

# MJ Newsletter

Mendocino Environmental Center

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## The War Is Over!

And We Lost  
by Gary Ball

I suppose I should have seen it coming. The writing was certainly on the wall. Back in 1992 I even wrote about World War III in an article for this very newsletter. That article focused on the Wise Use Movement (WUM) and its role in helping big business by shaping people's attitudes which, in turn, affect public policies. I picked up the term "World War III" from WUM writer Alston Chase. He used the term to describe what was happening when he chronicled public protests against corporate behavior which were occurring all over the globe.

How naive I was. I didn't see that Mr. Chase was using a WUM tactic even then. He was pointing to protests against corporate behavior and saying this was an indication that World War III was beginning. In reality, though, he was aware that World War III was already over. Yes, the last great war for control of the entire world had come and gone. The war was over, we (the people) had lost, and I didn't even know it. Then again, most people didn't know it. Most people still don't know it. But Alston Chase knew.

Most of those who know the war is over, unlike myself, have the good sense not to talk about it, *as such*. In the first place, who'd believe it? Furthermore, who'd care? "Life goes on pretty much the same as always, doesn't it - no major changes, no major hassles? So, how could we have just lost a war?" That's what most people would say.

Besides, who could believe a war has come and gone when nary a shot was fired, nary a bomb was dropped? Who could conceive that a world war has been lost when the flags of all the world's countries still fly high and proud? Who could imagine that the Third World War would be done quietly, without fighting, without fanfare of any sort?

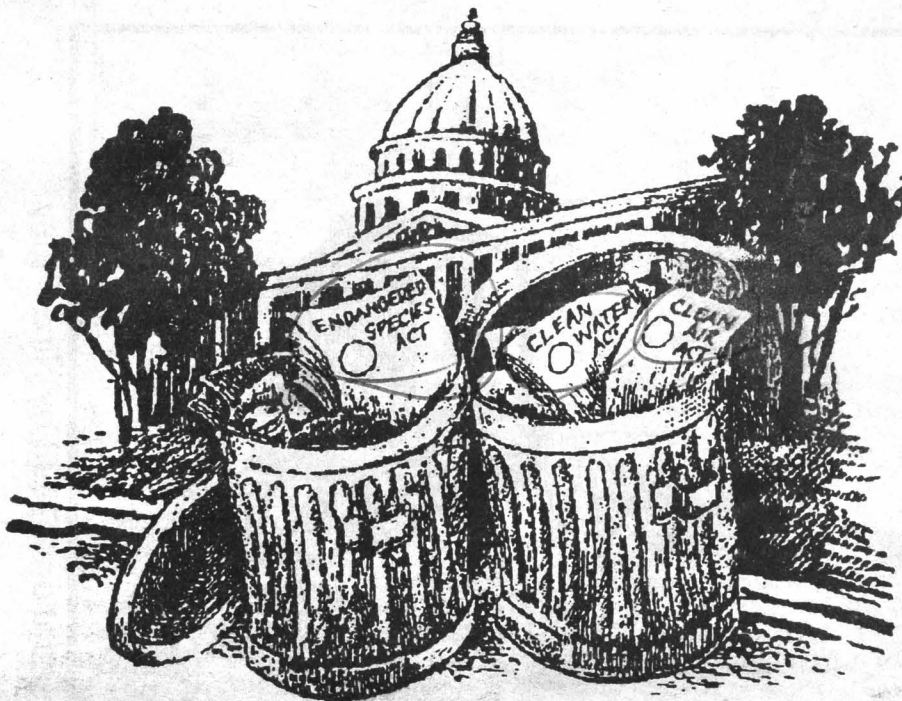
Yet, that is exactly how it happened. World War III was a silent, gradual power grab that left nations physically intact while consolidating authority to rule in

the hands of a conglomerate of multinational corporations. As the history of these things go, this takeover employed a rather novel approach, to say the least. No lands were captured, no invasions were necessary, no governments fell. At the same time though, all lands were usurped, every place was invaded, and all governments acquiesced. In this new world order, no single individual, figurehead or body emerges holding all the reins of power. In fact, no new leaders emerge at all. This lends stability to the order, not only in that there is no central target against which to direct dissent, but also because it facilitates the facade that all the world's governments are still in place and sovereign.

After all, there would have been little reason for the corporate masters to proclaim, all at once, that the takeover of the world was complete. This would have produced chaos. It was better to quietly enjoy the exercise of corporate control for a while, perfecting its techniques while fine-tuning its systems in an orderly milieu. Established governments still provided the useful function of serving as a buffer between the people and the decisions being made. Gradually, very slowly at first, would corporate control and the new world order be revealed.

No one knows for sure when World War III began and no one knows just when it ended. What we do know, now, is that we have lived under corporate control long enough that the first veils are being removed and we are being given our first glimpses of what life will be like under direct corporate control, without the facade of government to cloud the picture for us. At the same time, we are being programmed to like what we will see.

No wonder we are hearing so much talk about how there is too much government in our lives. A few years ago we learned about the Wise Use Movement agenda. Now we call it the Contract on America. Either way, it involves scaling back government, loosening regulations, allowing free-market forces to play a lead role in decision-making, weakening public trust doctrine, strengthening pri-



Graphic by Sharon Williams/The Planet

vate property rights (including the rights of corporations to do as they like with their private property), lowering trade barriers and, in general, doing whatever business wants in order to "improve commerce". Most especially, the corporate masters seem intent on eliminating laws that protect the environment. This, perhaps more than any other single item, is the crux of the problem.

Oh sure, there are those who will mourn the loss of the sovereignty of their particular country: no more France, no more Brazil, no more India, no more America, and so on. And yes, there are those philosophical types who will grieve over things like "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" being replaced by things like "jobs first!" or "it's the economy, stupid!" By and large, though, most people are already fairly well adjusted to their role as wage slaves and there will probably not be any major resistance to the new world order.

As long as people have their jobs and a reasonable amount of personal freedom to spend their money, things won't really be much different for most

folks. Americans, for example (an apathetic lot as a whole anyway, judging from voter turnouts and such), are already well versed in the new way of thinking. Nobody speaks of America as a "representative democracy" anymore; now it's an example of "free-market capitalism". For real power, one does not look to the United States, one looks to Corporate America. You no longer tell non-conformists to love it or leave it, you tell them to get a job. It is well known that those who go along, get along. A person's success is measured by how much they make and the strength of a country is gauged by its GNP. With the bottom line being the accepted standard by which to judge practically everything, the tracks are pretty well greased for people to slide smoothly into their places in the new world order. But the consequences of abandoning environmental protections may prove, over time, to be a hard sell for the corporate masters.

Right now, of course, there seems to

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## Welfare Pests

by Patty Clary

Billions of dollars of corporate welfare is dished out by the U.S. Commerce Department (see "Ron Brown's V.I.P. Junkets") and U.S. government banks that operate within the Commerce Department. One of these, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), has insured a logging venture in Russia that threatens to cause destruction of Northern California forests equal in scope to that caused by U.S. logging in Russian forests.

OPIC is providing political insurance for a consortium of fifteen timber mills anxious to grab part of the market share as natural resources are stripped in the former Soviet Union. The consortium, which calls itself the Global Forestry Management Group, recently leased a

million acres of Russian forest in the Khabarovsk region. It plans to invest \$70 million in building an infrastructure of roads and port facilities to ship billions of board feet of logs out of Russia.

### Global Forest Pillagers

The companies that make up the Global Forestry Management Group are small, landless saw mills that struck it rich during the great public forest giveaway of the roaring '80's. Now rich enough for action in the international market place, they are positioning themselves to participate in forest destruction on a global scale, joining timber giants such as Weyerhaeuser and Louisiana-Pacific in the timber rush. The massive boreal forests of the Russian Far East and Siberia beckon as the most lucrative

of all the global forest resources.

Global Forestry plans to import most of the logs to its members' saw mills in California, Oregon and Washington. It is almost guaranteed that pests from Russian forests will survive importation despite kiln drying and pesticide saturation of the logs. If pests from Russian trees make it into U.S. forests, entire species of native trees would be at risk of extinction, and forests would be subjected to massive amounts of pesticide spraying.

The main obstacle to the consortium's plan for big profits is the ever present risk of political upheaval in Russia and the losses Global Forestry would incur if forced to abandon the project. Without a doubt, Russia's political situation is perilous. The current president of Russia is propped up by massive foreign aid from Western countries, and it's any-

one's guess who the next president might be, or what segment of the political spectrum he might occupy (his gender is the one known factor).

The same uncertain future is true of provincial governments throughout Russia. In many areas, organized crime dominates or controls outright government agencies and businesses, bringing the political situation dangerously close to complete mayhem. In the face of such uncertainty about its future ability to do business in Russia, one could question Global Forestry's confidence in investing millions of dollars to plunder the forests of Russia. Well, look to your paycheck, folks, as they throw our children off welfare rolls and into the streets, because it's your money that provides security for the Global Forestry consortium

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# The War Is Over! continued from page 1

be a sense of wide-spread excitement centered around the prospects for new sources of profits once environmental laws are relaxed or eliminated. Logging, ranching, mining, farming, Off-Road Vehicles and all kinds of development are some of the businesses hoping to benefit once they no longer have to worry about the effects their activities may have on endangered species of plants and animals. It is not possible to list all the polluters who hope to improve their bottom line once clean air and water laws are relaxed. Oil and chemical companies see a surge in sales once pesticide and food contamination requirements are lowered. Without protection for wetlands, count-

less money-making ventures can proceed where they are now prohibited. With protective land management schemes such as those presently applied to wilderness areas, wild and scenic rivers, and national parks also under attack, it won't be long before whole new territories are opened up to more profitable ventures.

There will come a time, though, when everyone will ask, "Was the money that good?" And they will already know the answer. Whether that time is near or far off is difficult to imagine. Whether it will then be too late cannot be said.

Right now, the corporate masters

say that environmentalists are crazy alarmists; that environmentalists need to make people believe there is some sort of catastrophe in order to keep those contribution dollars rolling in. Not that it will really do any good, but the reader may wish to review the statement issued by the world's leading scientists in 1992 concerning the state of our fragile earth and what we must do to protect it. The statement is reprinted, for your convenience, on the back page of this newsletter.

If the scientists' "Warning to Humanity" is difficult for you to believe, especially when it is so soundly denounced

by the corporate masters, then believing in World War III and corporate control is probably out of the question. Nonetheless, the focus of this newsletter is corporate control. There are a number of articles, from some of the finest writers and thinkers, which examine the subject from various perspectives. They are presented here for your perusal, edification or entertainment. We hope you enjoy them. Oh, and by the way, you may wish to keep this newsletter at home. It is advised that you don't take it to work. Unless, of course, you work someplace where you can go about chanting, "Death to the corporate robot, that preys on the life of the planet."

## Allen Cooperrider Wins Prestigious Award

by Betty & Gary Ball

Recently, Comptche resident Dr. Allen Cooperrider, a wildlife biologist and noted expert on biodiversity, was notified that he and Dr. Reed Noss have been chosen to receive the prestigious Natural Resources Council of America's (NRCA) conservation community award for outstanding achievement in the field of publication for their book *Saving Nature's Legacy: Protecting and Restoring Biodiversity*. The award will be presented to Drs. Cooperrider and Noss at the annual NRCA banquet to be held at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on June 15th. Also to be recognized at the banquet this year are former Senator Gaylord Nelson, Representative Connie Morella, Representative John Dingell, Representative Gerry Studds, and Senator John Chafee.

Dr. Cooperrider is a Conservation Biology consultant with Big River Asso-

ciates, and also is employed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. He formerly worked for the BLM.

Our congratulations to Dr. Cooperrider and Dr. Noss. It is an honor to have you in our midst.

The book *Saving Nature's Legacy* is must reading for everyone concerned about their local and global environment. Michael E. Soule, founder and first president of the Society for Conservation Biology says, "This is the most scientifically credible 'how to do it' book in conservation." Noss and Cooperrider fashion a practical, easy-to-follow guide for the protection of the diversity of life while avoiding neither the complexity of nature nor the diversity of values among managers and conservationists. I predict that the book will become a bible for wildlands managers, a valued guide to the literature for graduate students, a favorite text for undergraduates, and a powerful weapon for grassroots activists."

J. Michael Scott, senior research biologist for the National Biological Survey says, "*Saving Nature's Legacy* is a book that every conscientious land manager must read. It is nothing short of a blueprint for conservation action. This book clearly articulates the paradigm shift that land management agencies must confront if they are to save this nation's natural legacy."

The book is available by mail or telephone order. A limited supply of order forms are available at the MEC that offer a 20% discount. Contact Island Press at P.O. Box 7, Dept. 3DW, Covelo, CA 95428 or by telephone at 800-828-1302 (continental U.S.) or 707-983-6414 (outside continental U.S.) Of course, the book is also available at fine bookstores everywhere.

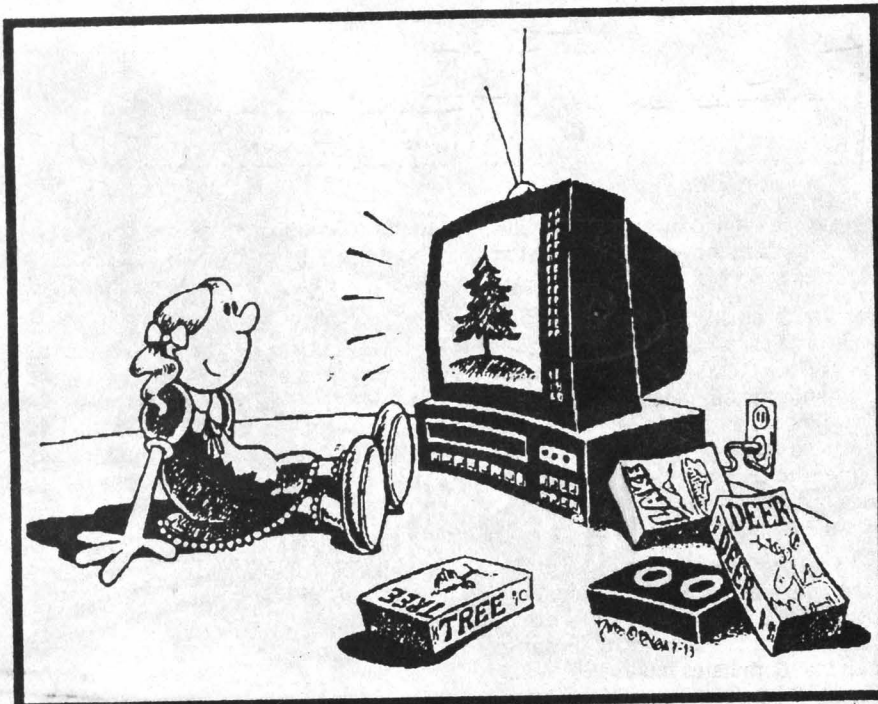


Illustration ©1993 by Nina Paley

## A Wise Use Decoder's Guide

by Ralph Maughan, Pocatello, Idaho Standard Disclaimer

*Confused by the Rhetoric of the Wise Use Movement? Here's an Interpreter's Guide*

**What They Say:** "Wise use of our natural resources."

**What They Really Mean:** "Any extractive use of natural products, especially if the extraction makes lots of noise, uses motors, or goes 'moo'."

**"Lock up of our natural resources":** Reliance on nature's way; use of the natural environment without obvious human modification or degradation.

**"Decadent, over-mature forest":** An old-growth forest with a balance of young, old and dead trees.

**"Healthy and thrifty forest":** A tree farm.

**"We need ATV and dirt bike trails everywhere so that women, children and senior citizens can enjoy the outdoors":** I'm a 30 year-old man and out of shape.

**"The rangelands of the West are in better shape today than in my grandpa's time":** Things are better than during the Dust Bowl days.

**"The 'local' people" (as in "the Federal bureaucrats won't listen to the local people"):** The nearest anti-environmentalists.

**"Eastern environmentalists":** Any environmentalists.

**"Easterners":** Anyone, anywhere, in the U.S. who lives in a town with more than a couple of thousand people.

**"The war against the West":** The battle within the West over reform of public land use.

**"Socialists and Communists":** People who want to reduce government subsidies to Western mining, logging and grazing industries.

**"Hippies on food stamps who don't know what it means to work":** Environmentalists.

**"Rich newcomers who don't have to work for a living":** Environmentalists.

**"Washington bureaucrats who don't understand local conditions":** The folks who work in the ranger station down the street.

**"Radical environmentalists":** Any environmentalist.

**"Environmental terrorism":** Lawful appeal of a timber sale or filing a lawsuit.

**"Those people who think animals are more important than people":** Those who think that people who like animals other than livestock should have their wishes considered, too.

**"Playground for Easterners":** Any place in the Western U.S. used for recreation by folks from outside the county.

**"My grazing rights":** A rancher's grazing privileges associated with holding a grazing lease on public land.

**"A working river":** A river with its entire flow committed to irrigation. Or alternatively, a stream that has been rendered fishless due to pollution.

**"Maybe, like the dinosaurs, it's a species that just can't adapt":** The species in question can't leap over dams, thrive on free-ways, or make a living in cow pastures.

**"Species that can adapt":** Livestock.

**"They're trying to take my property":** I have a scheme that will harm your (neighboring) property and I don't want any government regulations to stop me.

## The Mendocino Environmental Center Newsletter

This newsletter is a publication of the Mendocino Environmental Center, a non-profit organization founded in March, 1987 for the purpose of promoting the conservation, restoration, and wise use of the Earth's natural resources and to provide a facility where people can work together toward these ends.

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as it rolls off into the international marketplace.

## "Political Risk Insurance"

According to Commerce Department memos, OPIC is supporting U.S. companies' investment in the former Soviet Union. OPIC uses American tax dollars to provide project financing and political risk insurance to the investors. By late March this year, OPIC had approved approximately \$3 billion in financing and political risk insurance to support U.S. companies' investment in former Soviet states. Since then, OPIC has approved risk insurance for the \$70 million that Global Forestry wants to spend carving out roads and tearing up ecosystems in Russia.

If Global Forestry is forced to flee its investments in Russia due to political upheaval, the U.S. taxpayer will have to pay the companies back for having lost their investment gamble. If the political situation remains stable and Global Forestry is able to go ahead with its deforestation plan, the company can export to the U.S. raw logs of fairly high quality for pennies on the dollar of their actual value.

Washington's rationale for this subsidy is that foreign investment will provide political stability in Russia. For Russia's leaders, abating the threat of revolution is a major motivating factor in the drive to obtain foreign currency as immediately as possible. Russia's vast stands of boreal forest are assets that can be sold quickly. In exchange for cold cash the country's leaders are willing to write-off the milling jobs, forget the topsoil, damn the watersheds and throw away everything else that could provide long term sustainability for its citizens.

The loss of Russia's boreal forest will have the profound effect of magnifying global warming since the forest is one of the largest carbon sinks on earth. Carbon sinks bind carbon dioxide that otherwise would be in the atmosphere causing the greenhouse effect.

The logging would also devastate rare wildlife habitat. The last 250 Siberian

tigers and scores of other species will be gone forever if the forest falls.

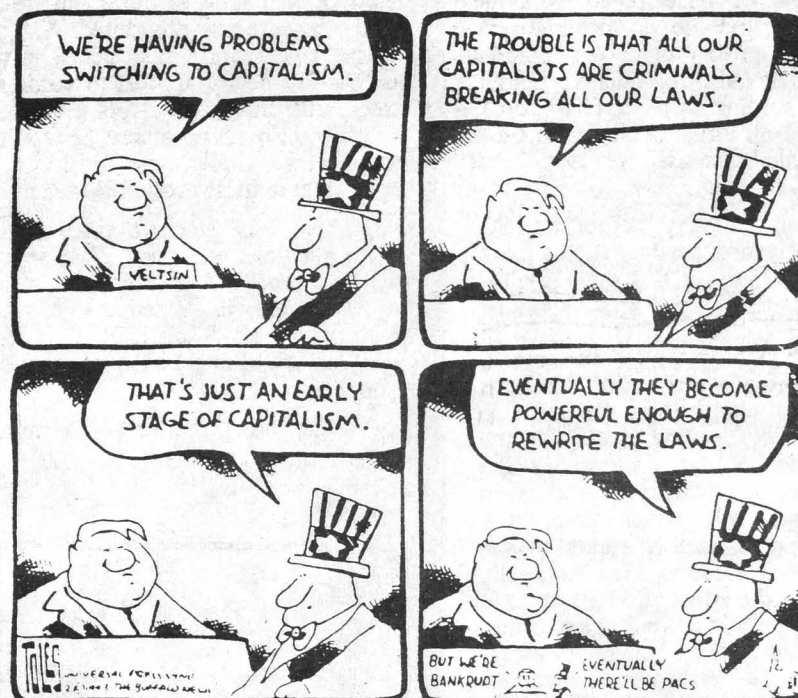
In the Russian Far East, where Japanese and Korean companies have been frantically harvesting timber for several years, thirty rivers have filled with silt. OPIC claims that Global Forestry's project will cause minimal environmental damage in Russia because the logging must adhere to U.S. forestry law in order to obtain political insurance. Anyone who has followed what U.S. timber companies have done legally on public land in the U.S. are not encouraged by this promise.

## Importing Trouble

On the face of it, importing logs and chips from outside North America looks as if it would reduce the pressure on U.S. forests and allow a break from cutting trees. But in reality, importing wood from outside North America, especially from uncultivated forests such as Russia's, is fraught with danger, of unprecedented scope, to U.S. forests.

The forests of Russia and Siberia contain organisms so dangerous to U.S. tree species that an unofficial ban on log imports from the region has existed with U.S. government and business cooperation for over four years. That ban is about to be lifted now that import rules have been officially published that will allow Russian logs and chips to begin entering the U.S. as soon as late August. Under intense pressure from the Commerce Department, The U.S. Department of Agriculture has developed import regulations that will allegedly protect U.S. forests from the introduction of dangerous Russian forest pests. Logs, chips and other wood from the region must be heated and doused with pesticides. These are expensive regimens that would be done in Russia, under Russian supervision. The only assurance that the procedures had been completed in the required manner would be an importer's word.

Logs would enter the U.S. saturated in pesticides that are severely restricted for use in this country. On the front line



for exposure to the poisoned wood are workers who handle wood and breathe dust particles in sawmills.

Even with poisons and heat applied to kill all organisms on and in the wood, experts say logs that aren't completely sterilized will contain dangerous pests. If just one dangerous pregnant insect or a few spores of fungi or a couple of nematodes enter the U.S. alive, find a niche in our environment and begin to spread, it could create a monumental crisis.

Pests known to inhabit Russian forests are considered capable of destroying entire species of trees in the Western U.S., such as the Douglas fir, a cousin to the larch that dominates much of the Russian forest. Pests from outside the country would not meet any resistance in the already heavily stressed forests of the Western United States.

The government and timber industry reaction to the spread of a dangerous forest pest is likely to be pesticide spraying on a massive scale. Even though at-

tempts to eradicate a pest that has found a home in a new environment almost always fail, the pressure to use pesticides would be intense.

Destruction of the Russian forests and ecosystems, the import of dangerous pests to the U.S. and subsequent large scale pesticide use — these are the broad strokes of the horrific destruction associated with just one of the federal government's REAL welfare programs.

Several environmental groups are considering challenging the regulations that would allow dangerous log imports from Russia and Siberia.

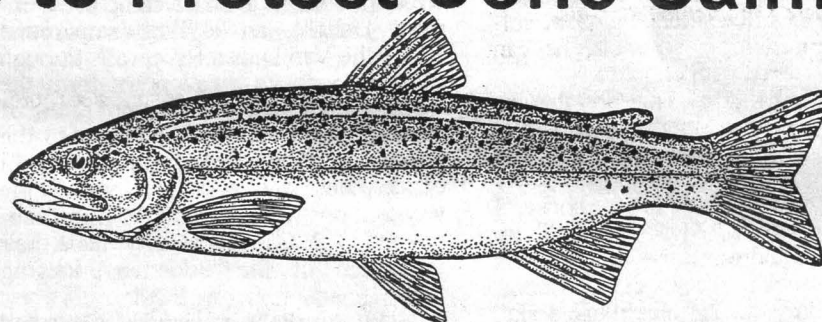
[Patty Clary is the Executive Director of Californians for Alternatives to Toxics (CATs), a pesticide reform group based in Arcata and serving communities throughout northern California. CATs can be reached at 860 1/2 11th St., Arcata, CA 95521. (707) 822-8497.]

# Groups Sue to Protect Coho Salmon Coastwide

## Endangered Species Act Needed To Preserve Fishing Industry

by Tryg Sletteland and Mike Sherwood, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund

and Diane Valentine, Oregon Natural Resources Council  
ed. by Betty Ball



A coalition of 24 fishing and conservation groups, including the Mendocino Environmental Center, filed suit on June 1, 1995 against the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) for its failure to act in response to a petition by many of the groups to protect coho salmon under the federal Endangered Species Act (ESA).

"We've given them more than enough time to release their proposal to preserve plummeting coastal coho runs," said Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund salmon specialist Tryg Sletteland. "With wild coho populations plunging in California, Oregon and Washington, our coastal economies need the protection afforded by the Endangered Species Act today," Sletteland said.

"This is a case of jobs being saved by the ESA - jobs in the sport and commercial fishing industry," said Oregon Natural Resources Council's (ONRC) Diane Valentine. "During the 1970's coho fishing brought about \$70 million/year to the region," Valentine said, "but the dwindling numbers of coho have decimated the fishing industry."

"It is past time to protect coho, the ESA, and our coastal communities," Valentine added.

Once a petition is filed, the ESA gives NMFS one year to decide whether to propose a species for listing. The agen-

cy is now between 7 and 14 months late in determining whether a listing is warranted.

"The law is crystal clear on this matter and the government has broken it," said Legal Defense Fund attorney Mike Sherwood. "It is time for the federal government to comply with the law, and take action before coho are gone forever."

Coho are currently threatened by many human actions, including destruction of their habitat by logging and other activities, water diversion for power production and agriculture, poor hatchery practices, and over-fishing in Canada.

## COHO SALMON FACTS

- Status of the fish.** Coho (silver) salmon population numbers are down 90 to 95% in the "lower 48". California had 500,000 fish in the 1940s, but only a few thousand remain. Oregon's coastal rivers produced 1.4 million coho in 1900; fewer than 50,000 are left today. The Columbia Basin once hosted runs of 1.2 million fish; coho are now virtually extinct there. Wild coho are depressed or declining and face the risk of extinction in about half of Washington's rivers, including an estimated 75% decline in Puget Sound.
- Economic impact.** These declines have been disastrous for the fishing industry. During the 1970s, coastal com-

munities in the Pacific Northwest received between \$60 and \$70 million per year from the coho commercial fishery. (This is the direct value to commercial fishermen; it includes no multipliers, indirect or induced effects. The figure includes the troll fishery only. This information is from a personal communication to Pacific Rivers Council by Hans Radtke.) Today that number is essentially zero. According to a 1994 report by Anthony J. Fedler, Ph.D., titled "Economic Value of Recreational and Commercial Use of Pacific Anadromous Fish in Washington, Oregon, California and Idaho", published by the American Sport-fishing Association, the total net economic value of salmon and steelhead fisheries in the 3 states in 1990 was estimated at \$280 million.

- Status of the fisheries.** The sport and commercial coho fisheries have been eliminated in Oregon and California in 1994 and 1995 - a huge loss. The limited coho fisheries allowed in Washington in 1995 are greatly reduced from historic levels.
- Causes of decline.** Coho are endangered by a combination of human-caused problems including habitat destruction, overharvest, and poor hatchery management. These factors have eliminated the coho's ability to withstand adverse natural conditions like the "El Nino" ocean currents. Coho are particu-

larly sensitive to habitat damage since they stay in rivers longer than other salmon species before migrating to sea. Habitat has been destroyed by poor logging practices, agricultural diversions, and urbanization. Hatchery fish pose serious threats to wild stocks in spawning and rearing areas, and they also lead to overharvesting of wild stocks.

- History of attempt to list coho.** Three petitions to list coho were filed in 1993: by Santa Cruz County on central California coast stocks in March; by Oregon Trout on Oregon coastal stocks in July; and by Pacific Rivers Council on Washington, Oregon and California stocks on October 15, 1993. By law, National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) had one year from that date to complete its status review and recommend for or against listing as a threatened or endangered species. A 60-day notice of intent to sue for missing this deadline was sent to NMFS February 9, 1995.
- Co-plaintiffs on the current lawsuit.** The following 24 nonprofit organizations make up the coalition filing suit: Coast Action Group, Coast Range Association, Environmental Protection Information Center, Friends of the Garcia River, Friends of the River, Greater Ecosystem Alliance, Klamath Forest Alliance, Marble Mountain Audubon, Mendocino Environmental Center, Mount Shasta Area Audubon Society, National Audubon Society, Northcoast Environmental Center, Oregon Natural Resources Council, Oregon Trout, Pilchuck Audubon Society, Portland Audubon Society, Save the West, Sierra Club, Siskiyou Audubon Society, Siskiyou Regional Education Project, Tenmile Creek Association, Trout Unlimited of California, Washington Trout, and the Western Ancient Forest Campaign.



# Headwaters Forest Still Stands!

## Mass Protest Averts Logging Threat (For Now)

by Judi Bari

Well, we did it! In the face of a swift and impressive mobilization of community outrage, Maxxam/Pacific Lumber backed down and signed an agreement Monday afternoon to delay their Tuesday logging deadline for Headwaters Forest.

Still, our Tuesday demonstrations went on as planned, sending such a clear and powerful message that our Republican Congressman Frank Riggs responded by reversing his position on logging in Headwaters. Two days after our protest, Riggs unexpectedly announced that he is introducing a new bill in Congress to save Headwaters, saying it has become "a lightning rod for criticism of the woods products industry." And even though Riggs' bill, which involves a trade for federal timber rights in the Smith River Recreation Area, is totally unacceptable, the effect of it for now is to back Maxxam away from their brinksmanship, and cool the immediate threat of logging in the Headwaters ancient redwoods.

These incredible events began a few weeks ago when we found out, with only six days notice, that the California Department of Forestry (CDF) had granted Maxxam/Pacific Lumber an exemption to do "salvage logging" in the pristine Headwaters wilderness area. By the time the cutting was scheduled to begin, we had put together a community coalition and mobilized over 500 people to show up on a weekday in a remote rural area and let Maxxam know in no uncertain terms that we will not let Headwaters fall.

Our three-pronged strategy began with a rally at the log gate leading to Headwaters, attended by an impressive 400-500 people. The rally was called by Earth First!, with our legacy of successful direct action campaigns, and EPIC, the group that has been filing and winning lawsuits over Maxxam/Pacific Lumber's logging practices for the past eight years. It was a powerful, first-time coalition of our two groups, joined by the Mendocino Environmental Center (MEC), Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) and many others. The mostly local crowd was bolstered by Movement activists who poured in from Oregon, Colorado, Nevada and other parts of California in response to our call. One neighborhood teenager summed up the scene with a bewildered shake of his head. "Shitloads," was his only comment.

## Company Thugs and Provocateurs

After several sun-drenched hours of songs and speeches, we began phase two of our plan. About 200 of us lined up in a huge caravan to Pacific Lumber headquarters in the company-owned town of Scotia, to deliver a petition containing 12,000 signatures of people opposed to logging in Headwaters. Pacific Lumber President John Campbell had recently stated, while announcing his logging plans, that only 50 or 60 people care about Headwaters Forest. So these 12,000 petition signatures, collected over the past year by the Bay Area Headwaters Coalition, were the perfect answer to his arrogance.

The last time Earth First! had been in Scotia, twelve of our cars had been smashed with baseball bats in broad daylight by pro-company goons, while Humboldt Sheriffs stood by and shrugged. We didn't know what we would encounter this time, but we stated before the caravan left that, whatever the company did, we would meet it with nonviolence.

As we pulled into Scotia, we could see that they were expecting us. The corporate executives had hung hastily made signs out their windows reading, "Earth First! Out of Humboldt," and "Jobs First!" They had also turned on their lawn sprinklers, locked their doors, and posted two guards on the sidewalk in front of their office. One of the guards was a uniformed Humboldt Sheriff in open service of the company, and the other was company security chief Carl Anderson.

Carl Anderson is your classic ham-

merhead thug. Big, burly and swaggering, he has had many encounters with us over the years. It was Carl Anderson who led the assault on EF! demonstrators in Headwaters in 1991, when EF! activists Lynda and Polly, among others, were swung by their hands and feet and tossed into a ditch. It was also Carl Anderson who, in a later banner hanging action not even on Pacific Lumber land, roughed up EF!er Todd Cinnamon and jerked him up from the ground by his hair.

The crowd assembled in front of the building, unfurling Earth First! banners directly under their "No Earth First!" banners, despite the sprinklers. Cecelia Lanman of EPIC, Kurt Newman and myself were in front, as the designated presenters of the petition. Kurt was one of the original three EF!ers who "discovered," mapped and named Headwaters Forest eight years ago. Kurt was also one of the first EF! tree sitters, but now, suffering from multiple sclerosis, he can barely walk, even with crutches.

We informed Carl Anderson that we wanted to present our petitions to Pacific Lumber President John Campbell, and Carl replied that he would not accept our petitions. Anticipating this response, I just happened to have the bullhorn handy, and I addressed the crowd. "John Campbell won't accept our petitions. He's too busy hiding under his desk!" Cecelia and I looked at each other, instantly ready to risk arrest to deliver the petitions, and asked Carl what he would do if we just walked past him. "You'll have to try it and find out," he answered.

As we stepped forward, both Carl and his sheriff lackey blocked and pushed us, knocking Kurt Newman off his crutches and onto the ground, and shoving KMUD reporter Estelle Fennell down on the grass where the sprinklers were still going. Then the strangest thing happened. Carl Anderson raised his fist in the air and rotated it in a circle. And suddenly, out of nowhere, several young men in tractor caps began hurling themselves at Carl and the sheriff, who tossed them off like incoming fly balls, only to see them hurl themselves again.

The scene was surreal, as no one in the crowd took the bait of these obvious provocateurs. Instead, the crowd stood firm and steady, chanting, "No violence! No violence!" And each time the company thugs got preoccupied with the provocateurs, Cecelia and I took another step forward, closing the gap between us and the door. It was one of the most powerful moments I have witnessed, as the nonviolent crowd created a situation in which the company's violence had no context.

Finally, I addressed John Campbell through the bullhorn, directing it at the second story windows where the execu-

tive secretaries were peering out. "If you want to get rid of us," I said, "all you have to do is let our three representatives respectfully deliver our petitions. Otherwise, we're not leaving." And, amazingly, John Campbell, the most powerful man in Humboldt County, backed down.

They had to open two locked doors to let us in, and they locked them again behind us. Cecelia, Kurt and I triumphantly entered the executive offices with our 8-inch tall stack of petitions, Kurt still dazed and shaken by the rough treatment he had received. As we turned to go, Carl Anderson looked me straight in the eye, extended his hand, and gave me a manly handshake, as if to say, "Okay, you won this round."

## Meanwhile, Back in the Woods

After our political victory in Scotia, we went back to the base camp at Swimmers Delight, an idyllic campground where the Van Duzen River rolls through the redwoods, to await news from the woods crews. This was the third prong of our 3-pronged action. In addition to the people at the log gate rally and the Scotia offices, there were also 50 activists in the woods, hoping to intercept Pacific Lumber and CDF officials as they made their inspection of the wilderness logging plan.

Unfortunately, the woods crews had not done quite as well as the other two actions. Headwaters is logistically difficult to defend on the ground, because just getting there involves a long trespass hike over steep and rough terrain. Some of the routes are as long as 10 miles, and go through clearcuts that do not provide any cover to hide demonstrators from company security or Stomper vigilantes.

There are also five separate locked-gate entrances, making it hard to know where to blockade.

Two people ended up turning back because they could not withstand the physical rigors of the hike. It was also hard for crews to find their way on this moonless night, and many ended up reaching the grove far later than expected. Attempts to blockade the gates failed, because the Pacific Lumber and CDF officials left so early that they beat the demonstrators to the gate.

Nonetheless, when the company and agency officials went into the woods to mark the trees for cutting, they were delayed by slash and boulder barricades in the log roads. And when they reached the grove, they found a large banner hanging that read, "Headwaters Will Stand!"

After the Tuesday demonstrations, about 80 out-of-towners stayed in the base camp for the rest of the week. They spent the time, along with local guides, making repeated forays into Headwaters, mapping, monitoring and familiarizing themselves with the forest, and standing in awe of this primeval wilderness, with ferns that tower over your head and redwood trees 18-feet across, so blithely threatened by businessmen who cannot comprehend their sacredness. All in all, about 100 people virtually occupied Headwaters Forest for the week, training and preparing for future actions. Because this time, the defense of Headwaters was accomplished in the political arena. Next time, we must be ready to defend it on the ground.

If you would like to be notified of future action alerts for Headwaters Forest or other precious remnants of our redwood ecosystem, please call (707) 468-1660 and ask to be added to the EF! action alert list.



photo by Cori Melious



photo by Annie Esposito



# Legal Update - Headwaters Still Threatened!



photo by Cori Mellious

by Cecelia Lanman and Tracy Katelman, RPF

Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC)  
ed by Betty & Gary Ball

Challenges to Pacific Lumber's plans to harvest "dead, dying and diseased" trees on more than 185,000 acres are headed to the State Court of Appeals in San Francisco after the Thursday, May 18th, 1995 ruling in Humboldt County Superior Court. Visiting Judge John Kleaver issued two decisions May 18th, in both cases rejecting plaintiffs' arguments that environmental review of wildlife and cumulative impacts analysis were inadequate for the California Department of Forestry (CDF) to approve the plans.

"This is nothing new" said Cecelia Lanman of EPIC. "We've had to go to the appeals court before, and we've won there six times in our suits against Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL). We have always received protection for the PL old-growth stands from the appellate court while proving our case." At present, logging of dead and dying trees under PL's exemptions could commence any day, and Judge Kleaver set the temporary restraining order on harvest of 198 acres in the contested Yager Creek drainage to expire May 31.

Cecelia noted the difficulty in keeping local judges on timber issues, due to blatant political pressure applied by PL, and said that visiting judges typically do not have sufficient knowledge of the issues required for a well-considered decision. "We feel that this judge only briefly, superficially looked at the issue and gave us a narrowly-construed decision," she said.

In his decision, the judge said that CDF had followed proper procedure to justify its approval of the Exemptions and Timber Harvest Plan. However, he left the door open for an appeal in which the plaintiffs can prove that inadequate information was received by CDF and that it abused its discretion in accepting the plans.

Judge Kleaver wrote that logging dead, dying and diseased trees under an Exemption plan is "surely considered relatively inconsequential activity," and this is precisely what the plaintiffs hope to disprove in the appellate court. The issues that plaintiffs claim were not sufficiently examined include cumulative im-

pacts of logging activity on streams and watersheds, and the effect on salmon and other wildlife known to inhabit the area. They claim that under the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), public review of the Exemption plans should have been carried out as well.

The February Owl Creek decision in Federal court putting a permanent injunction in place on that tract of old-growth woods upheld a preponderance of evidence that PL's own wildlife survey data is faulty and incomplete, yet, it is PL's data (drawn up by the same consultants who carried out the discredited surveys in Owl Creek) that CDF considered in its review. CDF has the authority and duty to require independent third-party scientific analysis, but failed to do so.

An April 12th letter to Pacific Lumber Resource Manager Tom Herman from the US Fish and Wildlife Service and California Department of Fish and Game states, "We are aware that NSO (northern spotted owl) activity centers exist within the Exemption boundaries and that surveys have not been completed for the Exemption area." The letter goes on to note that PL's northern spotted owl plan was not complete, and that written descriptions of specific procedures to avoid "take" of endangered species must be submitted prior to harvest. This has not been done. Therefore, further operations by PL in these areas would likely result in a "take" violation under the Endangered Species Act.

Other provisions prohibit harvest of any standing trees in the old-growth redwood areas including Headwaters Forest. Only removal of downed trees in Headwaters and the other old-growth groves will be allowed to occur, and only after marbled murrelet nesting season (which extends from April 15th to September 15th). This does not recognize the biologically critical rule of downed trees in an ancient forest, nor the disturbance to the area which will be caused by the activity of removing downed logs.

There are two cases pending here. One is the challenge to PL's 179,000 acre and 6,000 acre Exemptions to log dead, dying and diseased trees, brought by the Sierra Club and EPIC. The other case seeks to halt PL logging in the Yager Creek drainage because of cumulative impacts of several timber harvest plans and extensive damage from past logging. Plaintiffs in the latter case are Doug Thron, the Bald Eagle and Salmon Restoration Project and EPIC. Both cases

will be appealed.

## Late Update - Appellate Court Declines to Issue Stay

Unfortunately, the Appellate Court has declined to issue a Stay for the Exemptions Case, which technically means PL could begin logging and removal of downed logs in the areas not designated as occupied murrelet or northern spotted owl habitat. EPIC is continuing to pursue all legal avenues to ensure correct and adequate interpretation and enforcement of the Endangered Species Act in the entire Exemption area.

The temporary restraining order in Yager Creek remains in effect until May 31.

## What You Can Do

\*Please contact Scott Pierson at the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) (916) 979-2987. Ask them what they are going to do to uphold the Endangered Species Act if PL starts logging in these exemption areas? Ask them to clarify that PL really has an enforceable agreement with USFWS to stay out of murrelet habitat.

\*Of course, the only just and viable way to settle the Headwaters issue once and for all is a "debt for nature swap". As you recall, MAXXAM's CEO Charles Hurwitz crashed a Savings and Loan in Texas in 1988 and was bailed out by taxpayers for \$1.6 billion. As a result of this, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) has an outstanding claim against MAXXAM for \$540 million. This is roughly equivalent to the \$500 million that Hurwitz wants for Headwaters.

There is indication that the FDIC is actually considering a debt for nature swap, but twice they have extended the statute of limitations on their \$540 million claim. We need to keep up the pressure on the FDIC, asking them to compensate the US taxpayers for what Hurwitz owes us by confiscating Headwaters Forest. And, Charles Hurwitz should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

\*Please write to Ricki Tigert, FDIC, 550 - 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20249. Ask her to speedily pursue a debt for nature swap for Headwaters, and prosecution for Charles Hurwitz.

\*Call the MEC at 468-1660 to keep informed of late developments and to be put on the action alert list.

## Latest Update - Red Alert - Call To Action!

As we put this issue of the Newsletter to press, the courts have failed on all counts to act in favor of the Headwaters Forest complex. Cutting has begun and promises to continue. Direct action is underway in a last ditch effort to keep the big trees standing around the pristine Headwaters grove. Due to the delay between writing and the date you will receive it, we cannot tell if direct action will still be happening by the time you read this. We can guess that direct action will continue as long as the cutting and that your help is needed. Call the MEC for details if you're able to participate.



photo by Annie Esposito





# Press Blackout

by Judi Bari

ed. by Betty & Gary Ball

Here in timber country, we are used to having our actions ignored or distorted by a hostile corporate press. But the news blackout of our Headwaters actions was stunning, even by the press' usual depraved standards.

One of the worst offenders was the Santa Rosa Press Democrat, a New York Times affiliate and the largest corporate paper on California's north coast. A few days before our rally, just as our mobilization was getting into full swing, the Press Democrat received a call from an anonymous individual falsely claiming that he had spiked the trees in Headwaters. It was easy to prove that the tree spiking report was false, because the scenario described by the caller would have been physically impossible. Maxxam/Pacific Lumber also has a documented history, known to the Press Democrat, of consciously distributing fake EF! press releases designed to make us look like terrorists, as was done just before the bombing in 1990.

Despite all this, the Press Democrat ran a story prominently on page B-1 titled, "Tree Spiking Claimed in Headwaters", in which they repeated the anonymous caller's claims but left out the discrediting details.

Running such an incendiary false story would be bad enough in itself. But it became inexcusable when the Press Democrat also decided to black out the true story of our nonviolent community mobilization. They printed not a word about our demos in the Santa Rosa main edition of their paper, and they buried and understated it in a few brief paragraphs on page B-3 of their north coast edition. Then, for a final insult, when I wrote a letter to the editor complaining about all this, they surgically edited it to limit and tone down my charges against them.

The San Francisco city newspapers did not fare much better than the Press Democrat, although at least none of them printed the fake tree spiking report. On the other hand, they also did not print one word about our actions. This is particularly odd, since both the SF Chronicle and the SF Examiner have been covering the Headwaters story, reporting on the legal developments and on the company's plan to log. The Sunday joint edition of the SF Chronicle and Examiner even carried an amazing, strongly written editorial condemning Maxxam's plan to cut Headwaters and calling for a debt-for-nature swap. Yet they systematically blacked out any hint of our successful actions up north, or of a demonstration that was held in the Bay Area a week earlier, in which 75 EF!ers protested at the Mill Valley Pacific Lumber office, and one demonstrator was arrested.

None of these omissions were caused by our failure to notify the press. We did so both before and after the demos. Finally, in a last ditch effort to break the Bay Area blackout, a press conference was planned at which the lead speaker was Terrance Hallinan of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, announcing a resolution that the Supes had just passed calling for the preservation of Headwaters. The press conference was accompanied by a rally in the city, held at a convenient time and location for the media, and including speakers from several mainstream environmental groups. The press conference went great except for one problem. No press. Only public radio stations KPFA and KQED even sent reporters. The newspapers stayed away, and of course, printed nothing.

In fact, KPFA in San Francisco, and the awesome KMUD community radio in Garberville provided the only decent coverage around, both sending reporters to the demos and producing dramatic live news reports. Local newspapers such as the Ukiah Daily Journal followed the lead of the Bay Area big boys, reporting the legal developments and company pronouncements, but omitting even a hint that our demonstrations took place. The big exception on the local front was the Eureka Times Standard, the closest paper to the place where the actions were. The

Times Standard is usually the most subservient of all to their corporate masters at Maxxam. But this time, they not only reported on our demonstrations, they said there were 1000 people at the log gate, instead of the 500 that were really there.

That's the first time I can remember them exaggerating our numbers in that direction. The only thing I can figure out is that seeing all those hippies scared them so much they went apoplectic and started seeing double.

The shameful dishonesty of the media in covering up news of our actions should remind us that we can't expect the corporate press to tell our story. In order to be successful, our actions must stand on their own without publicity, being directed at the company, not the media. The media will only cover us if they can marginalize us as a novelty, a freak show, or a band of terrorists. The very concept of an empowered community taking collective action to bring about change is too threatening to them. The revolution will not be televised.

## Update - Latest Press Atrocity

Press Release from TREES Foundation, Mendocino Environmental Center (MEC),

Willits Environmental Center (WEC), Mendocino Coast Environmental Center (MCEC), and Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC)

ed. by Betty Ball

On Sunday, May 28th, the Santa Rosa Press Democrat (PD) ran a story by reporter Bley's W. Rose that brought journalistic standards to an all-time low, even for the PD, with their history of non-and/or biased coverage of environmental and social justice issues and activism. The article by Bley's Rose centered around a "Bley-tantly" false and inflammatory allegation about Judi Bari. The source of the vicious accusation was a man named Irv Sutley. Sutley's charge is based on third-party hearsay, and is acknowledged as a joke even by Sutley's closest associates. The person alleged to have been the source from which Sutley concocted his charge was not even interviewed by the PD; nor were any of the many people who work closely with Judi. Judi, herself, was not interviewed for this "story".

With this latest example of ridiculously un-documented, one-sided journalism, the PD has once again proved a pawn in efforts to target and malign

Judi Bari, specifically, and discredit the environmental and social justice activist community in general. In fact, Irv Sutley has dedicated the bulk of his political activism in the past year to attempts to publicly discredit Judi, as her false arrest lawsuit against the FBI (which the PD has consistently not covered) quite successfully makes its way through the legal system. But for Sutley's absurd story to be picked up and embellished by Bley's Rose, and for the PD editors to allow such a piece to run as if it were a legitimate news story, shows a shameful lack of journalistic standards, the result of which is to further marginalize and endanger Judi and other activists.

Please let the editors of the PD know that this kind of continuing unprincipled, biased, irresponsible, slanderous reporting will not be tolerated. (For further information or a copy of this outrageous article, call the MEC at 468-1660.)

• Call PD Executive Editor Bruce Kyse, Managing Editor Robert Swofford, or Bley's Rose's editor Cathy Barnett at (707) 526-8585 (outside the 707-area code, call 1-800-675-5056).

• Send letters to the editor to: Editor, Santa Rosa Press Democrat, PO Box 569, Santa Rosa, CA 95402.

## A Sample Letter

Gary & Betty Ball

P.O. Box 1415

Ukiah, CA 95482

468-1355

May 29, 1995

The Press Democrat

Editorial Director: Peter Golis

427 Mendocino Avenue

Santa Rosa, CA 95401

Dear Editor,

Is COINTELPRO alive and well at the Press Democrat, or have you simply lowered your journalistic standards to the point where the ugliest personal biases of your staff writers are now given credence as serious news stories?

For many years we have been shocked at the vehement anti-environmentalist sentiment that your staff writer Bley's Rose has managed to print in your newspaper, but his hit piece on Judi Bari on page B1 of this Sunday's Press Democrat is beyond belief. Based only on third-hand hearsay, this "article" amounted to nothing more than cheap-shot character assassination of the sort that would not be able to find its way into print even as a letter to the editor in respectable newspapers. The fact that the hearsay was obtained from an individual who has an axe to grind with Bari makes the "article" just that much more deplorable.

Assuming that your editorial staff does not entirely consist of symps for the Wise Use movement, we must ask if there is no limit to how low the writers on your staff can sink before personnel changes are made? The statement alleged to have been made by Bari was denied by her as false. This fact alone, in the absence of any other evidence, should have been enough to stop this piece from going to print. Bari's accusers even admit that they thought the statement was a "big ha ha ha." However, even if the alleged statement is true, so what? Divorcing couples often say similar or worse things. Does that make their statements "news"?

You allowed this story to be printed with no further justification than that Bley's Rose enjoys venting his spleen at environmentalists in general, and at one of the most effective organizers in our community in particular. If you are going to continue to employ this man, at least have the good graces to require him to write under a nom de plume. That will probably not help you though. This sort of stench by any other name would still be Bley's Rose.

Sincerely,

Gary & Betty Ball



# Round Valley Reservation Triple Slayings

## Lead To Charges Of Police Cover-Up And Harassment

by Nicholas Wilson

(May 16, 1995)

Covelo, CA - A series of three fatal shootings in one day left two Native American men and a deputy sheriff dead, resulting in an intensive police manhunt for the alleged cop killer, while residents of the Round Valley Indian Reservation raised charges of a police cover-up and civil rights violations. A \$100,000 reward and filming for Fox TV's America's Most Wanted were announced today. The reservation is located in northeast Mendocino County, about 160 miles north of San Francisco.

Eugene Britton, 48, was shot to death about 6 pm April 14 in the Covelo High School parking lot. The Mendocino County Sheriff's Department said witnesses named Arylis Peters as the gunman in that shooting. Two others who may have been with Peters were quickly arrested, and Peters himself was arrested early the next morning.

However, three hours after that first shooting, while searching after dark on a remote road for Arylis Peters, two sheriff's deputies shot and killed Leonard Peters, 44, his brother. The brothers bore little physical resemblance to each other except that they were both Indian men. Deputy Dennis Miller said he and Deputy Bob Davis shot Peters after he allegedly refused orders to put down a gun and began shooting at them. Peters' widow, however, says he was night blind as a result of diabetes, so there was no way for him to be threatening officers with a gun in the dark. She believes he was unarmed.

Moments after Peters was shot, according to Deputy Miller, shots were fired by an unseen assailant from nearby bushes, and Deputy Davis, 49, died in the ensuing shoot-out. A massive manhunt was launched that night for the unknown assailant of Davis. Over 24 hours later investigators announced they suspected Eugene "Bear" Lincoln, 51, whose home is nearby. Nobody saw Lincoln at the shooting scene, but officers said they found his hat nearby.

### Police Cover-Up Charged

Family members believe Leonard Peters was ambushed in the dark by the deputies when they mistook him for his brother Arylis, and they believe that law enforcement is engaging in a cover-up of their mistake. Residents near the scene heard several bursts of automatic weapons (machine gun) fire, and some think that the slain deputy was hit by his partner's bullets in a crossfire. Relatives said that Peters' body was riddled with bullet holes.

Cyndi Pickett, his widow, said when she dressed him for his funeral, there were at least a dozen holes in the back of his head large enough to put her finger into, probably from buckshot fired from a deputy's shotgun. She described her husband as a very gentle man who loved flowers and stayed home to care for the youngest of his six children while she worked as a teacher's aide.

Although the family has not been allowed to see the autopsy report over a month after the killings, a sheriff's spokesperson said Leonard Peters was hit only by a single bullet in the face. However, a sheriff's spokesperson earlier had told the press that Peters was shot down in "a hail of bullets." A witness who saw Peters' body about 15 minutes after the shooting, said that, "His whole torso was just pulverized, he was so shot up."

Leonard Peters' family has filed a wrongful death claim against Mendocino County, maintaining that deputies shot an innocent man during their search for Arylis Peters. Their attorney, Sacramento lawyer Carlos Alcala, said he would file a wrongful death lawsuit as soon as the county denies the claim. Alcala obtained a court order May 8 requiring investigators to preserve all evidence in the case, including notes, diagrams, photos and tape recordings.

Many Round Valley residents feel that Bear Lincoln, if he really was at the shooting scene, may be the only witness besides Deputy Miller to what happened



Leonard Peters, Cyndi Pickett, Erin Hoaglin (Cyndi's granddaughter), and Krisha Peters (Leonard's daughter).

photo by Karen Pickett

that night. They believe that Lincoln is running for his life. Residents monitoring police scanners said they heard a "shoot to kill" order against Lincoln.

Noted San Francisco Bay Area attorney J. Tony Serra has agreed to defend Lincoln if he is brought to trial. There have been unsuccessful efforts to negotiate a safe surrender and protective custody for Lincoln.

More than a month after the shootings, Lincoln remains free, and a sheriff's spokesperson has said they suspect family members or other reservation residents are hiding him, adding, "We're going to be a thorn in their side until they cough him up." Today a \$100,000 reward in the case was announced in a press release from the office of California Governor Pete Wilson, who also plans to be a Republican candidate for president.

### Residents Claim Harassment And Illegal Searches By Police

Meanwhile, some reservation residents issued a statement soon after the shootings, saying they had been "living in a state of terror given the severe and illegal harassment suffered at the hands of the Mendocino County police." The statement listed a dozen incidents of elders and children having guns pointed at them and suffering physical and verbal abuse while "at least 50 homes have been searched, many without warrants."

Dozens of heavily armed law enforcement officers poured into Round Valley in the days after the shootings to join in the manhunt for the alleged cop killer. Some carried fully automatic M-16 military assault rifles or shotguns. They included a helicopter-supported Sonoma County SWAT team, FBI agents, California Highway Patrol, and officers from nearby counties, cities and state agencies.

"Innocent people are being caught up in a police dragnet," said Ron Lincoln, a tribal council member. "They've roughed up our elders and put guns to our children's heads." Some residents said they were stopped and searched nearly every time they tried to drive anywhere. According to a Sheriff's spokesperson, the officers are staying within the letter of the law, but others have admitted they are using every pretext for conducting searches. A deputy at the scene of one daytime search with drawn weapons in the presence of children, when asked if the guns were necessary stated that, "We're here to make a point."

Representatives from Round Valley went to the Mendocino County Board of Supervisors seeking relief from law enforcement harassment. They asked for support for a request for federal intervention by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to protect their civil rights, and asked the county board to send a message to the sheriff to order his officers to abide by all state and federal laws in their treatment

of the Native American community. The board unanimously agreed to support those requests.

### Round Valley Community Support Coalition Formed

At a Covelo meeting May 5 for reservation residents, supporters, and media, several people told of the harassment they had personally suffered or witnessed, and said intimidation by police was continuing. As a result of that meeting the Round Valley Community Support Coalition was formed. The Coalition's stated purpose is to be a link between the Round Valley community and other groups, to work towards developing peaceful and constructive solutions, and to support the community in their quest for justice. The coalition is talking with a veteran San Francisco civil rights attorney about filing a civil-rights lawsuit.

The family of Leonard Peters is asking for contributions for an investigation, and for a letter writing campaign to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice urging an investigation of the killing of Leonard Peters, protection for the Round Valley Reservation residents from further police harassment, and for "the prevention of the murder of yet another Indian man who must be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to the laws of our country."

(Update As Of May 19th)

### Cover-Up Charge, Manhunt Continues

More than a month after he was shot to death on the Round Valley Indian Reservation by Mendocino County Sheriffs Deputies Dennis Miller and Bob Davis, no one from the family of Leonard "Acorn" Peters, or their lawyer, has had access to the autopsy report. They have been told it is secret information due to an ongoing investigation. Witnesses who came on the shooting scene within minutes say they saw no gun near the body of Peters.

Deputy Miller's statement told how, at one point, he took cover to the left of the road down the embankment while armed with a fully-automatic M-16. People at the scene a few days after the shootings said the position of Deputy Davis' body as clearly indicated by blood stains on the cut bank to the right of the road was 15 feet further down the road than Leonard Peter's body, NOT consistent with his being shot in the head from ambush while bending over Peters. Anderson Valley Advertiser reporter Mark Heimann, who studied the shooting scene, believes that Deputy Davis was hiding in the brush to the right of the road, just uphill from where his body ended up. He was carrying a shotgun. The position of Davis' and Peters' bodies were along a line which included a spot on the embankment just across from where the squad car was parked, a likely

position of Deputy Miller while he was armed with and firing a fully automatic weapon. Peters' body was in the middle, between the two deputies.

### Possible Scenario

This is consistent with the following scenario. The two deputies were waiting in the moonlit darkness, deployed in ambush, one on each side of the road, expecting to confront an armed and dangerous murder suspect. Leonard Peters, who was night blind, came walking up the road, probably carrying a walking stick since he couldn't see after dark. The deputies saw him in silhouette (according to Miller's statement), mistook Leonard Peters for his brother Arylis (the murder suspect), mistook the walking stick for a gun, and opened fire. Davis fired with his buckshot-loaded shotgun, hitting Peters in the back of the head, and Miller fired with the M-16 in fully automatic mode (many witnesses heard multiple bursts of fully automatic fire) hitting Peters from the front with multiple bullets to the torso, and one to the face. One of the bullets from the M-16 struck Davis in the head, killing him, and he tumbled from his position in the brush above the road to the spot where his body was found.

No one saw Bear Lincoln, the official suspect in the killing of Deputy Davis, at the scene of the shooting. The sheriff says investigators found Bear's hat and a trail of blood leading to a group of houses where his family lives. The sheriff believes the suspect was wounded. If Bear is in hiding, it doesn't mean he is guilty. The life experience of Native Americans in Round Valley doesn't lead them to expect justice or fair treatment at the hands of the Sheriff's department or the courts. Their experience is far different from that of the white Willets businessman who spoke to the county supervisors May 2, saying he never had any trouble with the police, and, "if you ain't got nothing to hide, you ain't got nothing to fear."

Bear Lincoln probably expects he would be shot on sight by Mendocino County Sheriff's deputies, especially if there were no witnesses around. As many Native Americans are saying now, if you're an Indian in Round Valley, you're guilty until proven innocent.

### Independent Investigation Needed

A truly independent investigation is needed. Sonoma County Sheriff's Detective Roy Gourley, in charge of the current investigation, is a former Mendocino County deputy. As Peters' widow said to the county supervisors, "The whole thing stinks of a cover-up, and of police absolutely out of control, and of gross racism."

### Illegal Searches Continue

A 62-year-old Native American woman from the Cahto Rancheria near Laytonville gave a sworn videotaped statement this past Tuesday, May 16, that deputies pushed past her and searched her house with guns drawn and without a warrant the previous evening after they first asked consent to search and she explicitly denied permission. After finding nothing, the deputies left, and one said to her "We'll be back." She said that, true to their word, they returned the next morning and repeated the search without permission and without a warrant. She also testified that the previous evening the deputies had done the same thing to her neighbor and "tore up her house." Similar statements attesting to unlawful searches, intimidation and harassment by Mendocino Sheriff's deputies against Native Americans are accumulating. A civil rights attorney will be talking with Round Valley citizens today about filing a civil rights lawsuit against the county.

### Action Alert:

For further information, the Round Valley Community Support Coalition can be reached at (707) 468-1660, or fax (707) 462-2370, write c/o MEC, 106 W. Standley St., Ukiah, CA 95482. Donations can be sent to the Red Alliance Defense Fund, P.O. Box 513, Covelo, CA 95428.



# Covering The Earth With "Green PR"

by Joel Bleifuss

As the 25th anniversary of Earth Day dawns, the public relations industry is quietly advising its corporate clients to keep from gloating.

The February 1995 *O'Dwyer's PR Services* reports that the recent Republican electoral victory means "Relief is on the way for PR clients on the environmental front. . . . Green PR people are advised to ride the Republican fueled anti-environmental backlash wave as far as possible. But they should not be greedy because overreaching may come back to haunt them once the sun sets on the pro-business Republicans and the greens are again on the rise."

In the perverse world of public relations, lobbying against environmental regulations is known as "environmental" or "green" PR. "Environmental PR people enjoy sweet dreams these days as visions of Newt Gingrich and his Republican cohorts chopping away at 'burdensome' green regulations dance in their heads. . . . Green PR pros are salivating at the chance to prove their worth to clients. They are ready to navigate the thicket of regulations in DC, select those most annoying to clients, and convince lawmakers to dump them."

Michael Kehs, who heads Burson-Marsteller PR's worldwide environmental practice, offers this advice to *O'Dwyer's* readers: "Don't get your hopes up and don't appear greedy by complaining how much compliance with green laws costs. . . . Don't overreach or else things may backfire. . . . That could jeopardize years of good works and careful corporate positioning."

President Clinton's election in 1992 seemed to usher in a period of rising influence for the environmental movement. "Today, however," reports Kehs, "the business community enjoys the upper hand. . . . There is a new contract on the street. And although the word 'environment' is never mentioned, many observers believe it's less a contract with America than a 'contract on environmental busybodies.' . . . There is no better time to extend an olive branch."

## Plumbing The Public Mind

Public relations begins with state-of-the-art opinion polling. The PR industry's desire to pacify the environmental movement reflects its well-researched and deep understanding of public opinion in the United States.

Polls indicate that the vast majority of people today believe that human actions are damaging the natural environment they live in. Market researchers say that somewhere between 75 percent to 95 percent of US citizens consider themselves to be "green." More than 20 million "green" Americans translate these concerns into contributions of time and money to environmental organizations.

These opinions contrast strongly with the consensus opinion among business executives. According to one leading PR firm, 99.9 (!) percent of business executives agree with the statement: "Overall, the quality of the environment in your country is improving."

Even though business leaders are a minority whose opinions run contrary to the mainstream of American thought, they are able to determine government policy thanks to a carefully-planned, long-term strategy of "divide and conquer" which skillfully exploits divisions, such as those between "moderates" and "radicals" within the environmental movement.

Bruce Harrison, one of the leading practitioners in the field of environmental PR, says "top management" realizes that the vast majority of "green" Americans are "disconnected" from environmental reality. But communications specialists can now "quantify the sources of misperceptions that need to be addressed."

The anti-environmental campaign is most obvious in the fringe activities of radical right-wing organizations calling themselves the "Wise Use" movement. Supported by corporate sponsors, Wise Use is loudly agitating against laws and regulations that constrain the exploitation of natural resources. But quietly, far from



Illustration ©1993 by Nina Paley

the roar of anti-environmental extremists, environmental PR specialists are waging a quieter, more insidious war on the environment.

In 1990 alone, US businesses spent an estimated \$500 million on hiring the services of anti-environmental PR professionals and on "greenwashing" their corporate image. *O'Dwyer's* termed the environmental struggle, "the life and death PR battle of the 1990s."

The object of this PR war is to change public perceptions about both the environment and its despoilers. PR battles are being waged on many fronts; on television, in the printed press, in grade school classrooms, in community meeting halls, on the board of directors of mainstream environmental groups, at journalism conferences, and on talk radio.

## Softening Up The Center

This strategy explains why many of the same companies that are funding the anti-environmental movement are also pouring money into mainstream environmental groups. Joe Lyford, Jr. reports in *Propaganda Review* that corporate sponsors of the World Wildlife Fund, Nature Conservancy, Defenders of Wildlife, Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, Audubon Society and National Wildlife Federation also funded about one-quarter of the 37 organizations described in the *Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations*.

Frank Boren, former president of the Nature Conservancy and a board member of ARCO Petroleum, defends corporate cooperative efforts with environmental organizations. As he told his colleagues, "One good thing about this is that while we're working with them, they don't have time to sue us."

Corporate collaborations with environmental groups provide another benefit to corporate PR professionals: the opportunity to glean valuable knowledge from green critics of the companies they represent.

"Companies must have some vehicle for knowing what the intelligent public thinks about their products and processes," says Joanna Underwood, president of the New York-based INFORM, an environmental research organization. "If they want to understand sophisticated outside views of environmental issues affecting their companies, they would do well to have someone in the room."

Last year, academic business researchers intensely studied the thought processes of 34 people from 21 environmental organizations and 37 environmental managers from 19 corporations. The environmentalists participating in this study came from the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council, National Audubon Society, Environmental Defense Fund, Sierra Club and Greenpeace. Corporate participants included environmental managers from Waste Management,

Browning Ferris, ARCO, Mobil, Chevron and 3M.

Based on this study, published in the *SAM Advanced Management Journal*, the researchers concluded, "Whether an environmental group is confrontive or cooperative toward business depends in large part on how radical its philosophy is toward saving the earth. . . . Corporations are more likely to work with environmental groups who are more conservative. . . . and are willing to cooperate with business."

## Going Green With McDonalds

As an example of successful cooperation between business and environmentalists, the press often mentions the partnership between McDonalds restaurants and the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF).

In the midst of a national campaign against McDonalds organized by the grassroots Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste, EDF President Fred Krupp barged in and negotiated a settlement. McDonalds agreed to switch from using styrofoam to coated paper in its US restaurants. Krupp gained a victory which the EDF highlights prominently in its fundraising.

EDF's mission, Krupp said, is not to attack corporations but "to get environmental results." He told the *New York Times*, "Being willing to consider new ways to regulate and being willing to talk with business in a businesslike way is not the same thing as being in favor of half-way compromises."

The main beneficiary of the agreement, however, has been McDonalds, which saw its environmental reputation soar. According to the 1994 Roper Green Gauge Study, an annual consumer opinion poll, McDonalds now has one of the highest environmental ratings of any US corporation.

Meanwhile, McDonalds remains a massive corporate polluter. The company is currently involved in a lawsuit against grassroots activists in England, who have called 180 witnesses to testify about the effects of McDonalds' operating practices and food products on the environment, on millions of farm animals, on human health, on the Third World, and on McDonalds staff.

Mark Dowie, the author of *Losing Ground*, says the EDF-McDonalds arrangement is an example of "high-level capitulations" that "unfortunately allow companies such as McDonalds to look a lot greener than they are. The corporate exploitation of 'win/win' compromising has been relentless, with company after company competing through paid and free media to out-green one another. Such activity on the corporate food chain is both predictable and understandable. But environmental complicity, and its own public relations-driven tendency to turn compromise into false triumph, illustrates the impending moral bankruptcy of many mainstream organizations."

Keith Schneider, the environmental reporter for the *New York Times*, has won loud praise from PR firms for his reports criticizing the environmental movement. Schneider sees EDF - "one of the few national groups whose membership and budget is growing" - as a role model that other environmental groups should imitate. Schneider says less pliant groups, such as Greenpeace, "are in danger of becoming the green equivalent of the military lobby, more interested in sowing fear and protecting wasteful programs than in devising a new course."

Audubon's Don Naish seems to agree. "Conservationists have just got to learn to work with industry," Naish said, explaining his decision to approve oil drilling by Mobil under an Audubon bird sanctuary in Michigan.

## Bad Guys In White Hats

Some of the industrial polluters with the worst records have devised PR public education campaigns that enable the company to placate the public while they continue polluting.

The agri-chemical conglomerate Monsanto was one of the early pioneers of greenwashing, following the 1962 publication of *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson's classic indictment of the pesticide industry. Monsanto responded by publishing *The Desolate Year*, a parody in which the failure to use pesticides causes a plague of insect pests to devastate America. About 5,000 copies were sent to book reviewers, science and gardening writers, magazine editors and farm journalists. The argument was picked up by *New York Times* reporter Walter Sullivan, who wrote, "By stating her case so one-sidedly, Rachel Carson forfeits persuasiveness. . . . She also lays herself open to parody. Some unsung hero of the chemical industry has written for Monsanto magazine an article entitled, *The Desolate Year*."

Monsanto is currently positioning itself to defend its toxic products with a public relations campaign centered on the herbicide Round-Up™. The company has given away hundreds of gallons of Round-Up through "Spontaneous Weed Attack Teams" (SWAT) to community groups for spraying in inner-city neighborhoods to make them "cleaner and safer places to live." Monsanto's PR also touts Round-Up as a boon to endangered species, pointing out that the pesticide "is used in Kenya, Africa, to keep grasses from short circuiting electric fences that protect the endangered black rhino."

Dow Chemical's environmental PR campaign began in 1984 with the goal of making "Dow a more highly regarded company among the people who can influence its future." Dow's reputation was still suffering from its manufacture of napalm bombs and Agent Orange defoliants that devastated much of Vietnam. The company mailed glossy "Public Interest Reports" to 60,000 opinion makers: scientists, the media, legislators, regulators, employers, customers, and academics. Illustrated with numerous high-quality photographs, the "Public Interest Reports" touted Dow's programs in the area of environment and five other "good works" categories.

This campaign paid off, according to a 1986 media survey showing a 60.5 percent gain in favorable media opinion. That same year, a poll by the *Washington Journalism Review* found that business editors rated Dow's PR efforts tops among Fortune 500 chemical companies.

More recently Dow, as a member of the Chemical Manufacturers Association, has participated in Responsible Care, a program where each chemical company evaluates its own environmental performance. Dow also issues annual environmental reports that highlight the steps the company has made in improving its environmental performance. Dow's advertising slogan reinforces the same message: "Dow helps you do great things."

As a result of this systematic campaign, *American Demographics* listed Dow in 1993 as one of the 10 US firms with the best environmental reputations

continued on page 9



among consumers.

"Many people use [Dow] as an example of doing the right thing. There is hardly a discussion of pollution control and prevention among American industries that fails to highlight Dow and the strides it has made," writes Jenni Laidman in the *Bay City Times* of Saginaw, MI. Laidman notes that Dow garners all this praise even though the company "is still a leading polluter in the state and the nation. . . fish caught downstream from Midland [Dow's home base in Michigan] remain inedible, according to state fish advisories."

Sometimes a change of name is all it takes to improve a company's image. Waste Management, the nation's largest waste disposal company, has paid an estimated \$45 million since 1980 for admitted and alleged violations of environmental laws. Recently the company changed its name to WMX, Inc., and began advertising itself as a provider of "environmental services."

### Deformed Consent

In addition to co-opting environmental "moderates," the corporate PR firms are helping companies set up "community advisory panels" (CAPs) to strengthen their image in the towns and neighborhoods that host industrial facilities.

"I would give it three years and you'll see [CAPs] all around. They will be an integral part of doing business in all major industries," says A.J. Grant, president of Environmental Communication Associates in Boulder, Colorado. "You've got to have a marketing department, you've got to have accounting, and you'll have to have community interaction in the form of a CAP."

According to Joel Makower, the editor of *The Green Business Letter*, CAPs "differ in makeup, style, and function," but "a typical CAP consists of 12 to 15 people, including activists, homemakers, community leaders - a representative sampling of just plain folks - as well as company representatives."

CAPs create a forum for dialogue between the company and the community, but the nature of the dialogue is carefully modulated to emphasize emotions and image-shaping rather than issues of substance. "People in a community are usually more concerned about such issues as trust, credibility, competence, fairness, caring and compassion than about mortality statistics and the details of quantitative risk assessment," explains the PR firm Edward Howard and Co.

Dow Chemical is one of the companies that has pioneered in the establishment of CAPs. As an example of the strategy's effectiveness, Makower relates the following anecdote: "Members of one CAP, unbeknownst to the company, appeared voluntarily before a local hearing to testify why the company should be allowed to site an incinerator in their back yard. You can't buy that kind of help at any price."

"Pro-industry citizen activist groups can do things the industry can't," explained Ron Arnold, the father of the anti-environmentalist "Wise Use" movement. In a candid talk to the Ontario Forest Industries Association, Arnold elaborated on the benefits of a citizens front group strategy: "It can form coalitions to build real political clout. It can be an effective and convincing advocate for your industry. It can evoke powerful archetypes such as the sanctity of the family, the virtue of the close-knit community, the natural wisdom of the rural dweller, and many others I'm sure you can think of. It can use the tactic of the intelligent attack against environmentalists and take the battle to them instead of forever responding to environmentalist initiatives. And it can turn the public against your enemies."

The *Washington Post* reported that even 10 years ago, Burson-Marsteller's DC office alone had five PR specialists concentrating only on designing coalitions for clients. As one Burson-Marsteller executive explained it, these coalition designers "are building allies and neutralizing the opposition."

James Lindheim, Burson-Marsteller's director of worldwide public affairs, puts it this way: "Don't forget that the chemical industry has many friends and allies that can be mobilized - employees, shareholders, and retirees. Give them the song sheets and let them help industry carry the tune."

Sometimes the public catches on. A group called "Citizens to Protect the Pacific Northwest and Northern California Economy" was formed in 1993 by timber company executives, who mailed out 1.5 million form letters asking people to send back a signature card if they agreed with the group's goals. State leaders were then appointed.

When asked what he was going to do, the group's Washington state co-chair replied: "I haven't been brought up to date on what their agenda is going to be." A *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* editorial put it this way: "To hire a press agent to cook up a campaign, pay all that campaign's bills and then claim that the campaign 'was founded by more than 100 prominent community leaders in Oregon, Washington and Northern California' is too crafty by half."

### Shifting The Blame: From Political To Personal

If corporations are not despoiling our natural environment, then who is to blame? According to corporate-sponsored PR campaigns, the answer is obvious. *You* are.

Elizabeth Whelan of the industry-funded American Council on Science and Health says the real threats to public health are lack of seatbelts and smoke detectors, drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. "Every one of them could be prevented with a change in lifestyle," she says.

Gregg Easterbrook, the *Newsweek* journalist who has made a name for himself as an apologist for polluting industry, has also concluded that the acts of individuals are the root of many environmental problems. He wrote in *New York Times Magazine*, "Though environmental orthodoxy holds that third world deforestation is caused by rapacious clear-cutters and ruthless cattle barons, penniless peasants seeking fuel wood may be the greatest threats to our forests."

In the US, the Keep America Beautiful campaign (KAB) is industry's most organized proponent of the belief that individual irresponsibility is at the root of pollution. About 200 companies, including McDonalds, fund KAB to the tune of \$2 million a year. Members of the KAB board of directors include a PR honcho from Burson-Marsteller and a corporate official from Waste Management.

According to the *Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations*, most of the companies that support KAB "manufacture and distribute aluminum cans, paper products, glass bottles and plastics that account for about a third of the material in US landfills." KAB's message to consumers is that they are responsible for this trash, and that they must solve this problem by changing their habits.

Since the early 1970s, Greenpeace reports, KAB has used more than half a billion dollars worth of donated advertising time and space to encourage guilty consumers to "put litter in its place." (Of course, since the responsibility for litter rests with individuals, KAB strongly opposes a national bottle bill that would place a deposit on glass and metal drink containers.)

In effect, KAB is a front group for industries that refuse to be responsible for the trash they generate in the course of doing business.

### Taking Off The Kid Gloves

When "nice guy" tactics like co-optation and community advisory panels fail to accomplish their goals, corporations remain prepared to wage war on their environmental critics, using slanders, falsified information, lawsuits and threats of violence.

According to Rush Limbaugh, "the new home of the communist/socialist conspiracy is in the environmental movement." To discredit environmentalists, Hill and Knowlton PR distributed a phony memo on Earth First! letterhead, calling for acts of violence "to fuck up the mega machine."

And Kathleen Marquardt of Putting People First, a Wise Use group that does not list its sources of funding, repeats Lyndon LaRouche's invented assertion that Greenpeace is connected to the KGB. Marquardt was awarded "best newcomer" at the 1992 Wise Use Leadership Conference. Upon accepting her award, Marquardt said: "Here is our enemy - the Sierra Club, the Nature Conser-

vancy, the Humane Society." According to Marquardt, the Humane Society is a "radical animal rights cult . . . a front for a neo-pagan cult that is attacking science, health and reason."

The Wise Use Movement is the brainchild of Alan Gottlieb and Ron Arnold, respectively the founder and the director of the Bellevue, WA-based Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. The *Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations* describes the Center, founded in 1983, as "the premier think tank and training center for the Wise Use movement."

The founding funders of the Center include the timber firms Georgia Pacific, Louisiana-Pacific, Boise Cascade, Pacific Lumber and MacMillan Bloedel, along with companies like Exxon and Dupont.

The Wise Use agenda is simple. Says Arnold, "We intend to wipe out every environmental group, by replacing it with a Wise Use group."

The public relations industry has been closely involved with Wise Use since its founding, according to Joyce Nelson, the author of *Sultans of Sleaze: Public Relations and the Media* (Common Courage Press). Nelson writes that 36 of the corporations that are known to fund the Wise Use movement in the United States were clients of the PR firm Burson-Marsteller in the 1980s, the period during which industry began to pour money into that movement.

The first Wise Use conference, held in 1988, was supported by a variety of special interests including Exxon and the National Rifle Association. The 1990 conference, funded by Chevron, Exxon, Shell Oil and Georgia Pacific, featured a talk by Reed Irvine, of Accuracy in Me-

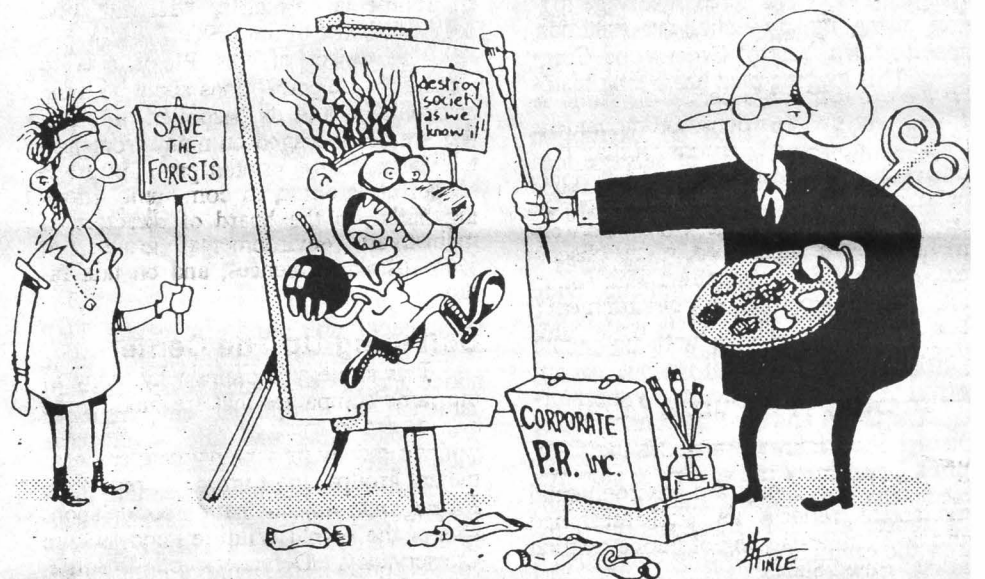
dia and Accuracy in Academia. Titled "Red Into Green," Irvine's talk claimed that environmentalism is the latest incarnation of socialism. Irvine's groups are funded by Dresser Industries, Chevron, Ciba-Geigy, Exxon, IBM, Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical, Union Carbide, Phillips Petroleum, Mobil Foundation, and Texaco Philanthropic Foundation, among others.

Also at that conference, the Mountain States Legal Foundation gave three seminars on "suing Environmental Organizations." Mountain States Legal Foundation is funded by companies including Amoco, Exxon, Ford, Texaco, Phillips Petroleum, Chevron and the Coors Foundation.

"Our intent is to sue environmental groups whenever there is a legal reason to do so," Arnold said. "We feel that whenever any environmental group tells lies that have an economic harm against anybody, that is a civil tort, and under US law they should be vigorously prosecuted in civil court."

And if lawsuits fail, some anti-environmentalists urge even stronger tactics. Former Interior Secretary James Watt (currently under federal criminal indictment on corruption charges) told a gathering of cattlemen in June 1990, "If the troubles from environmentalists cannot be solved in the jury box or at the ballot box, perhaps the cartridge box should be used."

[Reprinted with permission from *PR Watch*, Volume 2, Number 1, First Quarter 1995. Address correspondence to: Center for Media and Democracy, 3318 Gregory Street, Madison, WI 53711, or call 608-233-3346.]



Portrait of an environmentalist, as drawn by the PR industry. (Reprinted from *Chain Reaction* #72.)

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# Hemp Update

by Vicki Oldham

I recently received an issue of HEMPWORLD. The International Hemp Journal, published bimonthly by Hempier Productions, POB 315, Sebastopol, CA 95473 (12 issues \$30). I found it to be a very informative publication. The Jan./Feb. issue was dedicated to hemp in Europe and the Cannabis Cup & Hemp Expo. I'm happy to report that Hemp cultivation and industry is flourishing in Europe, especially in Germany, Holland, France, Italy, England and Switzerland. New products are being developed and sold to grateful consumers who know that "Hemp is rope, not dope".

Sadly, without the support of its own government the U.S. Hemp Industry is falling behind. The Reefer Madness mentality fostered by major corporations (Timber, Petrochemical, Pharmaceutical, Law Enforcement and Media) is having a major negative impact on the modern hemp industry. European hemp industries will soon leave America eating their dust. Because hemp can be grown regionally in Europe, we Americans can no longer compete in the free market due to shipping costs.

In Europe, hemp is an environmental and industrial issue, not at all connected with legalization for recreational use. Europeans think we're crazy for combining the two issues and that the movement in America is doomed if we don't change our course. "Cannabis smoking is the noose around the neck of hemp."

## Farm Bill

The 1995 U.S. Farm Bill will set the course of U.S. Agriculture for the next five years. It is our chance to get the USDA to encourage the cultivation of industrial (low THC) hemp. Write to Dan Glickman, Secretary of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 14th and Independence Ave., SW, Washington, D.C. 20250. Ask that he include language that encourages the cultivation of low THC industrial hemp in the Farm Bill. Mention that it's a good rotational crop which contains less than 1% THC and that according to USDA Bulletin #404 it can out produce tree fiber at a 4 to 1 ratio. Tell him that Canada has recently allowed the cultivation of industrial hemp and will soon be exporting hemp

products to the U.S. and that we should get our fair share of the hemp market. Include some hemp facts; e.g., biomass, paper, plastics, oils, solvents, food etc. Send copies to Feinstein, Boxer, and Riggs, also to Senate Ag Chair, Senator Richard Lugar, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C. 20510, House Ag Chair, Pat Roberts, U.S. House of Representatives and to Bill Clinton, The White House, Wash., D.C. 20510. SPEAK OUT NOW. The next chance is the year 2000.

## CIA

There is a coffee shop in Amsterdam run by Americans called the CIA, Cannabis in Amsterdam. Their products are seeds, cannabis, clothing and knowledge.

I would like to borrow their idea and start our own branch of the CIA, Cannabis in America. After writing for the past year about the history and uses of hemp, I'm ready to start some action. With the cold winds of The Contract ON America blowing over us, we will need to think, look and sometimes act like Republicans to be taken seriously at all. Fortunately, the truth is on our side.

Hemp has the potential to generate large revenues and many jobs. As we all



know money talks in America.

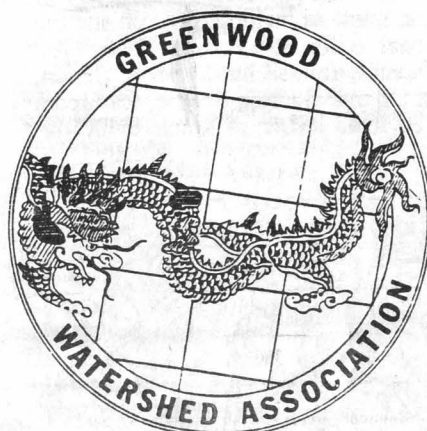
I would like to see the Mendocino Chapter of the CIA concentrate on industrial hemp. We would encourage both farming and the manufacturing of value-added products in order to generate jobs and keep the profits circulating in our local economy. If you are interested in becoming an agent of the CIA, write to me, c/o MEC. Include your ideas, convenient meeting times, a phone number or address. I especially want to encourage High School and College students to join us. We need your energy. HEMP FOR VICTORY!

# Greenwood: Exemption and THPs

by Mary Pjerrou

A new Louisiana Pacific Corporation logging plan was approved by the California Department of Forestry on April 13, 1995 - 122 acres of salvage logging, using mostly helicopter methods, close to town, east of Greenwood Commons. This logging plan has a long history.

In 1993, L-P filed an exemption paper to do 1,380 acres of salvage logging in this area. We've seen great abuse of salvage logging exemptions in California. Recently, Pacific Lumber filed a single exemption on 179,000-plus acres - virtually its entire timber holding. State exemptions allow removal of 10% of the timber volume per acre with no public notice, no environmental review, no approval process, and little, if any monitoring. The GWA and the Elk County Water District filed a lawsuit against the California Department of Forestry to stop this exemption. The judge granted a restraining order, and L-P subsequently withdrew the exemption (then recently filed a regular timber harvest plan - with normal review - on the above-mentioned 122 acres of it.) The principles of the exemption case were argued before Superior Court Judge James King this March. We asked for the following: 1) public notice for exemptions, 2) that CDF review exemption filings for potential environmen-



tal impacts, and require a regular THP where such impacts are indicated. Public notice and environmental review are fundamental to California environmental law. Judge King will rule on the case within ninety days.

During the exemption hearing, Deputy Attorney General John Davidson stated that we don't need to change the way the California Department of Forestry administers exemptions. If environmental damage is done, the public can simply take the matter to court, he said. Davidson's solution (more lawsuits!) is curious, at best. At worst, it is cynical and irresponsible. Your taxpayer dollars pay his salary and his expenses to travel to

Ukiah every time a citizen's group is forced to go into court to protect the environment. In addition, your donations help pay for our attorney to be there. Lawsuits are expensive, time-consuming and difficult - and corporations have enormous resources to defend themselves, as Mr. Davidson well knows. Who is this "public servant" speaking for, as he sits on the other side of the courtroom with the industry lawyers?

L-P heavily logged the area near town from 1985 to 1990. Many of the remaining trees blew down in the 1993 storms, likely because of the earlier logging which left a thinned-out forest. These sort of hidden long-term impacts are rarely monitored by state agencies.

The 122-acre salvage logging (helicopter) plan near town will likely go forward this summer. Our legal action accomplished several things: 1) L-P decided to file a regular timber harvest plan which CDF, other agencies, and the public could review; 2) L-P drastically reduced the scale of their salvage plan (from 1,380 acres down to 122); 3) will use a helicopter, which reduces soil disturbance (fewer logging roads and landings); and 4) will stay out of Greenwood Creek protection zone (except for emplacement of a temporary bridge). Although cumulative impacts assessment is still very inadequate in THPs - and no long-term monitoring is required - this

plan contains many mitigations, which we hope the timber operator will closely follow.

L-P is proceeding with a 431 acre logging plan about 8 miles up Greenwood Road, on the creek side. The plan calls for "commercial thinning" (not a clearcut), using cable and tractor yarding.

Both of the above logging plans are relatively low impact - compared to what was being done to this watershed in 1980-1990. The trouble with these and other L-P logging plans - and with the accumulation of small plans over a period of time - is that they are being approved by CDF in the absence of any scientific monitoring data. No one knows what the effect of 431 acres of "commercial thinning" will be. All we know is that the fishery has been devastated, and the water district has to spend \$10,000 a year to deal with the impacts from upstream logging.

Folks up in the 8 mile area report that L-P has planted thousands of baby trees near the 431-acre plan area. The trees have strange-looking white plastic skirts around their bases. (You can see this from the road.) Ron Bloomquist commented that the planting looks like an out-door art installation by Christo!

Our watershed advisor, Dr. Euphrat, says the white skirts are soil fertilizer and are biodegradable. (But is it art?)

# La Alianza Para Derechos Humanos • The Alliance for Human Rights

## One Antidote to the Contract on America

by Members of the Alliance Organizational Committee  
ed. by Betty Ball

The Alliance for Human Rights is an organization to defend everybody's human rights, especially the Latino people. The purposes of the organization are:

- To promote consciousness of social justice;
- To promote diversity, friendship, unity, and understanding among everyone living in Mendocino County;
- To improve the quality of life for future generations in Mendocino County;
- To end racism and discrimination;
- To educate the non-Latino population concerning the role which the Mexican people have played in the history of California, as well as the injustice of Proposition 187.

Our group was organized in the spring of 1995 by some 170 Latinos, in-

cluding low-income farmworkers, as well as some 20 Anglos.

In the November, 1994 elections, the voters passed Proposition 187 that would deny social services, health services, and educational services to people without immigration documents. What's more, it would require local governments, schools and health facilities to report people without proper documentation to immigration authorities.

Clearly Proposition 187 is racist, unjust, ugly, and must not be implemented.

For the time being, the courts have ordered that Proposition 187 has no effect. But still, its approval by the voters has changed our lives for the worse. Now, there are people here who seem to think that as a result, racism is legal. They discriminate against immigrants whether or not they have documentation.

The strategy of the Pledge of Resistance Committee of the Alliance is to organize Latino people and demand that teachers, nurses, doctors and social workers in Mendocino County not implement Proposition 187.

At the same time, the Alliance Justice Committee is informing people about their civil rights and protecting people against law enforcement abuses. The Justice Committee supported Jose Luis Leon and Jose Refugio Lopez who were beaten by Anglo youths (then charged with assault!) in Willits earlier this year. The police let the Anglos go without being charged. Justice Committee members attended court hearings to demonstrate support for the Latino youths. Police later dropped the charges against them for lack of evidence.

The Justice Committee is also offering support to the Native people in Round Valley who are facing continuing abuses from law enforcement in conjunction with the manhunt for "Bear" Lincoln. Since April 14th, law enforcement officials have been conducting an intense hunt for "Bear", and in the process, committing numerous abuses and terrifying not only Native people, but Mexicans as well - in fact, seemingly anyone with brown skin. In the course of their search, police have pointed guns at children and

elders, roughed up elders, and thrown them to the floor. This campaign was ordered by the same Sheriff, Jim Tuso, who requested la Migra - the US Border Patrol - to come and harass Latinos in Mendocino County last September and October. Both the Native people and the Mexican community see the similarities and the connections. The Justice Committee is supporting the Native people in their demand for a cessation of the civil rights abuses and for an independent investigation of the events of April 14th and subsequently. For further information about Justice Committee activities, or to become involved call Ed Harnett at 468-1660.

Please meet with us to build a strong organization in defense of human rights. General meetings of the Alliance are held the first Monday of each month at 6:00 P.M. Call 468-1660 for location of the next meeting.



# The Economic Aspects of Ecoforestry

## A Prescription That Makes Environmental Protection And Monetary Profits Compatible

by Hans Burkhardt

It is clear that our society must change from a suicidal to a sustainable mode of action. In this regard, I would like to consider here only our relationship to the native forest resource, and will neglect other important areas where urgent change is also needed, such as population reduction, over consumption, and fossil fuel use.

Even though immediate change in all of these areas would be very desirable, I believe that gradual adaptation towards a sustainable lifestyle is preferable to revolution. We also need to admit the unpleasant fact that corporate control of our lives, of politics, the press, and even of the courts is so strong that the possibility for even gradual positive change is uncertain as long as people do not realize that it is absolutely necessary to involve themselves in public life and thereby resurrect a living democracy.

Because most of us are programmed to over-value money instead of concentrating on leading a responsible lifestyle and on valuing happiness, economic considerations will bear strongly on the success or failure of whatever changes we plan to bring about. Present political policy assumes that high monetary profits and good ecological protection are mutually exclusive. In my extensive work on creating policy to restore depleted private industrial forests, as well as that work presented here, I have come to the conclusion that this assumption is wrong.

Tree growth, in general, has three phases. It starts slowly, then accelerates, and finally slows down again. All trees continue to grow in the third phase, some more and longer than others; redwoods and cedars belong to the species that increase volume considerably for many hundreds of years after reaching culmination of average maximum volume growth (CMAI, culmination of mean annual increment). Also - and this is most important - all tree species show an increase in the quality of their wood during the slower, post CMAI phase of growth. This period is also the most important for sustaining high inventory and permanency of the biotope and for maintaining biodiversity. For the perpetuation of California's redwood forests this third phase of growth is especially important since it is needed to allow for natural regeneration and thus continued genetic adaptation to changing environmental conditions. Therefore, if native forests are to be used for perpetual lumber production, it is imperative, for reasons that include long-term extraction of maximum monetary profits, not to eliminate this lucrative component of all native forests.

However, with few exceptions, near elimination of this component is exactly what we humans have done and are still doing. Worse yet, not only are those older trees being systematically eradicated, but even the much younger ones, trees which are in their most active - pre CMAI - period of growth, are routinely eliminated under the regime of industrial forestry as it is practiced today. This trend is what has made the ongoing destruction of our native forests finally apparent to everyone who is concerned with our own and with other species' survival.

In order to restore these depleted forests we must do two things. We must harvest less than is growing and we must adjust the harvest rate so as to maintain high inventories of trees in the forests once they are restored. For those few remaining forests not yet damaged by unwise human interference, we only need to maintain high inventory, by harvesting not more than a certain percentage of inventory, as I will explain later.

To develop scenarios which would establish such conditions for our Northern California coastal redwood/Douglas fir forest, I applied the most appropriate scientific methods available using data based on most recent measurements of how this forest is actually growing. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficiently precise data on growth of second growth

stands of trees 120 years and older and some values had to be derived from extrapolation or comparison with what other researchers assume to be close to reality.

Also I needed to account for the further decline in site quality and growth which is typical for third growth stands which represent the majority of our local forests today. Data for third growth were also derived from the recent large scale measurements conducted by the US Federal Inventory Assessment survey in 1985 for the local county. Taking all these factors into consideration, I then employed the same computer program, Harvest II, as I used to simulate growth, harvest and productivity trends described in detail in my book *Maximizing Forest Productivity*. The depleted industrial forests of our local county were "grown" for fourteen decades and were "harvested" at four different rates of percent of inventory (POI). In this way, values for inventory, age of oldest trees, productivity and annual harvest were obtained for each scenario. I also assigned a very much needed value for forest sustainability, which I equate with forest inventory: the higher the regulated inventory, the greater the forest's degree of sustainability. The accompanying three dimensional graph and the table summarizes the most important results of this analysis.

The major conclusions which can be drawn are:

1. Economic gain culminates at a harvest level of approximately 1% of inventory per year (1 POI).

2. Productivity measured in board feet culminates at a harvest level of approximately 2% per year (2 POI).

3. Forest sustainability at the levels investigated is highest at 1% of inventory harvest (1 POI).

4. The highest quality of timber, the most stable tax base, the highest degree of community stability and the most permanent and highest return for the landowner are achieved at the 1% harvest level (1 POI).

5. Industrial forestry, which is based on the principle of maximizing net present value, leads to harvest levels greater than 3%. The consequences of this practice are loss of the following: inventory, productive capacity, potential tax base, permanent jobs, timber quality, community stability, biodiversity and substantial long-term landowner income.

6. The requirements of Ecoforestry can only be fulfilled at the 1% harvest level. All other harvest levels reduce too much of the richness, biodiversity and sustainability of the forest.

In conclusion, one can see that *high economic gain and good environmental protection are not diametrically opposed. On the contrary, up to the point of maximum economic return at approximately the 1 POI harvest level, both seemingly opposing goals of forest management actually improve in synchronous harmony. Harvesting 1% of inventory is the best long-term investment policy for the general public, the local community, the landowner and the forest, when that forest is to be used for timber production while maintaining its ecological integrity.*

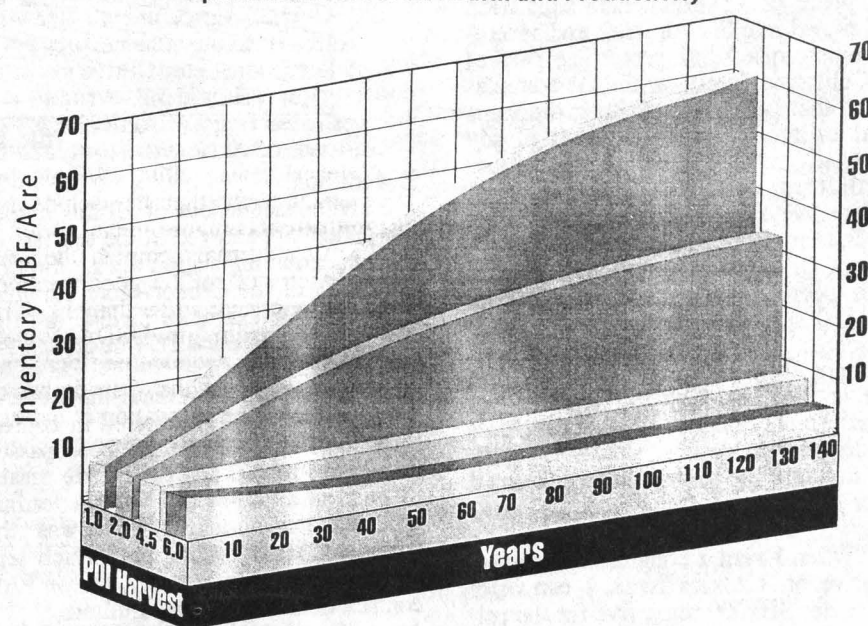
Therefore, we should gradually reduce harvests to approximately 1% of inventory per year. I suggest we move from slightly below the current rate to the 1% level over a period of 20 years: adapted to our local area this would translate into 3% for the first five years followed by 2% for the second half of the first decade and then declining at a rate of .1% per year throughout the second decade until the final harvest rate of 1% of inventory is reached in the twentieth year. To reach the goal of maximum economic gain and high forest sustainability, minor adjustments in the rate of harvest may be needed if actual growth and timber prices deviate from the anticipated values. However, the example of the Menomonee Indians' forest management on 200,000 acres in Wisconsin shows that an ideal working forest of the type arrived at in the modeling is actually in existence in the USA. This forest was harvested for 140 years at an average annual rate of approximately 1% of inventory. According to a public radio presentation as well as an article recently

written by Wendel Berry, this level of harvest yields a forest in which lumber is of consistently high quality and quantity, forest inventory is high and non-declining, and associated plant, wildlife and natural systems are flourishing and healthy. Isn't this the kind of forest we all want?

[Hans Burkhardt, a former Ph.D. biologist with the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and author of

the book *Maximizing Forest Productivity*, was co-founder of the Mendocino County Forest Advisory Committee. He was the first member of the Committee to see the benefits of using percent of inventory harvest control as a means of ending forest depletion. He became the strongest advocate for that approach on the Committee. He lives among towering redwood trees on a small, self-sufficient ranch in Northern California.]

Optimization of Forest Health and Productivity



Harvest II, Harvest Simulator - Starting Inventory: 8 MBF/Acre - Yield Table: L & P Site Index 140 x 55%

POI <sup>1</sup>	Inv/Acre MBF (FR) <sup>2</sup>	Age of Oldest Trees Harvested (FR)	Harvest BF/Acre/Year (FR)	Stumpage \$/MBF	Annual Industry Harvest Value <sup>4</sup> Billion Dollars	Type of Forestry Practiced <sup>5</sup>	Sustainability of Resource <sup>6</sup>
6.0	4.5	43	270	600 <sup>3</sup>	.810	IF	
4.5	8.4	57	378	600 <sup>3</sup>	1.134	IF	
2.0	34.0	108	680	600	2.040	MSP <sup>1</sup>	
1.0	65.0	180	650	900	2.925	EF	

- 1 POI = annual harvest as a percent of total inventory. MSP = maximum sustained yield achieved at approximately 2 POI.
- 2 FR = Fully regulated, the condition when growth and harvest are equal and inventory remains constant.
- 3 High price for lower quality is consequence of increased volume recovery realized from smaller diameter trees.
- 4 These figures are directly related to the degree of impoverishment or affluence (squandered or restored wealth) in the local timber-dependent economy. They are directly proportional to the level of employment, timber yield tax and forest sustainability. Values are for the 500,000 acres of industrially owned forest in Mendocino County, California.
- 5 IF = Industrial forestry: Net present value maximization leads to low inventory, reduced productive capacity, destruction of biodiversity and to community impoverishment.
- 6 EF = Ecologically responsible forestry; optimizes forest health and economical gain, respects intrinsic worth of all natural beings; avoids clearcutting and respects the natural aesthetic qualities of the landscape.

Russian River Unlimited presents . . .

## The 5th Annual Great Russian River Clean-up & Float

One day a month, June through September

Redwood Valley to Ukiah - June 24

Ukiah to Hopland - July 22

Hopland to Cloverdale - August 19

Cloverdale to Asti - September 16

Volunteers are needed for some good clean fun. We'll be cleaning up trash (old tires, appliances, etc.) while enjoying a float down the Russian River, from Redwood Valley to Asti. This is, at the very least, a chance to make an impact on one of the finest stretches of the river and have excellent fun doing it. So come and make a day of it at the Great Russian River Clean-up and Float, Somewhere Down the Crazy River.

### MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS:

Tennis shoes, heavy gloves, lifejacket, durable flotation (raft, canoe, etc.)

### RECOMMENDED:

Bring a lunch, change of clothes and sunscreen.

### AGE 18 AND OVER ONLY!

Participants' Party includes skydiving, pigfeed and live music



# Greens Outgunned

by Mark Dowie

Lobbying Washington for a better environment has become an almost futile endeavor. If the 103rd Congress (1992-94) did not prove the point to the environmental movement's leadership, the 104th surely will.

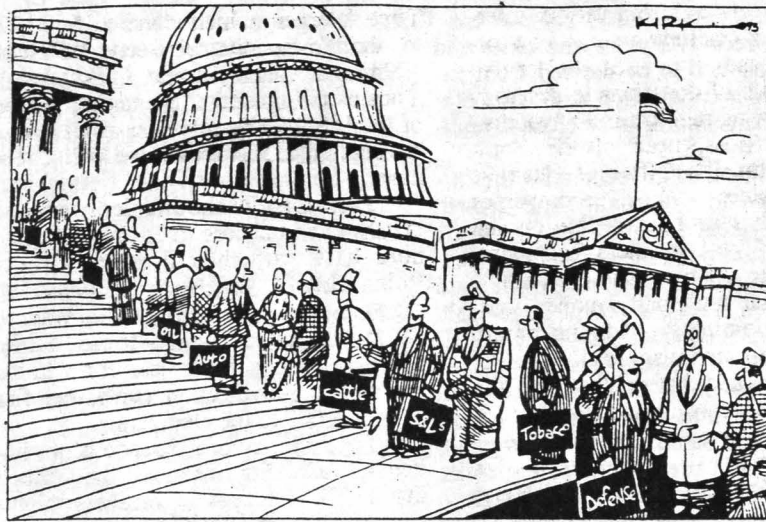
When did national environmentalists ever have it better than with the 103rd Congress - with a Democratic House, a Democratic Senate and, if campaign rhetoric was to be believed, the most environmentally committed administration in recent history? Yet in two years, only one piece of environmental legislation was signed into law - a weak and severely compromised bill protecting part of the California desert - while the administration that had greens staining the inaugural ballroom floor with tears of joy broke all records in environmental betrayal. It was enough to depress the most hardened veteran of Beltway politics.

In terms of talent, experience and resources, the environmental lobby has never been stronger. Numbering more than 100 seasoned advocates, representing scores of organizations and millions of voters, they are pound-for-pound the most impressive lobby on the Hill. But pounds do not count in Washington; dollars do. And in dollars, almost any way you measure it, greens are outgunned ten-or-more-to-one by any lobby they face.

"When I visit a congressional representative on a toxics issue, I can offer him or her \$10,000 max; five for the primary, five for the general election," laments Sierra Club lobbyist Dan Becker, one of the few national environmentalists with a Political Action Committee (PAC) behind him. "The next visitor could easily be representing the Chemical Manufacturers Association - over a hundred corporate members, each of which has a PAC that can offer \$10,000 to the next campaign. Even with the facts on my side I am likely to be ignored."

Becker does not even mention the fact that each of those chemical manufacturers has at least one law or lobbying firm in Washington able to contribute additional support to the same candidate.

From January 1991 to June 1994 - covering the pre-election period and one-and-a-half sessions of the 103rd Congress - the entire environmental movement, through its 14 existing PACs, contributed \$1.7 million to congressional candidates, including roughly \$500,000 for the 1994 elections. During the same period, chemical industry PACs donated \$3.8 million to federal candidates; agriculture PACs \$22.7 million; energy and natural resources PACs \$21.7 million; transportation (including automotive), \$20.9 million; construction, \$7.8 million; timber, \$2.3 million; mining, \$1.9 million; and the waste management industry,



the Welfare Line

\$1.4 million.

The consequences of all this corporate generosity showed in the sad fate of environmental legislation during the first two years of the Clinton-Gore administration. A few examples include (all figures are for the period 1/91 through 6/94, except where noted):

- Attempts to overhaul the General Mining Law of 1872 faltered in conference committee after the House passed its bill 316 to 108 and the Senate passed its own on a non-record vote. A leading opponent to mining reform was the American Mining Congress, which represents the mining industry, whose PAC contributions totaled \$1.9 million.

- Hearings were conducted in both chambers on the renewal of the 1973 Endangered Species Act, but no bills were marked up by either side. The American Forest and Paper Association helped influence the outcome. Timber and forest products' PAC donations came to \$2.3 million.

- The House, but not the Senate, approved legislation giving state and local governments more power, under interstate commerce laws, to reject municipal waste imports from other states. The National Solid Waste Management Association was a major lobbying force, bolstered by waste management industry PAC contributions of \$1.4 million.

- Gridlock in both chambers killed bids to revamp the federal law regulating the pesticide content of fresh and processed foods (the "Delaney clause"). PAC contributions from a major opponent to strict regulations, the chemical industry, came to \$3.8 million. The Environmental Working Group studied a sub-sector of the industry - the 43 PACs associated with companies that form the American Crop Protection Association and ACPA's own PAC - and found it was especially active, together contributing \$3.1 million. Pesticide corporation PAC contributions during the first 18

months of the 103rd Congress were double what they had been during the same period in the previous two Congresses.

- Both chambers passed bills to renew the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act, giving state and local governments more leeway and resources to meet EPA contamination standards, but final government approval was not achieved. The bill was stymied at the last minute by a group called the Safe Drinking Water Act Coalition. The coalition was comprised of state and local officials' organizations, such as the National Governors Association, the utility groups, like the American Waterworks Association, the National Rural Water Association and the National Association of Water Companies. Just one of the coalition's many members spent a reported \$15-\$20,000 per month on a PR/lobbying blitz.

- An attempt to extend the 1972 Federal Water Pollution Control Act (the "Clean Water Act") received committee approval in the Senate, but not the House. A leading player was the Clean Water Industry Coalition, a shadowy group made up of industry, agriculture, state and municipal organizations. US-PIRG studied contributions from 263 PACs that were opposed to stronger clean water legislation. It found that these PACs gave \$56.9 million in donations to candidates for Congress between 1987 and 1994. (Congress last reauthorized the Clean Water Act in 1987.)

- The House, but not the Senate, passed a bill that would have enabled the US Forest Service to acquire a 44,000-acre privately owned redwood forest in California. The leading opponent was the American Forest and Paper Association. Timber and forest products PACs contributed \$2.3 million to Congress.

- Bills to revamp the 1980 Superfund law cleared committee in both chambers, but were stopped short of both the House and Senate floors. Many individual corporations, such as Du Pont, had

their own lawyers and lobbyists working on the Hill. Such companies (185 of them) were also represented by the Chemical Manufacturers Association (the industry, as noted earlier, gave \$3.8 million). Insurance companies were also involved because polluters have been using their environmental insurance policies to cover clean-up costs but want to deflect their liability. Their PACs gave \$15.9 million to members of Congress (though they were also interested in other legislation, such as health care and tort reform).

- Free-standing bills were introduced requiring government permits to convert wetlands. The House, but not the Senate, passed a bill extending the North American Wetlands Act through fiscal year 1998. A group of 60-some municipal associations, utilities and major industrial concerns, such as Exxon, Texaco and Kerr-McGee, make up the National Wetlands Coalition. Coalition members' PACs gave \$5.5 million to candidates from 1991 through June, 1994. One law/lobbying firm associated with the coalition (Van Ness Feldman) gave \$60,000 through its PAC during this period and individuals employed by the firm gave another \$15,000. It is safe to assume that other coalition members' lobbyists had a similar spending pattern.

## What's Next?

By the close of the 103rd Congress, it became patently clear that the best strategy for the Washington environmental lobby was to leave existing statutes alone and work against aggressive anti-environmental initiatives such as the takings, risk-assessment and unfunded-mandate bills that are being considered by the 104th Congress. That should leave considerable talent and energy to fight the real fight that has to be fought in Washington before environmentalism or any other social movement can make headway in America: campaign finance reform.

All of the 25 largest environmental organizations in the country have substantial offices in Washington. If they were to assign half their lobby to join forces with a coalition of other progressive movements and fight a concerted battle for campaign reform, the playing field could be leveled considerably for the 105th or 106th Congress - whatever the party in power.

[Mark Dowie's book, *Losing Ground - American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century*, is available from MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142.

This article is reprinted from *Capital Eye*, with permission from the Center for Responsive Politics, 1320 - 19th St., NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036. Subscriptions are \$30/year.]

# Corporate Control

by Mackinze James

United States policy has been heavily influenced by corporate interests since the Industrial Revolution, when people with wealth started organizing themselves into structures called corporations and expanding their monetary horizons. But corporations are only part of the system through which the world's resources, including labor and wages, are siphoned up to the super rich. Elected government and the military are co-elements of control which people throughout the world experience to varying degrees of intensity in the course of daily life.

Corporate control of U.S. foreign policy manifests itself in virtually every war, declared and undeclared, in which our country has participated. Sale of arms and other supplies to allies as well as "enemies" is a common practice of the war industry. Most recently, the Gulf War sacrificed tens of thousands of human lives and did horrendous destruction to the environment in the interest of U.S. oil companies.

Moreover, U.S. business has a hand in the control of other countries' governments. The overthrow of Guatemala's democratically elected government by

the CIA in 1954 and subsequent reign of terror which has been in the news of late was instigated by the U.S. company United Fruit so that they might keep their tremendous land holdings in that country.

A good example of government-business cooperation for control is the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This agreement between Canada, Mexico and the U.S. eliminates trade tariffs and opens the borders to business. At the same time the borders are being tightened for people, with one result being that corporations have freedom to relocate between countries and workers do not.

A precursor to NAFTA was significant pro-foreign business changes to the Mexican constitution. Indigenous people were backed into a corner with the loss of land use. The ensuing Zapatista Revolution is a major factor in portraying Mexico as unstable for business. Corporate control is no more blatant than in Mexico with international banking directing the Mexican government to eliminate the resistance militarily. As of now, the peso has fallen drastically and over the last few weeks the spending power of our counterparts in that country has been

cut in half. The middle class is in panic and the poor are unbearably impoverished. As a result, the Mexican people are fleeing the country in increasing numbers.

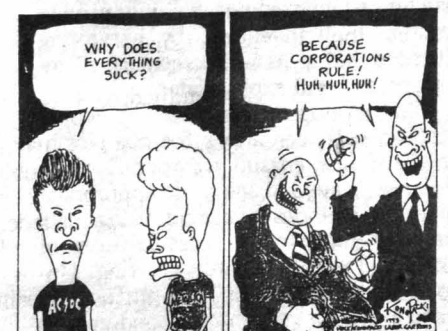
Meanwhile in California the issue of immigration is a powder keg. Proposition 187 on the ballot last fall fanned the fires of racial intolerance and created a wild paranoia of "outsiders" draining our ever dwindling resources. The brunt of the fear mentality and acting out behavior is felt by everyone with brown skin. It is a convenient diversion from the sources who have created the desperate situation - international corporate business.

Some levels of corporate control are beyond what most of us can impact. However we are not helpless victims of their control; we can fight back. Every time you go shopping you make decisions, and they are political decisions. Patronizing local business rather than corporate chains keeps money local and reduces corporate control. Truly effective consumer boycotts have the potential for crippling targeted corporations. Cultivating barter systems of trade for goods and services is a method of gaining independence and diminishing corporate control.

Civil disobedience is another power-

ful tool to combat corporate control. For example, environmental activists have literally put their bodies between the trees and the chainsaws to keep forests from being destroyed. Other non-violent methods of intervention such as protest rallies or road blockades deter corporate activity which is unacceptable to a community.

A final consideration of resisting corporate control is to stop supporting the system which facilitates such control. Join the approximately 15% of wage earners who don't pay taxes. There are tax resisters organizations who can offer information about this step. Paying an amount of money equal to your taxes to a local organization, charity, or service providing agency shows responsibility along with resistance.





# Ron Brown's V.I.P. Junkets

## Flying For D.N.C. Dollars

by Ken Silverstein

The cries of outrage coming from the White House over Republican threats to eliminate the Commerce Department have as least as much to do with self-interest as with fealty to the corporate cause. Through the department's efforts to promote exports, the Clintonites argue, American businesses landed foreign deals worth \$47 billion last year. But a little cross-referencing of the companies thus helped and of campaign contribution records and internal Democratic Party fundraising memorandums shows that for both corporations and the Administration, to give is truly to receive.

Early last year, for example, Saudi Arabia was looking to expand its commercial air fleet and examined proposals from U.S. and European aircraft makers. After being furiously lobbied by President Clinton and Secretary Ron Brown, the Saudis placed a \$3.6 billion order with Boeing. Within six months of closing the deal, the company had laden Democratic National Committee (D.N.C.) coffers with \$65,000, four times more than it had donated during the previous three years.

At about the same time, Administration pressure won Raytheon a \$1.4 billion deal with Brazil for building a satellite surveillance system in the Amazon. In the 1992-94 election cycle, Raytheon donated \$175,110 to Democratic candidates.

Export promotion - precisely what the Republicans have singled out for cutting - is at the heart of Brown's strategy at Commerce, and indeed of Clinton's strategy in foreign policy. When it comes to drumming up commerce for U.S. corporations, this Administration has outstripped its two wildly pro-business Republican predecessors. In Brown's "War Room," bureaucrats monitor bidding on dozens of global deals, gathering intelligence (with help from the C.I.A.) and coordinating financing from government sources to give U.S. firms an inside track. More directly, Brown leads select groups of executives on commercial trips abroad. Last year corporations fought to accompany the Commerce Secretary to Brazil, Argentina, Chile, China, Hong Kong, South Africa, Russia, India and the Middle East. Some 300 C.E.O.s applied for seats on the trip to Russia alone; only twenty-nine were chosen.

Details of those trips have been obscure because Commerce has been stingy about providing information. That will soon change, since in mid-May the courts forced Commerce to turn over to Judicial Watch 30,000 pages of documents concerning which companies were picked, which were left behind and what the basis for the decision was. But from what I have been able to piece together from

published reports and from various internal documents (including some now ordered for release), it is already clear that the relationship of donations to access is like that of spring rain to garden blooms.

Melissa Moss, head of the Commerce Department's Office of Business Liaison, decides who accompanies Brown. She has said firms "are chosen on merit and real business consideration." But, like her boss, she is also intimately familiar with party money matters. Prior to joining the Administration, Moss was a top fundraiser for the D.N.C. under Brown, and before that, for the Democratic Leadership Council, which Clinton helped found and once chaired.

The group she assembled for Brown's September 1994 trip to Beijing is revealing. Embarking three months after Clinton extended most-favored-nation trade status to China, Brown's entourage included:

- ° Lodwick Cook of Atlantic Richfield, which gave \$201,500 to the Democrats between 1992 and 1994. Cook is also close to Clinton, who last June presented the Arco chief with a birthday cake during a White House lunch for executives.

- ° Edwin Lupberger of Entergy, who closed an \$800 million deal to build a power plant in China. Lupberger is a personal friend of Clinton, and in the last election cycle Entergy donated \$60,000 to Democratic candidates.

- ° Bernard Schwartz of the Loral Corporation, who negotiated deals that will net his telecommunications company \$1 billion over the next decade. Three months before the trip Schwartz donated \$100,000 to the D.N.C.

- ° Raymond Smith of Bell Atlantic, which has given nearly \$200,000 to the Democrats since 1991. According to Democratic fundraising memos I obtained, Smith is also a party "trustee," meaning he has personally helped raise \$100,000 or more.

- ° Leslie McGraw of Fluor, which came through with \$108,450 for Democratic candidates in the last election. McGraw, like several of the executives who have been picked to accompany Brown, is also a donor and board member of the Democratic Leadership Council.

All told, at least twelve of the twenty-five firms whose officials made the trip to China are major donors or fundraisers for the President's party. Those companies gave almost \$2 million to Democratic candidates during the last election cycle. "I only believe in coincidences occasionally," says Chuck Lewis, head of the Center for Public Integrity. "Here you see consistent patterns."

It's the same with Brown's other trips. Traveling with the Commerce Secretary to South Africa were Donald Anderson, an adviser to the president of

Time Warner, which donated \$508,333 to the Democrats between 1992 and 1994, and Ronald Burkle, C.E.O. of the Yucaipa Group and a "managing trustee" of the D.N.C. The title designates him as having helped the party raise \$200,000 or more.

Even some of the smaller businesses that have had access to Brown's expeditions have paid their dues in advance. Robin Brooks, director of Brooks Sausage Company out of Kenosha, Wisconsin, got to go to South Africa. In 1992 she organized a fundraiser for Clinton, and in the last election cycle, her firm gave \$23,000 to the Democrats.

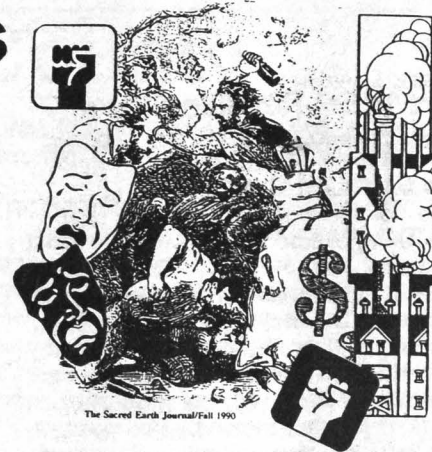
The currency of influence is not limited to cash. For instance, the chances that a U.S. firm seeking business in Russia will receive official support seem to grow in direct proportion to that company's links to Democratic power, broker Robert Strauss. A senior partner at the law firm Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld - where his colleagues include Vernon Jordan, President Clinton's friend and golfing partner - Strauss served as U.S. Ambassador to Russia from 1991 to 1992. Two years ago he set up the U.S.-Russia Business Council, which has received government funds to promote commerce between the two countries.

At least eight of the twenty-nine companies that were invited to go to Russia are linked to Strauss and his firm. AT&T, Westinghouse, Dresser Industries (a Dallas-based oil equipment company) and Enron (a Houston-based natural gas conglomerate) are all Akin, Gump clients. Litton Industries and General Electric have representatives on the board of the U.S.-Russia Business Council. Rockwell International and Bristol-Myers Squibb are former clients of Strauss.

Several of those companies are also major contributors to the Democrats. AT&T alone gave the party's candidates \$765,763 over the past two years. Among high-donor companies represented on the Russia trip were Occidental Petroleum (\$152,549 over the same period) and US West (\$147,667).

US West signed a telecommunications agreement while in Russia that will be backed by a \$125 million loan guarantee from the U.S. government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation. OPIC is headed by Ruth Harkin, wife of Senator Tom Harkin and, prior to joining the Administration, a top corporate lawyer at Akin, Gump.

Enron, which closed a deal, backed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank, to develop European markets for Russian gas, has been one of the biggest beneficiaries of the Administration's export policy. During the past two years, the Ex-Im Bank has supported Enron's agreements with Turkey, India, the Philippines and China - deals worth nearly \$4 billion. Kenneth Brody, head of the Ex-Im Bank,



is a close friend of Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, having worked with Rubin at Goldman, Sachs. Enron is listed on Rubin's 1993 financial disclosure statement as one of the forty-four companies with which Rubin had "significant contact" during his years at the investment firm. (Brody, by the way, is said to be a leading candidate to take over at Commerce if Brown, under investigation for everything from slum-lording to collecting \$400,000 for his "share" in a company in which he had invested nothing, is forced to resign.)

Like Boeing, many companies have larded the Democrats after being helped by the Administration on the export front. Westinghouse executives have traveled with Brown to South America, Russia and China, where the company racked up \$430 million in sales. It also received Ex-Im backing for a \$300 million plan to complete and upgrade the Temelin nuclear power plant in the Czech Republic. (When that deal was originally hatched in 1993, Warren Hollinshead, Westinghouse's chief financial officer, chaired the Ex-Im Bank's non-voting private advisory committee.) Westinghouse has traditionally favored the G.O.P. for political contributions, but during the last election cycle the company gave \$149,350 to the Democrats, compared with \$78,825 to the Republicans.

Given these kinds of disparities, it's no wonder some Republicans are now talking about shutting down Ron Brown's export-boosting operation. It would be surprising if they moved very far on that front, though, since their bread is buttered on the same side as Brown's. As James Treybig, who negotiated a \$100 million joint venture agreement for Tandem Computers while in China with the Commerce Secretary, told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Whether you're a Democrat or a Republican, you really have to respect this guy for what he's done for corporate America."

[This article was reprinted with permission from *The Nation* and Ken Silverstein. Ken Silverstein is co-editor, with Alexander Cockburn, of the bi-monthly, Washington-based newsletter *Counter Punch*.]

# Corporate Welfare Costs Taxpayers

## \$167 Billion, New Study Shows

from Aid for Dependent Corporations

While considerable political heat is directed at poor welfare recipients receiving taxpayer money, more than three times that amount is paid in welfare to wealthy corporations, according to a new Essential Information study released by Ralph Nader.

A total of 153 federal programs totalling \$167.2 billion, a cost of \$1,388 for each taxpayer this year, benefitted corporations, according to the study, *Aid for Dependent Corporations* (AFDC). By contrast, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and other forms of social welfare, including food stamps, housing assistance, and child nutrition, cost \$50 billion a year, or \$415 for individual taxpayers, the study said.

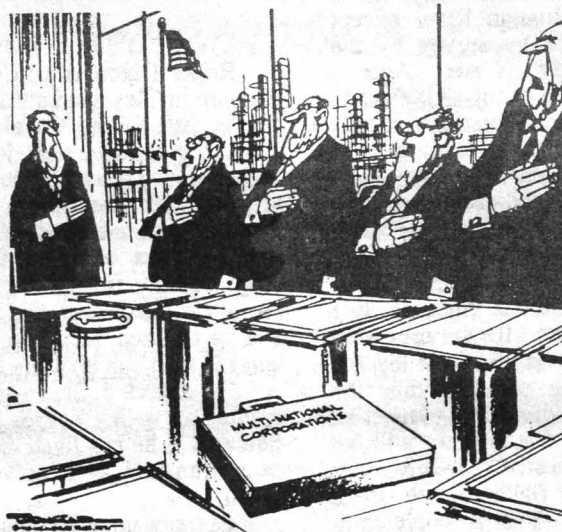
"Welfare payments and tax breaks for allegedly 'free market' wealthy corporations must be examined and curtailed before payments to needy families and children are slashed," Ralph Nader said about the study.

Corporate welfare includes direct

payments to companies, provision of public goods and services without adequate compensation from companies, federal purchases from companies of goods and services at more than market value, tax breaks for businesses, and business exemptions from laws. Figures

in the study came from ten public sources, including the Congressional Budget Office, General Accounting Office reports, and the Joint Committee on Taxation.

"It is unseemly for our elected officials to balk at aid for dependent children



"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the country that gives me the best deal. . . ."

without comparing aid for dependent corporations," said Janice Shields, a researcher who prepared the study for Nader.

U.S. tax dollars go to a variety of programs that will aid dependent corporations in fiscal year 1995, ending September 30, 1995. For example, Cargill, Inc., which has a net worth of \$3.6 billion, has received \$1.29 billion in Export Enhancement Program bonuses since the program's inception in 1985. The federal government continues to generate losses on sales of timber from national forests to private companies and allows ranchers to graze cattle on public lands but charges fees that cover only 25% of costs. U.S. companies with foreign operations are expected to indefinitely defer earnings from taxation in the United States to avoid paying \$1.1 billion in U.S. taxes in fiscal year 1995 - effectively receiving an interest-free loan from the U.S. Treasury.

[Copies of *Aid for Dependent Corporations* are available for \$10.00 from the Center for Study of Responsive Law, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036, Telephone 202-387-8034. Article reprinted with permission.]



# The Potter Valley Project

## Part 1: Eel-Russian Flows

by Roger Dixon,  
The Upper Eel Coalition

There has been much written about the recent controversy on the Eel River; some of it accurate and informative, and some not. In this series of articles I will try to give you, kind reader, as many facts as you can stand. Some writers are most interested in presenting information so as to justify an agenda. For example, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company's (PG&E) Potter Valley Project (PVP) makes money by spinning its hydroelectric turbines. The more Eel River water it diverts through its powerhouse, the more money it makes. Therefore, every statement PG&E makes about flows in the Eel and the Russian is intended to convince the reader that PG&E should be allowed to divert a maximum amount of Eel River water. By the same token, some businesses in Sonoma County, (agricultural, recreational, real estate), make hundreds of millions of dollars every year by using water from the Eel diversion.

### The Basics

Skip this part if you already know about acre-feet, cfs, Mg/d, etc. The most common units of measure when talking about rivers and water systems are the acre-foot (ac-ft) and Cubic Feet Per Second (cfs). You would use acre-feet to describe how much water is in a reservoir or how much water you diverted in a year. An acre-foot is the volume of water it takes to flood one acre of land one foot deep. It is equal to 43,000 cubic feet (cf) or 322,500 gallons. A Cubic Foot Per Second is how we measure how much water is flowing past a given point on a river, stream, or canal. It just so happens that a flow of one cfs for one day equals about two ac-ft (actually 1 cfs/day=1.983 ac-ft). This makes calculations relatively simple. Municipal water systems often measure their water in gallons rather than cubic feet. This can confuse things, so just remember that [one gallon=.13 cf] and [1,000,000 gal=3 ac-ft].

### The System

The PVP is made up of three main components. The first, starting from the headwaters, is Scott Dam which creates Lake Pillsbury. The lake receives about 400,000 ac-ft of run off every year. Scott Dam can store about 60,000 ac-ft. Around April first of every year PG&E is permitted to raise its "Flood Gates". These gates, in effect, raise the level of the lake by ten feet which amounts to an additional 20,000 ac-ft and brings the total possible storage in Lake Pillsbury to about 80,000 ac-ft. (I'll discuss these gates in more detail later.) Therefore, the great majority of water entering the lake every year spills out. Scott Dam has no fish ladder and thus is an absolute barrier to salmon and steelhead, thereby eliminating over one hundred miles of habitat. This problem has never been addressed. Water is released from the lake through what is called the "needle valve" which can release a maximum of about 350 cfs. The needle valve taps the reservoir near its bottom and ejects it in a plume to help oxygenate the water. When the lake is full, water can also be released by partially opening the flood gates.

The next component downstream is Capehorn Dam which creates VanArsdale Reservoir. It is not really a reservoir anymore because it is nearly full of silt and gravel. It only functions as a check dam to maintain the needed elevation so that the "diversion" can operate. In the summer, PG&E places "flash boards" on top of Capehorn Dam to raise the level four feet. This allows the reservoir to act as a buffer to changes in flows. There is a fish ladder on Capehorn Dam that works under some conditions but not others. This ladder allows most salmon and steelhead to access the habitat between the two dams.

The last component is the diversion. This is the tunnel that carries water from VanArsdale Reservoir through the mountain and delivers it to PG&E's power plant in Potter Valley. The tunnel has a maximum capacity of about 350 cfs and a head, (drop in elevation), of about 400 feet. It diverts, on average, about 160,000

ac-ft of Eel River water into the Russian River system every year. The now famous fish screen is intended to prevent any more little fish from being killed in this tunnel or the power plant. Once the Eel River water leaves the power plant, at the "tailrace", it is legally abandoned. Neither PG&E nor anyone else has any consumptive rights to Eel River water. Now the situation gets a little more complicated. Even though the PVP ends at the tailrace, many people downstream use the diverted Eel River water. So we must understand also the operation of the Russian River Basin Project (RRBP).

The RRBP has two main components; Coyote Dam/Lake Mendocino and Warm Springs Dam/Lake Sonoma. Of the 160,000 ac-ft diverted from the Eel, 20,000 ac-ft gets used by Potter Valley and the remainder, 140,000 ac-ft enters Lake Mendocino. In addition, the natural watershed above Lake Mendocino contributes about 110,000 ac-ft every year. So the total amount entering Lake Mendocino every year is about 250,000 ac-ft. (Actually it is a little more because some of Potter Valley's 20,000 ac-ft runs off and also ends up in Lake Mendocino. This level of detail will be ignored for now.)

Lake Mendocino can only safely store about 88,000 ac-ft, which means that almost every year most of the water entering Lake Mendocino spills out during the winter high flows. Lake Sonoma gets its supply from its own watershed only and receives about 156,000 ac-ft each year. It can store about 245,000 ac-ft, which is more than comes in every year. Therefore, Lake Sonoma rarely spills except during wet winters like 1994-95. All of the above discussions ignore the flood control aspects of the reservoirs which have another set of numbers entirely.

### Water Use

Many statements have been made by interested parties who claim to be "dependent" on the continued diversion of Eel River water. They claim that they will suffer without it and that there are no alternative sources of water. Here we will take a close look at this "dependence".

Potter Valley uses about 20,000 ac-ft of Eel River water every year. They have a shallow fractured aquifer that will not hold water during dry spells, so pumping from wells is not practical. They have no good sites for reservoirs, so they can't store winter run off. Very few people, if anyone, would argue with Potter Valley's claim to be genuinely dependent on diversions of Eel River water. Fortunately for them, they were the only group of water users prudent enough to sign a contract which obligates PG&E to deliver the water.

The next group of water users are the agricultural and municipal users in Mendocino County. They use water either directly from the lake or they pump from the river below it. Basically, this is everyone on the Russian River except Potter Valley. A recent survey by the Mendocino County Water Agency showed that they use about 13,000 ac-ft. A report by Gary Akerstrum of the "Flood Control District" showed they use 17,000 ac-ft. A report by Tom Johnson of the "District" indicated they used about 23,000 ac-ft. Since they can't agree, we will compromise and say that 17,000 ac-ft is all the water that is needed from Lake Mendocino. Since we have seen that the lake gets 110,000 ac-ft from its own watershed it is clear that there is more than enough water within the county, without the diversion, to meet all the county's needs. For now we will not try to answer the question "Does Mendocino County have rights to the water within its borders?". That is a very complicated issue. Suffice for now to say that Mendocino's rights to Russian River water are in many cases superior to Sonoma's rights. Another complication is that not all the water in Lake Mendocino can be used for people. A large chunk is used to maintain minimum flows in the Russian below Coyote Dam. In a normal water-year about 150 cfs is continuously released into the Russian primarily for the recreational benefits. This can add up to as much as 80,000 ac-ft. Once thought to benefit the fishery, these unnaturally

high flows are now recognized as a detriment because they provide excellent habitat for predator fish like Bass and P. Grandis (commonly called Squawfish). In the event of the loss of Eel River water this minimum of 150 cfs would automatically be reduced, by regulation, to 25 cfs or the equivalent of 14,000 ac-ft annually. This is a savings of 66,000 ac-ft. It is easy to see that Mendocino County, viewed unilaterally, has no need whatsoever for Eel River water. It only looks like they need it because of Sonoma County's involvement in this complicated water sharing arrangement.

The last group of water users are those in Sonoma County who use the Russian River, (which is partly Eel water), for agriculture, domestic use, and recreation. The amount of consumption is difficult to quantify. Johnson's report claims they use about 50,000 ac-ft while Akerstrum says they use about 80,000 ac-ft. In any event it is a lot more than is used in Mendocino County and more than can be supplied by the Lake Mendocino watershed alone. It appears that Sonoma County needs the continuation of the Eel River diversion, and that their claim of dependence is genuine. And it would be true, were it not for the supply available in Lake Sonoma.

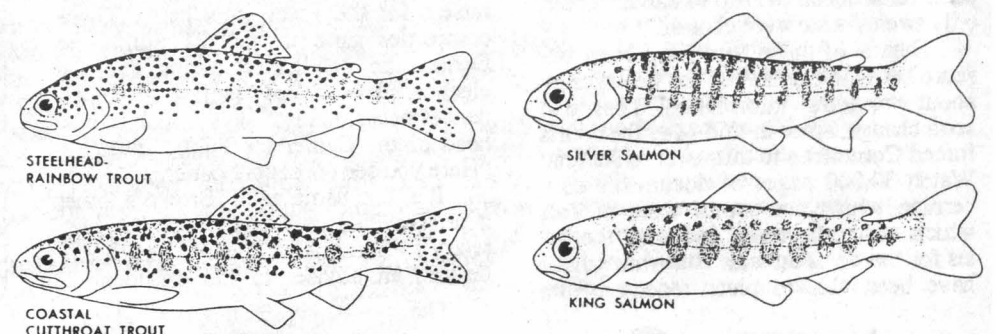
In 1990 an analysis was prepared, in part, to determine the impacts on Sonoma County if the Eel diversion were lost. The conclusion then was that the impacts would be minimal, "it is the scenario which would be the easiest to rectify", because of the automatic lowering of minimum flows in the Russian mentioned above. Another analysis was prepared in September of 1994 to look at alternatives for Sonoma County if the Potter Valley Project were abandoned by PG&E. One of the options discussed was to run a pipe from Warm Springs Dam north to the county line to supply Sonoma County users with Sonoma County water in lieu of Eel River and/or Mendocino County water. While this option would cost about \$40 million, in the long run it is cheaper than what is now being discussed between Sonoma County and PG&E; subsidizing PG&E for \$2+ million/year for the next 27 years. This piping of Lake Sonoma option would also insulate Sonoma County from any risks associated with the future of PVP. It is

interesting to note that both of these analyses were prepared by Robert Beach, then head of the Sonoma County Water Agency.

### Summary

This discussion is, of course, very superficial. The Eel-Russian system is complex and dynamic. One doesn't just drain a reservoir dry and then fill it up again; it is not that simple. Water is constantly entering and leaving the system at many different rates. It would be negligent to base specific recommendations for change on this level of analysis. It is also negligent, or worse, to recommend changes based on faulty or biased analysis. The Potter Valley Project in its present state has significant impacts on both the Eel and the Russian Rivers. The Project is now about to be subsidized, sold, or abandoned. Any of these changes will subsequently alter the impacts on both rivers. Now is the time for a careful analysis of how we manage this system before we make any changes. We should not be jumping to conclusions or rushing to judgments. Maintaining the status quo is just as much a rush to judgment as abandoning the PVP would be. We are fortunate that the Eel-Russian system is not in the dire straits of other rivers like the Navarro and the Napa. Those rivers have barely the supply, if that, to meet present demands. I hope this article makes clear that the Eel-Russian system has an abundance of available flows and storage capacity. There is more than enough water in the system to meet all genuine needs. But there will never be enough water for those who would exploit these rivers for profit.

P.S. The "flood gates" on top of Scott Dam is a misnomer. They don't do anything to control or lessen the risk of flood damage. In nineteen years out of twenty, Lake Pillsbury has an uncontrolled spill and the gates do nothing to stop it. In fact when there is the danger of spilling over the top of the gates, PG&E must open them so that they are not damaged by being overtopped. On the other hand, if Lake Pillsbury were full and the dam collapsed, there would be a catastrophic flood with much loss of property and possibly life in the area below VanArsdale.



Note: All four of these fish are juveniles 4-5 in. long

Roger Dixon is an Ohio native. He grew up in Cleveland and as a young boy caught fish in the Cuyahoga River. At about the time he left for college, the Cuyahoga burst into flames due to its saturation with industrial wastes. Since then, Dixon has made frequent return trips and has observed the remarkable progress made in restoring the river. Dixon is confident that the upper Eel can also be restored. He has seen a river die and knows it can be brought back to life.

He attended Ohio State University, graduating with a degree in psychology. Since 1976 he has lived on the Eel River near VanArsdale Reservoir (Capehorn Dam).

Dixon was an employee of the California Department of Fish & Game for ten years, working as a Scientific Aide at the VanArsdale Fisheries Station. In this capacity, he was one of the first to witness and record the drastic decline of the upper Eel fishery. He was also a founding member of the "Friends of Trout Creek", who sued the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E) in 1985 to stop the logging of the last old growth stand on the upper Eel. Their efforts led to a negotiated settlement which preserved the Trout Creek forest.

Recently he has been actively recruiting members for a new organization: the "Upper Eel Coalition" (UEC). The purpose of UEC is to bring together individuals and groups committed to the restoration of the entire ecosystem of the upper Eel River, from its headwaters to Dos Rios. The initial efforts of the UEC will be focused on the Potter Valley Project, owned and operated by PG&E, and its impacts on the upper Eel River. The organization is in its formative stages involved with drafting bylaws, clarifying its tax status, and establishing networks.

Although Dixon has been an employee of the Department of Fish & Game, his work with UEC is done independently on his own initiative. Dixon or the Coalition do not necessarily represent or reflect policies of the Department.

"If you care about the health of the Eel River, and want to see it restored, the Upper Eel Coalition is a good way to start. For now please contact the MEC (468-1660) to find out more about the UEC and how you can help," says Dixon.

To contact the UEC directly: Upper Eel Coalition, PO BOX 225, Potter Valley, CA 95469, phone (707)743-1294, msg 463-3090, e-mail roger@pacific.net.



# Forestry Activist Work In Mendo County

by Linda Perkins

Here's an update on some of what's going on out there in our woods and watersheds and some news of the people who are monitoring it- thanks to the Mead Foundation whose grant, as you read in the last MEC Newsletter, is funding workshops and meetings, and other costs associated with monitoring Timber Harvest Plans (THPs).

## Sensitive Watershed Workshops

Sensitive Watershed Workshop II was held in Mendocino in early April. People representing 10 different rivers in Mendocino County attended. Mike Tyrrell, a timber economist, and Allen Cooperrider, a senior biologist with U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, were our presenters.

Mike helped us coordinate and agree on a format for mapping our watersheds, including mapping of streams, soils, THPs, geologic hazards and roads. Because this was a hands-on portion of the workshop, people were able to get this important component of a sensitive watershed nomination under way, then and there.

Allen then spoke to us about sources for wildlife information for our watersheds, including the Natural Diversity Data Base and the Wildlife Habitat Relationship System. Allen also discussed the

further application of our data-gathering for mapping: not only could it be used for nominations, but as a basis for watershed assessment / monitoring / restoration projects.

If you are interested in participating in this important work for your watershed, give us a call. No experience necessary. Many different skills needed- computers, drafting, telephoning, writing and- my favorite activity- coloring with colored pencils.

## Watershed Meeting

In May our Mead Grant funded a joint watershed and toxics meeting at the Willits Environmental Center.

Patty Clary from Californians for Alternatives to Toxics (CATS) in Arcata, was our guest speaker. She spoke on uses of herbicides in our forests (used by timber companies for control of hardwoods) and their deleterious effects, particularly to fish, but also to other wildlife, and to non-target plant species.

For those who were at the meeting for general toxics information, Patty continued with an update on all pesticide use in Mendocino County- including those used in orchards and vineyards, for wood preservatives, etc. Many tons-literally- of toxics are used in Mendocino County every year! Of particular concern in our discussions were health effects on workers and neighboring residents.

The watershed people continued their portion of the meeting with reports

from watershed groups; with more information for sensitive watershed mapping, including how to format our mapping so that our data can be entered into computers through use of Geographic Information Systems; and with handouts sharing information on various topics relating to forestry work.

## Exemption Plans

One such topic was the number of acres of exemption plans filed by timber companies in 1995 in Mendocino County. These exemption plans allow harvesting of "dead, diseased and dying" trees up to 10% of the average volume per acre and can be filed on unlimited acres, with no public notice and no review or inspection by agencies. Jackson Demonstration State Forest and Gualala Redwoods have filed property-wide exemptions of 50, 200 acres and 28,279 acres respectively! Louisiana Pacific has filed on almost 20,000 acres in Mendo County this year. The impacts from these operations can be intense-including removal of hardwoods, erosion from re-opened roads, and removal of large woody debris from the forest floor. If you see logging trucks on the road with loads of tanoak topped by a huge chunk of old growth which has obviously been in the woods for many, many years, then you are probably looking at the results of an "exemption". Greenwood Watershed Association currently has a lawsuit in the courts challenging this loophole in the

Forest Practice Rules. Yes, a lot of logging trucks are being driven through it.

## Enchanted Meadow, Albion

The Albion community is still poised in suspense awaiting the outcome of the lawsuit filed by Friends of Enchanted Meadow/Friends of River Estuaries challenging Louisiana Pacific's right to log in our beloved meadow and surrounding forest without having to complete an adequate watershed analysis as required by the Forest Practice Rules. This lawsuit- and the community's determination not to allow liquidation logging in our watershed- are the only roadblocks in the Albion River to LP's attempts to convert to tree farms what should be lush and biodiverse redwood forests. We are depending on the greater community to stand ready to help us protest any such practices in this unique ecosystem.

We have twice scheduled community canoe trips and picnics in Enchanted Meadow only to have Mother Nature cancel them with the substitution of spring rains. O.K. with us, of course. Stay tuned though for notice of when you can redeem your rain check. Another event will be scheduled.

For further info or ideas about how you can help please call Betty at the Mendocino Environmental Center @ 707-468-1660 or Linda Perkins in Albion @ 707-937-0903.

# Mountain Lions

by Susan Raphael

Concerning the four mountain lions shot this month on Navarro Ridge: The larger (global) issue is human encroachment on wildlife habitat. In this case, heavy logging, followed by helicopter removal of trees, occurred this spring on a three-quarter mile strip partly below the land where the lambs were killed, which could account for mountain lions fleeing to the ridge top.

Killings of both lambs and lions could have been prevented. One neighbor of mine used to put livestock (when he had some) in barns at night, and though rancher neighbors laughed at him, had more surviving young. Predation by dogs and foxes did occur on occasion when he failed to return home on time, but he did not go after them, as he believed that protecting his livestock was his responsibility. He also mentioned large sheepdogs used in Europe and the U.S. on large rangelands.

In this recent case, a small pen with a four-foot high fence failed to protect lambs, and the people had had prior warning back in January when lambs were killed. If the owners had really wanted to protect them they could have built a small but solid structure and/or

had an alarm system.

When I learned that four mountain lions had been shot not far away from my home, I asked the Fish & Game supervisor for my part of the coast about what alternatives had been recommended. His name is Lieutenant Frank Russell (468-5206 in Ukiah). He told me that relocating the marauder does not work because no one wants the animal, that doing so is just relocating the problem, and that DFG is liable if there is a recurrence.

"But do you counsel the people with livestock to protect livestock better?" I asked him. His answer was that they could only suggest, but that by law there was no requirement to take preventative measures. He stressed private property rights repeatedly; told me that he would like to see trophy hunting of mountain lions because there are so many being shot anyway that "it might as well do some good". I assume that he was thinking of license fees from trophy hunters rather than the fun hunters would have chasing mountain lions with dogs up trees to shoot them. He told me that the "population explosion" of mountain lions was due to the lack of hunting.

The prevailing assumption is that people are not responsible for protecting themselves or their livestock when they

move into the territory of a predator and that the predator will be shot for ignoring private property boundaries, eating what looks like prey, be it lambs in an open pen with a little fence around it, or people running by in their jogging outfits.

It is the height of hypocrisy to move into an area which is wild and beautiful and kill off its wild and beautiful creatures because they are also dangerous. It is cruel and negligent to have vulnerable animal wards and not protect them from predators.

Those who see this need to network now, before it is too late and make both ideas and help available to those in our community who are fearful of attack on themselves or their animals, so that they don't just phone up our legally armed officials to eliminate the problem. I would like to join with others in this effort.

Pending Senate Bill 28 aims at reintroducing sport hunting of mountain lions, using dogs to chase and tree them and then shooting them at point-blank range, which Fish and Game does now legally, based merely on the report of suspected damage to livestock or fear of attack on a person. The NRA and the Safari Club are playing on people's fear by seizing on two fatalities (two in 104 years in California!) although hunting ac-



cidents have been far more common, and the largest number of attacks on humans by mountain lions have been in British Columbia, where trophy hunting is legal.

Senator Mike Thompson (who opposed the successful 1991 Mountain Lion initiative, which intended to ban trophy hunting of lions forever), has amended SB 28 to include trophy hunting in state and national parks by amateur trophy hunters! As if the hunters and ranchers leaning on him are very worried about public safety! Please write to Senator Thompson and Assemblyman Dan Hauser (State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814) opposing SB 28.

## Conference on Coast Redwood Forest Ecology and Management

### Announcement and First Call for Papers

June 18-20, 1996

Humboldt State University  
Arcata, California

### About the Conference

The coast redwood forest type is unique to California and extreme southwest Oregon. Society values a broad spectrum of resources inherent in the coast redwood forest, including natural history, wood products, aesthetics, and the variety of plants and animals. However, the amount of published work on coast redwood has not matched the interest in its resources.

The Conference on Coast Redwood Forest Ecology and Management is the first of its kind for the region. In the plenary sessions, invited speakers will address the paleohistory of redwood, dynamic processes that influence redwood forests, the current status of the redwood type, wildlife, the human perspective, and the history of the redwood preservation movement.

Contributed technical papers and

posters will present the latest research on watershed processes, forest management, silvicultural systems, terrestrial and aquatic organisms associated with the type, forest products, coast redwood biology, park management, and restoration.

Published Proceedings will follow shortly after the conference.

### Who Should Attend?

Anyone interested in the resources of the coast redwood forest, including resource professionals from private industry, state and federal agencies, universities, landowners, and the public.

### Call for Papers

Prospective participants should provide the program coordinator with technical paper or poster title and an abstract of 250 words or less by October 2, 1995. Submissions will be reviewed and authors will be invited to speak or present a poster. Submission of technical papers and posters on the following or other topics specifically related to the Redwood Region is encouraged:

- Sustainable ecosystems
- Watershed processes (hydrology, geomorphology)
- Forest management

- Silviculture
- Wildlife - terrestrial
- Wildlife - aquatic
- Stand dynamics and succession
- Fire ecology and management
- Utilization and products
- Genetics
- Physiology
- Insects and disease
- Autecology
- Park management
- Restoration and rehabilitation
- Forest protection

### Schedule of Events

The first two days of the conference will include plenary sessions, concurrent technical sessions, and poster sessions. The third day of the conference will include concurrent field trips organized for those who sign up in advance.

Field trips are anticipated to be hosted by representatives from local forest landowners, Redwood National Park, and Humboldt Redwoods State Park. Optional fourth day field trips are available to those who are interested in traveling to Jackson Demonstration State Forest in Mendocino County, or to Cal Poly School Forest property in Santa Cruz County.

For More information contact:  
Kim Rodrigues UCCE at 707-445-7351 cdhumboldt@ucdavis.edu  
Bill Baxter CDF at 707-964-5674 hal\_slack@fire.ca.gov  
John LeBlanc UCCE at 510-642-6678 jleblanc@nature.berkeley.edu  
Doug Piirto Calpoly at 805-756-2968 dpiirto@oboe.calpoly.edu

### Please Tell Us The Type of Participation You Prefer

• Speaker or Poster Presenter - Speakers or poster presenters should provide the program coordinator with technical paper or poster title and an abstract of 250 words or less by October 2, 1995.

• Attendee- contact us and we will send you a registration brochure in January 1996.

• Sponsor or committee member - If you or your organization want to help shape the conference's direction, let us know!

Also, be sure we have your name, address, phone, organization, e-mail address, and fax number.



# Void the Corporate Contract on America - SIN!

by Betty Ball

The Corporate Agenda in the form of the "Contract with (on) America" is rushing headlong through Congress, with attacks on the poor, people of color, women, children, workers, and the environment. Our liberties are fast eroding, and injustices are escalating. Scientists are warning of serious climate changes and threats of new diseases that could reach global proportions. Unrest, fear, discontent and dis-ease are pervasive.

So, what to do? What is the antidote to all of this? Activate and organize!

We're starting a renewed, all-out effort to recruit people (YOU!) to get involved - and we've given our new effort a name - **Stop Injustice Now!** - the acronym for which, of course, is **S.I.N.!** It is, after all, all injustice, whether it be the eroding of the Clean Water Act or the Endangered Species Act, weakening worker safety laws, cutting welfare benefits, cutting services for "illegal aliens", going after Affirmative Action, etc., *ad infinitum*.

Anyone can S.I.N.!, and there are a myriad of ways in which to S.I.N.! One (or more) of them is just for you. Obviously, we can't possibly name all of the ways, but we will mention a few to pique your interest, and encourage you to call the MEC, 468-1660, to sign up to S.I.N.!

- Join the **Alliance for Human Rights**. (See article elsewhere in this issue of the MEC Newsletter.) This group formed to oppose any form of implementation of Proposition 187, and to advocate for the rights of Latinos in our community. It is expanding to include advocacy for the rights of all people of color, and to oppose and stop the ram-

pant civil rights abuses by law enforcement officers. The group meets the first Monday of each month at 6:00 P.M. Call the MEC for location of the meetings, and for meeting times of the subcommittees of the Alliance.

- Join the **Round Valley Community Support Coalition**. (See related story in this Newsletter.) This group is working with, and in support of, the Native people of the Round Valley Indian Community whose rights are consistently abused, but are being even more so now, as a result of the tragic events of mid-April when Leonard (Acom) Peters was brutally killed by law enforcement officers in what clearly appears to be a case of mistaken identity. Subsequently, a Sheriff's Deputy was shot and killed by an unknown assailant. Law enforcement believes Bear Lincoln to be the suspect in the death of Deputy Bob Davis, and they have launched an all-out man-hunt for him. Their man-hunt has included and continues to include blatant and wanton abuses of the rights of many, many people in the community, including infants and elders. Fund raising is needed for the legal efforts which must ensue; a campaign has been launched, and must be amplified, to demand an independent investigation into this whole situation; many, many tasks need to be done. There will be a community meeting in Covelo on June 17th, to which supporters and potential supporters are invited. Call the MEC for time and location of the meeting, and for carpooling.

- A local chapter of former Governor Jerry Brown's group **We The People** is forming. The purpose of this group is to work for political reform and social justice. Contact Suzanne Rouger at (707)

485-5552, if you are interested in exploring this group.

- Help form a **Labor Advocacy Coalition**. Many of us are interested in establishing a labor-environmental coalition. We met initially following the talk by Tony Mazzocchi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union at Enviro-Fest on April 29th, and agreed that such a coalition is needed. We wish to find ways to advocate for workers rights and the health of the Earth, because environmental justice and justice for workers is one and the same thing. Call the MEC at 468-1660 if you wish to help form this Labor-Environmental Coalition.

- Help form a **Land-Use/Development Watchdog Group**. Development and land-use proposals are submitted to the city and county planning departments all the time. Ukiah is just going through a General Plan revision process. For lack of enough people being involved, many of the progressive changes suggested and fought for by members of the Growth Management Steering Committee are being gutted by the Ukiah City Council. The County will soon embark on their General Plan revision process. We need a strong, committed group of people who want to dedicate themselves to this effort that will be so critical to ensuring the environmental health and sustainability of the County into the future.

- Help form an **Advocacy Team** that can provide immediate response and advocacy for people who are encountering harassment or civil rights abuses, need assistance dealing with agencies or bureaucracies, need emergency childcare, need emergency food, need emergency rides, etc. Call the MEC to assist in form-

ing this team that is urgently needed to fill the gaps left by agencies.

- Get involved in efforts to enact **National Ocean Sanctuary**. Tabling, letter writing campaigns, phone-banking, etc., are needed for this effort. Call the MEC to find out more.

- Sign up for **Direct Action**. Direct action will probably be called for this summer for the forest - in Headwaters, in Albion and elsewhere. Other needs for Direct Action arise also, as when we wanted to blockade *America's Most Wanted's* filming of the so-called "re-enactment" of the tragedy in Covelo. Call the MEC and ask to be put on Earth First's! Direct Action Alert list.

- Join **Citizen's for a Healthy Ukiah (CHU)** and help put a stop to Masonite's toxic emissions. Help is needed with research, mailings, phoning, and organizing a community education effort. Call the MEC to be put on CHU's list.

- Help **Staff the MEC**. We need volunteers to help answer phones, do phoning, help with mailings, do photo copying and information dissemination, computer entry, newsletter production, run errands, put up posters, etc. Call the MEC to join our Office Staff Volunteers.

This is but a sampling of the ways in which you can S.I.N.ning now. We know from both recent and past history that "The People United, Will Never Be Defeated". We stopped off-shore drilling in 1988. Willits stopped the MRF in 1995. We've halted, at least, for now, LP's plans for an oriented strand board plant in Ukiah. Just think what we can do with even larger and stronger coalitions!

**Call the MEC and sign up to S.I.N.!**

## The Origin of the Mendocino County Ecology Web

by Dale Glaser

In early April I walked into the MEC and Betty handed me a letter from an environmental group in Sonoma County. They were seeking volunteers for a project to network environmental groups and information in Northern California on the Internet, and wanted someone to create and maintain a Mendocino County Ecology Web as part of a larger site called the Northern California Ecology Web. Napa and Sonoma county Ecology Web sites are already online. Mendocino County had a screen that said: "We're looking for someone to set this up!"

What a coincidence! It so happened that I was just beginning to learn how to explore the Internet and how to get information onto it. So I took on this project. I actually got pretty excited about networking our county's many environmental groups, information and issues with other people around the state and the world. Think of the immediacy of communication possible between people on the Internet. When you put something onto the net it is accessible across town or anywhere else in the world almost instantaneously.

The Mendocino Ecology Web is now up and running on the Internet in its beginning stages.

### What is the World Wide Web

There are many different ways to communicate with people and information on the Internet but the one that is the most user-friendly and visually interesting is called the World Wide Web. And that is where the Ecology Web resides.

The World Wide Web (or the WWW) is graphical, colorful, and interactive. You quite literally jump around the world accessing information and people by simply clicking the mouse on words, phrases or graphics on the screen to jump to associated information. The ability to make text and graphics hot is called "hypertext" and represents the future of information access. Because of the use of hypertext, you can think of the WWW as really a huge collection of electronic pages of information that are cross-linked but located all over the world. When you click on a hot name, you can be taken anywhere in the world

almost instantly and it doesn't matter where you went to or how you got there. It's quite amazing technology.

Hundreds if not thousands of new people a day are connecting to the Internet because there is now a navigation environment as easy to use as the WWW. Who is designing and putting on the Internet the thousands of screens of information (called web pages) that everyone is exploring and jumping around between all over the world? The answer is educational institutions, libraries, the government, businesses, non-profit groups, citizen groups, and individuals.

### What's on the Mendocino County Ecology Web?

Our county's Ecology Web will contain the following information about the county:

- General information about the county: its natural history, geography, weather, geology, etc.
- A hypertext "hot" index of county environmental groups with the ability to click on any group name and be taken to a contact and any additional information about that groups' work.

- A hypertext index of articles (and the articles) from present and past MEC newsletters.

- A hypertext index of articles (and articles) from any other environmental group and publication around the county interested in being online.

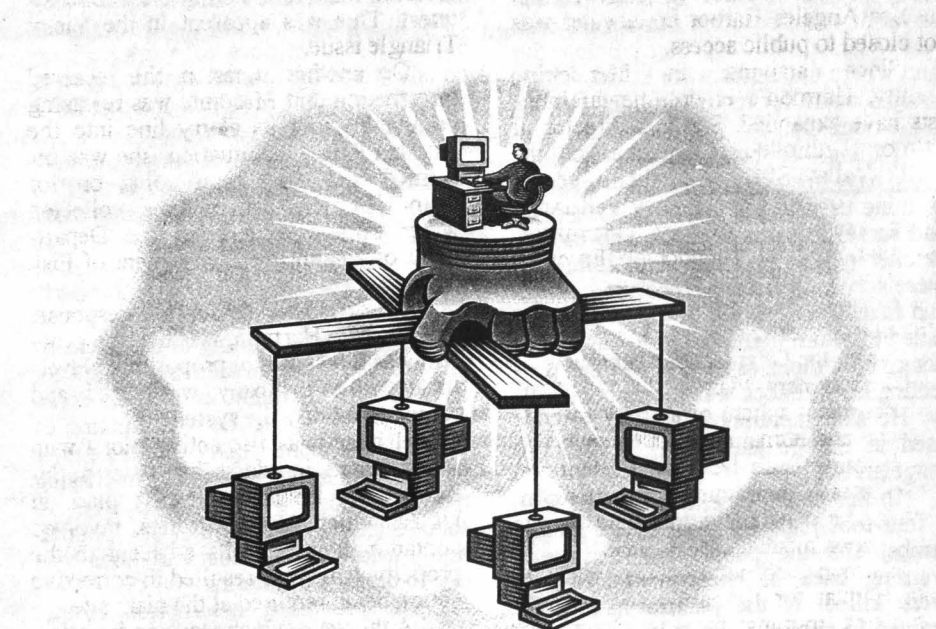
- A hypertext index of links to many other environmentally related sites/groups on the Internet, covering everything from alternative energy to sustainable economics to non-profit organizations. Many of these sites are simply lists of other sites. There are also many search tools for finding specific information.

### Help make the Ecology Web a great resource

We need your involvement in the gathering of information. For example, it turned out there was no current database of information on environmental groups in the county and a MEC volunteer has taken on the arduous task of phoning groups for current data. Besides contact information, the vision is to have groups present a history of their successes and learning experiences. Help by providing us with that.

**Some reasons why the**

## The MEC is on the Internet



### Ecology Web is valuable

Why should the environmental community here make use of the Ecology Web? Environmental groups can share their experience with others in the county, and the information can be updated instantaneously. The Web can be a way to archive information that is of long term value. Environmental groups can share their accomplishments and goals. Local publications can have a readership that extends way beyond the county's borders. Other people in the state and the country can learn what is happening in Mendocino County. The environmental links area is a one stop access tool to other groups and information around the world. The possibilities are endless. Check it out (The Mendocino County Ecology Web address is: [http://www.pacific.net/~dglaser/ENVIR/\\*envir.html](http://www.pacific.net/~dglaser/ENVIR/*envir.html)).

### Mission Statement of the Northern California Ecology Web

The greatest source of information on the environment is interested local people. More than government authorities, university professors, or reference librarians, local experts know the ecology of their area. If you want information

about the salmon in a river or the shrubs in a mountain range, there will be a person or a group who can help you find the answers to your questions.

The problem is in finding these local experts. Unlike the government, the universities, or the libraries, there is no plan of organization for our environmental knowledge. The mission of the Ecology Web is to give everyone access to this vast body of knowledge. Basically, any group or person who wants to be listed in the Ecology Web can present a page of information. This information will be organized by county or region at first. Later, the information will be organized by subject, as well.

Another virtue of Ecology Web will be its access to action. Those same people who are most conscious of the environment are those most aware of the damage we have done to the earth. Most knowledgeable environmentalists have banded together to redress the wrongs that they see. Grassroots activist organizations have sprung up along every shore, and in every range and basin. The Ecology Web will also serve as directory to this spontaneous legion of activist organizations.



# An Interview With Jean Harmon

by Doug Strong

"A great place to study government at work," is how Jean Harmon describes the setting for her activities on behalf of environmental causes during the past ten years. The description is expressed with more than a trace of irony as Harmon considers the adverse influence of various economic interests and enterprises and the interlocking power relationships one encounters in Mendocino County. However, after interviewing Harmon and discussing her views, there is no uncertainty that she believes the goals she pursues are worth the frustration and disappointment.

Harmon was born in Kansas and raised in Southern California. She graduated from Long Beach Poly High School and attended Long Beach City College. In 1944 she married Paul Harmon who was then a pilot with the U.S. Army Air Corps. On completion of his military service, Paul and Jean entered the sporting goods business in Southern California, eventually owning several stores.

Four children were born to the Harmons; three girls and a boy. In 1978 they retired and in 1984 settled in Ukiah while continuing to own various properties in Southern California. In February, 1994, just prior to their fiftieth wedding anniversary, Paul Harmon died in Ukiah. Jean speaks endearingly of their life together describing the loss of a confidant and friend whose values and beliefs were deeply respected. Jean anticipated sharing many additional years with her husband and her grief at his loss is still close to the surface.

Harmon's interest in environmental issues began while she was living in Southern California. She was involved in the Ocean Fish Protective Association and active in insuring public access to the White's Point area on the Palos Verdes peninsula. She worked to make certain the Los Angeles Harbor breakwater was not closed to public access.

Since arriving in Mendocino County, Harmon's environmental interests have expanded. She is a director of Salmon Unlimited, a member of the Ukiah Valley Streams Coalition, serves on the Coastal Conservancy's Russian River Technical Advisory Committee, has supported the Mendocino Environmental Center on various issues and, since 1985, has served as a director of the Millview Water District. She was also a member of the Open Space Committee of the Ukiah General Plan.

Harmon's sphere of activity extends to social and humanitarian concerns. Friday morning finds her in the kitchen at Plowshares Community Dining Room severing celery stalks and dicing carrots for the noon meal.

Harmon also serves as a volunteer with Habitat for Humanity and recently completed training for the Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) pro-

gram of the Mendocino County Superior Court. CASA entails the use of private citizens as advocates for abused and neglected children in Juvenile Court proceedings.

Harmon's election to the Millview Water District Board came about by chance. Shortly after arriving in Mendocino County she happened to see a "little article" in the Ukiah Daily Journal urging people to run for the board. She had been interested in fisheries and water related issues and her home in the Redemeyer Road area of Ukiah fronted on the Russian River.

She ran for the board, was elected, and is now completing her tenth year. Harmon describes her service on the board as highly satisfying and educational. She cites as accomplishments her efforts to attain a more equitable rate structure for the district's customers and professional management for the district.

Harmon's career offers convincing evidence of the hardships and disappointments endemic to the environmental movement. Population pressures, corporate economic aggrandizement and an adverse political climate create formidable barriers. One must be prepared for rejection and defeat - but persevere.

The most signal disappointment for Harmon was the loss of Vichy Triangle as public access to the Russian River. Vichy Triangle is a three acre parcel adjacent to the river at the Perkins Street bridge. Harmon devoted considerable time and her personal resources in attempting to secure the Triangle as a County Park. However, the Board of Supervisors refused to support the project in spite of the passage of a County-wide initiative with a 69% majority in favor.

Harmon is committed to direct action. She believes private citizens should assume personal responsibility for addressing matters affecting the public interest. This was apparent in the Vichy Triangle issue.

On another occasion she received information that Masonite was releasing pollutants from its slurry line into the Russian River - a situation, she was informed, that had been going on for years. Harmon took pictures, collected water samples, contacted the Department of Health, the Department of Fish & Game, and the Regional Water Quality Control Board. Masonite's response, according to Harmon, was that the problem was blown out of proportion. Nevertheless, the company was fined and forced to modify the system.

Harmon was also active, along with many others, in addressing water pollution at the Louisiana Pacific plant in Ukiah, which, Harmon states, involved contamination of wells adjacent to the property. This also resulted in corrective action being required at the plant site.

A theme to which Harmon frequently refers is that people potentially inter-

ested in improving the environment must be given opportunities to accomplish specific tasks - not merely attend meetings. Studies, she finds, frequently serve as an excuse for inaction and are often, "... full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Harmon's commitment to personal responsibility extends to her own domicile. She permits access to the Russian River through her property, which includes 500 feet of river frontage, off Redemeyer Road in Ukiah. Harmon requests that visitors call in advance to let her know of their intent to perform their rite of passage. To protect herself financially from possible misadventure by the public, she has obtained a liability insurance policy at her own expense.

Activism occasionally has its sunnier side. Harmon characterizes the planting of Steelhead near the headwaters of several local streams with Bill Townsend and Jim Ford of County Fish & Game as a labor of love.

Harmon considers her support of Townsend's restoration work as one of the most rewarding aspects of her tenure as a director of Salmon Unlimited. Recently, 3,000 spawning Steelhead were counted at Lake Mendocino dam, a dramatic increase over prior years.

Greed is a creed for which Harmon reserves her most clearly expressed disdain. The misuse, over-exploitation and degrading of the community's natural resources by entrenched commercial interests, she finds repellent. The domination of our political and economic institutions by such interests should serve as a catalyst for citizen action. However, Harmon concedes the influence and power of business and impact of economic forces must temper one's optimism for ultimate success.

Although one's convictions may place one at odds with commercial interests, including the timber industry. Harmon does not view the goals and objectives of the business community as inherently in conflict with those of the conservation movement. She states emphatically that, "environmentalists are loggers best friends." Actions to curtail over-harvesting and depletion of forests result in improved timber yields in the long term, and a more stable, prosperous industry.

The environmental movement should be inclusive. Harmon is discouraged by the internecine conflict between environmentalists. People should not be excluded or marginalized because they do not wear the "badge" of an acceptable cause or organization.

Social connections are important. Environmentalists should cultivate interpersonal relationships. They would then be more fully aware of the values and commitments of others and that, "someone besides myself and my cause is also important." From such connections mutually supportive communication networks

develop. In Harmon's words, "don't have a meeting, have a party."

Harmon gives great credit to the achievements of individual activists and interest groups, but feels their work is often too confined involving only a fraction of those members of the community at large potentially interested in the project or activity in question.

Avenues should be explored for bringing environmental groups into closer contact so there can be greater mutual awareness of their activities and priorities. Members of the general public favoring environmental measures should be communicated more effectively.

Knowledge of the environment and conservation principles and techniques should be widely disseminated. Harmon suggests an "Algonquin Round Table" format, convened periodically, involving key resource persons sharing information and expertise on environmental questions. The legacy of George S. Kaufmann and Dorothy Parker would then inspire a new generation in a setting unanticipated by its progenitors.

Positions on key boards and commissions that make critical decisions on environmental issues frequently are unfilled or occupied by persons opposed to environmental protection. At the present time, Harmon is attempting to find ways for broadening awareness of these positions by the general public as well as encouraging environmentalists to serve.

Harmon describes the process of growing older as, in some ways, liberating. One is freed from the constraints imposed by earning a living and rearing children. Financial independence enables people of a certain age to challenge establishment interests. Harmon describes as, "the good old boy network," without fear of economic reprisal and loss of livelihood.

Seen from her perspective, seniors have a vital role to play in the environmental debate. Her example serves as a model for the creative use of one's later years.

However, it should be emphasized, seniority does not immunize one from generational conflict in the environmental arena. Harmon has been characterized as uninformed on issues by her detractors and being "old" and, presumably, out of touch. Dealing with these attitudes while persevering in pursuit of her beliefs is a testament to the strength of Harmon's convictions.

With that said, Harmon is nevertheless an outspoken advocate for youth and the next generation of environmentalists. Exposed from childhood to the vibrant, fascinating and exhilarating processes of the natural world, children learn to respond instinctively to the environment. Building on the capacities and propensities of youth is, for Harmon, the chief priority.

## Expedition to the Channel Islands

by Pelagikos, World Marine Research Organization

This July, August and September the Marine Research organization Pelagikos will be conducting studies of the blue whales that have begun to congregate around the Channel Islands off the Southern California Coast.

On five separate dates the 84 foot sailing schooner, *Dariabar* (a recently constructed state of the art vessel), will leave Santa Barbara for 8 days of scientific studies, seminars and on-board lectures. On each occasion there are six berths available for anyone interested in being actively involved in cutting edge research and discussion concerning these animals.

Sophisticated real-time acoustic monitoring equipment on board will allow the tracking of the blue whales in a manner beyond previous capabilities.

Along with our resident scientists will be two guest staff who will offer a series of seminars addressing the philosophical and spiritual relevance of these animals to our scientific understanding.

Elisabet Sahtouris, Ph.D., is a geobiologist, author, futurist and international lecturer who did her post-doctoral work at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. She also taught at MIT and the University of Massachusetts. Elisabet lived in Greece for thirteen years while researching material for her book *GALA: the Human Journey from Chaos to Cosmos*. In her book she traces Earth's evolution as a self-creating living entity, drawing parallels between human socio-economic history and the evolution of cells and multicellular organisms. She is a founding member of the Worldwide Indigenous Science Network, working with indigenous scientists and active in promoting the integration of indigenous and Western sciences in solving our ecological, social and spiritual crisis.

Dr. Sahtouris will be offering her insights during expeditions from July 8 - 15, July 22 - 29, August 19 - 26 and Sept. 2 - 9.

Thomas Pinkson, Ph.D., is a transpersonal psychologist in Mill Valley, California. He is a consultant with the Center for Attitudinal Healing as well as a consultant for executives seeking Full

Circle High Performance. He has been leading Wilderness Quests for Vision, retreats, and pilgrimages to places of power around the world for two decades. He also completed an eleven year apprenticeship with Huichol shamans in Mexico, and is now considered a "Mara akame" - a shaman. Tom has worked with shamans in the Peruvian Amazon and the Andes Mountains, in Bali and with Native American Elders throughout the United States. He is founder of Wakan, Inc., a community based on shamanistic practices and has authored three books: *A Quest for Vision*, *Do They Celebrate Christmas in Heaven?*, and *Flowers of Wiricuta*. Tom's integration of shamanic ways and attitudinal healing enable people to find their heart path and the power to walk it to completion through the acts of their daily lives.

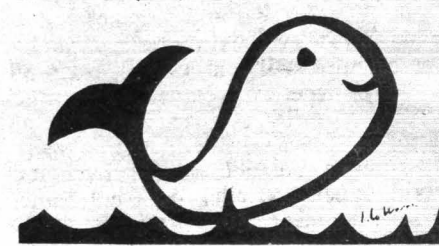
Dr. Pinkson will be offering a unique experience for those who are interested in examining the relationship between our species and the great whales. Dr. Pinkson brings a special combination of scientific and esoteric work to his presentation. A significant amount of time during this excursion will take place on one of the beautiful islands in this

area.

Dr. Pinkson's seminars will take place from Aug. 6th through the 13th.

While these seminars take place there will be active engagement in the research activities on board, island investigations (archaeological and anthropological), scuba diving and interesting dialogues. Quarters are small but clean, the food gourmet, the company stimulating and the experience extraordinary. Participants' contribution to the scientific work will be \$2500 per person. This includes all expenses for 7 nights and 8 days, excluding non-sea travel to and from Santa Barbara Harbor.

To reserve your berth for this once in a lifetime experience, call Urmas Kaldveer at (707) 462-5671 or Glen Bowden at (510) 836-4806.





# Ocean Sanctuary Action Alert

by Sierra Club Coastal Conservation Committee, Mendocino-Lake Group

Because of the commitment and determination of activists up and down the coast, we have a California Ocean Sanctuary, which prohibits offshore oil drilling in state coastal waters out to three miles.

But now, the current congress plans to drop the yearly ban on offshore oil drilling in federal waters, beyond the three mile limit. Offshore oil leases are to be sold at bargain basement prices to profit the few at the expense of the many. At risk are California, Oregon, most of the East Coast, the Florida Keys, and Alaska's salmon-rich Bristol Bay. The Alaskan Wildlife Refuge will be up for sale, too.

Tired of writing year-after-year? What we need is *permanent ocean protection with a National Ocean Sanctuary*. It would save us billions of tax dollars that now go to subsidize the oil industry.

It's time to say STOP! to President Clinton and Congress. STOP! funding the Minerals Management Service. That's the bureaucracy that gives our coast away. (A 1985 General Accounting Office report revealed that, in one short year, the Minerals Management Service cost the taxpayers \$7 billion.)

We taxpayers actually pay to give away our coasts to offshore oil drilling. It's time to say STOP! subsidizing the oil industry. Instead, reinstate tax credits and funding for energy efficiency and conservation, and solar energy research and development. (Funding has been cut to the

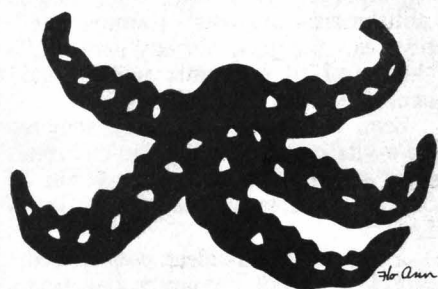
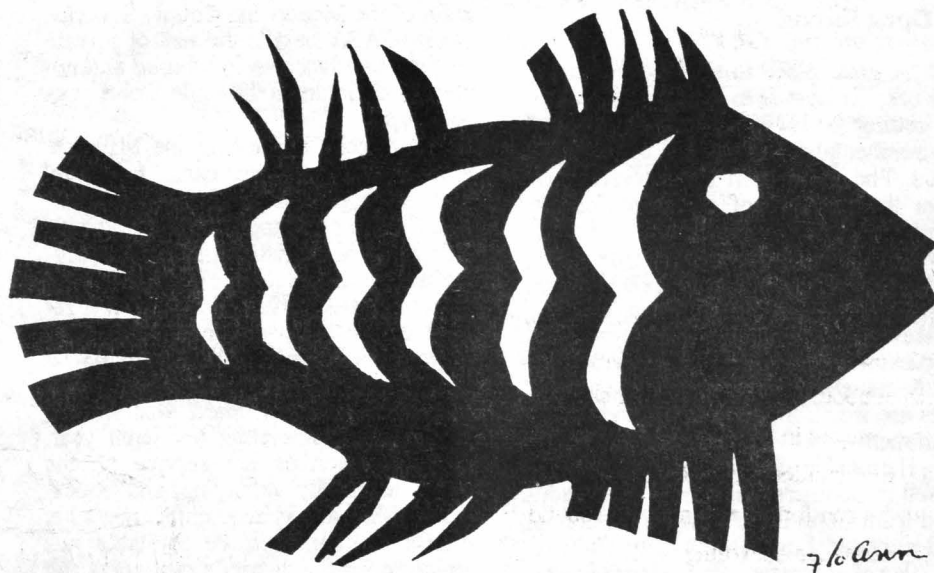
bone.) It's a lot cleaner! Demand leadership on this issue from the President and Congress.

As soon as our Group heard of the new offshore oil threat, we started putting up tables here in Mendocino and Fort Bragg, and have collected hundreds of letters protesting offshore oil drilling and asking for permanent ocean protection with a National Ocean Sanctuary.

The tables are so successful that we invite *you* to do a table here on the coast, or in your own community. We need to flood Washington with phone calls and letters immediately!

If you want a kit and instructions for tabling for the ocean, contact Mary Rose or Judith at (707) 964-2742, the MCEC at (707) 937-0709, or the MEC at (707) 468-1660.

*Please send letters to President Clinton, Senators Boxer and Feinstein and Congressman Riggs right away. National Ocean Sanctuary, now! Thanks*



## Contact:

**President Bill Clinton**  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, DC 20500  
202-456-1111  
Fax 202-456-2461

**Senator Barbara Boxer**  
112 Hart Office Bldg.  
Washington, DC 20510  
202-224-3553

**Senator Diane Feinstein**  
331 Hart Office Bldg.  
Washington, DC 20510  
202-224-3841

**Congressman Frank Riggs**  
1714 Longworth Bldg.  
Washington, DC 20515  
202-225-3311  
Napa 707-254-7308  
Eureka 707-441-8701



## DON'T GIVE OUR COASTS AWAY!

WRITE OR CALL TODAY!

SAY "NO" TO OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING! ~ SAY "YES" TO OCEAN SANCTUARY!

### OIL IS A KILLER

RIG AROUND AMERICA is the government's 5-year offshore oil lease plan to encircle the continent with a noose of oil platforms. Up to one million pounds of poisonous drilling muds laced with asbestos, formaldehyde, mercury, arsenic and lead are required to drill just one well. Each offshore platform could have up to 24 wells.

Offshore oil rigs measure up to an acre in size and floating refineries are the length of two-and-a-half football fields.

The likelihood of a **major oil spill** in California waters is 99% according to the Department of Interior.

Daily exhaust emissions from one exploratory oil rig alone equals that of at least 7,000 cars driving 50 miles, each and every day.

Millions of tons of oil-based materials are either spilled directly onto the ocean by oil rigs and tankers or arrive as a fine mist from many airborne surfaces. These hydrocarbons, being lighter than water, float on the ocean's surface. They spread out in such a thin layer that they literally cover the earth's oceans.

There are quadrillions of tiny life forms on the ocean surface (like floating shrimp and fish eggs) that absorb these hydrocarbons. In turn, these tiny forms are eaten by plankton, fish, and birds, and thus the contamination is rapidly spread throughout the food web, ending up in the fish on your dinner table.

### OFFSHORE OIL? WHO NEEDS IT?

The amount of oil to be gained from coastal oil drilling is negligible. By even the most liberal estimates, all the oil recoverable from U.S. offshore and Alaskan onshore reserves would fuel our nation's energy needs for only two years. Yet, it means **enormous profits for the oil companies at taxpayers expense**.

Offshore-oil lease sales and tax revenues would bring only an estimated \$4.4 billion for the Federal treasury a year. Compare that with the savings of \$150 billion a year through increased energy efficiency and conservation. To increase the nation's energy efficiency also means tens-of-thousands of new jobs in solar energy conversion and other soft energy technologies.

It is cheaper to save a barrel of oil than to produce one. Taxpayers subsidize the oil industry to the tune of \$8.5 billion a year. It also cost taxpayers \$2 billion to fill up the Strategic Petroleum Reserves. Oil companies pay as little as \$25 dollars to lease an offshore acre to drill. If you factor in the cost of our military presence in the Middle East, a barrel of oil from the Persian Gulf costs \$495 dollars. That's over \$10 dollars a gallon, but it doesn't show up on the gasoline pump - it shows up on your income tax form.

Harvard Business School researchers found that even moderate energy-efficient measures could save the equivalent of 11 million barrels of oil a day. That means that beaches, harbors, bays, estuaries, and the ocean are saved, too.

Energy efficiency also means that two billion tons more of carbon dioxide are not pumped into the air each year.

Americans spend over \$100 billion on gasoline every year. Add another \$100 billion for pollution costs. That doesn't show up at your gasoline pump either.

Sources: U.S. Department of Energy, Department of Interior, Greenpeace, Center for Renewable Resources, The Bodega Bay Navigator, Sierra Club, Union of Concerned Scientists.



# The Lorax & L-P

Way back in the days when the grass was still green  
and the pond was still wet  
and the clouds were still clean,  
and the song of the Osprey rang out in space . . .  
one morning, Merlo's L-P came to this glorious place.  
And there were the trees!  
The Redwood Trees!  
The bright-colored tufts of the Redwood Trees!  
Mile after mile in the fresh morning breeze.  
And, under the trees there were big cats and deer  
frisking about in their cat & deer suits  
as they played in the shade and ate Redwood fruits.  
From the rippulous river & pond  
came the comfort, the comfortable sound  
of the Salmon a-spawning  
while splashing around.

Ol' Harry Merlo the Baron of L-P  
Didn't see any of that tranquility  
All he saw were the Redwood Trees.  
But those trees ! Those trees  
Those Redwood Trees  
All his life he'd been itching  
O how he'd been scheming  
O how he wanted  
to cut down those Redwood Trees!  
In no time at all, he set down a great L-P Mill - Plop!  
He cut down a million Redwood with one chainsaw chop!  
And with great belchy stinks and with great toxic spills  
he took that sweet wood; chewed it up in his mill.

The instant he'd finished he heard a ga-Zump !  
He looked.  
He saw something pop out of the stump  
of the tree he'd chopped down:  
She was old; she was young;  
she lived in the woods; she lived in town;  
she had lots of kids; she lived all alone;  
she had a clenched fist and her brilliant eyes shone.  
"Mister!" she said with a sawdusty sneeze,  
"I am the Lorax. I speak for the trees.  
I speak for the trees, for the trees have no tongues.  
And I'm telling you, sir, at the top of my lungs -  
Sir! You are crazy with greed.  
These words you must heed:  
Stop cutting these trees!  
STOP CUTTING THESE TREES!  
I repeat," cried the Lorax,  
"I speak for the trees!"

"I'm busy," Merlo told her.  
"Shut up, if you please."  
And then . . .



Oh! Baby! Oh!  
How Merlo's L-P did grow!  
Now, chopping one tree  
at a time was too slow.  
So he quickly brought in his great Feller-Buncher  
which whacked off four Redwood Trees with one cruncher.  
He was making board-chips  
four times as fast as before!

But the next week  
the Lorax knocked on  
Merlo's L-P Office Door.  
She snapped, "I'm the Lorax who speaks for the trees  
which you seem to be chopping as fast as you please.  
But I'm also in charge of big cats & the deer.  
They can't drink the water  
and they can't breathe the air!  
Now if they can't,  
I can't either!" she said,  
"And you can't think  
when sawdust fills up your head!  
You're glopping the river where salmon once hummed!  
No more can they hum, for their gills are all gummed.  
So they're dying off. O their future is dreary.  
They'll walk on their fins and get woefully weary  
in search of some water that isn't so smeary."

And then Merlo got mad.  
He got terribly mad.

He yelled at the Lorax, "Now lissen here, witch!  
All you do is yap-yap, and bitch-bitch-bitch-bitch!  
Well, I have a duty to stockholders (I want it all)  
& I'm telling you:  
I intend to go on doing just what I do!  
And for your information, you Lorax, I'm figgering  
on biggering  
and BIGGERING  
and BIGGERING  
and BIGGERING  
turning more Redwood Trees into chips 'n boards  
which everyone, everyone, EVERYONE hoards!"

At that very moment, they heard a loud whack!  
From outside in the fields came a sickening smack  
of an axe on a tree.  
Then they heard the tree fall.  
The very next-to-last Redwood Tree of them all!  
Almost no more trees. No more boards.  
No more work to be done.

So, in no time Merlo, his Bobby,  
his Company men every one  
will wave good-bye. They'll jump  
into Company Cars & drive away  
under the smoke-smuggered stars.  
And the Workers, the loggers  
will be left 'neath the bad-smelling sky  
outside the big empty Mill  
selling hamburgers to tourists  
cleaning motel rooms & front yards  
after Unemployment runs dry.

But NOW, Folks of the Forest  
now that YOU're here  
the words of the Lorax are perfectly clear.  
Unless all the Folk  
care a whole awful lot  
nothing is going to get better.  
It's not.


THE WORDS OF THE LORAX ARE PERFECTLY  
CLEAR!


I AM THE LORAX  
I SPEAK FOR THE TREES!  
TAKE DIRECT ACTION  
AGAINST CORPORATE GREED!


adapted from the Dr. Seuss original  
by Mary Norbert Korte

## Mendocino Land Trust


### Goals & Purposes


 To promote voluntary  
land preservation and  
conservation through  
non-governmental, private  
means.

 To foster the preservation  
and careful stewardship of  
productive agricultural and  
timber lands, including  
restoration of productivity on  
depleted lands, consistent with  
public policies.


 To identify and protect

vital sources of water quantity  
and quality through  
preservation of watersheds,  
wetlands and riparian habitat,  
including restoration of  
damaged areas.


 To identify and preserve  
habitat crucial to endangered,  
threatened or rare native  
species, or species of special  
concern, and to identify and  
preserve natural lands of  
particular ecological  
significance.

 To identify and preserve

scenic views as a basic land  
resource.

 To identify and preserve  
recreation areas and coastal  
access in the public interest.

### Current MLT Projects

 Coastal Access: The  
MLT is working with the  
Coastal Commission to accept  
and manage coastal access  
points in the Mendocino area.

 Conservation Easements:

The MLT is coordinating with  
agricultural and timber land  
owners in Mendocino County  
to establish conservation  
easements preserving open  
space lands.

 Public Access Open  
Space: The MLT manages  
Heider Field in Mendocino in  
permanent open space for the  
State Parks & Recreation Dept.  
To support these and other  
projects, join the Mendocino  
Land Trust, Inc., P.O. Box  
1094, Mendocino, CA 95460,  
telephone 707-937-0901.



# Thanks for the Bombs, Boys!

by Jeff DeBonis

Executive Director of PEER

At a recent news conference, one intrepid reporter asked House Speaker Newt Gingrich if he felt that the extreme, anti-government rhetoric of the new Congress might be partly responsible for encouraging actions like the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Gingrich, indignant, replied that it was a "grotesque and offensive" question. But, is it so far-fetched?

Since the new Congress took power in January, there has been a constant drumbeat of demonizing diatribes against federal employees and the regulations they enforce - particularly federal environmental rules. Federal agencies and their employees are castigated as unneeded, unwanted, and a drain on our society. Several bills passed by the House of Representatives, if enacted, will suspend environmental laws regulating grazing and timber cutting on federal lands. The recession bill recently passed by Congress made it illegal for Interior Department employees to even look for the Alabama Sturgeon, an endangered species. Representative Sonny Bono (R-CA) says we should "put all the endangered species in one locale and blow them up" as a solution to dealing with the Endangered Species Act.

Recently, the U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation granting extended powers to federal law enforcement agencies except the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) - the federal agency responsible for addressing violent crimes and for enforcing the nation's laws governing the use of firearms and explosives. ATF's storming of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, two years ago has become a rallying point for militant, anti-government activists who see the federal government in general - and the ATF in particular - as being overly intrusive into the lives of American citizens. While ATF's handling of the Waco incident is open to criticism, limiting its ongoing ability to address legitimate threats to public safety caters to the extreme, anti-government sentiments of the right-wing militia types associated with the Oklahoma City bombing.

The rhetoric of the right-wing, anti-regulation extremists in Congress is being matched in actions and words by the anti-regulation, anti-government wackos in the "wise-use" and county supremacy movements. One top Forest Service official recently told me he thought there was a 50% chance of a Forest Service employee being murdered this summer in either Idaho or Nevada. Forest Service and BLM supervisors have warned field employees to travel in unmarked vehicles, to travel in pairs, and always be in radio contact. They advise that if arrested by local officials enforcing (illegal and unconstitutional) county supremacy laws, do not resist: call the U.S. Attorney.

In a less publicized act of terror, a U.S. Forest Service office in Carson City, Nevada was recently bombed, allegedly by "wise use" extremists who resent the

strong, pro-environment stand that the Toiyabe National Forest management team has taken with grazing permittees operating on the Toiyabe. A federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) office in Reno, Nevada was bombed last year under similar circumstances. Thankfully, no lives were lost in either incident. In this emerging climate of fear and senseless violence, federal employees in federal and state land and resource management agencies throughout the west have been shot at, sent death threats, harassed, and intimidated simply because they work for the government.

Incidents of intimidation and violence against government employees include:

- On the Toiyabe National Forest in Nye County, Nevada, County commissioner Dick Carver, in defiance of federal law enforcement officials, bulldozed through an archaeological site in a clumsy attempt to re-open a forest road.

- On the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Burns, Oregon, government employees building a fence on government property to prevent cattle from trespassing on the refuge were obstructed from their task by the owner of the cattle who had repeatedly violated the terms of his special-use grazing permit whose permit had been revoked. In response, wise-use activists declared: "We have no way to fight back other than to make them (the refuge managers and federal agents) pariahs in their community."

- On the Gila National Forest in New Mexico, two Forest Service employees have been charged with criminal trespass under county law because they collected water samples from a mine on forest property. The mine operator, an active player in the County Supremacy movement, claims that the Forest Service employees subjected his property to "unreasonable search and seizure."

- In Idaho, the State Director of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), Martha Hahn, issued a terse "County Supremacy Movement Safety Guidance" memorandum. In language that was more reminiscent of an Army General than a top land manager, Ms. Hahn recommended the following "simple precautions" to her employees:

- Before leaving for the field, notify your supervisor of your destination, route, and expected time of return.

- Do not leave the BLM compound without radio communications capability.

- Identify alternative routes in and out of specific sites and be aware of your surroundings at all times.

- Avoid areas with a known potential for conflict.

In addition, this spring, two U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service law enforcement agents investigating the death of one of the gray wolves recently released into the mountains of Central Idaho attempted to serve a warrant on a local rancher as part of their investigation. Rather than assisting fellow law officers, the local sheriff came to the aid of the rancher on whom the warrant was being served, telling the agents to go back to Washington, D.C. Lacking a better op-

tion, the agents left without serving the warrant, leaving the impression that intimidation is effective against federal law enforcement officers. Encouraging and justifying this intimidation, Representative Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) (who sponsored an "endangered salmon bake" fundraiser) responded by saying she will seek federal legislation requiring U.S. law enforcement agents to seek written permission from county sheriffs before taking action within local jurisdictions.

Extremist state legislatures across the West are passing laws that openly flaunt federal laws. Montana's House passed a provision similar to that which Chenoweth espouses. Wyoming has passed legislation putting bounties on wolves (an endangered species, recently reintroduced) and creating legal defense funds to protect those who shoot them. Arizona, Utah and Idaho have created "Constitutional Defense Councils" to challenge unwanted federal laws and "mandates" and assert control over federal lands. Legislators in Wyoming and Montana have even urged citizens to buy firearms to keep federal officials at bay!

National right-wing talk show hosts have openly advocated violence against federal officials. G. Gordon Liddy, the infamous Watergate burglar turned talk show host repeatedly advises people to "shoot ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agents in the head," but only in "self defense" of course. Rush Limbaugh, standard bearer for the new Republican Congress and confidant of Speaker Gingrich, commented a few months ago about property rights and "environmental wackos". He said the "second violent American revolution is just about - I got my fingers about a quarter of an inch apart - is just about that far away. Because these people are sick and tired of a bunch of bureaucrats in Washington driving into town and telling them what they can and can't do with their land..."

Even the President is not insulated from this rhetoric. Last year Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) publicly stated that if President Clinton visited a military base in North Carolina, he better have a body guard. Despite Gingrich's disclaimers, it is not difficult to understand how militant wise use and property rights extremists might find encouragement and justification for violence in the inflammatory, anti-government rhetoric coming from supposedly responsible state and national elected representatives.

## What You Can Do

Now is the time, as President Clinton recently said, to stand up to this kind of "reckless speech" that spreads hate and leaves the impression that violence is acceptable. Write your Senators, Representatives and President Clinton. Tell them that encouraging lawlessness and violence is not acceptable. Express your outrage at the intimidation of federal officials and demand that the Justice Department take strong and forceful action against the terror being perpetrated by "wise use" and county supremacists who bomb our buildings, flout our laws, degrade our public lands, and threaten dedi-



cated public service employees. Ask your friends, neighbors and colleagues to do the same and emphasize that politicians who perpetuate violent rhetoric will be voted out of office in the next election.

[This article was reprinted with permission from Jeff DeBonis. Mr. DeBonis is the founder of the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics (AFSEEE) and is presently Executive Director of Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER). PEER headquarters can be contacted at 810 First Street, NE, Suite 680, Washington, DC 20002 or by telephone at 202-408-0041.]

## And Now A Word From Our Sponsor . . .

The Mendocino Environmental Center (MEC) abhors the use of violence in any circumstance and is dedicated to pursuing non-violent solutions to our environmental, civil liberties and social justice problems.

We deplore the climate of hate mongering and violence that is being fanned and, at least tacitly sanctioned by, many right-wing talk show hosts and elected officials. People must be educated to understand that the threats to the environment and the eroding of our rights and freedoms are coming from the greedy, out of control multi-national corporations; not environmentalists or the government.

We staunchly defend the rights of our public employees to do their job without fear of intimidation, harassment or violence, just as we defend the rights of environmental (and other) activists to challenge and attempt to change the status quo through whatever non-violent means they choose.

We will join with Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER) in calling on the Justice Department to take strong and forceful action against the terror being perpetrated by the corporate puppet masters of "wise use", property rights, county supremacy and other right wing groups.

# Birth of the Corporation

by Paul Hawkin

The history of corporations goes back at least to the sixteenth century, and since then their essential nature has not greatly changed. Before corporations, debts were transgenerational, passed on to descendants, some of whom were placed in debtors' prisons to repay the monies. The early state-chartered corporations of Europe and England were established to sponsor exploration of the New World. Those who sailed forth from England to trade for spices in the East Indies took grave risks in the journey, and even graver ones should they lose their precious cargoes. If they did not sail under the charter of a state corporation, they and their families could be ruined for life if bad weather or piracy struck en route. By establishing the corporate form, limiting shareholders to liabilities no greater than their investment, Europeans



were able to create a form of commerce that could absorb the hard knocks of

trading and exploring, encouraging both risk-taking and speculative investment at the same time. Those early corporations negotiated their charters with the state, which outlined the terms of their rights as well as the monies that were to be repaid to the crown. As a social technology, this was a brilliant invention, releasing the vigor of enterprise in the world.

The charter of limited liability distinguished a corporation from all other forms of enterprise, because it was (and is) actually a gift of the state—a grant, a covenant, a form of permission that citizens, through their government, delegate to the corporation and its shareholders. In the early years of the republic, the citizens of the United States were keen to prevent any institution, foreign or domestic, commercial or religious, from dominating or suppressing their newly won rights. Early corporation charters were carefully drafted by states to ensure this

subordination. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were only a few hundred corporations in the United States, and many of these were chartered expressly to build canals, turnpikes, or other public infrastructure. Even then, citizens openly and persistently expressed concern that corporations with specific rights granted under charters would nevertheless become so powerful that they could take over newspapers, public opinion, elections and the judiciary. Workers had similar fears about their own status within these new corporations. Thus early state charters were detailed and restrictive. They specified limits on profits, the amounts of indebtedness allowed, the overall capitalization, and how much land a corporation could own. The power of large shareholders was limited by scaled voting, so

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# Puppets & Puppeteers:

## Environmental Realities of a Corporate Democracy

by Michael Colby

Change. It's the constant theme in today's electoral politics. But the more politicians talk about change, the less things actually seem to change. Why? Because there is one aspect in electoral politics that never changes: the role of corporations.

Democratic and Republican elected officials are increasingly no more than mere puppets in what amounts to a legislative folly. Congresspeople, senators, the president, all are beholden to an expensive electoral process that is bankrolled by money from large corporations. And when corporations are paying the piper, you can be sure that their song will be sung.

The real challenge in U.S. politics is for the elected official to act out the charade of Democracy. Imagine how difficult it is for a politician to get up in the morning knowing full well that he or she must do what the corporate funders want in order to keep the job, despite the fact that the mandated corporate position often conflicts with the will of the people. No wonder they always look so stressed out.

We need to be honest: We live in a corporate democracy where the health and happiness of the corporations is placed before the concerns of individuals and communities. With agreements like GATT and NAFTA being passed, and technologies such as food irradiation and recombinant bovine growth hormone (rBGH) being supported, this seems rather obvious. Thomas Jefferson may have had individuals in mind when he wrote about, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but that is certainly not the case now.

Today our elected officials and regulatory agencies bend over backwards to make sure that corporations get what they want while we, the people, are left with a cancer epidemic approaching the rate where one in every two citizens will eventually contract the disease, and a culture so ruptured that community often means talking to someone on the Internet. We're forced to watch incinerators placed next door to our neighborhoods and schools, forced to drink milk contaminated with a hormone that only benefits the profit margin of Monsanto, and made to feel responsible for a national debt that the tax-free corporations largely amassed.

As activists seeking change, our first responsibility is to acknowledge and understand the realities and constraints of our current corporate democracy. To me, this means we must realize that, by and large, the legislative process is comprised of elected officials who are nothing more than lifeless, emotionless, and powerless puppets. Puppets whose strings are being firmly held by what C. Wright Mills called the "power elite," or what in today's culture could be called the corporate elite.

This is not to say that we must completely ignore all forms of legislative

struggle - because there are a number of efforts that require such a focus - but we must be honest about the limitations of legislative struggles. Too often, the most we can achieve from such efforts is a continuation of the status quo or the bittersweet satisfaction of simply stopping a dreadful proposal. We can hold back cuts to important programs or fight to stop agreements like GATT and, unfortunately, rarely win. But opportunities for significant change or redirection of national priorities are simply not possible given current realities. In other words, significant movement from the current status quo is virtually impossible when utilizing legislative strategies.

Legislative politics have become the politics of tinkering, where mere obstructionism is viewed as a victory no matter what side of the aisle you are sitting on. Take, for example, efforts by both the Democrats and the Republicans to reform pesticide laws.

During the last Congress, with Democrats in control of both the House and Senate, Rep. Henry Waxman, a Democrat, introduced a pesticide reform bill with the blessings of mainstream environmentalist groups. The bill, in most people's opinions (even it's most ardent supporters), was flawed and offered a slow, incremental approach to addressing a very real and immediate problem of using cancer-causing chemicals in the food we eat. The bill would have also adopted the concept of "negligible risk," a scientifically shady policy that allows regulatory bodies to weigh economic benefits against health risks when making decisions about potentially dangerous processes. But, given the corporate realities of legislative institutions, it was "the best that they could get," or, it was "better than nothing."

Republicans jumped all over the Waxman bill and easily killed it, thus claiming victory for their pesticide corporate funders while environmental lobbyists scurried with their tails between their legs. "Better than nothing" once again turned out to be nothing.

Now, with the tables turned and Republicans in control of both the House and Senate, the new majority has come forward with a pesticide reform bill of its own, introduced by Rep. Thomas Bliley



of Virginia. Of course, this bill is a nightmare for those of us concerned with human health and the environment. Like good soldiers, the Democrats and environmental lobbyists are now forced to expend enormous amounts of energy, time, and money on efforts to kill it.

Strangely, mainstream pesticide efforts are now centered around efforts to kill the Bliley Bill. Environmentalists will win if the bill is stopped. But, we must ask, win what? Sure, we will have defeated a draconian piece of legislation, but, in reality, we remain right where we started - at a status quo that favors chemical corporations and agribusiness and foolishly allows the use of around 60 known carcinogenic chemicals on major food crops. Again, it's the politics of tinkering.

I believe it's time to stop tinkering with legislative gimmicks and start to go after the folks holding the strings of the congressional puppets: the corporate puppeteers. If we want to move toward significant change, it's time to start hitting the bulls-eye by going after the folks that have the power. And why not? We don't get any food from our senators; we get most of it from food companies. So the food companies and other corporate leaders must not be allowed to hide behind the democracy charade, and, instead, they must be pulled out into the spotlight and forced to take the heat, listen to the people, or suffer the economic consequences.

Going after the corporate puppeteers is exactly what the orchestrators of the puppet show are afraid of since it involves letting the public know about the whole legislative charade. Billions have been spent setting up a scenario that looks a lot like democracy, but is nothing more than a fantastic illusion whereby elected officials serve primarily as a distraction, or hurdle, to significant change.

The media focuses on their every move, despite the fact they rarely move, the public is trained to plead to them, despite the fact that they rarely listen, and all the while, the corporations stand smugly by knowing full well that it is their money that is running the show.

But even more than simply educating citizens about the democracy charade, strategies aimed directly at the cul-

prits and short-term benefactors of unhealthy food and a toxic environment not only have more chances of actually winning but also lay the groundwork for building bigger movements that can lead to significant, system-wide change.

Besides, how can we settle for tinkering with legislative strategies when 85 million US citizens now living will eventually get cancer, most from causes that are preventable, and when the number one cause of death in children under 14 is now cancer? How can we shy away from significant change when communities are being ripped apart and subdivided as a result of a corporate culture that cares more about profits than values, and when less than five percent of native forests remain as a result of giant and shortsighted lumber and paper corporations? Finally, how can we politely sit by while, increasingly, those in power are gleefully succeeding at getting individuals and communities fighting with one another rather than setting our sights collectively on the real culprits with the power: the corporations.

Working for ultimate change starts with understanding the climate and culture that we find ourselves a part of, playing the hand we are dealt. None of us asked for, or voted for, near complete corporate control of our democracy. But it is the current reality, and now our task turns to getting out from underneath its crushing presence.

I believe there is a way out. It involves direct action against the corporate polluters, not their elected henchman and women. When a corporation wants to introduce a toxic substance into the marketplace, let's make the company pay in the marketplace for its foolishness.

When corporate executives make decisions that threaten the lives of their neighbors, let's tell their neighbors about it. And when a corporation demands that people must die in order to increase its profits, let's demand that they identify those people, get to know those people, explain to those people, look into the eyes of those people, and do the killing directly - not from a cushy office far removed from the pain and suffering caused by their acts.

Put simply: if you believe, as I do, that it is the corporation that is truly in charge, then it is the corporation that must begin to feel the righteous anger of the citizens who care. Otherwise, we'll just keep tinkering, keep missing the bulls-eye, and keep hearing the false promises about "change" from politicians who have no power to change anything.

Puppeteers, beware: the people are coming. And we're coming for real change.

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## Birth of the Corporation

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that large and small investors had equal voting rights. Interlocking directorates were not allowed, and in the case of public works projects, corporations were allowed to retain their original investments with predetermined percentages of profit. When profit projections were reached, the project was turned over to the state. It was the commonly held opinion at that time that corporations were a "creature of the law and may be molded to any shape or for any purpose that the Legislature may deem most conducive for the general good." In many states, clauses of incorporation gave legislatures the right to annul or revoke a charter whenever they chose to, or after a certain period of time (often several decades). Some states even required public votes to continue certain charters.

Despite these efforts, legislatures inevitably began to lose their control over

big business, state by state. Government corruption became particularly rampant after the Civil War, and with it came a loosening of laws regulating interlocking trusts, factory towns and sequestered private fortunes. Child labor flourished, along with Pinkerton and other private armies that kept protests in check, workers in line. The Civil War had transferred great amounts of wealth to corporations, and with this concentration of power, they began to clamor for "equal rights" and new simplified chartering laws that would treat every corporation equally (This is the means of incorporation we have today: anyone can do it, and for a nominal fee.)

There quickly followed a wholesale reinterpretation of the Constitution by the judiciary, granting new powers and rights to corporations. The primary thrust behind these precedents was the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment protected the rights of freed slaves, but it was subsequently interpreted to give corpora-

tions the same status before the law as that of a natural person. On that basis, judges reversed hundreds if not thousands of state laws controlling wages, working conditions, ownership and corporate tenure.

In the wake of those decisions, American business was transformed. Unions could be interpreted as "civil conspiracies" and could be enjoined from striking. With the reduction of state power, incentives were reversed and states such as Delaware began attracting business by having the simplest and most lax incorporation procedures and regulations, driving other states to compete by lowering their own standards. The marriage of business and government also undermined—turned upside down, in fact—the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment, guaranteeing the right of every citizen to engage in free speech, was established to encourage, promote, and preserve democratic traditions. In the late 1700s there were very few ways to communicate except through speech: flyers, books,

pamphlets, and broadsides from every conceivable quadrant of the political spectrum. The Founding Fathers wisely understood that the suppression of these political expressions would inevitably lead to tyranny of one sort or another; they did not want any one voice to have sway or dominance over the public discourse. There was little concern at that time that among the voices clamoring to be heard would be that of commerce... and the founders of the American republic still had no concept of the multinational corporation.

By invoking the First Amendment privilege to protect "speech," corporations achieve precisely what the Bill of Rights was intended to prevent: domination of public thought and discourse. Although corporations profess that they are legitimately expressing their democratic rights in their attempt to influence the government, their argument presupposes that all parties, from the single voter to the multinational company, have an equal voice in the political debates surrounding important issues.



# Attacking Corporate Personhood:

## The Future of Environmental Law

by Richard Grossman

With few exceptions, people come out of law school without having questioned pro-corporate doctrines on property (i.e., future profits are corporate property, the fruits of employees' labor are corporate property, and the right to manage is corporate property). They accept today's giant corporations as inevitable. They don't seem to wonder how it came to pass that corporations became legal persons with free speech and other constitutional rights, while workers on company turf have no Bill of Rights protections.

They do not encourage the rest of us to ask why a sovereign people should permit corporate legal fictions to elect our representatives, write and pass our laws, or lie to the public on vital issues.

Environmental and labor lawyers are trained not to challenge prevailing assumptions about the law, and to accept current legal doctrines. And then they train us.

Corporate lawyers, government lawyers, and environmental lawyers have all been funneling people's time, energy and resources into stacked regulatory and administrative law arenas, where even if we "win," we don't win much. This arena provides few mechanisms to shift rights and powers from corporations to people, communities, and nature.

Movement lawyers should take their cues from the activists on the ground. Local organizers should say to the legal profession: "These investments and operations are destructive, uneconomical, and wrong. But they are protected by law and, therefore, by the government. We will educate and organize to stop these harm-doers. We need public interest lawyers to figure how we can use the law and the courts to help us, or at least not block us. Please don't lecture us about what we can't do. Don't come up with legal strategies which enable corporations to hide behind the privileges and immunities which corporations have taken from the people. And please don't tie our hands."

Environmental law groups, such as NRDC, EDF, and SCLDF, were formed 20 to 30 years ago, mostly by young men just out of law school. When these men were law students, the "Critical Legal Studies" movement was not yet a presence within law schools. The first national conference on Critical Legal Studies was held in 1977. So as students, they were not exposed to even the modest questioning of curriculum and law professor biases, which goes on in many law schools today.

Some of these environmental law groups received immediate support and financial backing from powerful philanthropies like the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, and from law firms that represented large corporations.

Today, these groups define the legal agenda of environmentalism. They drive much of the environmental movement towards permitting and disclosure laws administered by federal regulatory and administrative agencies.

Each wave of environmental activists has had to confront these legal groups eager to transform our struggles from making investment and production decision making a more public process (in other words, decreasing corporate power). Instead, they have sought mechanisms to determine acceptable amounts of corporate poisons and corporate clearcuts, and compensation for corporate harms. They would even have the public give greater profits to corporate leaders to encourage them to act more responsibly.

We've seen campaign after campaign for citizen authority over corporations diverted into regulatory agencies and the courts, where all parties toe the line of managerial prerogative and other claimed corporate property rights.

As an anti-nuclear organizer in 1974 seeking to stop the construction of new nukes and to shut down existing plants (not make them "safer"), and to revise the legal relationship between people and energy corporations, I vividly recall the hostility I encountered in Washington, D.C. when I inquired what help some of these groups would give us. I was astonished at their reaction, and it took some time before I began to understand it.

In fact, most popular struggles - labor, civil rights, environment - have been taken out of the public's hands. Trade unionists allow their rights as organizers to be defined not by the power they wield but by the National Labor Relations Act. Years of protest by civil rights activists led to federal laws such as the Voting Rights Act, which are much less than what people had organized and died for.

Decades ago, the American people accepted the alarms of activists and said: OK, we want clean air, clean water, and wildlands preserved as national parks, forests, and wilderness areas. Our movement's lawyers and corporate lawyers wrote the laws.

What did we get? Laws which legalized the poisoning of the air and water, which legalized clearcutting, which left unchallenged the privileges and immunities which corporations had usurped during the past century, and which concentrated power in the hands of appointed regulators and administrators insulated from our reach.

Today, our regulatory and administrative laws are a stacked deck, granting corporations legal clout while disadvantaging people, communities and nature. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) does not mention corporations, and requires nothing of corporations. The Taft-Hartley Act was written by corporate lawyers. Yet, our environmental and labor lawyers let these laws define our arenas of struggle, our aspirations and our strategies. And we let the lawyers shape what and how we think.

So much hope has been invested in creating, enforcing, and reforming these diversionary laws. So much time, energy, and resources.

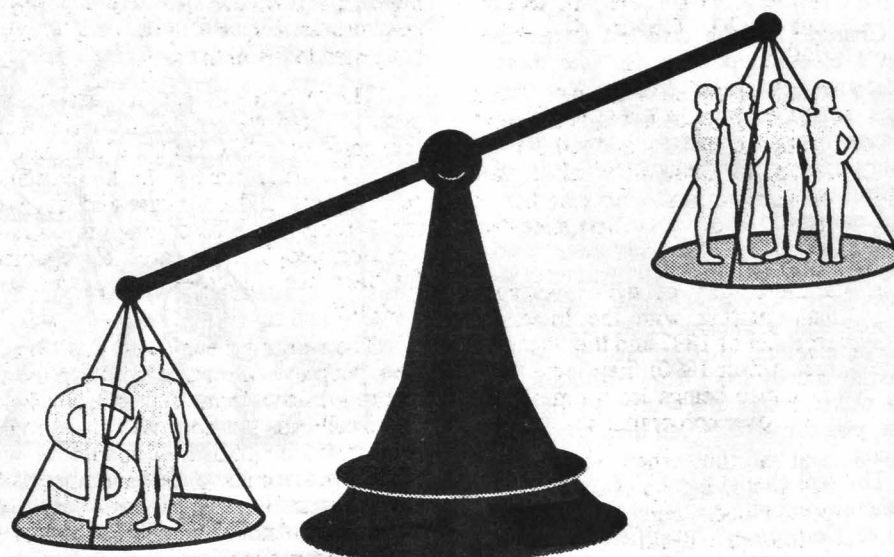
Look at the roles of EDF and NRDC and Conservation Law Foundation in the area of energy. Under the banners of "demand side management" and energy efficiency, these groups - with philanthropic assistance and cover - have helped utility corporations get higher rates of return and decrease the powers of state public utility commissions to direct utility corporate executives to act. They have helped utility executives move decision making behind closed doors. All in exchange for some voluntary corporate conservation and efficiency investment.

Utility corporations such as Pacific Gas and Electric and Southern California Edison - regulated monopolies which by law are required to serve the public interest - took their extra profits and set up subsidiary corporations in Mexico and elsewhere to build big new fossil burners. And still, corporate executives flood state capitals and Washington to turn our elected officials against citizens' agendas. They spread their lies, intimidate people, and frame what little semblance of public policy debate we have.

Now they are backing off from their energy efficiency promises because they smell bigger profits from new energy wheeling laws they wrote and enacted.

And environmental law organizations remain these utility corporations' biggest defenders!

Over the past 25 years, environmental lawyers have been assuring the American people that with each new law the air and water and wilderness were being protected, that our children's health was being protected, that we were on our path to using energy efficiently and cleanly. Don't worry, they said. And as a movement, we have not challenged corporations' claimed constitutional rights to make all the important capital and production decisions.



We have not made *people's constitutional rights* in economic and employment decision making a movement goal. We haven't even placed it on our legal agenda.

No wonder the public is vulnerable to corporate agitators and their Wise Use creatures inciting environmental backlash.

The agenda at the 1995 Land Air Water (LAW) Conference in Eugene, Oregon - organized by the students and professors at this leading environmental law school - reflected and reinforced this history and perspective.

There are scores and scores of workshops and speeches. But where are the sessions on creative legal strategies to stop corporate harms? On the role of lawyers in social movements? On withdrawing privileges and immunities from corporations? On empowering people and communities to design investment, production, and labor transitions?

Who will lead discussions about property and sovereignty? About the legal doctrines which empower corporate executives? About corporate history? About corporate law and what corporate lawyers do? About judge-made law? About citizen efforts in previous eras to define and dismantle corporations, to confront biased courts and legal doctrines which were patently anti-people and anti-life? About revoking corporate charters? About ending corporate personhood?

The LAW conference's closing speaker was William Futrell, president of the Environmental Law Institute. In a speech last September, Futrell made the astounding and rather courageous concession that our environmental laws have not worked. He said that: "*environmental law is too limited in its ambition... has been an afterthought to... the deeper bedrock law of the American system - the property, tort, contract, liability, transactional, and constitutional laws.*"

Futrell recommends that "*we should reexamine our property rights principles... focus on finding ways to integrate factors into private sector decision making.*" This is good advice, as far as it goes. But Futrell claims that "the US Constitution has ensured that major decisions concerning the investment in, and development of, natural resources are made in the private - not the public sector." Futrell shouldn't blame the Constitution for this situation, but those who dominated its interpretation over the past century: corporate lawyers, judges (often one and the same), and politicians in the corporate thrall.

Futrell does not refer to the decades before the 1870s, when both law and popular culture reflected that the use of natural resources - of the American commons - was very much a realm of *public decisions* - until railroad, banking, and land speculator corporations began to steal the public lands and resources in vast amounts, and to change the law. He also does not refer to the era before the

Civil War when the law of the land - as decided by the Supreme Court - declared slaves to be property with absolutely no legal rights.

He does not mention corporations in his talk, or the efforts corporations have expended to change legal doctrines and laws. He does not explain the *governing* roles corporations play today as they tax, direct massive amounts of capital, intimidate whole communities, control jobs, production, trade and technology; poison and destroy; dominate our elections, write and pass our laws; educate our judges in the jurisprudence of corporate protectionism; shape public policy debate.

Futrell does not talk about the influence which corporate wealth and power exert on law schools, law professors, law students - on our educational system and on our culture as a whole.

Futrell suggests that we need new legal doctrines. For what? His answer: "to make the market itself work to guard nature."

Perhaps we can figure out ways to use price mechanisms to achieve certain societal goals. But will the market be up there at Cove/Mallard stopping corporate bulldozers and chainsaws? Will the market save and restore salmon streams? Will the market change forestry practices on public lands, which timber corporations have taken as their private timber reserves? Will the market protect native peoples' sovereignty? Biodiversity?

Will the market get corporations out of our elections, our legislatures, our judges' chambers, our law schools? Will the market change the behavior of the senator [Hatfield] Jeffrey St. Clair calls the Merchant of Menace? Will the market enable people to do work which makes sense and pays a living wage?

Where are *people* in Futrell's world of law? Why can't we the people create the legal doctrines we need to fulfill the promises and ideals of the American Revolution - so that finally we can govern ourselves... so that we can guard nature... so that we can decide what work we want and need to do, and that we can control the conditions of our work... so that we can guard our health and our communities too?

Why stop so short of saying that we the sovereign people can design any institutions of commerce we want to help us meet our needs... that once upon a time in the United States we did, but today our institutions of commerce design us?

Why does Futrell censor himself so?

The classic study of "bedrock" law is by Harvard professor Morton Horowitz. It is called, appropriately, *The Transformation of American Law*. That is precisely what corporate lawyers succeeded in doing by the end of the 19th Century. Another scholar, Martin Sklar, called it a

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# Attacking Corporate Personhood continued from page 22

"corporate reorganization of the production/property system." This is what corporate leaders have been perfecting throughout the 20th Century. It is what we face today.

Environmental lawyers have placed our movement's hopes in regulatory and administrative agencies - and federal appeals courts. In those political arenas, they work hard to limit corporate harms one-by-one or corporation-by-corporation.

But the history of such laws suggests that (starting with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890) they were used to divert human beings from organizing to get power over corporations.

Just at the time when the Supreme Court was bestowing upon corporations legal personhood, corporations were working children to death and using convicts to break strikes. Carnage prevailed in the nation's mines and mills. By the

1890s, railroad corporations were killing 6,000 to 7,000 people per year and injuring over 30,000 people a year - employees, passengers, and just people who happened to get in the way.

The owners of western railroad corporations had walked off with 180 million acres of public land. Federal judges were declaring unions to be criminal conspiracies, and corporate and government troops were bloodying and killing working people who dared to organize for their lives, liberties, and pursuits of happiness.

The working people and small business people who organized Knights of Labor and the farmers, urban workers and intellectuals who built the Populist Movement sought ownership and control of railroads, banks, grain, and telegraph corporations because they realized that federal regulatory laws and agencies would become barriers between corporations and people.

They understood they needed "democratic money," and an end to the crop lien system so they could break the grip of the cotton merchants, of tool and seed suppliers. They sought cooperation, cooperatives, and sufficiency, instead of competition, hierarchy and maximum production of everything.

They struggled but were defeated by the combined might of the state and the corporate class. After their defeat, claims to rights and powers by corporate executives were legitimated by legal doctrine, law, courts, historians, and law schools.

Populists left us important legacies, but the reality of these legacies has been distorted. Regulatory laws were declared great victories for the people. And for the past century, citizen struggles for justice have been channeled into regulatory/administrative law realms and to the marketplace - as if those are the only arenas where a sovereign people is per-

mitted to seek redress of grievances.

We have been playing by the rules of the corporate exploiters and destroyers, as they taught our lawyers, who taught us. Our challenge is to turn the tables, to begin piercing the corporate veil that has diverted and divided our movement. We need to talk about the contradictions between citizen sovereignty and the built-in limits of today's environmental legal strategies.

[Reprinted with permission of the author, and *Wild Forest Review*, April 1995 edition. Richard Grossman, a former director of Greenpeace and author of *Fear at Work*, runs Charter, Inc. at P.O. Box 806, Cambridge, MA, 508-487-3151. *Wild Forest Review* is published 10 times a year. Subscriptions are \$25. Contact *WFR* at P.O. Box 86373, Portland, OR 97286, 503-788-1994.]

## Common Citizens and Corporate Charters

by Gary Ball

From the classics we know that the ancients pondered the eternal question: "Quo Vadis?" "Where are you going?" It is a question as relevant for our society today as it was for the ancients. We could ask: "Are we going further into a world based on corporate control of everything, or are we going to do something about it?" If we choose to do something about it, then just what is there to do?

One answer is found in a booklet written by Richard Grossman and Frank Adams titled *Taking Care of Business: Citizenship and the Charter of Incorporation*. The preface of the book opens with these words: "Corporations cause harm every day. Why do their harms go unchecked? How can they dictate what we produce, how we work, what we eat, drink and breathe? How did a self-governing people let this come to pass?"

Corporations were not supposed to reign in the United States."

The book goes on to discuss how the early Americans had the utmost distrust of the concept of corporations. The first Americans believed, and for good reason, that corporations needed to be strictly curtailed and carefully regulated by the citizenry. Otherwise, they feared that corporations could amass such economic and political clout that the people's sovereign right to govern themselves would be rivaled, and even usurped.

"The colonists did not make a revolution over a tax on tea. They fought for many reasons, but chiefly to create a nation where citizens were the government and ruled corporations." The lord proprietors of England's colonial trading corporations, who claimed their authority came from God, were a large part of what the American colonists rebelled against. "So, even as Americans were routing the king's armies, they vowed to put corporations under democratic command."

The book goes on to briefly describe how, through the years, Americans forgot their fear and relaxed their control of cor-

porations. Consequently, it is becoming increasingly evident today that what the early Americans feared has materialized. It has materialized, furthermore, under the weight of years of case law and judge-made law that may prove difficult to overcome.

Nonetheless, it is time for Americans to once again explore their ability to bring corporations under democratic command by focusing, as in days of old, upon the corporate charter. Individual states have been empowered to grant charters of incorporation since the days of the early Americans. Originally, charters were rarely granted and when they were, they carried numerous restrictions with them. Gone now are the days when citizens could restrict a corporation with respect to: how many owners it can have, how long it can last, how many stockholders it can have, how much profit it is allowed, how much and what kind of public benefit it must provide, and whether its directors can also be directors of other corporations; to list only a few possibilities.

Even so, corporations have not yet taken away all of our Constitutional sovereignty. "Every state still has legal authority to grant and to revoke corporate charters. Corporations, large or small, still must obey all laws, serve the common good, and cause no harm." *Cause no harm?* When was the last time you heard of a corporate charter being revoked? Perhaps it is our sacred duty as citizens, not only of America but of the planet, to first learn and then to perfect the art of revoking corporate charters.

[To obtain a copy of *Taking Care of Business*, send \$4.00 payable to Charter, Inc./CSPP, plus a self-addressed, stamped (64¢ postage) #10 envelope to: Charter, Inc./CSPP, P.O. Box 806, Cambridge, MA 02140. Discounts are available for orders of five or more books - write for details. Allow 3-6 weeks for delivery.]

## Listen To Your Mother

Dear Ones,

I know a lot of you are concerned about my health. And, yes, I know I'm not as young and prim as I once was. I suppose you could say I'm getting up there in years. I've already seen a lot of you, my children, come and go and yes, I do show some signs of wear and tear. Be that as it may, I'm still your mother and I want all of you to pay attention to what I'm telling you now.

It's not been an easy time for any of us. Ever since I started having children, there's been hard times and trouble, more than enough to go around. But I want to make one thing perfectly clear. Everything I've done, I've done for you and if I had the chance, I'd do it all over again. Now I appreciate some of you being concerned about me and wanting to do what you can to help me in my old age. But, that's just the point I want to speak to here, so you little ones listen good.

The best way you can help take care of me is to take better care of yourselves! That's right. You keep going the way you're going and doing the things you're doing and it's not me who's really going to pay the dearest price. It's you! Whatever happens, I'm going to be all right. I've seen lots worse times than these and I'll probably see more, too. But you little ones; you're very fragile. If you don't take better care of yourselves I will lose you forever, and I don't want that to happen.

Now, you're all old enough to know

what I mean when I say take better care of yourselves. It means don't poison the water you need to drink, don't pollute the air you need to breathe, don't degrade the land and ocean that gives you food. And don't let your brothers and sisters do so either.

I know that some of your brothers and sisters understand what I'm saying and I know they tell you, all the time, the same thing I'm telling you now. But a lot of you aren't listening! You're too busy trying to make money; trying to make everything real nice for yourselves. But you're not paying attention to how you're making things for your other brothers and sisters. So here's what I want you to do.

There's a place called the Mendocino Environmental Center. All my children there spend their time trying to get you to take better care of yourselves. I want you to help that place. I want you to give it some of your money. I want you to give it some of your time. It's your place, you know. You're responsible for what that place does, and how effectively it does it. So get busy! If you're worried about me, then go help that place! That's one of the best things you can do to help me - and yourselves.

Besides, now is an especially good time to give some money to the MEC. For a limited time, anybody who gives \$50 or more will receive the beautiful video titled *Headwaters Forest*, by Green TV Productions, absolutely free! The Headwaters Forest is one of my most precious jewels. Most of you have

never been there and most of you never will be, but with this video you can at least get a glimpse of what it looks like.

Another way you can help the MEC is to switch your long distance telephone service to Working Assets Long Distance and tell them the MEC referred you. This will give you long distance telephone service from the only socially responsible telephone company in the world and it will give the MEC \$10 off its telephone bill. Call 1-800-789-9253 to sign up.

As always, whatever you give will make you a member of the MEC. That will enable you to receive the quarterly newsletter and to participate in the democratically run organization by voting and/

or running in MEC elections. MEC membership also authorizes you to have a bank account at the Mendo-Lake Credit Union.

Most importantly, though, you should be a MEC member because it's the right thing to do. It's a great way to help you take care of yourselves. And it's a splendid way to help take care of me, your loving mother.

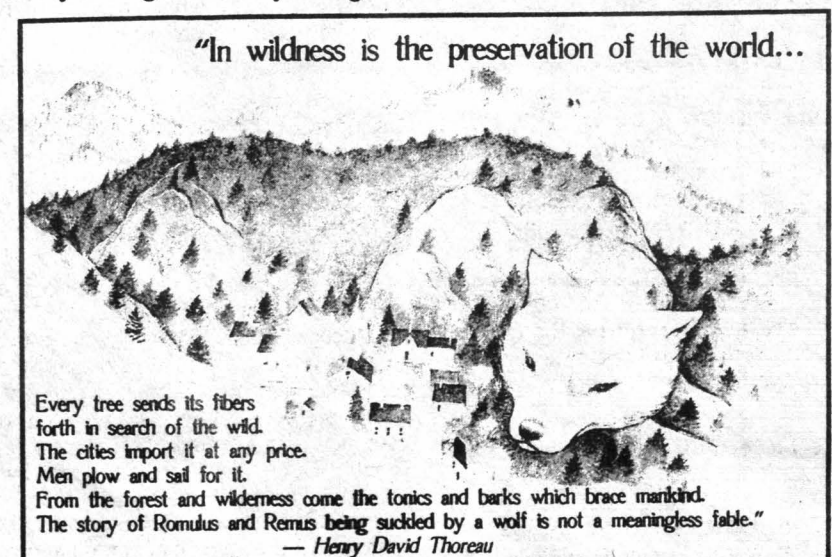


Illustration by Jon Luoma



# World Scientists' Warning To Humanity

from the Union of Concerned Scientists

## Introduction

Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. Human activities inflict harsh and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at serious risk the future that we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdoms, and may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental changes are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present course will bring about.

## The Environment

The environment is suffering critical stress:

### The Atmosphere

Stratospheric ozone depletion threatens us with enhanced ultraviolet radiation at the earth's surface, which can be damaging or lethal to many life forms. Air pollution near ground level, and acid precipitation, are already causing widespread injury to humans, forests, and crops.

### Water Resources

Heedless exploitation of depletable ground water supplies endangers food production and other essential human systems. Heavy demands on the world's surface waters have resulted in serious shortages in some 80 countries, containing 40 percent of the world's population. Pollution of rivers, lakes, and ground water further limits the supply.

### Oceans

Destructive pressure on the oceans is severe, particularly in the coastal regions which produce most of the world's food fish. The total marine catch is now at or above the estimated maximum sustainable yield. Some fisheries have already shown signs of collapse. Rivers carrying heavy burdens of eroded soil into the seas also carry industrial, municipal, agricultural, and livestock waste - some of it toxic.

### Soil

Loss of soil productivity, which is causing extensive land abandonment, is a widespread by-product of current practices in agriculture and animal husbandry. Since 1945, 11 percent of the earth's vegetated surface has been degraded - an area larger than India and China combined - and per capita food production in many parts of the world is decreasing.

### Forests

Tropical rain forests, as well as tropical and temperate dry forests, are being destroyed rapidly. At present rates, some critical forest types will be gone in a few years, and most of the tropical rain forest will be gone before the end of the next century. With them will go large numbers of plant and animal species.

### Living Species

The irreversible loss of species, which by 2100 may reach one-third of all species now living, is especially serious. We are losing the potential they hold for providing medicinal and other benefits,



and the contribution that genetic diversity of life forms gives to the robustness of the world's biological systems and to the astonishing beauty of the earth itself.

Much of this damage is irreversible on a scale of centuries, or permanent. Other processes appear to pose additional threats. Increasing levels of gases in the atmosphere from human activities, including carbon dioxide released from fossil fuel burning and from deforestation, may alter climate on a global scale. Predictions of global warming are still uncertain - with projected effects ranging from tolerable to very severe - but the potential risks are very great.

Our massive tampering with the world's interdependent web of life - coupled with the environmental damage inflicted by deforestation, species loss, and climate change - could trigger widespread adverse effects, including unpredictable collapses of critical biological systems whose interactions and dynamics we only imperfectly understand.

Uncertainty over the extent of these effects cannot excuse complacency or delay in facing the threats.

### Population

The earth is finite. Its ability to absorb wastes and destructive effluent is finite. Its ability to provide food and energy is finite. Its ability to provide for growing numbers of people is finite. And we are fast approaching many of the earth's limits. Current economic practices which damage the environment, in both developed and under-developed nations, cannot be continued without the risk that vital global systems will be damaged beyond repair.

Pressures resulting from unrestrained population growth put demands on the natural world that can overwhelm any efforts to achieve a sustainable future. If we are to halt the destruction of our environment, we must accept limits to that growth. A World Bank estimate indicates that world population will not stabilize at less than 12.4 billion, while the United Nations concludes that the eventual total could reach 14 billion, a near tripling of today's 5.4 billion. But, even at this moment, one person in five lives in absolute poverty without enough to eat, and one in ten suffers serious malnutrition.

No more than one or a few decades remain before the chance to avert the threats we now confront will be lost and the prospects for humanity immeasurably diminished.

## WARNING

We the undersigned, senior members of the world's scientific community, hereby warn all humanity of what lies ahead. A great change in our stewardship of the earth and the life on it is required, if vast human misery is to be avoided and our global home on this planet is not to be irretrievably mutilated.

### What We Must Do

Five inextricably linked areas must be addressed simultaneously:

1. We must bring environmentally damaging activities under control to restore and protect the integrity of the earth's systems we depend on. We must, for example, move away from fossil fuels to more benign, inexhaustible energy sources to cut greenhouse gas emissions and the pollution of our air and water. Priority must be given to the development of energy sources matched to Third World needs - small scale and relatively easy to implement.

We must halt deforestation, injury to and loss of agricultural land, and the loss of terrestrial and marine plant and animal species.

2. We must manage resources crucial to human welfare more effectively. We must give high priority to efficient use of energy, water, and other materials, including expansion of conservation and recycling.

3. We must stabilize population. This will be possible only if all nations recognize that it requires improved social and economic conditions, and the adoption of effective, voluntary family planning.

4. We must reduce and eventually eliminate poverty.

5. We must ensure sexual equality, and guarantee women control over their own reproductive decisions.

The developed nations are the largest polluters in the world today. They must greatly reduce their overconsumption, if we are to reduce pressures on resources and the global environment. The developed nations have the obligation to provide aid and support to developing nations, because only the developed nations have the financial resources and the technical skills for these tasks.

Acting on this recognition is not altruism, but enlightened self-interest: whether industrialized or not, we all have but one lifeboat. No nation can escape

from injury when global biological systems are damaged. No nation can escape from conflicts over increasingly scarce resources. In addition, environmental and economic instabilities will cause mass migrations with incalculable consequences for developed and undeveloped nations alike.

Developing nations must realize that environmental damage is one of the gravest threats they face, and that attempts to blunt it will be overwhelmed if their populations go unchecked. The greatest peril is to become trapped in spirals of environmental decline, poverty, and unrest, leading to social, economic, and environmental collapse.

Success in this global endeavor will require a great reduction in violence and war. Resources now devoted to the preparation and conduct of war - amounting to over \$1 trillion annually - will be badly needed in the new tasks and should be diverted to the new challenges.

A new ethic is required - a new attitude towards discharging our responsibility for caring for ourselves and for the earth. We must recognize the earth's limited capacity to provide for us. We must recognize its fragility. We must no longer allow it to be ravaged. This ethic must motivate a great movement, convincing reluctant leaders and reluctant governments and reluctant peoples themselves to effect the needed changes.

The scientists issuing this warning hope that our message will reach and affect people everywhere. We need the help of many.

We require the help of the world community of scientists - natural, social, economic, political;

We require the help of the world's business and industrial leaders;

We require the help of the world's religious leaders; and

We require the help of the world's peoples.

We call on all to join us in this task.

*[The Union of Concerned Scientists issued the Scientists' Warning To Humanity at 10:00 AM on Wednesday, November 18, 1992. The Warning is just as true today as it was then, and it is even more urgent now. Dr. Henry Kendall, Nobel laureate (1990, Physics), said: "There is an exceptional degree of agreement within the international scientific community that natural systems can no longer absorb the burden of current human practices. The depth and breadth of authoritative support for the Warning should give great pause to those who question the validity of threats to our environment."]*

*Over 1670 scientists, including 104 Nobel laureates - a majority of the living recipients of the Prize in the sciences - have signed the Warning so far. These men and women represent 71 countries, including all of the 19 largest economic powers, all of the 12 most populous nations, 12 countries in Africa, 14 in Asia, 19 in Europe, and 12 in Latin America.]*

*If the people who profit from biotic impoverishment are given veto power over the future of life on earth, as can be the case in consensus processes and in the hidden operations of government, the public is not well served. Furthermore, we believe that the welfare of our nonhuman kin, usually ignored by the anthropocentric institutions of our society, must be considered when making decisions about how land should be managed. The voiceless must be given a vote.*

Reed F. Noss & Allen Y. Cooperrider - from *Saving Nature's Legacy*