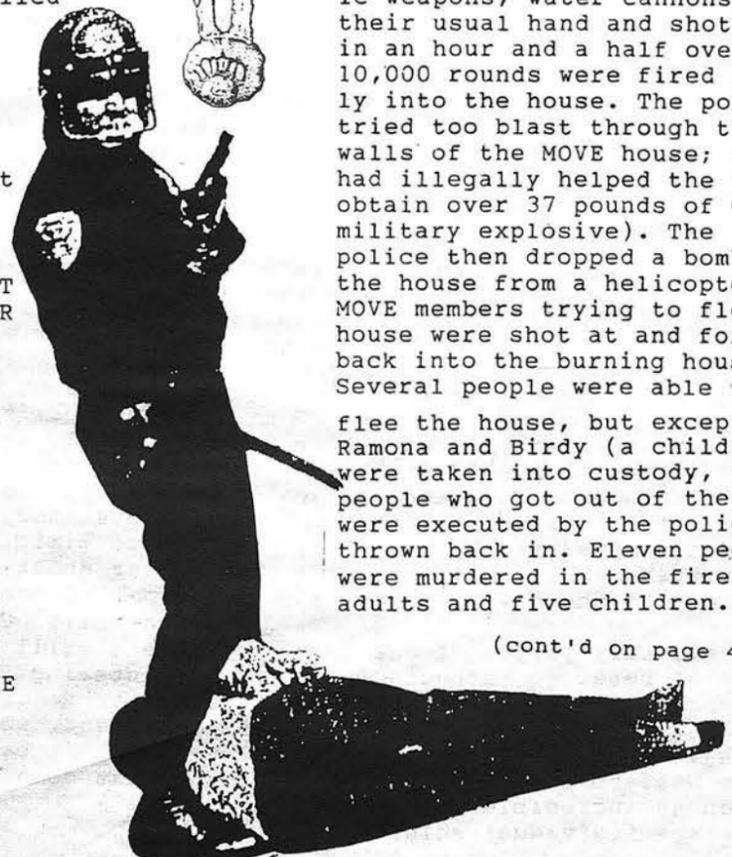


Arrest warrants were issued for MOVE members for "possession of an instrument of crime" (contrary to the constitutional "right" to bear arms) and riot charges (contrary to the reality that they were standing on their front porch). On March 16, 1978, well past the 180-day time limit to serve the warrant, the police blockaded three blocks surrounding the MOVE house in an attempt to starve MOVE out; the blockade lasted three months and failed. A judge then ruled that MOVE had violated an "agreement" to vacate the house after the blockade (that they never agreed to) and issued warrants for almost every MOVE member whether in the house or not. On August 8, 1978, hundreds of police and firemen surrounded the MOVE house, fired high pressure fire hoses into the house and opened fire. The 11 children and 12 adults in the house fled to the basement for safety. A cop on the street facing the house was killed by a bullet that struck him in the back of the head traveling downward; kind

of makes it impossible for the bullet to have come from the basement, but nine MOVE members were sentenced 30-100 years for a death that was obviously caused by "friendly fire". Two people in the basement that day were charged with the same as the MOVE nine, but were released because they stated they were not MOVE members. Was the crime supposed to be the shooting of a police officer or was it being a MOVE member?

MOVE continued to campaign for the release of their political prisoners (and for Mumia Abu-Jamal) and throughout this time MOVE members were still subjected to acts of police violence. MOVE's refusal to be silent led to what is commonly known as the bombing of the MOVE house on May 13, 1985. On May 12, the police blocked off a whole city block around the MOVE house, ostensibly there to serve warrants on MOVE members, and towed away parked cars. On May 13, police told women, children and men to come out of the house. The police refused any negotiations. Fifteen minutes later, over 600 police opened fire on the MOVE house, armed with uzi's, m-16's, a .50 caliber machine gun, a 20 mm anti-tank gun, other automatic weapons, water cannons, and their usual hand and shot guns; in an hour and a half over 10,000 rounds were fired directly into the house. The police tried to blast through the walls of the MOVE house; the FBI had illegally helped the police obtain over 37 pounds of C4 (a military explosive). The police then dropped a bomb on the house from a helicopter. MOVE members trying to flee the house were shot at and forced back into the burning house. Several people were able to flee the house, but except for Ramona and Birdy (a child), who were taken into custody, the people who got out of the house were executed by the police and thrown back in. Eleven people were murdered in the fire, six adults and five children.

(cont'd on page 4)



AS THE FACADE CRUMBLES

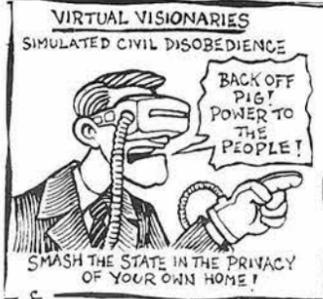
The technological-industrial empire, driven by the culture of profit and "progress", of taking more than we need and destroying or enslaving the rest, has left this planet with the life systems failing and sustainable humyn communities devastated. Ecological and social crisis surround us and are met by the system with only a steady and purposeful tightening of controls. We must continue to resist the

destruction of humyn-cultural and biological diversity, but we must also free our minds and our lives of the ideology of technology and progress, and we must direct and evaluate our tactics and our strategies mindful of two things: that the system will never allow us more than short-term and superficial "gains", and that while we are busy fighting on their term, in their institutions the powers-that-be are tightening the noose that they know will be necessary when enough people have had enough of lies and misery and murder. Our resistance must stay grounded within our reverence for life and refuse any compromises from the empire of death.

Technology is anti-life. Technology (cars, computers, telephones, etc.) takes people away from the natural rhythms of life and relationships with each other and with the Earth. Technology isolates us from our place of "power", the land. Technology makes possible the centralization of power and the solidification of hierarchy in the global

of power and economics that technology makes possible in the first place. The techno-system bulldozes diversity and deepens humyn's dependancy on the industrialized mono-culture. The techno-system requires nature (and us) to succumb to its needs. It requires us to "go to school", to get jobs. It requires the corporate management and "harvesting" of the natural world. The reality today is that our security (the security of life, clean air, water, soil) depends on made by other people to whom our interests and needs don't matter.

The logical conclusion of a system driven by technology is the complete control over all life. Biotechnology, the technological deformation of life, is no longer just bad science fiction. The system is instituting even tighter and more effective controls of the population both directly, through computer centralization of information and police/legal repression of dissent, and indirectly, through heightened propaganda campaigns. The "anti-terrorism" measures that we may know to be a witch hunt are nevertheless sliding through the now docile and fearful conscienceness of America. The system controls information and limits debate in the so-called information age, thanx to the corporatization and centralization of media and thanx to the techno-narcotic TV. The system is playing out its own story by instit-



Sidewalk Bubblegum ©1994 Clay Butler

CLAY BUTLER  
PO Box 245 CAPITOLA, CA. 95010 • 408-471-9029



Social stresses are rising from the increasing isolation of humyn from nature and from the system forcing people to behave in ways that are increasingly remote from the natural behavior. These stresses are a threat to the orderly



uting subtle "rational" responses to "our problems" (as the system defines them). Have you heard of thumb prints being required to cash checks "to prevent check fraud" ID being required to "fly" within the US "to prevent terrorism?" Does it worry anyone that our primary illusion of autonomy, the almighty dollar, exists at the mercy of banks and credit institutions completely subject to the control of the system? Picture the freezing of accounts and the cancelling of credit cards held by "dissidents". These controls are all brought to us by the technological way. It is time to make the connection in our own lives between those tightening controls, and the ever-increasing reign of technology, and our political work as dissidents to the destruction of Ma Nature. The less we rely on the institutions and technologies of the system, the less the system can control us.

The system is tightening control for a reason. IT KNOWS IT IS IN TROUBLE. Social stress stresses and humyn resistance are rising becuz of the conditions of life the system imposes on people, where basic needs go unmet and people are dehumanized,

continuation of the system and its power to control and exploit (!) and these stresses give us an opportunity to connect with people and offer a revolutionary lens with which to view their lives. The system, though, will never willingly give up power; we must take it back. Looking to the system to fulfill our needs and the needs of the planet is a joke. We must learn to fulfill our needs and defend the life of the planet.

The bottom-line is that the techno-industrial way is not sustainable. We are already facing massive disruption and suffering which (if it hasn't already) will reveal the system for what it is: a life-killing system propped up by ever thinner illusions, and by brute force. We are denied autonomy in the pursuit of our survival. We must take control of the life and death issues of our existence. We must confront in our minds and in our lives, the ideological messages of technology that have us living, working and fighting on their terms, the terms of "civilization" the terms of "progress," the term of racism and classism, the terms of domination. So we're radicals, bringing it "to the root?" Well, we have almost lost our root. The root is about survival, survival with integrity, not the so-called survival that we now know (working to fuel the system in exchange for cash or credit, buying corporate food, paying for shelter owned and controlled by someone else, buying things we don't need, desperately seeking reactive and intrusive health

"care"), but the way of survival WITHOUT the techno-industrial system: having the knowledge and opportunity to grow and gather our own food, build our own shelter, make what clothes and tools we need, care for our own health and, most importantly, knowing through direct experience that our well-being and survival are intimately connected with the health and survival of the diversity of life on this planet. This is not about escaping "back to nature" (the path to the land is blocked for most people); this is about translating the values and skills needed to survive without the

system into the reality of our lives today.

Also, we must recognize our own co-operation by the way of technology. Most of us are "products", to one degree or another of the modern techno-kulture; our lives from hospital births to obedience schooling, to the job "market", have embodied the "values" of "efficiency", competition and hierarchy. The use of technology and the values of the techno-system can not, ultimately, be reconciled with the needs of the planet. Technology is not "natural". It is the direct manifestation of a "way of life" that is at the root of the destruction and tyranny today. "Good" technology can not and does not exist independant of "bad" technology, any more than "good" corporations can exist independant of "bad" ones; their existance is woven together by the system.

The heavy use of computers by "activists" is the most insidious example of our continued co-operation by the ideology and value system of technology. Forget if you want, all the "politically incorrect" facets of computer use (issues of the labor exploitation and ecological degradation involved in the production, issues like our future dependance on the genocidal power grid, and our large \$ contribution to the corporate computer giants whose technology is also being directed towards our surveillance and the military's latest brand of murder). Think about maybe the mind set of people who profess to "realize" all this but insist on using computers becuz computers "make them more effective." We need to look at this so-called effectiveness that is being used to justify a wide spread activist complicity with the way of technology. It is really about, for example, not being "able" to get out a 'zine without a computer, or is it about people not being able to work collectively(?) or maybe it is about a lack of collective support and participation and co-operation in the dissemination of ideas? Chronic computer use allows us to ignore our isolation and failing collectivity. Email and "web site" activism bombard the privileged user with "information",

(cont'd on page 4)

by R. CAT for Anthe

#7 Anarchist doge

Wolfe

Liberation of Herman Bell

FUCK AMERIKA!

Go to get out of here. This place is gonna burn!

Back the way at Suburban!

This blankwall is ne. in memory of both Wishetee and JR (the real life inspirations of toto-n-wolfe.) Wishetee, Annie and Tom's companion was shot by ranchers (a victim of "predator control") she was three years old. JR, Ann and Orin's companion, who has been to more demo's than most activists, died at 15. They only followed the laws of nature urged us to right all imbalances.

... SNAP

Not to be left out, corporations will introduce credit cards next year that utilize fingerprints to verify... Certain banks now require thumb prints before cashing a questionable check. They claim the prints are destroyed after the transaction is successfully completed. When it comes to the security business, I trust corporations even less than the government. (The Pinkerton Detective Agency's style of handling labor disputes was influential in shaping my veins on the subject.)

DNA printing is another quiet revolution in law enforcement. The reliability of today's DNA evidence received a lot of attention during the Simpson murder trial, but there has never been public debate on how this technology might be used in the future. Humans leave behind a trail of hair and skin flakes in

cars and on furniture. It is assumed that only criminals and terrorists would desire to keep their identity or whereabouts hidden from the government (or unfriendly corporations.)

A government database has been created to store DNA prints from all new members of the armed forces. The positive identification of corpses is the stated intention behind this program.

microchips have been implanted in several million cats and dogs. Maybe this will become routine practice for infants and immigrants as well. Then there will be no question as to who the owner is.

Wildlife managers can fill you in on the latest advanced in satellite telemetry to track radio collared animals. I'm sure the self appointed managers of humans will be happy to try out this new technology. (A primitive version of a human radio collar is already in use for prisoners under house arrest. The collar is not removable and signals the authorities if the prisoner leaves the house.)

These technological advances all rely on computers. So don't listen to fools expressing the virtues of email and desktop publishing. The banking and insurance industries, the military and police establishment have all gained much more powerful tools than the ability to send a letter electronically or to choose between 25 different fonts.

By the way, email is the perfect medium for interception by unknown third parties. A massive volume of messages can be checked for key words and phrases or stored for future analysis. The US government admits to routinely checking international cablegrams in this way.

In three to four years it will be possible to determine the location of a 911 call on a cellular phone to within 125 meters. Combine this technological ability to instantly track down a mobil radio signal with the mentality that allows microchips to be implanted for identification in living beings, and you have something much worse than Orwell's nightmare. What repressive control technologies will the next generation of activists face?

SO WHAT'S A POOR ACTIVIST TO DO?

Digging trenches in logging roads and building rock walls may be great exercise, but it is an inadequate response to the forces, both politically and technologically, gathering against political dissidents. Even the most formidable barricades at Cove/Mallard were easily cleared by big yellow machines. Thousands of person-hours were spent building fortification at Warner Creek, yet it was all swept away in a few hours.

Blockades are a poor defense. Tree sits, though noble, don't fair any better. Simply put, OUR DEFENSE SUCKS!

Attempts to sway the public mind by gardening media attention seems naive. Short news blips stand little chance of registering concern in a population dulled and disempowered by the banality of the media. Even if we circumvent the typical reporting of only two moderate sides to an

issue, we then encounter multi-million dollar advertising budgets, green-washing campaigns, and the pervasive "conventional wisdom" of talk show hosts, news columnists, and cultural spin doctors. These soft control tactics of the corporations are every bit as advanced as the hard control tactics of the police and military.

I suggest we shift our focus from DEFENSE to OFFENSE. All those hours spent dragging logs onto the road in a short-lived attempt at defending a place could be better spent attacking the buildings, vehicles, heavy machinery, and other assets of earth destroying agencies and corporations. Very few EF!ers have been practicing an offensive strategy, yet there are more than enough targets in cities and rural area to go around. The police are not yet able to be everywhere.

Learn to (carefully) play with matches and diesel fuel. If that is not your style, try neighborhood organizing. Leave the media out of the picture and take the offensive by going door to door. Don't go there asking for money, ORGANIZE, and patiently show people how to fit into the resistance.

We are caught up in a technological war against the earth and against political dissidents.

Adhering to a non-violent code is a fine strategy, but it is nevertheless imperative that we think like gorilla fighters-- learn new skills prepare for a repressive crackdown, and inflict maximum political and economic damage.

Earth First! is already considered subversive by our opponents. No matter what tactics we choose, the forces of oppression will try to crush us. We are a threat to big business. We want to eliminate industrial resource extraction. We want an end to the car culture and the consumer culture. We want all species to be given a chance to flourish. These are indeed revolutionary aims, so let's start acting like revolutionaries. It is time to strike back.

... MOVE

Ramona Africa served over six years on several bullshit charges. No police, fire, or government official has ever been held accountable for any of the violence against MOVE and for none of the murders of the MOVE family members. MOVE continues "to do everything to protect LIFE- to protect air from pollution, water from poison, soil from toxic waste, defenseless animals from slaughter, old folks and children from abuse, and all living beings from enslavement and exploitation. MOVE continues to fight for the freedom of the MOVE 9 and of Mumia Abu-Jamal." Earth First! could learn a lot from MOVE's experiences. MOVE has been talking (and acting on) a lot of the same things EF! has, but for about 15 years longer. Just as many EF!ers feel EF! to be a "tribe", MOVE is a family that has proven that they will stay together and fight the system as long as they are alive. Like many anarchists in the EF! movement, MOVE believes in the abolition of government. Like many EF!ers, MOVE has a solid anti-technology stance, and practices community self-sufficiency as they can. While everyone involved with EF! may not agree with MOVE 100% on every issue (shit, we don't agree amongst ourselves that much either).

Our struggle to free the Earth is still the same. We could learn a lot about no compromise, commitment, unity, lifestyle, and the urban struggle among other things from our comrades in MOVE. ONA MOVE!

For more information about MOVE or for more information about Mumia Abu-Jamal and other MOVE prisoners (and where to write them), you can contact MOVE at PO Box 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Through this address you can obtain the recently published "25 Years On The MOVE",

an excellent, and very thorough retelling of the history MOVE, their philosophy, their practice and the violence done to their family. Copies are available for \$5.00.

UPDATE

On June 24, 1996 Ramona Africa received a favorable verdict in her lawsuit against the City of Philadelphia, and the Fire and Police Commissioners for violation of her constitutional "rights" (excessive force) and battery by the police on May 13, 1985 receiving a judgement against the defendants for \$500,000. The judge then granted immunity to the fire and police commissioners, leaving the burden of the judgement to the "City of Philadelphia" (in other words words, to the people) and once again letting government officials responsible for the atrocities against MOVE off the hook, further

exposing the system for what it is. This grant of immunity is being appealed MOVE wants people to focus on (and learn from!) what was behind the May 13th attack on MOVE, the silencing of their "right" to protest the imprisonment of the MOVE 9. Ramona Africa states that, although nothing can bring back her family that was murdered, the MOVE 9 can be freed and brought home after 19 years in prison. The MOVE 9 are currently seeking "post-conviction relief" MOVE is asking people to please call Judge Genece Brinkley at (215) 683-7074 and urge her to, at the minimum, grant the MOVE 9 a new trial.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was one of the few journalists brave enough to tell the truth about what was happening to MOVE. Mumia is currently on death row in Pennsylvania (PA) for the 1981 shooting death of a Philly cop, after a trial based on blatantly manipulated evidence and the violations of many of Mumia's constitutional "rights". Mumia Mumia narrowly escaped an August 17, 1995 execution date thanks to wide-spread protests

thanks to world-wide protests, but the fight for Mumia's freedom continues. An eyewitness to the situation recently came forward and disclosed that she had been coerced by the cops to testify the way she did at Mumia's trial (she had testified contrary to her original statement in 1981 that she had seen others running from the scene of the shooting). This eyewitness testified recently at a hearing before Judge Sabo, the same judge that presided over Mumia's original trial, who now gets to decide whether her uncoerced true testimony should be admitted into the records for the PA Supreme Court to consider during Mumia's Mumia's appeal. Please call PA Supreme Court

Justices at (717)787-6181 and urge them to free Mumia; please call District Attorney Lynne Abraham (a former Judge with a lot of MOVE blood on her hands) and urge her to dismiss the case against Mumia, at (215) 686-8000.

"It is hard to figure how prisoners and 'militant politics' don't appeal to people with a political bent on the outside. But that explains everything- one can not be about about revolution- any type of revolution- without dealing with prisoners and the prospect of going to prison yourself..." - the late New Afrikan Anarchist, Kuwasi Balagoon.

We should have gotten the message after the Arizona bust in 1990, the county jail is one thing; prison is something else. Do we get it folks? What we want is so different than the reform system, status quo shit that we really are, or should be, radical and revolutionary. Don't be afraid of these words, they are just

if you thought they were just playing, mate, forget it. Just ask Judi and Darryl.

Along with the disgusting reality of prison is also the spirit of those that have dared to act, to strike out at the evil of the techno-capitalist, fascist-psychosis. There are many hundreds of political prisoners/prisoners of war; the support they need and deserve will reward you as well as act at your heart. These are real people who placed the liberation movement before themselves. Not saints but inspirational people of action. If you want to study revolution in our time, learn from our contemporary revolutionaries, many of which are in prison; or were murdered while struggling for the cause of liberation.

Much has been written on bio-centric activism vs. social activism: as we close in on the end of a millenium one thing becomes even clearer, the enemy of the Earth, the animals, the wilderness, is the same enemy of the poor, the people of color, and the politically weak. A reading of real history might shock us eco-freaks that political prisoners, and the movements they are a part of, knew this before it occurred to us.

"Don't be surprised when I say I was in prison. We've all been in prison. That's what Amerikkka means- prison." - Malcolm X

... CRUMBLES

Creating a whole new work load of information "management", and still this information remains beyond the

grasp of most of the population becuz they have no access to it. These people, the people, are all too often "forgotten" as the the busy computer activists struggles to keep up with their info-overload; computer communications with other computer activists.

Obviously, computers are just one part of the schemes that actively works to lure us into reliance on technology in all areas of our lives. We have a responsibility to ourselves and to our communities to at least take steps to reduce our dependancies, to set our own standards of effectiveness in light of long term change, and to be constantly working to resolve our own contradictions. Like anything this is an evolutionary process of learning, and lifestyle changes are often the hardest to come by, especially change involves rooting out the influence of our privilege and our techno-quick-fix kulture. We must at least be open to change by putting aside our differences and excuses. We must get over our individualism and learn to live and work collectively, and build community on the edge of what is dying.

The technological-industrial system is wreaking havoc on Ma Nature and our lives. Civilization is the culture of suicide. The system can not be "reformed" and we can not look to it to "take care of" the mess it has willfully created. We must get clear about what we are fighting and what we must be able to create if we are to survive. We must look to the power of life, and to the power of the people who are being denied life. We must tighten our strategies and work as a collective front of allied peoples defending the natural way recovering the balance of the natural world and our lives. We must acknowledge that it is going to get worse before it gets better and that we must be prepared for this, healthy, strong, clear, and committed to the path of resistance and liberation.

FOR MORE INFO CONTACT BLACK & GREEN POB 183 HARMONY, ME.

# SAVE YOUR ASS, SAVE THE PLANET: CONSUME LOCALLY, NOT CORPORATELY

BY RANDY GHENT

Have you noticed? People always seem to be promoting boycotts against the most unsavory corporations, yet no one offers alternatives beyond patronizing other corporations. Ever wonder why someone's called a boycott against every major oil company, yet the boycott leaders never display a bit of solidarity?

At worst, boycotts can degenerate into attempts at corporate reform, such as Rainforest Action Network's "Turning Mitsubishi Green" campaign. What's the monstrous Mitsubishi to do, smash its car factories and turn its forestry subsidiary into a network of bioregional pencil-making collectives? "Green corporation" my ass.

Since you read about "hyperboycotting" last time in this column, you're now ready for the next step. The only practical, environmentally sane alternative to transnational corporate economics is to produce everything you need right there in your own bioregion. If it isn't local, it isn't necessary or sustainable.

Of course, Earth First!ers should be "Dancing on the Ruins of Multinational Corporations," as the Casey Neill song goes. But without local self-sufficiency, a couple of weeks later we'll be too weak to sing "Starving on the Ruins."

After all, our present economy's house of cards relies on consuming vast amounts of oil. And we'll reach depletion around the year 2020 in the US, globally by 2040. No complete replacement in sight, either, which means our planet won't support its present population or consumption level.

You may have heard similar predictions of doom. But even if you don't believe a population crash lies ahead, why not undermine corporate domination through local self-sufficiency anyway? It's the only "green" economy because it minimizes the distance products travel to market. Moving in the opposite direction of GATT and NAFTA, you can use local products and services in place of corporate ones—but only for what you truly need. This is more radical than driving to protests could ever be.

So let's get crackin'. To survive what lies ahead will take a little forethought, a little planning and a lot of luck. Don't worry, you won't be doing this alone—because you can't.

Here's what and (vaguely) how:

1) If you're not already there, move to a small, non-suburban community or rural setting, and stay put. Choose the community carefully based on its ability to provide your needs locally and its willingness to accept you and your ilk.

2) The ilk comes next. Expand your base of support by bringing in close friends, preferably ones with diverse interests and skills. They'll each be providing a valuable service—providing food, clothing, tools and/or knowledge—to your new community. That's "Community" with a capital C. "Commune" is a bit too hippyish for me. Just don't call it a cult, and pray that no one else will. Try for a low collective profile. You may all hate each other before "The Crash" arrives, but at least you might survive.

3) Money. It will eventually be worthless, but you sure as hell need it for the start-up—probably over \$100,000 among the lot of you. Hopefully, you've got time to each save up \$5,000 to \$10,000 by working in "The Real World" for a year or so. Perhaps you've got more creative options, like "hyperboycotting."



Or maybe you're some rich silver spoon-fed rebel for whom the planet has paid and workers have slaved. I'd say your class privilege will get you nowhere, but investment-wise it'll get you far. It's pay-back time!

4) Then, find a nice piece of land with good water, building materials and fuel, and a few acres of land for growing food. Lack of road access is key. You don't want some redneck using the world's last tank of gas to shoot holes in your self-sufficient hideaway. River access would be ideal for transporting supplies.

5) Amass an on-site library to fill you in on the how-tos of your future daily life. Pick the brains (figuratively) of Native American traditionalists and others in touch with the land. Even if Central Park is your idea of wilderness, be comforted that you'll be better prepared than 99.9 percent of the Western world—and even most Earth First!ers, scary enough. If you thought you were just going "off the grid," guess again. We're talkin' Electricity-Free Zone here. You've done it at every EF! Rendezvous; get used to it.

6) People can only live without food for a few weeks, tops. So be prepared for profound changes globally within a short period of time. Your reserve supplies should be extensive, hidden and underground. Wouldn't hurt to build an underground back-up living space, while you're at it.

7) Your merry band should include someone with farming and other necessary experience applicable to your bioregion. Otherwise you better implement this plan of action right away, so your failures won't prove fatal. Desired community members would include a blacksmith, an herbalist/medic, a carpenter, a bike mechanic—you get the idea. These skills should be shared with everyone, so the community can eventually sustain itself without depending on any single person.

8) For now, feel free to live and work most of the time in the nearby town, which should be a day's bike ride (or a one-week backpacking trip) from the land. Use a mountain bike (to allow for dirt road/trail use) and a bike trailer to get around, which you should be doing anyway. Provide a valuable service (from local materials or skills) to your town and surrounding community. You'll know when it's time to head for the hills.

Hopefully you'll find liberation, happiness and security in minimizing material things and counting on people in a real community. Ivan Illich called it "conviviality." Good luck. You'll need it.

Randy Ghent is a regular Earth First! Journal contributor. He is an activist in the redwood region who campaigns for the Alliance for a Paving Moratorium and edits the Auto-Free Times.

## HYPERBOOSTGAS

I read with great interest the article published in the Mabon issue of the *Earth First! Journal* concerning hyperboycotting as an effective tactic against polluting businesses, and I would like to offer to whom-ever a few personal observations of my own.

Gasoline. Yes, I hate it, but I do still drive around, being unable to either transcendently remoleculize myself in another place or summon the courage to ride a horse on the freeway. So, how better to protest against the HUGE CORPORATIONS that give us oil spills, jacked-up prices and suppression of alternative transportation information, than to steal gas?

Here's how it works. It's better with two people. Look for a large service station that is very busy, either with rush hour or noon traffic. Truck stops on interstate highways are especially vulnerable, often on a 24 hour-a-day basis. One of you gets out and fills up the car (obviously, prepay-only stations won't work. Duh!). Maybe you both need to pee. One of you goes to the

register and actually pays for a candy bar, newspaper, whatever, and then you leave. It's that simple. You have a perfect out if anyone ever questions you about not paying; "OH MY GOD! (hands on face like McCauley Culkin, looking at each other), I thought you paid!"

Doing it alone is slightly trickier, but still pretty easy. ALWAYS have one of the fucking CEO-bonus-paying, dead-bird-shoveling company's credit cards or the equiva-

lent amount of cash for the gas you are hyperboycotting in your pocket. Again, it's better if the station is crowded. Fill up your car, then be polite. Move it away so that the next person in line can have access. Go pee. Then go use the outside pay phone. Look concerned. Look flustered. Hang up the phone, get in your car and quickly leave. You just received news that upset you so much, you forgot to pay for your gas. I mean shit, you had the credit card (or the money) right there in your pants pocket!



One more tip for folks living in small towns. Many post offices in rural locations have their stamp booklets out in accessible racks. You can pick these up, go over to a countertop, finish addressing and stamping your mail, slide it into the appropriate slot, put the rest of the stamps into your, you know, that Yuppie-looking black daybook you bought at a garage sale for a quarter, and head out the door. Again, always have the appropriate money in your pocket, and if asked, give the "I'm so busy; I'm so important; I'm so distracted; I forgot to pay" line. If you live in a really small town, you probably can't do this too often, but I always run out of stamps when I'm visiting my friends in other towns anyway. The liberation of a mere \$6.40 book of stamps may not seem like a very big action, but consider who you're hyperboycotting: the ultimate, the federal government. And if any of you reading this are still paying federal income taxes at this point in your life, go directly to jail, do not pass go, do not collect \$200. Shame on you. Just don't do it.

# FOREMAN'S DREAM AND CLINTON'S TRAIL OF TEARS

continued from the front page

environmentalists on issues ranging from NAFTA and GATT to dolphin safety and whaling to pesticides, incineration and nuclear power.

It was Al Gore who two months ago approached the Sierra Club's new president, 23-year-old Adam Werbach (who was recently quoted as saying, "I don't understand why people feel so passionately about trees"). Reportedly, Gore asked what actions the administration could take to secure the organization's public support. Werbach huddled with the Club's executive director Carl Pope, lobbyist Debbie Sease (Foreman's ex-wife) and public lands director Bruce Hamilton to develop a pre-election wish-list for Gore's appraisal. Among the topics transmitted to the Vice President: Yellowstone, Utah wilderness, old-growth timber sales and the fate of the Headwaters Grove.

Using this same Sierra Club list as an itinerary, the administration embarked on a dizzying migration across the country, with Bill Clinton acting like the ecological equivalent of faith healer Benny Hinn. At every stop, an ecosystem on the brink of destruction was pronounced saved.

It's been a month now since Bill Clinton visited Yellowstone to affirm his commitment to nature. Mark his fateful progress since that time. As far as the environment is concerned, it contrasts unfavorably with General Sherman's march on the sea.

•In Yellowstone, be it recalled, Clinton announced that the oldest park in the nation had been saved from predations on its northern border by the Canadian mining giant, Noranda. In exchange for quitting its plan to gouge out a square-mile hole in the Beartooth Mountains in search of flecks of gold, Clinton offered the company \$65 million worth of federal properties—probably real estate—elsewhere. The national press faithfully depicted Clinton as the savior of Yellowstone.

•The intrepid president sped from a Barbara Streisand-anchored fundraiser in Los Angeles to the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, there to announce that 1.8 million acres of federal lands in Utah would now be designated a national monument, supposedly saving them from being strip-mined for coal. TV news clips and subsequent news stories signaled this as an event as momentous in significance as the finest preservationist acts of Teddy Roosevelt.

•Then it was off to the Pacific Northwest for the White House team, boarding Greyhound One in Seattle and heading south down Interstate 5 to Portland. There under the alpenglow of Mt. Hood, Clinton declared that he was saving the region's old-growth forests, by working out a deal whereby timber companies would desist from logging in ancient groves inhabited by marbled murrelets in exchange for permits to log equivalent volumes of timber on other national forest lands in Washington and Oregon.

•Finally came a strong White House push for a deal whereby Clinton will be able to announce before the election that he has protected the Headwaters Grove in northern California, the last privately owned stand of virgin redwoods in America. With the exception of the ever-vigilant *Business Week*, the national press raised no awkward questions about this impending pay-off to corporate raider Charles Hurwitz, a man accused by the government of looting a savings and loan in Texas at a cost of \$1.6 billion to the taxpayer, now to be given fabulously valuable properties in the San Francisco Bay Area, such as Treasure Island or the Presidio.

In presidential campaigns the press bus rarely returns to the scene of the crime. So let us quickly review what Paul Harvey would call "the rest of

the story."

As far as the salvation of Yellowstone is concerned, it's far from a done deal. It turns out that Noranda has veto power over any of the properties on federal lands offered in exchange for its mining claims near Yellowstone. Moreover, according to the agreement, the deal has to be finalized by December 31, 1996 or Noranda can back out of it. One of the White House's problems is that the feds cannot find enough land to Noranda's taste in Montana. If the search is to be extended outside the state, it will require congressional approval, which—given the secrecy and furtive speed with which the deal was hatched—is unlikely to happen soon, if ever. Indeed, Montana's Republican Senator Conrad Burns has already vowed to kill any such maneuver.

Second, the proposed exchange has blazed a green light to anyone holding mining claims on the circumference of Yellowstone or any other national park: Line up the bulldozers in front of the park gates and wait for the White House to phone with a lucrative buy-out offer. The new incentive to take national parks hostage has already attracted the attention of a Wyoming company which, only days after the presidential ceremony, filed 175 mining claims along the ecologically pristine Rocky Mountain Front east of Glacier National Park.

But even if the deal finally goes through, claims of having saved Yellowstone are preposterous. Noranda's planned mining sites account for but a handful of more than 6,000 gold mining claims in the Yellowstone ecosystem alone, any one of which could pose an equal threat to the region's rivers, mountains and trout.

The Noranda fix is the consequence of an earlier collapse by Clinton in his first two years in the White House, when the Democrats controlled Congress. If he'd backed fellow Arkansan Senator Dale Bumpers' effort to overturn the 1872 Mining Act—which gives away mineral-rich public lands for as little as \$2.50 an

acre, levies no royalties on the exhumed metals, and imposes no responsibilities to reclaim the land—Yellowstone could have been protected without these grotesque hand-outs. Most of the other mining claims could have also been turned aside.

Even as late as this summer there were other ways to stop Noranda: through a sober interpretation of existing federal environmental laws, such as the Clean Water Act and National Environmental Policy Act, federal regulators could have simply denied the company permits for the mine. But in the full ecstasy of his Republican conversion, Clinton ignored these powerful weapons, declaring that he wanted to protect Noranda's property rights. In this way Clinton succeeded where Bob Dole had tried and failed. The President legitimized the issue of regulatory takings, by requiring corporations to be paid not to violate federal laws.

Robert Redford introduced Clinton on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, calling the President's impending proclamation declaring the Escalante Canyon a national monument a great act of spiritual and moral courage. As the president preened before the cameras, some environmentalists pinched themselves in amazement. Surely their position had long been that no less than 5.7 million acres should be designated as wilderness or national park. In fact, the southern Utah wilderness campaign had been lavishly funded to this end.)

The final fallback position of the coal mining companies and ranchers had been introduced by Utah conservative Rep. James Hansen. His bill would have designated no more than two-million acres as wilderness. Redford and other environmentalists fought tigerishly and apparently with success earlier this year to beat back the two-million-acre deal.



There were a couple of tenacious press interrogators that day beside the Grand Canyon, though it appears their perceptive probings never saw print, drowned out by the wild cheers for Clinton from the leaders of the big environmental organizations. Michael Maatz, of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, exclaimed that the national monument designation catapults Clinton "to the ranks of the greatest conservationists ever."

But Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt confessed later that afternoon that the designation of the Escalante Canyon was "mainly a name thing" and that National Monument status (unlike park or wilderness status) does not preclude cattle grazing, off-road vehicle use, hunting and kindred activities. When pressed, Babbitt also admitted that nothing in the proclamation prevented the coal mining companies from pressing forward with their claims, although he said he hoped they would be willing to work a Noranda-type deal elsewhere on public lands in Utah.

But there's a big problem here. The largest coal claim on the Kaiparowits Plateau is owned by the Andalex Company, a Dutch consortium. Andalex's coal reserves have an estimated value of nearly a trillion dollars. Babbitt blithely said that might seem like a staggering amount, but he was confident that the company could get land of equivalent value elsewhere in the state: "There's a lot of federal land in Utah and there are a lot of minerals on those lands." A trillion dollars worth? At that rate a Dutch company could end up owning nearly half the federal land in the Beehive State. Moreover, the whole land-swap scenario (in tandem with the administration's anemic energy policy) ignores one of the biggest threats to the Grand Canyon: the coal-fired power plants whose endless plumes of acidic smoke now make it nearly impossible to see across the mighty sandstone chasm.

In any event, if the Interior Department tries to offer up lands outside the state of Utah it will again require congressional approval. But the Utah delegation, like Montana's, is livid about the high-handed behavior of the White House. In a display of political cowardice that has become typical of this administration, Utah's lone Democrat, Representative Bill Orton, received a Clinton call about the impending proclamation at 1:30 am the night before it happened. It will be noted that Clinton made his announcement about creating a national monument in Utah from the safe haven of northern Arizona.

The environmentalists have rationalized the proclamation by saying Clinton in his second term will come back and shift the designation from National Monument to wilderness or park and also include the missing 4 million acres. But Babbitt dashed those hopes by telling reporters that "this won't happen for generations."

Every time Clinton comes to Portland he promises to save the old-growth forests, but more ancient trees always fall in his wake. Usually, a Clinton visit prompts at least a token demonstration from the timber industry. But this time the timber companies were ecstatic over the deal they had just brokered with the administration. In exchange for giving back their contracts to log ancient forests in nesting habitat of the marbled murrelet, the timber industry was given the rights to cut an equivalent amount of volume from less-controversial tracts of forest. As a result, the timber companies get the logs they want without pesky contentions over the murrelet, and with the active support and encouragement of the White House. The timber will still be old growth, but because it will be on less-productive sites it will require perhaps twice as many acres of forest to be clearcut to get the "equivalent volume" promised the timber companies.

Clinton claimed to have saved the old growth from the chainsaws, but he failed to mention the reason for their plight: a bill he signed into law last July called the salvage logging rider, which doomed old growth on the national forests and exempted the timber companies from compliance with federal environmental laws. This extraordinary duplicity prompted Michael Donnelly, an environmentalist from Salem, Oregon, to proclaim, "Clinton saved the old growth the way Reagan balanced the budget."

continued on the next page

# THE DEFENSE OF OPAL CREEK

continued from the front page

elevation intact ancient forest in the Cascades, will be a Wild and Scenic River.

These are the only ancient trees that have successfully been set aside in the last 12 years—since the 1984 Oregon Wilderness additions! How did it happen?

## Blueprint for Success

For years, George and his cohorts, including myself, operated a camp at Jawbone Flats. We dug around in the old mine tunnels, keeping the Forest Service at bay with a small mining operation. We chased off the occasional hiker who wandered in, keeping up a tradition started in the 30s by Grandpa Jim Hewitt, father-in-law of George's uncle, former Oregon Governor Vic Atiyeh. It was Vic Atiyeh himself who succeeded in getting State Wild and Scenic River protection for the Little North Fork in 1982.

In 1980, Dave "Chainsaw" Alexander became district ranger of the Detroit Ranger District and vowed to "cut Opal Creek." Alexander, now Idaho's Payette NF Supervisor, was the district ranger who cut more timber than any other in history (1.25 billion board feet in ten years). Alexander began a concerted campaign of harassment of George and his "mining" operation. George dug in and defended his "church."

In late 1981, the Forest Service placed clearcut boundary markers on the giants of Opal Creek and surveyed the p-line for the road. Things were heating up.

In 1982, Mike Swaim (Salem's current mayor-elect) appealed and then brought suit against the sale. The national Sierra Club revoked the charter of Swaim's local group in response. Yep, the Sierra Club didn't think Opal Creek was worth fighting for.

Opal Creek was originally included for wilderness designation when then-Sierra Club NW representative Brock Evans first drew the lines on a 1967 map of areas to be considered for the first wilderness bill. Industry knew where the big trees were, so the final bill removed Opal Creek, Breitenbush, the Kalmiopsis, Middle Santiam, South Umpqua (and other areas we've been fighting for ever since) from Brock's original proposal. The area was also included in another wilderness bill in

1984, only to be yanked at the last moment by none other than Hatfield. Once, Opal Creek was part of a 1989 Oregon Senate bill designating it a wilderness state park. All sorts of efforts were mounted and then beaten back by industry. But the trees still stood. After a few more years of standing off the Forest Service, George, myself and a committed group of friends realized that we had to broaden the base of support to keep Opal Creek intact.

One fine day in 1988, George, Lane County Commissioner Jerry Rust and I roamed the watershed plotting the construction of a trail. I came back later and flagged it out. One memorable weekend a handful of us built what became known as the Bear Trail—the first cleared way in to Opal Creek.

Dave Alexander responded by threatening to arrest George and me for "felony destruction of government property." We said, "Please do. You plan eleven miles of roads and 1,800 acres of clearcuts in there and we're the ones destroying government property?" The six-foot, eight-inch tall, Paul Bunyanesque ranger wasn't stupid by any means, and the arrests never came.

In early 1989, an Earth First! civil disobedience training was held at the lodge at Jawbone Flats. Mary Beth Nearing, Freda London, Karen Wood and Calvin Hecocca trained some 30 folks to nonviolently defend Opal Creek and other areas. The training paid off right away at the 1989 "Easter Massacre" at adjacent Breitenbush.

The Senate bill to designate Opal Creek as a state park also came to a hearing in early 1989. We unveiled a multimedia slide show, written and produced by Mark Ottenad, Trygve Steen, George and myself, at the state capitol amid hundreds of timber protesters who had been given the day off and bussed to the hearing. Timber protesters went head to head in the highly charged circus atmosphere with hundreds of middle school children who came to defend their heritage.

Also in 1989, Brock Evans, now-Vice President of the Audubon Society, shepherded the Audubon special "Rage Over Trees" which brought national exposure to Opal Creek. Ted Turner showed it six times without commercials on his network, because industry succeeded in gaining an advertiser boycott. In that show, Cathie Olcott vowed

to block any log trucks sent toward the trees of Opal Creek. The very image of Cathie and her septuagenarian grandmother friends barricading the road was one of the main reasons industry knew they'd never cut Opal Creek.

In 1990, David Seideman's excellent book *Showdown at Opal Creek* and Trygve Steen's magnificent photo essays brought even more national attention to the area.

In 1994, Oregon Representative Mike Kopetski succeeded in getting his Opal Creek bill through the House only to see it die for lack of a Senate champion. "Hello?, Senator Hatfield, hello!?"

## The End Game

Then last winter, Hatfield, seeking to use Opal Creek to greenwash his record of millions of acres of stumps, set up the Opal Creek Working Group. Five conservationists—George Atiyeh, Oregon Natural Resources Council's (ONRC) Regna Merritt, The Nature Conservancy's Russ Hoeflich, Friends of Opal Creek's Marty McCall and myself—spent countless hours meeting with industry representatives and politicians (same thing) with the help of a Willamette University mediator. We held tough for full protection. It was one of the more impressive united fronts I've seen the movement produce.

Then Hatfield unveiled his bill. Attached were some bad provisions which I spelled out in the August-September, 1996, issue of the *EF! Journal*. Marty McCall and the also-retiring Andy Kerr of ONRC (who was operating behind the scenes) wanted to settle, to take what Hatfield offered and call it a victory. McCall went so far as to propose a toxic waste dump on the Friends of Opal Creek's land to settle one sticky issue over mining tailings. But, even though it was better than the usual "cut-the-baby-in-half" deal, most of us would not settle.

I wrote a July 29 opinion piece in the *Oregonian* staking it all on these problems. ONRC wrote a piece almost identically critical. Many times people accused George unfairly that "he would trade off all the other old growth, if only Opal Creek were protected." We hated the idea of these other issues being tied to Opal Creek.

In the end, in a phenomenon I'd never before seen, Hatfield's bill got better. A proposed 59,000-acre public lands transfer to the Coquille tribe for logging was scaled back to 5,400 acres and those lands are subject to Option 9 (for whatever that's worth.) A two-year

moratorium on cutting and a study of the Little Sandy watershed was gained. Hatfield even appropriated \$750,000 to haul the disputed tailings out of the watershed. It's not all roses, however. There is still a gaping hole in the watershed along Big Cedar Creek, site of a proposed copper mine. But, by and large, it has to be seen as a major victory.

From George and Indian Billy risking their lives to those committed to civil disobedience to those who wouldn't accept the first bone offered, it was the good fight.

## A Little Perspective

Bonnie Raitt, Jackson Browne and John Trudell performed a forest benefit concert October 8 in Jacksonville, Oregon. 2,500 supporters arrived to a highly charged atmosphere. The artists courageously used the presence of 300 timber protesters led by disgraced Congressman Wes Cooley to conduct a little teach-in on the issue. The synergy between crowd and musicians was electric. Afterwards, Browne, Quiltman, Nina Donnelly, Trudell and I were talking Opal Creek.

Browne was happy about Opal Creek, as we all were, but questioned whether any protection schemes will work. "They just keep changing or suspending the laws and we lose anyway."

Nina pointed out that "Wilderness designation is the only thing that has really worked for us to date."

Jackson replied, "I wonder how long that'll last?"

John piped up, "Oh, about as long as the grass shall grow."

We all shared an ironic laugh.

## Unfinished Business

Congratulations all around for those who stood up for Opal Creek. Opal Creek was saved because of the tenacity of her defenders. We must replicate this effort. There are still a lot of other special areas out there that are threatened and we must redouble our dedication to saving them. Given the extinction crisis, we obviously can't afford to go 12 years between protecting areas. We must save all that's left and we need to do it now.

We also need to keep Opal Creek from being loved to death. An estimated 50,000 people visited this year. If you can help with trail work and other methods of lessening human impact, contact the Friends of Opal Creek at (503) 897-2921 or the Friends of the Breitenbush Cascades at (503) 585-8551.

# TRAIL OF TEARS

continued from previous page

As exultant as the timber companies in Oregon is Maxxam's CEO Charles Hurwitz, owner of Headwaters. On the eve of the splendid anti-Hurwitz demonstration in the northern California mill town of Carlotta, the speculator holed up in a San Francisco office building with Senator Dianne Feinstein and deputy Interior Secretary John Garamendi, who assured the corporate raider that a favorable deal would go forward after a tactful moratorium designed to deflate the protest in Carlotta. Indeed, Feinstein emerged from her meeting with Hurwitz to tell the protesters to stay at home. "Threats and intimidation and that kind of thing isn't going to solve this problem," Feinstein declared.

Nearly 8,000 people ignored Feinstein's advice, showing up in Carlotta to demand that all 60,000 acres of the Headwaters forest complex be taken into public ownership; more than 1,000 were arrested, including singers Bonnie Raitt and Don Henley, and former Representative Dan Hamburg.

It looks like the administration is prepared to offer

Hurwitz the Presidio and a settlement of the claims pending against him for looting the United Savings of Texas. In exchange, Hurwitz would turn over only the core Headwaters Grove and a small buffer area, probably no more than 5,200 acres. But Hurwitz, emboldened by the spinelessness of the Clinton crowd, is now asking for even more, including Treasure Island and hundreds of acres of state lands. He'll probably get what he wants—he always has. Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club certainly isn't ready to stand up to Hurwitz. Pope is ready to sign off on the Presidio and more federal properties: "We would be delighted to see some of those assets which are truly surplus traded for something as precious and wonderful as the Headwaters."

Most of this dealmaking shares a common feature: The right to loot high-profile public assets is being exchanged for the right to loot other less-visible public assets. But the right to pollute or destroy natural areas remains unchallenged. In fact, it is memorialized.

All this makes David Brower, the arch-druid of American environmentalism, cringe. Brower knows all about such dealmaking. He once signed off on a

deal to stop dams in Dinosaur National Monument and the Grand Canyon by approving the construction of one in exquisite Glen Canyon. In the wake of that disaster, Brower instructed environmentalists to "never trade a place you know for one you don't."

Then again, it was Brower who urged the Sierra Club's board to endorse Clinton two months ago, arguing that the Club, being a mainstream group, needed to maintain its political leverage by supporting Clinton/Gore. But he said the endorsement should be a qualified one, noting in strong terms the serious retreats on NAFTA, forests, dolphin protection, energy, pesticides and toxics.

A couple of weeks after making his pitch to the Sierra Club, Brower—much to his credit—sat down and wrote an excoriating attack on Clinton's environmental record for the *LA Times*. In that piece, he said that Clinton had done more damage to the environment than Reagan or Bush and urged all true greens to back Ralph Nader's presidential campaign.

Now, Brower is deeply discouraged by the Sierra Club's unapologetic greenwashing of Clinton on the eve of the election. "This is a sad case of fiddling, while the environment is being burned."

# A STRONG HEART'S WILL TO BE FREE

A LETTER FROM ROD CORONADO

It has been over five years since I began my participation in an offensive against the humans who imprison our mink, fox, bobcat and lynx relations, and though it is a path that has led me to prison, I have no regrets. In the spring of 1991, a handful of earth warriors and I traversed the Northwest, releasing 60 mink, four bobcats and two lynx, former fur-farm prisoners that we had rehabilitated. It was the fulfillment of a promise I had made one December morning as I watched a Montana mink farmer twist the necks of minks until they cracked.

We were "on the job," working as private investigators, and had infiltrated the US fur-farm industry as Jim Perez and Mary Beth. Our objective was to obtain photographic evidence of the conditions and killing techniques used on America's 600 mink, fox, bobcat and lynx farms. What we didn't plan for were the ulterior motives of the animal rights group that had hired us, Friends of Animals. They seemed more concerned with creating a media campaign using graphic video and photos to generate membership (i.e. money) than listening to our discoveries of vital economic weaknesses in the research and development end of the fur-farm industry. Where did this leave us? It left a handful of dedicated grassroots activists who literally begged, borrowed and stole to buy out the neck-breaking fur farmer, and who then rescued, rehabilitated and released the surviving 66 fur-farm prisoners.

As I sit here on my prison bunk, with the photos of those liberated animals running free posted on my wall, I think of how the story could have ended there. We got the evidence, rescued some prisoners of the war on nature and successfully returned them to their native habitat. But there was still the promise. I was sworn to do everything in my power to destroy the industry that had led to the concentration camps called fur farms, which took native predators and imprisoned them for their fur.

Enter the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). As the last bobcat from the fur farm was beginning a new life in the Kalmiopsis Wilderness in southern Oregon, ALF warriors were poring over the information and evidence obtained in our investigation. Our goal was to search out and destroy the very links that kept the fur-farm business in the black. Knowledge is power, and in the hands of the ALF willing to put it to use, it's one hell of a wake-up call.

On June 10, 1991, ALF warriors raided the nation's largest experimental fur farm at Oregon State University (OSU), destroying and confiscating vital research records necessary for ongoing mink research benefiting fur farmers. The building housing experimental feeds aimed at lowering mink farmers' overhead was burned to the ground. Within a year, after 65 years in operation, the research lab closed its doors forever.

On June 15, ALF warriors struck the Northwest Fur-Breeders Cooperative in Washington that supplies feed to OSU's fur farm as well as 45 others in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. A fire set in the warehouse caused over \$800,000 in damages.

On August 13, ALF warriors raided three separate labs at Washington State University (WSU) in Pullman, rescuing seven coyotes, six mink and ten mice used in experiments to benefit the fur and livestock industries. Department of Agriculture "Researcher of the Year"



John Gorham's office was ransacked and records confiscated before sulfuric acid was poured over his files.

On December 22, ALF warriors placed incendiary devices in the pelt processing building of Malecky Mink Farm in Yamhill, Oregon. The farm is tied in with OSU's research on mink breeding and nutrition. This action destroyed the farm, putting it out of business.

On February 28, 1992, ALF warriors raided the nation's most prominent fur-farm disease researcher, Richard Aulerich, at Michigan State University (MSU), rescuing two mink from his experiments, destroying laboratory equipment at the mink research lab and igniting an incendiary device in his campus office destroying 32 years of research benefiting mink farmers.

What the OSU, WSU, Malecky and MSU raids accomplished was to effectively neutralize all major recipient research funded by the Mink Farmer's Research Foundation. Along the way, ALF warriors had also been alerted to vivisection conducted on coyotes for that most evil of animal enemies, Animal Damage Control (ADC). On October 24, ALF warriors hosted a HOWLoween campfire party at the USDA's Predator Research Facility in Millville, Utah. Twenty five coyotes were rescued from the labs and the evening's campfires were started both inside the Predator Research Facility laboratory, which later had to be destroyed, and at head researcher Frederick Knowlton's office at Utah State University in Logan.

The story could have ended here had it not been for a nation-wide law enforcement task force that discovered my handwriting on a package containing stolen MSU research records and a letter written on behalf of the ALF re-

questing funds for more actions. I never entered into the ALF believing that a guerrilla army could launch six covert operations against US government-funded research facilities without suffering due reprisals. Four Earth First! and animal activists were imprisoned for six months apiece for refusing to testify to federal grand juries investigating "Operation Bite Back," and many others were subpoenaed and harassed by Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents before I was finally indicted on five counts of "use of unregistered explosives," "extortion" and "threats to interfere in interstate commerce," "interstate transportation, arson, theft and destruction of government property," and "receiving stolen property." I read in the newspapers that I faced 50 years in prison if found and convicted. As the only indictable ALF member, I was singled out for persecution (and prosecution) with the hopes that pressure on me would lead them to other ALF warriors.

After living underground for three years, I was tricked into a ruse: I was told a wounded hawk lay in my tribe's fire department. Upon my entry, I was jumped by US Marshals, ATF and FBI agents as well as the local hitmen for the bluecoats, the Bureau of Indian Affairs police. Once in custody, I was reindicted on additional charges of racketeering and conspiracy for all the above-mentioned "crimes." I faced 10 to 12 years if found guilty on all charges. I also faced additional charges in Montana for stealing the diary of a dead 7th Cavalry soldier from the Battle of Little Bighorn. The theft was to draw attention to the desecration and destruction of indigenous heritage and artifacts.

In March of 1995, I plea-bargained down to one count of destruction of government property and aiding and abetting arson at MSU. In August, I was sentenced to 57 months in prison and ordered to pay over \$2.5 million in restitution. In September, I surrendered to federal prison in Safford, Arizona near where Geronimo did his time and after three months was transferred to a higher security prison outside of Tucson, where I am now. My father's family is from southern Arizona and this whole region is in my Yaqui homeland. The reservation is only thirteen miles away, so at least I'm a prisoner of war in my own homeland.

So what is prison like? No big deal, just a cheap attempt at reindoctrination to subdue us indigenous hostiles who still fight Manifest Destiny. No true rehabilitation for sex offenders and the violent, only warehousing of those deemed dangerous to society in a political attempt to satisfy Americans' "get tough on crime" machismo.

As an earth warrior and animal liberator, prison is a time to relax. It is a time to read all those thick novels and other

books piling up on your shelves, to correspond with your brothers and sisters on the front lines of animal and earth defense, and to realize that our beliefs, like those of the indigenous peoples the world over are quickly being legislated as terrorist acts in practice.

Am I bummed that I'll be in prison until August 1999? Of course, but when the price of my "freedom" is apathy, and worse, inactivity to the notorious forces that are destroying our life-support system and sacred mother earth, then I choose the freedom within these walls knowing I've done everything I can to stop the madness. I have educated myself too much to justify anything short of total resistance to the forces destroying our planet.

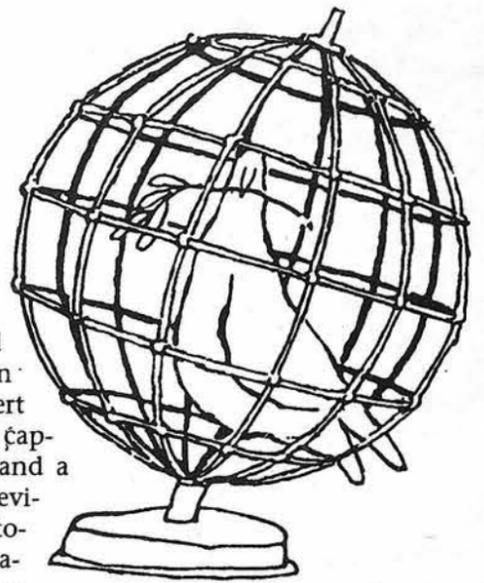
Prison is nothing more than the adult equivalent of being grounded or sent to your room. It is a shallow attempt to crush the spirits of those who would not surrender their freedom to others, and a punishment for modern-day warriors who in days past would have been "dealt with" using the same methods employed at Wounded Knee and Sand Creek. No one can deny us true freedom except ourselves, and when we liberate ourselves and open up to the powers of earth, we discover that freedom is nothing that one person can deny another. It's a state of being that each one of us has felt or seen behind every forest blockade and every free-roaming bison. It is the spirit of wildness crying to each one of us who has awakened to the reality of what is being done to earth, and who have been chosen to defend her.

The day is quickly coming when we must ask ourselves what is more important, living "free" in the occupied territories of our oppressors, or living free within ourselves, not questioning what is legal, but doing what is right. I've stood on protest lines while vivisection and loggers marched past to their day's work of animal torture or forest destruction and felt helpless and utterly useless to defend the lands and animals I claim to share brother and sisterhood with. That is not freedom, that is an exercise in well-disciplined self-control. The type of control we're taught in school and in prison.

I've also wrenched engine-room valve covers off whale-killing ships and felt the sea gushing in, and swung hammers against computers and research equipment used to torture the animal people. In these actions I've felt true freedom. The type of freedom worth living and dying for. And if the price of that kind of freedom is a few years of forced relocation with three square meals (vegan even!), recreational and literary exercise and relaxation, then it's worth it!

We are not murderers, and as long as we don't kill anyone but target the machinery of life's destruction and attempt to rescue our animal relations, then realistically the worst our enemies can do is lock us away for a few years. A small price to pay for the survival of our planet and her future generations of all life. Take it from someone in the clink brothers and sisters, if we are to preserve all that we love including each other, we have to start showing our opposition we're not afraid of what they can do to our physical bodies. No true Christian can allow the prolifera-

# PLOWSHARES ACTIVISTS FOUND NOT GUILTY! OF SABOTAGE: STILL FACE PROPERTY DAMAGE CONVICTIONS



Donna and Tom Howard-Hastings, the plowshares activists who openly acknowledge having cut down three antenna poles for the Navy's Project ELF transmitter system, have been found innocent of sabotage. The acquittal on the sabotage count, following a three-day trial, relieved the pair of a possible ten year prison sentence and/or \$10,000 in fines. However, the Howard-Hastings were convicted on a lesser charge of destruction of property. That conviction carries a possible maximum penalty of five years in prison and/or a \$10,000 fine. Sentencing was set for November 1, 1996.

The ELF (extremely low frequency) transmitter sends secret one-way commands to submerged, nuclear-armed Trident submarines around the world. On Earth Day, April 22, 1996, the Howard-Hastings used hand-held saws to fell ELF antenna poles in the Chequamegon National Forest near Clam Lake, Wisconsin.

Donna and Tom presented an "affirmative" defense in which the act in question is admitted but the surrounding circumstances negate the commission of a crime. Defense attorneys Katya Komisaruk (who herself spent two years in prison for doing \$1 million in damage to a NAVISTAR navigation guidance system) and Kathy Love argued that shutting down the Project ELF antenna system couldn't interfere with legitimate "preparations for the defense of the United States," because ELF can only be useful in pre-emptive, sneak attacks.

Donna and Tom's evidence focused on the fact that Project ELF is strictly an aggressive system, and included expert testimony from a retired submarine captain, an international law professor and a former missile design engineer. The evidence clearly showed that working together, Project ELF and Trident submarines may constitute a crime-in-progress—a terroristic threat like any threat to commit murder. Because the defense team was able to show that the ELF/Trident system has no legitimate purpose, the jury was able to conclude that there was some reasonable doubt as to Donna's and Tom's criminal intent.

The ELF sabotage was the latest in a long line of plowshares actions. Plowshare activists draw inspiration from a Biblical passage from Isaiah, Chapter 2, Verse 4: "and they shall turn their swords into plowshares." Since 1980 there have been 57 direct disarmament actions.

For information about Project ELF contact STOP ELF at 740 Round Lake Road, Luck, WI 54853; (715) 472-8721 or Nukewatch at (715) 472-4185.

## EVERY LITTLE BIT, CONT...

continued from page 3



### Large, Slow, Low-elevation Rivers

The lack of protection of aquatic ecosystems is probably the wilderness movement's greatest deficiency. The focus of most aquatic protection efforts have been high-elevation, cold, fast rafting rivers with only a few fish species, such as trout. The large, meandering, productive river stretches downstream have been almost completely ignored for protection, although such areas are easily dozens of times more biologically diverse than the upstream portions. River protection is still focused largely on recreational qualities; a switch to conserving aquatic biodiversity is long overdue.

### Coastal Rain Forest/Douglas Fir

Canada's third most endangered ecosystem, the coastal Douglas fir zone of British Columbia, contains nationally rare species such as sharp-tailed snakes, garry oaks, arbutus trees and old-

growth Douglas firs. Although the US environmental movement has done a good job focusing on defending the last fragments of old-growth rainforests—because only fragments remain in the US—BC environmentalists have a tendency to write off entire old-growth valleys once a few clearcuts and roads have been punched in, preferring to dedicate their efforts to completely intact watersheds. Unfortunately, this means that the drier Douglas fir ecosystems, as opposed to the more famous red cedar/hemlock forests as in Clayoquot Sound and the Walbran Valley, are virtually ignored because they exist almost entirely as fragments and second-growth stands. Even US environmentalists, while defending old-growth fragments from immediate logging threats, tend to call for protective designations only in roadless areas, where few old-growth stands occur.

There are dozens of other such ecosystems in need of attention. One of

Earth First!'s most effective roles is to put largely ignored ecosystems into the public spotlight through dramatic action, at which point other environmental groups often latch onto the issues. DOLFIEs are in dire need of symbolic and direct actions. However, because most occur on private lands campaigns directed at these areas are considerably more difficult than those targeting public lands. Because the government is responsible for regulating and acquiring private lands for conservation, the most effective tactics may be symbolic actions that grab media attention instead of blockading a local landholding redneck's bulldozer.

The time is long overdue to prioritize campaigns for the most endangered ecosystems. Without campaigns to protect fragmented, semi-wild, low-elevation ecosystems, North America will soon become a cradle of extinction.

Ken Wu is an Earth First!er, Student Environmental Action Coalition activist and ecologist in British Columbia.

## CORONADO CONTINUED...

tion of weapons of mass destruction; no true animal liberationist can resist opening the cages of man's animal prisons; and no true earth warrior can remain within the law when the rape of mother earth is sanctioned by it.

Now, I know my old adversaries in the FBI and ATF will read this and label it as the blatherings of a fanatic promoting domestic terrorism, but these are the same people who use very real physical violence not to protect the planet that gives us all life, but to protect the interests of those most guilty of destroying her. I wish I could believe that their armed agents are only acting in the public's best interests, to prevent violence, but if that were true, then they would be on our side when the bulldozers came and would be raiding the corporate offices of Georgia-Pacific, Maxxam, Mitsubishi and their own DC headquarters. To my old adversaries, I am nothing more than a convicted felon, no different from the "hostiles" and "bloodthirsty savages" their predecessors justified killing in the name of progress. But to earth warriors and ani-

mal defenders (no difference) everywhere, I am happy to report that I am free, and no government-sponsored vacation can deter me from receiving the blessings of our earth mother.

One day they will have to let me go. All I ask is that we compare our own imprisonment, be it years in federal prison or days in county jail, to the imprisonment of whales, dolphins, apes, elephants, mink, bears, fox, bobcat, lynx, wolves and other animal relations who are guilty of no crime, yet sentenced to life imprisonment. Justice will be delivered to them only by you.

What of the ALF and their efforts against the war on fur animals? Since my imprisonment, the ALF has continued the campaign against the mink industry, raiding at least 13 mink farms and releasing thousands of animals back to the wilderness. The fur industry's response has been to place a \$100,000 reward for the head of an ALF warrior. So, consider giving to the ALF supporters group should that unfortunate day arrive when another ALF warrior is captured.

Thank you all for the hope you give that our children might learn to love and cherish all the natural creation that we have been honored to defend. My heart goes out to all my brothers and sisters taking stands for ancient forests and fighting the Salvage Rider, for fighting for the salmon, for occupying trees in the Third Battle of Newbury and for all the other battles I am unable to attend. Your letters make me feel a part of the front line, and in each one of you I see the spark of spirit-fire that allows all of us to become undefeatable warriors. It won't be long before I'm honored to fight with you against our common opposition. Your actions shall be seen as the most important of our generation's, and the most necessary for the earth's survival. Never let the fear of imprisonment keep you from exercising your strong heart's true will to be free.

Until all are free,

—ROD CORONADO

ALF Supporters Group, POB 69597, 5845 Yonge St., Willowdale, ONT, Canada M2M 4K3

[Ed. note: As we were busily putting together this issue of the EF!, we received a communiqué from the ALF indicating that on October 23 they had raided a mink fur farm in Lebanon, OR releasing approximately 2000 animals. Also, Rod's address is always listed in our directory on page 39.]



# Snowmobiles Harass Yellowstone Wildlife

BY JACOB SMITH, JASPER CARLTON AND JENNIFER EVERETT OF THE BIODIVERSITY LEGAL FOUNDATION

Snowmobile use is contributing heavily to the degradation of Yellowstone National Park's (YNP) diversity and ecological integrity. The Park's current Winter Visitor Use Plan is woefully inadequate: It places no limits on the number of snowmobiles permitted in a given season. The Park is presently revising this plan and the public has an opportunity to pressure National Park Service (NPS) officials to prohibit the use of snowmobiles within Yellowstone's borders.

The National Park Service Act states that the "fundamental purpose" of our parks is to "conserve the scenery... and the wildlife therein..." and to leave them "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Additionally, facilities in national parks are to be "consistent to the highest practicable degree with the preservation and conservation of the [park] areas."

How unimpaired is YNP today? Have the natural ecosystems within Yellowstone been perpetuated in "as near pristine conditions as possible for their inspirational, educational, cultural, and scientific values for this and future generations, with minimal disturbance by man's [sic] activities?" Has public use been predicated upon "the protection, interpretation, and management of the natural and cultural resources of Yellowstone National Park [and] on documented data obtained through appropriate investigation and research?" Have viable, self-sustaining populations of all native fish, wildlife and plant species been maintained?

Visitors to YNP in the mid-1990s know the real answers to these disturbing questions. Before us are important issues and facts that must not be masked solely by political and economic considerations. There is simply too much at stake. The considerable degradation of YNP's biological integrity and natural qualities is largely a product of the uncontrolled rapid increases in recreational activities both within and surrounding the park's borders. In 1996, the Park had more people, machines and commercial activity than can be tolerated by wilderness-dependent species. The park has over 300 miles of roads, villages built in prime grizzly bear and gray wolf habitat, dumps, power line corridors, sewage lagoons and hundreds of hookups for gigantic recreational vehicles that are little more than polluting apartments on wheels.

Of all of the recreational activities occurring within the Park and the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem (GYE), the environmental impacts of winter recreation probably get the least attention. These impacts often don't appear to be significant, perhaps because thick blankets of snow seem to offer protection against them. Yet the impacts of motorized winter recreation in particu-

lar are clearly substantial. And growth in public demand for the use of motorized vehicles during winter months in Yellowstone is rapidly increasing.

Large numbers of snowmobiles blast through Yellowstone each winter. On some days over 2,000 roaring, carbon monoxide-belching snowmobiles invade and shatter Yellowstone's peace and solitude. In the years since they gained access to Yellowstone, their numbers have skyrocketed beyond the NPS' projections. This past winter over 140,000 snowmobilers swarmed into the Park producing noise and fumes during what, until recently, was a period of rest for wildlife and solitude for Park visitors. All of this, of course, has been filling the cash registers of the local tourist industry, but at what price to Yellowstone and the long-term public interest of the people of the US?

There is a substantial body of scientific research documenting the adverse environmental impacts of winter recreation. This research makes it clear that motorized winter recreation in YNP and the GYE has significant environmental impacts. It is also important to note that non-motorized recreational activities (such as Nordic skiing and show-shoeing) have adverse environmental impacts as well.

The best available scientific research demonstrates that snowmobiles pose a serious threat to ecosystem integrity and biological diversity. Snowmobiles are responsible for at least three categories of environmental impacts: (1) direct impacts of exposure and harassment of wildlife, (2) indirect and cumulative impacts of exposure and harassment, and (3) impacts associated with snow compaction.

The direct environmental impacts of snowmobile use include the disruption of wildlife movement patterns for animals such as bison, damage to exposed and unexposed vegetation, soil erosion (especially on steeper slopes and when snow levels are low), and the harassment of wildlife at a time when many animals are especially vulnerable to increased stress.

Exposure to snowmobiles over the course of a winter or several seasons can result in significant long-term increases in winter stresses and energy expenditures, especially to larger mammals such as grizzly bears, elk and bighorn sheep. Over the long run, snowmobile use can also adversely affect plant densities and species composition and contribute to the spread of non-native plant species. The air quality degradation and the contamination of snow, water and soil can also be damaging.

The compaction of snow beneath snowmobile tracks is responsible for numerous and severe impacts to wildlife, especially the small mammals that depend on subnivean spaces (the spaces between the snowpack and the ground surface) for winter survival.

Larger mammals are also affected by compaction. The imperiled lynx is consistently out-competed by the more prevalent coyote and bobcat when it loses its

advantage in deep, uncompacted snow.

Finally, the sight and smell of snowmobiles can be disturbing to humans as well as to wildlife. By virtue of their speed and the noise and air pollution they create, snowmobiles effectively displace many non-motorized park users.

These impacts are part of the explanation for the biological diversity crises affecting the GYE. The area is experiencing continuing habitat fragmentation, loss of seasonal range and travel corridors, reduction in the size and number of potential recolonization areas, diminished viable populations, and an increase in extirpations and extinctions. Many of these trends are occurring on GYE lands surrounding the park (primarily National Forest and private lands). The National Park Service must take these trends seriously and ensure that its own management policies are coordinated with those of surrounding land management agencies and will not exacerbate ecosystem degradation, but rather, will contribute to its restoration.

The effect of the above-mentioned trends is hastening YNP towards the status of an ecological island. The consequences of this include an increased extirpation rate for indigenous species and the development of less-diverse, isolated, faunal communities. The GYE will be lost as an intact, functioning natural system in the coming decades if more effective preservation efforts are not employed. The protection of the GYE's biological diversity must be the primary concern.

There is presently an important opportunity for the public to participate in the shaping of future management decisions for Yellowstone. The National Park Service and Yellowstone National Park are in the early stages of revising Yellowstone's Winter Visitor Use Plan. Agency officials are deciding whether or not they will permit snowmobiles (and if so, in what numbers).

During this process, the public can play a crucial role by urging the NPS and YNP to ban the recreational and commercial use of snowmobiles in Yellowstone. The impacts to the integrity of the ecosystem and its inhabitants and to other human users are too severe, and are strongly at odds with the park's statutory mandates. Other national parks have set the precedent by prohibiting, fully or partially, the use of snowmobiles within their borders. The NPS must take the lead in preservation. If it does, other land management agencies are more likely to match their demonstrated level of concern. A failure to do so will likely lead to permanent degradation of YNP and the GYE.

The Biodiversity Legal Foundation of Boulder, Colorado has filed formal notice of intent to file a lawsuit against the NPS for its failure to prepare any up-to-date National Environmental Protection Act documents regarding the impact of YNP's expanding winter recreation program. This case is expected to be filed in the near future.

A couple of things you can do to stem the tide of snowmobile destruction in Yellowstone:

1) Write letters to the Director of the NPS and to the Superintendent of YNP urging that the recreational and commercial use of snowmobiles, snow coaches, and other over-the-snow motorized vehicles be prohibited in Yellowstone because of their considerable environmental impact, the substantial impacts to non-motorized winter visitors and their inconsistency with Yellowstone's enabling legislation.

Direct letters to Roger Kennedy, Director, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20240 and Michael Finley, Superintendent's Office, Yellowstone National Park, WY 82190.

2) Consider a contribution to the Biodiversity Legal Foundation to support our efforts to force the NPS to fully consider the best scientific information on the adverse environmental impacts of winter recreation, as it is required to do both by law and by the standards of ethical and prudent land management.

Write to the Biodiversity Legal Foundation at POB 18327, Boulder, CO 80308-1327.

The Biodiversity Legal Foundation has prepared a report and bibliography detailing many of the environmental impacts of winter recreation. Copies can be obtained by contacting Road-RIP at POB 7516, Missoula, MT 59807; (406) 543-9551; roadrip@wildrockies.org.



Bison are one of the few species unafraid of snowmobiles. No contest.

## Heart Space

reverberations of rototilling  
ground once naked  
Earth soul  
complete heart  
unangry  
once listening  
felt a rumor of soil  
compromise no Mother  
especially Mother Earth  
free from taxes  
free from law  
politics  
the who's who  
of who tells who what to do  
no thinking  
heart space beyond time  
magical  
fortified  
unfear is the path  
forget career  
find unfear  
the place where the heart is ruby red  
a tough muscle  
outwitting the mind

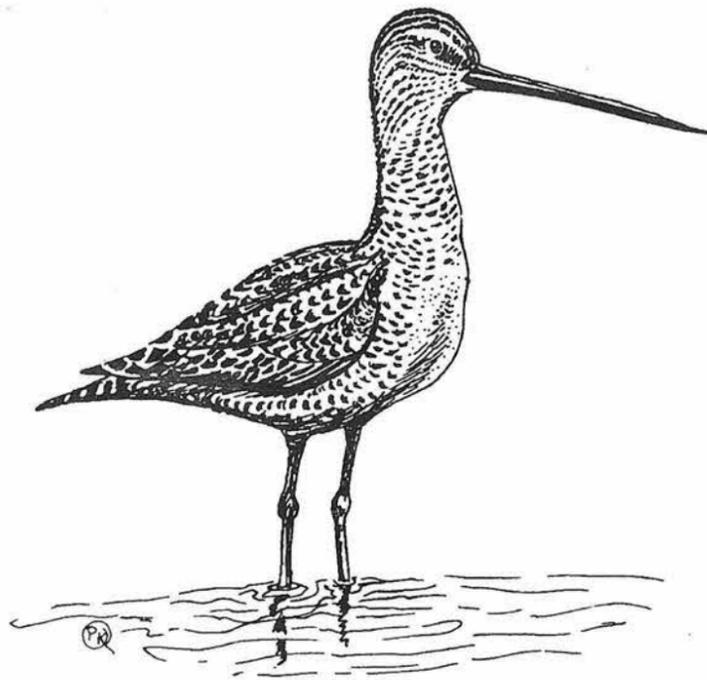
—BRETT BEVELL

# ARMED WITH VISIONS

## Requiem for Chico Mendes

Yes!  
Rainclouds are born  
On this day  
With joy  
The trees breathe them  
With joy  
The blue of space  
Holds them, holds them  
Like a mother holds her child  
The clouds are spires  
The clouds are the cities of the saints  
The clouds are luminous  
Like your face  
They rise  
They build higher and higher  
Then rain  
Their rain like tears  
Falling on the earth  
The earth that holds you  
Like a mother holds her child  
Chico Mendes, Chico Mendes  
I see your soul flying  
It is a beautiful bird  
With jewel-like wings  
It lives in the jungle  
It delights in all things  
It is an orchid  
It is a beetle  
It is a rainbow  
We know you were shot  
We know you are dead  
Chico Mendes, Chico Mendes  
We offer you these memories  
As you fly between worlds  
We miss you yes  
We miss you

—GREG BECHLE



## Recreation

From the asphaltconcrete jungle they come,  
For the weekend.  
Crawling north on the Interstate through  
the white-hot glare of a desert's summer  
sun.

Showers and toilets—they demand the  
city's comforts—can't quite break away  
from what it is they so desperately want  
to escape.  
For the weekend.

Chips and sodas, beer and boom boxes,  
a suntan oil-drenched dip in the  
creek.

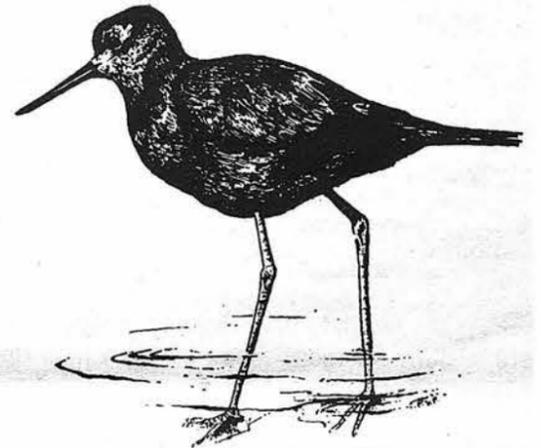
A leisure-time getaway to the  
wilds of the campground.

—JENNY ARMETTA

## An Activist In A Tent Trying To Define Herself Early in The Morning

I am not a bald eagle  
I am not a black bear  
I am not a coho salmon  
I am a woman with a song  
but I can't sing  
I am a human who has to  
touch everything  
I am a doubter, I dabble  
in disbelief  
I will never be the tree  
I am not even a leaf

—DARRYL ECHT



## clear as cut glass. and just as dangerous



## Meditation on Presidential Promises

Is it  
a rainstorm in the desert,  
fine dining for starving refugees,  
luxury hotels for the homeless?

To feel that the victors  
don't want to kill me,  
but rather are partially indebted  
to my vote and peers.

Or will the desert rain  
evaporate, like a mirage, before  
the deluge can contact Earth,  
thwarted by hot air and broken promises  
from above?

January 19, 1993

Inspired, in part, by watching a rainstorm at  
Canyonlands National Park, Utah, in July  
1992 that evaporated half way between a  
cloud and the ground due to heat and dryness.

—MARK ROBINOWITZ

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

# "What am I going to say that hasn't already been said?"

continued from page 3

## On the MOVE EF!

I just wanted to let you know that I am in receipt of your journal and that I have been reading articles in it that are informative, very informative especially about the Clinton administration.

Since the rise of your organization coupled with the MOVE organization and other environmental organizations and animal activist, although slow, things are still progressing on the issue of Earth Life, people are starting to become more aware of protecting the Earth than ever before. Prisons are now recycling and it encourages other prisons to do the same. Of course we as wise people know that their goal is just to save money but that don't matter none because as long as its being done is what's important now.

Here at Cambridge Springs our MOVE sister has taken the responsibility as a job to recycle all paper products, cans, books, magazines and plastic. This has saved thousands of trees from being killed. She Janine Africa and another inmate pick up items to be recycled everyday throughout the prison. We all have a lot more work to do but we're doing it. Stay loyal, stay strong.

—DEBBIE SIMS AFRICA

## Attention:

Seeking persons interested in serious prison reform. Paralegal and office skills and driver's license a plus, but not necessary. Please contact: Ronald Davidson, #76A1166, Auburn Prison, Box 618, Auburn, NY 13024-9000

## Earth First! Journal,

I am about to be sentenced for "monkeywrenching" some CAT bulldozers in Fairfax County, VA. Property damage over \$1000 is a FELONY in Virginia! There is a (remote) chance I will be incarcerated. Anyone who would like to write me, find out more, share experiences, please write c/o Gilson, 7955 Pebble Brook Ct., Springfield VA 22153.

—ANDREW GILSON

## Greetings Earthlings—

Re: Radcon's hyperboycott mindless trash. How did that survive the spike? No problem here with tips on boosting from corporate outlets, but the deal with the outboards buried the needle on my dumb meter. Outboards suck, better to put them out of their misery than pass them on for profit. Worse, though, was that gawdawful writing. Gosh, Radcon sure is cool. Can we arrange to have all his/her writing materials confiscated? I'm assuming Journal space is tight, why throw it away on no brainers like "Hyperboycott"?

Love,

—PAM FLITIER

## earthfirst@igc.apc.org:

Gaia! Just when I thought that EF! was starting to achieve some level of political sophistication, we get "Hyperboycott the World." This infantile piece recommends that we go out and rip off any and all business because "All businesses fuck up Gaia." The author assumes, I gather, that if we just go out and monkeywrench all commerce, then people will come around to ecological sensitivity

and intelligence. Oh really? I didn't realize that theft was such an effective tool of persuasion. Get a life, Radcon. No one will be persuaded by your tactics. They'll just end up hating you and everyone who has anything to do with EF! As it happens, I own a business myself, and I can tell you that if someone rips me off, I will not be inclined to adopt their world view. In the future, I hope that the Journal will reject this type of nonsense in favor of something with a future. It's no wonder we aren't getting anywhere.

—FRANK RIVERS

## Radcon responds:

There are different tactics which are appropriate at different times. Some are meant to bring people into the fold. Others are meant to FUCK SHIT UP!! And the reason "we aren't getting anywhere" is because too many people got it too fucking easy, and they don't want to upset their gig.

You are absolutely right that outboards suck, but they sure are fun to run with. You probably don't want to know how to steal jet skis.

I am sorry my writing is not up to your high standards. But my target audience is not assholes who are into appearing educated.

Sure you can confiscate my materials. Isn't that what good Americans do when they disagree with someone.

I don't understand how you can hate someone for their politics. Why are you both so angry?

## Journalistas,

I want to make a correction on the photo credits given to me on the China Left photo section in the last issue. I took only the two

think using photos on the cover should be done more often for it looks very good and different. Though I like the art that is used I feel using photos is a change and eye catching. By the way, the weapon that the Fed is holding is an AR-15 not an AR-16. Not that I expect you all to know your weapons or anything.

—JONATHAN PAUL

## Dearest SFB,

A Mabon (Sept. 96) Journal article promotes the boycott of the Nalge Company and all its products, including those ever-popular Nalgene water bottles.

That'd be a great idea even if the Nalge Company didn't produce a disgusting array of vivisection equipment. Anyone who's bought a Nalgene bottle knows that water contained therein soon tastes like plastic.

The preferred alternative?: Gatorade bottles—the ones you find discarded along sidewalks and roadways, in trash cans and dumpsters throughout modern civilization. They come in 20-oz., 1-quart and 2-quart sizes. A wonder of technological design, they have efficient shape, excellent grip and a tough plastic bottle that lasts for years. The clear plastic allows for viewing of the contents, but Gatorade bottles don't taint your water with plastic taste. And they are much lighter than Nalgenes. The orange, wide-mouthed lids are hard to lose and rarely leak.

Plus, of course, they're free. You needn't search out an "outdoor sports" store and fork over hard-earned dollars. If you damage or lose a Gatorade bottle, you can

## To whom it may concern:

I need your assistance in protesting several companies that are continuing to sell the detestable steel-jawed leg-hold traps. I recently came into the possession of information about three companies that continue to sell torture devices.

I have been calling these people for over a year and have been successful in getting some cooperation from a few of them. Three companies, however, have no intention of cooperating. They are very nasty people and they tell me that they are not going to stop selling steel jawed traps.

So, I would like to extend an invitation to you and your organization to please help by calling these 800 numbers. Please print these companies' names and 800 numbers in you organization's publication, newsletter, or homepage so that your members can contribute in this fight.

All you need to do is just call. You do not have to say anything. They will get the message that their business is being targeted. With a cost of almost \$0.50 per call, we can, and are, making a difference for all animals.

• M & M Fur Co. Attn.: Mel or Irene, Box 15, Bridgewater, SD 57319; (800) 658-5554

• R-P Outdoors Attn.: Randall or Jimmy, 507 Polk St., Mansfield, LA 71052; (800) 762-2706

• Funke Tags & Supplies Attn.: Wayne, 2151 Eastman Ave., State Center, IA 50247; (800) 626-2894.

Together we can make a difference—one call at a time.

Sincerely,

—R.C.

[It is best to make 1-800 calls from a payphone because ALL calls ARE traceable.—PHONE-IN-MY-EAR FLYNN]

## Dear Friends:

I live in the "piney woods" region of East Texas. I have enclosed a copy of an old photograph of what the beautiful virgin forests around here once looked like. But the big trees are all gone now, victims of the ax and saw, cut and sold by men and companies who had no regard for the future. They just wanted a "profit," then moved on.

So even though, in many ways, the battle here in East Texas was lost many years ago, I am interested in the struggle going on other places, and in soul and spirit, I guess I am close "kin" to all brave people who are still working to save the "last stands" of virgin forests.

Thanks,

—L. Woods

## Folks at EF!

Hi. I've been meaning to get in touch with you for a while and I finally found your mailing address. Anyway I'd like to get involved with the movement in any way possible. I'm sure your mail is being screened so I won't mention too much but I am a hardliner—you probably know what that means but if not write me back for a more in-depth description—briefly it is—living by the one ethic that all life has the right to carry out its existence free from intrusion and in a natural state. Hardline adheres to a strict way of living—veganism/drug free/pro-life/sex only to further creation and the cycle of life and we cannot agree with other forms

of sexual deviation other than heterosexual sex. We are also radical environmentalists—we see the earth as a living thing that sustains all life and that earth is being destroyed. Hardline is a movement as well but I am more than happy and would jump at the chance to take part in the EF! movement (they are basically one in the same). Hardline is also uncompromising (obviously). We fight to protect all innocent life as well as our mother earth. We will use any means necessary. Those that do not respect other's rights, well, in turn, no longer have rights and will be dealt with accordingly.

Thanx and take care.

NO COMPROMISE!

GO HARDLINE!

—JON HOWELL

[Gee, Jon. I don't quite know where to start... Earth First! and hardline do not seem to me to be "one in the same." Earth First! has bit more respect for life of all species. Your strict, holier-than-thou "ethic" reeks of fascism and just wouldn't be popular around a campfire. Nor would you get very far telling people what to do with their own bodies. Learn some tolerance and respect for (bio)diversity.—JUDGE FLYNN]

## Dear Friends!

My name is Slavick. I am Russian, anarchist, ecologist, and even teacher in a village school. I listened to you very often from my friends. You are the best organization among ecological ones. I'd like to try to make contact with you. I make a few requests to you.

Request #1: I live in the southern Russia in the place which is called Volgo-Ahtubian bottomland. We have terrible ecological problems. We are on the verge of global ecological catastrophe.

To my great surprise, more of our people don't see it. Our ecologists are passive. Our journalists are afraid of government. I try to ring the alarm: write articles in city newspapers, make a film about our ecological problems with my friends from Volgograd TV. But it is a windstorm in a glass.

Now I appeal to you and to our Russian eco-organizations to help to protect our paradisiacal place. I translated my article for you ("Bridge which leads to nowhere"). My English is poor but I hope you will understand meaning of my article. Hope you can print it in your magazine! Help me to ring the alarm!

Request #2: There is a children's' ecological union in our village school. I translated another article for you. If it will be interesting to you, help us to find friends in your country! Now I try to create ecological children's' union in Volgograd City, and your experience will be very useful for us!

Request #3: I'd like to read your magazine. How can I enjoy your articles? I shall be glad to help you if you will need something! Excuse me for my mistakes! I thank you beforehand for your help!

Yours faithfully,

—SLAVICK

## Dear Shit fer Brains,

Once again the holiday season is upon us, and due to our brain-washed minds we welcome it with open arms. Hallmark gift cards tells us to, and since they're a corporation THEY MUST BE RIGHT.



A grown man is dwarfed by the old-growth long-leaf pine forest.

photos on the left side of the page and the other three were taken by activists who were at the blockade during the take-down. It was not the Journal's fault that this mistake was done but my own for I neglected to make it clear when I sent the photos in.

I also want to comment that I

easily and literally "pick one up" almost anywhere. And finally, you get that recycling "feel good" without buying (or actually drinking) that foul liquid called "Gatorade."

Saving the Earth a micron at a time,

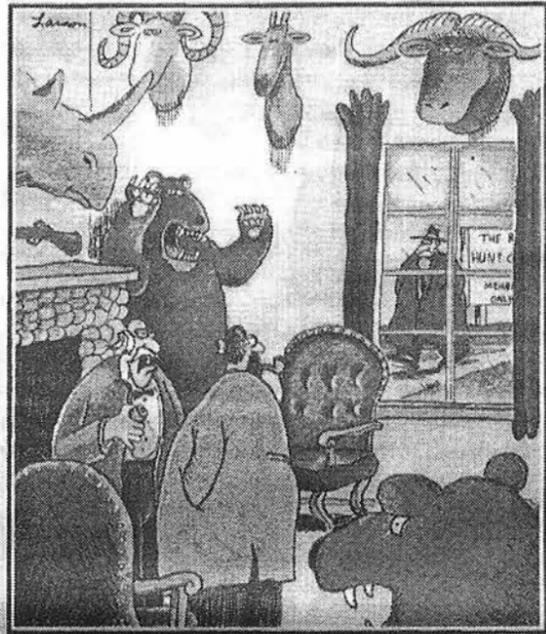
—LYNN JACOBS

STOP PUBLIC PLASTIC RETAIL GRAZING

# "Say it again, you say? Well, ..."

Thanksgiving is the event that plays heavily upon my mind that we numbly celebrate year after year, like programmed robots. Our government, with the help of Hallmark, has taken this genocide (the massacre of hundreds of natives, not to mention animals as well which some how got wrapped up in the slaughter) and have transformed it into a family event of togetherness and thanks.

Thanks for what? The land we slaughtered for? Or for the destruction the land? We soak the soil and penetrate the air with pesticides EVERY DAY to provide us with a wasteful amount of food! Or is it thanks to the bird which has spent it's whole life in captivity just waiting for us to kill it.



"Oh, God! Here comes Finchley! ... He's out of the closet you know—says he kills only for food, not pleasure."

This is a day in which we should be mourning not celebrating. Though it's too late to right all the wrongs, we can still make the conscious choice to not participate in this corn-pone scam. Take this day to educate both yourselves and others, stop the destruction of the earth, free the animals, shut down the corporations or, if you have been doing this all year then OK, take the day off and enjoy what it is you want to save.

This should be a day about asking forgiveness not about giving thanks, so shut down your local Hallmark today, or any corporation will do.

—KIM MARKS  
PS. Actions are great fun for your friends and family, too!

Dear EF!ers,

How Come "Rich and Craig" wrote a long informative letter [August-September EF!/] about the realities of corporate disgustiveness and then finished their letter with a lame-ass glorification of the "Founding Fathers" and their precious "revolution" to "end corporate dominance?"

The "founding fathers" (vomit) were just one more batch of the racist murdering colonizers continuing the theft of this land and the destruction of indigenous communities. That arrogant title that people like Rich and Craig like to throw around is a propaganda title and it blows my mind that political people who should BY NOW know better are so ignorant and arrogant that they dare frame a righteous political resistance to corporate rule in such offensive and silly terms. The F-

ing gathers and the system of racist rule, white and male supremacy, that they set in place, are NOT an inspiration and I think Rich and Craig should throw away their 7th grade propaganda primer and re-learn our story.

Which brings me to another thing. I am noticing a number of activists getting sucked into the whole spiel about looking to the legal history supposedly enabling the revoking of corporate charters when they are "bad." First of all, there ain't no such thing as a "good" corporation; they are all about profit and capitalism, period. Secondly, I don't trust any "justice" supposedly "allowed" me by THE LAW, that ultimate fascist institution that will never, ultimately, go against its masters.

I applaud organized resistance against (and education about) the evils of the corporate way, but let's just not mix it up with these false "solutions," designed to still have people looking to the system for relief instead of looking to their own power to create something new. I don't wanna "end corporate dominance;" I wanna end corporations, capitalism and all the anti-life delusions.

For all living beings,

—EVE

—EVE

My impression on the latest EF! action in Eureka was that it's time for a general agreement to shift strategies. If EF! is going to be taken seriously, it's got to draw the line on actions that force the mainstream groups to disavow it. The decision to put bull shit in the Demo party office, while perhaps gratifying, was a political debacle that forced Carl Pope to distance the Club from EF! in print. Until that moment, we had the Club and EF! together for the first time in memory.

People got mad and they went too far. Non-violent CD is one thing, but trashing an office is another. It didn't help that Darryl Cheney was quoted in the paper saying Feinstein and the Demos "deserved it." In other words, "Fuck you, Dianne!"

Now, while we may all agree (or not) that she did deserve it, to say so in the newspaper served only to marginalize EF!. The next day (Wed. I think), the Chronicle editorial slammed EF!, saying that whatever credibility it had was strained to the break point by the stunt. This does serious harm to the effort to mainstream the notion of a 60,000 acre preserve, and jail for Hurwitz.

Now we're the criminals, the hoodlums, and Hurwitz looks respectable and Feinstein's on his side!

This is not all the fault of the few EF!ers participating in the action, but their act set the stage for

the situation we're now in, where Save the Redwoods (or Shave the Redwoods, as I call them) is SUPPORTING the deal.

Who's next? Yes, we have to diversify. And we have to clean up the act, folks. The media love to depict us as unwashed hippies (which some really are), but we'll never win the political game if we allow ourselves to continue to be marginalized.

Time to get smart, and start "looking like America," to borrow a phrase from Clinton. Gotta start now, and get people to start paying attention to the issue of planetary destruction, not how long someone's hair is.

Sorry to sound strident, but this is too important to ignore any longer.

—DAVID ORR@AOL.COM

Direct action gets in the news, while 10,000 petition signatures won't even make the metro section. While I wouldn't go out and fling cow chips, someone needed to point out the fact that Feinstein isn't working to save headwaters (just her job). I also think that Dianne Feinstein wants the issue to die because it points out the fact that she working for the wrong side. Remember the day of the rally she said it was called off and then 1031 people were arrested at a rally attended by 5000+ people.

I don't think that direct action gets people sympathy but it certainly gets their attention. Most of the people I meet at work are clueless unless it makes the front page of the Oregonian. My point is that if it doesn't get in the news it didn't happen and nobody cares. Even though I won't lock down, I fully support the direct action EF! folks.

—JIM HARNETT

—JIM HARNETT

Dear Editors,

I wanted to send a note to bring you and EF! Journal readers up-to-date on sharks vs. cancer and the US commercial slaughter of wild shark populations.

As a result of efforts by environmental groups, pro-active citizens, and existing unbiased scientific data, Trader Joe's stores in California have discontinued the sale of shark cartilage pills, a supposed cure for arthritis or cancer. Available scientific research shows no connection between the ingestion of shark cartilage pills and the healing of cancer or arthritis infected tissues. Trader Joe's should be applauded for their pro-shark choice.

Sharks continue to be killed in large numbers by commercial and recreational interests despite documented severe regional population declines for two large coastal species: the sandbar and dusky sharks. Off the northwest coast of the US, declines of these two species are so great that they are now being considered for listing as Vulnerable and Endangered respectively by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Shark Specialist Group.

Unfortunately, the National Marine Fisheries Service, like other federal agencies, is practiced in foot dragging when it comes to pro-active conservation actions. Despite the pending IUCN listings and 1994 recommendations from some shark experts to lower

JUST A REMINDER: TRY TO KEEP YOUR LETTERS UNDER 300 WORDS SO THAT THERE IS SPACE FOR EVERYONE TO SAY EVERYTHING THEY WANT TO SAY ABOUT THE STUFF THAT IS ON THEIR MINDS THAT THEY WANT TO SHARE WITH...

the annual quota, close nursery areas, or implement closures of the commercial fishery during the mating and pupping seasons, NMFS, in 1996, continues to postpone any management decisions pending yet another scientific review of biological and fishery-related data. In the meantime, sharks will continue to be slaughtered at an ever increasing cost to marine environments

What can you do? Do not support pharmaceutical companies (like Acta Pharnacal Co. of Sunnyvale, CA.;

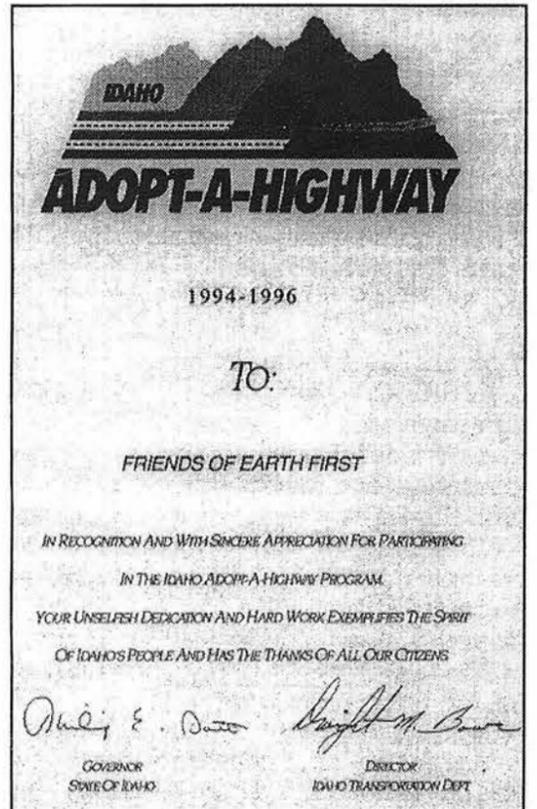
(408) 734-1148) who support the killing of sharks for cartilage pills. Write the Biodiversity Legal Foundation for further information: Biodiversity Legal Foundation, Shark Conservation Program, 944 Pearl St., Studio C, Boulder, CO 80302

Sincerely,  
—GREG JODER  
MARINE CONSERVATION COORDINATOR

Dear Editor:

While I find the Earth First! Journal to be a valuable resource for activists, one question about EF! that has been bothering me is this: Does EF! have a real political agenda beyond that of disruption?

The sort of neo-anarchism that some Earth First!ers seem to treasure is not, I would argue, a viable political theory. For instance, while I may admire the Unabomber's commitment to war against the system, his unwillingness to infuse his radicalism with any kind of concrete political theory means that, for all his efforts, he has accomplished NOTHING. Similarly, much as I respect Donna and Tom Howard-Hastings for their self-sacrifice in vandalizing the Navy's ELF facility and getting arrested, their action was not, as the title of their article suggested, "A Fast Way to Save the Earth," but rather a futile exercise in pointless martyrdom. What if, instead of spending the



next ten years incarcerated, they were to spend them organizing a politically focused fight-back at the grassroots?

As a Marxist and an ecologist, I try to organize environmental activists around Marxist, class-based politics, while bringing the science of ecology into Marxist economic thinking. Each needs the other. As long as Earth First! advocates blowing things up without regard to what you will replace them with, or seeking arrest as an end in itself rather than a means to an end (and one which, since you can't organize from a jail cell, should be sought only as a last resort), or militant action for its own sake without regard to the politics behind that action, it won't live up to its potential.

Lenin once said that without revolutionary theory there can be no successful revolution, and Earth First! needs to ask itself what the theory is upon which it operates. Small victories are always out there to be had, and Earth First! is to be congratulated on those victories of which it has been a part. The question should be, however, how will we attain the truly big victory which will finally make all the smaller struggles leading up to it worthwhile?

—STEVE DONKIN  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION



## In loving memory of two dog-friends:

EF! contact JR-dog passed away on Friday, September 13 at the age of 17. A revolutionary and an anti-speciest activist, JR refused to follow the rules of the speciesist authorities. JR was an inspiration for activists everywhere and was even declared the leader of EF! during the '91 RRR action.

Wishetee/wolfdawg was murdered by cattle ranchers in eastern OR September 9th.

Wishy and JR are re-united. They are running together in the Spirit World making trouble and plotting the demise of the global capitalist ruling class. They follow only the laws of nature. [JR is on the right.]

# "GREENS" WASHING

BOOK REVIEW BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

The Mountaineers have just published a book, *Tree Huggers: Victory, Defeat & Renewal in the Northwest Ancient Forest Campaign*, by former Oregonian reporter Kathie Durbin. This book, blurb-ed as "compelling and comprehensive..." and "...the definitive history of this ongoing struggle," actually can best be described (as one of my friends has), as "a 300-page puff-piece/apologia on Andy Kerr and the Western Ancient Forest Campaign" or, as I see it, as "a 300-page grant proposal to the Environmental Grantmakers Association."

By Durbin's criteria, a worthy activist in this campaign certainly didn't actually need to save any trees. The qualifications for inclusion in the Durbin pantheon seem to be: a title, a desk job, a foundation-funded paycheck and excellent self-promotion skills. Period. In fact, being an actual tree saver seems to rule one out for consideration. And, speaking of "tree huggers," isn't it a bit odd to title a book with the opposition's N-word for forest activists?

This book purports to be the "definitive" history of the forest protection movement, yet has: less than a sentence on Opal Creek, the only area of actual ancient trees to be permanently set aside in the last twelve years, after years as the epicenter of the entire issue; no mention of how the movement settled on the name "Ancient Forest;" no mention of the Rockefeller Foundation's Donald (Al Haig) Ross' "I'm in charge now" cocktail party in Portland. Even Breitenbush, scene of the first old-growth appeals, the first lawsuit, and incidents that other journalists have said "nationalized the issue," merits but two paragraphs and doesn't even make Durbin's incomplete and inaccurate chronology. She captions a Breitenbush waterway photo by pointing out the prime salmon habitat, when Detroit Dam blocked salmon passage 44 years ago. Ironically, logger Tom Hirons, an historian of sorts on the other side, credits events at Breitenbush and Opal Creek right there in her book as the major reason the opposition got serious.

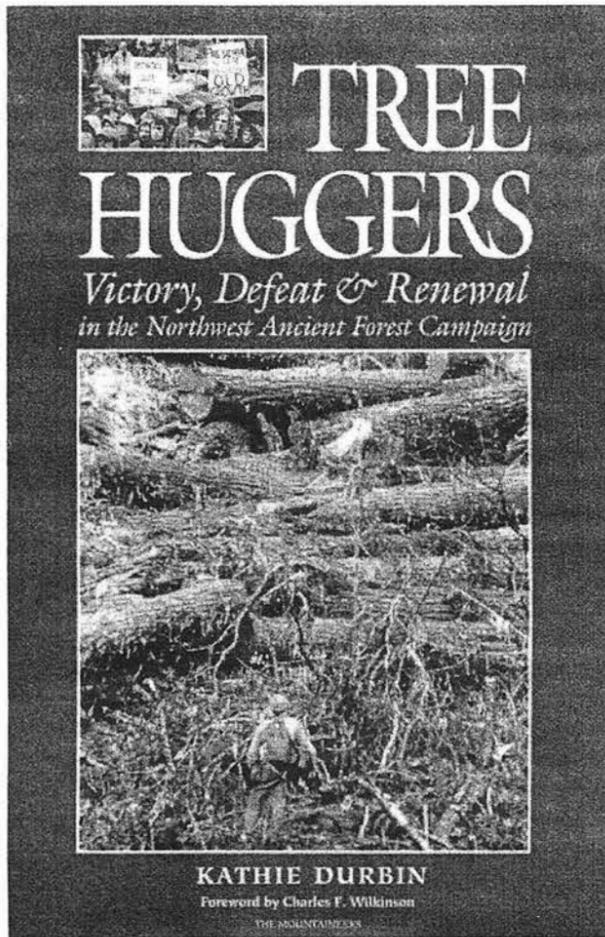
But the Sugarloaf Timber Sale gets fifteen pages of lame analysis. This was a devastating defeat that should have never happened. Some predicted it would never happen, given assurances from their contact in the administration, Jim Lyons, and assurances from Andy Kerr that such sales would be bought back as a quid pro quo for the release of sales from the Injunction.

In her rush to beatify Andy Kerr, Julie Norman, Mitch Friedman and Bonnie Phillips, Durbin insults the efforts of hundreds of activists who did the heavy work. Dinah Ross' first ever old-growth appeals and successful work on Wilderness additions? No mention. Karen Wood, Freda London and Mary Beth Nearing getting the civil disobedience effort off to a Gandhian start? No mention. (Come on. A book on ancient forest campaigns without a single word about Karen Wood?) Charlotte Talberth, Mike Roselle, Mary Beth Nearing, Freda London and the rest of the Cathedral Forest Action Group's efforts and the SLAPP suit in the Middle Santiam? Again, no mention.

Durbin gives David Orr and Chad Hanson's monumental victory in securing the Sierra Club's 2-1 vote to end commercial logging on public lands but one paragraph. The vote of the Salem City Council against further logging in their watershed merits but one sentence. Enola Hill? Barely on the Durbin radar screen.

Durbin denigrates the efforts of front-line warriors. Earth First! particularly comes in as a Durbin whipping boy. By Durbin's analysis, the manners and sartorial incorrectness of Earth First! activists have alienated "mainstream" people from "standing up for the forests."

The real story, which Durbin avoided telling, is how did we went from: an injunction on old-growth logging; Bush wanting to be the "environmental president;" "ancient forest" a household term; the spotted owl on the cover of *Time*; Al (greener than Kermit the Frog) Gore and his running mate getting elected, with a Democratic Congress to boot; the murrelet and salmon listings, which should have covered everything not already off limits... to big trees rolling down the road again?



Durbin's cavalier and completely clueless treatment of the Deal of Shame, the Chlopak/Owens treason, the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund/injunction release/Kerr backstab of Larry Tuttle, and the Clinton collaboration years, is especially shameless and a clear suck-up to the mega-foundations who supported, if not directed, these capitulations. Believe me, there's a reason the big foundations won't fund *Forest Voice*, *Wild Forest Review* or, heaven forbid, the *Earth First! Journal*. Without a doubt, when the real history is written, the arrival on the scene of the foundations and their henchmen and women will be seen as the beginning of the end. Never forget; we were winning until then. As southwest forest activist Sam Hitt once said, the entry of the big foundations had the effect of a "Death Star" unleashed upon the movement.

While Durbin sings praise and wastes space on the Mitch Friedmans of the movement trumpeting the foundations' support of their virtual wildlands proposals, actual wildlands are going down at unconscionable rates. When Durbin praised Friedman's uncalled-for excoriation of front-line activists who were camping in the snow defending those actual wildlands at last Spring's Ashland Forest Conference and didn't even mention Leslie Hemstreet's now-legendary performance-art rebuttal, you know clearly where Durbin aligns.

One telling episode Durbin recounts concerns a protest at the offices of Congressman Norm Dicks (D-WA). During the January 1996 action, National Audubon board member Helen Engle said, "We really believed when we signed on to the Clinton Forest Plan that the war would be over. We just feel that we've been cheated."

Never mind that for years the national groups denied ever having "signed on to the Clinton Forest Plan." Perhaps, when these forest Petain's surrendered, they really did think that the "war was over." They conveniently forgot the old "to the victor goes the spoils" maxim. (Or is that Maxxam?) To the losers goes the grant money and a place in a feeble history by, for and about a self-proclaimed elite.

I find very little good to say about this revisionist tome. As a 25-year activist involved deeply in the issue and one who has been around for many of the seminal events, I can say that only James Montieith is treated fairly. And even he is robbed of credit for some of his famed strokes of brilliance.

"Definitive history," my ass! Someday, someone will write a righteous history of what's been going on here in the Great Northwest. For now, save your money and the pulp (recycled—at least the publisher got one thing right) and forget this sloppy fiction.

## My Response to Donnelly's "GREENS" WASHING

### Book Review

BY KATHIE DURBIN

Michael Donnelly rushed to judgment and it shows in his instant "review" of my new book, *Tree Huggers: Victory, Defeat & Renewal in the Northwest Ancient Forest Campaign*, a review produced just a day and a half after I personally put the book in his hands.

Donnelly apparently chose to index-surf rather than carefully read the book from cover to cover. Otherwise, he would not assert: "The qualifications for inclusion in the Durbin pantheon of tree huggers seem to be: a title, a desk job and a foundation-funded paycheck." If that's true, how did Karen Coulter, Mark Winstein, Carl Ross, Gere Payton, Ron Mitchell, Francis Eatherington, Susan Prince and other impoverished, committed and effective activists manage to get included?

Donnelly questions my use of what he calls "the opposition's N-word" as the book's title. In my preface (p. 11) I explain the rationale for my title and its intended metaphorical meaning. Most reviewers at least make it past the preface.

A few other reality checks:

- I chose to focus on the Sugarloaf timber sale protests of October 1995 not because they represented a victory but because they marked a turning point—the galvanizing moment when grassroots activists and members of the national groups came together to oppose Logging Without Laws.

- Donnelly also asserts that "Earth First! particularly comes in as a Durbin whipping boy." In fact, Earth First! gets praise for its role in leading the return to direct action after the salvage logging rider went into effect in 1995. Yes, I quoted from Mitch Friedman's speech at the 1996 Ancient Forest Conference. It was a defining moment. So was the incredibly gutsy 11-month standoff between Cascadia Forest Defenders and the Forest Service, which is introduced in the second paragraph of my prologue (p. 13) and picked up again in the final chapter and the Epilogue. ("The victory was a testament to the raw physical courage and commitment of activists who had refused to back down." p. 289) The book's final section, *Renewal*, even opens with a great Sky Shiviah photo of warriors at the Warner Creek barricade.

- No mainstream journalist covered the events surrounding the Deal of Shame more thoroughly and fairly than I. Donnelly calls this coverage "cavalier and completely clueless" and "especially shameless and a clear suck-up to the mega-foundations who supported, if not directed, these capitulations." In fact, the Clinton administration's heavy-handed pressure tactics and the stance of the foundations and the national groups get full treatment in the chapter called "Splitsville." So does Larry Tuttle's experience with the Pew funders. Yes, I gave Tom Wathen of Pew a chance to respond. It's called journalism.

- Donnelly betrays his ignorance of the book publishing business when he complains that I give short shrift to the historic Sierra Club vote to end commercial logging in national forests (p. 287) and the Salem City Council's opposition to logging in the Salem city watershed (p. 287-88). These events happened in April and June of 1996 respectively, during revision and final copy editing of my manuscript. Working closely with the editor, I was able to add them to the epilogue literally days before the book went to press.

I could go on, but why should I justify my book to Michael Donnelly? In 100,000 words, I attempted to trace the trajectory of the most important conservation campaign of the late 20th century and the interplay of science, law and conservation politics in this saga. I could not name every activist or chronicle every event. David Seideman wrote an entire book about the battle for Opal Creek, Breitenbush and the North Santiam. Bill Deitrich wrote about Millennium Grove in *The Final Forest*. I have enormous respect for Karen Wood and others who have given their lives to this cause. The fact that this particular book, does not name them all in no way diminishes their contributions. ("I regret that I could not mention each one by name in this book and that so many stories of courage and dedication had to go untold." p. 12)

continued on next page

# Brightness Of Brightness

MUSIC REVIEWED BY CASEY NEILL

Timothy Hull's music is known to many EFlers in the Northwest who have seen him around campfires. At long last, a recording of 11 new songs entitled *Brightness of Brightness* has been released. Nearly every song invokes the spirit of the wild and our struggles to stop the destruction of its majesty. This album is an uplifting travel log of environmental activism, Earth-based mysticism and poetry, with Timothy's outstanding guitar playing and singing as a tour guide.

Musically, the material on 'Brightness of Brightness' ranges from trance-like meditations ("Ferry Me Over") to full rock. The instrumentation is Timothy and his guitar, with Bob Conger ripping up the drumset on the upbeat tunes. Traditional Celtic sensibility informs much of the melody and phrasing, with alternate guitar tunings providing deep drones on the bottom end. His guitar playing is fantastic by any standard, and it gives warm backing to the lyrics.

Timothy's songs hit you on an intensely personal level, especially for anyone who has ever stood on the front lines of eco-activism. The most anthem-like song is "Tough Reckoning," which cries out against those who erode mountainsides with roads, and level forests with saws. "Sacramento River Time" recalls

the contaminating train spill a few years back:

*"Now the Sacramento River isn't what it used to be/No fish come home to spawn there, no fish alive to see/And I passed up the chances to watch your living waters flow/The scope of what I really lost I may never know."*

Appropriation of Native American spirituality is directly confronted in "The View From the Shore":

*"Let us remember and never forget that justice is a far away prize/For the Native's living in a shadowed America suffering under its lies/Let us remember that the view from the boat is different than the view from the shore..."*

This song recognizes the roots of spiritually isolated Americans seeking meaning, while slamming new-age apathy towards the ongoing genocide of Indigenous cultures.

"My Shirt" is a driving Ani Di Franco-esque celebration of wearing a shirt stained with menstrual blood and society's misguided attitudes about bodily fluids. "In this world of images of women naked bound and gagged, I feel alright about wearing a different flag, a different flag!"

The centerpiece to this recording is "The Old Stories" (built upon later in "The Old Roads") which calls forth the other world and asks that we welcome it into our lives:

*"Where is the place that the spirits can go when we discover and pave on the last of their homes, they can come live with me, and already do and I give them room*

## Timothy Hull



### Brightness Of Brightness

*so how about you, I believe in the twilight and I believe in the dew of Niamh and Ossien I believe in them too, I believe the old stories I don't care if they're true, they're true if you believe them and that's what I do."*

"Brightness of Brightness" carries this sense of magic, loss and hope throughout. It's not filled with humorous campfire sing-a-longs or woo eco-chant, but it is both uplifting and intensely spiritual. A listen is like a long walk through a dark shrouded forest, and coming out onto the beach at twilight having found the courage within to keep on keeping on. Check it out.

## Durbin Responds to Donnelly's Review, cont...

continued from previous page

With hard choices to make, I elected to keep my eye on the main political story line while introducing new players who have advanced the campaign since 1989, when I began covering this story firsthand. My book is the first to detail the Clinton administration's legacy, the role of the 104th Congress and the environmental and political fallout from the salvage logging rider. In telling this tale, I gave credit where credit was due—even when that meant recognizing the contributions of national groups and ONRC, thereby failing Donnelly's political litmus test.

Don't take out your bruised ego on me, Michael. If you don't like my book, here's a thought: Write your own.

Michael Donnelly responds:

*I didn't call this book "the definitive history." The author and her publishers did.*

*Would a "definitive history" of the Civil Rights Movement be able to ignore Selma or the Bus Boycott simply because other writers already had written about such seminal events? You'd think "the most important conservation campaign of the late 20th century" would deserve a more thorough history.*

*Kathie asserts, "With hard choices to make, I elected to keep my eye on the main political story line while introducing new players who have advanced the campaign since 1989..."*

*The main political story (and the one Durbin avoided telling) is: How did we go from an injunction on old growth logging, Bush wanting to be the "environmental president," "ancient forest" a household term, the Spotted Owl on the cover of TIME, THEN Al (greener than Kermit the Frog) Gore and his running mate getting elected with a Democratic Congress to boot, then the murrelet and salmon listings which should have covered everything not already off limits... to big trees rolling down the road again? That's not what I call advancing a campaign.*

*If indeed "the Clinton administration's heavy-handed pressure tactics and the stance of the foundations and the national groups get full treatment..." then this question would be answered.*

*Twelve people (groups) made the decision to give up the Injunction and not pursue an appeal of Dwyer without consulting the greater movement. Who those folks (groups) are and who funds them is critical to understanding the answer to the questions I pose above. The Philadelphia Inquirer and the Wall Street Journal recently took a good look behind the curtains at Pew. Now, that's journalism.*

*Time has passed. The rationales of those who negotiated the surrender have been proven false. Andy Kerr said that as a result of the Deal of Shame, the administration would buy back particularly odious sales like Sugarloaf and that industry would return sales that they had bid too high on. In fact, no trees were bought back or returned. The justifications were obviously lame. "We had to give up the Injunction, because if we didn't, we'd get a rider." To not analyze these prognostications in light of what actually transpired and to not answer my above question is intellectual dishonesty.*

*Julie Norman says of Sugarloaf, "It feels like a double-cross." To feel that way, there must have been some reason to believe that it wasn't inevitable (as it is now spun.) She must have felt she had a deal, but the administration didn't hold up their end. "The galvanizing moment when grassroots activists and members of the national groups came together to oppose Logging Without Laws" seems an awful lot like closing-the-barn-door after-the-fact grandstanding to me.*

*Now, as to the personal stuff; my ego's not bruised. I'm celebrating! Opal Creek is now Wilderness, the Little North Fork Santiam is a Scenic Recreation Area and Elkhorn Creek and the North and South Breitenbush Rivers are Wild and Scenic Rivers. The Salem City Council is now on record opposing further liquidation of our watershed. The tide may be turning our way in my favorite areas. Some of us have most certainly "advanced the campaign*

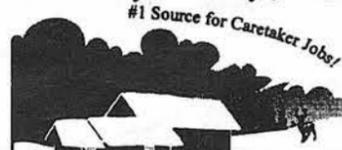
*since 1989," not to mention what we've done all along. Hell, those trees at Opal Creek are the only ancient trees permanently set aside in the last twelve years!*

*The reason for these victories: "Endless pressure, endlessly applied." Thousands of people stood up and said "No. No. And, furthermore, NO!" to the cutting of Opal Creek. We were on the cusp of replicating such victories region-wide. Melanie Rowland tells it like it is right there in Kathie's book: "what looks firm and principled in one situation (Republicans in the White House—my interpretation) looks rigid and uncompromising in another (Democrats)."*

*Well, when it comes to cutting ancient trees, I will continue to be "rigid and uncompromising" no matter who is in the White House, no matter what their carrots or sticks. The real galvanizing moment will be when the mainstream groups come together and oppose any and all logging on public lands.*

*And, don't worry Kathie, the book is being written. I'd never be so bold as to call it the "definitive" history, but an activist history it will be. PS. I'll debate you on the history anytime, anyplace.*

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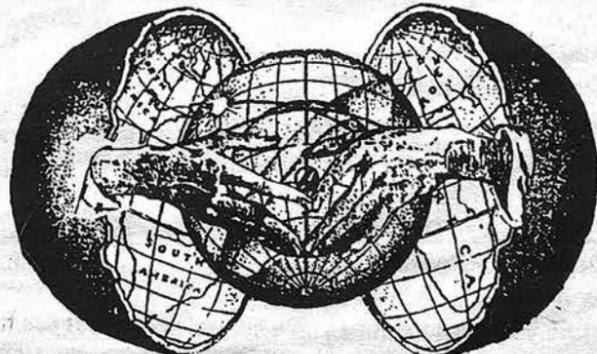
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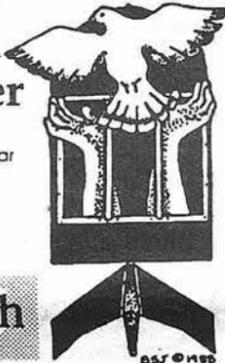
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by poet & mountaineer Richard Hale

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are singing their sick song ever louder:*

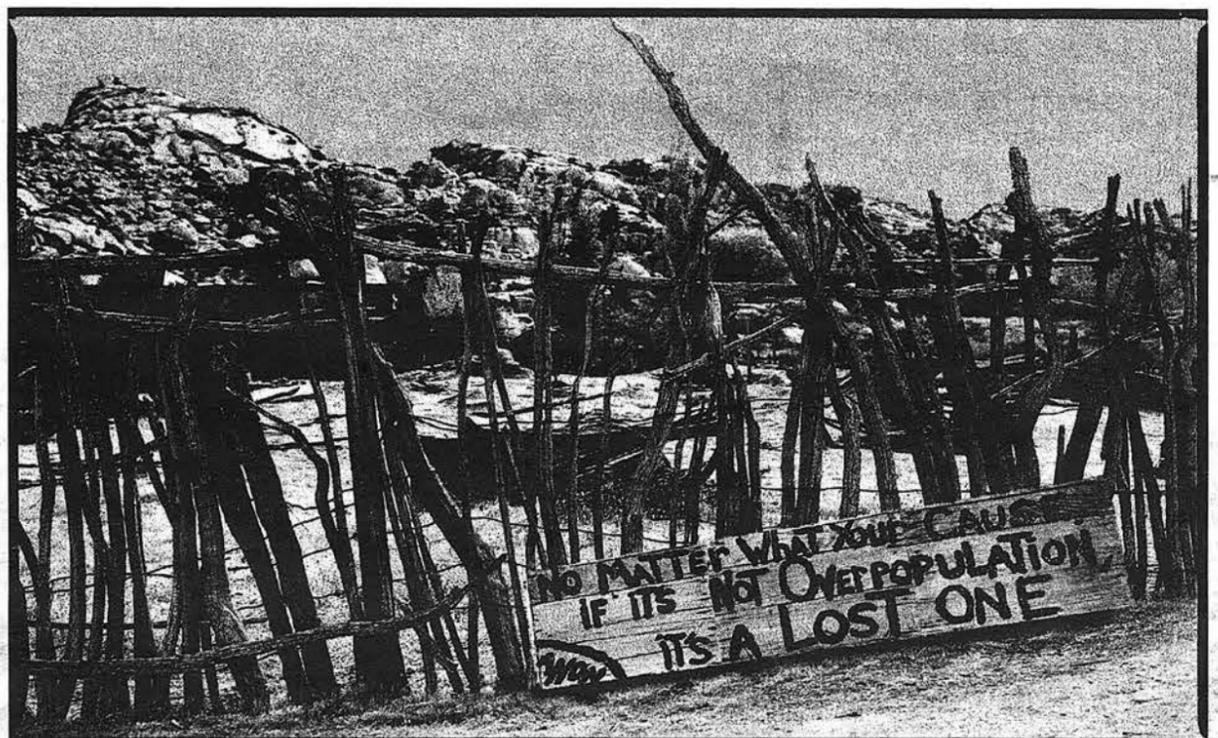
*Weeeeeeeeeee—Love a Return!!!*

*The profits we make on the chances we take  
it's all bottom line but earth-caring we'll fake  
There's only one thing we hold dear in our lives  
despite what we say to our kids and our wives  
The money is King, we revere the Great God  
we don't give a damn about saving the sod  
The homeless can die, women's rights are a joke  
the resource-poor countries can go up in smoke  
We'll fly to the moon with the money we made  
while solar nuke rays fry the eco-brigade . . . .*

*and, as usual, the ones who are paying close  
attention to Earthly devastation are ignored,  
harassed, threatened and otherwise treated  
like the enemy when they sing about truth:*

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a man-made Hell headin' for you and me!  
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To get your very own Buy Nothing Day Poster off the 'net [like the one above], just type in our URL which is: <http://www.adbusters.org/adbusters/Pop/buynothingday.html> Then click on the icon that says "Download poster" and you're off and running.

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### COVE/MALLARD STRATEGY SESSION

Come to beautiful Boise, Idaho this winter to strategize the future of Cove/Mallard. The meeting will be January 3-5, 1997. For more info call the Northern Rockies Preservation Project at (208) 345-8077. For information about the SLAPP suit or other C/M current events call (801) 379-8925 or, if you're dead broke, (800) 889-5277.

**FORESTS ARE NOT FOR LOGGING bumper stickers - white on green send \$2 per sticker to: Corroding Conformity Stickers 2938 E. Walnut #8 Port Angeles, WA 98362**

On Saturday, November 16, 1996, El Bosque Pumalin Foundation, in association with the Foundation for Deep Ecology, will host a symposium entitled "California Forests in Crisis." This two-part conference is designed to provide a strategy forum for local forest activists and an educational forum for the public and local media on the urgent ecological crisis facing our forests.

The goal of the forum will be to provide attendees with the new information and skills needed to combat the destruction of California's

remaining ancient forests. Held at UC Berkeley, the daytime portion of the symposium will begin with intensive workshops. The conference will bring together activists from the Western United States to compare notes and coordinate their efforts. The event will continue that evening with a large-format lecture aimed at the general public and the media to introduce them to the latest threats facing California's forests and provide a synopsis of the key concepts of forest ecology. For more information contact Elissa Anderman at (415) 771-1102.

### Zero Toxics Alliance

For years, representatives of environment, labor, tribal, community and other organizations from Washington, Oregon, British Columbia and beyond have been discussing the need to work together for the prevention of toxic pollution. Out of this discussion, a new group has formed called the "Zero Toxics Alliance."

The group was brought together by the very real impacts of the production, use and release of toxics into our daily lives—toxic exposures on the job and in our neighborhoods. In the Pacific Northwest, fish have been contaminated with dioxins and other pollutants, hurting our livelihoods and contaminating our bodies. Bald eagles, seals and other wild creatures of the

Earth are all suffering from chemical contamination.

The question can no longer be "How much more pollution can we release?" It must be "How can we stop pollution before it starts?"

The Zero Toxics Alliance advocates zero use, production and release of persistent and/or bioaccumulative toxic substances in the environment, workplace and home. Zero does not mean below some arbitrary level or beneath the level of detection. Zero means zero.

For more information on the Zero Toxics Alliance contact Liz Moses or Carol Dansereau at 4516 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105; (206) 632-1545, fax 632-8661; [wtc@igc.apc.org](mailto:wtc@igc.apc.org).

### MEATLESS DAY NOVEMBER 25

The Meatless Day campaign is a warning about the destruction provoked by the unconsciousness of man, who burns the forest without the slightest compassion for the creatures that live there.

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• Do not eat meat and promote a meat-free diet on November 25

• Write for free information on Meatless Day 1996 including pamphlets, newsletters, stickers, calendars of events

• Ask a friend to not eat meat on November 25

• Spread this idea in schools, restaurants and local newspapers

For more information write to Meatless Day 1996 at Mataji, Caixa Postal 454, 70359-970 Brasilia DF, BRAZIL; or to the Sadhu Vaswani Mission at 10, Sadhu Vaswani Road, Pune, 411001, INDIA.

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The @narchist H@G R@G #1 is out—you too can have your very own copy of this thick zine full of RAD womn's words, rants and art. Please send \$2.00 and/or that much in stamps. The deadline for the next issue is December 1—the theme will be alternative womns health, preventative care—specifically regarding candida and self-done abortions. Please send your writings and artwork (desperate plea for more art and fun comix stuff) to: H@G R@G POB 183, Harmony, Maine 04942.

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- LOVE YOUR MOTHER, DON'T BECOME ONE

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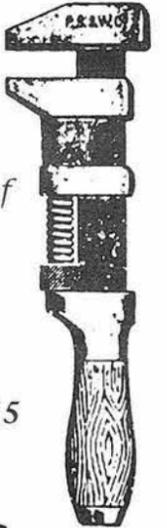
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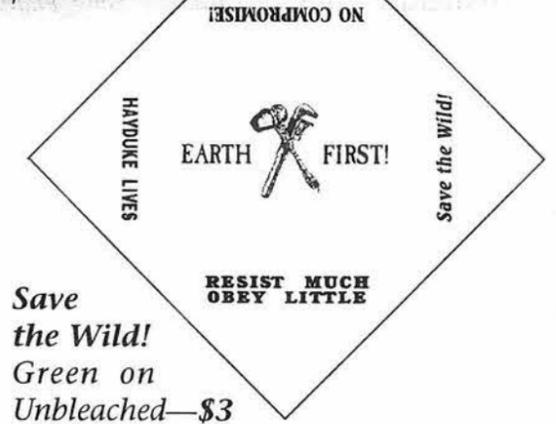
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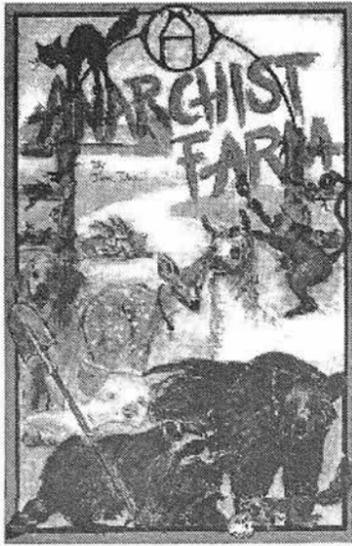
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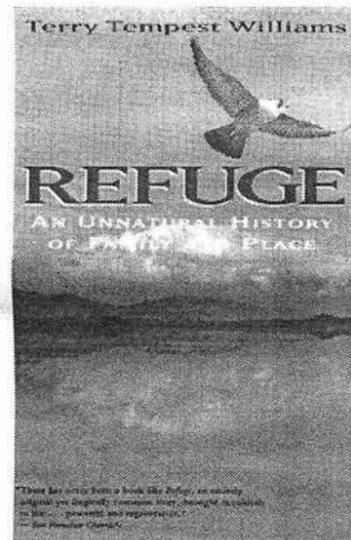
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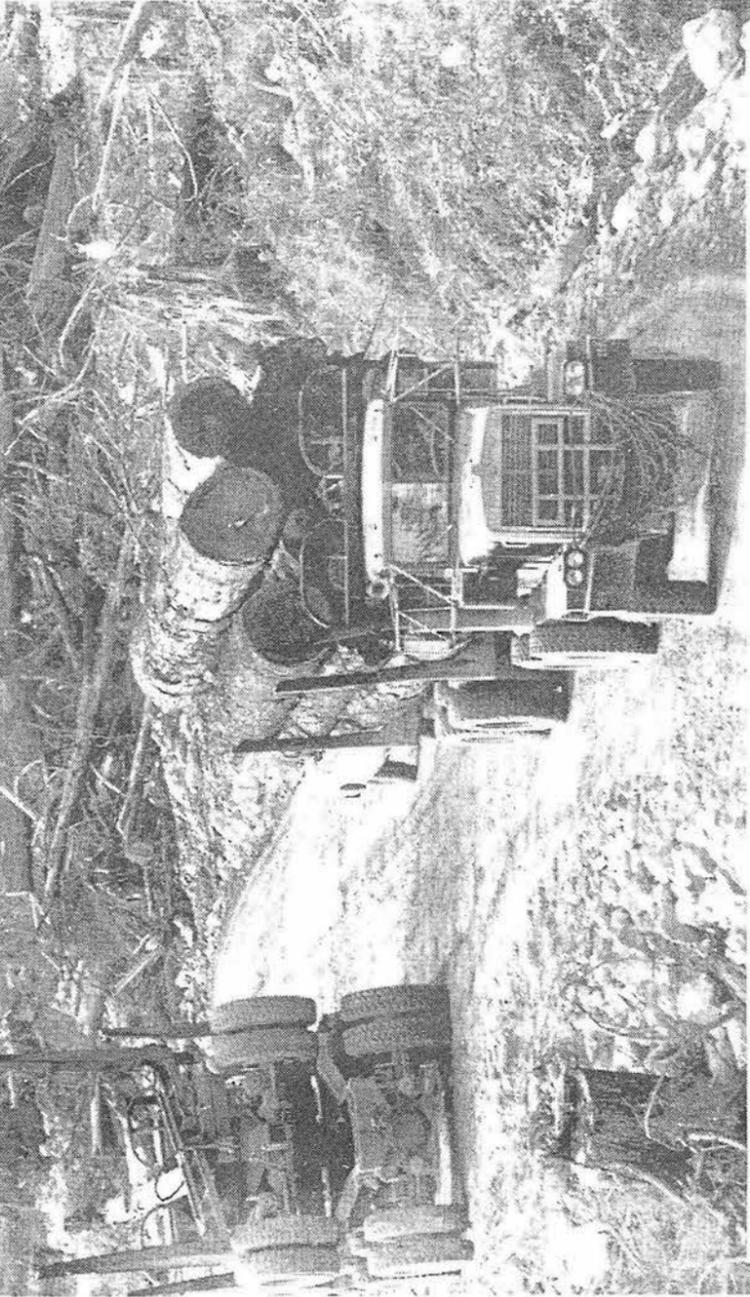
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Tongass National Forest in Alaska being hauled to Louisiana-Pacific's pulp mill. For the last time? (page 5)

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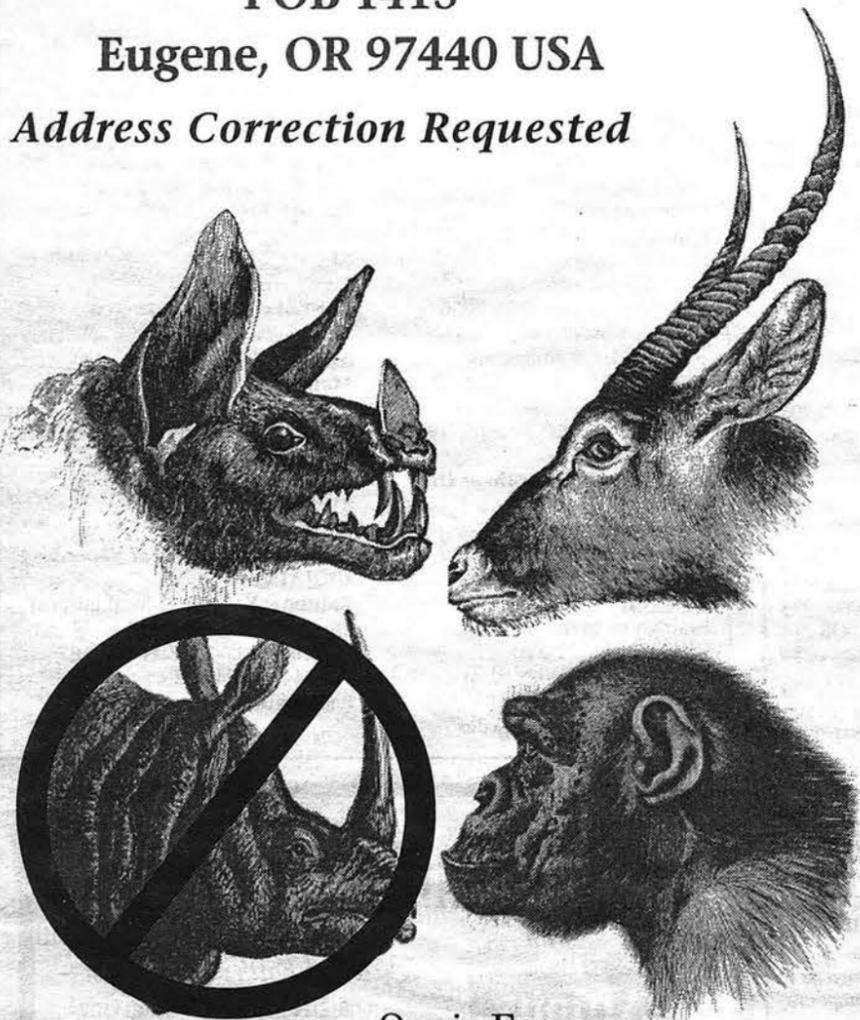
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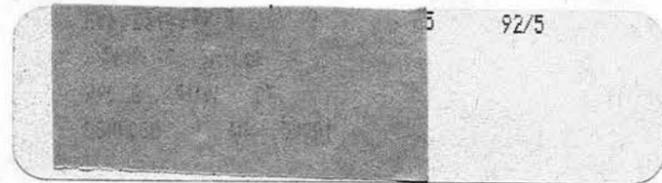
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One in Four  
Mammals Endangered  
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