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EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH

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ENVIRONMENTAL BACKLASH GROWING

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

An unprecedented number of accounts of violence have filtered into the *Earth First! Journal* office from across the country this summer.

In the Cove/Mallard area of Idaho, a three-month long road blockade was attacked on August 18. During that night, unidentified assailants used gasoline to set afire barricades made of logging debris. At least one small explosive device was thrown at the protesters' camp. One day prior, an individual surveying the Noble timber sale was surrounded and assaulted by employees and subcontractors of Shearer Lumber, the private company logging the area. He was threatened, shoved and struck in the back before being forced to leave. Local activists believe that Shearer employees and subcontractors also started the fire at the blockade.

Confrontation and violence is, of course, not new to the Cove/Mallard campaign. In 1993, a protester was severely beaten by a logger. Though convicted, the assailant received a shorter sentence than many nonviolent protesters.

Over the mountains and along the stretch of coast to southern and central British Columbia, the situation has been much the same. Local resource extraction groups have stepped up the vehemence and violence. In July, IWA, the loggers' union, blockaded the Greenpeace ship *Moby Dick* in the Vancouver harbor. North of there, in Bella Coola, that vehemence turned physical when a local logger pushed around a Forest Action Network (FAN) activist, causing her to fall into the harbor. Later that night, a FAN videographer had her camera wrenched from her hands and thrown into the water. Clearly, the Bella Coolan version of the wise-use movement, VOICE of the Mid Coast Community (VOICES), is gaining momentum. At one VOICES meeting a local stood up and said that FAN's ship *Starlet* should be bombed. At another meeting a Burson-Marsteller representative advised VOICES on developing a public relations campaign to galvanize the anti-environmental movement.

IN MEMORIAM

James F. Berry 1917-1997

James Fant Berry left this plane on September 7 to become one with the cosmic whole.

For years he struggled to dismantle corporate rule and halt cancerous road growth, while enthusiastically supporting Earth First! and the bioregional movements.

He tirelessly worked to reach as many people as he could in the Southeastern US and beyond to inspire them to action through connection and celebration of the wonders of the universe.

He will be missed.

—ACASIA BERRY

Perhaps the most alarming case of violence against an activist involves an attack in the Ozarks on July 31. A longtime anti-mining activist, working on a streamside monitoring program, stopped by a remote spring to meet some reporters. Instead, she encountered four young locals. One of the two men in the group recognized the activist and started harassing her. As the activist got in her van to leave, the two men broke the car window, jumped her and beat her with sticks and a canoe paddle. After the beating, the men taped the activist to her seat with duct tape, stuffed and taped a Sierra Club anti-mining flier in her mouth, punctured her car tires and abandoned her. She sat there for 12 hours, fearing a heart attack, until a friend found her. Since the incident, she writes, "Trauma and shock have had a grip on my life... I feel terribly vulnerable."

Such harassment is becoming all too common in the Ozarks. Not long after the first attack, on August 20 a dead cat was mailed to another activist. His address was cut out of the same Sierra Club anti-lead-mining flier.

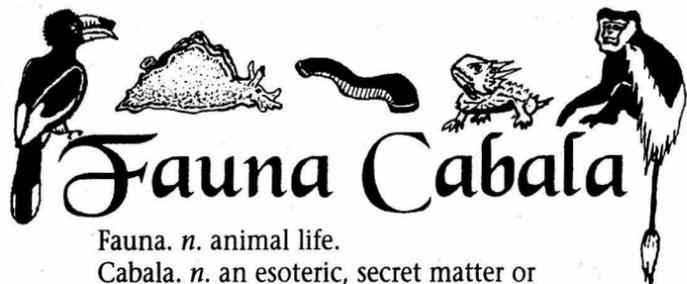
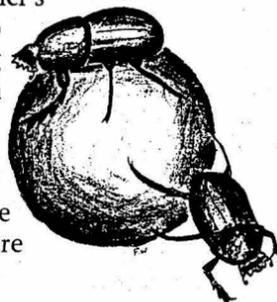
It's hard to dismiss such a rash of anti-environmental activity as unrelated. In both British Columbia and the Ozarks, activists know that local opposition is being organized into a whole new beast, one which is not adverse to using violence. While it's true that activists have often been subject to violence, harassment and intimidation (witness nothing less than the bombing of Darryl Cherney and Judi Bari in 1990), it would be tardy of us to look away from patterns of activity. The message of property rights and rhetoric of anti-environmentalism is being heard and actively spread. There is truly a campaign against environmentalism and environmentalists on this continent. For our own safety, we must evaluate with level heads and open hearts why this message is striking a chord with a disproportionate number of people.

As pristine habitat and wild places become rarer, their monetary value increases exponentially, and the pressure to extract resources also rises, faster than the actual extraction taking place. The extractors and their employees are willing to go to more extreme measures, including violence and threats, to extract commodities before they are preserved or taken by someone else.

The rhetoric of the wise use movement, which cloaks the extract-at-any-cost mantra in the language, myth and culture of the West, is hitting a nerve with many. The moral flaunting and self-righteousness of environmentalism, meanwhile, is alienating. We must make it clear that our fight is against those in distant places who profit inordinately from the extraction of our wild lands, and not against the life-styles of this generation of workers. As long as the battle can be painted as tree-hugger versus decent, hard working people, those calling the shots will manipulate workers into a frenzy of hate.

BY FAITH WALKER

Upon hatching, the larva munches on its mother's excrement, thereby inoculating itself with the microbial strains necessary to digest dung. It then begins to mold a pupation chamber within the brood ball with its own feces. Mother and offspring spend the next three months eating and excreting, the larva from within and the mother from without. They are able to communicate through a small, unplastered region on the brood ball. A pheromone released by the larva diffuses out of this window and elicits broodcaring behavior from the mother. The solid diet of brood ball, and its own and its mother's feces, brings the young beetle into adulthood. Come the first spring rains, the new adult emerges from its subterranean haven. Thus, with an extraordinary amount of effort yielding only a single offspring, this beetle species has one of the highest levels of parental care among insects.



Fauna Cabala

Fauna. n. animal life.

Cabala. n. an esoteric, secret matter or mysterious art.

When not plunging into poo pats for dinner, some beetles are meticulously sculpting dung balls. Males of *Kheper nigroaeneus*, a large African dung beetle, mold brood balls from carefully selected feces and flaunt them as a sexual display. Once a female is attracted, she climbs aboard the ball and the male rolls both away. At a suitable spot, the male buries himself, the brood ball and his partner, after which they mate and he leaves, closing the hole behind him. The female proceeds to remold the ball, inserting a bit of her own feces and plastering it over the ball's exterior. (This layer decreases desiccation.) She then lays a single egg within it, her sole offspring that year.

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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 are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. (Prints are best, negatives are good, slides are fair.) 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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SCHEDULE

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Deadline for the next issue is:

October 10

Dieback: A Vision of Darkness

BY JAMES BARNES

The glorious revolution will not free this land; the rising of the oppressed against the capitalist master will fail. The worker will not triumph over the ruling class, nor will women and persecuted peoples gain equality in a brave new world. The planet will not be "saved" by the people's new ecological consciousness.

But there will be rebellions, war, famine and, oh yes, industrial collapse. And there will be wilderness where there are now tree farms. Ruined cities choked with blackberries, kudzu or blowing sand will echo sad howls in the silence. Grazing herds will move across an empty plain, and great trees will rise up from the road beds. Humans will survive too, much as they always have done—catching what they can, scabbling in the dirt and wresting a poor existence from the soil. By turns ignorant, wise, sick, joyful and greedy, the people of this land will get on with the business of raising their children and burying them.

Have you ever watched someone die of hunger? I haven't, and probably most of you haven't either. But you've seen the pictures from whatever godforsaken country is tearing itself apart lately, and it's not pretty. Now contemplate five billion people starving to death, maybe including yourself. Imagine an endless century of desperate migrations to overwhelmed refugee camps, old men left to die quietly in the sun, infants with dysentery draining their lives away, wide-eyed children with swollen stomachs. Imagine cholera or plague, and the young men gone to armed thuggery, brutalizing the wretched people. Don't think about the young girls.

How long would you last if the Safeway closed? What would you do, hunt and gather? The edible wildlife of this country will survive only as long as folks have regular food sources, as game regulations wouldn't stop hungry people from eating whatever they can catch. Designated wilderness is meaningless without the law enforcement that would be needed elsewhere to deal with evacuations, emergency food distribution, rebellion and banditry. Lumber and firewood are valuable, especially in winter. Environmentalism—what kind of rich-kid crap is that?

As Americans, we have a culturally ingrained notion that for our problems we can always find solutions—meaning we expect to get what we want. This is a peculiarly naive and transient view of the world, born of a century of wealth and increasingly global dominance that poorly reflects the long-term realities of history. What was the solution to the plague?

What is the solution to an earthquake? These are absurd questions, as inexorable forces both biological and geological are beyond problem-solving. Diseases can be eradicated, but disease cannot. You can build earthquake-resistant structures, but when the Big One comes, all bets are off.

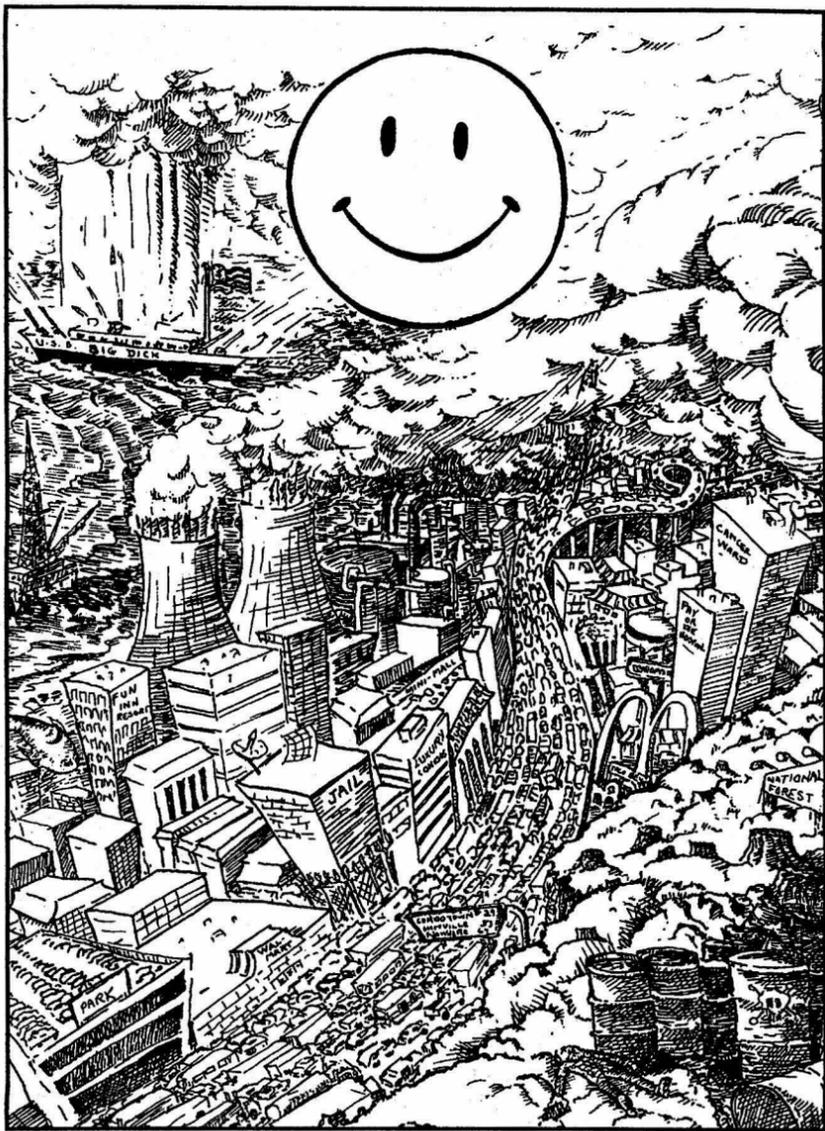
Well, what is the answer to the problem that (a) there are some six billion people on this world, growing to eight, or ten or more, (b) the remaining amount of uncultivated arable land is declining rapidly, (c) formerly fertile land is falling out of production, (d) ocean stocks are damn near exhausted, (e) petroleum reserves are finite, and (f) industrial agriculture and food distribution are intimately dependent on said petroleum reserves?

The solution, of course, is simple. Open a basic college level ecology text and you can find it: when the carrying capacity of a given ecosystem for a particular species is exceeded, that species will eventually have its numbers reduced to below that threshold. After overshoot, the new carrying capacity is often lower than it was before the population grew out of balance, as a species in crisis is prone to damaging its environment. And how does a seriously overpopulated species reduce its numbers? It *dies back*. Death is the answer to too much life.

Humans are clever and generally decent creatures, so long as we're comfortable, and should be expected to find ways to ameliorate our necessary and inevitable decline. In a world of perfect social justice, we would see to it that food reserves were distributed equally. We'd place limitations on cultivation and foraging to protect ecosystems and species diversity. We'd establish mandatory birth control and child limits, remaining mindful of injustices done to many already-small ethnic populations. We'd take care to ensure that people in currently less powerful parts of the globe, minority populations and women didn't suffer disproportionately

from starvation, disease or wholesale murder and genocide. We'd do everything we could to apportion suffering fairly. Of course, if we were that sensible we would have prevented overpopulation in the first place.

In reality, elites are demanding ever more brutal



repression so they can maintain the current economic and political system. Infrastructure decay and the effects of poverty and despair all contribute to a cultural environment that is increasingly less conducive to implementing rational and compassionate methods of managing population contraction. In conditions of stress, few animals behave well. Violence, murder, self-mutilation, insanity and the killing of young are all traits we share with other mammals when there's too many of us in the cage.

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We print 'em just like you write 'em.

Letters to the Editors

POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440 300 words or less

Dear Poodles for Noodles,

I just want to tip my hat to the EF! Bison Action Group, and especially to Delyla Wilson, for the courage and bravery shown in the gut-dumping incident. This is EF! at its best—confront the bastards forcefully and publicly—and then watch their squirms, denials, and then (gasp!) efforts to actually make a change! (All the while maintaining that direct action had nothing to do with their decision. Yup.)

But now Delyla and BAG have to deal with the aftermath, in the form of both federal and state indictments. Well now is the time for all good EF!ers to come to the aid of their party. I'm sending them a check for \$20 and encourage every one of us to do the same. If you cannot afford \$20, please send something! We simply must put up a strong legal defense to keep this brave eco-warrior out of jail.

Think of it another way—how much would you pay to slime both Montana's Senators, it's Governor, and the US Secretary of Agriculture? Would you give a friend \$20 to do it on a dare? Come on folks, let's all do what we can to help out one of our bravest heroines!!

Sincerely,

—TATONKA

You can send your checks to BAG, POB 7326, Bozeman, MT 59771.

Dear EF,

While reading Fauna Cabala by Faith Walker I was hoping that Faith had caught wind of the fact that Dung beetles are the best avenue in the world for disposing human waste. I've been utilizing them for 22 years. The beauty of it all, is the fact that as long as the 'grubs' have some-

thing to eat they procrastinate with their metamorphosis. They can knock off a visit to the outhouse in 5 minutes. No odor, no disease. They simple have no rivals, it is man and beast at their best, (working together).

Sincerely,

—CORY E. MASON

Dear EARTHFIRST!

I have been a supporter of yours since meeting Patrick Mitchell of Orange County Earth First! 4 years ago. We were fighting pavement and greed in Laguna Canyon. I attended the Activist Conference last year on So. Cal. and was not happy with the lack of organization and seriousness of some of the participants.

Those of us that are fighting Corporate Greed must fight these people by running the shop in a

way that gets results...more mainstream support for the *Journal* and local grass-roots EF! groups. The movement, in my opinion is stuck in gridlock. A friend of mine, who is very radical and compassionate to free thought told me that he dropped out of the movement because "they want to drink beer first, save the earth last, and fail to shower in between." How can I defend the movement when I have to agree with him totally?

Bring the *Journal* to Los Angeles... out of the woods... and maybe we can climb to new heights and get some support equal to that of sell-out Sierra club types. Thanks for letting me share my frustrations with you. I love the new color format... keep up the great job.

Truly yours,
FOR THE EARTH!

—MARK PETERSEN

Dear Editors:
Consider this affectionate feedback from a long-time subscriber, contributor, occasional short-term editor, and overall fan of the *Journal*.

As usual, there are lots of interesting, thought-provoking articles in the last edition. Since I authored an article in it, I had planned to use that as a hook to encourage friends to subscribe. However, I've changed my mind, because I am embarrassed by the contributions of the *Journal* staffers, specifically your editorial, letters to the editors, and your Wolves and Poodles column.

You presented a complimentary wolf award to "forestry workers who blockaded one of Greenpeace's ships from leaving Vancouver" because "they are resentful of past blockades of log barge traffic." Why are we supposed to cheer? Friends of Clayoquot Sound got this one

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The West Texas Waste Wars

BY NATE BLAKESLEE

A big guttural howdy from the front lines of the West Texas Waste Wars. Some of you may know that the state of Texas has been trying for about 15 years to build a low-level radioactive waste dump here. What you may not know is that lately all kinds of waste companies have been coming out of the woodwork to get in on the action, and Texas is in imminent danger of becoming the pay toilet for the nation's nuclear industry. A hazardous waste dumping firm, Waste Control Specialists, has been trying to get its Andrews County dump permitted for radioactive waste since 1995, a move perceived by

through compacting, recycling and substituting fewer radioactive isotopes when possible. Several feasibility studies have demonstrated that there is now not enough waste for the 11 dumps (yikes!) planned around the country. In fact, building more than two or three national dumps, according to the report, will drive fees so low that the profit margins anticipated by the states (and now private investors) will be threatened. God forbid, you say. But this economic reality, and the growing public resistance to new dumps, has raised the very real possibility that the next dump permitted will become the nuclear waste repository for the whole nation for decades to come. Only two new dumps—Sierra Blanca, Texas, and

Ward Valley, California—have gotten anywhere close to being permitted. With Texas authorities predicting that their facility will be operational by the end of 1998, the eyes of the nation are on West Texas.

Texans, however, have never wanted the waste any more than anyone else does. In 1983, the legislature formed the Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Authority (TLLRWDA) and directed the agency to find a suitable site to build and maintain the state's low-level dump. Eight years and \$30 million later, Authority director Rick Jacobi, formerly a safety officer at the infamous South Texas Nuclear Project, was still looking. Turned away by

public opposition in county after county, Jacobi was finally ordered by the Texas legislature, in its infinite wisdom, to locate the dump in Hudspeth County, in far West Texas near the Mexican border. Jacobi settled on the Fashkin Ranch, near the tiny town of Sierra Blanca, about 200 miles (not far in Texas) north of Big Bend National Park. Trouble is, the site was previously rejected by the TLLRWDA, and with good reason: it sits only 16 miles from the Rio Grande River (drinking water for thousands), above an aquifer and right in the middle of Texas's most seismically active zone (yes, we have earthquakes here, too). Sierra Blanca is also a predominantly low-income, Mexican-American community. Lest anyone think that this act of environmental racism was a fluke, it should be pointed out that the town is the recipient of New York City sewer sludge, to the tune of 250 tons per week. A company called Merco Joint Ventures tried unsuccessfully to sell that shitty operation to Oklahoma for over a year; Texas gave 'em the permit in 23 days.

Such would have been the case with the nuke dump, too, but a coalition of West Texans said enough is enough. Sierra Blanca rancher Bill Addington began organizing a network that now links Sierra Blanca with Marfa, Alpine and El Paso. The anti-dump movement has attracted support from across the state, including opponents from Dallas-Ft. Worth, Austin, and Houston, cities through which nuclear waste would be transported. This coalition has joined Mexican officials from the border states of Coahuila and Chihuahua, and officials from nearly two dozen Texas cities and counties to force a hearing on the draft license already issued by the notoriously lenient Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission (TNRCC, or "train-wreck," as we call it).

So where do we stand today in the West Texas Waste Wars? Well, Envirocare got booted out of the picture after their CEO was implicated in a bribery/extortion scandal back in his home state of Utah. Waste Control Specialists is also suing them, but it looks like they'll have to wait in line. Waste Control has had one setback after another trying to get into the disposal game, though it may soon get its first required permit from the Texas Department of Health. After almost getting axed in the last legislative session for wasting so much time and money without accomplishing a damn thing, the state's dumping agency (TLLRWDA) is still limping along in its case hearing. To date it has spent about \$5.6 million in legal fees fighting the "powerless" border community they originally figured they could roll right over. Its hopes now ride on US Congressional approval of the Texas-Maine-Vermont Compact, which would provide TLLRWDA with \$25 million each from Maine and Vermont for construction costs if it passes. The bill was soundly defeated in the House in 1995 and stifled again in 1996, but now it has passed the House Commerce Committee and could come before the full House at any time.

Vermont and Maine aren't taking any chances this time, with the two chipping in at least \$150,000 to fund their big-shot lobbying team (which includes feminist heroine Sarah Weddington, among others). The tri-state compact is billed by industry lobbyists and their congressional mouthpieces as a means of protecting Texas from receiving waste from all over the nation; in reality it does the opposite, ensuring that Texas will receive waste from Vermont and Maine. New states can be added to the contract at any time, without Congressional or voter (ha-ha) approval. A 1994 study by the *Houston Business Journal* concluded that the authority would likely open the dump to other states in order to keep it economically viable. If Sierra Blanca is one of only a few dumps—if not the only—in operation, the pressure to do so would be enormous.

Here's some good news, though. Bonnie Raitt has agreed to make Texas a stop on her twentieth anniversary No-Nukes tour. Together with Jimmie Dale Gilmore, Joe Ely and Jimmie Vaughan, she'll be playing a benefit concert for the Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund in Austin on September 28. That'll mean an infusion of capital and a boost in spirits for a movement that has had to contend with more than its fair share of mind-numbing corporate double-speak and backstabbing elected officials. To our friends fighting dumps in California, Nevada and across the country: don't let the bastards wear you down!

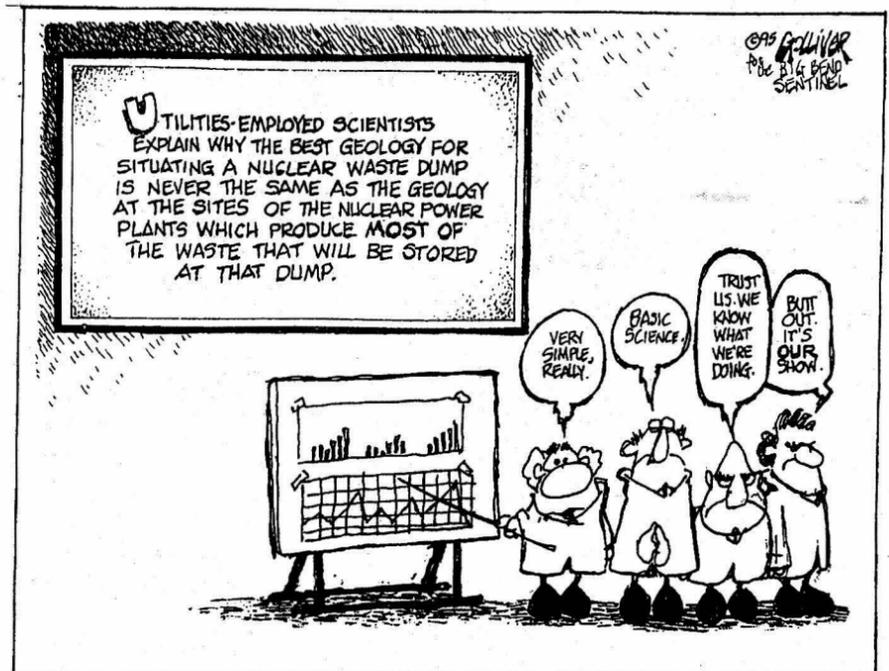


the state as an effort to steal business from its own West Texas project. In 1996, Envirocare of Utah, a major player in the dog-eat-dog world of radioactive waste dumping, decided to join the pissing contest by purchasing a big chunk of land next to the Waste Control dump and announcing that it too was going to open a nuke dump.

As if this weren't bad enough, West Texas is now at the mercy of the US Congress, which is deciding whether to approve a deal to bring nuclear waste from Maine and Vermont to Texas, a scheme hatched back in 1992 by former Governor Ann Richards and heartily endorsed by current governor (and your next Republican presidential candidate) George Bush, Jr. Well, Never Say Die! as we often never say here in Texas. Still, it's hard to deny that we appear to be up shit creek with a turd for a paddle. How did it come to this?

Bear with me if this is going back further than you care to, but the story really begins in the late 1970s. The closing of several leaking low-level radioactive waste dumps during the last two decades has the nuclear industry more than a little worried. Thirty-nine states, plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, currently share a single disposal site in Barnwell, South Carolina. Eleven other states use a site in Hanford, Washington. For the 12-month period ending July 1, 1994, the 33 states that together produce 43 percent of the nation's low-level waste—had no access to dump facilities. Unable to operate without producing low-level waste, yet unwilling to fund safe, site-specific, permanent disposal systems of their own, utility companies soon found themselves up to their asses in their own waste. Of course, rather than take this as an indication that it was time to give up on the whole damn industry, the utilities were and are hell-bent on siting a new dump to hold the waste from the current generation of reactors. But guess what, they aren't having much luck in finding a place to build one. According to a 1995 US General Accounting Office (GAO) report, the main obstacle to building new dumps has been public opposition.

No shit, you say. But what all this means for Texas is that the stakes have gotten a lot higher in the Waste War. Diminished disposal space has forced the industry to spend two decades reducing its waste flow



For more information contact the Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund, POB 18087, Austin, TX 78760; (512)447-8906; e-mail heart@igc.apc.org, or on the web at www.compassionate.org/sblcdf.

Nate Blakeslee is a freelance writer and activist with the Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund based in Austin, Texas.

THE GREAT HURWITZ PIE INCIDENT

BY AL DECKER

'Twas round about midnight when I received my marching orders from the Biotic Baking Brigade (BBB), sent from the General HQ and secret ovens located deep in the heart of Headwaters forest. Charles Hurwitz, CEO of Maxxam corporation, the parent company of Pacific Lumber, was having a hush-hush, high-level, emergency, damage-control meeting the next day. My assignment was to penetrate the security surrounding the event, locate Hurwitz... and pie him.

I made every effort to get out of it, telling myself I was too busy, that I'd never get near him or that the meeting had been relocated as rumor bespoke. Nonetheless, I knew I had to do it... how often does Humboldt County's Public Enemy #1 come to the place he's destroying? According to *The Last Stand*, June '91 was the last time he graced our presence.

Hurwitz's crimes are legendary, and have been well-detailed in this publication; they provide many compelling reasons for pieing Hurwitz. It's a scandal that after a few decades of dodging criminal prosecution and federal investigations of his business practices (he's currently facing more lawsuits) he can still organize Humboldt County's top business, government, media and law enforcement officials in a secret meeting with no public access or input.

So, on August 21, I headed up to Scotia, Pacific Lumber's (PL) company town, with the idea of first engaging Mr. Hurwitz in a debate over various and sundry subjects such as business ethics, clearcutting, herbicide spraying, etc. As I drove past Stafford, where eight houses were destroyed by a mudslide from a PL clearcut during last winter's rains, I prayed to the spirits for strength and guidance, for the ability to find the man most responsible for this and other devastations.

When I strolled up to the front doors of the Scotia Inn, I reflected momentarily on my appearance. Though I wasn't looking my Sunday best and would stand out from the suits, tourists and loggers who patronize the Inn, there had been no time to go home and change. It was too late to turn back now.

As everyone involved in direct action knows, the life force works

in mysterious and wondrous ways, helping people pull off things that defy rational logic. When two security men blocked my entrance to the Inn, I realized the only thing to do was just relax and go for it. I flashed back to the days of trying to get into bars when I was 15. The bouncers had no good reason to let in a tall, skinny kid with braces and pimples, but when I looked them straight in the eyes, smiled outrageously and said the right things, it sometimes worked. After some negotiation, I was escorted in and miraculously made my way to the dining room, where I was eyed nervously by the patrons. I took a seat and spent the next hour drinking coffee on an empty stomach and pondering my predicament. What with PL security chief Carl Anderson watching me from the door, one of his men cleverly concealed behind a pillar three tables away and another guard eyeing me from his truck outside the window, things did not look particularly auspicious.

I proceeded outside and to my surprise a small EF! contingent stood out front with banners and guitars. Shortly thereafter, a group of well-heeled individuals carrying green notebooks began exiting the Inn. Nobody would talk about the meeting or the contents of the green notebooks, which we assume is the game plan (at this point, the endgame) for spin control in the upcoming season of protests.

Then, lo and behold, none other than the Dark Prince himself appeared in the doorway, surrounded by an entourage of cronies, handlers, cops and security. I politely asked Messier Hurwitz if I could speak with him, but he dismissed me abruptly, explaining he had a plane to catch.

Fearing that I would get tackled or shot if I reached too quickly into my backpack for the pie, I asked Hurwitz for an interview on tape, as I slowly reached for the nefarious weapon and maneuvered between a gap in the entourage. I had a brief moment to repeat the BBB's battle cry, "It's a good day to pie!" and then I was in motion, a few fast steps and rapid predator-prey imaging bringing me right up behind him. The balding top of his head reminded me of a PL clearcut. In the last sec-



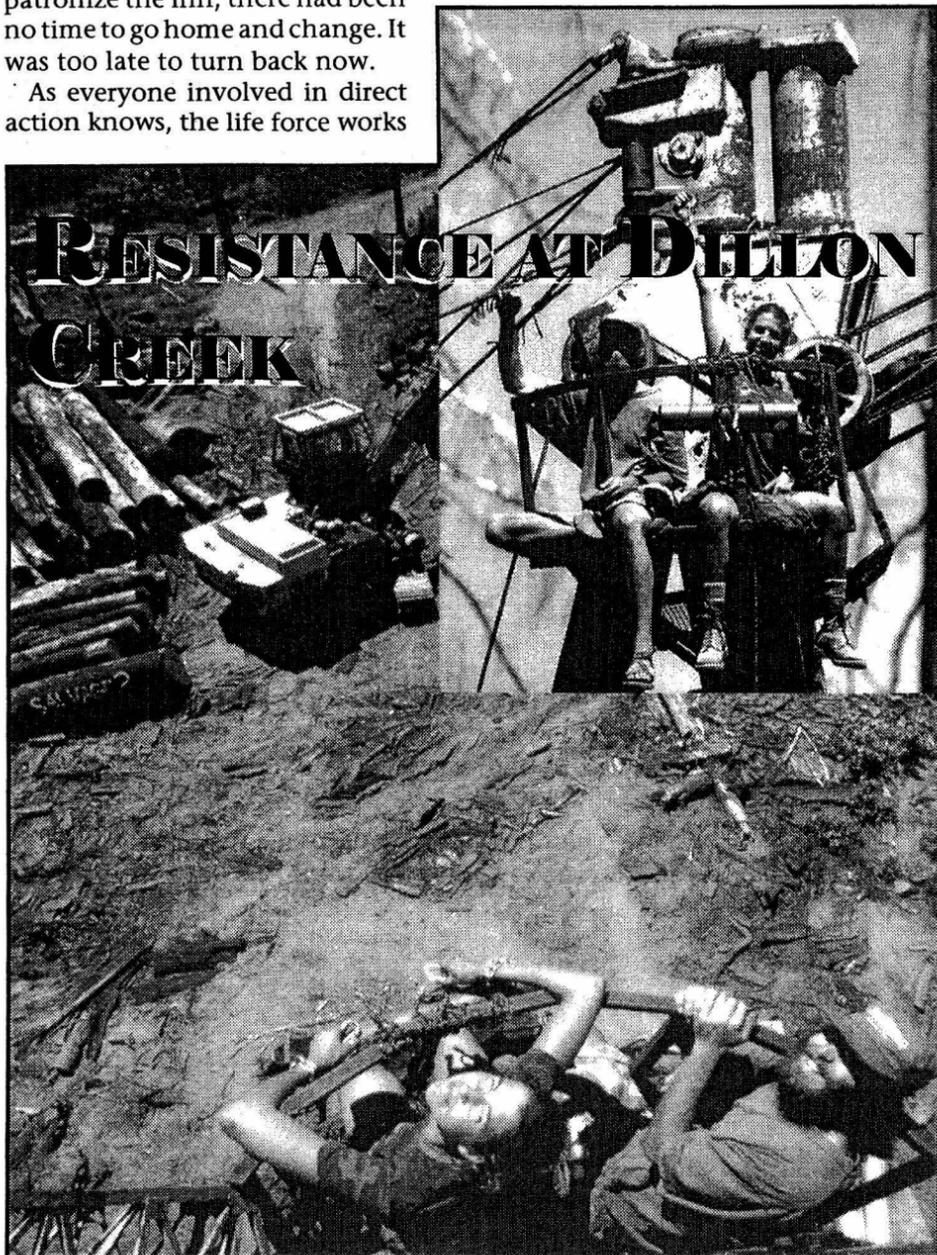
ond I realized he was wearing glasses, and so instead of a wraparound pie in the face which I feared might break them, I flopped that pie upon his head: contact... splat... Joy!

Regrettably, I never got to see ol' Chuck's face, for immediately upon contact, large angry men with outstretched hands were right behind me. All I could do was laugh heartily and let them tackle me. I was arrested by none other than Humboldt County Sheriff Dennis Lewis and spent eight pleasant days at the lovely Humboldt County Inn.

The media, in its quest for fickleness, focused a lot of attention on the flavor of the pie. Sheriff Lewis proclaimed it apple; BBB spokesperson Blackberry confirmed that opinion. Hurwitz, in his own inimical way, joked, "Too bad it's peach. I like blackberry." What does one say about a man who can't recognize an All-American apple pie, even when he and his stained suit are on the receiving end of one?

Even Newton himself, that great advocate of taking the world apart as if it were a spiritless machine, needed an apple upside the head to understand the force of gravity. May the apple mush upon Hurwitz's head serve as a reminder to some and a discovery to others that Maxxam is subject to gravity as well.

This action is dedicated to the Bison Action Group, to a certain activist up in BC who pied the President of MacMillan-Bloedel and to Robert Hoyt for his inspiring song about apple pie.



As well as defending Headwaters, activists in Northern California are delaying logging operations at Dillon Creek. In the action pictured above, three lockdowns and a road occupation stopped logging for a day. Two climbers locked down in the 50-foot high crow's nest of a skyline log yarder.

HUMAN DOMINATION INDEX*

Percentage of Earth's land surface occupied by row-crop agriculture or urban-industrial areas: 10-15

Amount of land surface transformed by human action:
Between one-third and one-half

Primary force in the loss of biological diversity worldwide:
Land transformation

Second greatest factor in extinction:
Invasion of nonnative species

Current rate of species extinction compared to that before humanity's dominance of Earth: 100 to 1,000 times greater

Percentage of Earth's bird species that have been driven to extinction by human activities over the past two millennia: 25

Percentage of mangrove ecosystems globally transformed or destroyed by human activity: 50

Percentage of recognized marine fisheries that were overexploited or already depleted in 1995: 22

Percentage of rivers that run unimpeded in the United States: 2

Number of operational dams in the world: 36,000

Percentage of Earth's river runoff that is evaporated as a consequence of human manipulations: about 6

Estimated number of white abalone inhabiting a hectare of seafloor off the coast of Catalina Island in 1967: 10,000

Number of white abalone a recent census found in the same hectare of seafloor: 3

Percentage increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution: 30

Number of tons of organic chemicals (representing some 70,000 different compounds) produced by the chemical industry each year: Over 100 million

*All statistics compiled from the July 25, 1997, issue of Science magazine.

Greenpeace

The Mother Ship Takes a Blow

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

A month ago, there were 11 Greenpeace (GP) offices across the country employing over 400 people. Today there is one permanent office, and the staff has been trimmed to 65.

The repercussions of this profound change will resonate for some time to come. Imagine if the Sierra Club were to go belly up, or if suddenly Earth First! disappeared. Surely, no one anticipated such a dramatic corporate downsizing within the environmental movement. Belly up? Downsizing? The words seem hyperbolic when the gargantuan budget of Greenpeace USA has only been reduced this year from \$29 million to \$21. But in a larger context, the membership decline has been astonishingly steep, from 1 million to 400,000 in a matter of years. If it weren't for the dramatic staff reductions and the voluntary support of Greenpeace International, to the tune of \$4 million, GP USA wouldn't be able to keep its doors open through the year.

A Piece of the Rock

From the days of its founding in 1971 by Canadian activists opposing US nuclear tests, the rise of Greenpeace has been that of the underdog done good. The nascent Greenpeace

tapped into the environmental sentiment of the time with campaigns to save whales and baby seals, then stepped aside to let the money roll in.

The name itself struck a fancy, and many groups across this continent and the world over started using it independently. What the fledgling groups lacked in organizational skills and management philosophy was more than compensated for by enthusiasm and passion. The structure of the world's largest environmental organization grew without rhyme or reason.

In 1987, the disparate groups in the US joined to form Greenpeace USA, which has a central board, voting members and is part of Greenpeace International. The international organization is headquartered in Amsterdam and has offices in 32 countries, the total budgets of which reach \$149 million. Today, holdout groups like Greenpeace Hawaii and Greenpeace London who buck membership in the larger organization are rare.

That Greenpeace USA accepts no money from governments or corporations, and has only recently accepted foundation grants, speaks to the strength of the corporation. Much of that strength arose from the national canvass, which stood as the grassroots foundation of Greenpeace USA for 20 years.

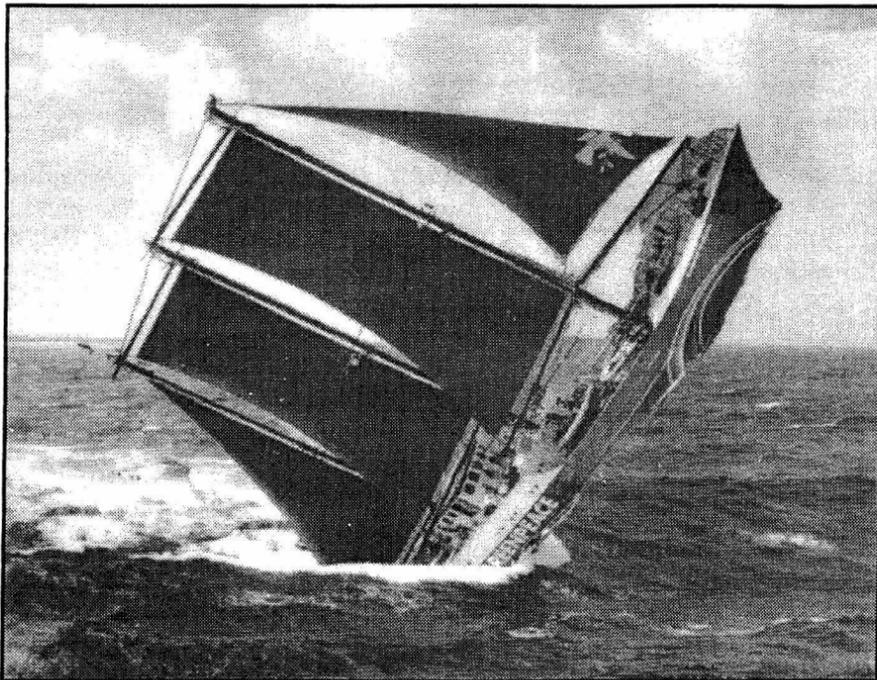
Restructuring

As Greenpeace spokesperson Andrew Davies points out, there would be something wrong with an organization of activists if such monumental changes were met with silence. If controversy is the standard of health, then Greenpeace is certainly alive and kicking. Every aspect of the "restructuring," from process to implementation and justification is being hotly debated.

In addition to closing the field offices and firing the vast majority of its employees, Greenpeace USA is realigning its campaign priorities to conform to the priorities of Greenpeace International and to recapture the interest of contributors. The focus on toxics and ocean issues will be shifted to forests and climate campaigns, the campaigns of Greenpeace International. Financial operations will be tightly monitored, and fundraising will focus on the

monthly giving program, soliciting major donors and keeping current members. In the recent past, the canvass and direct mail were the primary means by which GP USA solicited funds and new members.

Though Greenpeace USA originally announced that every regional office would be closing and only the Washington, DC office would remain open, campaigners are continuing their work across the country. Davies reports that the campaigners in San Francisco, Seattle, Anchorage, Chicago, Boston and possibly New Orleans will stay put for now, as 34 of the 44 members of the campaign staff are being



retained. Even the future of the DC office may be up in the air, according to Greenpeace USA board member Andy Mahler, who recognizes that the realm of possible political change coming out of DC is wedded to the current political structure.

In addition, Greenpeace USA claims that the restructuring will return the organization to the bold, theatrical and principled action group it once was. That rhetoric doesn't sit well with Bradley Angel, a Greenpeace campaigner in the former San Francisco office mounting a campaign to reverse the board decision, who notes that the toxics campaign has been engaged in just such actions. He calls the restructuring a return to "the days of white boys in boats."

Process

For the disgruntled staff of Greenpeace, the problem starts with the way in which the decision to radically alter the organization was made. The staff answers to the senior management, the management answers to the board and the board, according to Angel, should answer to the voting members. Any employee of Greenpeace who has been with the organization for at least six years and who participates in board elections every year qualifies as a voting member. At present, there are 172 voting members.

Board member Mahler attributes the board's decision to downsize to the "relentless logic of the numbers." The financial decline of Greenpeace has been well known, but the gravity of the situation was seriously underappreciated by the management. Greenpeace International, however, was keeping its own set of books and knew the size and trajectory of the decline. They pushed for stronger cutbacks to stop the hemorrhaging. Executive Director Barbara Dudley, who had taken hard hits for the two previous spasms of downsizing that took the organization from 30 field offices to 11, refused. Only when Dudley resigned was a competent, experienced and objective analysis finally attained. At that point, the situation was dire and the time was long since past to develop possible new models for the restructured organization. Mahler says that as recently as June, such drastic changes seemed be-

yond the realm of possibility or necessity. Indeed, board chair Joanne Kliejunas assured staff in June that, "the board has no dream of eliminating the canvass." Not long after, under threat of not meeting payroll, the board began evaluating the scenarios and models for immediate change. It quickly became apparent that there was truly only one possible direction to take, or else the doors of Greenpeace USA would close. At that point, says Mahler, it would have been "disingenuous" to elicit the input of the staff, as the size and scope of the problem required immediate action and the inevitable had to be accepted. Nonetheless, Mahler calls it the hardest decision he's ever had to make. In fact, he resigned earlier this month, citing the pain of having to make a decision when every available option violated principles he holds dear.

And in the End

While the organization cites financial problems and pressures from Greenpeace International as the reasons for the reduction of the toxics campaign, Angel and others see different motives at work. In fact, Angel calls the financial reasoning a "bald faced lie."

Angel claims that those on the board who didn't like the toxics work, particularly Mike Roselle (who resigned from the board in August), used the crisis as an opportunity to cut it. Mike Matthews, an ex-staffer in California, agrees, saying that "clearly political decisions" were at work, as the budgets of the forest and climate campaigns have been increased, while "much of the work with toxics and radioactive waste has been deprioritized." There are, in fact, 12 new positions in the climate and forests campaigns that won't be affected by the cuts.

No one denies that cutting the toxics campaign is a severe blow. The environmental movement has been negligent at best in its lack of support for environmental justice issues. In the case of the struggle against the dump at Ward Valley, Angel says, the board, "broke a solid commitment to indigenous people that we would put our lives on the line with them." In fact, Angel says "over my dead body will Greenpeace pull out of that fight."

Along with its commitment to environmental justice issues, Greenpeace was also forced to back out of its implicit commitment to the canvassers—the unsung heroes of the environmental movement who worked morning, noon and night to spread the word, door to door across America. Most are activists and volunteers first, and paid environmentalists a very distant second. Not surprisingly, the two weeks notice was a painful shock to many.

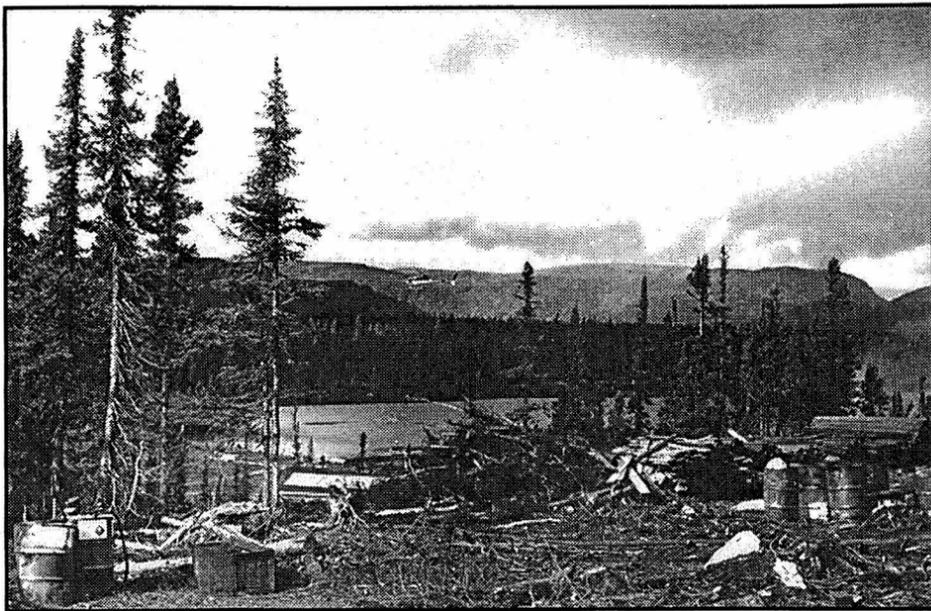
It seems counterintuitive that Greenpeace would close the canvass in the midst of a financial crisis. According to the canvass director, though the value of the canvass clearly exceeded money, every canvass office was losing money. The canvass reached out to literally every home, inviting grassroots involvement in activist issues in a way that few other tactics can. Mahler frankly states that for the average young person looking to get involved in efforts to protect the earth, that opportunity "may not lie with Greenpeace anymore."

The cutbacks have also had a disproportionate effect on the people of color on Greenpeace's own staff, who were primarily working on toxics and native lands issues. That fact is glaring and painful for everyone involved, as Greenpeace was one of the first environmental organizations to diversify staff and program work.

What good can come of Greenpeace USA facing near bankruptcy? The environmental movement as a whole will be challenged to carry on the work Greenpeace started. Greenpeace is one, large, international group spread out, trying to cover environmental issues across the world. It won't be Audubon, the Sierra Club or the Nature Conservancy that will step up to fill Greenpeace USA's shoes. The US branch of the international organization has turned away from the uniquely American style of organizing which the radical environmental movement pursues in this country. The best we can hope for, in Greenpeace's absence, is a cooperative network of smaller, community-based groups. And this, in Mahler's mind, is a healthier political model for us to adopt.

Massive Mine Undermined

ROAD CONSTRUCTION BLOCKADED AT VOISEY'S BAY



Voisey's Bay

BY ALEXIS LATHAM

The environmental assessment for one of the world's largest industrial complexes is currently underway in the heart of Eastern North America's greatest wilderness. The Voisey's Bay Nickel Company (owned by Inco) has proposed to extract an estimated 150-million tons of nickel, cobalt and copper ore from a massive sulfur body in the fertile, forested valley between Voiseys and Antakalek Bays, in remote northern Labrador. Approximately 35-million tons of waste rock will be dumped over forests, marshes and bogs intersected by numerous wild, unspoiled rivers. Approximately 16-million tons of acid-generating waste rock will be stored in ponds and discharged into presently unspoiled marine environments, along with millions of tons of acid-generating tailings. Roads, airstrips, shipping docks, quarries, mills, power lines, generators, tailings impoundment, water diversions, sewage and workers facilities will be constructed. In the end the company presumes it will rehabilitate the site "to approach pre-development conditions."

Innu and Inuit Blockade—and Win

Despite the fact that the environmental review process is only beginning, the Voisey's Bay Nickel company began construction of a road and an airstrip this summer. The company attempted to treat this "advanced exploration infrastructure" as a separate project and not as a part of the project under review. Aboriginal groups tried to stop the construction in court, arguing that the environmental assessment process was being undermined; but the Newfoundland Supreme Court ruled against them. The Innu and Inuit appealed, and as the case dragged on, construction continued. On August 20, the first Inuit protesters arrived at the construction site; over the next two days, Innu from communities in Labrador and Quebec joined them, and by August 23, 300 protesters were at the site, halting all work. They stockpiled food and supplies and were prepared to remain for as long as necessary. On August 28, a temporary injunction was won, preventing any further construction until the appeal is decided.

Lessons in Respect

While the company was pushing ahead with its plans to go ahead with

the road this summer, the environmental assessment charade was taking place. All along the Atlantic seaboard, from the lower north shore of Quebec to the northernmost community in Labrador, residents of coastal communities turned out to testify at the scoping sessions and express their anxieties, anger, bitterness and opposition—but never their approval or consent. Although Labradorians are depicted by the government and the press as eager for the jobs the mines will provide, their comments expressed both cynicism about the promise of jobs as well as a profound attachment to the land.

But it was the aboriginal people, particularly the Innu, who turned out in force. Their testimony was angry, defiant and at times even menacing: "I would be very cautious and take us very seriously... because a lot of young people are very frustrated."

Innu Elders spoke of their early years in and around Voisey's Bay, of a life that was so remote it is incredible that living witnesses exist. They spoke of reverence, reciprocity, respect; of cosmologies, dreams and animal masters. The younger Innu that followed knew that these concepts would need interpretation, that the dignity expressed by their Elders would be misunderstood stating, "The Elders are saying to you guys, respect... They respect the animals. They respect the land. They respect the company."

The Innu's past experiences with governments have given them little reason to have faith. It is not likely that the Environmental Impact Statement will reflect the subtleties of the complex world view of the aboriginal people. Once the formality of "listening" has concluded, it will be business as usual; or as one Innu Elder put it, "The government thinks the job is complete after they have deceived the people."

Already wildlife is being harassed, lakes strewn with leaking fuel drums and caribou driven off cliffs by low-flying choppers. Bears have been removed to barren islands, chased off with rubber bullets or simply shot; and the Innu and Inuit, for their socioeconomic advancement, are given jobs cleaning latrines.

Little support has come from the international environmental community, although the consequences of the project have international implications. This legal victory thus provides a real shot of encouragement to

the communities facing the overwhelming project—reputed to be one of the most significant mineral finds in Canada's history with an estimated \$4 billion already invested.

Smelter

Inco proposes to place its smelter for the ore extracted from Voisey's Bay in Argentia, Newfoundland, directly over the Grand Banks, once one of the world's richest fisheries. It will be Inco's, and the world's, largest nickel smelter, the greatest single source of acid rain in the Western world. Any conservationists working for the protection of marine life need to be concerned about this new source of acid and heavy-metals pollution.

There has been a sense of inevitability about the Voisey's Bay project since the mineral discovery was announced in 1994. Yet Inco still must overcome enormous obstacles (technological, political and economic) before it can begin operating in a place locked in ice six months of the year and entirely without infrastructure. If Inco succeeds in developing this intractable wilderness, it will be the first success out of many attempts to do so. In June, it was announced that the project will be delayed a year due to unsettled land claims negotiations.

One of Earth's Roadless Places

The Voisey's Bay Nickel company almost got away with building a road in one of the world's largest roadless areas *without so much as an environmental review*. If it had not been for the Innu and Inuit protest, they would have succeeded. This area is among the very few places on the continent that remains relatively unchanged since the first European colonizers arrived over 500 years ago. In fact, it is one of the few such places in the world, particularly among lowland, coastal areas, that remains ecologically undisturbed. For its unspoiled freeflowing rivers, its populations of caribou, wolves, bears, raptors, whales, dolphins, seals and other species that have been driven to near extinction elsewhere, this region ought to be prized and protected.

Letters Needed

The injunction against roadbuilding is only temporary. Write to the Canadian and Newfoundland governments demanding that their own Environmental Assessment be adhered to, thereby denying the company any permits to start work.

Write to Kevin Aiyward, Minister of Environment, POB 8700, St. Johns, NF A1B 4J6; Christine Stewart, Minister of Environment, Terrace de la Chaudiere, 10 Wellington St., Hull Quebec K1A 0H3 Canada.

The Innu need to know you support them, so please send copies of your letters to Katie Rich, General Delivery, David Inlet, Labrador AOP 1A0 Canada.

The Environmental Assessment including the transcripts, is posted on the internet: (<http://www.ceaa.gc.ca/english/panel/voisey/voisey/etransc.html>). For more info contact Friends of Nitassinan, POB 804, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 425-3820.

BARE BONES

Bison Activist Sentenced

On March 23, 1997, Delyla Wilson dumped a bucket of bison entrails in front of Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman, US Senator Conrad Burns and Montana Governor Marc Racicot. In August, Delyla was convicted of disorderly conduct and misdemeanor assault against Governor Racicot in a Montana state court and was sentenced to 190 days in jail and \$1,090 in fines. Fortunately, that sentence was stayed pending appeal. At sentencing, Justice Egeland told Delyla, "The court would not condone actions such as yours... the people of Montana should be free to gather without fear of people such as yourself."

In federal court, Delyla is charged with two counts of assault on a congressional, cabinet or Supreme Court member. The two-day federal jury trial is set to begin on October 6 and carries possible penalties of two years in the federal pen and \$10,000 in fines.

The state of Montana slaughtered a record 1,100 bison last winter. The Bison Action Group is calling for an international day of protest against this practice on September 30. For more information, or to contribute to the Delyla Wilson defense fund, contact POB 7326, Bozeman, MT 59771.

Genetically Engineered Organic Tomatoes?

The Oxford American dictionary defines the word organic as "of or formed from living things." Consumers generally define organic foods as those produced naturally, without the use of toxic chemicals, drugs or factory-farm techniques. But how the dictionary, organic farmers or millions of American consumers define "organic" may soon become a moot point since the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) will be defining in legally binding terms exactly what "organic" means. And not in a pithy phrase, but rather in what is expected to be a 600-page document. Given the history of the USDA, many are worried about the impact of these new federal regulations on the natural foods industry.

According to several inside sources in Washington who have seen the proposed rules, the USDA not only intends to disregard the National Organic Standards Board's explicit ban on genetically engineered food and intensive confinement of farm animals, but will actually make it illegal for regional or non-governmental organic-certification bodies to uphold organic standards stricter than US government standards. And of course if the USDA gets away with this in the United States, their eventual strategy will be to use the legal hammer of the GATT World Trade Organization to force Europe and other nations to lower their organic standards as well.

Failing to label genetically engineered food is a dicey issue for the USDA, as there is strong public support for labeling. A February 1997 poll conducted by biotech giant Novartis found that 93 percent of American consumers want to see mandatory labeling of genetically engineered foods, 73 percent of whom claim to "feel strongly" about this issue. Consumers in Europe and other countries have expressed similar views. Partly as a result of this controversy, sales of products labeled as "organic" have increased dramatically.

Despite warnings from an increasing number of scientists, this year a wide variety of genetically engineered foods will be placed, unlabeled, on supermarket shelves. Literally thousands of products—including nearly all non-organic processed foods—will soon include some genetically engineered ingredients.

BARE BONES

Oldest Plant Found

A holly found in the Australian state of Tasmania, the world's oldest known living plant, is being reproduced by scientists to buffer the only known individual of the species against destruction. The sole example of *Lomatia tasmanica*, or King's Holly, lives near the coast of the Western Tasmanian wilderness, a cold, storm-washed region on the edge of the Southern Ocean. There, one plant has spread through two rainforest gullies. The self-reproducing plant appears to be genetically identical throughout the gullies—and genetically identical to a fossil leaf about 43,000 years old. This makes it three times older than the previous record holder, a Pennsylvania huckleberry aged at 13,000 years.

Offspring of King's Holly are being cultivated at the Royal Tasmanian Botanic Gardens in an attempt to prevent further loss of the species. "We found it extremely hard to cultivate at first," Director Dr. Bedford said. "We now have about 20 growing in pots, as well as a new generation of cuttings, but we won't be putting it on public display until we have a good, stable population." All of the plants are genetically identical to their single parent.

The discovery of King's Holly confirms Western Tasmania as home to extraordinarily old plants. Individual huon pines and king billy pines are known to be thousands of years old, and one celebrated huon pine has been aged at 10,500 years. This age reflects the survival of groups of plant species on a natural "raft" formed by the breakup of the ancient supercontinent Gondwana. It may be that even older plants are yet to be discovered in other Gondwanan landscapes, such as South America.

Ice Bump or Iceberg

The vast region of land in eastern Oregon, Idaho, eastern Washington, western Montana, western Wyoming, northern Utah and northern Nevada composing the interior Columbia River basin is getting its own version of President Clinton's Northwest Forest Plan, named the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project (ICBEMP, "ice bump"). The project's scientific and economic studies clearly demonstrate extensive problems from past public lands management. As documented by ICBEMP, 80 percent of the ponderosa pine forests in the basin have been eliminated or damaged by poor logging practices. Already 47 of 88 native fish species are endangered, threatened or of concern, and a large majority of streamside areas on public lands in the Columbia basin are seriously degraded or are not improving. Though only four percent of the region's economy is in timber, grazing and mining, the proposed management plan does not significantly restrict the current level of public lands logging and grazing. Indeed, the plan would double logging levels and allow logging in riparian and roadless areas.

The comment period for the proposed plan extends until February 3, 1998. Please write to Chief Dombek, 14th & Independence Ave. SW, Washington, DC, 20250. Ask the Chief to ensure that the scientific recommendations of the plan are followed. For more information, call the Columbia River Bioregion Campaign at (800) 993-6566.

Bargain Basement Prices at the BLM

BY JEFF DEBONIS, PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

Illegal harvesting of timber, routine violations of the National Environmental Policy Act, gross mismanagement and ecologically destructive practices are taking a devastating toll on our public lands. We know this is the case for most Forest Service timber sales, but how many activists have ever heard of the Bureau of Land Management's (BLM) Public Domain Forestry program?

The BLM, an agency within the Department of the Interior, manages more land than any other federal agency—over 270-million acres, about one-eighth of this country's land surface, most of it in the West. Despite its size, the BLM forestry program receives very little attention. In fact, the Public Lands Forestry Program affects over 12-million acres designated as "commercial forest lands."

Historically, the BLM has allied itself with special interests in the Western states that profit substantially from timber cutting, mineral extraction and cattle grazing on public lands. As a result, the impact of unsustainable and ecologically damaging forest management practices on our public lands is severe and widespread. Due in large part to its historic emphasis on commodity production, the BLM is not an easy agency in which to promote reform, either from within or without.

Most Public Domain Forestry lands are located in Washington, Idaho, Montana, California and east of the Cascades in Oregon. The bulk of the acreage cut by BLM is dry, characterized by low-site productivity and ecological frailty. Many of these timber sales are on the north slopes of drainages and, once cut, cannot be regenerated.

For the past two years, Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER) has studied the BLM's Public Domain Forestry and timber program with the ultimate goal of defunding and eliminating it. Preliminary

research indicates that the BLM routinely violates its own planning assumptions and allows timber cutting in excess of sustainable and planned quantities. Significant amounts of money are lost on timber sales, and post-logging reforestation requirements are not enforced. These damaging practices harm forest ecosystems, destroy wildlife habitat and riparian

as half the timber cut is never paid for.

There are also findings of gross non-compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). In many cases, the BLM relies on NEPA documents completed 10 to 15 years ago, with no updated analyses and little or no public input or "scoping" as the Act requires. Compounding the quagmire, NEPA documents are generally



photo courtesy of PEER

"Post logging reforestation requirements are not enforced"—typical Public Domain Forestry lands in Idaho

systems and diminish the quality and value of recreational opportunities.

In some instances, the volume of annual timber extraction is equivalent to the total amount of timber that was programmed to be cut for the entire decade. In Burley, Idaho, the BLM sold three times as much timber in one year as it was supposed to sell in 10 years, and in Lakeview, Oregon, during the past three years it sold an average of 55 percent more timber than its allowable sale quantity. One sale went from 70 acres to over 300 acres. Other illegal activities include continuous and excessive road building into fragile areas without conducting the cumulative effects analysis required by law. Due to rampant timber theft and a lack of fiscal and contractual accountability, BLM's own employees estimate that as much

considered out of date five years after they have been written.

PEER's research is documented in six reports. *Phantom Forests* reveals the outdated, inaccurate and incomplete forest inventories the BLM uses as the basis for planning timber sales. *Where Timber Beasts Rule the Earth* focuses on systematic over-cutting and routine violations of allowable sale quantities, which are the maximum harvest levels consistent with sustainable forests. *Savage Salvage* exposes agency abuse of the salvage timber sale process. *Never Mind NEPA* exposes widespread BLM non-compliance with federal laws regarding environmental evaluations of timber sales. *Timber Sale Maladministration* reveals that as much as half the timber harvested from Public Domain Forest lands is removed without payment; and *Land of No Return* documents devastating losses to taxpayers from this wasteful, money-losing corporate subsidy estimated to be \$30 million over five years. This amount is only the actual dollars lost. The environmental costs are incalculable.

PEER's next steps will include a campaign at the congressional and administrative levels to de-fund the program through the appropriations process. Comparatively speaking, this program should be the easiest of the "green scissors" type corporate subsidies needing to be "zeroed out."

Copies of these reports can be obtained by writing to PEER at 2001 "S" St. NW, Suite 570, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 265-7337.



BOYCOTT THE RECREATION FEE DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

BY SCOTT SILVER

The Forest Service's new "Recreation Fee Demonstration Program," now being introduced nationwide, is a prime example of what can be expected from unholy partnerships involving big business and the federal government. This program, requiring trail-users to pay \$3 a day, or \$25 a year, to access wilderness areas and other public lands represents the thin edge of a very thick wedge. Driving this wedge deep into national recreation policy are foreign and domestic recreation corporations and their wise-use supporters.

Perhaps the most important player in this arena is the ubiquitous, but little known, American Recreation Coalition (ARC). This business consortium has



literally taken control of America's recreation policies. ARC seeks to motorize, privatize and commercialize all of America's public lands for the benefit of its corporate and wise-use supporters.

While you may not have heard of ARC, it has already established footholds everywhere: from the chief-of-staff serving the new Forest Service chief, to the advisory board of the Congressionally-created National Forest Foundation. The recreation fee program itself is a special kind of joint venture, known as a Challenge Cost-Share Partnership (CCSP), in this case involving ARC and the US Forest Service. ARC is helping foot the bill for the program's implementation.

In recent years, federal recreation land managers have had to endure severe funding cuts. These cuts were not made in order to eliminate government waste or to reduce the federal deficit, as the public has been led to believe. These cuts are part of a carefully orchestrated strategy by sympathetic congresspeople working hand-in-glove with the wise-use movement—a strategy calculated to co-opt public lands for corporate profit and to guarantee "motorized recreational access" without future restrictions. The American public will be seeing many more Challenge Cost-Share Partnerships in the future unless public funding can somehow be restored for maintenance of our national parks and public lands. While a few of these CCSPs may address real needs, monetary profit will be the sole motivation of many corporate sponsors of these programs.

Much of America's worst recreation legislation is being crafted by the staunchly anti-environmental Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK). According to the American Land Rights Association, a rabid wise-use organization, "Derrick Crandall, president of the American Recreation Coalition, is leading an effort for a new Recreation 'Super-Bill.' He is lobbying Senator Frank Murkowski toward including his recreation wish list in a bill Murkowski is considering..."

ARC represents more than 100 industry organizations. Included on its member list are dozens of motor boat, jet-ski, RV, motorcycle, off-road vehicle and snowmobile manufacturers and associations. The remainder of the coalition represents a diverse range of interests: ski area associations, public lands concessionaires, campground associations, sporting equipment manufacturers, tour associations, petroleum companies, the National Rifle Association and Walt Disney. Not one hiking, backpacking or environmental organization is included on this list (though there are some pretenders).

At last year's Western States Coalition's Summit, ARC participated on a panel moderated by People for the West president and wise-use leader, Bob Quick. The panel sought to answer the question, "Are domestic natural resources important anymore?" This panel concluded "that although outright wins are unlikely, lobbying can define the issues favorably." The alternative, they said, is to let Vice President Al Gore and others set the agenda for the environment.

ARC has positioned itself perfectly for the task of "defining issues." Through its Recreation Roundtable, ARC provides "landmark research... on recreation motivations, satisfactions and barriers which is now shaping federal agency decision-making and is likely to prompt new, cooperative research on public recreation wants between the public and private sectors." And, on Michael Dombeck's first day as chief of the US Forest Service, he proudly declared, "Francis Pandolfi will serve as my chief of staff. Mr. Pandolfi comes with very broad experience... including [serving as] chairman of the Recreation Roundtable."

Perhaps ARC's greatest influence upon the future of recreation will be through its advisory position on the National Forest Foundation (NFF). As the official nonprofit partner of the US Forest Service, NFF attracts corporate sponsors, other foundations and individuals with the incentive of matching

funds from Congress. In addition,

NFF solicits funds from the private sector to match the challenge cost-share program of the US Forest Service. The Forest Service is prohibited by law from soliciting outside funding and NFF is expressly permitted to fulfill that function. It's a truly amazing loophole—a government-sanctioned private foundation, set up by Congress to do for the Forest Service what the Forest Service itself may not do legally—

attract corporate sponsors and partners. Naturally, the NFF represents big business and extractive industries. NFF's chair is a merchant banker, its vice-chair a petroleum executive and its secretary a cattle rancher. ARC president Derrick Crandall sits on NFF's national advisory board.

ARC's Recreation Roundtable's priorities include opposing proposals for a federal tax on motorized recreation products to support state wildlife programs. Consistent with this policy, the Fee Demonstration Program targets only hikers, picnickers, stream fishers and similar non-motorized recreationists.

As partner to the USFS, ARC's efforts include explaining the fee program to the recreation industry and recreation enthusiasts, as well as assisting in the evaluation of the demonstration projects. Yet the slick pamphlets on the program available at Forest Service offices make no mention of ARC, and the comment forms ask you only how fees should be spent, not whether or not there should be any fees at all.

ARC has positioned itself perfectly. In financing this demonstration fee program, ARC has bought the right to evaluate the program upon its termination and to report to Congress on how the public liked it. ARC, in exchange for its financial contribution, also gets to assist Congress in crafting the Permanent Recreation Fee System which will certainly follow.

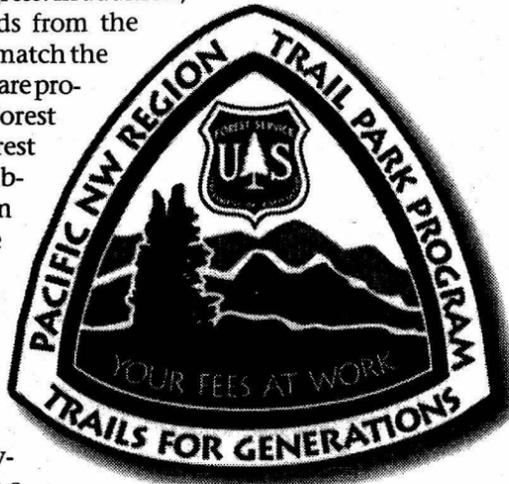
Who cares what ARC tells Congress, you might ask? If you're a backcountry hiker, bird-watcher, fisher or even just a picnicker who enjoys the unspoiled outdoors as a place to escape from the world of corporate-driven commercialism and consumerism, then you had better take serious note of what ARC envisions for the future of recreation on America's public lands. The most complete source for information on ARC's interests is ARC's own website, www.cais.com/arc/.

ARC has also proposed that Congress create a National Recreation Lakes Program, which would emphasize "appropriate private sector investment in water-dependent recreational enterprises." The plan envisions no restrictions on motorized watercraft, no federal control of lake fisheries, privatization of public property, land-use planning exemptions, corporate tax breaks and control of surrounding lands for other motorized uses. ARC has generated many similar policy statements and proposals, covering the entire range of recreational settings and experiences.

As the Executive Director of Wild Wilderness, a group whose mission is "to maintain and enhance opportunities for undeveloped recreation," I have a problem with the American Recreation Coalition and its agenda. For this reason I have chosen to engage in a bit of civil disobedience and boycott the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program. To encourage others who might wish to follow suit, Wild Wilderness has produced windshield stickers that trailhead users can display instead of those available from ARC and its government partners. The Wild Wilderness sticker consists of a circle and slash symbol on which is written the words "Trail Fee." We don't guarantee that you won't be ticketed for your disobedience, but if enough people protest this fee, we might make a difference. It is up to the public to put a stop to further privatization of our National Heritage. Once it's sold, it's gone forever. Let's stop ARC and its accomplices before it's too late. Please boycott this program.

Windshield stickers can be obtained by sending a SASE to Wild Wilderness, 248 NW Wilmington Avenue, Bend, OR 97701.

[The back cover of this issue shows one of the new permits.]



BARE BONES

Big Tujunga

It was a surprise victory for environmentalists when in July the Los Angeles City Council voted down a proposed golf course that would have destroyed habitat for the rare slender-horned spineflower.oothills Golf Development Group wanted to build an 18-hole course in Big Tujunga wash, one of the last remaining habitats of the endangered flower.

Joining environmentalists in opposing the golf course was Local 11 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees' Union. The politically powerful union, whose opposition to the project was a major factor in the City Council's vote, opposed the plan on the grounds that the Kajima Corporation would benefit from the golf course. Kajima fired workers agitating for union representation at the New Otani Hotel in Los Angeles.

The Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy offered to purchase the 352 acres in contention for \$3.5 million, the fair market value of the land according to independent appraisers. The developers rejected that deal and, following the council's decision to can the project, filed a claim against the city for \$215 million.

Oregon Bar Slanders EF!

From the latest version of the Oregon Bar Examination, which presents this potential scenario as a question about inciting to riot:

"Carol is the leader of a radical environmental group, 'Salmon First!' Carol organizes a weekend vigil at a local state park that adjoins a river where salmon are fished. Carol stands on a picnic table and uses a megaphone to address 'Salmon First!' members. Carol announces that at dawn the following day, all 'Salmon First!' members will board a boat equipped with wooden bats and seek out anyone who is fishing for salmon. Those fishing will be warned to stop immediately. Carol encourages the members to use whatever physical means are necessary to prevent the anglers from fishing. 'Death to anglers; vive les salmon,' cries Carol!"

A group of campers overhears Carol's plans and immediately calls the state police. Carol is arrested for inciting to riot..." Is she guilty?

The correct answer is no, Carol is not guilty of inciting a riot because the event is planned for the next day.

Toxic Waste Barge Sinks

In August, a barge transporting more than 300 tons of toxic sludge from the chemical fertilizer factory Haifa Chemicals sunk for unknown reasons roughly half a mile off Haifa Port in Israel. Haifa Chemicals uses such barges to dump 50,000 tons of toxic sludge in international water every year. The sludge is very acidic and contains a variety of toxic heavy metals: mercury, zinc, lead, cadmium, arsenic, chrome and nickel.

"The barge may have been overloaded with toxic sludge," said Ofer Ben Dov, a campaigner from the Greenpeace Mediterranean Office. "In any case, what happened was an irresponsible act because the toxic sludge might eventually leak and severely effect the marine environment of Haifa Bay and threaten the health of Haifa residents."

In July, the Ministry of Environment declared that sea dumping would cease by the end of this year. The systematic dumping of toxic waste in the sea has long been recognized to be highly damaging to the environment.

STAMP OUT EASTSIDE FIRE SALES

BY BLUE MOUNTAINS BIODIVERSITY PROJECT



In response to recent fires, the Forest Service has proposed a series of disastrous salvage sales in eastern Oregon. The Summit, Bull, Tower Fire, '96 Roadside and Over timber sales could seriously impair water quality, fish runs and soil stability in the area. The Summit sale alone calls for logging an astounding 110 million board feet of timber.

Scientists have called on the Clinton administration to recognize

that logging in burned areas within three to five years of the fire is inadvisable, potentially destabilizing soils and pouring sediment into creeks, jeopardizing sensitive fish runs. Scientists also warn against logging on steep slopes or highly erosive soils in burned areas. Despite this, the Summit Fire Recovery Project on the Malheur National Forest proposes to log over 11,000 acres of the 28,286 acres burned in the Long Creek Ranger District. The sale concentrates about a third of the logging in roadless areas at high elevations, with logging on steep slopes and highly erosive grounds. This devastating sale would also include 173 miles of road construction and reconstruction and toxic chemical poisoning of weeds and gophers. Many of the remaining live trees in the burned area would be logged.

Similarly, the Bull, Tower Fire, '96 Roadside and Over sales are



all in areas burnt in 1996, and prescribe heavy removal of remaining trees, including some live trees. The Tower Fire sale would remove live and dead trees on the edge of both a roadless area and the North Fork John Day Wilderness. None of the Environmental Assessments for these sales presented a full range of alternatives to logging, for instance noncommercial restoration or closure of unneeded roads.

The Forest Service has also failed to consider the cumulative impact of last year's extensive fires on populations of species that indicate the health of the forest and sensitive, threatened, endangered and candidate-for-listing species. Heavy logging of burned areas could further threaten species viability—especially that of woodpeckers dependent on periodic burns to provide foraging areas; sensitive and threatened fish runs; and elk already deprived of adequate cover from past logging.

Please call for the permanent cancellation of these

sales! For the Summit Fire Recovery Project and Over sale call or write to F. Carl Pence, Forest Supervisor, Malheur National Forest, 431 Patterson Bridge Rd., POB 909, John Day, OR

97845; (541) 575-3000. For the other sales write to Craig Smith-Dixon, District Ranger, North Fork John Day Ranger District, Umatilla NF, POB 158, Ukiah, OR 97880; (541) 427-3231.

For more information contact the Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project, HCR-82, Fossil, OR 97830.



Victory for the Shawnee!

BY JOHN WALLACE

Forest critters and activists are celebrating a temporary, but significant victory in the decade-old fight to save the Bell Smith Springs area of the Shawnee National Forest. In a surprising move on August 22, US District Court Judge, J. Phil Gilbert instituted an injunction pending appeal on the cutting of shortleaf pine on land including and surrounding Bell Smith Springs National Natural Landmark.

A History of Lies and Deceit

The same court rejected the Shawnee Forest Plan in September 1995 and later enjoined the US Forest Service (USFS) from any "commercial timber sales" until a new plan was completed. The agency wormed its way out of that restriction by classifying the 3,400-acre Bell Smith timber sales as "ecological restoration." This perverse labeling enabled the Freddie's to magically erase these below-cost sales from their program budget and charge them to (of all things) their wildlife account! In the late '80s the same sales were proposed, but the overwhelming public opposition to clearcutting and below-cost timber sales on the Shawnee caused the agency to withdraw the proposal and reconsider the project. Rather than terminate the sale the Freddie's chose to change the terminology and proceed.

This project involves cutting pines that were planted throughout the '30s, '40s and '50s by the Civil Conservation Corps and the USFS. The agency describes these plantations as nonnative pines. However, after careful examination it was discovered that the 3,200 acres were not only native trees but were actually shortleaf pines—a state endangered species.

Even though the pines were planted by humans, researchers have found that they provide vital surrogate habitat to forest-interior-dwelling neotropical songbirds, whose populations are rapidly dwindling in eastern US forests as a result of habitat fragmentation. USFS documents admit that the planned removal of pines from the forest will also result in the elimination of the pine warbler from the Shawnee. Agency biologists justify the planned extirpation of this small bird by claiming it is nonnative, even though the bird has been documented consistently in southern Illinois since the 1870s.

The Assault

After a hiatus of cutting in the Shawnee, the peacefulness of the summer began to unravel when, at the end of July, NH Wood Products of Golconda, IL, punched a logging road into the heart of the Bell Smith

Springs area of the forest. The USFS closed a 350-acre section of the forest to anyone but corporate timber thieves and law enforcement personnel. Activists were ticketed for not providing proof of insurance for vehicles and for posting literature and signs in the forest. After completing 3/4 of a mile of road, the timber purchaser appeared to pull out of the sale area. Again an uneasy calm settled over Bell Smith canyon until August 12. A day earlier, USFS personnel told an activist that no action had been taken by any other contractor on the project. However, by morning another 145-acre timber sale site had already been cordoned off and closed to the public, and Westvaco began felling trees.

When protesters finally did make it to the site of the new logging operation on the following day, the cops stepped up the level of harassment. All demonstrators who had cars parked in the vicinity were forced to produce proof of insurance and valid driver's licenses. When Joe Glisson arrived on the scene, he was told to "shut up or go to jail," by a Pope County Deputy. After calmly stating that he would not shut up, he was placed under arrest. He returned to the logging site immediately after his release from jail, whereupon he, the vehicle and its driver were searched relentlessly by state police. USFS enforcement even brought out a "drug sniffing dog" to assist in the unconstitutional and unsuccessful search.

It Ain't Over Yet!

The injunction has brought a short reprieve for the forest and its inhabitants. Although Westvaco logged about 10 acres, it was forced to pull its crew, a log skidder and feller-buncher out of the Shawnee to the delight of local activists. The struggle to truly restore our native ecosystems will continue, however, as this is only a temporary victory. Direct action and public education campaigns have been some of the most effective tools in curtailing the timber beast mentality in the Shawnee. If the word is effectively brought out, it will not be difficult to convince the public that bulldozers, log skidders and feller-bunchers quickly *degrade* an ecosystem, rather than restore it as USFS hacks would have us believe. "Ecological restoration," my ass! We must put an end to this facade once and for all!

A campaign has been launched to counter the USFS subterfuge, and public opposition is growing. Several rallies and marches have readily turned out 70 to 100 vocal protesters, reminiscent of the Shawnee Summer of 1990. The mainstream press is giving a lot of time and space to covering the issue and the local paper is daily bombarded with letters expressing outrage over the agency's plan to log the watershed of one the region's premier natural areas.

Come to the Shawnee's Midwest Rendezvous at the end of September and help protect this special area. Come to have fun, learn from other activists and frolic in the spring pools of Bell Smith Springs!

For more information about the Rendezvous contact Shawnee EF! at 913 S. Illinois Ave., Carbondale, IL 62901; (618) 549-7387; email: beanz@siu.edu.



BEFORE

Blockade Interrupts Raw Log and Woodchip Exports to Canada

BY ORIN LANGELLE

Logging operations near Duxbury, Vermont were shut down for the day when two Native Forest Network (NFN) activists locked themselves to heavy machinery with U-locks at dawn on August 19. Disgruntled employees of the timber contractor were forced to stand idly by as the landowner refused to allow police to be called.

Activists from both NFN and Earth First! protested liquidation logging, clearcutting and raw log and woodchip export. Up to 75 percent of this cut is headed for Quebec, Canada to a Domtar paper mill. Domtar is a multinational timber company partially owned and subsidized by the government of Quebec.

"We sent a clear message to the timber industry that Vermont is not a resource colony for multinationals to exploit," said Anne Petermann of the NFN. "There was almost no economic benefit to anyone in the state or nearby communities—all we got was thousands of acres of ruined forest."

Deborah Ormsbee, one of the two NFN activists and a local history teacher who locked down to the machinery stated, "I've seen the logging trucks go by all last school year bound for Canada, and I decided that this insanity must stop."

On site at the shutdown was Rebecca Lightbourne from NFN Australia. "Australian environmental groups have opposed the export woodchip industry since it began in Australia over 20 years ago," said Lightbourne. "The issues are strikingly similar to here: loss of biodiversity, jobs and the hope for true ecological forestry practices."

In 1994, 9,000 acres of wild forest land near Duxbury, Vermont were sold by Ward Lumber Company to New York land speculator Keith Van Buskirk of American Wilderness Resources. This land was

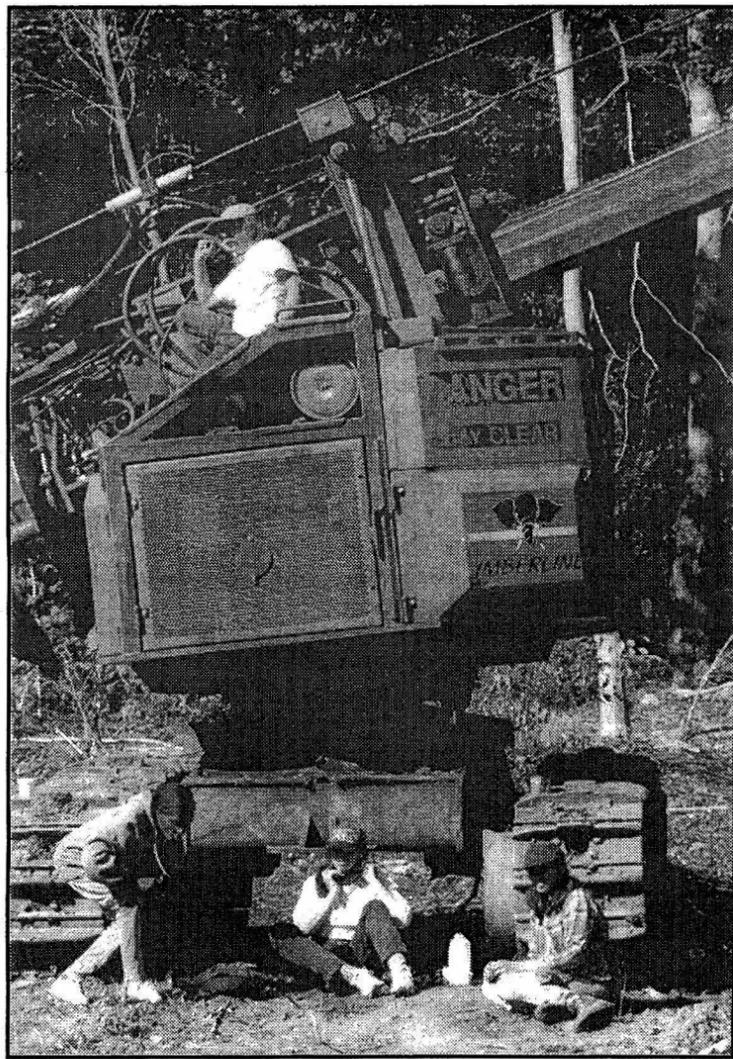
then divided up into small parcels. The parcels and corresponding timber rights were sold separately. The timber rights were finally purchased by Domtar.

Quebecois loggers were sent to the site to log the 9,000 acres and ship a total of 75 percent of the logs and chips back to Quebec. According to Burt Grenier of Grondin Industries, a mere 25 percent of all the hardwood sawlogs were sent to the Claire Lathrop mill in Bristol, Vermont.

Domtar is a leading designer, manufacturer and distributor of fine papers, packaging, pulp and forest products for North American and international markets and is one of North America's largest producers of uncoated free sheet papers. Domtar's profits for 1996 totaled \$96 million. Much of the timber from the Duxbury site is going to the Windsor, Quebec mill which has an annual production capacity of 525,000 tons.

Domtar is using poor logging practices. When a state of Vermont forester was asked what type of silviculture technique was being used at the site, he responded that Domtar wasn't using any silviculture techniques, it was just plain liquidation logging. A site visit reveals little regard for wildlife or aquatic resources; the liquidation of the forest is strictly for profits. This cut benefits no one, except the New York land speculator and Quebec corporations who are exploiting the lack of meaningful legislation in Vermont to get cheap logs quickly.

Domtar has been described as the only company having the financial capital to buy all of this timber outright. The cut-and-run technique allows this operation to go against all of Domtar's own guide-



Deb Ormsbee (bottom center) locks down.

Photo by Orin Langelle/NFN

lines for sustainable forestry practices.

Because Domtar is 43-percent owned by the province of Quebec, this logging operation is subsidized by the Quebec government and creates direct competition with Vermont logging companies that do not enjoy similar support.

For more information contact the Native Forest Network, Eastern North American Resource Center, POB 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571, (802) 863-2532 fax; e-mail: nfnena@igc.apc.org.

33-DAY SHUTDOWN AT TAYLOR RANCH!

BY SHEA

The annual festival of Santiago y Santa Ana saw the small town of San Luis, Colorado packed full of people. Craft and food booths lined the street, a continual stream of lowriders turned the half-mile drive through the middle of town into a 45-minute ordeal and every couple hours a parade went down the street only to turn around and come back up. It is unlikely, though, that you would've seen very many of the "unwashed environmentalists" who have been living in San Luis for well over a year. They were too busy with *their* lowrider to make more than a cameo appearance in the parade.

It was an impressive 1961 Chevy Impala, hand-painted with the slogans "Ya Basta!" and "Stop The Logging." A 40-year-old mom of three, concerned about the detrimental effects of Zachary Taylor's malicious domination of the mountain, known as La Sierra, found herself attached to the frame of the Impala with a steel lockbox. La Sierra was once used communally by the people of the valley, but they were shut out when a North Carolina tycoon bought the 77,500-acre ranch and prepared to log it off. Taylor blocked the people of San Luis from their mountain, and now the people are teaming up with environmentalists to blockade what is perhaps the largest timber sale in the continental US—potentially as large as 210 million board feet.

When the local cops arrived at the blockaded entrance to the Taylor Ranch the lockdown lady waited for them to examine the car. It lacked any recognizable automobile parts from the windshield forward, seemed to be missing four tires (making it the lowest rider in town) and yet still managed to be a defiant, proud, honorable piece of metal and vinyl. After first failing to take note of the trunk full of cement, the police were further frustrated upon discovering a ferocious cement, metal, wire, steel, plastic and yarn obstruction (known as a "dragon") blocking another entrance to the gate several miles away.

In town, the festival centered around the logging operation that threatens to destroy the sustainable, traditional life-style of the Chicano farmers who have lived in the area for seven generations. Despite an underlying distrust of white outsiders, the Chicano activists and environmentalists are making monumental steps towards unity, realizing that we're fighting for and against the same things.

At the blockade, locked-down activists, all of whom called themselves Bob, held their positions. One officer used pain compliance holds to try and remove the stubborn dragon Bob. She pressed and twisted and wrenched, using all the holds her conniving fingers could think of. It didn't work! Meanwhile, a half-dozen state troopers, the entire local sheriff's department and the Alamosa County emergency medical team worked on the removal of car Bob (on day five

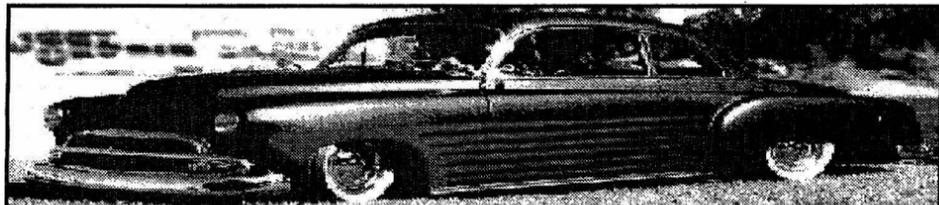
of being locked down). After much whirring of saws, they hauled him off to be charged. The massively-weighted Bobmobile was heaved away as well.

Dragon Bob proved to be more of a challenge. When a county backhoe was called to the job, both the worker, and later his supervisor, refused to dig it out and showed their support of the blockade by offering the activists food and firewood. Next, in a stunning cops-in-tank-tops exhibition, two local undersheriffs went at it with shovels and breaker bars. But their hard work went for naught when they came back the next day to find that the concrete fairies had doubly reinforced the holes in the night. Fairies and activists celebrated for the next week while occupying a major hauling road to the Taylor Ranch. However, in the second week of the lockdown, the loggers used their hasty road-building skills to blaze a path around the blockade. Still, not very many trucks made the venture onto the ranch. Traffic dropped from 20 to 30 trucks a day to three or four.

Activists are counting all of the new jobs that have been brought to the community as a success as well as a divide-and-conquer tactic. Taylor, who previously had just two locals working on the ranch, hired 15 new security guards from San Luis and surrounding communities. He spends \$12,000 a month for them to sit in trucks and watch us watch them.

With more help we could have shut down more of the gates or stopped crews from cutting. Logging subcontractors are leaving the Culebra watershed on La Sierra reportedly because of the direct action tactics of Ancient Forest Rescue and Culebra EF! With more help on the front lines, subcontractors will continue to abandon the project.

After 33 days at the ranch gate, an action team decided to go to work on the other road but was foiled by ranch security in the middle of the night. The rich side of the battle has parabolic microphones and night scopes, which we lack. The blockade ended a day later with a party and further strategizing about the upcoming activities in September and October. The agenda includes a court case about traditional-use rights, a rally at the state capitol and gatherings in San Luis and other heinous timber sales in Colorado and court for activists who've been arrested. For more information contact Ancient Forest Rescue, POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152; (719) 672-3012.



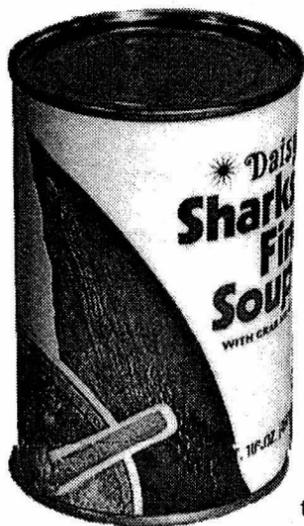
THE IMMINENT THREAT TO APEX PREDATORS

BY MICHELLE STEWART

Ocean is perhaps a better name for a planet whose surface is 70 percent water. With depths immeasurable, the sea seduces us with its beauty, mystery and richness. While the ocean's beauty is sometimes appreciated, its wealth is always exploited.

The vastness of the ocean lends to the idea that for each fish we see or catch there must be hundreds more in the open sea... somewhere. It seems inconceivable that these enormous bodies of water have a yield limit. However, when the world relies on the ocean for 17 percent of its overall protein, it is unwise to depend on theory. We are not a species known for our overall common sense, so we have continued to fish from one fisheries crash to another, throwing conservation overboard in favor of a good meal.

In just one century hundreds of species have been threatened with extinction; in the case of sea creatures, the decline has been marked by an ongoing series of fisheries crashes.



Right whales were hunted to the point of extinction in the early part of the century, leaving only 250; Japan and California watched sardine stocks plummet in the 1940s; Peruvian and Chilean anchovy stocks did the same thing. Some blamed El Niño, others called it a mystery but no one cited overfishing as the cause of the shortage.

Everyone agreed that there were "plenty of fish in the sea." Meanwhile, the

science of marine biology has developed in both partnership and head-to-head-competition with the commercial fishing industry, both utilizing the best technology available. Often equally equipped, biologists are able to predict impending damage to fisheries just as industry actualizes the prediction.

In the 1970s, the mid-Atlantic surf clam industry collapsed after years of exploitation, leaving the people that relied on it scrambling for compensation and answers. The Quahog clam, a species that mimicked the flavor of surf clams, was promoted as a replacement. But the surf clam collapse was an omen of shortages to come. In the next 20 years, shellfish industries bottomed out up and down the coast. Salmon numbers dwindled as did populations of sturgeon, tuna, scallops and halibut. Fishing seasons began to close the same day they opened, and fisheries agencies placed moratoria on the harvest of a number of species. In the 1980s, New England's ground fisheries came to a screeching halt. Communities with a 40 percent workforce investment were left dumbfounded, as annual losses amounted to \$350 million. Serving up a mixture of hope and insecurity for those who relied on the industry as a way of life, fisheries managers first uttered the words "overfished" and "fully-exploited," all the while promoting other species as "under-utilized," marking them for "open season." While management agencies expanded their scope of harvestable species, biologists took a comprehensive look at the situation from a different perspective:

Supply and Demand

As the human population has grown, the demand for fisheries has also risen at an alarming rate, accounting for two-thirds of the growth of the fishing industry. World population has increased well over a billion in the past 40 years, pushing the global commercial catch from 40 million tons in the '70s up to 72 million tons in 1993. It is as simple as supply and demand. To satisfy this need, technology improves faster than our understanding of its consequences. The sweeping effects of the great

driftnets and purse seines are now well known, and advances have only increased the devastation. Trawlers are no longer merely fishing vessels, but instead are geared up as oceangoing factories. Some employ up to 150 people dragging in upwards of 600 metric tons of fish, all of which can be processed into marketable products by the time they reach shore. The guesswork has been removed from fishing; modern sonar allows for pinpoint accuracy. The fishing industry has it down to a science—one with little conservation perspective.

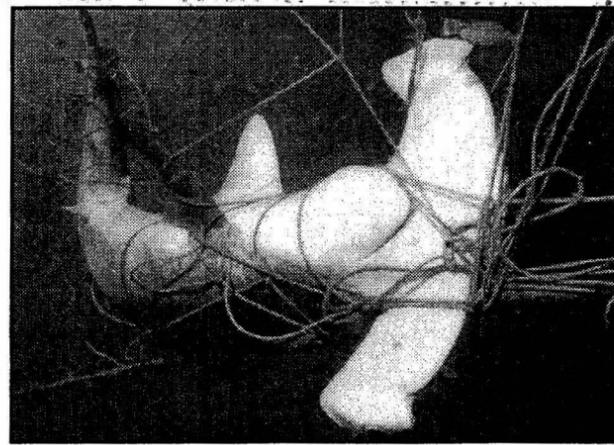
The global fishing industry is regulated on a regional scale, and managers lack an international reach. As the industry moves forward to meet market demand, the pace of growth quantitatively accelerates waste. For example, driftnets became a public concern when massive dolphin mortality was brought to light. More recently, the plight of sea turtles has called into question the practices of the shrimp-trawling industry. In these two cases, dolphins and turtles are killed as part of the "by-catch," nontarget species brought up as collateral victims in the nets. It has been estimated that one-quarter of the world's annual harvest is discarded as by-catch, amounting to 28.7 million tons. Shrimp trawlers in the Gulf of Mexico take a by-catch of up to 35 million red snappers each year and 13 billion Atlantic croakers (both considered overfished). One pound of gulf shrimp is the work of 5.2 pounds of by-catch. Internationally, the shrimp industry reports an average by-catch of 35 percent. Australia's prawn industry brings in 70,000 discards per night *per vessel*, consisting of some 240 species. Facing restrictions in an attempt to curb the biowaste, the shrimping industry is slowly being reined in with rules and regulations lowering their allowable catch.

Apex Predators

Although popular concern has primarily focused on dolphins or sea turtle by-catch, public scrutiny should be directed at the entire industry. Efforts have been made to change fishing practices to reduce accidental waste, but the industry has developed ever-more efficient methods for taking target species. As on land, the marine environment has an established food chain. But in the sea there are distinctly different predator and prey dynamics. The apex predator is the top of the food chain, feeding on lesser predators. Apex predators include (but are not limited to) swordfish, bluefin, yellowfin, big-eye, skipjack and albacore tuna, various oceanic sharks, blue and white marlin, sailfish and longbill spearfish. Just as the wolf plays a key role in its ecosystem by keeping prey populations at healthy levels, so do apex predators. The sheer size and power of these species affords them enormous ranges; they move fast and do not over-hunt their territories. Balanced ecosystem interactions rely on naturally healthy populations of apex predators, lesser predators and prey. Industrialized fishing has severely threatened this relationship. For example, off the coast of Australia and Tasmania, overfishing caused shark populations to crash. But before the sharks began to recover, octopus (a lesser predator) numbers soared and they began to prey heavily on the spiny lobster, whose numbers became critically low. When apex roles are left vacant, pressure from apex predators is alleviated and lesser predator populations rise and begin to overexploit prey species.

Commercial fishing has devastating and long-lasting effects on sharks. Many species of sharks have long lifespans but are slow-developing, taking decades to reach sexual maturity. Sharks may seem to be at sustainable levels for many years, then suddenly one year the nets essentially come up empty because sharks do not afford industry the warning of "dwindling numbers." Breeding adults may be gone, but the nets continue to bring up sexually-immature juveniles. Initially the catch does not accurately reflect a drop in population, but when procreation stops, within 5 to 15 years shark fishery dries up.

Currently, apex predators are claiming fantastic prices on the global market. The blue fin tuna,



Hammerhead shark caught in net

known as the Porsche of the ocean, fetches prices of \$30,000 to \$60,000 per fish on the Japanese sushi market. It is so lucrative that fishing is done from planes using electric harpoons. Shark fins currently are worth \$30/kg for use in shark fin soup, which sells for upwards of \$150 a bowl. However, that premium price is only for the fins—the rest of the shark is worth only 60 cents a kilogram. Shark fishers realize that their time is better spent focusing on the fins; the common practice is to get the shark on the boat to cut off its fins and dump it back in the ocean—mortally wounded.

With today's technology and such powerful financial incentives, the fishing industry is increasingly replacing collapsed fish stocks with apex predators. For example, one species of tuna originally compensated for the loss of the cod fishery, and as the tuna's numbers dropped, swordfish replaced that. Now another species of tuna has begun to replace swordfish. As industry gobbles its way up the food chain, the future promises continued ecosystem crashes, rather than the species-by-species depletion.

The critical state of the world's fisheries is rooted in the continued mismanagement of the global fish market. The public's cry for more food is being met and is ultimately responsible for the demise of marine ecosystems. Take a hard look at your order of popcorn shrimp and realize that you are responsible for three to five pounds of dead by-catch. Gauge your behavior and modify it accordingly.

Overfishing coupled with development and loss of habitat are creating a scenario in which weakened species have little chance of recovery. Ignorance and over exploitation of marine ecosystems will be written into the history books as the cause of the crash of the world's fishing industry. A crash of this proportion could lead to extinction on a scale we have not yet witnessed in the modern age.

"Never before has a wake-up call from nature been so clear, never again will there be better opportunity to protect what remains of the ocean's living wealth."—Sylvia Earle, Former Chief Scientist, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

The information contained in this article can be cross and further referenced: Natural Resources Defense Council. 1997. *Hook, Line and Sinking: The Crisis in Marine Fisheries*; Lemonick, M. August 11, 1997. Under Attack. *Time Magazine*; University of California Press. 1982. *Management of Marine Regions: The North Pacific*; Parfit, M. November 1985. Diminishing Returns. *National Geographic*; Botsford, Castilla and Peterson. August 25, 1997. The Management of Fisheries and Marine Ecosystems. *Science*; Taylor, L. May/June 1997. Sea Change. *Earthwatch*.

QUICK FACTS

- 70 percent of the world's harvestable marine stocks are classified as fully-fished or overexploited.
- 80 percent of US stocks are classified as fully-fished or overexploited.
- One third of US shellfish are at harvestable limits.
- 75 percent of marketable marine fish spend all or part of their lives in coastal estuaries, mangrove forests, wetlands or other inshore waters—habitat that is being destroyed on a large scale.
- Half of the world's salt marshes and mangrove forests are destroyed
- 30 percent of coral reefs are in danger

STEELHEAD LISTED IN THE WEST

BY MICHELLE STEWART

In a long-anticipated move, the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) has listed as threatened or endangered five runs of steelhead in southern California, central Washington and Idaho under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). The August 11 announcement by NMFS, however, delayed the listing of runs in Oregon, northern California and California's central coast for six months, citing inconclusive scientific information. NMFS also stated that the delay would allow officials in these areas to implement regional recovery plans and possibly avert federal oversight.

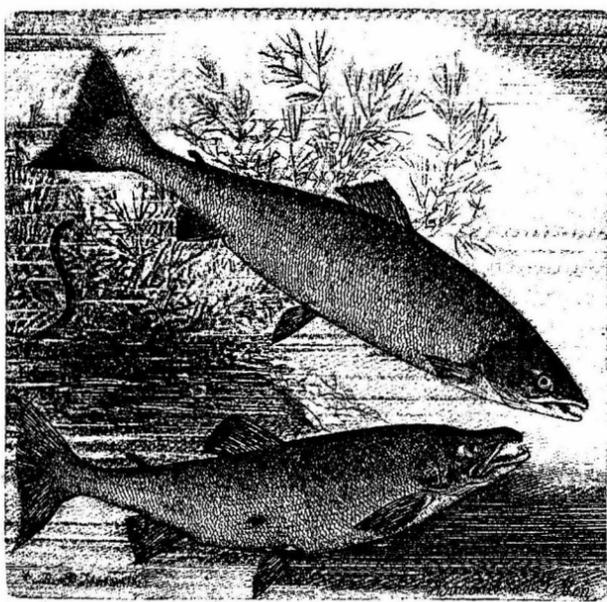
Steelhead, noted and named for their steel blue coloring, are a complicated species, requiring biologists to reassess descriptions and data constantly. Current knowledge places steelhead in the "Pacific salmon" family, even though they're categorically a trout. Steelhead are essentially anadromous rainbow trout, meaning they are born in rivers, live in the ocean and return to rivers to spawn. California has the only coastal and Idaho the only inland runs. Steelhead typically spend upwards of two years in fresh water and then migrate to the ocean, returning

in one to three years to spawn. However, unlike salmon, steelhead are able to spawn more than once (but typically do not).

Although regarded as a tough and rugged gamefish, the steelhead population has plunged to only ten percent of its historic stock. Twenty-three runs of steelhead have gone extinct; another 43 are in danger of the same fate. Until recently, wildlife agencies would not recognize the adverse (and lethal) effects that logging, urban development, agriculture, hatcheries and mining have on had wild runs of steelhead.

The announcement by NMFS that the Oregon and California runs were not yet to receive protection under the ESA was received with dismay by those working on conservation efforts. The delay in listing for these runs is following the same trajectory as coho salmon in Oregon and Northern California, as the coho listing was also delayed in order to implement regional conservation plans. It appears that this regional approach is intentionally cautious so as to avoid conflict with private land owners while the ESA faces reauthorization. The Clinton administration also wants to avoid conflict with Oregon's popular Democratic governor, John Kitzhaber.

The non-listing in California and Oregon assumes that state and local agencies will formulate and implement recovery plans; however, the board of forestry in both states is not likely to change policy substantially, and further habitat destruction is ultimately guaranteed. The Oregon Board of Forestry is already providing evidence of this by attempting to establish timber extraction as the primary purpose of the state's forests. To ensure that the last of the wild steelhead are not lost, we must pressure governments at all levels to move strongly on protection efforts, and rein in the timber industry and private land owners.



The Breakdown

Upper Columbia ESU* - *Endangered*
 Snake River Basin - *Threatened*
 Lower Columbia River ESU - *DELAY*
 Oregon Coast ESU - *DELAY*
 Klamath Mountains Province ESU - *DELAY*
 Northern CA Coast ESU - *DELAY*
 Central CA Coastal ESU - *Threatened*
 Central Valley ESU - *DELAY*
 South-Central CA Coast ESU - *Threatened*
 Southern CA ESU - *Endangered*
 *ESU=Evolutionarily Significant Unit

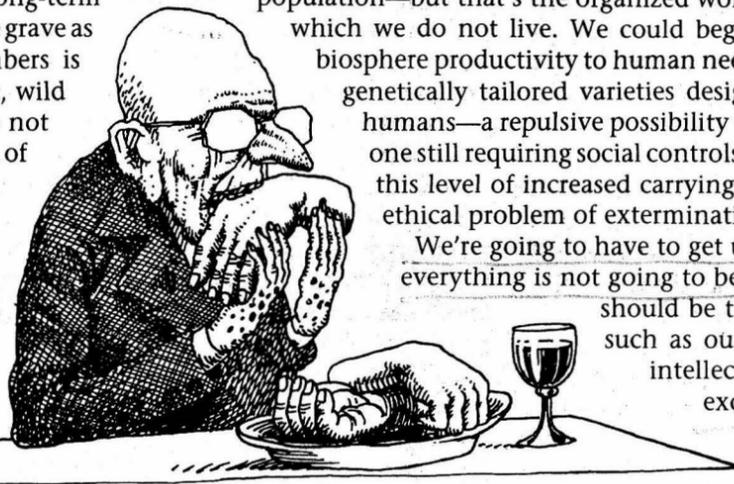
THE VISION...

continued from page 3

As usual, we can expect greed and chaos to turn a bad situation into sheer hell. People will die, but not in one fell swoop. Dieback doesn't have to be fast. Our numbers will be ratcheted down by infant mortality, infanticide, early death from the combined effects of malnutrition and the diseases of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions, famine, death by violence in war and social chaos, exotic epidemics engendered from diseases found in previously uninhabited land, etc. And each time a region undergoes wrenching, violent upheaval as ethnic groups or social classes battle over land rights and resources, that region will grow less able to support a human population.

If dieback is the short-term complement to overshoot, the long-term consequences to the (briefly) overabundant human population are grave as well: Extinction is a threat, certainly. Persistence at low numbers is another, more likely scenario. As in boreal forests and the arctic, wild swings between overhigh and very low population levels is also not unlikely in the unstable ecosystems left in an impoverished world of badly reduced vertebrate diversity.

To biocentrists, the effects of the human boom and bust on other species are of equal concern. As humans explore and vacuum every corner of the globe for sustenance, the land and sea grow less able to support other creatures that share similar needs to our own. An overexpanding invader species like humans takes over and bleeds ecosystems in a descending order of degradation. First, we eliminate direct competitors (wolves, bears, Neanderthals). Humans, uniquely, have also eliminated our own traditional predators like tigers or leopards and have forced the surviving predator populations to eschew people as a food source in exchange for their lives. Second, we eliminate indirect competitors by crowding them out. Agriculture monocrops, tree farms and other forms of ecosystem conversion and usurpation for human needs are examples of this. We have hunted and gathered out wild food sources, and basic ecosystem productivity is waning; farming exhausts the soil, native plant and animal diversity declines through extirpation and habitat loss, and pollution, the waste poisons of our industrial life, accumulates.



There are those who think that human-population collapse cannot happen. That's wishful thinking, and an example of "human exceptionalism,"—the idea that people are exempt from the basic economy of life. Dieback might not happen, but it *can*. Bodies have measurable needs, which makes carrying capacity a natural law. Minds have less measurable but equally important needs—could one be the need to deny the unpleasant? Because we have used our heads to come up with trading, regional food specialization, agricultural innovations and use of fossil energy, all of which allow us to overcome the limits imposed by local, annual ecosystem productivity, some think that we can just figure a way out of the coming crisis. But the facts cannot be willed away; there is a concrete, material number of people that can be reasonably supported by this planet, and we're way past that.

What could we do to avoid the current trap? We could gracefully reduce our population—but that's the organized world of perfect social justice again, in which we do not live. We could begin the wholesale conversion of all biosphere productivity to human needs by replacing all wild species with genetically tailored varieties designed to produce food and fuel for humans—a repulsive possibility we are already heading towards, but one still requiring social controls to prevent subsequent overshoot of this level of increased carrying capacity, not to mention the little ethical problem of exterminating all other wild species.

We're going to have to get used to the idea that, for us at least, everything is not going to be all right. That suffering and death

should be the inescapable lot of mere animals such as ourselves, no matter how divine our intellect or refined our sensibilities, strikes exceptionists as distasteful, impossible, even medieval in its mortal finality. As always it is the weak—the truly poor, teeming in squalid shantytowns—who will

suffer the most. The rich can afford to feed their children. It's not fair; the already-wretched always get hit the hardest, not the tofu-chewing dreadhead with the mountain bike consuming 60 times that of the majority of people. He's got a lot to lose before he goes hungry.

One way or another, justly, fairly or not, humans will be far less numerous than at present. The rest of the biosphere, what's left of it, will take a quick breather. Natural selection forges on.

The Outer Beltway: Giant Asphalt Donut to Turn DC Into a Hole

BY MARK ROBINOWITZ

The Washington, DC area has probably stopped the construction of more stupid highways than any other place in the US and is one of the largest cities in the country without a grid of interstate highways in its downtown. But the Greater Washington Board of Trade (BOT), a group of real estate developers, is trying to resurrect the Outer Beltway, a series of major new interstates that would form a giant ring of pavement curving from the Appalachian Blue Ridge to the Chesapeake Bay (the largest estuary in North America). These highways would pave over many of the bay's cleanest tributaries and would increase toxic air pollution and global warming.

Washington, DC-area transportation planners first conceptualized multiple beltways in 1950, part of the post-war rush to construct interstate highways. A 1955 planning map shows the famous Capital Beltway, the Outer Beltway and an inner loop through downtown DC. A 1966 revision added an Outer Outer Beltway, similar to the current proposal for the Western Bypass in Virginia. While public protest stopped the official "Outer Beltway," the states of Maryland and Virginia are seeking its reincarnation under a collection of new names.

The Inter County Connector (ICC/Interstate 370) is the new segment closest to formal approval. It would run north of Washington from I-270 to I-95/US 1 (with a future extension to 301). Public hearings were held this spring on the nine-foot-thick Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS), and Maryland Gov. Parris Glendening hopes to make the final "build" decision this fall. Glendening has met with Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner, urging her support for the same road that was rejected by the Reagan Administration as being environmentally outrageous. The ICC, or Interstate Clear-Cut, would be an 18-mile swath through the Maryland suburbs' last pristine forested wetlands, threatening Rock Creek and the Anacostia and Patuxent rivers. It would kill champion trees and endangered species, and slice through dozens of densely populated residential neighborhoods. Even the ICC DEIS admits that this highway would not reduce congestion on the overcrowded Capital Beltway. Instead, it would facilitate new sprawl development, particularly the Konterra edge city at the ICC/I-95 interchange. As part of the project, I-95 would be widened to 20 lanes.

The long-term plan for the ICC is to build an additional section to connect it to US 301. This extension, called A-44, would complete a major

portion of the entire Outer Beltway around Washington. A-44 would pass immediately east of the Belt Woods old-growth forest near Bowie, Maryland and would destroy buffer forests critical to this ecological reserve. In 1947, the Belt Woods had the highest density of nesting neotropical migratory songbirds in the US. Now, Belt Woods is becoming an island of nature in a sea of suburban sprawl, and the Outer Beltway would complete its isolation, destroying forested migration corridors.

Gov. Glendening is positioning himself as a national environmental leader with his "Smart Growth" initiative that purports to slow sprawl development. But he is actually a leader in greenwashing destructive policies, since "Smart Growth" contains a loophole big enough for an Outer Beltway: it allows "connector roads" between growth centers.

The Mother of All Bypasses

Virginia developers are promoting the "Western Transportation Corridor," a 59-mile highway that would arc west of Washington's sprawling suburbs. While northern Virginia has the second worst traffic congestion in the country (after Los Angeles), this new facility would be outside of the sprawl zone, fueling more edge cities and not solving any existing problems. The bypass eventually is intended to cross the Potomac River and continue for another 30 miles into central Maryland through Montgomery County's agricultural reserve, ending nearly 35 miles north of downtown Washington.

Eastern Bypass

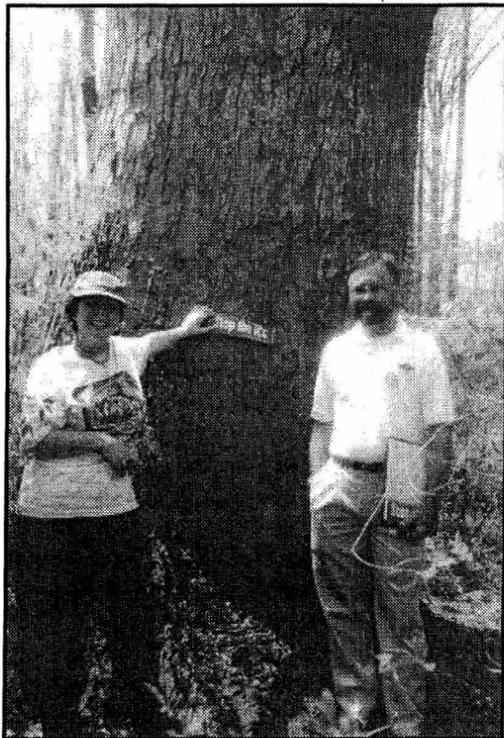
The Glendening Administration has also revived the Eastern Bypass, a developer-driven process that would provide a new trucking route around Washington. Glendening's "301 Corridor Study" estimates that the upgrade of US Route 301 and the construction of the Waldorf Bypass segment will take 80,000 jobs out of DC, a city already suffering from disinvestment due to racism, poor schools and crime. The Eastern Bypass would also require a new Potomac River bridge 20-miles south of Washington, where RGI Holdings plans to build two new edge cities. The city on the Maryland side, Chapman's Landing, would be between the Potomac River and Mattawoman creek, Maryland's most pristine Chesapeake Bay tributary and home to some globally rare species and remnant old-growth forest.

\$10 billion Multiple Bypass Surgery

The "Road to Ruin" report published by Friends of the Earth and Taxpayers for Common Sense cited the ICC, the Western Transportation Corridor and the Waldorf Bypass as some of the most ecologically destructive and fiscally stupid highway plans in the country. It also gave the Outer Beltway the "Most Stealthy" award due to the absurd claims by the highway department that the roads making up the Outer Beltway are unrelated. The Outer Beltway of the 21st century would not be a single loop, but a network of highways that would transform the Washington metro region into a donut-shaped megalopolis with an abandoned city at the core.

Please send your comments on the Outer Beltway to Gov. Parris(ite) Glendening, State House, Annapolis, MD 21401; (410) 974-3901; e-mail: governor@gov.state.md.us. Demand Parris(ite) cancel all plans for new superhighways or give Marylanders refunds for the "Save the Bay" license plates!

For more info, contact Anacostia-Rock Creek EF! (see directory, p. 35) or visit the Stop the ICC website at <http://www.igc.org/icc370>.



One of many victims in the Outer Beltway's path



Nuclear Workers Beat Blockaders Unmercifully

Thirty activists from the radical environmental movement Rainbow Keepers were viciously attacked on July 29 while blockading the construction of the Rostov Nuclear Power Plant, near Volgodonsk, Russia.

On July 27, the protesters, hailing from various countries of the former USSR and Europe, erected a blockade on the road leading into the plant with human bodies linked by concrete-filled barrels. Two days later, with local police looking on indifferently, the workers surrounded the protesters and beat them unmercifully until they unlocked from their barrels, at which point the protesters were thrown in a steep ditch. Some of the workers smashed the blockaders' heads against the barrels while others used iron rods to extract the activists. In the meantime, other workers plundered the injured activists, rummaging their pockets and taking wallets and documents. The Rainbow Keepers report that "the dreadful cries of pain just urged on the attacking workers."

During the melee at the blockade, a small, well-organized group of plant workers smashed the Rainbow Keeper's camp, burning tents and personal effects with bottles of fuel.

All of the protesters suffered injuries, including five taken to the hospital suffering from concussions and, for one, a broken nose.

The attack appears to have been coordinated by the Volgodonsk government, plant officials and the local police. Officials from each warned Rainbow Keepers the day before the attack that the workers would beat them and that they wouldn't stop them. The chairman of the worker's trade union headed the attack, and when satisfied that a sufficient pounding had been administered proclaimed, "That's enough, let's go," upon which the workers departed from the scene. Meanwhile, a police official watching the beating announced that he was proud of the operation. The Rostov Nuclear Plant press

service filmed the beating from start to finish.

A half-hour after the beating had taken place, the Mayor of Volgodonsk, Sergei Gorbunov, arrived at the destroyed camp. He proceeded to ignore the carnage that had just taken place and instead focused his concerns on the sanitary conditions of the camp.



The next day, local police arrested all but two young girls at the rebuilt protest camp, and while in transit to Volgodonsk arrested five other activists hitchhiking.

Construction of the Rostov Nuclear Plant was begun in the '70s, but immediately questioned because of seismic activity and geological faults in the area. In 1990, after vigorous protests from the citizens of Volgodonsk, the Russian Federation stopped construction of the plant, but the plan was revived in 1996. The first phase of the plant is expected to be on-line in 1998.

The Rainbow Keepers seek to put the Rostov plant to a vote of the citizens of Volgodonsk and to stop further expansion of the nuclear industry in Russia. To that end they established their protest camp on July 16 at the construction site, and began picketing in the town. Following the ransacking of the blockade, Rainbow Keepers re-established the camp and hosted an anti-nuclear rock festival in a nearby town (the mayor of Volgodonsk prohibited the festival there). Volgodonsk responded with its own rock concert, with the motto, "Off with adversaries of the nuclear plant! Let the science and progress be!"

The movement against Rostov continues to grow, and as of August 3, over 100 people from seven countries were occupying the camp. Rainbow Keepers ask for an international campaign of solidarity. Please send a protest letter to Head of Volgodonsk Sergei Gorbunov, fax 00 7 86392 222-66.

Rainbow Keepers may be contacted at POB 14, Nizhni Novgorod, 603082 Russia; email root@rk.vdonsk.ru; phone 00 7 86392 371-14.

Ecuadorian Rainforest Faces Torrent of Logging

The Ecuadorian government recently revoked important prohibitions on logging in the country that protected endangered species and areas of biological significance. On July 22, the Ecuadorian national forestry service (INEFAN) lifted a ban on the cutting of seven different endangered tree species anywhere in the country and withdrew a prohibition against all forest exploitation in the Province of Sucumbios.

These measures threaten two of the most important forest regions of the country. The Province of Sucumbios, in northeastern Ecuador, is part of the Amazonian rainforest and contains the highest level of biodiversity in South America, and one of the highest levels of biodiversity in the world.

Also affected by the decrees is the Province of Esmeraldas, in northwest Ecuador. Esmeraldas forms part of the biologically unique Choco Zone, the last reserve of rainforest on the Pacific coast of Latin America.

Deforestation in these areas has been intense. According to data from the International Tropical Timber Organization, deforestation reached 20 percent in the years between 1984 and 1994. At this rate, Ecuador's tropical forests will have totally disappeared by the year 2040.

The Ecuadorian environmental group Acción Ecológica asks that you write the Ecuadorian authorities expressing your concern about the lifting of the bans. Fax your letters to Dr. Fabian Alarcon, Presidente de la Republica de Ecuador, fax (593-2) 580 774; Ing. Mario Cardenas, Director de INEFAN, fax (593-2) 564 037; Dra. Flor de Maria Valverde, Ministra de Medio Ambiente, fax (593-2) 565 809.

Please send a copy to Acción Ecológica, Lérica 407 y Pontevedra, Quito, Ecuador, fax (593-2) 547 516; e-mail: verde@acecol.ecx.ec

AUSTRALIAN ACTIVISTS FIGHT GOOLENGOOK LOGGING

continued from the front page

agreement, unlimited amounts of woodchips can be taken from the forests of East Gippsland for the next 20 years without any environmental scrutiny by the government. The RFA process won credibility in New York recently when World Wide Fund for Nature's director general, Dr. Claude Martine, told Australia's environment minister, the appalling Robert Hill, that WWF "was very impressed with Australia's program for conservation and sustainable use of forests." Environmentalists in Australia, when told of this outrageous compliment, put out a contract for the head of Mr. Martine, to be delivered to protesters at Goolengook on a silver platter with apple in mouth.

Local aboriginal people from the Orbost-based Moogji Co-op also signed the RFA, thereby increasing tensions in the area. Aboriginal

people who have bloodlines in this area are extremely frustrated by the Moogji signing the RFA. Apparently 700 local residents in Orbost had a street party the day the RFA was signed, thinking that with the signing the greenies would finally piss off for good. This myth has been dealt a severe blow, as this campaign is the most hard fought this area has seen in many years.

The forests of Goolengook contain whole valleys of fern trees, many over ten meters high, some more than 1,000 years old. They contain trees as large as city buildings, and endangered fauna such as tiger quolls, sooty owls and powerful owls. Logging is being conducted against the advice of the government's own scientists, who recommended the creation of seven Sites of Significance protected from logging in 1991. The report's recommendations are very

clear. "As highlighted and discussed in this report, the combined flora and fauna values of the study area are exemplary within the pre-logging survey program and indeed, the combination of particular significant biological features known to occur within the block are not known from any reserve in South Eastern Australia." The report states this area "offers the best opportunity for the preservation of cool temperate rainforest, warm temperate rainforest and overlap rainforest in Victoria." Despite this the bastards are gutting the site.

To find out more about the blockade call Goongerah Environment Centre (GECO) at 0351-540-156 or Friends of the Earth Melbourne at 03-9419-8700.

Express your outrage at the chipping to Prime Minister Howard, c/o Parliament House, Canberra, 2600, Australia. Also contact Jeff Kennett, Premier of Victoria, 197 High Street, Ashburton, Victoria, 3147, Australia. These two are responsible for the whole mess.

Solidarity forever, peace, love and power to you and your families.

John Fraser is a primary organizer of the Goolengook campaign.



IF FIRST! YOU DON'T SUCCEED... Katúah EF! Confounds Champion

BY CHRIS IRWIN

The Champion International chipping mill in Carryville, Tennessee leaves a poisoned Pigeon river and scores of cancer victims in its wake. Champion is one of the 140 mills that have invaded the South that, combined, supply over 20 percent of the world's paper market. It's estimated that over 4.5-million acres of hardwood forest will be cut in the southern Appalachians during the next four years. That's an area larger than our nine national forests combined. Last year these mills devoured over 1.2-million acres. In response, the Champion mill in Carryville was recently the stage for a successful action by Katúah Earth First!ers.

Our goal was to shut down the mill for a day, as every day of its operation it destroys 60 acres of east Tennessee hardwood forest. Our mission required two attempts, the first beginning in the early morning hours of July 14.

The backwoods team arrived first, spotting police cars at each of the three entrances. Scouts with walkie talkies were dropped off above the facility, and our crane team set out on a dirt road behind the mill to evaluate security and decide whether or not to proceed with the action. The fog enshrouding the facility that morning was a mixed blessing, providing cover for the crane team but shortening the effective range of our UHF walkie talkies. We agreed not to utilize the five white willow log lock-downs, each weighing 400 pounds.

Gathering at the main entrance, Earth First!ers locked the front gate closed using a U-lock and blocked the passage of a log truck with their bodies. The truck driver, when confronted by Rodney Webb of the Native Forest Network, agreed it was bad forestry practice to remove the trees from the woods where they controlled erosion. After several tense moments, we decided to let the truck through.

Motorists on the major route in front of the gate honked horns and waved in support of our protest. While planning the action, we hadn't figured on sawlog trucks showing their support of the chip mill blockade, though they did. The high point of the day was when an older man pulled up in front of the police and gave us \$20. As he drove away we noticed judicial license plates on his car. When asked who was driving the car, the cops informed us, "That was Judge White. He's a Campbell County judge."

We prepared for our actions at a week-long direct action training by the Ruckus Society. While there, we procured the white willow stumps and bored holes into which people locked their arms. Using chainsaws we made what is called a "plunge cut," basically cutting into the log at angles with the tip of the blade to make the hole. The first cuts were the scariest, but the blade stabilized as we cut deeper.

Using wood chisels, we customized the holes for each person, inserting eye screws to which people locked their wrists. The blockaders prepared their arms by wrapping them in alternating layers of duct tape and thick wire to keep the fit snug, preventing the police from cutting the layers with scissors. In addition, the U-locks we were to use were wrapped in duct tape and placed in the warm sun, so the gooey adhesive would muck up any cutting tools.

The result of the planning was a 60-foot, multi-ton blockade, a 27 x 20-foot banner hung from a crane reading "Champion Destroys Our Jobs, Forests and Rivers," and another banner fly-over by the Katúah Earth First! Air Force.

After being foiled by the police on our first try, our second attempt began in the wee hours of August 18. Organized as teams, the scouts and crane climbers deployed into position. The blockaders were scheduled to deploy at 6:30 a.m. The crane team broke into a field and from there breached the facility. Hiding behind semi-truck trailers they saw three log trucks waiting at the gate.

The crane team made its way around the woodchip pile and in front of the deck surrounding the crane. A guard dog began barking immediately. The four-person climbing team, picking up speed, ascended the crane's 60-foot boom despite threats from the guard about going to jail.

I was the first up and secured my safety. Marcus Marks was behind me, then Brim Sanna. John Johnson chained and U-locked himself to the crane ladder while the rest of us set our climbing rope anchors and rappelled off the crane. The blockade team had just arrived.

The blockade went surprisingly well despite the alerted security. Upon arrival, the blockaders assured the guard that this was a nonviolent protest and proceeded to close the half of the gate that wasn't locked. Four of the white willow stumps were dropped in place, to which the blockaders locked themselves, obstructing the facility's main gate. Reuben Glass and Melissa Fridlin locked their arms into holes bored into two stumps, while Andrew George and Mike Moscheck locked to the other two stumps, U-

locking their necks to the closed gate. No one passed through the gate for the next 12 hours. The situation got hairy only once when a truck charged the stumps as if he were going to run them over.

There were several high and surreal times during the demonstration. Imagine. We were on top of a hill overlooking thousands of acres of hardwood forest. The breeze was blowing gently, and the police were waiting. In the crane booth Brim spliced together the CB radio and loudspeaker wires, connecting them to the radio. Jim Morrison belled from the top of the crane until the power was shut off.

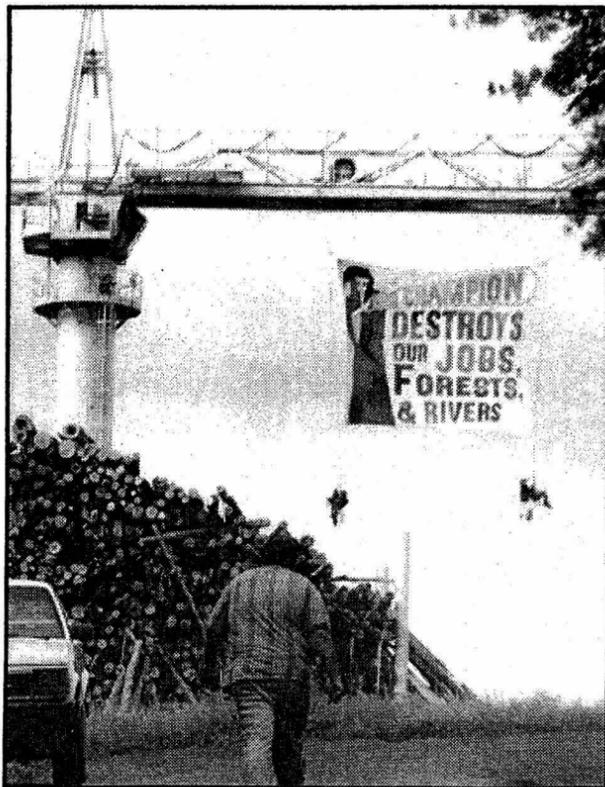
The police told Champion that, as this was a domestic dispute and we were not endangering anyone, they saw no reason to interfere. Later many of the arresting officers confided that they knew the facility was destructive and were supportive of our cause, if not our actions.

The protest wound to a close around 3:00 p.m. when the "stumpies," as we affectionately called the blockaders, unlocked and accepted the deal offered by the district attorney.

After a few hours in jail, they were released on a land bond posted by a local resident. The crane team attempted to hang on another day, but realized it wouldn't be possible with our harnesses cutting into our legs. We were satisfied shutting the plant down for the day and with the favorable coverage by USA Today, CNN, the Associated Press and the local media.

Legal support is needed to contend with the criminal trespass charges. You can send your financial assistance to Katúah Earth First!, POB 1485, Asheville, NC 28802. Tennessee Katúah Earth First! can be contacted at POB 281, Chattanooga, TN 37401. We also need direct action support. Please contact us if you know of resources with which to replace our confiscated climbing gear. We need people too, so move on down here. We're having lots of fun!

Katúah Earth First! would like to thank the Direct Action Fund for making this action possible. Our walkie talkies were a key element. Also thanks to our ex-Greenpeace trainers, the Ruckus Society, The Center and Doug Murray. Earth First!



Katúah EF! crane-climbing team in full swing.

Photo by Southern Appalachians Biodiversity Project

Hardesty Roadless Area: On the Block Again

BY JAMES BARNES

The Judie timber sale near Mt. June in the Umpqua National Forest represents a 7.4-million-board foot (mmbf) bite out of the 6,500-acre Hardesty Roadless Area, a series of forested ridges and peaks proposed for wilderness

designation in Oregon's 1984 wilderness bill. In the final negotiations over that bill, Senator Mark Hatfield offered Rep. Jim Weaver a choice between protection for Hardesty Mountain or the Waldo Lake area. Weaver chose the larger Waldo Lake area, possibly because he confused Hardesty with another place and wouldn't listen when people tried to correct him. The RARE II roadless area inventory includes all of the Judie sale within the roadless area boundaries, but in 1990 the Forest Service arbitrarily redrew the lines to eliminate lower elevation old growth, opening the *de facto* wilderness to cutting.

The Judie sale is also in the Layng Creek municipal watershed for the city of Cottage Grove, OR. In some stretches of the watershed it is forbidden to camp overnight, swim or use motorized vehicles for fear of damage to the town's water supply. Blasting logging roads and cutting swaths of old-growth timber is apparently more benign.

This sale includes 400 acres of clearcuts and partial cuts, will build 2.2 miles of road and reconstruct another 7.1 miles. It has already obliterated over a mile of hiking trail. The Forest Service will log within the shrunken roadless area, with the excuse that an area of blowdown constitutes a "catastrophic disturbance event," necessitating the salvage of the downed trees. The blowdown is the only salvage in the green tree sale; but it was auctioned as a salvage sale in the last week of the Salvage Rider and is exempt from all environmental laws, despite violating Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman's directive against roadless old-growth sales.

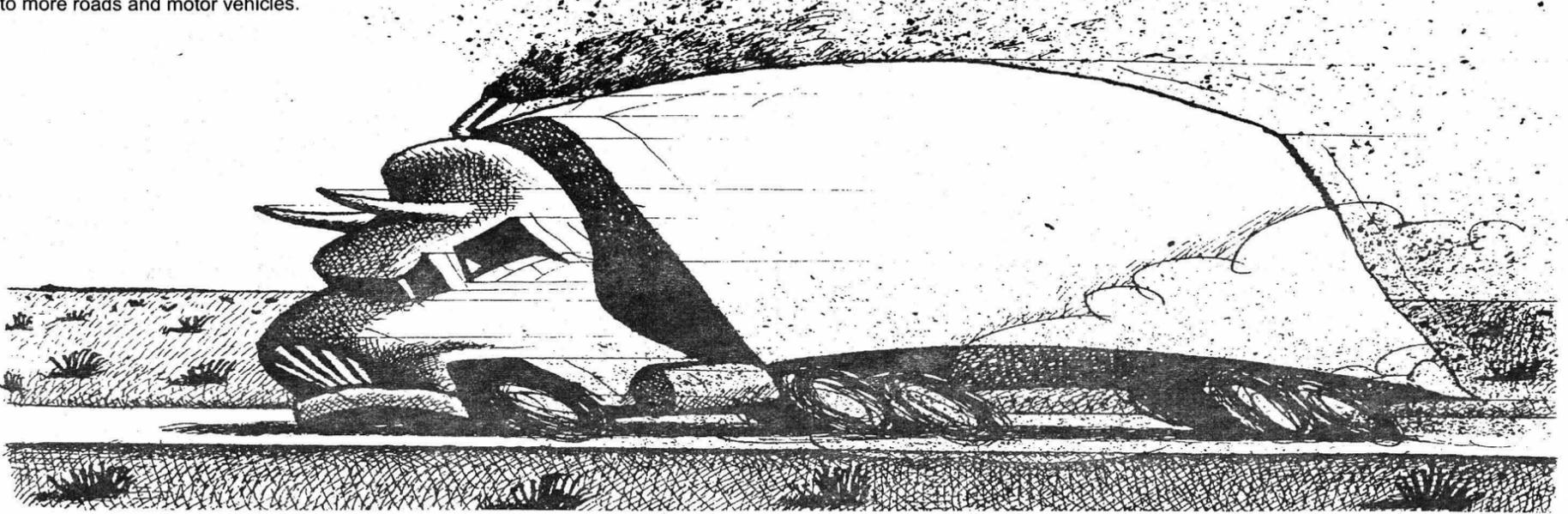
Under fast-tracked Rider rules, only an Environmental Assessment (EA) was required of the Forest Service for this project, even though it involves a roadless entry. The EA made no mention of the Hardesty roadless area, nor did it analyze the effects on Cottage Grove's watershed. But the EA

does say the sale will "increase ecosystem health," and claims the new road that has already destroyed the ridge trail "will provide [hikers] a less steep access and improve vista opportunities... recreation users will be viewing created openings that were previously enclosed." In addition, the EA "analyzed" a 6-mmbf sale, but as sold, Judie has increased 23 percent—to 7.386 mmbf.

Currently, Oregon representative Peter Defazio is pushing the Umpqua National Forest to arrange a buy-back of the Judie sale. He needs your encouragement. Write to him at 151 W. 7th Ave., Suite 400, Eugene, OR 97401; (800) 944-9603. Defazio's aide, Jeff Steir, is the primary staffer working on this issue in DC and can be reached at (202) 225-6416. Also call Sen. Ron Wyden at (541) 431-0229. For more information contact Cascadia Forest Defenders/Southern Willamette EF!, POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 343-7305.



Photo by Francis Eastherston/Umpqua Watersheds



NAFTA Superhighways Threaten North America!

Politicians and large corporate interests are threatening North America with a scale of highway development unprecedented since the 1970s, all under the guise of "free" trade.

The Alliance for a Paving Moratorium, which has successfully fought roads in the U.S. and Canada, has along with various grassroots groups taken on the first world-trade highway planned under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). A campaign has begun which includes formation of the Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways and a speaking tour.

Initially the Alliance and the Coalition have attacked the I-69 scheme, to go from Laredo to Quebec, and we are gathering information and contacts on two others, the I-125 NAFTA truck toll-road in Southern California, and the I-219 "International Trade and Travel Corridor." We have promote opposition to them, for example in our *Auto-Free Times* magazine.

Pushing several "NAFTA Superhighways" from Canada to Mexico, these special interests hope to boost large amounts of long-distance truck traffic they hope will result from NAFTA. Or at least that is their excuse for building more highways after the U.S. Interstate Highway System has been declared "complete."

The NAFTA Superhighway scheme would add to air pollution, traf-

fic congestion, oil dependence, global warming, roadkill and human death. Local economics and quality of life would suffer, as development moves from town centers to narrow strips along the highway.

Many realize that NAFTA—affecting the U.S., Canada and Mexico—has caused a corporate exodus to the south, robbing the U.S. of over 600,000 jobs.

But this new NAFTA-related scheme could possibly be even more disastrous than the trade agreement itself. Yet the media outside Indiana have generally steered clear of this international issue.

The I-69 Boon- doggie: A Corporate Hoax

"Small, independent farmers need help, not road blocks," testified southern Indiana farmer Gary Seibert. "That is what the I-69 extension will be, a great dam that splits up our farms and separates our communities. We have a name for it when you take our homes, our farms, our natural resources, and our way of life and promise us pie-in-

the-sky in return. It's called rural exploitation. We've heard it all before and we decline your offer."

Of the various proposed routes, the extension of Interstate 69 would be the most damaging and costly NAFTA Superhighway. The I-69 presently extends from Flint, Mich., to Indianapolis. But as a superhighway it would plow through farmlands, forests, and hundreds of communities in eight states plus Canada and Mexico.

Regardless of the environmental impacts, "two words really determine the future of this highway," noted Alexander Ewing of the Chicago-based Environmental Law and Policy Center. "One is finances and the other is politics."

Backers of the I-69 extension, now known as the Midcontinent Highway Coalition, originally just wanted a leg from Indianapolis to Evansville.

"We found out quickly that Congress wasn't interested in a 175-mile highway connecting one town to another," explained Jim Newland, head of the I-69 coalition. "The only way to

get national attention was to create a coalition of states. That's how the I-69 idea grew beyond Evansville to Paducah, Ky., and Memphis, then to Shreveport, Houston and Laredo."

Of course if additional large amounts of long-distance trade were necessary, rail would be approximately eight times more efficient than trucks, according to research conducted at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. However, supporting local small business is much more environmentally and socially responsible than buying goods from corporations abroad via rail or truck.

In southern Indiana alone, over 200 farms would be bisected by the I-69 NAFTA Superhighway—including nine Amish farms. Over 1,000 acres of forests would be destroyed for the Indianapolis-Evansville right-of-way alone.

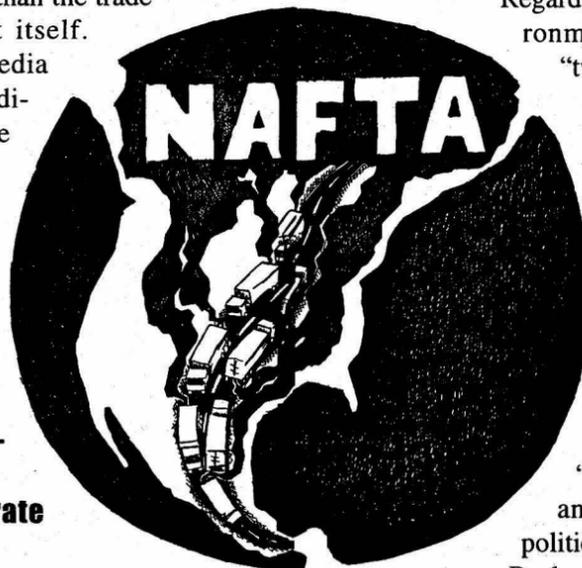
"Free" Trade: A Bad Deal for Everyone

All significant monetary contributions to the Midcontinent Highway Coalition were donated by special-interest corporations. And all of the advantages to highway expansion or new highways are corporate advantages.

For example, local small businesses give way to shopping malls and corporate chains such as McDonalds and Wal-Mart. Local agriculture also suffers.

The case of a common food prod-

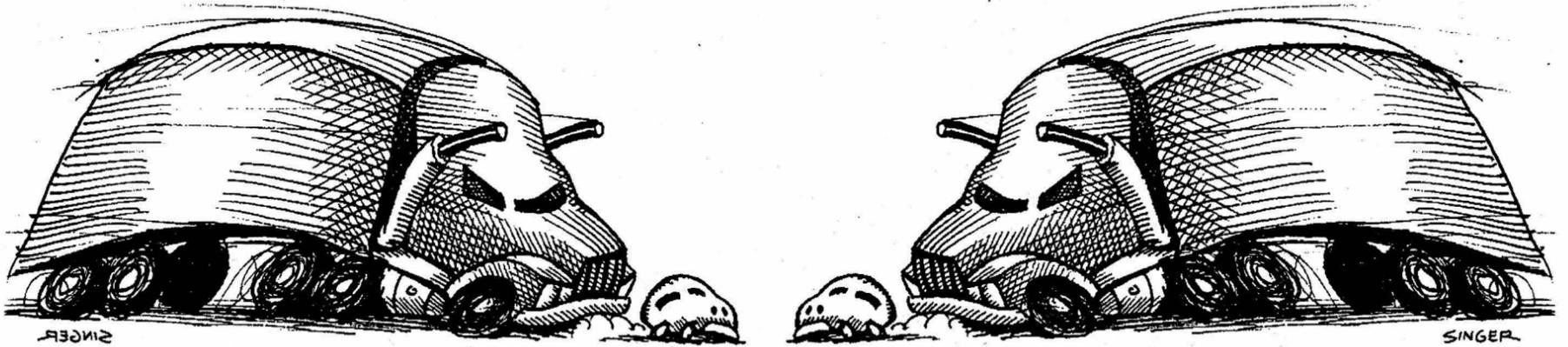
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Only You Can Stop Them

Transnational Forces Are Replacing Quaint Roads With Interstates!

Conservatives wishing to preserve communities must fight roadbuilding and support local business.



Top Ten Reasons to Oppose NAFTA Superhighways

#10) Disruption of Rural Communities

Local mobility for people's everyday needs is often hindered by new highways, which cut people off from neighbors and relatives. In Indiana, as many as 50 rural roads would be closed by I-69; over 200 farms in southern Indiana would be bisected by the highway as well. Many will lose access to portions of their farms, while other areas would be devalued.

#9) Destruction of Nature and Agriculture

Every year in the U.S. we lose two million acres of prime farmland to development. For the I-69 right-of-way in southern Indiana alone, 1,000 acres of forest and 3,000 acres of farmland would be destroyed—including nine Amish farms. Bringing highways into formerly natural areas destroys and fragments wildlife habitat, pollutes waterways with oil and chemical runoff, leads to sprawl development outward from the cities, and increases human interference with wildlife. One million animals a day are killed on U.S. roads.

#8) Decrease in Highway Safety

Eighty percent of Canadians think that roads are becoming more dangerous as a result of increased trucking operations. In Canada, a truck driver can drive up to 16 hours in a 24-hour period. The allowable hours of driving in the U.S.—now at ten per day—would be increased to Canadian standards under NAFTA-related agreements underway.

Limits on truck weight and length would also be "harmonized" (i.e., increased to the loosest standards) between the three countries. This means more interna-

tional cargo would be shipped on the highways, rather than via rail. Trucks that weigh 65,000 to 80,000 pounds are involved in *more than twice* as many fatal crashes as those weighing 35,000 to 50,000 pounds.

#7) Undermining of Local Economies

With the development of roads on cheap land comes the removal of jobs from a central urban or town center to the suburbs and beyond. This makes it more difficult to get workers to and from their jobs, cuts some inner-city people off from new jobs and changes the face of many industries. In Gibson County, Ind., alone, the I-69 would harm five of the county's fourteen dairy farms. Numerous other agricultural facilities would be destroyed.

#6) Public Subsidies to Private Corporations

Public interest groups find no positive effects from building NAFTA Superhighways. The entire cost of construction amounts to one big corporate subsidy—\$15 billion for the U.S. portion of I-69 alone. Only road builders, land speculators, developers and trucking interests would benefit. As local governments and chambers of commerce lure industries to their communities through tax abatements, the public will shoulder the bulk of the heavy costs of road construction and the development that follows.

#5) Increased Traffic and Pollution

Auto and truck emissions account for six of the seven chief pollutants in our air. Motor vehicle damage to human health and the environment is estimated at up to \$93 billion per year, according to a 1993 Worldwatch Institute study. Building the Interstate System helped destroy the rail, bus and trolley lines in towns and cities across the United States.

continued on back

NAFTA Index: Three Years of NAFTA

Percentage of Americans who say their views toward free trade are less favorable than a year ago as a result of what they know about NAFTA and GATT:	52
Percentage who say their opinions are more favorable:	27
Percentage of Mexicans who believe their country has had little or no success with NAFTA:	67
U.S. trade <u>surplus</u> with Mexico in 1993 (the year before NAFTA):	\$1.7 billion
U.S. trade <u>deficit</u> with Mexico in 1996 (three years after NAFTA):	\$16.8 billion
Estimated number of U.S. jobs lost due to NAFTA as of October, 1996:	600,000
Number of jobs lost in Mexico in 1995:	1,850,000
Increase in Mexican maquiladora jobs since NAFTA's passage:	215,117
Number of Mexicans reporting their personal economic situation as worse than before NAFTA in 1993:	2 out of 3
Number of trucks crossing the U.S.-Mexican border north-bound in 1995:	3,000,000
Estimated number of trucks crossing the border north-bound in 2000:	5,000,000
Number of Mexican trucks crossing into Texas each day that carry corrosives, chemicals, explosives, jet fuel, poisons, toxic waste and pesticides:	1,250
Approximate percentage of trade between the U.S. and Mexico that moves by truck:	80

Global Warming Has Arrived...

Yet Environmentalism Seems Stuck in Traffic.



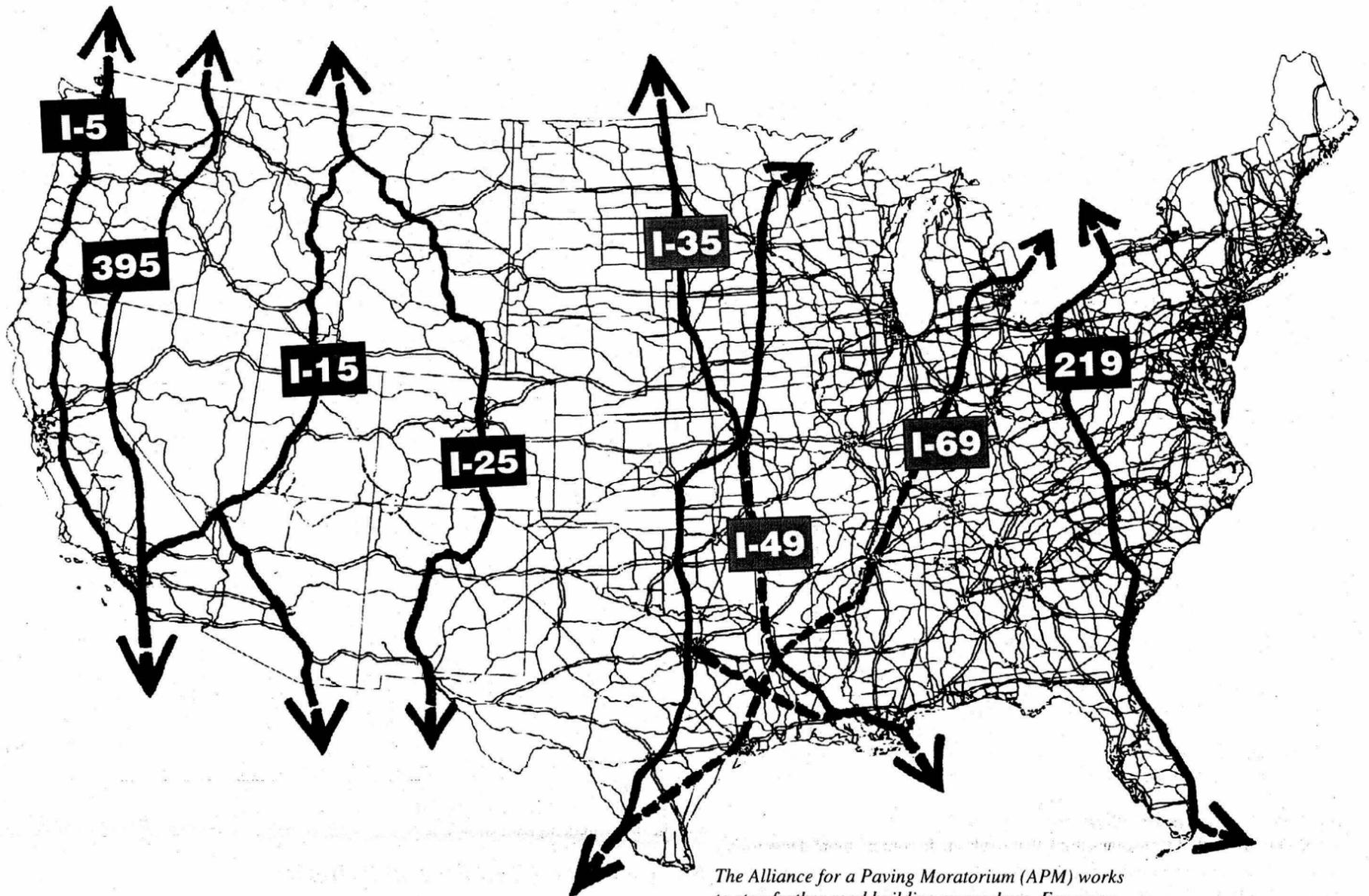
Ready for *real* alternatives to more roads and cars? Longing for an alternative to car magazines and media filled with car-ads? Check out the *Auto-Free Times* and subscribe today.

\$30/yr. includes *Road Fighters' Alerts* and membership with the Alliance for a Paving Moratorium. Contact *Auto-Free Times* at P.O. Box 4347, Arcata, CA 95518, USA.

Call toll-free 1-888-ACT-4-APM

About our wonderful cartoonist: **Andy Singer** hails from Brighton, Mass. and formerly lived in the San Francisco Bay Area. He has helped make APM's *Auto-Free Times* the respected magazine it is today. His phone: 1-617-789-4759

Don't Let The Corporate State Pave More Corridors of Doom!



- Existing routes proposed for "upgrading"
- - - Completely new highways proposed

The Alliance for a Paving Moratorium (APM) works to stop further road building everywhere. For more information, call toll-free 888-ACT-4-APM. Or write: P.O. Box 4347, Arcata, CA 95518, USA. Please send a few dollars in exchange for more tabloids such as this one, our APM brochures, sample *Auto-Free Times* magazine, Fact Sheets, Publications List, and more.



Save our Dwindling Forests and Farmlands! Amish Farms and dozens of towns and cities will be hit hard by development that sucks life from the heart of communities.

Interstate 64 cuts across all of southern Indiana, including the area where I live. When I-64 was being proposed we were told the same things we're being told now about I-69—"it will bring jobs and economic development." In reality it only took our land and dried up the economy of many rural towns in Indiana and Illinois. We've seen first hand what an interstate can do, and we don't want, or need, another one. - Gary Seibert, farmer, Gibson Co., Indiana

A Paving Moratorium Will Stop New Superhighways. But Will We Wait Until it's too Late?

continued from inside

Adding more lanes discourages carpooling and robs alternative transportation of needed funds. Even transportation planners are now aware that traffic expands to fill available road space—since highway expansion increases sprawl, rather than reducing congestion. So when the U.S. Interstate Highway System has been declared “complete” on its fortieth birthday, why are new and “upgraded” highways still being built? Conversely, removing lanes of traffic—giving them to alternative modes of transport—actually decreases congestion, according to many observers such as former Los Angeles transit official Joel Woodhull.

#4) Mounting Job Losses and Dislocations

Since NAFTA was passed, jobs in the Mexican maquiladoras have rose from 550,000 to 800,000. Meanwhile, jobs in the rest of industrial Mexico have dropped by 1,000,000. The U.S. has lost over 600,000 jobs to NAFTA. Also, new highways pull existing industries from where they were established—in effect “stealing” jobs from town centers and other communities.

#3) Declining Quality of Life

With job availability and real wages dropping for the Mexican and U.S. work forces, those who can find work at all are often forced to work more hours or even two separate jobs. Sixty-five percent of U.S. workers who are laid off return to work at lower wages. The hard-earned gains of the labor movement in the U.S. are rapidly eroding as industries move to Mexico to exploit turn-of-the-century labor conditions and shamefully lax environmental regulations. All of these conditions reflect positively on Wall Street but poorly in our lives. Indeed, America is no longer the “Land of Opportunity,” but the land of fear and insecurity.

#2) Bad Economics

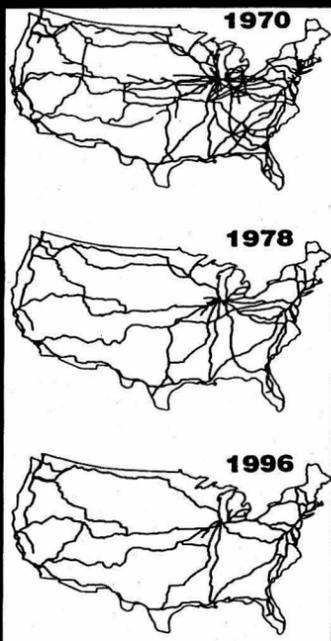
Since the end of World War II, the public's role in the U.S. economy has shifted from production to consumption. Big business depends on building unnecessary roads to deliver goods we either don't need or could more efficiently produce locally. The measure of our economy, the Gross Domestic Product, factors progress only when money changes hands. It does not consider time lost from our lives due to more working hours spent away from family and personal pursuits. Nor does it consider environmental damage and depletion of nonrenewable resources as what they are—drains on the economy.

#1) Imminent Oil Depletion

According to the oil industry's accurate Hubbert Curve, petroleum will be virtually depleted in the U.S. by 2020 and globally by 2040. So instead of increasing our oil dependence via further road building and the traffic it generates, we should plan for the imminent, wrenching adjustment by conserving energy and switching to renewable energy sources. The best way to do this fastest is to become car-free.

Although transportation consumes almost two-thirds of the U.S. petroleum diet, even electric vehicles will not prevent oil depletion or solve other problems associated with vehicles. This is because asphalt and tires are petroleum products; fuel technology is only one factor.

Are Passenger Trains an Endangered Species?



Coalition Unites Highway Opponents

The Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways has formed, uniting groups in all three nations against the I-69 extension and the other proposed north-south “trade corridors.”

Organizations join the coalition and build the opposition effort by lending their names to the Statement of Opposition (at right). Additionally, they can educate and activate their constituencies, lobby government officials, host local slideshow presentations, write press releases and hold press conferences, organize rallies and protests, and bring other groups into the coalition.

For information on the Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways, and its “Anti-Road Shows,” contact the Alliance for a Paving Moratorium at (707) 826-7775. Or write to P.O. Box 4347, Arcata, CA 95518, USA.

continued from front

uct, tomatoes, unfortunately shows the reality of NAFTA in action. Between 1993 and 1995, NAFTA-induced U.S.-Mexico trade caused prices paid to Florida tomato farmers to drop 22 percent. Meanwhile, the retail price on tomatoes rose 3 percent. The difference amounts to a 25 percent profit reaped by transnational corporations, rather than being passed on to the consumer.

“Indeed, the ‘great sucking sound’ that was so feared during the negotiations for the passage of NAFTA in late 1993 is being heard and cheered today,” claimed the Dallas-based NAFTA Superhighway Coalition in a self-promotional article.

“For it is the sound of corporate America gravitating toward this international trade corridor. It is the surge of products moving to market and the sound of money filling corporate coffers... It is the free enterprise system at work.”

Corporations Lobby for I-69

I-69 supporters, led by Rep. Bud Shuster (R., Pa.), chair of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, are guzzling contributions from donors along the proposed route, government records show. Texas is Shuster's biggest donor state after Pennsylvania. In fact, 62 of Shuster's 77 biggest Texas contributors are lo-

NO EXIT © '94 Andy Singer



cated along the proposed I-69 corridors in Texas.

Majority Whip Tom Delay has also been a major NAFTA Superhighway supporter. As a senior member of the Appropriations Subcommittee, he doles out federal highway money. His brother, Randy, a \$300,000 per year highway lobbyist for the I-69, helped organize Texas fund raisers for Shuster.

Corporations that donated include Williams Brothers Construction, which is already doing \$100 million of work on Houston highways; J & S Consulting Engineers, specialists in highway design; S & B Infrastructure Limited, designers of bridges; the Ayrshare Corporation and George Mitchell, both developers.

Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways

- Statement of Opposition to Proposed Routes -

We work toward a world free of unsustainable economic activity, valuing protection of our farmlands, forests and communities. Concerned with the globalization of corporate power, we support rail freight and local production as alternatives to more long-distance trade and trucks on the road.

The proposed NAFTA Superhighways the I-69 extension, the I-49 extension, the I-35 upgrade, and other such routes would cut swaths of destruction from Mexico to Canada. Costing upwards of \$14 billion for the U.S. portion of I-69 alone, NAFTA Superhighways rob taxpayers of funds vital for maintaining existing roads and pursuing alternative modes of transportation.

Such highway construction undermines local economies, adds to global warming, and perpetuates unsafe travel that kills people and millions of animals. Jobs suffer across North America as corporations move to northern Mexico's free trade zone to avoid labor and environmental regulations. With petroleum to virtually run out in the U.S. around 2020, we don't wish to increase our petroleum dependence via road building and unnecessary long-distance trade.

Therefore, we join a growing movement questioning the wisdom of new road construction and striving to end motor-vehicle dependence and further sprawl. To offer an alternative vision to the paving of the planet, our diverse group of organizations hereby unites in the Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways.

[signatures of North American organizations]

Coalition Against NAFTA Superhighways
Fossil Fuels Policy Action Institute
Post Office Box 4347
Arcata, CA, 95518 USA
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STRATEGY & TACTICS: BACK TO THE BASICS

BY MIKAL JAKUBAL

It has been said that the first duty of a revolutionary is to win the revolution. Likewise, the first duty of an earth warrior is to save the earth. All other considerations become secondary. In other words:

No Compromise—Earth First! Fulfilling this obligation demands of earth warriors all the inner and outer strength that can be mustered. It demands commitment and unwavering persistence in the face of hardship, courage under fire, sacrifice, patience and humility. No movement lacking such personal qualities can ever hope to succeed. However, these qualities alone are not enough. The fundamental strategic imperative is to outperform the adversary. To accomplish this task requires a thorough knowledge of the chosen technique of struggle.

There are many possible techniques of waging political conflicts: within-the-system work, pacifism, full-scale military warfare, guerrilla warfare, sabotage, nonviolent action and others. Were Earth First! to adopt, say, guerrilla warfare as our chosen technique, we would more than likely do extensive study of its strategy, tactics, methods and history. We would read up on Zapata, Crazy Horse, the Viet Cong, the FMLN and the modern-day Zapatistas. In short, we would take it seriously. If we are to choose nonviolent action as the preferred technique of struggle, we need to devote ourselves to a comprehensive understanding of its history, methods, strategic requirements and dynamics. Such is the intent of this and future pieces.

My own activist history spans 13 years of practical experience with Earth First! with concurrent research and study into the whole spectrum of social change movements. The motivation for this present effort is a desire to share some of this information to hopefully help the movement become more effective and help newer activists avoid a repeat of past mistakes—mistakes that cost forests and other endangered ecosystems.

Strategic Action Planning

The reason we engage in nonviolent action is to influence behavior, specifically, behavior that is felt to be ecologically destructive or unjust. The main factor influencing whether we use a particular method of action or continue to use it in the future is that action's predicted or perceived "effectiveness." In other words, will that action in fact lead to the desired change in behavior? For the purpose of this essay, a "goal" will be defined as one or more of these changes or effects. Determining appropriate goals requires an understanding of the source of political power and the complex nature of the effects of nonviolent action.

According to nonviolent action theory, political power arises continuously from a multitude of sources within society, as opposed to emanating from the few at the top; it is unstable and subject to change, instead of being monolithic and durable. Most importantly, it is dependent on the obedience, support and cooperation of the very people subject to such political power. The power of a ruler (or corporation, etc.) may be controlled by the granting, continuation or withdrawal of this support and cooperation upon which the ability to rule depends. Thus, instead of confronting power head-on as in most violent conflict, the proper use of nonviolence allows us to indirectly challenge power by controlling it at its sources.

When a small group wishes to challenge an injustice perpetuated by an immensely more powerful opponent, the path to victory lies in a radical—at the root—altering of the relative ability of each side to wield political power. Activists consciously seeking to change this power relationship will choose methods, tactics and strategies of action that affect the sources of power (i.e., support and cooperation by a multitude of people) for both contending groups.

"Effectiveness" will then be evaluated not so much on whether or not some superficial objective was achieved (e.g., did the blockade actually shut down the bridge for a significant length of time?) but on whether or not the action led to a change in behavior on the part of those on either side.

The topic of the nature and control of political power is extremely complex; it has been the subject of innumerable volumes over the last several centuries alone. I wish to put forth a basic three-phase procedure for nonviolent action: 1) strategic analysis; 2) goal setting and 3) tactics. This procedure can be used to determine which actions will achieve the greatest

possible effect with the least effort.

Analysis, Goals, Tactics—In That Order

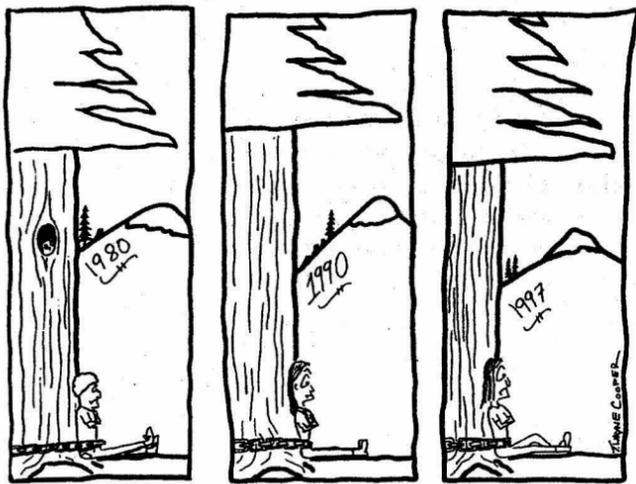
"Goal" has been defined as "a change in behavior by someone." The point of strategic analysis is to define "what change" and "by whom." We can roughly divide people into three groupings: the general grievance group; the opponent and uncommitted third parties (most of the population). All of these people either provide support and assistance to us, provide it to our opponents or could provide it to either side. The second part of strategic analysis, the desired change in behavior, is based on the type of support or resistance given or potentially given by these groups to the contending sides. It is a premise of nonviolent action theory that this behavior and therefore the relative power position of both sides is highly variable and subject to influence by the actions of either side in the course of a struggle.

In conducting a strategic evaluation it may be useful to actually write down a list of all the various subgroups involved and the type of support each gives or could give to each side. This may prove to be a very revealing brainstorming tool for planning meetings. For example, a partial listing for the Headwaters forest campaign might look something like the table below.

Even this incomplete listing is enormous and in itself hints at the diversity of possible actions. From here it's possible to evaluate current and potential support for or opposition to either side by each subgroup and to assess both the likelihood of possible shifts in allegiance and avenues toward these shifts. In other words, what role does each group play and how could its role change to benefit our cause?

Any of these subgroups may, as influenced by events in the struggle, take one of the following courses of action: 1) move to a position of active support for either contending party; 2) move to a position of active opposition to either party; 3) withdraw from active support for or opposition to either party and move to a neutral position or 4) any of these people may maintain their present position and level of activity.

The next step, determining appropriate goals, requires that we ask critical and relevant questions: Which groups' support is currently the most important to Hurwitz? To us? Which uncommitted third parties can be turned against Hurwitz and the California Department of Forestry? Which of our passive supporters can be encouraged to become more active—and how? And so on. We now have a sound basis for decisions as to which specific behavior changes by which



THE RAPIDLY EVOLVING WORLD OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTEST

specific people are most needed. The next step is to choose a course of action which will lead to these changes, that is, fulfill our goals.

Once a specific goal has been identified, the planning of an action to achieve it requires choosing a method to do so and tactical planning ("action planning"). A "method" as used here is a type or form of activity. Tree-sit, blockade, rally, general strike, boycott—these are methods of action. A tactic is a means to create a limited confrontation within a larger strategic plan, and consists of one or more methods used to achieve the stated goal. Consideration must be given to such factors as timing, terrain, appropriate message, maintaining the initiative, quality vs. quantity of activists needed and so forth.

As an outline, the strategic action planning process looks like this:

1. Strategic Analysis: Which groups are involved? How are they involved? How can their involvement change to benefit our cause?

2. Goal Setting: Decide which group needs to change their behavior and how.

3. Tactics: Formulate actions to influence this change. Consider proper combination of methods, timing, location, message, etc.

An action should almost always have multiple goals. This way several may be achieved for an overall positive effect even if the main objective was not successfully reached. At any given time during a campaign there will likely be many groups whose shift in loyalty could greatly influence the political power of the two sides. An action achieving a beneficial shift in participation from any of the above subgroups can be said to be effective. Understanding this is crucial to proper planning. Remember that nonviolent action works indirectly by undermining the sources of power (some would say this is actually very direct). With a typical EF!-style blockade where massive numbers sufficient to completely and permanently obstruct an operation are not available, *the actual shutdown of operations is rarely the primary goal, and an action's effectiveness should not be judged on whether or not this happened.* Thus, all the jargon about "shutting down operations at the point of production" is misleading and, if taken too seriously, will result in an excessive emphasis on methods and tactics involving confrontations with loggers and cops and missed strategic opportunities elsewhere. Following the steps of strategic action planning can avoid this and other common mistakes and thereby make the hard work, risk and suffering of serious struggle effective and meaningful.

I welcome constructive feedback and questions on the content of this piece. Letters for publication may be directed to the *Journal*. Other correspondence may be sent to me directly at POB 5, Redway, CA 95560.

VARIOUS GROUPS OF HEADWATERS CAMPAIGN

Us:

- Earth First!
- Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC's legal work, though not nonviolent action per se, plays a large part the campaign.)

Our Usual Supporters:

- large numbers of environmentally-oriented individuals
- various mainstream groups
- Redwood Rabbis
- Taxpayers for Headwaters
- Food Not Bombs
- KMUD Radio and other sympathetic media
- The Civil Liberties Monitoring Project and many individuals who are not environmentalists but who agree in general with our cause (passive supporters)

Uncommitted third parties:

- most of the public
- the media
- fishing groups
- employees of Maxxam, Pacific Lumber, CDF, and Humboldt County "just doing their job"
- unions
- church and civic groups
- city and county governments

Them:

- Charles Hurwitz, CEO of Maxxam, the parent company of Pacific Lumber (PL), the company responsible for logging the old-growth Headwaters redwoods
- The corporate management of Maxxam and Pacific Lumber (PL)
- The Humboldt County Sheriff and District Attorney
- Many top officials of the California Department of Forestry (CDF)
- Various industry leaders and certain cops and loggers who ideologically or personally hate us

Their Usual Supporters:

- employees of Maxxam and Pacific Lumber
- employees of CDF
- explicitly anti-environmental groups
- purchasers of old-growth redwood products and the retailers and distributors who sell them
- individuals who ideologically support Hurwitz's "right" to log his property (passive supporters)
- individuals who ideologically dislike EF! but take no immediate action against us (though they may readily do so in the future)

The Endangered Species Recovery Act: A Small Step Toward the Conservation of Biodiversity

BY MARTY BERGOFFEN

On July 28, Rep George Miller (D-CA) and 52 cosponsors introduced the Endangered Species Recovery Act (ESRA). The intent of the act is to close many of the loopholes in the current Endangered Species Act (ESA), as well as increase protection for imperiled species worldwide. While the ESRA improves on the ESA in many ways, it is only the first step in a long voyage towards full protection of biodiversity.

ESA: Past and Present

Currently, the ESA provides for listing of species that are either endangered (facing a high probability of extinction) or threatened (reaching endangered status in the foreseeable future). It also lists for candidate species (those being considered for listing as endangered or threatened). The Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), however, often refuses to list species unless litigation is initiated. FWS often delegates such species to the ESA black hole of "warranted but precluded," which means that the FWS thinks it should be listed but doesn't have the resources to conserve it; many species languish on this list for decades.

When a species is listed, FWS is required to designate critical habitat; unfortunately, again, FWS rarely designates such habitat without litigation, instead relying on ESA loopholes through which critical habitat can be deemed "indeterminable" or "imprudent."

The listed species is also supposed to be accompanied by a recovery plan. This is in response to the essential purpose of the ESA—to protect species and enhance their viability to the point that listing is no longer necessary. However, recovery plans are rare (only 61 percent of listed species had received even a draft plan in 1992), and when they do exist, recovery plans are weak or unenforced due to lack of funding. The northern spotted owl plan, for example, sets the recovered population lower than the population when it was listed. For the most part, "recovery" has been replaced by "survival" as the standard for ESA decisions, resulting in a much higher likelihood of extinction.

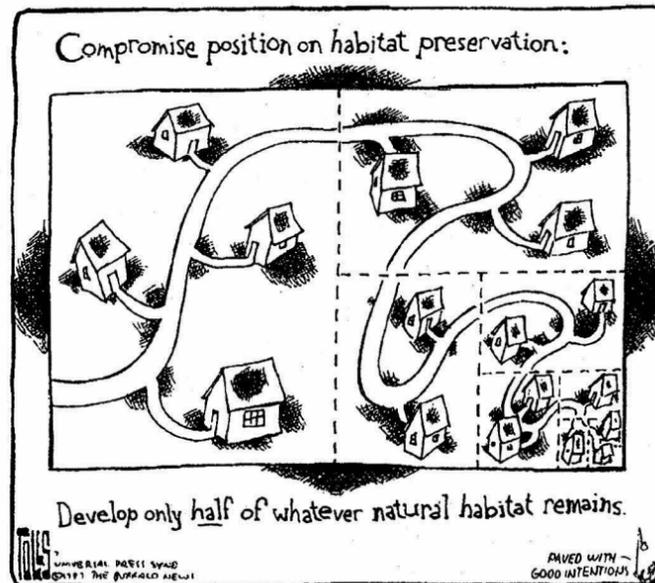
Once a species is listed, "taking" a species is prohibited. Taking means killing, hunting, harassing or harming. The Supreme Court in *Sweet Home v. Babbitt* held that harm reasonably includes habitat destruction, because a species without habitat cannot survive. However, private parties may obtain permits if they complete a Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP). HCPs are supposed to provide for development with minimal habitat loss; the first HCP, on San Bruno Mountain in California, maintained 90 percent of the habitat of certain butterfly species. However, more recent HCPs protect as little as eight percent of remaining habitat.

In addition to the blanket prohibition on takings applicable to everyone, federal agencies are required to consult with the FWS or National Marine Fisheries Service if actions they take may affect listed species (anadromous fish and ocean-dwelling species fall under the jurisdiction of NMFS). If a federal action is likely to jeopardize the continued survival or recovery of a listed species, it must be canceled or modified. Unfortunately, the FWS rarely finds jeopardy, preferring to let sister agencies go on with destructive practices. Furthermore, jeopardy findings are often skewed.

Even if jeopardy is found, the federal government may convene a "god-squad," made up of cabinet-level officials who can exempt a project from the jeopardy prohibition despite impending extinction for the species. This process is also subject to abuse. In 1991, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan stacked the deck against the northern spotted owl. Dozens of timber sales offered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) were threatening to wipe out the owl in the Oregon coast range. Instead of stopping the sales, Lujan applied for an ESA exemption, then refused to allow the FWS (or the administrative law judge hearing the case) to have their own

attorneys, forcing them to use the same counsel as the BLM. This, of course, resulted in a terribly biased hearing, and the subsequent exemption was rejected in federal court.

One of the ESA's strongest provisions allows for citizen suits. Anyone can sue the Secretary of Interior to uphold the ESA provisions, and anyone can sue to prohibit take of listed species. However, a 60-day notice of intent to sue must be issued to the offending party, in theory allowing them to halt the take situation. This, too is subject to abuse. Who remembers the Forest Service cutting old-growth trees on Mt. Graham, after a 60-day notice had been issued, but before the right to seek an injunction had arisen?



ESRA: Closing the Loopholes

The ESRA attempts to close some of these loopholes by clarifying definitions; setting deadlines for listings, recovery plans and habitat protection; changing the consultation regime and HCP process and establishing a fund for private-property owners. In addition, the ESRA increases the budget for endangered species protection while also offering tax breaks for landowners who agree to protect listed species. Perhaps most importantly to activists, the ESRA establishes an emergency exception to the requirement for 60-day notice prior to filing a citizen suit. It also provides for natural resource damages, which means that if Weyerhaeuser destroys habitat in violation of a take permit, it will have to pay for the value of the lost habitat and the listed species living there.

With regards to listings, the ESRA requires FWS to determine the status, either listed or not warranted for listing, of all currently "warranted but precluded" species within one year of passage; future "warranted but precluded" species must be decided within four years.

When a species is listed, the ESRA stipulates that FWS will designate "interim habitat," the habitat required for survival of the species, with preference for habitat that is currently occupied. This will certainly encourage more up-front habitat protection, especially since interim habitat designations must be based only on the best science available, with no regard for economic factors. "Critical habitat" will then be designated, with the same factors considered in the recovery plan, utilizing the considerations (such as economics) presently found in the ESA.

As the name suggests, recovery is the central pillar of the ESRA. The recovery plan process is greatly strengthened and required for all species; in the past, FWS could avoid recovery planning by ruling that a plan wasn't necessary. This loophole has been badly abused. Under the ESRA, a draft recovery plan must be released within 18 months. The FWS must complete a final plan including implementation within 30 months of listing.

Recovery plans under the ESRA must include specific population and habitat objectives; site-specific management requirements; the time and cost to reach interim and final objectives; and a list of

actions that would violate the take or jeopardy prohibitions. In addition, recovery criteria would be determined by a team of independent scientists with no economic conflict of interest in the recovery plan or habitat covered. Finally, all federal, state and local governments that own or manage land within the range of the species must adopt a "recovery implementation plan" in order to comply with the ESRA, which will require definite actions by all levels of government in the recovery of listed species.

Consultation with federal agencies under the ESRA is also changed, by allowing consultation for candidate species. However, if a candidate is then listed, new consultation is not required unless new information is available or the project changes. This tends to support the status quo of destruction, and reduce the impact a listing has on limiting harmful practices. As such, this is a step backward for ESA protection.

On the other hand, consultation is bolstered in the ESRA. First, FWS must now specifically include actual numbers of allowable take in its biological opinion, including individuals and acres of habitat. Further, abuse of the informal consultation process is reduced through public release of all consultation documents prepared for or by the FWS.

For private landowners, the HCP process is facelifted. First, a two-tier process is established. Low-impact HCPs that encompass less than five acres and last less than five years will receive easier approval, as well as have the FWS pay for any changes after the permit is approved. High impact HCP applicants, on the other hand, must now deposit a surety in case they violate the terms of the permit and face revocation of their permit if they violate it. Most significantly, HCPs must now be "consistent with" recovery, not mere survival as recently interpreted by agencies and courts. This higher standard is an improvement, but will still result in an overemphasis on federal lands for recovery projects, to the detriment of species which are found only on private lands. Instead, HCPs should "contribute to" recovery; a positive standard rather than a neutral one.

ESRA: Fixes the Loopholes, But Not the People in Charge

While the current ESA has strong words in some places, it is not enforced due to a lack of fortitude on the part of the FWS, as well as the extraction-driven policies of the Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and large corporations. In order to overcome this protect biodiversity, the ESA's loopholes must certainly be closed. The ESRA goes a long way in this respect, although there are still problems. What's more important, though, is to change the attitudes of agency decision makers. Agency heads must comprehend the magnitude of the current, human-caused extinction spasm and make substantial changes in policy with regard to ecosystem protection, public lands and commodity production. We must all do our best to raise the awareness of our elected officials, federal and state agencies, and the public at large if our unique ecosystems and imperiled species are to be preserved.

What You Can Do:

Write to your Representative, and encourage him/her to cosponsor the ESRA, HR 2351. US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. Write to your Senators and urge them to introduce the ESRA into the Senate. US Senate, Washington, DC 20510. Write to Secretary Bruce Babbitt, and the FWS, and urge them to do their best to see that the ESRA is passed: Sec. Babbitt or Fish and Wildlife Service, US Department of Interior, Washington, DC 20240. Write to your local Fish and Wildlife Service office or state Department of Fish and Wildlife, about your concerns regarding biodiversity preservation and the ESA.

Marty Bergoffen is an attorney with the Klamath Siskiyou Wildlands Center.

San Diego Plan Will Destroy Habitat

BY ALLISON ROLFE

Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) are agreements between the public and private sectors designed to maintain sufficient habitat for endangered species while allowing development and preventing alleged regulatory "trainwrecks" that supposedly to destroy property values. The nation's model HCP is currently in effect in San Diego, California. Home to more threatened and endangered species than anywhere else in the continental United States, San Diego recently received permits to allow development on lands where endangered and threatened species live. The basis for allowing development on lands inhabited by these species is the Multiple Species Conservation Program (MSCP), a regional HCP intended to provide for the conservation of at least 85 declining species in San Diego. The MSCP consists of a roughly delineated preserve area and accompanying management guidelines. This plan is the product of an attempt to set aside enough contiguous land to sustain a number of species while expediting development permits for the remainder of the land in the San Diego planning area.

Prior to the MSCP, developers were required to comply with the Endangered Species Act (ESA) if their property was home to listed species. Generally, this meant that no direct impacts to endangered or threatened species would be permitted except in very limited circumstances. Now, developers in San Diego can avoid compliance with the ESA on land outside of the MSCP's endangered species preserve area and instead receive automatic permits to "take" (kill) listed species thanks to the MSCP process.

Upon initial consideration, this may seem to be a fair trade-off, but consider that:

Developers make a relatively small contribution to building and managing the preserve (local, state and federal governments shoulder much of the burden), but in exchange they receive a contractual agreement with the wildlife agencies relieving them of all future ESA obligations, while guaranteeing unhindered development outside of the preserve.

There is little to no measurable certainty of survival for listed plants and animals. The MSCP is authorized through a section of the ESA, and therefore, by definition, is required to meet the standards of the ESA at a minimum. However,

developers in San Diego have successfully fought against the inclusion of tight ESA standards in the MSCP plan. Furthermore, interests that support development in the region intend to apply the MSCP as a substitute for existing regulations, including not only the ESA, but state and local wildlife and land-use laws. Keep in mind that using the MSCP as the only tool for planning is in



The arroyo toad is one of many species that is not adequately protected under the MSCP.

direct contradiction to the original intent of multi-species planning, "to supplement and improve upon the Endangered Species Act and other existing species protection laws."

Additionally, the plan was originally marketed as a substitute for the listing of the imperiled California gnatcatcher, a bird native to southern California. For this reason, the preserve was primarily designed to capture the habitat of the gnatcatcher—coastal sage scrub. Later, when it became obvious to developers that this process was a fail-safe means of avoiding ESA regulations, other species and their habitats were added to the list of species the plan purported to conserve. These "afterthoughts" never got the attention they deserved, and the basis for claiming that their survival and recovery are provided for by the plan is weak and not supported by sound science.

Finally, by design, the MSCP cannot prevent extinctions unless it incorporates the standards of

the ESA. The MSCP is designed to be "pro-active," while the ESA is designed to be a reactive and carefully crafted safety-net for species needing critical attention. While setting aside tracts of land may very well prevent the decline of some species in the future, without specific management actions to provide for the care of species currently on the brink, preserves can do very little, if anything at all, to prevent impending extinctions. For endemic species, such as those dependent upon vernal pool habitat (a rare wetland that has been reduced to two percent of its former range), it is often necessary to define actions in precise detail to prevent extinction. The MSCP lacks those specifics and for that reason cannot meet the minimum standards required by the ESA.

In its ambiguous form, the agencies responsible for enforcing the MSCP inherit a plan that possesses major problems for implementation. With too few details, no measurable criteria and too much room for discretion, the MSCP, without reform, will be an implementation nightmare for the next 50 years. In sum, the guidelines established by the MSCP are virtually meaningless.

As a supplement to existing regulations, the MSCP offered much. However, the product has since evolved in response to the unique political context of San Diego and reflects the level of power wielded by the stakeholders involved. It is a plan that benefits both developers who want to avoid the permitting requirements of the ESA, and politicians who want to be reelected and strengthen their control.

The Southwest Center for Biological Diversity will soon sue the US Fish and Wildlife Service regarding the City of San Diego's MSCP. The lawsuit will have national implications and may likely end up in the Supreme Court.

Allison Rolfe is the southern California Coordinator for the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity and is completing her thesis on the MSCP.

COURT ENJOINS SOUTHWEST LOGGING AND GRAZING

BY KIERAN SUCKLING

On July 25, 1997, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals issued an emergency injunction barring the Forest Service from approving new timber sales and grazing leases that violate 11 recently amended national forest plans in the Southwest. Even more significantly, the court enjoined all ongoing projects that violate the amended Forest Plans, including contracted timber sales and grazing allotments. Up to 25 timber sales and 400 grazing allotments could be affected.

The injunction will remain in place until the appeals court makes a final decision as to whether the US Forest Service (USFS) must revise ongoing projects to make them consistent with the newly amended forest plans.

Spotted Owl

In 1989, Robin Silver, Conservation Chair of the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity, filed a petition to list the Mexican spotted owl as an endangered species; it was listed as threatened in 1993. The Southwest Center and Forest Guardians filed suit in 1994 to force designation of critical habitat. The ruling forced the US Fish and

Wildlife Service (USFWS) to designate 4.6-million acres of critical habitat in the Southwest's 11 national forests.

Also in 1995, the Southwest Center and Forest Guardians sued the Forest Service for failing to consult with USFWS on the effects of the 11 regional Forest Plans on the spotted owl. Just days after the Salvage Rider was passed, a district court enjoined all timber sales in all national forests in Arizona and New Mexico until the USFWS issued a biological opinion for the Mexican spotted owl. That opinion took 16 months to complete and effectively shielded the Southwest against most Salvage Rider sales.

Upon completion, the biological opinion determined that the USFS could not continue to implement the forest plans because of further risk to the spotted owl. The Forest Service, therefore, amended all 11 plans in June 1996, to incorporate the Mexican Spotted Owl Recovery Plan. The amendments also finalized a conservation plan for the northern and Apache goshawks.

Goshawk

In 1992, the Southwest Center petitioned to list the Apache and Northern

subspecies of the goshawk as endangered in the western US. The Fish and Wildlife Service twice refused to list the goshawk for technical taxonomic reasons. Twice, a federal judge ruled that the denials were illegal. A third, and hopefully final, 90-day finding is due in September.

The Forest Service, meanwhile, in an effort to head off the listing, adopted a series of "interim" goshawk conservation plans. Because they were supposedly interim, the plans were implemented without an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). In 1995, the Forest Conservation Council and the Southwest Center sued to compel an EIS. To escape the inevitable, the USFS did an EIS on the goshawk population, simultaneously amending the region's 11 National Forest Plans to include the goshawk plan and the Mexican spotted owl plan.

How This Injunction Came About

Though the Fish and Wildlife Service declared that the old forest plans should be amended because continued logging and grazing jeopardized

the Mexican spotted owl, the Forest Service "grandfathered" in all ongoing logging and grazing, making them exempt from the added protections of the newly revised plans.

In September 1996, Forest Guardians and the Southwest Center sued the Forest Service, arguing that the National Forest Management Act requires all ongoing projects (including timber sales and grazing allotments) be updated to comply with all aspects of newly amended forest plans. When the district court judge did not act on our preliminary injunction request, we appealed to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, winning an injunction against 18 timber sales on May 30, 1997.

On July 14, 1997, the district court ruled against us, and the Forest Service moved to have the appeals court lift its injunction. We responded with an appeal and a request for an emergency injunction. On July 25, 1997, the appeals court simultaneously lifted the preliminary injunction and handed down a new emergency injunction which will remain in place until the final decision is made on the appeal.

THE PROBLEM WITH CONSENSUS...

continued from front page

Consensus processes are extremely powerful tools. Through them one can obtain agreements that are impossible to accomplish in any other way, and create agreements where ordinary political processes are unable to do so. But they can also be used to artificially manufacture the appearance of consent and legitimate actions which, absent such a process, would be impossible to accomplish.

While local partnerships are thought by many to provide relatively conflict-free implementation of existing environmental laws, in reality they proceed from misguided ideas about what "gridlock" is and how it arose, and misperceptions of the proper role of forest activists.

The existing legal and administrative processes that govern federal land management issues like logging, grazing and mining are well understood by grassroots environmental activists. Facts are applied to laws in relatively professional adjudicative settings where the public's rights of participation and appeal are clearly spelled out and are enforceable.

But the world of consensus meetings is much more complex, and once we leave the adjudicative world for the other we are on very slippery ground. Successfully appealing timber sales or serving as the president of a local volunteer environmental group is no preparation for serving on local consensus groups and conducting face to face negotiations with people who may be professionally trained negotiators. And unlike traditional activism in which everyone's roles are well established, consensus groups present some difficult dilemmas unique to activists. For example, a timber industry representative has the power to commit his company to a course of action, but no environmentalist can commit the public or the environmental community to any course of action—an activist has a very limited grant of authority.

Additionally, grassroots activists are neither funded nor equipped with the tools to replace the monitoring, enforcement and proper sale preparation that agencies are legally tasked and funded to perform. Nor do we possess the skills and resources to resist the inevitable pressures that even land management agencies have thus far been unable to resist. Activists are generally volunteers, while other people on these groups are paid representatives of business-type organizations. Local environmentalists often do not have the time, resources and ability to advocate the public interest like school boards, timber-company associations, woodworkers unions and local businesses, which often have direct financial interests in the outcome of these decisions.

But the most important problem is that being a decision-maker over local, specific applications of federal land-policy regulations is just not a forest activist's role. As envisioned, "partnership" groups will make decisions and give permission to conduct commodity extraction on public lands. Whistle blowing and detecting improper agency acts are one thing, becoming a police officer, administrator or actual

decision maker is altogether different. The forest activist's role is like the citizen patrols that try to keep drug dealers out of neighborhoods. These patrols have no authority to, say, shoot drug dealers or arrest them, and neither are they authorized to permit dealers to work in one area so as to keep another area drug-free.

We do not abandon local police departments and turn law enforcement responsibilities over to local neighborhood watch programs. Forest activists have no right or authority to give anyone permission to cut down trees or graze an allotment. Public land does not belong to local activists any more than it belongs to the timber industry.

What are we to do on the many national forests and millions of acres of public forest and grazing land in other parts of the West that lack even a single resident activist—not to speak of New England, where powerful, statewide environmental organizations are completely dominated by people with strong ties to extractive industry. Irrespective of how enamored our legislators are with the Quincy and other partnerships, most grassroots activists reject the legitimacy of many of the so called "grassroots environmental activists" serving on these local boards. Indeed, we have seen a pattern of arbitrarily excluding our most effective activists from these partnerships in favor of more tractable and malleable ones.

The underlying problems these various partnerships seek to address: litigation, conflict and gridlock, are not caused by communication breakdowns. They are symptoms of agencies not following clear directives and laws, and allowing the legislative branch to improperly meddle in the executive branch of government.

The "gridlock" in our forests today is caused by decades of willful lack of enforcement of laws in our national forests that have forced the courts to enjoin many of the routine operations of our land management agencies. This is akin to what might have occurred if Eisenhower and subsequent presidents, when faced with unambiguous court decisions to desegregate the schools in Little Rock and elsewhere, had stalled, prevaricated and dragged their feet instead of sending armed troops in to enforce the laws literally over the bodies of local governors, mayors and sheriffs. A failure to do so would probably have led to decades of lawsuits, creating confusion, turmoil, conflict and gridlock in the South's education systems.

In addition to these difficult practical problems with consensus groups, there are some larger but little discussed issues and trends shaping the "partnership" movement. "Talk and log" groups have not just suddenly appeared in a vacuum; America's fundamental assumptions about the political decision-making process itself are being systematically reshaped by a new political theory called neoliberalism, which aggressively and specifically promotes ideas like local consensus groups.

A central tenet of neoliberalism, a political theory of governmental administration for which former Labor Secretary Robert Reich is a leading proponent, is a tendency to view the purpose of government in strictly economic terms and to ascribe the cause of



most problems to market inefficiencies and too little competition. Under this approach, all conflict is resolved by using rational, professional problem-solving to find win-win, job-creating solutions. A defining characteristic of this approach is a reluctance to ascribe the cause of any problem to pervasive and systematic corruption, or to the ability of the rich and the strong to take advantage of the poor and the weak.

This theory is in sharp contrast to what forest activists have learned from decades of experience, a world view best summed up by Saul Alinsky—probably the 20th century's best grassroots community organizer—who said: "We live in a world of unbelievable deceit and corruption... Giant corporations are unbelievably oppressive and follow a win-lose philosophy.... (and) will go to any length to make more money."

In juxtaposition to the world view of neoliberals, where the consideration of corruption and influence-peddling is banished to the memory hole, Alinsky's world view held that societal problems often have a strong component of corruption.

Not every public policy issue involves corruption, but an administration that consistently rejects systemic corruption as a policy factor severely cripples its ability to deal with the problems requiring confrontational action. Unless the land management agencies undergo an epiphany like Saul of Tarsus on the road to Damascus and rise up reborn, traditional Alinsky-type activism will continue to be required. We cannot accept the hazy expectation that local citizen enforcement could somehow become an effective protector of the environment.

The essence of why one should not use locals as "enforcers" was summed up by one of Saul Alinsky's stories. His views were shaped by an incident that occurred while he was working on his doctoral dissertation about Al Capone's mob in the prohibition era. Alinsky was sort of adopted by them and allowed to freely examine their books and records. One day he noticed that although Capone had 20 hit men on his local payroll, the mob paid \$7,500 to bring in out-of-town killers for local hits. He innocently asked Frank Nitti, Capone's top "enforcer," why they wasted their money like this.

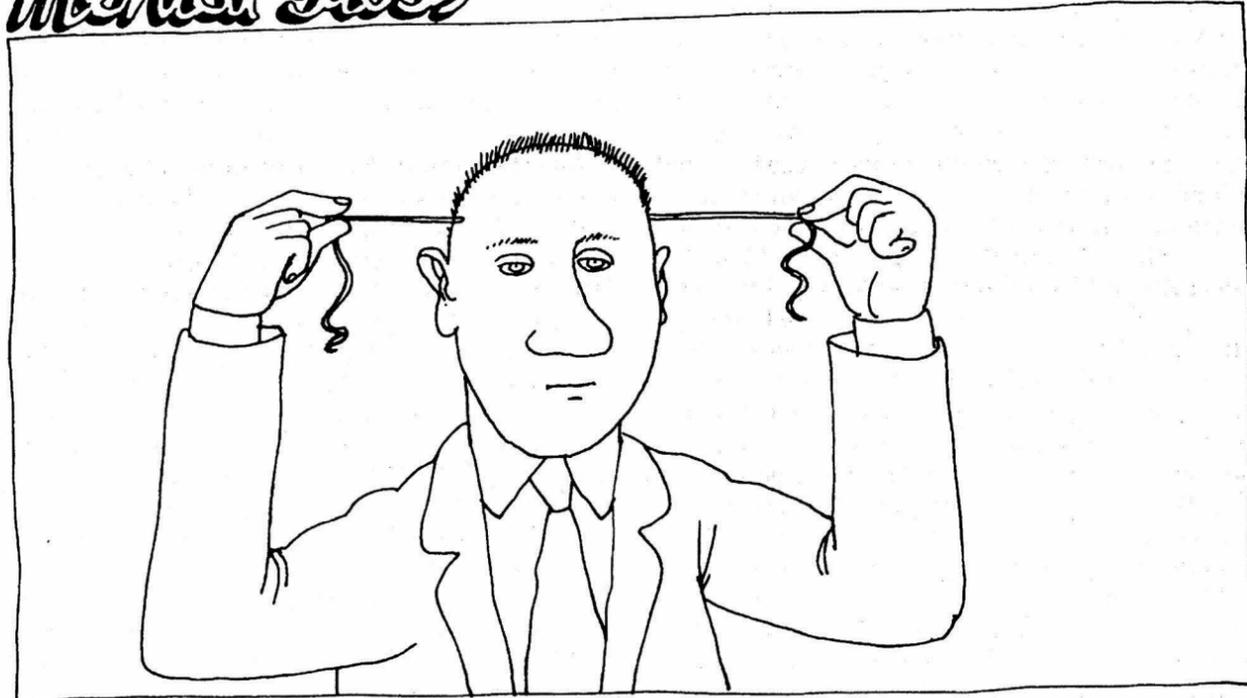
Nitti was shocked at Alinsky's ignorance: "Look kid," he said patiently, "sometimes our guys might know the guy they're hitting, they might have been to his house for dinner, taken his kids to the ball game, been the best man at his wedding, gotten drunk together... one of our boys goes up... he knows... there's gonna be a widow, kids without a father, funerals, weeping—Christ, it'd be murder."

Alinsky said Frank thought he was a bit callous and insensitive for even questioning the practice.

The common-sense insight that outside people are more suitable enforcers has been forgotten as the environmental community becomes increasingly drawn into consensus and partnerships which will supposedly replace, at least partially, the existing "outside" federal enforcement of national environmental laws with local, consensus-based partnerships. Where will the path that replaces effective administration and oversight of our laws with schmoozy consensus groups and phony partnerships eventually lead us? Will we someday see the control of the Statue of Liberty given over to a local Staten Island partnership that closes its meetings to outsiders and designates 50 percent of its board seats to local scrap iron dealers?

No approach can better serve the needs of transnational corporations, waging a "take-no-prisoners/win-lose" war on the world, than to have their only potential opposition, grassroots social and environmental change activists, adopt a win-win strategy. To adopt consensus-based solutions is a sure fire way to eventually turn all forest activists into what, in Yiddish, are called "nudniks:" people who are always trying to get you to do what they want by constantly pestering and annoying you.

Mental Gloss



INSIDE THE UGLY WORLD OF GAME FARMING

continued from the front page

current of electricity runs between them. According to a former Big Velvet foreman, the first three bulls immobilized using this device sustained such severe muscular and skeletal injuries that they had to be euthanized, but ranch personnel have now worked out a more efficient voltage. A representative of High Plains Systems recommends that the current be cranked up initially to knock the animal down, then tuned to a lower voltage to allow the animal's paralyzed lungs to exhale. According to the representative, this greatly lowers the risk of animal mortality. At the Big Velvet, bulls will undergo the velveting process every year until they attain an age and antler development sufficient to interest a client who will come to the ranch and shoot them in an expensive and surrealistic hunting mock-up.

In early September, clients arrive to stay at the "lodge" nestled into the scattered timber in the foothills of the Sapphire Mountains, on the east side of the Bitterroot Valley. The clients will be driven around the upper enclosure of the ranch with a ranch employee, called a "guide," to peruse the farm bulls and decide which one of them to shoot. The bulls are harassed by ranch employees for several days preceding the arrival of the client to ensure that they will not mistake the truck carrying the clients for the truck which weekly brings them hay and feed. The entire experience (including videotaping and still photography of the kill) will cost the client anywhere from \$5,900 to \$20,000 or more, depending on the size and age of the chosen bull, and how many points his antlers will score on the Boone and Crockett official scoring scale, even though the Boone and Crockett Club has made it very clear that no farm-raised animal will ever be knowingly recognized in their Record of North American Big Game. Clients often become evasive about the experience once they leave the ranch, and a client from Minnesota managed to have a picture of himself and his Big Velvet kill printed in the outdoor section of the local newspaper.

Neither he nor the reporter mentioned the 96-inch wire mesh fence that encloses the shooting area. The client did say that "we had a dickens of a time getting him out," even though the animal was shot within easy range of the truck's winch and cable setup. In 1996, clients of the Big Velvet Ranch dispatched 67 bulls to a local meat packing establishment.

Cruel as it may be, the "velveting" process is legal. Shooting farm-raised animals inside a fence is also perfectly legal. But other aspects of the Big Velvet operation are not nearly so well-approved by the law. Since Len and Barbie Wallace came to the Bitterroot Valley from southern California in 1990, they have received violation notices from the Montana Department of Environmental Quality, the Bitterroot Conservation District, Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks (MDFWP) and the US Army Corps of Engineers. In the late spring of 1993, Wallace constructed several makeshift and thoroughly illegal dams along Lowman Creek to provide water and wallowing areas for his captive elk. Several locals, including Wallace's own ranch foreman at the time, advised him that the dams would fail during runoff. During a period of Chinook winds in late February of 1994, snowmelt caused the failure of every one of the dams, sending a wall of water and debris down into Rye Creek, flattening the ranch fences and tearing away the creek banks on both the Big Velvet property and that of the Wallaces' downstream neighbors. The mud and debris eventually reached the main stem of the Bitterroot River. The small resident population of westslope cutthroat trout in Lowman Creek disappeared and riparian areas along Rye Creek were destroyed. The dam construction alone was cited by the Corps of Engineers as a violation of the federal Clean Water Act, and when field representatives of that agency visited the Big Velvet, they cited the Wallaces for other violations concerning the vast network of roads recently pushed through the upper property to access the lodge and shooting areas. These roads had been built with absolutely no regard for terrain or erosion potential; they lacked

culverts where they crossed the many drainages, and fill from the roadbeds had blocked seasonal creeks. These violations remain unaddressed four years later, as do citations from the local Bitterroot Conservation District concerning outright pollution of Rye Creek from the Big Velvet's CAFO—"concentrated animal feeding operation." One employee of the Bitterroot Conservation District calls Len Wallace a "tapdancer" who has repeatedly shown "disregard and contempt for the district."

In 1996, Wallace built a maze of fences and bridges around, over and along the creek, in an attempt to keep the elk from further degrading the banks and threatening his own property. He said in a recent interview that he built fences, put up bridges and posted little signs for the elk that say "Do Not Poop or Pee Here," and that the elk have read them and been "very compliant." The local community and the many representatives of public service agencies that are forced to deal with him find this statement far less humorous than does Mr. Wallace.

Ongoing pollution from the crowded feedlots where the elk are confined during the colder months has been a problem at the Big Velvet since 1994, when Wallace received his fourth expansion permit from the MDFWP to erect a so-called "game-proof" fence around 1,400 acres of his 5,000-acre property. Although he stated at the time that

he planned to use the expansion only for grazing the 77 head of elk then penned on the Big Velvet, Wallace began to pack the ranch with elk from all over the US and Canada as soon as the fourth enclosure permit was approved. Within two years there were over 800 elk, whitetails and mule deer on the ranch. The feedlots are all clustered on the banks of Rye Creek, which at one time was the single most productive trout fishery in the Bitterroot drainage. By 1995 the packed feedlots at the Big Velvet produced an epidemic of the cryptosporidium virus that killed 30 head of elk and caused illness in ranch employees. Cryptosporidium is nasty; it once contaminated the water supply of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, causing severe illness in 400,000 residents. The outbreak at the Big Velvet was reported to the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta by the veterinarian then employed at the ranch. Downstream neighbors fear contamination of Rye Creek and the Bitterroot River and believe, along with nearly every wildlife conservation and hunting group in Montana, that the Big Velvet Ranch has proven itself to be, in the words of a representative of the National Wildlife Federation (NWF), a "rogue operation," threatening humans livestock, and, most of all, native wild elk and deer populations. "The Big Velvet Ranch," says the representative, "illustrates exactly why the NWF is opposed to game farming."

In 1996 Len Wallace applied for yet another permit to fence in another 1,800 acres of his property. This expansion would have made the Big Velvet the largest game farm in the state of Montana, and it would have displaced a large herd of wild elk and more than 700 native mule deer. Public outcry against the mighty expansion plan was loud and fast. As it is now, the fenced-in area at the Big Velvet has already destroyed a huge section of traditional winter range for wild elk and mule deer. The fenced land was once home to over 400 mule deer, all of which had to be displaced before the fences could legally be installed. A massive hazing

effort to displace the animals was deemed a "mixed success" by MDFWP officials, and wardens of that agency were forced to shoot 49 mule deer that refused to leave the property. Many times during the winters of 1995 and 1996 wild deer breached the giant fence, trying to gain access to their winter ranges. A cougar entered the enclosure, as well as a black bear and numerous coyotes. Each breaching had to be extensively investigated by the wardens from MDFWP, and any wild animals found were either killed or tranquilized and examined, as any contact with the captive ranch animals could easily transmit exotic and devastating diseases to the wild

herds and native animals living just outside the ranch perimeter. Citing the fact that MDFWP already spent over \$200,000 of the public's money trying to bring the Big Velvet Ranch into compliance with Montana and federal laws, the many unresolved water quality violations, the loss of winter and summer range for wildlife and the negative public comments, MDFWP denied the expansion permit. Wallace has promised to appeal and has gathered support from the local "property rights" movement, which opposes any environmental regulation on private land. The Wallaces have entered into running feuds with their neighbors and have also recently been under investigation for a series of threatening telephone calls made to game farm

opponents, including Terry Klampe, a former Montana state senator. A photographer taking photos of the penned elk from a public road was buzzed by ranch employees buzz on an ATV, just after game farm supporters declared at a public meeting that the Big Velvet was "a wonderful tourist attraction."

The Big Velvet Ranch is very high profile in the rapidly-expanding game farm industry. While Wallace has perhaps been more defiant of the regulatory agencies than most game farmers, the industry is filled with unsavory characters and profiteers who risk the destruction of all wild game. The laws are not yet in place to stop them, even though biologists have long been aware of the risks. In 1994, bovine tuberculosis was passed from game farm animals owned by Greg Stires of Chino, California into wild herds of mule deer around Hardin, Montana. A 1990 tuberculosis epidemic on game farms in Alberta, Canada, forced the Canadian government to exterminate 2,700 head of farm elk, pay \$24 million in compensation to game ranchers and issue a general warning to Alberta hunters. Forty-one human beings contracted the disease during the outbreak. Genetic pollution of Alberta's wild herds has also been confirmed, as an estimated 20 game farm elk carrying the genes of New Zealand red deer have escaped into the wild. No one is certain what this genetic pollution will bring about—except for Len Wallace who asserts, "My elk have far superior genetics to any wild herd around here." Game farms in Canada make all their money from the velvet market and from meat sales. Shoot-for-pay is illegal there, so many of the largest bulls are exported to game ranches in the US as so-called "shooter bulls."

In Montana, there were 85 new permit applications for game farms in 1996 alone. It is only a matter of time before this industry, which profits a few people from the unconscionable torture of elk, will cause great and probably irreparable harm to all of us.



De-horned elk at a game farm

Photo by Darrel Kowledge

S-F-B, EASY AS 1, 2, 3...

continued from page 3

right when they appropriately decried the timber workers' blockade, but offered to join them instead to blockade raw log exports, the real reason for lost mill jobs.

Hey, folks, read your own paper. The front page feature pays tribute to resistance to logging in British Columbia, and mentions that "Greenpeace's [boat] Moby Dick [is] anchored nearby providing support." On the page opposite the Wolves and Poodles column is an article appropriately decrying the felony convictions of activists blockading a log export ship. This piece is even authored by a *Journal* editor.

What's next, a wolf award for Operation Rescue activists who blockade abortion clinics? Sheesh!

Additionally, the letters section reads like a toy for the *journal* staff. There is a petty debate about the environmental impacts of various editors' personal habits, and a submission from one editor's dog. Only buried way in the back are letters that respond to something that actually appeared in the paper.

I've come to expect editorials on page 2 that are provocative. I completely respect that moving your office and tight deadlines left you little time to write an editorial this time. However, the rambling filler telling us how stressed you were, prominently featured on the second page, doesn't make a very good impression for new readers. A guest editorial or even a reprint from another publication would have been more appropriate.

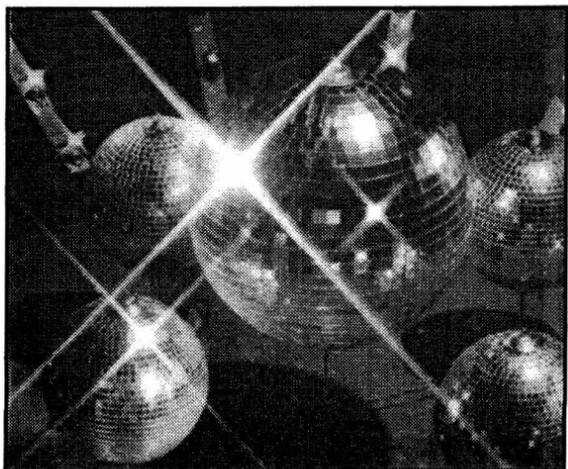
Do you have an explanation for this bizarre disappearance of your collective judgment? I hope it has now reappeared. As always, I look forward to the next issue.

Compulsively searching for typos,

—BEVERLY CHERNER

Editors:

The Earth First! Journal recently gave Working Assets a "poodle" for our participation in two en-



ergy pilot programs. The article leaves readers with a deeply flawed impression of what we are doing.

Our mission is to build a more just and sustainable world. Over the past decade, we have donated over \$10 million to progressive groups and generated nearly 3 million calls and letters on criti-

cal matters of public policy.

We have done this by being a phone company, but have recently started looking at the electricity industry—a truly destructive industry. Here are some of the public positions we have taken on the industry:

1. All utilities must incorporate renewable power. Our own Citizen Action program has generated more calls and letters to Congress in support of requiring renewables than anyone else.

2. Every distributor of energy must be required to disclose the source of their power.

All of our customers have received detail information on our power sources.

3. Public funding should continue for developing renewable power sources.

4. Ratepayers or taxpayers should not bail out nuclear utilities from having to pay for their earlier foolish investments in nuclear power.

Far from promoting dirty power, we are among the biggest promoters of clean energy.

We have set up a special site at <http://www.wald.com/thefacts> for those who would like additional information about our energy business.

Below we provide corrections to specific errors:

The article grossly distorts our agreement to buy power from New England Power. We are purchasing power from eleven specific facilities—none of which are nuclear, coal, or Hydro-Quebec.

Second, our customers are paying less than they paid before. We promised savings compared to their current supplier and we have delivered them.

Sincerely,

—MICHAEL KIESCHNICK
PRESIDENT, WORKING ASSETS

To the Editor:

I have been an avid reader of EFJ for many years now; writing to SFB only on rare occasions. However, I was recently moved to write in light of the misinformation given in the article "Superheroes Against Genetix-Its [sic] Not Just Cricket" (EFJ vol. XVII, No. VII; Aug-Sept 1997).

To debate the right and wrongs of "genetic engineering" of crop plants goes beyond the scope of this letter. However, "JoJo Tato" was grossly incorrect about some of the "facts" he/she stated in the above-mentioned article.

Because genetic engineering (GE) is a new technology, many are quick to rise in opposition resulting from a fear of what we don't fully understand. In fact, GE differs little from the traditional methods of plant breeding. All the crops we depend on

for food in the Western world are a product of this—make no mistake about it, few of the plants you eat daily, resemble (even remotely) the wild type ("normal," if you like) ones. The idea with plant breeding is to select traits (manifestation of genes) which are desired and combine them, usually one at a time, into a hybrid. With GE, the concept is the same. The attraction or benefit is that GE reduces the amount of time necessary—one doesn't have to wait for the plant to grow to maturity and bear fruit (often timely, eg. fruit trees).

The author states "serious concerns about GE foods are numerous." This is certainly true, even among scientists working in this field. I am concerned as well. However, spreading myths and reporting fallacies only further confounds the issue. "Genes from manipulated plants can be transferred to wild and cultivated relatives via pollination [and...] microorganisms." This is a possibility and a big concern of researchers. Imagine herbicide resistance genes spreading to 'non-target' plants. However, "all GE plants contain the cauliflower mosaic virus" is completely false. In fact, NO GE plants do. They do, however, contain a small piece of DNA from the Caulimovirus (35S Promoter) which activates introduced genes (hinted at by JoJo Tato). As there is no virus in the plants, there is no possibility of recombination with other viruses, no "stronger strains produced," etc. End of story.

Please try to have all the facts and the whole truths (no half-truths) next time. Although the author presents some valid concerns, I tend to disregard everything I read, when it's mixed with misinformation.

Sincerely,

—BRITT A. BUNYARD, PhD

Dear Sirs,

I was able to look at your paper. It is a very good one. I am interested in corresponding with anyone who can help me keep up with Mother Earth. I am on Death Row, a prisoner, without funds so I cannot afford your paper. I would really appreciate anyone writing me, so I can keep informed with what is going on. I thank you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

—MANUEL PARDO, JR.
#111983

UNION CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
P DORM, P-1-1-12-S
P.O. Box 221
RAIFORD, FL 32083

Ed. note: As always, the *Journal* is free to prisoners.

Dear Sirs:

From what I have read from your web site, and from the media of your activities, your group displays the same not-uncommon hypocrisy of most environmental groups. While you claim

to want to save the earth from the ravages of man and corporations, you use products from these very same corporations in your daily activities.

I will bet money most of your membership drives cars, built by a large corporation, and fueled by the products of an oil company. The computer you are receiving this e-mail on was built by a corporation.

While you ostensibly want to save the earth, most of the policies you advocate empower the central government, and seek to reduce the level of freedom in

nology. I don't really even mind that you folks have a website and use computers to lay out the *Journal*. What bothers me though is your lack of critical thinking toward computer technology, for there is a huge difference between using computers and deciding that "computers are our friends." (Ed. note by Jim Flynn in Lughnasadh, 1997)

Computers may indeed be useful as a tool to spread the word via website, and doing page layout, but they are not our "friends," nor should they be considered anything more than simply a tool by any environmentalist. Cars may be useful tools to get people to a Headwaters demo. But they are not our "friends." Refrigerators may be useful tools to keep our food cold, but they are not our "friends." This paper may be a useful tool to write my thoughts, but in reality is not my "friend."

Computers can indeed be useful to the environmental movement, but we should not delude ourselves. In fact, any power and prestige we have gotten via computers, the forces of evil—industrialized, capitalist, imperialist culture—have attained the same thing tenfold. The invention and propagation of computer technology have clearly accelerated the destruction of the planet

by facilitating the increased production of consumer items, the vast accumulation of capital, the globalization of the marketplace, genetic research, artificial intelligence, etc., etc. (of course the pollution from computer manufacturing, the high rate of obsolescence, and the social and medical costs of a society obsessed w/ computers are important issues as well.)

It has always pissed me off that the national groups have become so computer dependent and induce guilt if an activist is not on e-mail or surfing the web...screw them. I hope the *Journal* does not fall into the same dysfunctional trap.

P.S. I hope "Fluff-head" was wrong and you all don't drive to the office everyday, for if you do I'll have to write another letter.

—PHILIP GOFF

Dear SFB:

So, you guys and gals at the EFJ drive cars everywhere, huh? Does that mean that whenever I send you (EFJ) extra money, that you might well be spending it on gas or other auto-related items? What kind of imposters are you?

I suppose it's "too difficult" to take the bus or bike. I can hear it now, spoken, as if from the mouth of a Republican: "It takes sooo long to ride the bus. Waaah! Waaaah! I really think I care about the environment, but waaaah! Boo hoo!"

Obviously by running the EFJ you're doing more than the average bonehead. But if this info



this country held by individuals. If you want land kept natural, why don't you buy it and keep it natural? That is your right to do so. But when you seek to empower government to tell me what I can and cannot do with my land, you are advocating the use of the power of government to steal from me.

Private property is the basis of freedom—yours included! If all property is subject to so much environmental regulation that it cannot be used in any meaningful way, our society will cease to function. Since that seemingly is what you want, my suggestion to you is this: buy a large tract of land. Live like cave men on that land, in natural splendor and harmony with nature. Prove to the world that your way is the more noble way. But until that time, leave me alone!

The free enterprise system you seek to destroy is sustaining you right now! You are the beneficiaries of modern health advances, immunizations, modern food growing methods, and a society whose members live longer than at any time in human history.

I do not think I may change your mind with this letter, but I have made some points you need to address.

Sincerely,

—MARK DICKEY

Dear Silicon for Brains,

It is sad to me that even the editors of the *Earth First! Journal* can be hypnotised by the specious promises of computer tech-

...DO, RE, MI, S-F-B

about the entire staff driving to work every day is true, your rantings are just that—rantings.

Please address this issue. I want to know if it is true, so I can decide whether or not you all are a bunch of two-faced assholes.

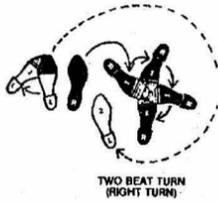
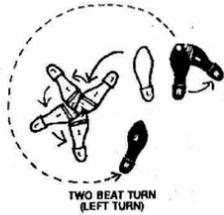
Sincerely,

—BILLY B.

Editor's response:

Was it a terrible timber sale that provoked such a vehement response? Was it yet another toxic assault on our one and only planet by greed-besotted thugs? Was it, perhaps, a report of a vicious attack by wise use crank-heads on a hapless activist? No! Some of our readership has gotten all hot and bothered by a snide comment in SFB by one of last issue's short-termers regarding the

staff isn't pure. Staffers variously listen to CDs, eat packaged food, shop at COSTCO, smoke cigarettes, drink corporate beer, ride aluminum bicycles, fly across the country, engage in unsafe sex and har-



bor shocking thoughts, sometimes all at once. None of them weave their own clothes, grow their own grain or open your (industrially-produced paper) letters with a flint knife.

Those of you without sin should form a select committee to hire a

Editors:

I'd like to say Thank You, Thank You, Thank You, for doing the good work.

A million thanks for taking a stand.

Love your site, Love the Earth Looking forward to meeting you'all in both places

—JEFFREY GOLD

Dear SFB:

I am writing to call for an all out war against cloning and biotechnology in general. Cloning is a direct assault on nature, taking the very thing that makes each living being special and manipulating it for the good of hu-

Remember, unity is important and nothing inspires more people to unite than a hero. Thus, they should not be tread upon lightly.

I'd appreciate a more thorough article on Foreman's alleged wrong-doing.

Sincerely,

—ROB BOLEY

Blessings Earth First!

When people feel drawn to be on-the-land support at Big Mountain, there are some important realities not prioritized by many activists. As a consequence, non-indians invariably bring problems that Dineh people resisting genocide do not need.

Courtesy shown toward all Dineh people, Dineh Elders in particular, is a step toward building trust. Greet all people with 'Ya te hey' and the characteristic gentle handshake. Listen as never before. Don't dominate conversations. Accept guidance. Learn as much of the Dineh language as you can—tapes and books are available in Flagstaff.

Dress neatly and modestly,

Do not be ignorant of the extent of damage done. Alcohol was also a problem with at Cove Mallard in northern Idaho. Nez-Perce people let it be known that though they supported the road-blockade, they could not camp there because of the alcohol consumption. If that problem could be finally overcome, the needed alliance-building between Traditional Indian people and environmentalists would become the force for solution that we've yet to see become living vision.

Self discipline is a must. Be prepared to rise at dawn, work hard and accept direction from the Elder you're supporting. If you're in a camp, impose discipline upon yourself and set an example. Though the Feds are not a continual physical presence, the threat is constant. Be always prepared. Big Mountain is the Chiapas of amerika. We must strive to work on facets of expansion that breeds success in these struggles that face all of life.

peace-

—SWANEAGLE HARIJAN

Dear shit fer brains, Hey all,

Regarding the printed version of the article "Canada Convicts

THAT'S HOW EASY IT CAN BE, GIRL.

staff's car use. Well, everybody, it's true. All the long-term editorial staffers own cars, some of them more than one. Not all the cars work, mind you, and all of them are pre-1980. During the move to a new office last issue, there was a lot of driving back and forth and hauling stuff around. The out-of-town short-termers were living in the old Journal house and had no bikes. Now most of the staff happily peddles the commute, nearly every day. Some of us live away from town and catch rides in with our partners, in cars. So, Billy B., two-faced assholes it is. Nowhere in our budget do we pay directly for the use of cars.

To those freaking out about Jim Flynn's silly response to the letter about the pixelated masthead from two issues ago, it was a mistake caused by our inexperience with the new four-color printing process. Yes, yes, computers are very bad, but the EF!J uses the best computer equipment it can afford, and will continue to do so until the movement decides otherwise. We're putting out a paper here, not saving the planet. What we do is inherently wasteful. The hope is the paper will provoke more action on behalf of the earth than it does damage. If that equation ever comes out negative, shut us down at once.

Among the letters we didn't print were repetitions of the old saw that if you use paper, gas, etc., you can't criticize industrial clearcutting or the car culture. It's one thing for belligerent industry morons to bellow such rubbish at demonstrators on the street; it's another to have our own people comparing purity size in some kind of self-righteous circle-jerk. You eat meat! You use computers! You drive cars! Wank wank.

Lifestyle cops, fuck off. The EF!J

collective whose lifestyle credentials are pure in thought, word and deed. The rest of you go find something else to get all flushed and sweaty about.

—The Mabon '97 EF!J staff

Earthfirst-

Your comrades-in-arms here in London recently invaded my office looking to make a political impact. Unfortunately while they were illegally trespassing on company property they ransacked my personal files. I can understand your need to vent your frustrations and get your point of view across, but this type of action is most regrettable. People like Martin Luther King new how to succeed in changing the system; you guys have no clue. When you suborn my personal rights, transgress my personal files and information, my children's photos, etc. you have gone too far. As your actions get more outlandish, it conveys the message that you have to resort to more extreme measures to get noticed; the mark of a truly doomed lot. The bottom line is you got no notice in the press about your occupation so your efforts went for naught there. You only succeeded in alienating one more scientist, his family, and who knows how many more? At this rate, you guys and girls will continue to be your own worst enemy. Keep it up. I was trained in Oceanography, I have a love of the ocean and geology—this earth—that you just do not understand. I have instilled that in my children; after last week's events they will certainly learn what is right and what is wrong. As grown men and women you still don't know the difference.

—TOM

THCO@CHEVRON.COM

mans. It must be stopped!!! So, whether you write to your senator or break into the labs and burn em (after liberating the animals first of course). Do whatever it takes to stop this atrocity.

Love,

—INSTA GATOR

P.S. "Ernest goes to camp" is an awesome movie. He shows those miners who's boss when they burn down their equipment and sends in turtles to kick some ass. I think there are some valuable tactics to be learned from this movie when dealing with rough-neck miners or loggers.

Dear EF!

Let me start by saying I fully believe and respect everything that EF! stands for. I've only just recently been getting your newsletter and I find it very well done.

So far, the only thing I've read which really made me question the group is the "poodle" given to Dave Foreman. Maybe I just hate to see a hero of mine put down, but that little article really annoyed me. I'm sure that I'm not the only person that was inspired to join the Wilderness movement by the writings and actions of Dave Foreman. I guess I'm just wondering if the "poodle" wasn't partly inspired by Foreman's split with EF! Regardless, Foreman is an important part of modern day efforts for the Earth and surely if he's done something wrong there should be more written about it than three sentences. I want actual information and both sides of the argument before I will accept that Foreman has betrayed the side of Nature.



wearing dirty, ragged or see-through clothing is seen as a lack of self-respect offending Dineh people. Wearing shoes prevents injury and is necessary for reasons of cleanliness. There have been problems with dysentery among non-indian supporters due to filth. Lack of water is no reason for unhealthy conditions. Dineh people have lived with little household water for centuries. Learn how to be clean with precious water.

Alcohol is a major tool of genocide. If you cannot abstain, please stay away for it brings only sorrow and hardship to Dineh people among many others. Even if a Dineh person drinks it is not acceptable. This cannot be emphasized enough. Alcohol interferes with the ceremonies the Elders have to defend the Resistance. Hear the stories of death, violence and destruction brought on by white man's alcohol. Go to Gallup, Farmington or the 'New Lands' and see the results of US policy and alcohol.

Traditionalists," I would like to express my concern and disappointment at the removal of the citations that were in the original. Most of the quotes in this article came from various articles by Ben Mahony, of the Vancouver semi-alternative weekly, "Terminal City." Ben deserves to be credited as one of the few writers who have covered Gustafsen Lake without demonizing the defenders or parroting the RCMP's propaganda. Other sources for this article included a piece by Gustafsen (non-native) defendant Trond Halle, and S.I.S.I.S bulletins. This piece was meant as an overview of the situation, drawn from secondary sources, and I feel that the removal of citations presents it as something other than that (plagerism?).

—MARK STODDART

Ed. note: Mark, the EF!J does not normally run source citations with any of its articles. Our apologies if proper credit was not given.

ANYONE WHO HATES THE SIERRA CLUB CAN'T BE ALL GOOD

A REVIEW OF RON ARNOLD'S NEW BOOK

BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

One thing about a movement's longevity is that as time passes, movement historians weigh in with their take on just what it is that's been going on all these years, giving an air of legitimacy to it all. When your opponent's historians start to write—that's when it really gets serious.

Ron Arnold, "America's leading advocate of the wise use movement" and Executive Vice President of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, has just published the awfully-titled *EcoTerror—The Violent Agenda to Save Nature/The World of the Unabomber* (Free Enterprise Press, 1997). Let's say right off that the good news is he completely fails to make his title case. His six-degrees-of-separation-esque attempts to link Unabomber suspect Ted Kaczynski to the environmental movement are as laughable and hollow as the attempts to link Arnold himself to Timothy McVeigh and the right-wing militia.

Arnold rehashes the flimsy claims of Barry Clausen as reported on ABC Network News: Kaczynski was at the November 1994 Native Forest Network Conference in Missoula, a workshop titled, "Focus on the Multinationals" took place there and Earth Firsters were present. The strongest evidence Arnold provides that the Unabomber is an Earth Firster is that *Live Wild or Die* and a copy of the *Earth First! Journal* with an article about the PR company and Unabomber target Burson-Marsteller were found in Unabomber suspect Theodore Kaczynski's cabin (somewhere alongside a dog-eared, well-notated copy of Al Gore's ghostwritten tome, *Earth in the Balance*). This would be intriguing news, but Arnold fails to document his source for the claim, explaining that his own Deep Throat close to the Kaczynski investigation requires anonymity.

Arnold's sheer credulity in accepting Clausen is astounding. After all, Clausen is the same guy who purports to have broken the ecoterror chain of command. According to Clausen, whom Arnold thanks in the preface, the Turners (yep, Ted and Jane) are running things through Peter Bahouth of the Turner Foundation and the Ruckus Society's Mike Roselle. All I know is if anyone ever runs into them, tell them my check's late.

The bad news is that Arnold documents close to 1,000 acts supposedly carried out against despoilers that consistently show "small operators" rather than big corporations as the targets. This "assault on the little guy" is a major

theme of the book and will certainly be used widely against environmental activists.

Arnold has amassed quite the list of actions he considers "ecoterror."

These range from common civil disobedience (which he considers violently preventing people from going to work), monkeywrenching, many instances of arson, bombings and the Unabomber murders. Other than the flimsy insinuations about Kaczynski, no murders are attributed to any environmentalists. He even refutes that a murder commonly blamed on animal-

rights activists, that of Dr. Hiram Kitchen, Dean of the Veterinary School of the University of Tennessee, was an act of "ecoterror." In fact, in most of the cases of actual physical violence he relates, it is the enviros that get "justifiably" pounded by angry loggers and ranchers. The list is an environmental classic, as it starts with Ed Abbey wielding the wrench. Classify it in the "what you never knew about your own movement" category.

After delving deeply into the matter, Arnold flat out states, "I am convinced that they (Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney) had nothing to do with the bomb" that tore through their car. He does offer a tongue-in-cheek list of some bizarre counter theories, however. The one I like best is that "marijuana growers did it because Bari invited thousands of strangers into their growing area, endangering the crops by possible detection, theft or accidental trampling."

In general, the book obsesses on Earth First! (Arnold studiously avoids the exclamation point) and animal-rights groups. He believes that almost all other environmental groups including, wildly, some national Big Greens, are merely "decoupling" groups—his term for groups and actions that are really conceived by the bad guys of Earth First!, the Animal Liberation Front, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals or whomever. To Arnold, the "decoupling" effect is merely a ruse to gain plausible deniability.

Arnold tends to treat what he calls the "social justice" faction of EF! far better than he does the "Apocalyptic Buckaroos." Mike Roselle fares far better than Dave Foreman. He actually does a credible job of delineating the split

between the two wings. In fact, he does a better job of this than any previous writer on the subject, especially Susan Zakin, author of *Coyotes and Town Dogs*. Arnold's "History" chapter is a must read, as is the excellent chapter titled "Reasons" which examines the motivations of environmentalists and the philosophical bases of deep ecology.

Arnold's history is spotty, but on balance, much better than those of Zakin, Durbin, Manes, Foreman, Scarce, Chase, Halverg et al., who have set their versions in print. Sure, Arnold has some laughable errors. He has Roselle hanging with "the Yippies at the bloody 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago" when Mike would have been all of 12-years-old. He even gets some current events wrong. His take on last November's Eugene auction of the Sphynx timber sale: "at least one-hundred-fifty angry protesters blocked the pick-up of

book is Arnold's tale of the early-'70s Tucson Eco-raiders, which he calls the "first ecoterror group in America," and the inspiration for Ed Abbey's *The Monkeywrench Gang*. For years this story has been suppressed in the mainstream press because the developers who lost over \$2 million dollars were afraid to publicize the losses and encourage further "decommissioning" of subdivision sprawl.

Unlike many in the wise use movement, Arnold makes a concerted attempt to separate "radical" environmentalists from "terrorists." I give him a lot of credit for that, though his cast of characters doesn't add up. He is fair to some and completely off base with others. Rod Coronado and Dave Foreman are Arnold's biggest bogeymen.

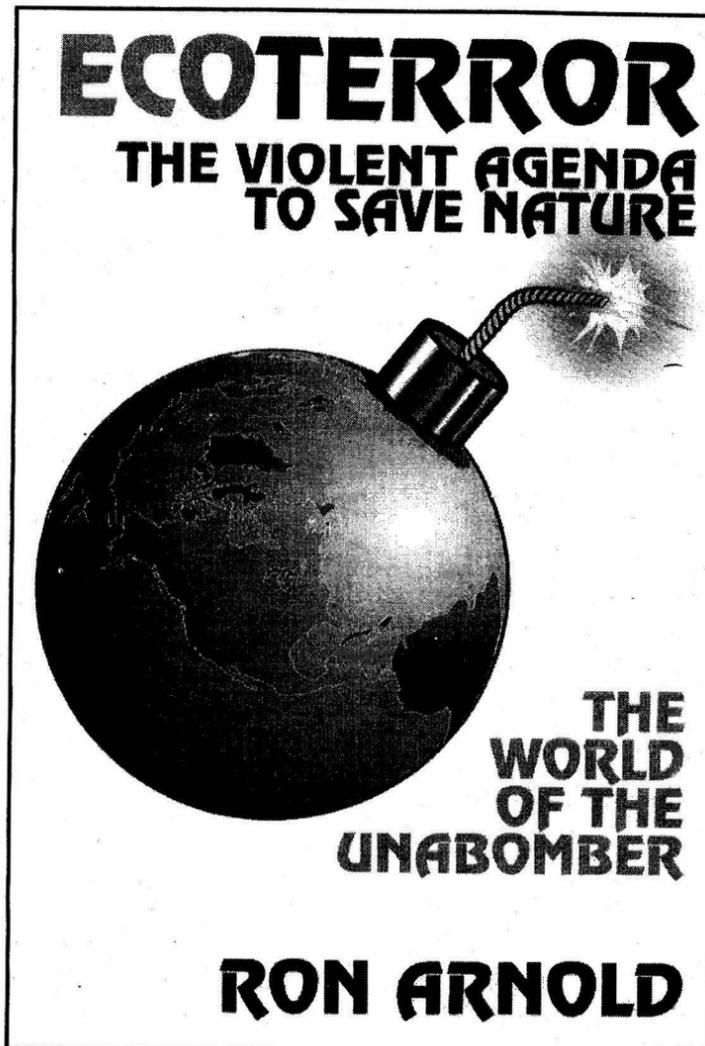
When Roselle learned that Arnold treated him rather well, his response was, "I don't want to be treated fairly by Ron Arnold!" echoing the embarrassment I felt and I'm sure a number of others will when they find out that Ron's disagreement with us is merely over our biocentric "cultural primitivism" beliefs and not some wild allegations of ecoterror. In Arnold's view I am naive, as I cannot accept that most of the folks he names as terrorists have ever done what he alleges.

This book is highly intelligent and is well-written, sometimes reading as if Arnold thinks he's a novelist—he certainly thinks he's a philosopher. Though he clearly desires to be seen as a fair-minded patrician, deliberating the facts and adjudicating in the favor of the people, the farce is a little too thin. For a journalist, the book is sometimes painful to read—with missing text blocks and poor editing. Likewise, it is seemingly meticulously footnoted, except when it matters. For example, Arnold documents the riveting minute by minute account of California Forestry Association's Gil Murray's final hours before opening an Unabomber mail bomb, but never sources the outlandish claim that the Unabomber had an accomplice. For a book that has many of the facts, dates and philosophies right, it's amazing how exasperatingly far off its conclusions are.

Ultimately this book is a godsend for those that wish to, as Alex Cockburn notes, blame the economic and

social restructuring of the West on "environmental ideologues and their violent agenda." Activists would do well to read it and take to heart Arnold's account of the motivations of the wise use movement. *EcoTerror*, in recognition of the imperative to know one's enemy, attempts to do the same for the environmental movement. As Arnold shows, until we can recognize the logic, passion and righteousness of those claiming to defend the West, we are guilty of the same closed-mindedness that we associate with the other side.

REVIEWS



timber company vice president Robbie Freres, the winning bidder, from leaving a nearby parking lot after the auction, shouting, 'Bidder Beware!' In fact, our good buddy Robbie Freres was outbid by, get this, a mere three cents per 1,000 board feet by Dennis Frank of Frank Lumber. And, in a scene reminiscent of Tiananmen Square, Lacey Phillabaum stood down Frank's weenie wagon by herself, until a phalanx of state police in full storm trooper regalia cleared his escape.

One of the best stories in the

CLEAR AS CUT GLASS
& JUST AS DANGEROUS

ARMED WITH VISIONS



WHEN THE TORTOISE COLLAPSES (EARTH DAY IS EVERY DAY)

Ward Valley CA proposed Nuclear dump site,
habitat of endangered desert tortoise
and Native sacred Land of 5 tribes

In the valley of the spirit winds
in the cradle of creation
the tortoise treads softly
in four directions, carrying the Earth
and turquoise feathered Sky
—pushing the land with her hands
—pushing the land with her feet
creating eagle mountains
rising strong, roaming horizons
climbing heated updrafts of air
enfolding the story of Creation

In the valley of the spirit winds
in the cradle of creation
pale memories of early lines and shapes
reflections of the lunar landscape
telling fragments of dreamlike stories
echoing repeatedly in a deaf world;

EVERY DAY IS EARTH DAY

When the tortoise collapses
the Earth is wasted
She carries it all
She carries it all
dumped on her back
seeping in her veins
clouding in her lungs
poisoning her womb
she carries it all

Coyote looks over her shoulder
trotting the line
crumbling grass under her feet
on a downwards trail
swelling waves, swooping silhouettes
warped and weathered by winds of ages
telling fragments of dreamlike stories
howling and yelping in a crumbling world

EVERY DAY IS EARTH DAY

When the tortoise collapses
the Earth is wasted
the face of the future is forming before us
is forming before us
following the winding river
the lifeline of the Peoples

Creating illusions, eye-solutions
She carries it all
She carries it all
dumped on her back
seeping in her veins
clouding in her lungs
poisoning her womb
She carries it all...
—Fauve

WESTCHESTER COYOTE

Came wheeling around the brick wall
Of the would-be estate
And I thought,
"Someone's shepherd mix
coming to bark at us"
But it ran sleek into coyote,
Was the ancient trickster
Setting barbs of longing
In my heart,
The thrill of longing
For the return of fleet feet
To the plains.
Coyote ran yet watched
As we marveled, suburban scientists.
He whet our lips
We'll do the same for him.
Wilder than road crowding deer on goose
He is running yet
Across a lawn
And into the restored prairie.
Triumph the moment.
—Jenny McBride

COMMITMENT

At the Rendezvous
vast waves of emotion wash over me
tumble me over in music
until I am smooth and round
as an ocean-polished stone,
edges of tension worn down
with my tears, almost unnoticed in the crowd
as I shoot my flaming arrows
for a friend facing his next five years within prison
walls—
as I sing desperately of a drop from water falling for a
wall
creating torrents of our strength
for a human bird arrested in flight
trapped underground, still trying to witness the sun—
as I remember a great granite mountain, now crumbled,
murdered in this struggle—
yet the stress of fighting is gradually released
as I search the faces of those who have survived
determined to laugh and sing, dancing in our midst
with all the ghosts— the ones who came before.
When I leave all of you I know
I carry with me your resolve
doing my dance to measure what is needed—
two steps forward for every step back—
now I must dance farther
visions of losing my home, of risking death more
while trying to protect my child,
the animals who depend on me,
the wild without which all is nothing.
—Karen Coulter

THE SECRET HISTORY OF MONKEYWRENCHING

PRIMITIVE LUDDITE MAN DISCOVERED FIRE AND INVENTED THE WHEEL ON THE SAME DAY...
SO THAT NIGHT, THEY COULD USE THE FIRE TO BURN DOWN THE WHEEL!
—NOME

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HEY, LOWBAGGER: LOOKING FOR SOME

1997 Justice for Leonard Peltier Weekend

For the past 22 years, the doors of justice have been closed to Leonard Peltier. Now for the first time it seems that they may finally be opening. A few months ago, a meeting was held between Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, chair of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, and Native American activists Dennis Banks, MJ Makoonce, Jim Robideau and Star Nayea. In the meeting the Senator agreed to hold oversight hearings into the events on Pine Ridge from 1972 to 1975 and the case of Leonard Peltier. Activists hope the full story will be heard in the forum of these meetings, and that the ultimate result will be the release of Leonard Peltier from prison! For this reason, it is crucial that Leonard's name and case continue to be put out to the public and government.

The Northwest Leonard Peltier Support Network (NWLPSN) is organizing the 1997 Justice for Leonard Peltier Mobilization, part of which is the Jus-

stice for Leonard Peltier Weekend. The schedule is as follows:

October 10, noon: Rally for Justice at the Washington State Capitol in Olympia, with further events in the evening.

October 11: Caravan for Justice. This will be a public caravan going from Olympia, Washington to the US/Canada border. The caravan will be leaving Olympia at 10:30 a.m. and will be stopping in Tacoma, Puyallup National Tribal Ground, Seattle and Bellingham for strategy meetings to further the mobilization and discuss congressional hearings.

October 11: Run for Justice. There will be a run, in the spirit of Native runs, leaving the Bellingham area on the 11th to meet up with the caravan (at noon) on October 12.

October 12: International Indigenous People's Day March begins. The march will start at Blaine Park (corner of Blaine and Alder in Blaine, WA). Demonstrators will walk and gather at

the Peace Arch Crossing for a rally at 1:00 p.m. Later, at 4:00 p.m., a potluck will be held. Participants of the rally and march are encouraged to bring food and participate.

The NWLPSN is working in collaboration with an international community demanding the release of Leonard Peltier and encourages local groups to take on support work in their own way. In creating this mobilization, the NWLPSN is trying to raise \$2,000 for campaign costs. Donations are always accepted, or the pamphlet "The Case of Leonard Peltier" is available for \$6.00 for six or more copies. Send donations or queries to: NWLPSN, 5201 Capitol Blvd., Suite 119, Olympia, WA 98501. To get information about caravans along the way to the border or camping information in Olympia please call: Jimmy Mattison at (253)352-8526 or 1-888-644-4060; for information on the run call (253) 383-9108.

Midwest Regional Rendezvous

Shawnee Earth First! invites you to southern Illinois to celebrate Autumn's return from September 26 to 29. Experience the clear springs, sandstone bluffs, pines and hardwoods of the Bell Smith Springs area. This unique place is imperiled by the USFS's notorious "management" practices. [see article on page 10] Come join in the fight to defend this patch of wilderness and join forces to strengthen the bonds between activists in the Midwest and beyond.

It will begin on Friday with an evening of bonfire music; Saturday will feature hikes and workshops on a range of issues from veganism and direct action to legal tactics and anarchism. Sunday there will be more hiking and a nonviolence training. The weekend will come to an end with an action on Monday!

Vegan meals will be provided all weekend by St. Louis Food Not Bombs, so we encourage you to bring food donations to help feed the masses. We are also asking for \$10-20 donations to cover food, set-up and clean-up costs. Bring the appropriate camping gear to keep you in good spirits for four days.

If you would like to attend the rendezvous (you will need a map to get there), host a workshop, provide entertainment or have suggestions please contact us as soon as possible at Shawnee EF!, 913 S. Illinois Ave., Carbondale, IL 62901; (618) 549-7387; email: beanz@siu.edu. Also, visit our website at www.geocities.com/rainforest/vine/5172.

BUFFALO NATIONS WINTER BISON PROGRAM

This winter, Buffalo Nations will be patrolling the borders of Yellowstone National Park, hazing buffalo from ranchers' land and repairing fences.

We will be targeting the areas of West Yellowstone and Gardiner, Montana, where the majority of bison are slaughtered. We will have offices running in both towns with computers, phones and field communication systems. We are also setting up wall tents in the field to enable us easy access to bison danger zones.

For years local ranchers near Yellowstone have had no other alternative than to have bison shot by the Montana Department of Livestock. We have met and talked with several ranchers in both towns and they welcome our services. Our plan is to have a 911-like hazing service for immediate buffalo confrontations. We also are gathering donated fencing supplies for repairing fences. This will enable us to fix the rancher's fences from previous damage and keep them fixed throughout the winter.

If anyone is interested in volunteering please contact Michael or Adam at: Buffalo Nations POB 242, Gardiner, MT 59030; (406) 848-9867; fax (406)848-7694; e-mail buffalo@wildrockies.org.

Although all of our people work for free, we need money for rent, phone, fax, food and gear. All donations are tax-deductible and go directly to saving the buffalo. The following is a wish list for donations to keep the campaign running this winter:

- Two Buffalo Nations offices for six Months, including rent and office needs (largest expense!)
- Food
- Winter gear
- Computers with e-mail ability
- Fax machines
- Fence repair supplies and tools
- Teepees
- Wall tents
- Wood stoves
- Propane heater
- CBs or radio transmitters
- Binoculars
- X-country skis
- Snowshoes
- Snowmobiles and trailer
- Cooking gear
- Cots
- Therma-rests
- Tarps
- Chainsaws, axes, splitting mauls

Carnival at Canaveral

On October 6, 1997, NASA will launch the Cassini orbiter with 72.3-pounds of plutonium aboard. Before it heads toward Saturn (the intended target) it will slingshot past the earth at 4,000 miles-per-hour to pick up speed. The probe will pass within 5,090 miles of the Earth's surface. NASA puts the chances of a fly-by accident at one million to one. Under NASA's worst-case scenario accident, the clean-up costs would reach \$10 trillion. Should Cassini plunge back to earth (or blow up on take off), NASA has plans to "relocate animals," "remove topsoil," "demolish some or all structures," and "relocate affected population." If this insanity isn't stopped, NASA will surely take more chances to spread poisonous plutonium throughout the planet. There are already plans to send a nuclear reactor to Mars.

Join us as we travel from the West Coast joining others at Cape Canaveral to stop this madness. Help us turn Cape Canaveral into Cape Carnival! Call 206-632-1656 or email: can@scn.org.



Halloween Smash

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is again calling for activists from October 31-November 7, 1997! Earth Night brings together all ELF, ALF and other activists from social and environmental movements to strike back at the corporations and governments responsible for destroying the earth. It is a time for all those who wish to use the night "constructively" and to target those whose crimes are immeasurable.

Choose your targets, choose them well, take action and be wise! Let's come together and give our actions the impact they need! No compromise in reclaiming the night! As always we call for no injury to life... only profit!

Southwest Regional Rendezvous

Arizona Earth First! is hosting a Southwest regional gathering of activists on Mount Graham (Dzil nchaa si an) to celebrate 505 years of resistance to the desecration of Turtle Island from October 10 to 13. Come prepared to lead or take workshops on regional environmental issues, and to walk, talk and strategize with friends. A run from the San Carlos Apache reservation to the top of Dzil nchaa si an is tentatively planned on Saturday, October 11. More actions are planned for Columbus Day, October 13.

Bring warm clothes and food to share. To reach the gathering take Route 366 (seven miles south of Safford, AZ) up the mountain and look for signs at the end of the paved road. For more information contact Arizona EF!, POB 3412, Tucson, AZ 85722; (520) 740-0810.

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THING TO DO? WELL, LOOK NO FURTHER!

UnFree Trade Tour Oct. 5-Nov. 30

As part of the North American Tour to End Corporate Dominance, Food Not Bombs activists are joining with the Association BAMADRE, a Spain-based group, to spread the word against the global system of exploitation. The stops on the tour will provide the audience with a chance to see the Association BAMADRE's video "Fifty Years is Enough!" documenting European resistance to economic and global socialization, as well as live music from punk performing artist Seth. Free food, theater performances and a low-watt FM radio station will also be featured.

The anti-corporate message will be starting in San Francisco on October 5 and heading east to meet up with the First International Conference on the Emergence of Corporate Rule in Toronto, Canada on November 5, 1997. After the conference the tour will pick up again and weave its way back west for a final date on November 30 in Los Angeles.

Tour organizers need your help to get the shows put together and arrange logistics. A list of all scheduled dates is available with opportunities to be of assistance at any of the shows! Sponsor them in your town and spread the message that corporate rule and social globalization will no longer be tolerated!

For more information and to get tour dates contact Keith Henry at 1-800-884-1136; or write 3145 Geary Blvd. #12, San Francisco, CA 94118.

Wild Forests for the 21st Century

The Foundation for Deep Ecology (FDE) seeks to promote discussion of the issues and strategies that will affect the condition of our wild forests into the next century. The FDE has assembled a pool of prominent speakers in six topic areas: biodiversity protection and habitat conservation plans; ecocentric philosophy; ecoforestry; fire ecology and forest health; globalization, corporations and forests; and zero cut on public lands.

Starting this fall, FDE is offering to provide speakers from this pool to

environmental and student organizations that wish to host a public forum on the future of forest protection in the US. FDE will sponsor up to three speakers per event, covering their airfare and stipend. Organizations in the South, Midwest and East are particularly encouraged to apply.

For more details contact the Foundation for Deep Ecology, Attn: Wild Forests for the 21st Century, 1553 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 771-1102.

Join the Unplug North America Campaign October 13th!

Unplug on October 13 and learn to simply live. Join people across the land as light switches are turned off and engines rest easy for one day. Take a day to feel yourself walk, spend the day talking and listening to people (not boxes) and understand night when it comes and leaves you in darkness to sleep. In a society so manufactured, try to be on nature's clock for one day.

Use October 13 to reflect on your reliance to power and energy. Realize it and reject it! Work towards limiting and eliminating it! Organize within your community and watch houses dark at night and cars abandoned on streets for bicycles!

Ask yourself: Do you live with the toxic waste these industries produce from the energy you consume? Think of where it ends up... low-income communities. If you believe in Environmental Justice then use the power you have as a consumer and just say "NO!" to the power companies and governments forcing their waste onto the working class, people of color, indigenous reservations and the poor.

For information on the Unplug North America Campaign contact: Indigenous Environmental Network, POB 485, Bemidji, MN 56601; email: ien@igc.apc.org; Indigenous Women's Network, 13621 FM 2769, Austin, TX 78726; Seventh Generation Fund, POB 4569, Arcata, CA 95521; or Settee, 107 Engineering Building, U of Manitoba, Winnipeg Canada, R3T-2N2.

JOHN SEED ROADSHOW AND COUNCIL OF ALL BEINGS WORKSHOPS

Come join John Seed on his West Coast tour! Don't miss the opportunity to participate in on a Council of All Beings. Joining John on this tour will be Neil Pike and Govindi Lightbourne of the Rainforest Information Center as well as musicians Joanne Rand and Dana Lyons. Look for the date in your town:

September 26-28 "Practicing Ecological Interdependence" with Ralph Metzner San Francisco, CA (415) 674-5500, ext. 241.

September 29 Berkeley roadshow (510) 376-7329

October 1 Star in the Well Speaker Willits, CA (707) 485 8719

October 3-5 Council of All Beings Willits, CA, (707) 459-2930

October 5 Willits, CA roadshow (707) 459-2930

October 7 Redway, CA roadshow (707) 923-3015

October 8 Arcata, CA roadshow (707) 839-0850

October 10-12 Ashland, OR Council of All Beings (541) 482-4459

October 12 Ashland OR, roadshow (541) 482-4459

October 13 Eugene, OR roadshow with Dana Lyons & Joanne Rand, (541) 342-2974

October 14 Breitenbush, OR roadshow (503) 854-3314

October 15 Olympia, WA roadshow (360) 956-9256

October 16 Whidby, WA roadshow (360) 341-1884

October 17-19 Whidby Island, WA Council of All Beings (360) 341-1884

October 20 Vancouver, British Columbia roadshow (604) 253-7701

October 24-26 Toronto, Ontario Council of All Beings and keynote speech, Holistic Education Conference (905) 684-8558

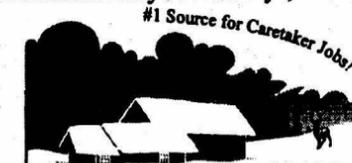
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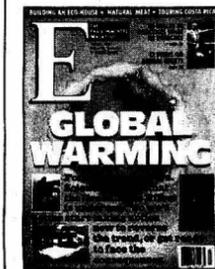
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JIMPAGE

A staple on the Northwest folk circuit for years, and for good reason; the man can write. "More Than Anything Else In The World" *A Sign of the Times, Valdez, Gays in the Military, Sinead, Bishop on the Run, Wages of History* CD—\$17
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No one can create a campaign song as fast as Darryl. He's a campfire favorite. "Timber" *Who Bombed Judi Bari?, Arizona Power Lines, Earth Night Action, Which Side Are You On?* TAPE—\$12
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Alice is arguably the Northwest's most talented singer/songwriter. Her voice and lyrics cut straight to your heart. "Naked" *Trouble in Mind, Make it Last, The TV Song, Out of Control, Pretty Blue* TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
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"Too Controversial" *American Dream, I Won't Say Good-bye, Everybody Needs to be Free* TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
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Earth First! Direct Action Manual



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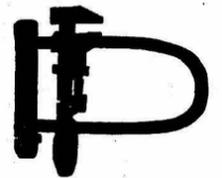
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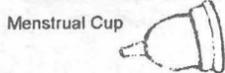


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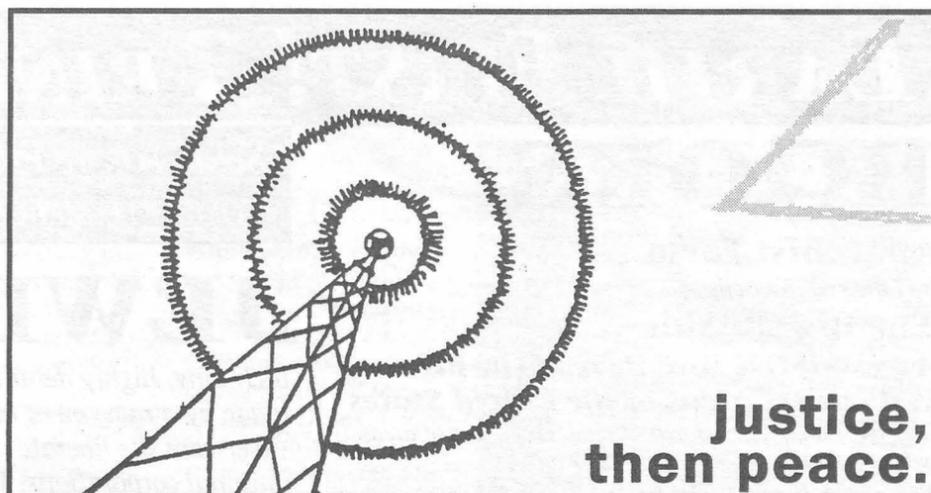
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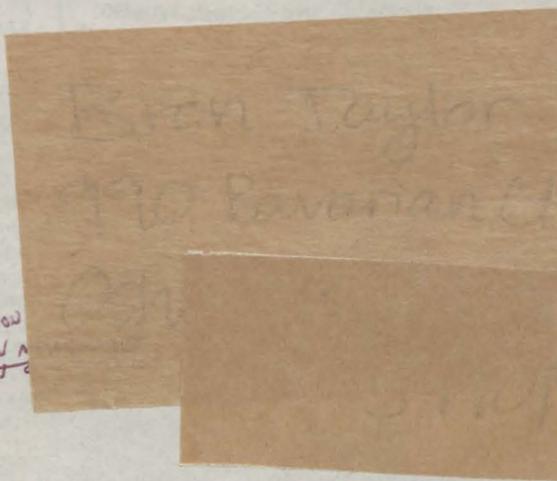
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