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EARTH FIRST!

SAMHAIN EDITION

November 1, 1984

Vol. V, No. I

THE NO-COMPROMISE ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

ONE DOLLAR

EARTH FIRST! TAKES REGIONAL FORESTER'S OFFICE

by Mike Roselle

While roadbuilding and some logging still continue in the Middle Santiam, hopes of eventual preservation for this unique and threatened area are kept alive by the ever-growing amount of support that has been received over the past few months. A new wave of conscientiousness seems to sweep over the state as the seeds of the long awaited forest rebellion start to take root here in Oregon. The Cathedral Forest Action Group, or CFAG, as they are slowly getting used to being called, has been able to keep the struggle for the last groves of old growth alive and well and in the public eye with numerous blockades, demonstrations, and public meetings throughout the state. To date there have been 48 arrests in six different actions that have been covered extensively by the Oregon news media and have captured the attention of a large segment of the public. More actions and demonstrations are planned as the campaign moves into its fifth month. Meanwhile, the group continues to grow in both size and commitment.

In the most recent action held August 21st, Earth First!, CFAG, and many local Portland anti-nuclear activists staged a takeover in the Region 6 Forest Service HQ that the

Freddies are not likely to forget for some time. The protesters, some 100 strong, gathered in Portland's Terry Schunk Park at 11:00 on Tuesday morning. From there they marched with signs and banners the eight blocks to Regional Forester Jeff Sirmon's office for an unannounced meeting. Although Sirmon was alerted by federal security officers and slipped out the back door just minutes before the marchers arrived, an Earth First! SWAAT team managed to slip into the building before the entire lower floor was sealed off by building police. Once inside, team members, including two who also belonged to a certain anti-whaling organization known for such antics, gained access to the fire escape and scaled the stairs to the 4th floor balcony, where they unfurled a large banner stating boldly STOP THE US FOREST SERVICE SAVE OUR OLD GROWTH EARTH FIRST!.

The sight of the huge banner and the growing throng outside the building along with the realization that every major TV and radio station, and most of the print media were present convinced the Freddies that a meeting was in order. Although Sirmon had flown the coop, and was reportedly hiding out in the nearby Georgia-Pacific building, a meeting was hastily arranged with Deputy Reg-

ional Forester Jim Space, who invited two members of the group in, while the rest filed in behind and held a sit-in at the regional forester's 6th floor office. While the meeting was taking place in the inner office, the rest of the group occupied the outer office and sang songs and passed out leaflets to the Freddies who were on their lunch break. When Cecelia Ostrow and George Callies emerged from the office and reported that there had been no progress in the talks, it was decided to take action against the Forest Service and attempt to shut them down.

Shouts of "NO MORE BUSINESS AS USUAL" went up among the crowd, who were now blocking pedestrian traffic in the crowded hallway. Two members of CFAG then chained themselves to the office doors while the Portland police, who were now on the scene, called in their SWAT team. After a brief delay, boltcutters were brought in and the blockaders were placed under arrest. As the blockaders were being carried through the congested hallway, their chains still hanging from their bodies, the people in the hallway sang the words from the old spiritual "We Shall Not Be Moved" loud enough to be heard throughout the building. We then dispersed and regrouped later at a nearby drinking establishment suggested by Gary Stallings.



Earth First! Banner at Portland Forest Service Headquarters Photo by Leo Hund

HARDESTY AVENGERS SPIKE TREES

"That's terrible," whimpered David Ritterbacher, deputy supervisor of Oregon's Willamette National Forest, when the *Eugene Register-Guard* told him that they had received a letter stating that the Hardesty Mountain roadless area had been "spiked."

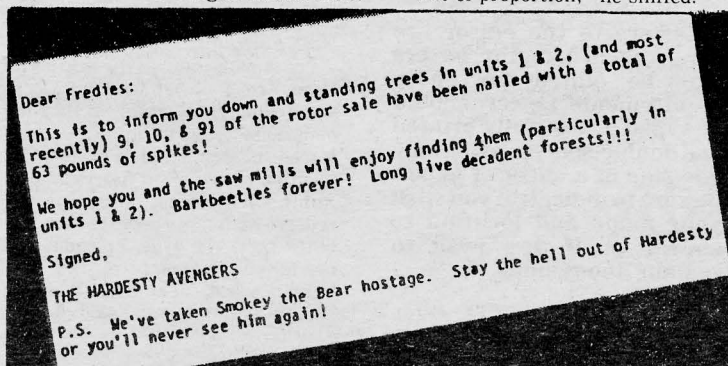
A group called the Hardesty Avengers said in an October letter mailed to *Earth First!* and the *Eugene Register-Guard* that they had driven 63 pounds of spikes into trees in a proposed timber sale in the area. The timber sale has been promoted by the Forest Service to "salvage" trees damaged in a windstorm last December.

Andy Kerr of the Oregon Natural Resources Council (ONRC) said that the Forest Service was really trying to torpedo ongoing efforts to gain wilderness protection for Hardesty Mountain. Kerr spoke at a press conference called by ONRC, the Eugene Obsidians and the Hardesty-Mount June Wilderness Council to

announce that they would soon file suit in federal District Court to stop the logging of the de facto wilderness.

In sobering contrast to the effort by the grassroots Oregon conservation groups to protect the wild mountain was the smarmy position of the Oregon Sierra Club.

Their spokesperson, Jack Desmond, said that the Sierra Club supports Forest Service plans to log the Hardesty Mountain de facto wilderness. "In this world you can't get 100 percent of what you want. We think they (the conservation groups) are really blowing this thing out of proportion," he sniffed.



This is copy of letter that warned of spikes being driven into trees

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EARTH FIRST!



EARTH FIRST!
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Contributions are welcome and should be typed or carefully printed, *double-spaced*, and sent with a SASE. All contributions should be sent to Earth First! POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703, except for poetry which should go to Art Goodtimes, Box 1008, Telluride, CO 81435.

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CLIPPINGS
Please send any newspaper clippings mentioning *Earth First!* or subjects of interest to us at POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. Thank you!

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Around the Campfire



Hello out there. Yes, it has been a long absence. And, no, the Post Office did not eat your Mabon (September) issue of *Earth First!*. It was never mailed. In fact, it never was. For that I apologize and offer in recompense this jumbo 4th Anniversary Samhain edition of *Earth First!*. When I left for Alaska on August 1, things had been arranged for a guest editor to do the Mabon issue. When I returned in mid-September, several delays (really the fault of no one) had emerged and it was apparent that the Mabon issue (dated September 22) would not be ready for mailing until mid-October (which is generally the time to mail the Samhain issue), so we decided to scotch the Mabon issue and combine it with the one you now hold in your hands.

Nancy and I, and the *EF!* newspaper, are now safely ensconced in Tucson, Arizona, where we should remain for 3 years or so. It was sad to leave Chico with so many good friends, and support (and Yolla-Bolly, Ishi, Lassen, Chips Creek, Marble Mountains, Salmon-Trinity Alps, Sacramento River, Beegum Creek . . .), but it is good to be in the desert. We've just had a small get together for Tucson Earth First'ers and there is a good crew here to help with this newspaper and fight the good fight on the many battles looming in Arizona. Please note our new address and phone number and direct your missives accordingly. Deep six the old Chico address, please.

What? Oh, Alaska . . . I'll tell you about it sometime in these pages, but suffice it to say, we survived the Oliver Inlet tram, the salmon-catching grizzlies of Pack Creek, the storm-tossed waves of Seymour Canal, and a foot and a half of snow at Denali. Thank you, Dick Farnell. *Earth First!* is in Alaska and you will hear more of the Great Land and the battle to be fought there in coming months.

In addition to my apologies for the aborting of the Mabon issue, I must also apologize for my tardy replies to the stack of letters awaiting me upon my return. I've plowed through them, dashed off dozens of postcards and letters, but some will never be answered. Unfortunately, there is not enough time to adequately reply to all the mail that comes in. I am sorry for that. It is not snobbery on my part, or even writer's cramp, it's the lack of hours in the day. Keep writing, though. I read it all. (And if

you don't get an adequate reply, and want one, write again.)

Two people deserve special thanks for holding the fort together while Nancy and I were off gallivanting around Alaska: Jeanette Colbert in Chico who filled a room in her house with *EF!* t-shirts, hats and bumperstickers, and valiantly filled orders; and Wildcat Annie in Ely who can never be adequately thanked for her good work.

Hey! The 1985 *Earth First!* Calendar is a doozy. Art by Jim Stiles, John Zaelit, Roger Candee, Bill Turk, Brush Wolf, Bill Kelsay, Ed Caldwell and Jack Fisher at Ed's Printing in Chico did a superb job of printing and designing the powerful cover (drawn anonymously). Get yours now. They also make great Winter Solstice presents, as do all of our snake oil and trinkets featured in our Yule shopping pages. We finally have t-shirts in kids' sizes and are featuring the new "Frog" shirts.

Earth First! has been receiving extensive coverage in the news lately. The Middle Santiam campaign in Oregon has been all over TV, radio and the press in that state this summer. The *EF!* occupation of Sen. John Melcher's office got great media attention in Montana and focused efforts which successfully killed the wretched Montana "Wilderness" bill. The National Geographic's new book "Our Threatened Inheritance" discusses *Earth First!* and has two pages of photographs by David Cross on the Bald Mountain Road blockade. Our Burger King activities received a wide range of coverage which has brought in many inquiries (by the way, the Burger King campaign is gearing up again — look for details in the Yule *EF!*). Public TV's MacNeil/Lehrer Report featured our Tuolumne River Rally and

Backpacker discussed the Oregon blockades. The September *Mother Earth News* had a fine piece on us. Thanks to *High Country News* for their rave review of the 1985 *Earth First!* Calendar.

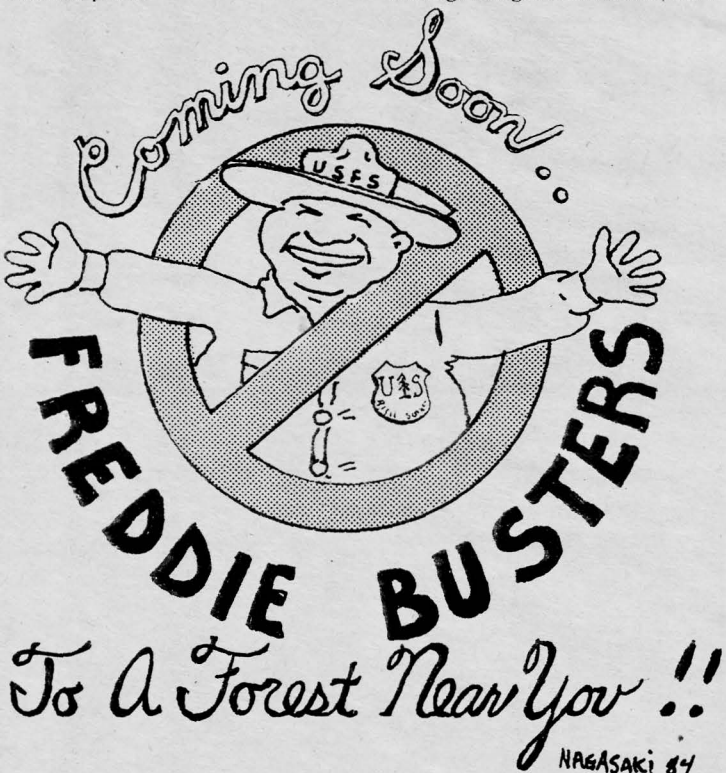
A number of thoughtful responses, pro and con, on my essay on "Professionalism" have come in. We will share them with you in a discussion of that topic in the Yule issue.

The *Earth First!* subscription contest is over. The results will be totaled up this month and announced in the Yule issue. Thanks to everyone who participated — we gained several hundred new subscribers as a direct result of the contest and many more people were made aware of *Earth First!*.

As I said, this is a jumbo issue. Instead of presenting it to you here, I'll let you discover it for yourself. I'm sure each of you will find much to savor and undoubtedly something on which to choke (even I don't agree with everything in these pages — but I think it all deserves to be said and read). While we have offered literature in the past (Marc Brown's Greek Tragedy "Watt" and Marcy Willow's epic poem "The Battle of Salt Creek"), our first short story appears in the pages of this issue.

One last note. Cecelia Ostrow has been the inspiration and soul of *Earth First!*'s valiant struggle for the big trees in Oregon this summer. She is one of the finest and most dedicated people I know. She is also a beautiful musician and a fine craftsperson. If you're looking for Yule presents I can't think of any better than a cassette tape of her enchanting wilderness songs or one of her lovely wind chimes. You will also be giving aid and comfort to one of our greatest defenders of the wild. Take a look at her ads in the advertising section in the back.

— Dave Foreman



Letters to the editor are encouraged. Lengthy letters may be edited for space requirements. Letters should be typed or carefully printed and double-spaced, using only one side of a sheet of paper. Be sure to indicate if you wish your name and location to appear or if you wish to remain anonymous.

Dear *Earth First!*:
I read with interest the "Books on Deep Ecology" list in your recent issue (some time ago). Two startling omissions leap to mine — well, leaped to my mind. For one, no mention of that great American poet Robinson Jeffers, whose work reflects with more honesty than any other poet, the true, splendid and mysterious *otherness* of the non-human world, "The heart-breaking beauty will remain," said Jeffers,

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"when there are no hearts to break for it." Precisely. Difficult though it may be for the egocentric to grasp, the world is bigger than we are, was here before we were, and will be here when the human consciousness has vanished into the limbo of its pathetic vanities.

The other writer who should be included in any such basic ecological listing is (of course) Garrett Hardin, a professional ecologist and author of such fundamental texts as *Tragedy of the Commons*, *Stalking the Wild Taboo*, and *The Emperor's Clothes*. Relying strictly on reason, common sense, and empirical biology, Hardin makes clear the fundamental relationships between human numbers and ecological integrity. Both Jeffers and Hardin show that there is no need for any form of mystical theologizing, ancient or modern, to justify the love and respect that most of us feel — naturally, joyously, spontaneously — for the natural world.

Edward Abbey
Oracle, Arizona

Friends at *EF!*

This week in northern Quebec between 10,000 and 20,000 caribou have died while attempting to cross a river lying on their annual migration route. A dam built by the James Bay power system, and heavy rainfall have proven to be a deadly combination. Many of the caribou were swept over a waterfall by the torrents of water. There are still 150,000 caribou possibly headed for the same area, so I can't be sure of the final death count, but I feel that we within *Earth First!* should stand witness to the tragic deaths of our brothers and sisters.

Somehow it happens,
our flesh, by the river —
Some say it was the dam,
the flooding,
the heavy rains —
Thousands of us,
through waterfalls,
rocks and bright water.
This is our last beautiful breath.
Goodbye shining river.
Goodbye rising moon.
Goodbye to the swift run of our lives.
I will miss the stars.
I will miss the wind.
Goodbye, friends.

Gary Lawless
Gulf of Maine *EF!*

Dear Friends:

This is only a little postage money for the person who will route letters of instruction and encouragement to the toughest Chiefs you have who will in turn organize others into a progressively tougher "no compromise" army.

I cannot renew because of cost and I have difficulty reading the small print of the paper.

I am a rabid conservationist and the real enemy is population or people. Had the Indian people originally been organized even a little bit they could have easily destroyed every white that hit the shore.

The desecrating white pigs you fight are descendants of those illiterate Oregon Trailers who slowly snaked their wagons through South Pass, every wagon with a "brood sow" inside — a mother with 10 or 12 kids.

This horde then went on to breed and pollute and destroy the entire West.

To "reschedule" the deadbeat criminal politicians from their comfortable long standing gangsterism will in the end no doubt take more than polite non-violence.

— Paul E. Plymell
Wichita, Kansas

Dear *Earth First!*

I'd like to comment on Lewis McCann's letter in the Litha Edition of *Earth First!*. I think he's right on the mark in saying we shouldn't single out Burger King because they get their beef from Central America but should also be concerned about the disgraceful manner in which cattle are raised domestically. However, I feel quite strongly that environmentalists worried about the tropical rain forests or the scarring of our own land have to also take some blame upon themselves — they are the consumers of beef, right along with Ronald Reagan and James Watt and all the others who wear the black hats.

As long as we continue to eat hamburgers, no matter where they are sold, as long as we barbecue and consume a nice juicy steak (how much beef was eaten at the Round River Rendezvous and did everyone there know how the beef they purchased was raised?), I'm not sure we have the right to criticize. I could fantasize a time when people eat small quantities of beef which is raised in an ecologically sound fashion. Until that time, the only correct and ethical answer is to become a vegetarian, or at least to drastically limit beef in our diets. Then, and only then, do we have the moral right to take on Burger King, et al.

My impression of environmentalists in general is that they are ready to boycott consumer items only when it is convenient for them to do so. It's easy to boycott Coors when you can buy Bud instead. No problem in boycotting Nestles when we can get our chocolate fix from another company. Real and sometimes difficult lifestyle changes are necessary not only to raise our credibility among our friends and enemies but so that each of us who feel so deeply about the earth and all its creatures can live with ourselves in self respect.

— Bonnie Phillips-Howard

Dear *EF!*

I want to thank everyone for their contributions to the RRR. I enjoyed meeting many special individuals and hope to see more of you at future rendezvous.

The action which followed at Senator Melcher's office in Missoula was exciting and effective. My gratitude and love goes to all who helped make it a pleasure. I looked forward to returning to Oregon, inspired by my trip, to begin work again on the Middle Santiam.

Now I'm in the Linn County jail and from inside it's hard to tell how much I am accomplishing. I know Direct Action is effective and as I told the cop, wilderness is worth any sacrifice. I am prepared to wait for a viable result.

I and my four comrades (one other woman, three men) have refused to give any information to the judge. We are being held indefinitely in contempt of court. All of us are engaged in a complete fast to illustrate further our seriousness about the issue. Thank you all for the support I know you feel.

Keep up the fight on all fronts. I love you all.

— Mary Beth Nearing
July 19, 1984
Linn County Jail
Oregon

Dear *EF!*

I love you.

Please use enclosed funds as needed for blockade, rainforest, or whatever you need it for. Thank you for the very excellent publication, too.

— Love, Barb

Dear *Shit-Fer-Brains!*

I have read with some interest the article by Stoddard, the letter by Ash, and the response of Stoddard. I agree with Stoddard that the only way to stop all the destruction of our home is to decrease the birth rate or increase the death rate of people. Furthermore, Stoddard is right and courageous to stick his neck out and deal with the more difficult issue of the death rate.

What Stoddard misses is that it has historically been the easier solution, and it may continue to be the easier solution. Let us not think too small. For decreasing population, I offer three principles, and a simple expedient to meet those principles.

First principle: The method must reach a large number of people. It does no good to kill a few selected folks. That is a retail operation. What we need is a wholesale operation.

Second principle: The method must be impersonal and not require direct individual action. For an individual to kill another individual requires a personal commitment that can only be developed in a very few cases. What is needed is approbation for the act, or (better) anonymity or (still better yet) secrecy. We must afford personal protection to the perpetrators of the program.

Third principle: It must be species specific. In the past, war has been a pretty good species specific means of extermination, being limited largely to humankind. War as designed by modern technocrats is no longer species specific. It has killed and, in its larger guise, will kill everything in its path. War, as we have come to know it, just will not work for population control. The collateral damage is too great. (Sorry, warmongers.) We must kill the guilty, not the innocent creatures.

The simple expedient: biological warfare!

Think about it. It fits.

It is species specific. Bacteria are, and viruses tend to be, deadly to only one species. Only a very few of human pathogens are shared by other partners on our planet. Biological warfare will have no impact on other creatures, big or small, if we design it carefully.

It involves no direct personal action. Big warfare is anonymous, or almost so. Better yet, biological warfare has an inherent delay between the act and the development of the symptoms. So there will be no temporal connection between the action and the consequences. The causal link is obscured by the lack of temporal correlation. The perpetrator is doubly protected.

And biological warfare, like any other warfare, kills a lot of folks. That is the "acid" test. It could do the job, and do it wholesale.

Finally, it has a bonus. It does not destroy the material apparatus of society. (Yeah, I know, you will argue that a monkey wrench in the societal works is a good end in itself. But just reducing the number of workers is enough of a monkey wrench.) There are some considerable benefits of technology; and it ought to be worth giving the survivors a chance to apply technology well.

What can you do? If you are really in favor of population reduction, write your congressman in favor of biological warfare. Do not tell him it is a vote for wilderness. Just chuckle as the Department of Defense starts backing your initiative for *Earth First!*

EDITORIAL

by Bill Devall

Passage of the California Wilderness Act and other state wilderness Acts by Congress is a victory of sorts for the environmental movement. We need to feel we have won something in the bleak years of the Reagan administration.

However, we should not be misled into thinking that the battle for wilderness in the lower forty-eight states is over. The hard fights have just begun.

The Wilderness Acts of 1984 could be titled the "Wilderness Destruction Acts of 1984." These overly compromised Acts include language which "releases" millions of acres of roadless areas — wilderness — for mining, oil and gas development, logging, road-building, off-road-vehicle use, "jeep trails," massive ski resorts and water development projects.

In the California Wilderness Act alone, over 600,000 acres were deleted from the already compromised Burton Wilderness Bill, in order to secure passage in the Senate.

Activists at the grassroots need to tell the leaders and lobbyists for the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society and other compromising environmental groups that we have just begun to fight for protection of wilderness.

Those mainline conservation groups claim that they have power, money and manpower. Will they use that power to protect wilderness?

In my estimation the next five to ten years are crucial. The US Forest Service will move quickly to make timber sales in roadless areas not included in the Acts. Indeed in California timber sales have already been announced in roadless areas on the Smith River of Del Norte county.

Because the Forest Service is a unified organization, we are forced to respond in a unified way. We need a computer file on all roadless areas in RARE II. In the short term we need to file appeals on all timber sales, hydro diversions, road projects, mining claims, etc., in every roadless area. This should be done routinely and it could best be done from a central office.

Of course these appeals will be denied by the Forest Service, but we will have time to develop new strategy and apply pressure on the Sierra Club and other mainline groups to take action.

We need to demonstrate to politicians that the wilderness issue is not dead. Thus we need to publicize the plight of roadless areas such as Dillon Creek which was excluded from the Siskiyou Wilderness of California.

- Ask your local Congressman to introduce "spot" wilderness bills for specific roadless areas in your district.
- Work through the Forest planning process to demand that roadless areas be protected from mining and logging for their value as habitat, their intrinsic value to other species.
- Adopt a roadless area near you and keep watch on the Forest Service activities relating to that area.
- If necessary adopt direct action tactics if logging or road-building are planned in that roadless area.
- Demand protection for the boundaries of designated wilderness areas; for example, no logging within ten miles of a boundary.
- Write letters to Congressmen, local officials, newspapers, stating your love of a particular roadless area and demanding its protection.
- Make noise about wilderness. Those who make noise get attention.
- Remember only 2% of the lower forty-eight states are designated as wilderness. At least 10% should be designated during the next decade.

Thoreau said in 1851, "in wildness is the preservation of the world." If that is true then designating only 2% of the USA outside Alaska as wilderness is hardly a cause for much joy.

The wilderness preservation movement is not over, it has just begun.

(If you are tempted to think that this is entirely tongue-in-cheek, just stop and think! Ask yourself, "Which would I rather have, nuclear war or biological war?" Let old shit-fer-brains know what you conclude.)

Sincerely yours,
— Name Withheld
Washington, DC

Dear *EF!*

When I saw the cartoon "The Day The Deer Took Over" in the May *EF!*, I decided we must part company. Well, you have kept sending me *EF!* even though my labels have red checks on them — I've gotten threats about some guy named Igor — but after reading Christoph Manes' "Hunting Wild Life" in the August *EF!*, I'm back if ya still have room for contrary biology teachers. Manes said more in his short article than all the crap I've read in the last 20 years.

— Pennsylvania

Dear *EF!*

I thought at first that the article by Christoph Manes (1 August 1984) was a parody on the sophistry that hunters use to justify their joy in killing, since it contained the ritual sneer at vegetarians, the superficial psychologizing, and invocation of the magic word "relationship" with other mystical terminology that is typical of such efforts. But a critical mention of the economic motive in the recreational killing industry indicated that the article was a genuine attempt to define conditions in which the killing of other animals is a valid activity.

In fact, the only situation where the mystical relationship that requires killing might be remotely valid is one in which a person must kill to survive. I have never seen a modern hunter willing to place him or herself in that situation. Therefore it follows that the phrases of obscure

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Letters to the Editor:

I fervently hope that *Earth First!* doesn't go the way of the Wobblies. Yes, they "faded out" in the mid-twenties. I was a member for a couple of years, having been initiated on that original "skid road," adjacent to Seattle, in '22. Ten years before that, I heard John Muir in an impassioned speech, at Oakdale High School, plead for "respect" for Hetch Hetchy Valley.... "Cremation of Sam McGee." It was a different era, and, of course, Yosemite Valley had been despoiled already.

As a Sierra Club member for years, I was quite proud when *Earth First!* appeared in November of 1980, and it looked as though much of the despoilation of our wild lands would no longer travel at jet speed, with the connivance of the BLM and US Forest Service (clear cutting be damned!). Too bad the Sierra Club has been reluctant to indulge in direct action. *Earth First!* members are truly "Friends of the Earth."

— Henry S. Smith
Colton, CA

OLD GROWTH GATHERING: OUR MINDS ARE WILD

by Marcy Willow

Big Meadows, a relatively small, obscure place despite its name, is in the northern part of a forest known to some as the "Willamette National Forest." On the morning of September 22nd, as they always do, the venerable big trees stood content in the pouring rain. They seemed minimally concerned with the human activity below.

People in parkas or layers of wool wandered like multi-colored leaves in and out of the forest and meadow. In the middle, among the fir needles and mud puddles six men struggled to fashion a stage out of plywood and hay-bales. The Old Growth Rally was coming together.

Though for a while some were doubtful. A few of the scheduled speakers were unable to attend. The stage sagged. The stage "roof" leaked. The microphone worked some of the time. But folks had come to rally with Earth First! and the Cathedral Forest Action group for old growth forests, and to listen to the voices for wilderness. Country singer Bob Reinier, first to take the stage, with enthusiasm, brought the stragglers in from the woods with his rousing songs. Soon over a hundred dripping people stood before the stage. They ranged in age from seven months to seventy years. Marcy Willow of Earth First! praised those blockaders in the crowd (and there were many) for their efforts on behalf of the Middle Santiam. Her requests for forbearance with the rally scheduling problems were answered by three young men who stepped forward to read their poems about the earth: Ken Day, Greg Darling, and Jorge (who will forgive us but his last name was in the soggiest corner of the notepad).



A circle for the forest

Photo by Leo Hund

Cecelia Ostrow was on stage next. By her third song, as magically as a fairy ring appears, a giant circle of people formed, holding hands and singing the big trees "circle song." The news media were there throughout, inventing new ideas to keep their cameras dry.

By three p.m. the rain began to come in torrents. The gathering retreated into the trees and crowded around a campfire. Somehow, thanks to the arboreal efforts of Steve Marsden and Bobcat, a tarp was erected over the area and just about everyone managed to get under a piece of it. Creativity and serendipity can usually be relied on at any Earth First! gathering. Here

again our small fire was aided by warm music from two musicians, an American and an Australian. (their names begin with 'K,' and both were washed into the pool of water at the bottom of a jacket pocket. But their music is gratefully remembered and appreciated.)

The sky was darkening when Gary Snyder and Reidar Eckner strode across the flooded meadow. The American and the Swedish poets stepped up to the fire. Snyder spoke first, likening the Forest Service to a jellyfish — push it and it will give, but it will bulge out somewhere else. Fighting them through the usual channels is like boxing with pillows. It is direct

action that scares the Forest Service. He talked of the old growth stands here and there around the world: samples of "planetary sanity." They remind us of how the planet ought to be. Forest Service plunder, BLM grazing permits, are examples of "temporal imperialism: robbing from our grandchildren." He read some of his poems, including "Smokey Bear Sutra" (the audience chanted along) and a recent short poem on old growth. Virgin, he said, is too shallow a name. Old growth is a climax forest, rich, seasoned. He refers in this poem to the statue of Diana at Ephesus, the many-breasted symbol of productive Nature. He read "Magpie's Song,"

and said we must oppose the "carpet-bagger mentality." even though, "of course, in the long run the universe can handle anything. We have nothing to fear at all. So we fight all the harder. . . . You must be born again — as a native of Turtle Island."

Reidar Eckner, poet, and translator of many books (including *Turtle Island*), into Swedish, now stepped closer to the fire and spoke of the destruction of forests around the world, of the steam engine which made all forests accessible, of herbicides, of monoculture plantations with a dearth of wildlife. What once were ancient beech forests are now dreary and monotonous. The Swedish forests have been clearcut, stumps pulled, and ravaged by giant forest plows. Activities such as berry-picking and hunting have been made impossible for centuries to come. Reindeer herds are dying for lack of forage. We must decentralize, he said, and find a way beyond civilization.

Snyder read "Control Burn" and "Why Log Truck Drivers Rise Earlier than Students of Zen." There are alternatives, healthier practices for people involved in present-day logging.

And of us huddled there in the rain, he said: wilderness speaks to something very deep in us. We are an undomesticated species. Our minds are wild. Nothing, he reminded us, can be destroyed — and we must fight to save it.

One wanted to gather under his jacket and keep every word spoken by these poets who had traveled so far to stand at our miserable fire. The huge and ancient forest around us took on a cloak of darkness. The only sound was the wind and a creaking that brought to mind — in Eckner's poem "Windy Crossing" "det stora fartyget" — "the big ship."

The Yule issue of Earth First! will carry a complete review of the Middle Santiam 1984 action and prospects for 1985.



Mike Roselle, Bobcat, Marcy Willow and Gary Snyder dry out

photo by Leo Hund

COP RAID ON BALD MOUNTAIN

by Steve Marsden

In a less-than lightning maneuver, four Josephine County (Oregon) deputies lumbered up the Illinois River Trail to Bald Mountain and arrested Lou Gold. The charge, stemming from last year's blockade, was that Lou owed \$82.00 in restitution to the Forest Service.

This year, as last, Lou has maintained a vigil on Bald Mountain. His camp has served both as an information center on the plight of the Kalmiopsis and as a physical symbol of conscience for the Wilderness. Unlike last year, however, the Forest Service this year seemed to be of a more conciliatory mood and offered Lou a volunteer contract to remove glass and debris from the top of the mountain where a fire lookout was located in the '30s. Lou accepted this offer as a gesture of healing toward the forest.

So it was with some surprise that one morning a month later this

summer he welcomed four deputy sheriffs to his camp. After fixing coffee for all and engaging in a friendly conversation Lou was told he was under arrest. He was handcuffed, then marched the three miles down the trail to a waiting patrol car on the illegal Bald Mountain Road. In court he was charged with failure to pay restitution (or retribution) to who else but the Forest Service.

The authorities in a vain attempt to break the spirit of the blockades in 1983 began to institute a series of repressive fines based on down time costs to the construction company. One year later, in spite of the federal court ruling that found the Forest Service acting illegally in constructing the road and fully aware of that fact, local courts continue to issue warrants for members of the blockade. For their part the Forest Service claims ignorance that they had knowledge of the fines or the arrest of Mr. Gold even though one of the deputies

works full time for the Forest Service.

At his hearing, Lou presented a copy of his trail maintenance agreement and explained the circumstances of his arrest; a confused Judge then dropped all charges. What's next?

The Siskiyou National Forest has decided to reroute a section of the Illinois River Trail. On the old trail you climb gradually to a low saddle on the ridge that marks the present boundary of the Kalmiopsis Wilderness. From there the old growth forests of Silver Creek canyon stretch to the north. Before you, across the South Fork is the symmetrical dome mountain called Chinaman's Hat. The deep forests of the North Kalmiopsis are a marked change from the predominantly hardwood forests that the trail has been winding through as you approach the saddle. The view has been changed somewhat recently, for below you now, ten feet from where you stand, is the Bald Mountain Road. The agency has

continued on Page 5

WHAT DO YOU EXPECT TO ACCOMPLISH — ANYWAY?

by Brian Heath

"Nothing," I shout from the top of a dynamite pile about to be blown for road construction in a forest of giant trees. "It is an act of conscience. I cannot live in cooperation with a system that is destroying an ecosystem for greed."

"Publicity," answers my eminent colleague sitting on an adjacent box of dynamite. "Only public awareness of what's happening to our forests will save them."

Neither answer is sufficient to get me out here. I do not have the energy to stay up all night, sit half a day in a freezing rain, and spend months fighting through a court system just for a matter of conscience. But neither do I have the courage to trip around two acres of wired dynamite charges and go to jail just for publicity.

"What do you expect to accomplish — anyway?" It is the most frequent question I hear since starting civil disobedience actions to protect old growth or virgin forests of giant trees. The questioner may follow with a litany of other, presumably more productive, activities: lobbying, dialoguing, letter writing, campaigning, researching, publishing, photographing, petitioning, and speaking. I smile — if not overly exhausted from doing each of them. Most of my life has been and will continue to be poured into them. But I see less and less hope for changing a land ethic based on greed while working entirely within the system that produced it.

Cooperating completely with the system in dispute is usually viewed as conservative, though I prefer to call it the "Sierra Club" approach. Other names of national organizations could be substituted. Four years ago I refused to join Sierra Club because of their radical media image. I know now that they tackle what is pragmatic and safe. Their wilderness proposals are small and easily reduced by compromise. They fight to accomplish only what is politically feasible.

Most local wilderness groups, by contrast, fight for what is morally right and look for ways to make it politically feasible. Their wilderness proposals are larger and they are

stubborn about compromising. Perhaps they spend more time looking at the hills than the Hill. The approach has merit. Few legislative proposals are politically feasible when first proposed. A wilderness act was a far-fetched idea in Congress in 1960, and Yellowstone National Park was a far-fetched idea in Congress in 1860.

Earth First! carries the fight a step further: they recognize that the USA was a far-fetched idea in parliament in 1760. Their approach is to fight for what is morally right and let politics take care of itself. They follow the traditions of the Boston Tea Party and the New England farmers who joined a revolution because the King's foresters claimed all giant pines belonged to the King's navy.

There are at least two other ways to accomplish change. First is the professional method: postponing the fight until you are rich or smart or powerful enough to win it. This is the most widely practiced method and one that occupied much of my life before I joined the Sierra Club. If I ever could reach one of those goals, I doubt there would be much fight left in me.

The other approach started for me on the field of dynamite: STOP FIGHTING AND START LIVING AS THOUGH YOU WON! Gandhi explained it best when he told Indians not to fight the British, but simply to live like Indians. What an absurd idea — live like an Indian in a British colony. Live like the earth should be rather than how it is. They put people in jail for that. Sometimes they crucify them.

"What do you expect to accomplish — anyway?" "Nothing," said Gandhi, "you ever do will be significant. But it is important that you do it." My expectations of civil disobedience are not high, but my rewards are overwhelming.

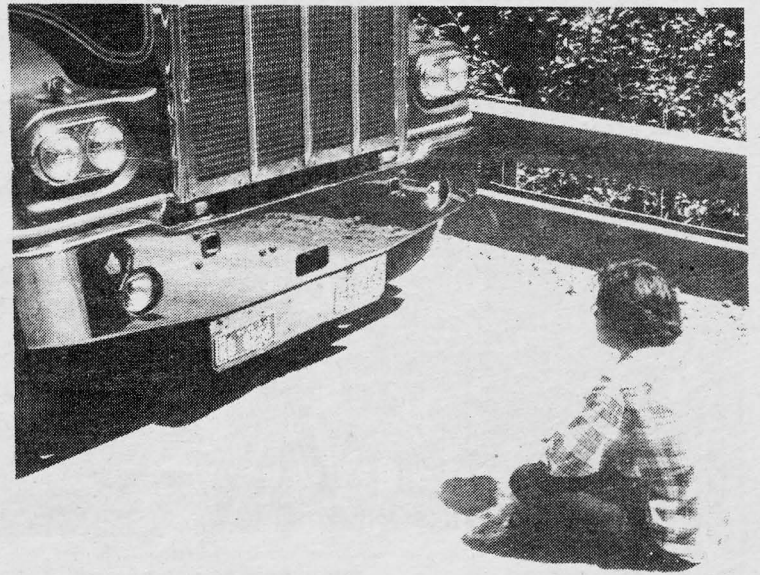
Freedom from threats is one of them. A lumber company, like any U.S. corporation, is professionally greedy. It is formed for the sole purpose of making profits. Its success is measured by its increase in income. Thus, the corporate reaction to my activity is to lower my income. They press charges for fines, they issue in-

junctions for more fines, and they sue for damages. But they don't understand that I prefer to live as if "a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions." I am free from their threats.

The legal system — judges, jailers, and prosecutors — are professional freedom defenders. Their reaction to my activity is to deny my freedom. They never experienced what Aldo Leopold did when he said: "Of what avail are forty freedoms without a blank spot on the map?" The threat of losing my freedom forever to roam in a forest of giants is far greater than the threat of a week in jail.

Police are professionally violent. In one recent action blocking a logging truck, we spent about an hour chatting with the truck driver, singing America the Beautiful, reading over our nonviolence code with the policemen, and chatting with some of the police that we had gotten acquainted with on previous occasions. One of them had recently spent an hour in my living room discussing methods of protest. The police told us they were waiting for the press to leave before making arrests. When the press left they proceeded to twist our arms, drag some of us by the hair, and pull half of one man's beard out. They even threatened to break our legs. After cramming several of us in the back of a squad car our officer was still searching for some final gesture of violence. He angrily informed us that we would not get supper that night. We burst into laughter. Everyone but me had already started fasting and I was thinking about it. We were completely free from their threats — simply by living as if violence and food did not exist. What absurdity. What freedom.

Joy is another reward. I expected to be rejected by the community we live in. I am being deluged by community support. Friends, strangers, forgotten acquaintances, and neglected friends call or write to offer support or help. I know that some of them do not even agree with my stand. I expected my daughter might become an outcast at school. I may have made her a hero. Classmates tell her their parents are behind me. I expected physical danger from loggers. I have



Jeff Liddicott in front of Logging Truck
2 hour shutdown Photo by Leo Hund

made new acquaintances with workers and formed a close friendship with a mill owner. I expected people to drop their interest in efforts to preserve the Santiam Cathedral Forest. Attendance at meetings to work for that has increased ten times. I expected to be involved with serious heavy countenanced people. I have sung more songs and hugged more people in the last three months than in the last thirty years. I expected my forestry skills to wither from lack of use. I find great joy in using them to protect 800 year old cathedrals made by God, while many of my friends in the profession are engaged — by choice or default — in dismantling the few remaining cathedrals and selling the bricks to the highest bidder. I expected my career to be destroyed with a criminal record. I have been invited to apply for two good jobs in my profession (I declined). I expected a hard time financially. I am finding miracles a common occurrence.

Cecelia was alone by the campfire late one night. I found her there crying softly. Her three children were asleep nearby. She was completely out of money with a rent bill due. Her hand-crafted wind chime business was suffering from neglect. She is the soul of our group, writing songs and teaching them to us. I did not know where my own rent was coming from that month, but I told her I would give her \$100 the next day when we went back to town. Along with another gift it made both life and sleep feasible that night and that month. The next day my boss was writing my paycheck and realized that I had not worked much recently due to Cathedral Forest activities. He said, "I want to make sure you have enough. Let me add \$100 to your check."

"What do you expect to accomplish?" "Anything!" With so many unexpected personal rewards, I am open to any possibility. A few years ago Himalayan forests were being destroyed with clearcuts which resulted in soil erosion, desertification, and climate change. One man, Sunderlal Bahuguna, walked the width of India and told the peasants that they would save the forest. They were to hug the trees and say to the loggers, "Cut me with the trees." Government at the highest levels responded and the cutting stopped.

Two years ago less than a dozen Australians decided to start living as though the Tasmanian rainforest were a World Heritage Area rather than a dam site. They actually thought they could live as if all creation were designed to work in harmony. Last year 1500 people were arrested; the incumbent prime minister was voted out; the dam was stopped; and new national parks were created all over Australia.

I have no illusions about accomplishing anything. That is for God to do, not me. I can only embrace all of creation — both people and trees — and let God and the police worry about the consequences. The Weston Priory suggests what may happen:

*Anything happens
if we are open to see that creation
is coming alive.
The real is the beautiful transformed
with love
and the wonder of new life — turn
on right now.*

*Birds on the wing,
trees and the rivers,
stones in their silence cry out.*

*Hearts once so broken
now radiate healing.
The spirit within has been freed.*

*Witness the power of life.
Come dance with new light.
Give someone the wealth of your own.*

*Ready the moment now
to live forever more
if we can only let go.*

*Anything happens
if we are open to see that creation
is coming alive.
The real is the beautiful transformed
with love
and the wonder of new life — turn
on right now.*

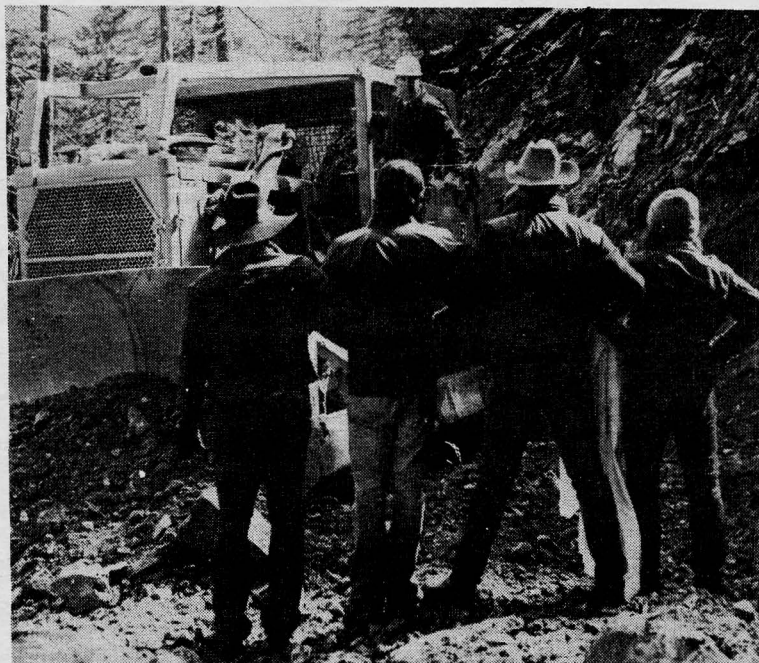
"What do you expect to accomplish — anyway?" I have not heard the question for a week. The five of us here at the Linn County jail have essentially been denied phone calls and visitor privileges. The other inmates do not ask it. They know the system needs changing. Brian Heath is a professional forester in Corvallis, Oregon. He has worked for the protection of the Middle Santiam for many years.

decided that this might be too much of a dose of "multiple-use" for you to handle, so their solution is to move the trail. This bit of engineering moves the trail off the saddle and keeps eyes below the ridge line. I like to call this section the Woodsy Owl Trail. Look but don't see.

I recently listened to a P.R. man for the Forest Service describe the inner workings of the bureaucracy. He compared the Forest Service to a juggler, (like in the circus) and he has the many balls of multiple-use: timber, wildlife, water, recreation, soils. He has to keep all the balls in the air, and this is what the Forest Service was doing.

Unfortunately, these days the timber ball has become so heavy that the juggler needs both hands to lift it and the other "balls" are falling. Only one remedy remains: Wilderness designation for all roadless forests. If you can handle it, once you pass Pine Flat and head for Bald Mountain, stay to the right, take the true Illinois River Trail, see the Silver Creek drainage, the big tress, the road . . .

Steve Marsden lives in Grants Pass, Oregon, and is a veteran of the Bald Mountain Road Blockade.

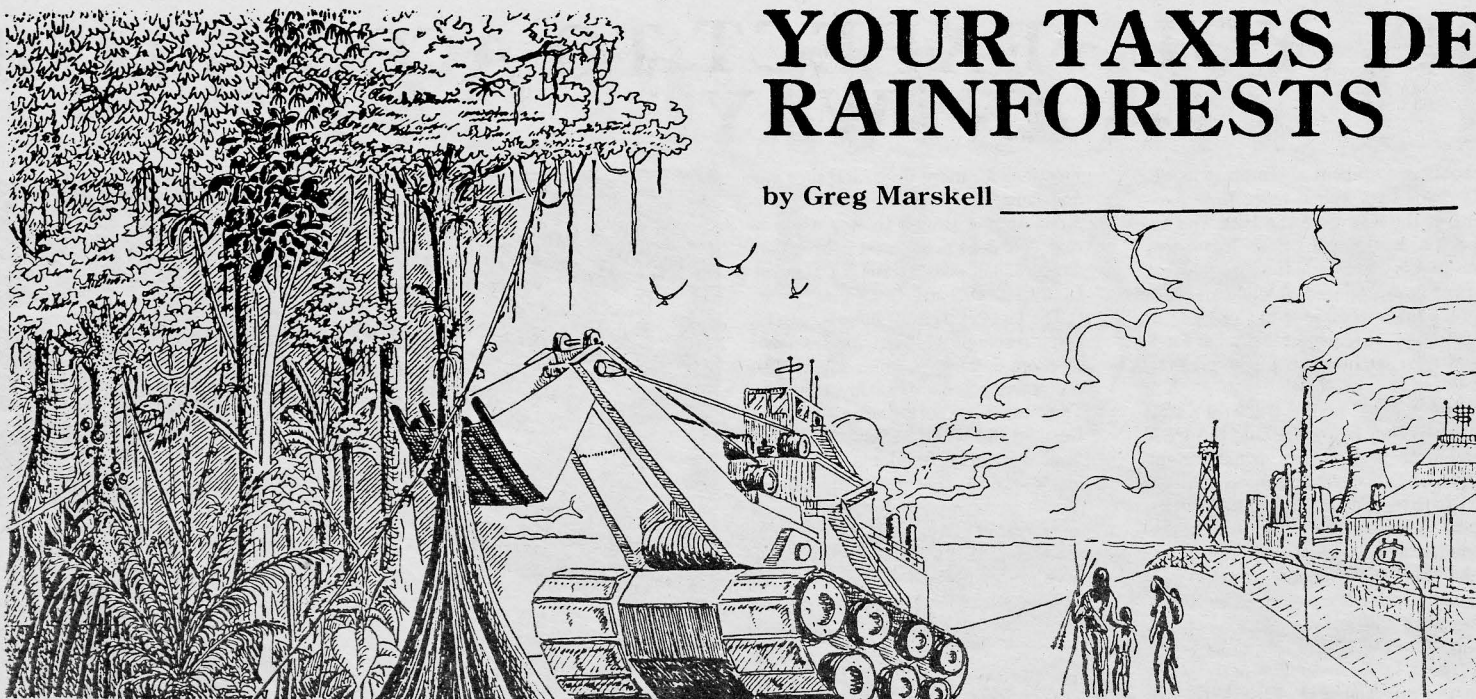


Bald Mountain Road, April 1983

The Struggle Goes On

YOUR TAXES DESTROY RAINFORESTS

by Greg Marskell



DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES FINANCE CONVERSION OF RAINFORESTS TO HAMBURGERS

By Greg Marskell

Without subsidies and loans from U.S. and multilateral development agencies, conversion of much of Central America's diverse tropical rainforest to degraded cow pasture over the last 30 years may never have occurred. As clearing of tropical rainforest for cattle pasture in Central America reached boom proportions in the 1950s and 1960s, loans from the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) provided a major stimulus for the expansion of the livestock industry. Cattle were seen as a panacea for tropical development because of a strong market for beef and the ability of tropical soils that were too infertile to support permanent agriculture to provide cattle pasture, at least for a few years.

Easy credit availability stimulated the clearing of rainforest for cattle pasture to such an extent that between 1950 and 1975 the area of man-made pasture in Central America more than doubled. Today less than one-third of the original rainforest survives in Central America. Rainforests in South America are also being converted to cow pasture, especially in Brazil.

During the period 1971-1977 alone, the World Bank and IDB provided Latin America as a whole with over \$1 billion in loans for cattle production and meat processing. Numerous other loans over the last three decades have financed "infrastructural" development, including road construction, packing plants, ports for beef exports, and other facilities which have increased access to remaining rainforest and fostered a dependence on a beef-export economy.

A typical case of World Bank financing of rainforest to cattle pasture conversion is the Caqueta project in the Western Amazon Basin of Colombia. From 1971-1978, the World Bank made loans totalling \$27 million to this project, with the bulk of funds going to cattle breeding investments. More than half of the project area is in cattle pasture; crops of rice and corn are taken only once from newly-cleared lands and rubber and oil palm plantations have been subject to disease. Loans for cattle production have done little to improve employment, income distribution, or status of the

small farmers in this project area. Credit usually goes to established ranchers for expansion of their operations (clearing more forest). The largest ranch covers nearly 100,000 acres.

Frequently, jungle colonization projects that were originally intended to produce crops have turned into cattle ranching enterprises due to erroneous estimates of soil fertility. In the Yapacani, Bolivia, colonization area financed by the IDB, large areas considered suitable for bananas and intensive crops on 10-15 hectare lots were found adequate only for cattle on 50 hectare lots, causing more extensive deforestation.

The United States Agency for International Development (AID) and US Department of Agriculture have also played crucial roles in conversion of forests to pasture in Central America. These agencies have supported programs to eradicate cattle parasites such as ticks, screwworms, and vampire bats, making cattle production much less problematic.

In a very ominous development for the rainforests of the Amazon, the Inter-American Development Bank has been funding programs to eradicate foot-and-mouth disease from South America since 1968. The presence of this disease is the only factor which has prevented frozen beef from being imported to the US from the Amazon (by US law), although a large quantity of cooked beef is imported from Brazil.

Similarly, the presence of trypanosomiasis ("sleeping sickness") in tropical Africa has thus far prevented much of that continent from being turned into a huge cattle pasture for the markets of Europe, both saving the natural savannas for the native species of grazers and reducing pressures to convert rainforest to pasture. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations has supported massive insecticide spraying programs in Africa to eradicate the tsetse fly and has proposed even more extensive programs. It has been estimated that successful eradication could lead to an increase of 120 million cattle on the natural savannas of tropical Africa and would create an unquantified inducement to clear rainforest for pasture.

Stopping the Deforestation Loans

International development aid agencies fall into two broad cate-

gories. *Multilateral* development banks (MDBs) are financed by funds contributed jointly by governments of the richer countries or borrowed on international markets. *Bilateral* development agencies provide loans, loan guarantees, technical services, or other programs directly from the "donor" nation to the recipient nation. US agencies of this type include AID, Eximbank, and others.

The World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and other MDBs are autonomous, international organizations run by their own staffs of international civil servants under the supervision of governors and boards of directors who represent their member nations. Policies are usually determined by a consensus among member nations although formal votes may also be taken. The World Bank is the largest of the MDBs, established in 1945. Besides it, the United States also participates in the three major regional development banks - the Inter-American, Asian, and African Development Banks. All of these MDBs have a major impact on development policies in the regions they represent.

The United States has a major voice over World Bank affairs, providing about one-third of the funding of this bank. The World Bank president traditionally is a US citizen named by the US government. The US has even more direct control over the subsidized loan office of the IDB (the Fund for Special Operations), as it has enough votes to effectively veto loan proposals.

The World Bank does perform some environmental assessment of its projects, but with a staff of some 2500 engineers, technicians, and economists, only one professional ecologist works for the bank. The IDB has no significant environmental assessment policies. None of the banks have made much effort to review the impacts of their loan policies on tropical deforestation and the impoverishment of species and genetic diversity throughout the developing world.

Environmentalists can work to change the policies of the multilateral development banks in two ways - direct pressure on the banks through public opinion and pressure on the governments of member nations, especially the US, to request changes in bank policies.

Due to the banks' heavy dependence on US funding, the recommendations of Congress, particu-

larly the authorizing committees (Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Banking, Finance, & Urban Affairs Committee) and appropriating committees (House and Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittees of the respective Appropriations Committees) are taken very seriously by the banks. In fact, Congress has been the source of many innovations and changes in bank policy - but none in the environmental field to date.

Both Congress and the administration can also issue instructions to the US representatives to the banks to vote for or against certain loans or suggest policy changes. The Secretary of the Treasury is directly responsible for issuing such instruction, but also consults with the State Department and other agencies. Thus there are many avenues for the introduction of improved environmental policies to the MDBs - direct, legislative, and administrative.

As for US bilateral programs, AID is the most involved in the conversion of forest to cattle pasture, although other US agencies contribute to tropical deforestation in various ways. For example, Eximbank (the Export-Import Bank) provides loans to foreign governments so they can afford to buy US exports from private US corporations, such as nuclear power plants and mining and landclearing equipment. Currently, the agency is financing a railroad through the jungle of Gabon in West Africa. Another US government agency, the Overseas Private Investors Corporation (OPIC), insures private US investors abroad against commercial and political risks and has special programs for mineral, oil and gas exploration, development, and leasing. OPIC has insured Georgia Pacific and Weyerhaeuser logging operations in Indonesia, where logging presents the greatest threat to the remaining rainforests. Unlike AID, neither of these agencies has taken any steps to evaluate the environmental consequences of their actions. And despite regulations which require assessment of the environmental impacts of its programs, US AID has continued to finance and encourage destruction of tropical rainforest through its technical assistance programs.

As independent federal agencies, funding for AID, Eximbank, and OPIC must be authorized and appropriated by Congress. Congress can direct AID to discontinue pro-

grams and technical services which encourage the conversion of tropical forest to cattle pasture and require the preparation of environmental impact statements for Eximbank and OPIC's programs.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Write to A.W. Clausen, President, World Bank, 1818 "H" Street NW, Washington, DC 20433. Ask that all ongoing and proposed loans be reviewed for impacts on tropical rainforests and biological diversity and that all projects be modified or terminated if necessary to prevent tropical deforestation.

- Send a copy to your Senator (US Senate, Washington, DC 20510) and Representative (US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515) with a follow-up letter requesting that (1) US representatives to the MDBs push for evaluation of tropical deforestation impacts of proposed loans combined with project modifications to eliminate deforestation as well as improved and greatly strengthened environmental assessment procedures for all projects, and (2) that the US Agency for International Development be directed to terminate all activities that directly or indirectly contribute to conversion of tropical rainforest to cattle pasture in Latin America.

Greg Marskell is a biologist who has been researching tropical deforestation.



WORLD RAINFOREST REPORT

John Seed of the Rainforest Information Centre in Australia regularly distributes the **WORLD RAINFOREST REPORT**. The WRR is the best way to be kept up-to-date on what you can do to help preserve rainforests around the world. John sends out copies to some 50 countries on every continent. To help cut overseas airmail costs for the Rainforest Information Centre, Earth First! is acting as their agent in the United States and we are copying and mailing the World Rainforest Report to US subscribers. Subscriptions are \$10 a year and sample copies are available for \$1 (for postage). Order from EF! POB 5871 Tucson, AZ 85703. If you send a check, make it out to Earth First!. Be sure to indicate that you are subscribing to the World Rainforest Report. If you live outside the U.S.A., order the World Rainforest Report directly from the Rainforest Information Centre PO Box 368 Lismore NSW 2480 AUSTRALIA.

THE WORST TREE KILLER IN THE WORLD

by Ian Dodd

He has been personally responsible for the felling of, by his own estimate, twenty million trees. Twenty million. He is, he admits, the "worst tree killer in the world."

But Rainnor Grecco treats his job like any other, even a dirty one: "It is sad, but somebody is going to do it." Would that it were only sad. Mind-boggling might be a more accurate way to describe the atrocity. "If there were a court for crimes against nature, he'd be at the top," says professor Augusto Roschi, the most vociferous of Grecco's critics (and, no doubt, a fervent prosecutor if such a court existed).

Professor Roschi is an entomologist, a specialist in butterflies, particularly three species that live only in the forest near his home in Santa Teresa, in the state of Espirito Santo, Brazil. But Professor Roschi's research project is being destroyed, along with its subject, as Grecco greedily clears the rosewood forests of Espirito Santo and southern Bahia, to supply over half the world's market for this exotic wood.

As Grecco moves through the forest, selecting prime specimens of "jacaranda" (the local name for rosewood), he leaves in his wake only the cleared earth, not even bothering to replant. And, after twenty million trees, the pattern is easy to spot. In a reference to the accelerating destruction of the Amazon (see main article), professor Roschi shakes his head and says, "History will repeat itself."

How can a man cut twenty million trees and feel no remorse? Not even Grecco can. Already he has sent two sons to Europe to study ecology "to combat people like me."

Letters in support of the professor's one-man crusade against the "worst tree killer in the world" can be sent to:

Professor Augusto Roschi
Santa Teresa, Espirito Santo
BRASIL

DOWN (WITH) THE AMAZON

by Ian Dodd

The Amazon. The very name evokes images of immensity. Dense, steaming, lush, tropical rainforest. The Amazon Basin covers six million square kilometers, some 59% of the Brazilian national territory. One third of all the forest in the world grows there and a fifth of all the fluvial water flows through the basin. There are more species of fish in the Amazon than in the Atlantic.

What will the Amazon become? According to one Brazilian scientist, at present rates of deforestation the Amazon will be gone in 30 years. But that is at present rates. By 1975 only 2% of the Amazon forest had been cleared, but the rate of INCREASE of deforestation in the last few years has been 169%! Or, to quote the title of a good book, it will turn from "Green Hell to Red Desert."

It was easy to imagine what the future might look like as I traveled along the Belém-Brasília highway in May. The road connects the port city at the mouth of the Amazon to the modern capital in the interior and has been a major axis of development, and destruction. For several kilometers on either side of the highway cattle grazed among charred tree stumps while the forest was held at bay on the horizon. Trucks laden with logs as thick as a man is high lumber down the highway to the mill. At a lunch stop in southern Pará the air is filled with the whine of a chain saw, its crescendo the crash of a tree in the forest. The future stretched out for as far as the eye could see.

But to comprehend the future, it is necessary to understand a little bit of the past. Policy toward the Amazon by the Brazilian government since the military takeover in 1964 has been one of integration and development. The second Plan of National Development, the II PND, laid out two strategies: one was to homestead the Amazon along the highways (like the Belém-Brasília and the Transamazon) by peasants driven out of the drought-stricken Northeast; the second strategy, and the one opted for, was to open up the Amazon to development by agribusinesses through a system of incentives and long-term contracts with multinational companies. The SUDAM (the Brazilian government agency charged with the development of the Amazon) predicts that eventually, 45.7% of the forest will be cleared for non-forestry and agricultural uses and another 20.7%

for "sustained yield" forests (these are "managed" forests replanted with Asian Eucalyptus trees which are already showing susceptibility to disease). They foresee leaving only 16.5% of the forest for national parks and bioreserves.

The agribusinesses are certainly doing their part to fulfill SUDAM projections. At first, small cattle-growers chipped away at the edge of the forest with axes and machetes. Then, as the Amazonian cattle industry became more mechanized, they discovered the efficiency of the drag chain strung between two bulldozers. Today, millions of acres of forest in the states of Maranhão and Pará are being cleared with some of the 2 million pounds of Agent Orange left over after the Vietnam war. By 1975 a total of only 1% of the forest had been cleared in the states of Amazonas, Pará, and Maranhão. In at least one state, Mato Grosso (which in Portuguese means "thick forest"), the figure had swollen seven times!

Of course, the quintessential forestry industry is Projeto Jari. This was the brainchild of American billionaire Daniel Keith Ludwig; his dream was to clear the Amazon forest, plant it with high-yield Eucalyptus from Asia, and process the wood into pulp and cellulose at a plant Ludwig built in Japan and towed around the world and floated up the Rio Jari to be deposited at the site. Today the Projeto Jari covers more area (3.6 million hectares) than most countries of Central America or the Caribbean. But after 15 years of unprofitable operation, Ludwig sold the Projeto Jari to a consortium of Brazilians and left them to struggle with diseased plantings, population pressures, and the technical headaches of dealing in the Amazon.

The effects of such policies and practices on the Amazon rainforest are just now becoming understood. The Amazon is an ecosystem at its climax. That is, it produces almost everything it consumes. All the nutrients the flora require come from the degenerating organic material it discards; the rain that falls on it starts as water vapor that rises from it. The soil in the Amazon can be measured to a depth of millimeters. The notion that such a seemingly rich and teeming basin could support a major agri-industry is, as we are coming to understand, ludicrous.

As millions of hectares are cleared with defoliants, drag chains, and cattle, it bares the earth to the burning equatorial sun, leaching the already poor, thin soil of what little it has to offer. But the more dramatic effect of deforestation of the Amazon is the increase of carbon dioxide.

In their book *Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert*, American scientists R.J.A. Goodland and Howard S. Irwin explain that in the last century the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen from 290 parts per million to 320 ppm, and that a fifth of this change has come in the last decade. This, of course, is due to our love of fossil fuels in the 20th century. This rise in the level of CO₂ would be much higher except that the forests of the world absorb between a third and a half of surplus carbon.

To destroy the Amazon is to destroy a third of our carbon sponge and to encourage the much-publicized "greenhouse effect." But there is a two-fold effect here: German scientist Harald Sioli points out that there are

AMAZON

300 tons of carbon tied up in every hectare of the Amazon. If we burn the forest down, Sioli estimates, we will raise the level of carbon in the atmosphere by 70%. So, not only do we destroy our carbon sponge, but we exacerbate the very problem it can solve.

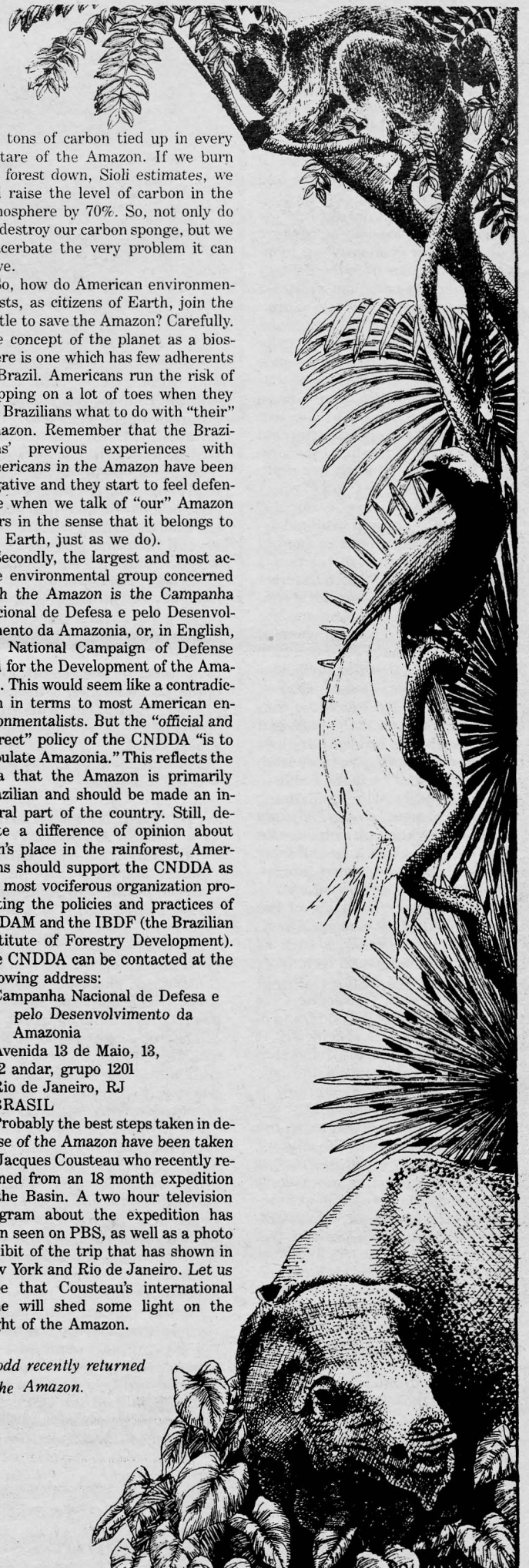
So, how do American environmentalists, as citizens of Earth, join the battle to save the Amazon? Carefully. The concept of the planet as a biosphere is one which has few adherents in Brazil. Americans run the risk of stepping on a lot of toes when they tell Brazilians what to do with "their" Amazon. Remember that the Brazilians' previous experiences with Americans in the Amazon have been negative and they start to feel defensive when we talk of "our" Amazon (ours in the sense that it belongs to the Earth, just as we do).

Secondly, the largest and most active environmental group concerned with the Amazon is the Campanha Nacional de Defesa e pelo Desenvolvimento da Amazonia, or, in English, the National Campaign of Defense and for the Development of the Amazon. This would seem like a contradiction in terms to most American environmentalists. But the "official and correct" policy of the CNDDA "is to populate Amazonia." This reflects the idea that the Amazon is primarily Brazilian and should be made an integral part of the country. Still, despite a difference of opinion about man's place in the rainforest, Americans should support the CNDDA as the most vociferous organization protesting the policies and practices of SUDAM and the IBDF (the Brazilian Institute of Forestry Development). The CNDDA can be contacted at the following address:

Campanha Nacional de Defesa e pelo Desenvolvimento da Amazonia
Avenida 13 de Maio, 13,
12 andar, grupo 1201
Rio de Janeiro, RJ
BRASIL

Probably the best steps taken in defense of the Amazon have been taken by Jacques Cousteau who recently returned from an 18 month expedition in the Basin. A two hour television program about the expedition has been seen on PBS, as well as a photo exhibit of the trip that has shown in New York and Rio de Janeiro. Let us hope that Cousteau's international fame will shed some light on the plight of the Amazon.

Ian Dodd recently returned from the Amazon.



STOP THE KILLING

SAVE OUR TREES

GREEN POLITICS EMERGES IN NORTH AMERICA

by Ronnie Hawkins

A Green politics committee formed at NABC I, of which I was a member. As if in evidence of the Green phenomenon that seems to be springing up all over, representatives of the British Columbia Greens, the L.A. Greens, and the Cumberland Greens were present within the circle, along with many as-yet-undeclared Greens who no doubt will soon be making their presence known. Information on Die Grunen, the West German Greens, was made available to the committee and to the Congress at large by a panel that included Charlene Spretnak, co-author, with Fritjof Capra of *Green Politics* (Dutton, 1984). Briefly, their policies are based on four "pillars": ecology (which entails holistic thinking as well as ecological science); social responsibility ("social justice and an assurance that the poor and the working class will not get hurt by programs to ecologically restructure our consumer economy," e.g., conversion programs from the military and other old-paradigm entities); grassroots democracy (decentralized and bioregional, although the West German Greens don't usually use that word); and nonviolence (both personal and institutional).

In *Green Politics*, three more principles are added to the list: decentralization, postpatriarchal politics, and spirituality. Proclaiming "We are neither left nor right; we are in front," Die Grunen reject the "ever-expanding economy" model that is an unquestioned assumption of both ends of the old political spectrum. A distinction is made between the "green Greens," who emphasize the ecological considerations of the movement, and the "red Greens," who grow out of the socialist tradition and would employ a more traditionally homocentric, Marxist point of view. Spretnak confided her belief that on this continent, with somewhat fewer warheads concentrated per unit area and perhaps a more land-based tradition, we may be able to go considerably farther in defining a "green Green" position (in my opinion providing an impetus for this movement that is far and away greater than anything mere human-centered could possibly offer).

The Federal Programme of Die Grunen addresses ecological revision of human activities such as agriculture, energy and technological practices, economics, town and traffic planning, protection of nature and the countryside, and of plants and animals specifically. It emphasizes economic partnership with Third World nations, and calls for the immediate beginning of worldwide disarmament and "the abolition of military service in the long term." In place of the military, the concept of "social defense" is introduced, an active, nonviolent resistance that would make occupation by foreign forces unworkable. Comprehensive, preventative health care is proposed, and freedom of the individual is a cornerstone, with points made concerning freedom to demonstrate, freedom from surveillance, freedom of the media, prisoners' rights, and the rights of women, children, the elderly, immigrants, marginalized groups and those of differing sexual orientation.

A starting point for discussion in the committee was David Haenke's *Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism* (\$3 from New Life Farm, Drury, MO 65638). David sketched out his "biocentric paradigm," with human activities deriving directly from natural or ecological law,

translated through bioregionalism and Green politics into *sustainability* of life on the planet. Most group members seemed to be comfortable with this basic conceptualization, although it was not officially adopted, but one person expressed the criticism that the scheme did not take into account the human-created "reality" of our several thousand years of culture. While this was indeed a valid objection, this person later voiced a rejection of the "biocentric paradigm" *per se*, with little opposition, and I was left wondering how many members of the group were still predominantly homocentric in their outlook, catching onto the energy of a new "movement" without fully appreciating as yet how deep its roots extend.

The statement as finally drafted was the following:

STATEMENT FROM THE GREEN MOVEMENT COMMITTEE OF NABC I concerning the formation of a Green political organization in the United States of America

Recognizing the urgency of our planetary situation and the opportunities for choosing new directions, Green political movements are arising around the world. None of the traditional political forces, whether from left, right or center, is responding adequately to the destruction of ecosystems and the web of crises related to that destruction.

Currently there is great interest in many quarters of the United States in forming a Green political organization. It seems certain that such an organization will emerge in the near future. It is essential that this organization have a biocentric vision — one which puts the needs of all life forms at the center of decision-making.

Furthermore, as individual bioregionalists, we recognize the need for bioregional principles and practices to be secured and protected, cooperatively and in a decentralized manner, through a Green political organization. Such an organization should focus on open, democratic planning and political action supportive of local and regional autonomy and interdependence as reflected in the bioregional model.

We believe that to be effective a Green political organization must

originate from a broad base of support, from natural allies concerned with ecological politics and social justice, peace and nonviolence, local and regional self-management and grassroots democracy. If the emerging Green political organization does indeed reflect these basic bioregional concerns, we urge support from bioregional groups and individuals from around the continent.

Having described what went on in the Green politics committee of NABC I, or at least my own impressions of it, and with the clear understanding that what follows is my own viewpoint and not necessarily that of any other member of the committee, I would like to outline my own approach to a Green position, with some additions and clarifications that seem necessary at this time.

First of all, biocentrism is, to me, absolutely essential to a Green position, the vital, central core from which all other points derive. Biocentrism is a matter of putting *life* at the center. All life, not just human life. All life, in balance. Orienting toward *life* in this way will bring about a realignment in virtually every sphere of human thought and action.

As an extension of biocentric thinking, I would enlarge the concept of individual self-determination to encompass seeing all living things as autonomous beings, living inner-directed lives to the extent that the life force is allowed full expression. (This is rather obviously true for every wild creature, and for every "tamed" creature given the chance, and even for trees and plants within their context, but for some reason it has not been obvious to many humans, even so far as their own species is concerned — perhaps these persons have been too preoccupied with trying to impose their will upon these other beings to notice that they are all inherently self-directed.) Recognition of autonomy and potential for full expression of one's being seems to me to be the principle underlying all specific points safeguarding individual human freedoms and protecting the rights of animals, plants and all of nature. Full recognition and exercise of human autonomy would also form the basis of "social defense," laying the groundwork for resistance to exploitation or coercion in any form.

I am further concerned with formulating a new model for understanding ourselves, *seeing ourselves as primates*, within the context of the ecosystem, as the multipotential beings that we are. Clarifying our own reality should remove many apparent contradictions and confusions, and may help alleviate the paralyzing defeatism that keeps so many well-meaning persons immobilized today.

To begin with, the difference between "given" reality, physical, biological, actual reality, and human conceptualizations must be appreciated. It is importantly true that an oak tree is more "real" than the New York Stock Exchange, and the difference between them must be made clear. The New York Stock Exchange does not exist; rather, there exists a set of concepts, collectively agreed upon, within our minds which determines our human activities, which can in turn greatly affect biological reality. The differences are immense, yet strangely elusive to many. An important ramification is that human-created "reality" can withstand considerable revision, and needs it.

Primate biology, our species' "given," predisposes us for certain kinds of activity, but it also allows us the flexibility to choose how our biological tendencies will be expressed, what forms we will give them. We have needs for food, shelter and social interaction that can be adequately met in many ways — there is certainly no biological reason why our present ways of doing things should be the only ways, and no real barrier to restructuring them other than the inertia of longstanding habit.

There is, however, a biological basis for the concept of decentralization. Just as size was a consideration in maintaining the participatory nature of NABC I, so it would seem that there is an optimal size range for fully self-governing, self-sufficient groups of humans, and a size past which fully participatory democracy breaks down. Decentralization is also, of course, the key to freeing ourselves from dependence on nuclear and fossil fuels, pesticide-soaked monocultures, and industrialism generally — it's a model not found in the repertoire of those who insist we "must" maintain these undesirable and outmoded social constructs.

As do our primate cousins, we also have a predisposition for group-orientation, and it is this trait that I consider responsible for the development and persistence of the nation-state. Like the New York Stock Exchange, the nation-state does not exist except as a conceptualization within the human mind. That billions of lives, human and nonhuman alike, have been consumed in "defending" the imaginary lines that demarcate the various groups with which human individuals identify themselves is a testament to the power of the group tendency within ourselves. Conversely, that we are able to conceptualize the unnecessary and suicidal course we are presently following as an outgrowth of this tendency offers the hope that we will be able to self-correct and channel it into other forms. Our strong sense of allegiance to the group can also work to save us, once we extend the boundaries of that group to include all life on Earth. Transcending the nation-state (and the other boundaries that have divided us against ourselves: racial, cultural, sexual, speciesist) may seem formidable or even blasphemous to some, but it is a relatively easy task for others, especially for those who *did*, at one time, "imagine there's no countries." This is a problem of software, not hardware, and we can rewrite our own programs!

And finally, while the nuclear peril, deriving as it does from this mischanneling of group "defense," can be dismantled once its nature is understood and the decision made, reattaining a healthy, sustainable balance among populations of different lifeforms will be more difficult — human overpopulation is a matter of biological, not conceptual, reality, and correction in a nonviolent, noncoercive manner will take more time, but there is no reason to think it cannot be done. I have a hunch that great strides can be made with widespread education, particularly education and empowerment of women, globally, and with the new developments in communications media such strides may occur much more rapidly than the present computer modellers — operating under the assumptions of the old paradigm — would have us believe. But *life in balance* must be our goal; the old environmentalists' dichotomy between seeing a being *either* as an individual *or* as a member of a population must be supplanted by a vision of *all* beings as *both* individuals *and* members of population groups within the balance of the whole system. The double standard that allows humans to escape perceiving themselves as a species and other beings as individuals must be eliminated as both denying nonhuman autonomy and leading to further population imbalance.

There are tentative plans for a Green political organization founding convention in the spring of 1985. In the meantime, interested persons are encouraged to provide input; correspondence is being collected c/o Green Movement, P.O. Box 19324, Washington, DC 20036. I strongly urge members of Earth First! to become involved in Green politics at some level so as to ensure the movement will be centered on a biocentric core.

Ronnie Hawkins is a physician in Gainesville, Florida. She is active in the Bioregional, Animal Rights, Green Politics and Earth First! movements.



NAGASAKI-84

ELFBUSTERS PULL STAKES IN MICHIGAN

Over Labor Day Weekend, a group of activists opposed to Project ELF finished dismantling the Navy's survey of the antenna in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Calling themselves "Elfbusters," the activists sloshed through the cold bogs and woodland of Michigan State Forest, managing to remove the remaining 14 miles of the antenna easement route. The Elfbusters claimed hundreds of survey stakes, ribbons and benchmarks as "antiwar booty," and vowed that they would continue obstructing the construction of ELF.

"The judges and politicians have abandoned the democratic process in their zeal to build ELF in the UP," said one of the Elfbusters, a resident of Crystal Falls, Michigan, "Even though a strong majority of UP residents have voted against ELF. It's about time we took matters in our own hands. We had to raise the stakes, so to speak."

The U.S. Navy proposes building 56 miles of the ELF antenna in the UP, to be used to signal its missile-carrying submarines, with a projected testing date of March, 1986. Three miles of poles and one ground terminal have already been constructed. A federal court injunction against the construction, filed on environmental grounds, was recently lifted by the Chicago Court of Appeals and the U.S. Supreme Court on "national security" grounds. Once completed, the Michigan antenna would be coordinated via telephone cable with the 28 mile antenna built in Wisconsin in 1969.

"Once construction is finished, it may be too late to stop ELF," said an Elfbuster, a cartography student from Madison, Wisconsin, "It will be a foot-in-the-door for a much larger antenna, and the communications system would then be in place for a



nuclear war launched from the sea. It must be stopped through direct action before it begins operating."

The Elfbusters say that they began slowly dismantling the survey line last fall and this summer, with over 40 people of all ages participating from Michigan and other states, and with aid from 100 others. The last stakes were removed by 16 Elfbusters Sunday before Labor Day, they say. Two antiwar groups, Citizens for Alternatives to Trident/ELF, based in the UP, northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, and Wisconsin Project Disarm, based in Madison, announced Monday that their memberships will

participate in the "Elfbuster Movement." One current project of the movement is to send pulled stakes to public officials who support ELF, and ask UP residents who spot ELF construction to "contact the Elfbusters."

Another Elfbuster from Iron River, Michigan, said, "We can't go around just begging politicians to stop nuclear weapons systems. We have to rely more on ourselves, and take action ourselves. We don't want the military to control the affairs of the UP and the country, and we think that common people can stop ELF with a little imagination and guts."

The response of the Navy to the

stake-raising has been low-key. In a press statement, Captain Roland L. Koontz USN, the ELF program manager, said that the Navy would begin surveying just ahead of construction crews, to prevent dismantling by protesters. After Koontz's statement, the Elfbuster from Crystal Falls was undisturbed. "Whenever they respond to us, we'll respond back," she said. When asked of possible legal repercussions stemming from the direct action, she replied, "We ain't afraid of no feds."

Letters continued

philosophy — "authentic relationship," "hidden life of our being," and "diverse relationship with the vitality of nature" — describe nothing that cannot better be achieved in ways that do not involve killing, even assuming that such phrases describe anything at all.

Philip Chamberlain

To the Editor:

My native region is the Finger Lakes of New York State. According to Iroquoian myth, these lakes are the fingerprints of the Creator as he withdrew his hand from the Creation, left as evidence of his work. Before the last glaciation, these lakes drained to the south, into the Susquehanna and Ohio. Ten thousand years ago, the last glacier left a moraine "plug" in the south-flowing streams, and lakes began to find their own drainage north to Ontario Lake and the St. Lawrence River. The river system which now carries their water is called the Oswego.

But we have our own breed of pests in this area, perhaps related to the "freddies" of the West. These critters go by the name of the Army Corps of Engineers; Corpse is an ample description of their work; it's also the way they see Mother Earth.

The Corpse believes it can improve on the Creation; these fingerprints are messy business. Because they've been studying the Oswego River for ten years and are afraid to spend so much time and energy and money in study without "results," they have jiggled the cost/benefit figures (figures don't lie but liars figger) and have arrived at a solution to the "problems" of Keuka and Canadaigua

Lakes. The Corpse must have some fine figgerers because they've found a "problem" where most local residents thought they just had lakes. And good, deep, clean lakes at that.

From their crenelated towers in Buffalo, the Corpse has scanned our lakes and has decided to channelize parts of the Oswego River and to construct "flow control structures." Then they will be able to "draw down" these lakes in the fall and winter and allow for spring refill without flooding. They pull the plug and, whoosh, no problem. Sound familiar?

On a more serious note, the Corpse plan will eliminate and damage many square miles of wetland habitat, will disrupt fish and wildlife populations in the lakes and river, will cause floods on new sections of the river, and very probably will not abate flooding along the lakeshore. Most cottage owners on the lake built and bought properties because the lakes were there and in full knowledge that the lakes are subject, like all things, to seasonal fluctuations. I am not surprised that the Corpse should be so anxious to spend \$4 million in public funds to improve on the Creation; that seems perfectly consistent with their record. What does surprise me, however, is that most local residents don't seem to give a damn. I am hoping that as public awareness of the project grows, folks will speak up with a solid "no" to this project. Perhaps your readers, particularly those in New York (though any one can feel free to join in), could be of some help in determining the future of this project. If they would just jot "Hands off the Finger Lakes" on a postcard and send it to:

Dr. Stephen Yaksich

U.S. Army Engineer District,
Buffalo

1776 Niagara Street
Buffalo, NY 14207

maybe they'll begin to get the idea that there are folks out in the world who enjoy the Creation just the way it is, and prefer it left alone. Readers can also feel free to add whatever expletives seem appropriate and will help to get the message across.

Thanks for your help.

— Mud Puppy

Dear *Earth First!*

Senegal Doren's *In Search of Natural Theology* in the June 20 *Earth First!* expresses a perhaps mostly unconscious hunger in modern thought. As Carl Jung said, "There are no longer any gods we can invoke to help us. The great religions of the world suffer from increasing anemia, because the helpful numina have fled from the woods, rivers and mountains, and from animals, and the god-men have disappeared underground into the unconscious. There we fool ourselves that they lead an ignominious existence among the relics of our past."

Early Christianity with its emphasis on 'goodwill toward men' was more 'natural' than the tortured theologies (which compete among themselves) that have grown out of it.

But the modern despoilers of nature are not only protagonists of the 'old time religion' or cynical money grabbers bent on exploitation for personal profit. They are also the people used to having good jobs that are dependent on industries that deplete natural resources

farmers, loggers and fishermen, government bureaucrats (hear! hear!) and consumers who demand an ever increasing standard of living: All of them leave behind a vast wasteland of pollution that threatens to permanently despoil the earth. The culprits are us; we are all, to a considerable extent, both perpetrators and victims of onrushing industrial civilization.

Severe shocks and great catastrophes are imminent. In the long stream of human history, which is itself only a moment in the longer history of this earth, the present mini-moment of 'high psychic temperature' as Teilhard de Chardin called this time of, and following, two world wars, must be a very short-lived phenomenon.

— Everett Whealdon
Port Townsend, WA

Hello *Earth First!*ers,

I have just read the last two issues of *Earth First!* and have to rate it as one of the most relevant magazines in North America. I am sure the trees and nature kingdoms applaud and bless the efforts of *Earth First!*ers everywhere.

Well-designed and tended plantings of useful and esthetic plants around our homes and in our villages, towns, and cities can supply enough food and useful products that vast areas of presently commercial (sic) forest and agricultural lands can be allowed to return to wilderness. In other words, a paradise around our habitations and wilderness in the backyard. Beyond a doubt the knowledge and capacities to do this are now available.

It would simply call for stopping societal waste. In particular,

MOTHER JONES DUBS JOHN CROWELL "REAGANMATE OF THE MONTH"

Forest Service Chief's Policies Said to Threaten Fishing and Recreation Areas

Mother Jones magazine has dubbed John Crowell "Reaganmate of the Month." Crowell, Agriculture Department assistant secretary in charge of the Forest Service, thus joins a list of 12 lesser-known members of the Reagan Administration profiled by *Mother Jones* in recent months.

While maintaining a profile "as low as a clearcut forest," says author Francesca Lyman, "Crowell has managed to overhaul agency procedures in a way that will threaten fishing and recreation areas for decades to come." According to the article, he has beefed up the budget for timber-cutting minerals, and road-building while cutting back on funds for wildlife and reforestation.

The *Mother Jones* article also asserts that Crowell is selling off more federally owned timber than ever before — and, like James Watt's coal and oil leases, at factory outlet prices. A recent congressional study estimated that the Forest Service could be losing up to \$155 million a year by underpricing federal timber.

There are signs, though, that Crowell may find it difficult to maintain his low profile. He has recently been plagued by a number of questions about his relationship to his former employer, Louisiana-Pacific, the nation's largest buyer of federal timber.

RONNIE'S CONCERN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

Oh, my throbbin' thrombosis! Ronald Reagan has received a bearskin rug from an admiring friend who shot a 320-pound black bear in the Maine woods. Saul Cohen, the bear's murderer, who probably fancies himself a sportsman, is also a cardiologist and provides medical services for the White House.

Cohen admires the president very much. The toady fungo says that he gave the rug to Reagan "as a show of my admiration for him and as a demonstration of his concern for the environment."

Pass me the pacemaker before I have a myocardial infarction!

— *The Grouch*

rechanneling the energy, resources and peoplepower now going into military channels into Earth healing channels. The world needs millions of *Earth First!*ers standing in front of bulldozers and munitions factories.

The world also needs tens of millions of people doing Earth healing projects. Planting trees, seeding native grasses and wildflowers, stopping gullies, etc., etc.

The CHIPKO MOVEMENT in India is an example of people doing both at once. The Chipko hill people in the Himalayas hug trees around their villages and on the mountainsides. They also develop cooperative, small-scale industries using local resources. If there hasn't been an in-depth report of the Chipko movement in India in the *Earth First!* journal then I hope there soon will be.

Towards a more beautiful & bountiful Earth
Michael Pilarski

Friends of the Trees
P.O. Box 1064
Tonasket, WA 98855

continued on pg 24

EARTH FIRST! COMES TO ALASKA

by Willy Dunne

Employees and visitors at Denali National Park, Alaska, were treated to a double dose of wilderness promotion August 19 when *Earth First!* editor Dave Foreman showed up for a visit to the 6 million acre home of grizzly bears, moose, caribou and Dall sheep.

After getting a note earlier from Dave about his tentative visit to the Park, I put up a few posters saying that he would be speaking after a Sunday evening slide program. I was getting a little nervous when Dave still hadn't shown up the day of the program (lots of EF'ers were anxious to meet with him). About an hour before the slide program, I found him sitting next to a campfire near Riley Creek. When we got to the auditorium, nearly 200 people had gathered to watch Mike Giannichini's slide presentation "Beyond the Road's Edge" and listen to this wilderness fanatic, Foreman. Mike, who gives Tundra Wildlife Tours in Denali, presented a superb program of his photographs set to music which captured the essence of Denali's wilderness. The crowd was primed for excitement.

Foreman took the stage to talk about his trip to Alaska. He got

everyone's attention by telling a story about bumping into two griz in Denali's backcountry (by the end of the story, he was nearly as impressive as a griz himself). Dave then went on to capture the audience's imagination and fired up some inspiration as he raged on with his unique brand of wilderness philosophy.

A discussion session followed with talk about moral obligations to protect wilderness and Earth First! activities and strategies. Several Alaska issues were discussed including the proposed capture of Orcas by Sea World, the cutting of America's last temperate rainforest in the Tongass National Forest, the proposed damming of the Susitna River, oil & gas development in

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and threats to newly designated National Parks (see article in coming Yule issue).

The crowd was visibly moved and impressed. People are still talking about the event around here and are planning some of their own strategies to protect Alaska's wilderness.

Earth First! is working on developing a policy on Alaskan lands, a hard-line stance on America's last big wilderness. If you'd like to work on this project or have comments or suggestions, write to: Willy Dunne, PO Box 112, Denali Park, AZ 99755.

Willy Dunne lives in Denali National Park, Alaska, where he is a tour bus driver.



1984 — WILDERNESS BOOM OR BUST?

Yes, there were a lot of wilderness bills passed by Congress and signed into law by President Reagan in 1984. But how do we judge 1984? Was it the banner year for wilderness in the Lower 48? Or was it the year in which we legitimated the destruction of more wilderness than ever before?

Mike McCloskey, Executive Director of the Sierra Club, takes the first view. In a letter sent to Sierra Club activists in those states with wilderness bills, he writes:

This year the Sierra Club has had spectacular success in preserving wilderness. Consider: Fully one-fourth of all the "lower 48" land in our National Wilderness Preservation System has been added by acts of Congress this year! Yours is one of the 20 states that has benefitted from this success (or one of two states that almost benefitted — Colorado and Idaho).

But Professor Bill Devall, long-time grassroots wilderness activist and student of Deep Ecology, wonders about our "victory." In his editorial in this issue of *Earth First!*, Devall writes:

The Wilderness Acts of 1984 could be titled the "Wilderness Destruction Acts of 1984." These overly compromised Acts include language which "releases" millions of acres of

roadless areas — wilderness — for mining, oil and gas development, logging, road-building, off-road-vehicle use, "jeep trails," massive ski resorts and water development projects.

In the Yule issue of *Earth First!*, we hope to examine this question in some depth. We will chart the wilderness protected and the wilderness lost in the Wilderness Acts of 1984. Experienced wilderness defenders from Wyoming, Oregon, California, Utah, Arizona and other states will offer the reasons why they see no cause for joy in Mike McCloskey's "spectacular success." The other side will be presented by wilderness supporters who feel that we did gain more than we lost in 1984. And, we will try to identify the directions to take now to preserve the wilderness not included in the Wilderness Acts of 1984.

If you have thoughts — either way or somewhere in between — to contribute to our special discussion "1984 — WILDERNESS BOOM OR BUST?," send them to *Earth First!* POB 5871 Tucson, AZ 85703 by December 1. (We particularly would welcome input from states east of the Rockies.)

MATHESON SUPPORTS BURR TRAIL DESTRUCTION

(Ed. note: For several years, Gov. Scott Matheson of Utah has acquired an undeserved — we think — reputation as something of an environmentalist. He has even been rumored to be a leading contender for Sec. of the Interior if Walter Mondale is elected President. This letter Matheson sent *Earth First!*er Bob Kaspar should dispel any fantasies about him and prepare desert lovers for a long, hard battle to stop the paving of the Burr Trail.)

Dear Mr. Kaspar,

Thank you for sharing your views with me regarding the proposed Boulder-Bullfrog Scenic Road, known more commonly as the "Burr Trail." I support this proposal which has been thoroughly reviewed by the Utah Department of Transportation, Utah Travel Council, Utah

Department of Natural Resources, and the National Park Service.

These agencies have determined that the Burr Trail project is in the best interest of the state of Utah, Utah's tourists, and the tourism industry in general. The economic priorities involved are always subject to legitimate differing opinions. However, our studies show this project is needed and justifiable.

Studies also indicate that the present road is not adequate for those it serves. It is not an all-weather road as is evidenced by frequent washouts. The proposed new road will be an all-weather road. The proposed road is not an attempt to provide "a shortcut" from Bryce Canyon National Park to Capitol Reef National Park. Its purpose is to provide a vital link in the overall regional tourism-recreation

development envisioned for southern Utah.

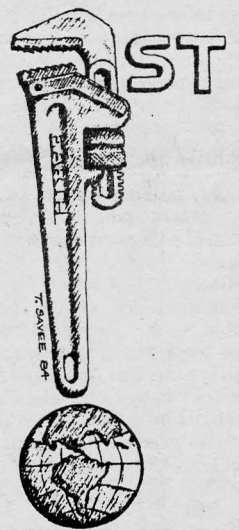
The Bullfrog/Halls Crossing complex on Lake Powell would become the Utah equivalent of the Wahweap development on Lake Powell in Arizona. The soon-to-be dedicated ferry operating between the Halls Crossing and Bullfrog marinas, along with the Boulder/Bullfrog Scenic Road, would provide both a destination and a complementary scenic thoroughfare in the heart of Utah's scenic and recreation resources. Through the implementation of this transportation system all southern Utah scenic and recreation areas would benefit.

The need for an economic boost to southern Utah through increased tourism becomes even more significant in view of recent personnel reductions by major

industries in this area of Utah. Completion of these projects will open a great travel resource area that currently limits the use by tourists because of inadequate transportation facilities. Enhanced by companion transportation projects in the area, the Burr Trail improvement promises to increase tourists from California for Bullfrog and other scenic areas.

The Burr Trail project did not receive an appropriation during the recent Special Session of the Utah State Legislature, but I anticipate that the proposal will be considered again during the 1985 General Session.

Sincerely,
Scott M. Matheson
Governor



The All Species Day Parade at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, 1984

photos by David Cross.

DOWN - BUT NOT OUT-AT ROXBYP DOWNS

by Alice Hungerford

(Editor's note: Australia continues to set the standard for the world environmental movement. Fresh from efforts to prevent the roading of the Daintree Forest in northern Queensland (see EF! June 20, 1984, pgs 14-15; and EF! August 1, 1984, pg 10), the Nomadic Action Group (NAG) proceeded this summer (their winter) a continent away to the desert landscape of Roxby Downs in the state of South Australia. Alice Hungerford reports on the drama of the attack by police and calls for help from America...)

Thursday, 14th August
Roxby Vigil

Dear Earth First!

Greetings from the desert! I write to tell you of one of the most vital actions taking place in Australia today. Ten days ago (Saturday 4 August), our camp was forcibly evicted by Roxby management and a force of 25 "Star Force" police — a South Australian tactical response squad.

The occurrences of that day are hard to describe — but I will try.

A police inspector and a representative of the Crown Lands Department arrived at 1 PM and gave us one hour's notice to pack up our year-old camp, dismantle the structures and leave. We asked for time, explaining that our truck was 600km away in Adelaide and we required transport. A director of mines called off the discussion and they left. We began dismantling our tee-pee, packing up our swags and our papers when suddenly this squad of police arrived, twitching for a brawl.

Amongst our camp was Max Thomas, Elder of the Kookatha people — the aboriginal tribe who once lived and care-took this land. Also present was Annie and her two-week-old baby (who was conceived and lived his whole life on the sand dune between the mine shaft and the pilot plant), two other small children aged 5 & 7, three other women, and five men.

We sat in a circle around the fire and said that we required more time, that we did not appreciate that all exits from the area had been blocked and the phone cut off, thus ending any possibility of complying with their demands. The conversation was cut short as the police started grabbing people from behind and dragging them away — they threw punches, kicked ribs and were generally brutal — none of us reacted in any stronger way than going limp or asking to be able to walk... all on deaf ears.

Max, an old man of 70-odd years, was kneed in the stomach which winded him; Annie and baby were dragged and had to work very hard to keep from being thrown over. None of us were allowed to grab any of our possessions or drive our own vehicles. I managed to grab some nappies off the line, and the baby's cradle. Meg ran over the dune to get the nappies off the far line and two police grabbed her and almost broke her arm for trying to hang on to the nappies.

Anyway, we made it to Andamooka, the nearest town (45 km away). Shortly afterwards, a tip-truck arrived with some of our possessions and tipped them out.

Unfortunately, they burnt all the poles for the tee-pee and tipped out 60 gallons of water — a very rare

substance in these parts — thus the nomads were homeless again. We are now camped just about 1 km south of a new hastily erected gate, blocking off all outside access to the proposed largest uranium mine in the world. We have been subjected to extreme police harassment — physical and verbal violence, etc., etc. In this way, the Roxby Vigil continues...

Next week there is a planned blockade of this mine by the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia (CNFA), a coalition of 100 different antinuclear groups around Australia. 'Twill be interesting to see what happens. Most of us feel that the time for symbolic, game-playing actions is well and truly over. What we must do is sit here and sit here, until 5,000 people are sitting here, and then walk in and close the mine. It requires all the people who are committed enough to come here for a week, not to go back, but to leave behind their wasted "consume-be silent-die" lives and do WHAT IS NECESSARY! Many times I've recently reminded myself of the truth: "No Compromise in the Defense of Mother Earth."

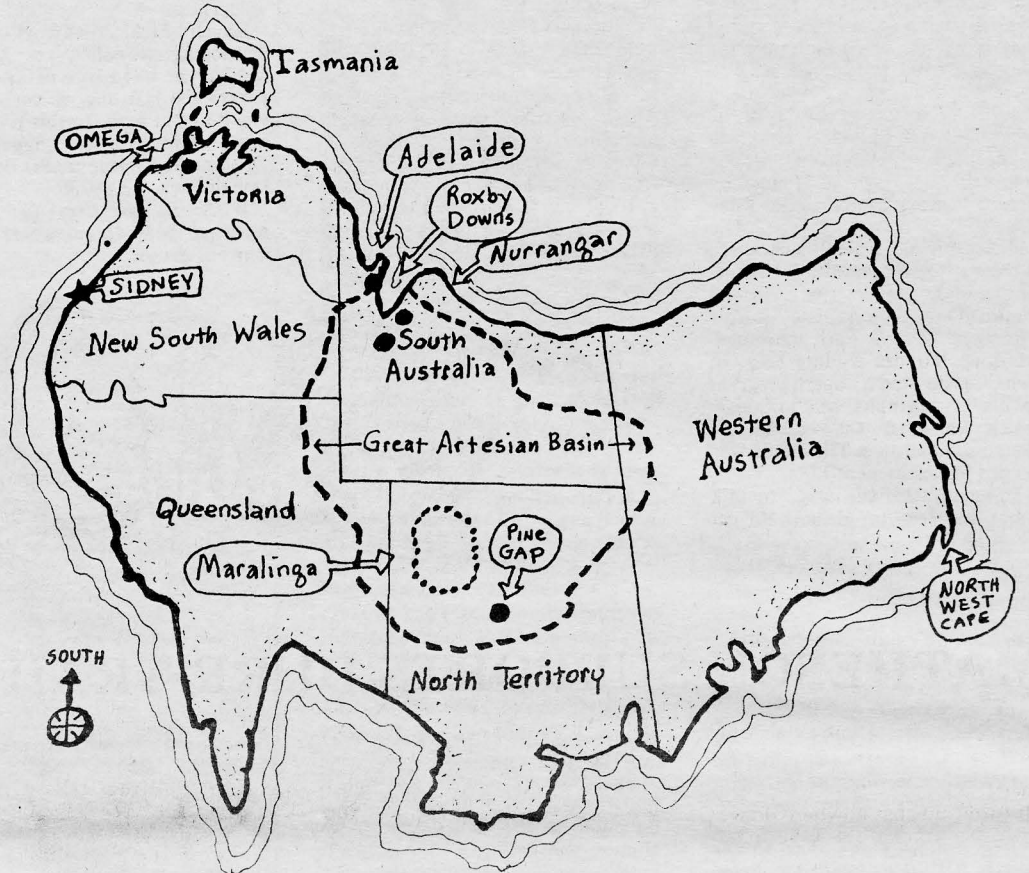
The history of this area is pretty horrific. In the early 1950s, the English and Australian defense departments did a series of atomic bomb tests at a place called Maralinga 600 miles to the northwest. They pretended there were no tribal people in the area, but in fact there were thousands and they and some of the lower ranking military were used as guinea pigs to see what effects the radiation from the bombs would have. Perhaps you have heard of the recent exposes about this — it's pitiful — the land and people were poisoned. The people were scattered and they were also made very ill by the radiation. At this same time, the Woomera Rocket Range (a military weapons testing area of hundreds of square miles) began. We are camped in the middle of it. (Max Thomas has sat here for 41 years, as his grandfather told him.)

The few remaining tribes who lived in this area were driven out by the Woomera Range. Roxby Downs is one of the richest, lushest areas around, with water at the moundsprings, food and shelter all around. It was a meeting place of the tribes, a significant special place. The other two such areas are already destroyed.

About 90 miles to the southwest is Nurrangar, a US military base with unknown capabilities in regard to tracking of space activities, monitoring of "first-strike" and CIA activities all over the world. One wonders of its weapons stash when we are told that Australia does not have nuclear weapons?

So, friends, please spread all of these words around as much as possible. We don't have contact with anyone else in America. This uranium mine to us in Australia is the source and the cause of much of the destruction of the earth. If you can gather any information via your Freedom of Information Act regarding American bases in Australia (Pine Gap, NW Cape, Nurrangar, Omega...?), or US military or corporate involvement in the share holders of Roxby Management Services (Western Mining Company, British Petroleum, or whoever), please do.

At present, the uranium mine is only 1/200th of its proposed size — still stoppable. Some pertinent facts:



- Roxby Downs (Olympic Dam) Uranium Mine stands to be the largest in the world.
- Roxby Downs will use 33 million litres of water per day from the great Artesian Basin which is already stressed to the limit.
- Roxby Downs will dump 6 million tonnes of radioactive, toxic tailings on the land every year in no containers for 30+ years.
- Roxby Downs will poison the land, the plants, the animals and the birds of a large part of Australia by depleting the water basin and allowing some of the most poisonous substances in the world to replace the water.

(Editor's note: If anyone would like to help the Roxby Vigil in research in the United States, we'll be happy to send you additional information. Contact us at POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. If you would like to correspond directly with the Roxby Vigil/NAG, write c/o Post Office, Andamooka, 5722 South Australia AUSTRALIA. They will welcome your letters of support.)

Alice Hungerford is an environmental activist in Australia with the Nomadic Action Group.



FOLLOW THE RULES AND THE DRIVING IS EASY

I've read and heard that some Earth First! members are not fond of California. I've heard terms like "Californicate" and references are made to the "mustard gas cloud" which hangs over Los Angeles. Clearly, such disparaging remarks indicate a lack of appreciation of the progressive nature of that lovely city.

Apparently, it's the large metropolitan areas which are most offensive. Many visitors seem to be put off by the customs we natives have acquired, especially those concerning the use of our automobiles. I submit that it's a lack of understanding of these customs which is the root cause of many of the problems.

Thus, to help visitors who might be having difficulty, I've compiled a list of things to be aware of while driving about this fair state.

- But first, some definitions:
- Full stop — any speed below 10 mph.
 - Park — full stop.
 - Brake — horn.
 - Median — place to throw beer cans.
 - Side window — ashtray.
 - Garage — place to store \$300 of junk.
 - Driveway — place to store \$20,000 Winnebago.

Street — place to store \$12,000 car.

Bikeway — place to store derelict car.

Pedestrian — impediment to free-flowing traffic.

Turn signal — seldom-used, lever-activated device which comes on after a lane change.

Fifty miliseconds — time required for honking to start after light turns green.

1. At an uncontrolled intersection, the junkiest car has the right-of-way.

2. The customary freeway speed is 67.2 mph (at this speed you can be booked for both speeding and holding up traffic).

3. Beware of aggressive little Volkswagens.

4. The age and IQ of the driver behind you can be approximated from car size and following distance.

5. When you give someone a little warning tap with your horn, they'll signal back with a gesture to let you know you're No. 1.

6. Be prepared. In case of an L.A. blizzard, get a pickup truck with four-wheel drive and nubby tires.

7. If you can hear the other car's stereo over your own, you lose.

Welcome to California!

— Bart Boyer
San Diego

WILDERNESS – THE GLOBAL CONNECTION

by R.F. Mueller

Attitudes toward wilderness in the popular mind are still confused but are generally dominated by mercantile principles of direct use and greatest monetary value of extractables. As Earth First!ers we know that wilderness is right for its own sake – perhaps in the end the only “right” for this planet. Yet it is difficult to communicate this facet of enlightenment to others. It is discouraging that among many prominent wilderness advocates the highest attainment of comprehension seems to be that wilderness is desirable merely as a source of recreation, nature solace, inspiration, etc., and that a little of it should be saved so our grandchildren can see what nature in the raw *was* like.

Even our scientific experts can come up with little more than that isolated segments should be preserved to protect genetic material of practical value to humans and for baseline studies to compare with an increasingly sullied world. Contributors to this journal deserve credit for exposing the inadequacy and shallowness of these truisms. Yet in the practical world, in the urgency to protect the large wilderness necessary for the salvation of this planet we need to gather all the arguments we can, building particularly on the discoveries of science as well as on history and logic. We need also to swallow a little pride in our own enlightenment, to convince others as we are convinced.

It turns out that nowhere do we have a stronger case than in global aspects of wilderness appreciation. Consider for a moment the role of wilderness in the big movements of human history, and in particular those of the last several hundred years when the industrial revolution accelerated putative domination of nature and fostered the *idea* of progress. Early in this period most of Europe was subjugated to intensive agriculture and later to mining and other industries. Forests were cut, marshes drained and wilderness-dependent wildlife eliminated or driven north and east. Yet the followers of the late Rene Dubos might say that all this destruction didn't visit calamity on Europe and that human culture was even capable of making “improvements” on nature that resulted in a tamed but still verdant and fruitful landscape. But is this really true? Can we really live in a world utterly dominated by the works of humankind?

Although Europeans extirpated or beat back wilderness to the fringes of their continent, they were really as dependent on it as ever – a fact many of their greatest savants were and still are unaware of. In one sense this dependency exists because the colonial period was launched and the discovery of new lands around the globe made available virgin wilderness-nourished resources. Asia and America were opened to the fur trade and the timber and other products of the fertile soils of the colonies entered international trade. The same was true of mineral deposits and other resources. Nearly everywhere these resources were easily exploitable because they were defended only by low populations or nonindustrial

indigenous peoples. This gigantic increase in available resources as well as food plants introduced from the new world promoted population growth and as a final indignity the use of wilderness itself as a sink for surplus people. Yet this was far from all.

For countless years preceding the industrial revolution Europe had unknowingly been in thrall to extra-European wilderness. Its insect-controlling migratory birds had sought winter refuges in distant African forests, without which there could have been no European agriculture, no picturesque bucolic landscapes and no nature poets. And this is probably as true as ever today despite current reliance on pesticides. Then, too, the European fishing industry has always been dependent on myriad remote wilderness rivers, bays and estuaries whose clean waters are necessary for spawning. At the same time clean air and precipitation originating in the global wilderness swept away locally-produced pollution of the industrial society. It's clear then that

the European example of getting on without wilderness is invalid and to the contrary the larger the area affected by human technological development the more wilderness is required to support and mitigate this development.

The importance of wilderness – big wilderness – either near or far, to the very existence of agriculture, to food production in general, and hence to industrial society itself highlights a humbling fact of our current situation; namely that despite human destructive efforts, defacto wilderness still dominates the globe! For, disregarding the oceanic wilderness, all of Antarctica, much of Asia, South America and Australia as well as large parts of Africa and North America are still wilderness – at least by the criteria of our Wilderness Act. This is fortunate for us and perhaps is the major reason the human species still exists. Furthermore, science has revealed that these different parts of our planet, wilderness and non-wilderness, are in constant communication, although all the modes

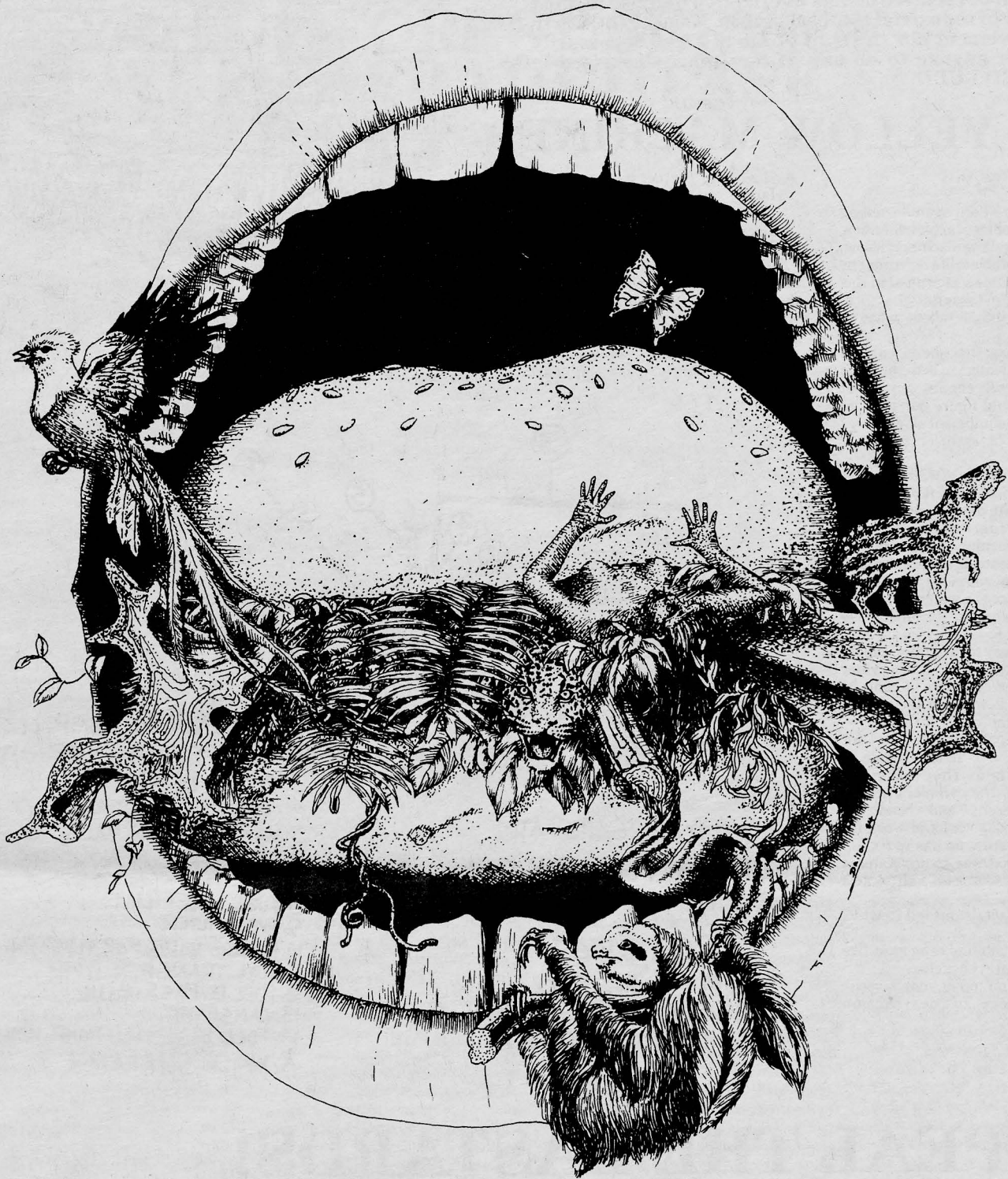
of this communication are not yet known. That there are global chemical and biological “messengers” is shown by animal migrations as well as the transport of pesticides and other chemicals by atmospheric circulation. While such chemicals are certainly bad messages introduced by humans, the messages that emanate from the global wilderness are generally beneficial or benign in the sense that the biosphere is ensured to or even owes its present state to them through biologic evolution and adaptation.

That science has yet to explore many of the manifestations of the global wilderness network – even as that network is being destroyed – is again illustrated by the great bird migrations. It has been found that a large number of these birds are of tropical origin and that their patterns of behavior may be quite different in breeding and wintering areas. For example some birds that are insect eaters in the north become fruit eaters in the south. Yet it is logical that their behavior patterns as well as physiologies may be

influenced by every part of the migration route. Consequently these patterns of behavior as well as chemical and genetic material are constantly being modified and “telegraphed” by these avian messengers; so that tropical rainforests are in complex communication with the temperate forests, plains, mountains, boreal forests and tundra; the Arctic with the Antarctic. What happens in one part of the globe is transmitted to other parts in the forms of altered populations and behavior patterns.

It should be obvious then that the issue of protection of large wilderness and the global network transcends all arguments for “island” wilderness enclaves justified by naively perceived human needs. When we come to consider the global wilderness as its own justification our welfare automatically follows, because we always have been and will be part of that wilderness as long as we survive as a species.

Route 1, Box 250
Staunton, Virginia 24401



DEAR NED LUDD

DEAR NED LUDD is a regular feature in *Earth First!* for discussion of creative means of effective defense against the forces of industrial totalitarianism. Neither the *Earth First!* movement nor the staff of *Earth First!* necessarily encourage anyone to do any of the things discussed in DEAR NED LUDD.

BIG YELLOW MACHINES

MR. GOODWRENCH

Well — here I am again — telling all you environmental blowflies how to hurt good yellow machinery. Now, you see, the problem is everytime one of the tricks I know is printed in this newspaper it warns the pro-development people about what to look for.

Like if I say that diesel engines don't like water, then all the paranoid diesel engine guys that read this would figure out ways to protect their equipment. Well . . . I guess a lot of assholes wouldn't, so . . .

The best way to use water is to get it into the fuel injection system. Most (if not all) diesels have at least one water/fuel separator and possibly a warning system so you have to run enough water through the system to overrun the filter, or bypass it. Once the water gets to the fuel injection pump it's history — time for R & R.

A simpler way to use water is to fill the air intake with it. Once water sucks into the cylinders (it can't be compressed), it will jam the pistons and the engine can't turn over — time for repairs (down-time for repairs, that is!). If the engine is running when the water is introduced to the cylinders, it will jam the pistons and bend the connecting rods — a lot of work for the poor bastard who has to fix it!

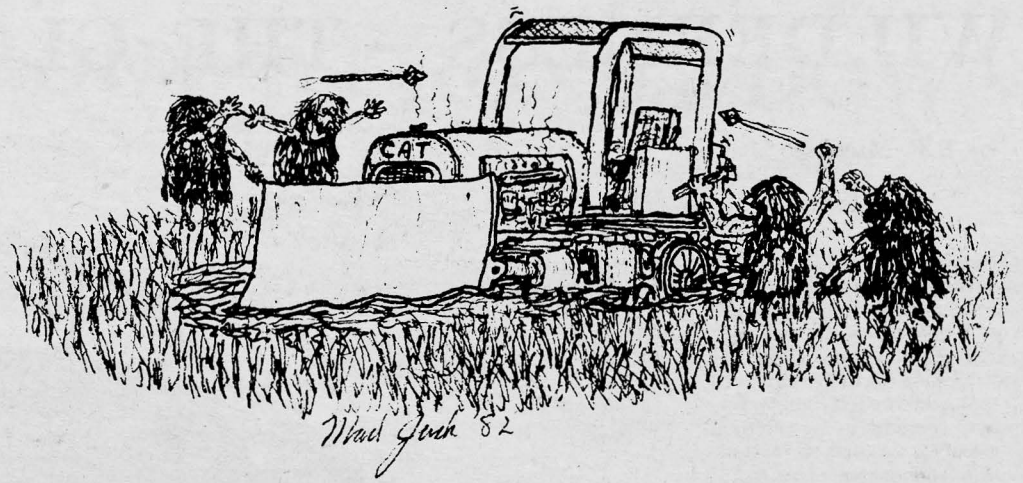
Another good way to use water is to push the machine off a cliff into a lake.

While I'm at it, let me tell ya why I like cement:

- Mix up a batch of cement in five gallon plastic buckets.
- Climb up on top of your favorite large piece of destruction equipment.

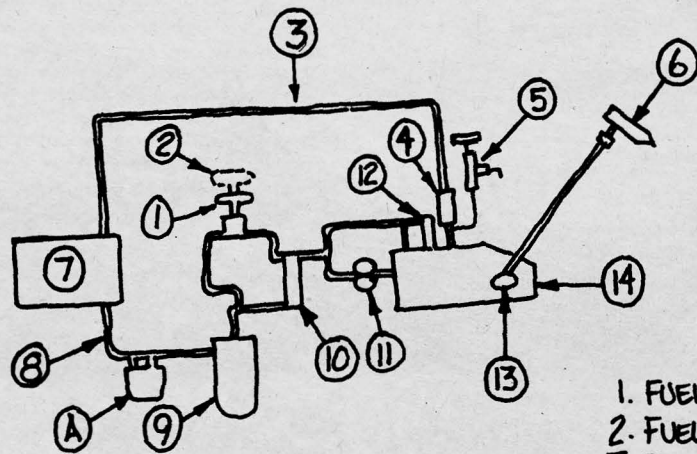
- Have your partner (yes, this is a family activity) hand you the buckets.
- Open the rain flap on the exhaust pipe and pour the cement in.

As long as we're on the subject of diesel equipment, remember that if the gear lube is drained from a transmission or differential, the engine noise will drown out the gear noise. By the time the operator thinks something is wrong — it's too late.



Happy Hunting
Mr. Goodwrench

Mr. Goodwrench is a professional diesel mechanic somewhere in the West.



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OF THE FUEL SYSTEM
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6. FUEL INJECTION NOZZLE
7. FUEL TANK
8. FUEL INLET LINE
9. FUEL FILTER
10. BYPASS VALVE FOR PUMP PRIMING
11. FUEL TRANSFER PUMP
12. FUEL BYPASS VALVE
13. CAMSHAFT
14. FUEL INJECTION PUMP HOUSING
- A. WATER SEPARATOR

Dear Ned,

For years, concerned folks in various parts of the country have sought an end to spraying of herbicides along powerline rights-of-way.

The chemicals can drift onto adjoining property, wash into streams, contaminate wild berry crops, and poison birds and other wildlife.

The power companies, clinging to past practices like maggots to a gut wagon, have refused to halt the chemical onslaught.

One good way to counter this is to hit them where it hurts — by shooting out insulators on lines that have been sprayed. If the power brokers learn that everytime a line is sprayed, a half dozen insulators or transformers in remote places are shot up, the chemical use will soon abate.

Of course, a few phone calls might be necessary to let them know why the "damage" has occurred. It might even help to clip this article and send to your local (loco) utility outpost. Straight shooting from . . .

Missouri Madjack



APPEAL THE BASTARDS!

by Dave Foreman

The slew of so-called Wilderness bills signed into law in 1984 have three distinguishing characteristics:

- 1) They "release" millions of acres of de facto wilderness to the mercy of Forest Service chainsaws, bulldozers, drill rigs, and hubristic schemes;
- 2) They invalidate the California, Bald Mountain (Oregon), and Kettle Range (Washington) RARE II decisions; and
- 3) They end the possibility of using RARE II lawsuits or administrative appeals (based on the 9th Circuit Court's ruling that the RARE II EIS was inadequate) to stop the egregious plans of destruction the Freddiees have for our remaining roadless areas.

New roadblocks against the Forest Service engineers will have to be discovered to save wilderness — except in those states where RARE II bills have not yet passed.

In the West, these states are Nevada, Montana and Idaho. And it

is in Montana and Idaho where the densest concentration of National Forest roadless lands lie: over 15 million acres in these two states alone. With the possible exception of Oregon, in no other states do the Freddie goons drool more lasciviously over the prospect of dismembering old growth ecosystems and unscarred mountains.

In Idaho and Montana, a simple slip of paper can still stop the Forest Service engines of destruction. To demonstrate how easy it is, consider the following: On July 30, the day before I left for 6 weeks in Alaska, I whipped out in 5 minutes an administrative appeal to the Forest Service against the Trail Creek Timber Sale in the Jureano Roadless Area on the Salmon National Forest in Idaho. On August 9, the Salmon National Forest Supervisor sent *Earth First!* a letter reading:

I have reviewed your timely July 30, 1984, appeal of my July 3, 1984, decision to approve the Trail Creek Timber Sale. Based on this review, I have decided to withdraw my approval

decision at least until the Forest Land Management Plan is implemented, or until a project level Environmental Analysis or Environmental Statement is completed which addresses the project effects on wilderness characteristics of the area, or until legislation addressing the availability of the Jureano Roadless Area #13506 for wilderness is enacted.

That five minutes of my time and a 20¢ stamp stopped the destruction of a 40,000 acre roadless area (at least for a little while). Other projects are lumbering along in Idaho and Montana to destroy old growth forests; habitat for grizzly, caribou, lynx, spotted owl, bighorn, elk, wolf and wolverine; pristine watersheds; and open space. You can stop them with a few minutes and 20¢.

Contact your local Forest Service office and determine what development projects are planned for roadless areas. Get a copy of the decision document from the Forest Service and find out whether the decision is still subject to appeal (you must appeal within a certain time

frame) or when it will be. Then file a simple appeal based on the following form (merely fill in the blanks with

the proper information). Stop the bulldozers with a piece of paper. Appeal the Bastards!

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE BEFORE THE (reviewing officer's title)

In re (describe matter, e.g., Big Tree Timber Sale))
)
(You and/or your organization's name)) F.S. Docket No. ___
)
Appellants)

NOTICE OF APPEAL

Pursuant to 36 C.F.R. S211.18, (appellant's name(s)) hereby requests administrative review of the decision of (name and title of deciding officer) dated _____ to (describe decision, e.g., offer _____ timber sale in the _____ National Forest). The (officer's) decision was in error and not in accordance with the legal requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act as determined by *California v. Block*, 690 F. 2nd 753 (9th Cir. 1982).

Therefore, appellant requests (name and title of reviewing officer) to (relief requested, e.g., rescind the finding of no significant effect and prepare an ES for _____ action; rescind the Record of Decision for _____ action, dated _____; cancel _____ timber sale).

Dated: _____

SIGNATURE
ADDRESS
for (Appellant(s))

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE US FOREST SERVICE — BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK PART II

by Bobcat

(Ed. note: This is the conclusion to a detailed study of the Forest Service by Robert W. Brothers (Ph.D. Berkeley 1972). "Bobcat" (as he is known) covered the problem of the Forest Service in the last issue of EF!. Copies are available of that issue for \$1 for first class postage from EF!. POB 235, Ely, NV 89301. Bobcat welcomes your correspondence at 14894 Galice Road, Merlin, OR 97532.)

Solution: What We Can Do

After our outrage at corruption subsidies, the cool breeze of economic reality awakens us to certain facts. Whether we like the Forest Service and the large timber corporations or not, the livelihood of many of our communities and counties is at present greatly dependent upon them. And when the big guys depart for Dixie, we're going to have to fend for ourselves.

As timber resources decline with the supply of economically marketable old-growth, county income from this source will decline also. However, the large corporations who currently out-compete local woodlot and mill owners will be "declining" too, heading south for greater profits on the plantations. Formerly suppressed local businesses will then have the chance to re-emerge as profitable concerns, and opportunities for the creative use of local resources will increase.

As long as they are here, the timber corporations like to foster the idea that we are dependent upon them, but even now, many people are learning that this need not be the case. An excellent example of local initiative outside of the corporate realm is provided by Orville Camp (of Selma, Oregon) and other members of the Josephine-Jackson Forest Farm Association. Using techniques of all-age, all-species management in total contrast to Forest Service practices, these folks are able to earn steady and adequate incomes off land managed for sustained yield year after year (*The Forest Farmer's Handbook: A Guide to Natural Selection Forest Management*, by Orville Camp, 1984, 72 pp. (\$6.95 from: Sky River Press, 236 E. Main, Ashland, OR 97520).)

So it can be done, but the transition from a dependent economy to a relatively independent economy may be difficult. The longer we permit illegal Forest Service procedures to subsidize corporate practices that subsidize local enterprise and damage the forests, the harder it will be.

Proposed Actions:

A full program for the preservation and restoration of our healthy forest ecosystems, with true multiple use and sustained yield, would consist of several stages of ever broadening scope — ranging from immediate preventive measures to total reform and re-direction of the U.S. Forest Service.

1. *Immediate Actions in All National Forests.*

Herbicides. The herbicide ban is the most significant thing happening on the ground in the National Forests at this time. And it's a hot employment issue. Get together with local forest workers and check out the Ranger



No GO Road Demonstration, San Francisco, 1983

Districts in your area to make sure that they are giving full consideration to manual alternatives to herbicide brush control. The danger is that the USFS won't use any alternatives because they're not "cost-effective," and then blame the herbicide ban for a (fictional) drop in productivity. After the time it will take the USFS to comply with the law, this maneuver could leave us stuck with herbicides again. Pristine wilderness may be upstream from the spray, but it's not always upwind.

Outside of Oregon and Washington, manual use of herbicides on the ground is still being allowed, despite the fact that it is more dangerous to the workers who handle it than aerial spray. There are strong legal grounds for resisting any manual herbicide contracts, and workers should be fully informed of the health hazards (potential genetic damage). For more information, contact the Northwest Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides (NCAP), Box 375, Eugene, OR 97440.

If it turns out that alternatives really aren't going to be used, then we need to make sure that the allowable cut is lowered accordingly. It's jacked up too high now anyway, on the basis of flimsy intensive management data. Because herbicide use is one of the major factors in the Allowable Cut Effect which determines harvest levels, the ban *should* result in a reduction in timber sales, and thus less pressure on old-growth/virgin stands in de facto unprotected wilderness.

Now is the time for forest activists to remind their local Ranger District and Supervisor's offices of this fact.

There will be a gap of at least a year or two before the USFS can comply with the law requiring a "worst case analysis" of herbicide human health effects (or before the Supreme

Court considers the case). This is a major disruption in forest planning comparable to that caused by the California RARE II decision. In fact, the herbicide ban puts the whole clearcut "intensive management" strategy in question.

Reforestation:

Herbicide use is one part of a whole context of harvesting, reforestation, and stand improvement practices which need to be examined to insure compliance under the law concerning the proper rehabilitation of lands damaged by clearcutting. (For an excellent description of a battle against clearcutting itself, read *The Sterile Forest* by Ned Fritz, 1983, 271 pp. (\$12.95 from: Eakin Press, P.O. Box 23066, Austin, TX 78735).)

Many clearcut sites are simply being neglected while the soil washes away. They need to be located for their own sake and as evidence. Local contractors and co-ops need to be able to go in and get the basic erosion-control work started, with reseeding and prompt replanting in those places where the trees could benefit from a headstart over the brush.

In contrast, other sites which already have native shrubs and trees growing on them again are probably doing just fine — despite an official diagnosis of "understocked." They are simply coming back slowly with natural seeding from the several species of nearby trees which are best adapted to exactly that spot. Companion vegetation can be cooperative as well as competitive, fix nitrogen into the soil, give beneficial shade for young conifers on hot southern slopes, provide food for birds and insects who feed on other insects who otherwise might become pests in a simplified clearing with nothing but Douglas-firs and bare ground, etc. ...

If USFS foresters doubt the wis-

dom of this "natural" approach, then walk with them through the 40-80 year old second growth stands that are doing fine without the help of USFS "intensive management" intervention. Many of these second growth forests were harvested even before the days of wholesale clearcutting, and may provide some of our best examples of sustainable forestry.

Insecticides: The use of these chemicals has not been stopped by the herbicide ban, but their use against Spruce Budworm in National Forests in Oregon, California, and Arizona has been halted due to citizen action. Find out what's happening in your region, and encourage local organic farming and integrated pest management people to talk with USFS researchers and managers — (at least for a while) the National Forests are going organic!

Harvest Levels: One last obvious thing to check on is whether an agency has exceeded the allowable cut, or "programmed harvest" specified in their Forest Plan. For example, the Bureau of Land Management's Medford District in Oregon was supposed to harvest 9,000 mbf in 10 years (according to their land use plan), whereas they've actually cut 12,000 mbf in only four years. There may be many more cases like this and the proposed aspen sales in Colorado, where the true validity and credibility of the planning process needs to be tested.

2. Local Emergency Actions.

One basic approach is to work toward stopping all logging on public lands except those which can be proven capable of reforestation (trees already established on comparable sites). With a four year backlog of timber (sold but uncut), and plenty of milled lumber sitting in the yards,

now is the time to take a fresh look at things. Studies by The Wilderness Society and others have already recommended that the agencies harvest only the highly productive sites. (Hyde, William F., *Timber Supply, Land Allocation, and Economic Efficiency*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.)

There is a direct link between wilderness protection and sustainable forestry which we now have the chance to act on. If we insist that timber be harvested only from land where replanting has been proven successful (and go in with our organic farming friends to show them how to do it where it can be done), then logging operations will be kept off the steep and fragile slopes where the last unprotected wilderness remains.

Given their record of corporate bias, incompetence, falsification of data and disregard for the law, the burden of proof now lies on the Forest Service to show the public that it can truly manage the land for sustained yield. In the absence of that proof — leave it alone!

Another basic approach is simply to call for a halt to all cutting of old growth. The practical problem with both the old growth and the "proven reforestation" criteria is that, in the words of a 9th Circuit Court Judge, "NFMA breathes discretion at every pore" concerning these matters.

The value of old growth is at the moment unfortunately a matter of philosophy, not law. In contrast, the reforestation question is so bogged down with reams of questionable data that it would take a university-size computer staff and satellite remote sensing equipment to get at the truth. While it's definitely a good idea to blockade logging roads in defense of old growth, or spend hours with boxes of 5x7 cards in the District Ranger's Office trying to decipher their primary data system, there is also another approach which some legal fanatics have proven to be quite successful.

Legal Tactics: If your sense of moral outrage works in a fact-specific way, then here's an approach to follow: review the timber sales and road construction, etc., proposed or under way in your local area, and then select the projects with the most flagrant violations. Let the contractors involved know that they may be sued and/or blockaded if they go along with USFS lawbreaking.

From the legal history presented earlier, it will be possible to see those lines of legal argument for which precedents have already been established, and which apply to your local situation. At this time, the USFS is most vulnerable in the Environmental Impact Statements which they are required by the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) to prepare (but often don't!) before any activity with a "significant" impact on the environment. If the proposed activity is to take place in a roadless area, chances are that the EIS can be shown to be inadequate in accordance with the California RARE II decision (if Congress hasn't "released" RARE II areas in your state).

However, given the possible passage of many Wilderness Bills by Congress and the subsequent "release" of most RARE II areas for develop-

THE FOREST SERVICE: DEC



Mad Jack '84

ment, the recent Federal Court injunction against logging in the Mapleton Ranger District may prove to be the most important precedent for timber sale challenges. The Mapleton decision made two major points: 1) when there is "scientific uncertainty" about the environmental effects of an action, then a "worst case analysis" must be prepared under NEPA regulations (NCAP vs. Block had previously established the need for a worst case analysis of the human health effects of herbicides); 2) when activity will have effects in other watersheds downstream, then the cumulative impact of the proposed action when combined with other effects must be addressed by the EIS (this point was also made in the legal decision which stopped the G-O Road in California).

Any other of a number of variables which the USFS is required by law to consider are probably not "adequately" presented or reviewed by any EIS. This leaves it up to the challengers to establish whether a particular question is "significant" enough to merit "adequate" review (for example, the effects of a snowmobile trail on Wyoming grizzly habitat).

Reasons for the Legal Strategy: We have to get involved with legal matters in the first place because we can't trust the USFS to obey the law. Therefore, we work with the laws not only to remedy a specific malpractice, but to show the public that the USFS bias for the timber industry is so great that even laws are broken in its service.

When the Forest Service is shown to be breaking its own laws to favor an industry which it is supposed to regulate, then it is discredited as a source of information and decision-making. As long as the USFS is looked up to as a fair-minded manager of the National Forests, our divergent views will be ignored!

3. Doing the Groundwork.

There is the danger of becoming so caught up in the mistakes of the opposition that we forget what our own values really are. As we deal with the USFS's most flagrant violations of the law, we need to also be able to step aside and take a broad view of all the qualities and potentials in the National Forests and other timber lands around where we live. If we are interested in Total Reform of the Forest Service, then it's up to us to try to get some kind of total picture of specific alternative ways to manage human activities in the woods ... alternative values to respect.

There is, in fact, some urgency for taking this broad perspective. At this moment most National Forests are preparing drafts of new forest plans. This is being done partly in response to recent changes in regulations put down by the Washington Office, and partly because many plans are simply

old and out-moded.

As these new plans come out, economic specialists will have a field day taking them apart, as is currently happening with the appeals of four Colorado NF plans by NRDC and others. With the attention and resources of national environmental groups now focused on timber industry subsidies, it should be easy to show that increased timber harvests don't pay — but it will be up to us local folks to speak out for what the alternatives really are.

There are other resources besides timber which need protection from exploitation (the multiple use issue), and there are alternative sources of income from the woods and the surrounding area besides the current mode of timber harvesting (the jobs issue).

As for multiple use — the current forest plan for the Santa Fe NF in New Mexico is being appealed because it gives inadequate consideration to cultural resources (historic sites of native peoples). In other forests, it may be threatened and endangered species of plants and animals which are being overlooked. The Endangered Species Act is one of our strongest pieces of legislation because it mandates improving the habitat of threatened and endangered species (not just maintaining minimum viable populations). In fact, a strong case can be made that the language and legislative history of this Act, especially the 1982 Amendments, give threatened and endangered species top priority over all other factors, and this issue may be tested soon in the courts.

If we walk the land, talk to local people, the native plant society, etc., we'll soon know much more about the woods than most timber-blinded USFS personnel — although even within the agency there's lots of knowledge that just never gets listened to.

And this information can also be very practical. In some areas of the Northwest and Southeast there are plants growing on the floor of old growth forests which are valuable as medicinal herbs (wild ginger and ginseng), and that are in demand both nationally and internationally. In these places, the forest herb layer may provide a more profitable yearly sustainable harvest than timber trees. To quote Masanobu Fukuoka, author of *The One Straw Revolution*: *Mind as it is, and nature as it is, are such that when people allow themselves to be guided by nature, then nature responds by providing everything.*

4. Total Reform — Total Reorientation.

When we begin to experience the forests around us, we begin to realize how important they are to us in ways

that present USFS policy does not honor or even recognize. If we look at the demands of different citizen groups around the country, there is one obvious conclusion. Some ask for all roadless areas to be designated as official Wilderness status. Some call for no more old growth to be cut. Some call for no more poison chemicals to be used. Some call for an end to clearcuts which erode into our streams and fish habitat. Some call for an end to monoculture one-species planting with its dangerous reduction of diversity. Some call for the return of threatened and endangered species to strong populations in their original habitat.

The list goes on and on, until the consensus is so obvious that we are almost afraid to say it. We use polite words like reform and reorientation, when phrases like, "The surface of a planet is no place for an industrial society," and "U.S. out of North America" echo in the back of our minds.

But our critics have said it already ... "They want to shut down the National Forests, lock 'em up to logging!" Maybe this isn't such a bad idea. Maybe it's really even the most practical and economic thing to do, the only action which will really help stabilize communities currently dependent on timber production.

So let's say it in our own language, to be precisely correct (people think we're extremist enough already). What we really want to do is: *"Lock up the Forest Service lawbreakers, end the reign of these timber industry servants, and shut down the National Forests to the kind of clearcut timber strip-mining which is what they call logging!"*

This makes the crucial criteria quite plain. If the USFS would wake up overnight, start obeying the law and practicing selective ecological logging — great. But if they want to have clearcut monoculture tree farms, then do it out of the National Forests on flat land that might(?) be able to handle it.

Most of us forgot that part of the USFS mandate is to give appropriate technical and financial assistance to State and private forestry. This is one direction for reorientation to go ... turn all the hot-shot timber managers and silviculturalists around and give them some land to work on with flatter ground and more fertile soil that's more productive and harder to permanently damage.

The simple fact is that the most productive timber land is private land, and the National Forests are the leftovers. The problem is that a lot of private land has not been reforested. This country got most of its timber from private land till the '60s, and then switched over to public timber because it was cheaper for the corporations to buy from Uncle Sam than to reforest their own land. This has left at least two million acres of private land in Oregon that's been clearcut with no seed trees left, but not replanted.

So if Congress feels that timber needs to be subsidized and local communities stabilized — rehabilitate the land. Just make money available for the restoration, replanting, and sensible, selective harvesting of all the forested lands, public and private. If this won't produce enough board feet of lumber for the market or the balance of trade deficit, then they might need to subsidize some tree-farms on private land. (Personally, my vote is for conservation of wood products, stone houses, and no tree-farms anywhere!)



Before these speculations start to sound like more of the kind of State Socialism that this country has too much of already, let's get the ideal straight, and then move on to some concrete steps toward getting there. First, things need to be decentralized. The USFS needs to stop being run from Washington, and the big timber corporations need to stop dominating the USFS and the market.

Ultimately, this means land reform. The USFS should first buy up the timber land held by the large corporations, and then redistribute it in small (200-1000 acre) plots to families and communities on a land-based stewardship basis. This means that people would be able to live on the land as its caretakers, and manage their own activities to restore and maintain the ecological integrity of the forest. The USFS would retain an advisory role, and the land itself would provide the incentive for high quality and dedicated work.

5. Steps Toward a Decentralized and Diverse Life.

We can probably agree that the Forest Service is an incompetent and often corrupt agency, a pawn of the timber industry, and that its mismanagement of human activities in the forests must be stopped by the best means at our disposal — talking with USFS managers and silviculturalists, formal appeals, lawsuits, and nonviolent direct action. The first installment of this paper focused on what to stop, and how it is being done.

On the positive side, we also know that there are people who understand the full value of all the multiple and diverse offerings of our forests, and that there are people who know how to selectively harvest timber and minimally damage ecosystems which have been successfully maintaining communities of magnificent trees since the last Ice Age.

At a time when the Washington Office is pushing for greatly increased harvests, and Crowell speaks of the forests as if they were factories, many people in the Forest Service are openly questioning the top-down decision-making process, and are ready to listen to other points of view. In at least two Ranger Districts negotiations are currently taking place for the use of truly ecological methods of forestry. Get to know the USFS employees who do believe in multiple-use and sustained yield, wilderness, wildlife and watershed. The best revolutions begin from within!

We can also get our own management proposals together and petition Congress directly. That's what the folks in Sublette County, Wyoming,

are doing. Their plan calls for an end to mining and geothermal activities, only small scale sustainable logging, and no four-wheel drives, motorcycles, or new roads in an area to be classified as "special use."

In order to learn more about these kinds of innovative ideas, as well as past successes, this author is beginning to put together a "sustainable forests and streams" network. We need to have at our fingertips all the information about where and how sustainable forestry is already being practiced (the physical, biological, and economic details). Please get in touch.

Small woodlot owners seem to be most open to this kind of reorientation, so another useful next step would be to advocate legislation that part of the USFS & BLM budgets be set aside for low interest loans to small woodlot owners, to be used for reforestation, thinning, and sensitive harvesting of the productive private lands.

Clearly, there is a lot of work to do in the woods, and plenty of jobs for the local economy. Once we realize this, we can begin to help our counties get off federal timber-harvest welfare and receive 100% of the income from the woods instead of 25% or 50%. We may have to tighten our belts a bit to do this, but that's better than having someone else pull the wool over our eyes while they gradually pull the economic rug out from under us and leave us in the new Appalachia strip-mined stump land, wondering what to do with our last resources gone and our streams clogged with silt.

This paper began as an exposé of Forest Service lawbreaking and ends with a plea for local self-reliance. There's still a little time left for us to stop the destruction before it gets really bad, and save the land around where we live. Healthy forests, fertile valleys and clear-running streams can support us into a changing and unpredictable future much better than can the promises of bureaucrats.

Sources & References:

In addition to those already mentioned, there are several key sources for both up-to-date information about the National Forests and a broad overview. *Forest Planning*, CHEC, P.O. Box 3479, Eugene, OR 97403; \$15/year; 11 issues: a prime source of current news, thoughtful analysis, other publications and reports. *Forest Planning Network*, CHEC: short abstracts of USFS publications, memos, and other relevant material. *Regional Coverage*: *Eco-News*, Northcoast Environmental Center, 879 Ninth St., Arcata, CA

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Little Granite Creek, 1981

95521, \$15/year, 12 issues.
High Country News, Box V, Paonia, CO 81428, \$18 yr, biweekly.
Katuah, Box 873, Cullowhee, NC 28723, \$10/year, quarterly.
Siskiyou Country, 10394 Takilma Road, Cave Junction, OR 97523 \$8/year, bimonthly.
Wild Oregon, Oregon Natural Resources Council, 1161 Lincoln Street, Eugene, OR 97401, \$25/year, quarterly.

Others? ... If you know of other good local sources of information relevant to the USFS, please let me know.

Also:
A Conservationist's Guide to National Forest Planning, excerpts and commentary on NFMA, good information, available free from the National Audubon Society, Western Regional Office, 555 Audubon Place, Sacramento, CA 95825.

Tree Talk: The People and Politics of Timber, by Ray Raphael, 1981, 287 pp. (\$12 from: Island Press, Star Route 1, Box 38, Covelo, CA 95428) ... a well-written history and summary of current forestry practices and alternatives.

Appendix: 1. Direct Timber Subsidies.

\$58 million in timber sale revenues was not paid by logging companies in Oregon, Washington, and California during fiscal years 1982 and 1983, because the timber sale prices asked for by the USFS fell that far short of the current market values for timber. (Data cited from a report to Congress, *Forest Planning*, 5/84, p. 22). Direct subsidies of this nature are specifically prohibited by the Forest Service Manual, which states that timber must be sold at a "fair market price."

Direct subsidies are encouraged by a backward bidding system, where appraised timber sale prices are determined by subtracting the corporation's costs (to mill and log the lumber) from current market values of milled lumber — instead of adding up the sale's cost to the USFS in roads, reforestation, etc.

Are these kind of blatant giveaways the more "traditional" kind of subsidy, of which the current "deficit timber sales" are but an extension?

The deficit timber sales which were a major focus in the preceding pages of this report result from a less direct form of subsidy. In these cases, the USFS fails to raise the sale price above the current fair market value by adding in the real costs of roadbuilding and reforestation. The recent increase in these real costs has resulted in an increase in the number of "deficit" timber sales.

2. Louisiana-Pacific Corporation and John Crowell

This corporation has been the No. 1 purchaser of federal timber. Current No. 1 may be Boise-Cascade, another former employer of John Crowell. Last year L-P announced third-quarter earnings of \$4.4 million, following third-quarter sales up 20% over the previous year.

The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld (by refusing to review) a lower court decision which required L-P and a Japanese-owned firm to pay triple damages of \$1.5 million in an anti-trust case for conspiring to put a small logging operation out of business.

The incident involved operations in Alaska's Tongass National Forest, and took place while Crowell was L-P's Chief Counsel. At his Senate confirmation hearings, Crowell denied knowledge of any illegal actions.

L-P and the Japanese firm still face charges that they illegally deprived the government of timber revenues. Oregon Congressman Jim Weaver has released documents showing that collusion between the two corporations may have cost taxpayers as much as \$81 million in lost income from the sale of public timber. The Justice Department, after much prodding, is now investigating (*EcoNews*, 11/83, p. 2).

In a recent development, Senator Leahy of Vermont has just asked the White House to investigate Crowell's role in another L-P scandal. In 1978, the company was found guilty of fraud, stock market manipulation and misrepresentation in its takeover of the Fibreboard Corporation. L-P's President has testified under oath that Crowell prepared one of the key letters in the Fibreboard case. (*Environmental Action*, 6/84, 4).

3. Congress and the Forest Service.

When questioned about their timber-biased priorities, USFS officials will often say that they are merely following "the Congressional Mandate." Unfortunately, what they are referring to is not the laws established over the years to safeguard our forests, but rather the whims of a budgetary process under the influence of corporate lobbyists (especially in the last four years).

Correcting for inflation, the figures below represent the budgetary changes which have taken place since Reagan took office — expressed in the percent increase or decrease from fiscal year 1981 to the budget proposed for FY 1985.

Minerals	+ 57 %
Roadbuilding	+ 16 %
Timber	+ 13 %
Reforestation	+ 5 %

Recreation	- 40 %
Research	- 23.5 %
Soil & Water Protection	- 22 %
Fish & Wildlife Habitat	- 11 %

To quote the Wilderness Society: "Disproportionate Funding Skews Multiple Use Management."

In fiscal year 1984, Congress even appropriated more funds for timber sales than the USFS requested (*Forest Planning Network*, 3/84).

Forest Service officials are thus caught between clear Congressional laws and timber industry-biased Congressional budget allocations. This may make it difficult for them to always follow the full intent of the laws for multiple use and sustained yield — but it does not excuse their violation.

If the Forest Service can juggle their figures to favor more timber harvests, then Congress can too. In order to justify his objection to the establishment of a full Middle Santiam Wilderness on the basis of lost jobs, Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield claimed a sustainable harvest of 1,363 board feet per acre/year — a world-record level of productivity that is more than four times higher than the Willamette NF's own estimate.

4. Biggest Business Blooper of the '80's?

This is how a recent column in the *Wall Street Journal* (6/19/84, p. 33) referred to the events which resulted in the biggest unknown factor in forest planning in the Pacific Northwest — the huge four-year backlog of timber sold but still not cut.

In 1979 and 1980, a buying frenzy based on high growth/high inflation predictions spurred timber corporations, large and small, to indulge in a rash of highly speculative competitive bidding. Four- to seven-year timber sale contracts in the PNW totalling 13 billion board feet (20% more than the record yearly harvest for the nation) were sold at prices often four to five times higher than their USFS appraised value. Then came the 1981 recession, when prices dropped to a low from which they haven't yet recovered.

This means that the timber companies can't afford to harvest these sales, and want some kind of bailout legislation or court decision to get them off the hook. However, Southern timber companies are opposed to this aid to their competition. A compromise is currently being negotiated in Congress that would limit how much timber could be harvested in the PNW until 1991.

One conclusion from all this is that the politics and economics of timber is getting even more complex, and making any attempts at planning by the USFS more of a farce. Maybe those sales should never be harvested, or maybe the lands locked up by the contract defaults are causing more of a push into roadless areas.

5. Freedom of Information Act Requests.

Despite the tales of difficulties which follow, FOIA requests are a very valuable tool in breaking open the bureaucratic monopoly on "expert analysis" and plain facts. It may be necessary to go to court in order to finally receive the documents, but Randall O'Toole reports that no cases have been denied for USFS documents. When the request is finally granted, lawyer's fees of \$70/hour are paid in recompense under the "Equal Access to Justice" law. Perseverance furthers.

The National Wildlife Federation was refused a copy of the Willowa-Whitman draft forest plan, under the excuse that a new plan was being pre-

pared, and the old one might "confuse the public." But where did the information go, what do they have to hide?

Region 2 Regional Forester requests that the National Resource Defense Council pay \$23,500 to cover the costs of searching and copying documents requested under FOIA. Couldn't they just show them the files?

An FOIA request for urinalysis data from a report of a Forest Service employee exposed to herbicide was denied an Idaho citizens group on "privacy" grounds, although the person's name could obviously have been omitted from the Forest Service report.

6. Dreams of Export?

A Forest Service study projects the domestic demand for softwood timber in 2030 to be 15.7 billion board feet. This leaves 6.4 billion left over from the projected 22.1 billion harvest level. Will timber join wheat as the next crop to try to solve the U.S. balance of payments problem? Last year Crowell dropped his proposal to have Douglas-fir declared a "surplus" timber product, and thus available for export, when confronted with 80% opposition before public hearings were scheduled.

7. Wilderness Economics.

— A Forest Service study concludes that removing 2,000,000 acres of wilderness timber from the market would raise housing costs .0003% (*Eco-News*, 1/83).

— Only an average 40% of proposed wilderness contains marketable timber (*Wilderness*, Summer/83).

— Two thirds of the 1,000,000 acres in currently roadless areas in the Klamath NF are uneconomical to harvest (*Eco-News*, 11/83).

— Several studies indicate that the local economy in the Pacific Northwest has been more affected by importing lumber from Canada, exporting logs to Japan, automation in the mills, and the movement of corporations to the southern U.S., than it has by reduction in the timber base caused by Wilderness allotments (*Eco-News* 1/83, 12/83, NEC Report).

8. A Deep Ecology Court Ruling

"In America, resource development projects are generally innocent until proven guilty." (Ed Marston, *High Country News*)

This means that the environment must prove damage ... the benefit of development is an assumed good.

However, a recent decision by David Miller, an administrative law judge for the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, has just set a major precedent (perhaps unintentionally) by shifting the balance in favor of Nature, in favor of the Kootenai Falls in northwestern Montana.

With forestry language amended, the crucial part of his decision reads as follows: "The Kootenai Falls (forest ecosystems) should be preserved in their present state absent a sound reason to do otherwise; on balance, the projected need for energy (timber) in the Northwest when compared to the amount of energy (timber) the Kootenai Falls Project (clearcut) could produce and the possibilities of other energy (timber) resources being developed (or conservation of wood products and the substitution of other building materials) does not present a sound reason to permit physical changes at Kootenai Falls (in these forests)."

Basically, the judge is saying that there is not a good enough reason to mess with Nature. This is the deep ecology shift. Deep ecologists work to minimize the impact of people on the integrity of natural systems. Industrial developers will maximize it for short term profit.

Thanks to the judge who helps to see the difference between the two, and who takes a step toward removing the prejudice against Nature from our courts and our society.

Bobcat (W. Robert Brothers, BA Harvard '66, PhD Berkeley '72) has lived in the backcountry for the last 10 years as a tree planter and organic farmer where he has had considerable opportunity to study the US Forest Service.

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DIRECT ACTION

by Bill Devall
and George Sessions

(The following article is excerpted from *Deep Ecology: The Environmental Imperative*, by Bill Devall and George Sessions. *Deep Ecology* will be published in October by Peregrine Smith Books, Layton, Utah. It will be available in local bookstores and by mail order from *Earth First!*.)

We began this book by suggesting a variety of specific actions which people can take to further the cultivation of both their own ecological consciousness and public policies to protect biological diversity.

We return at the conclusion of this book to the theme of direct action. Deep ecology is not just a game of abstract theorizing. It is lived, danced, celebrated. It has resonance.

Cultivating ecological consciousness means, in part, cultivating the rhapsodic intellect. The rhapsodic intellect is engaged in the processes of integrating intellect, body and joyous emotion.

Based on the insights, ultimate norms and theories of deep ecology, the central practical question is how do we become more mature persons given the constraints of this culture?

We suggest there is an interplay between the outward direct action and inward direct action, between acting on one's self and acting in the world, with the result of further and deeper maturity in the deep ecological sense of identification with all life.

The label we use for this type of direct action in its outward form is ecological resisting.

Deeply committed persons in the ecology movement grasp the ecosystem concept even if they don't use that term but speak instead of "nature" or the "web of life." They sense the vulnerability of natural processes to massive human interventions and sense the fundamental necessity of maintaining biological diversity.

Ecological resisters do not accept that there are only narrow technical solutions to narrowly defined social problems (such as air pollution). These problems are seen only as symptoms of the larger issues.

There are three main dangers to technocratic solutions. First is the danger in believing there is a complete or acceptable "solution" using modern dominant conceptions of technology. The second danger is the presentation of an impression that something is being done when in fact the real problem continues. Tinkering distracts from the "real work." Finally there is the danger of assuming there will be new experts — such as professional ecologists — who will provide the solution but who may in fact be constrained to be public relations spokespersons for the agenda of profit or power of some corporation or agency.

Ecological resistance is action from central principles of doing what is necessary, of witnessing, nonviolently. It arises from a shift in consciousness. Ecological resisting is deeper, some would say more radical than just reformism. Some of the reformist actions to mitigate some of the worst forms of air and water pollution (due to auto ex-



haust, for example) are motivated by concern for human health and safety, not the intrinsic values of the biosphere. But the limits of reformism are by now well known.

Affirmation of the integrity of ecosystems frequently includes some campaign to "save" from development some river or canyon or wilderness area: Save Mono Lake, Save the Snail Darter and its habitat, Save the Siskiyou Mountains, Save the California Condor in habitat. Phrases used in political campaigns illustrate the differences in perspectives between the dominant social paradigm and ecological resistance. "Let the free-flowing river live," says the Friends of the River in California.

In a real sense, ecological resistance involves becoming friends with another species or a river or a mountain, for example. The general process of befriending the rivers and mountains of the earth needs further discussion beyond the scope of this chapter. In general, in befriending, the resister takes up the burden of responsibility, the burden of witnessing for the other as self. The hero of Romain Gary's novel *The Roots of Heaven* (1958) takes up responsibility for the elephant herds of Central Africa. He urges tribes, nations, and the United Nations to take up the burden of responsibility to protect these creatures in their habitat from poaching and destruction of habitat by humans. The process of friending can be limited to specific rivers, for example, or can become Friends of the River, with river as generic. This process may be based on Aristotle's criteria for friendship: the promotion of the other's good for the other's own sake. Or friendship, the process of friending, can be the extension of self. When Gandhi was asked if his good deeds in a village expressed his humanitarianism, he replied he worked "to serve no one else but myself ..." Altruism was unnecessary because his self embraced the whole village.

Persistent advocates for some river or other place will defend this place in many ways. Patterns of defending place are illustrated by Sigurd Olson's defense of the north woods, Pete Gunter's defense of the big thicket of Texas, David Brower's defense of the Grand Canyon, and Edward Abbey's defense of the American southwest. John Muir's prototypical defense of Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite National Park has been called a "spiritual watershed" in American history much like the spiritual watershed the nation faces in the 1980s.

Witnessing as a process of ecological resisting is found in pure form in some of the work of Greenpeace. With mixed motives but the right intentions, many people are beginning to witness and affirm a sane society of humans in balance with the Earth.

There are many different tactics of individuals and organizations in political campaigns which seek to "save the river" or "save the earth," but there is one overriding or basic norm of ecological resisting: non-violence.

Sailing in small boats, but supported by the good cheer and donations of large numbers of people in Canada and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, volunteers sailed to the South Pacific to protest atmospheric testing of nuclear devices by the French, to Alaska waters (from Vancouver, B.C.) to protest proposed nuclear testing by the United States Department of Defense, and to many waters to place themselves between whalers and endangered whales.

The "Greenpeace philosophy" summarizes major points of witnessing as a tactic of ecological resisting:

We are ecologists, actively working to protect our fragile world. We have fought nuclear testing in French Polynesia, and won. We have confronted the Russian whaling industry at sea, and driven

them from North American waters. We have helped to publicize the slaughter of dolphins by tuna fishermen. And we have helped to expose the brutality of baby seal hunting in Newfoundland. In the name of ecology.

Ecology teaches us that humankind is not the center of life on the planet. Ecology has taught us that the whole earth is part of our "body" and that we must learn to respect it as we respect ourselves. As we feel for ourselves, we must feel for all forms of life — the whales, the seals, the forests, the seas. The tremendous beauty of ecological thought is that it shows us a pathway back to an understanding and an appreciation of life itself — an understanding and appreciation that is imperative to that very way of life.

As with the whales and the seals, life must be saved by non-violent confrontations, by what the Quakers call "bearing witness." A person bearing witness must accept

responsibility for being aware of an injustice. That person may then choose to do something or stand by, but he may not turn away in ignorance. The Greenpeace ethic is not only to personally bear witness to atrocities against life; it is to take direct action to prevent them. While action must be direct, it must also be non-violent. We must obstruct a wrong without offering personal violence to its perpetrators. We must know that our greatest strength is life itself, and the commitment to direct our lives to protect others.

Ecological resisting could be defined as keeping the peace of the neighborhood. Rarely are vandals or violent neighbors welcome in the neighborhood. When the neighbors include rivers and mountains, seashores and prairie, then integrity of ecosystem is maintained.

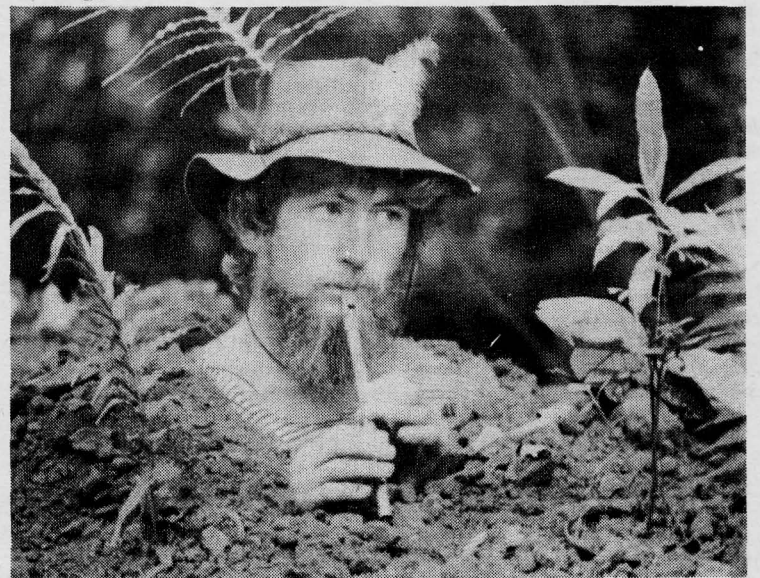
Sometimes even witnessing with one's life for a place may arouse undesired actions in opponents. Mark Dubois chained himself in a section of the Stanislaus River of California scheduled to be flooded behind the New Melones dam. He said he would stay until drowned or until the Corps of Engineers agreed to halt the filling of the reservoir. When the Corps agreed to halt filling until a court hearing could be held, he came out of the canyon, but some persons in the Central Valley of California on irrigated farms were outraged by Dubois's action. Dubois tried to talk to the farmers and explain his motives on a speaking tour of the farm granges.

In his explication of Gandhi's theory of non-violence, Arne Naess lists several norms for non-violent political campaigns. These include:

1. Announce your case and the goal of your campaign explicitly and clearly, distinguishing essentials from non-essentials.
2. Seek personal contact with your opponent and be available to him. Bring conflicting groups into personal contact.
3. Turn your opponent into a believer in and supporter of your case, but do not coerce or exploit him.
4. You provoke your opponent if you deliberately or carelessly destroy his property.

Empirical studies of specific poli-

Photos from Australian direct actions



tical campaigns of ecological resisting could determine which norms are followed by resisters. While non-violent campaigns have been studied by some social scientists, few have applied these theories to the ecology movements. One study of the anti-nuclear movements did include some discussion of the dilemmas of non-violent witnessing and confrontations at nuclear power plants. Steven Barkan suggests that messages, such as the random violence that frequently attends mass demonstrations are frequently given top billing by media, rather than the intended message of questioning technology or the decision to build the nuclear power plant.

Case studies of specific campaigns, such as Greenpeace's campaigns to save the whales, would generate more explication of the premises of non-violent action. For example, are whalers led to questioning of the companies for which they work? Do the resisters clearly articulate who the primary decision-makers are and who is accountable for continued whaling? Do ecological resisters clarify their understanding of their resistance through group processes and through meditation? Poet Allen Ginsberg, arrested with his lover while meditating on a railroad track leading to the plutonium facility at Rocky Flat, Colorado, said to reporters:

My contention is, if done with the proper human dignity and lightness, meditation can be appropriate in a protest situation. But are you really being mindful of your breath while sitting there, or are you sitting there thinking of what you look like on the television camera? Buddhist practice doesn't lead to inactivity and passivity. It leads to more open minded activity, where you're fighting your illusions less. To the extent that protest against evil is anger at your father, or anger at the universe itself, or resentment of being born, then it would be dissolved by meditation. (San Francisco Chronicle, September 18, 1979).

Violence versus nonviolence is not a question of tactics. Leading theorists of ecological resisting denounce violence versus nonviolence as tactics. Roshi Robert Aitken wrote:

Nonviolence is not just a tactic for people who make it a practice.... The end is the means, in other words. Look at political history or at the history of any movements. When we work for certain goals, those goals tend to betray us. We defeated L.B. Johnson only to get Richard Nixon. We got rid of the B-1 Bomber (temporarily) and the Cruise Missile appeared. We have to make our action the goal. Our action must itself be the truth. Our action must be its own defense, its own proclamation, its own purpose. (Letter to the author, June 1982.)

Both on practical and ethical grounds, violence is rejected as a mode of ecological resistance. Terrorist attacks on nuclear plants or missile sites could cause "red" alerts and violent responses from government agencies.

Placing one's own life at risk, such as sitting in front of bulldozers or police cars at a demonstration to protest destruction of the rainforest, may be illegal, but it is not violent. And spontaneous acts such as the decommissioning of a power generator or bulldozer may dramatize the continuing destruction of a special ecosystem.

In general, ecological resistance means defending natural diversity through education, public speaking, use of lawsuits, trying to convert public opinion to the cause, and informing politicians and decision-makers.

Resistance is another name for affirmation — joyful affirmation of the integrity of nature, natural diversity, and minimum human impacts on place.

Frequently there are alliances between ecological resisters and native peoples working for traditional "sacred places." An excellent example is the native Hawaiian Movement and the attempt to reclaim Kaho'olawe island from the U.S. Navy, which has used it for bombing practice. Kaho'olawe was important, historically, for sweet potato cultivation and as a sacred site where the gods were brought from Tahiti.

In his paper on the native Hawaiian movement, Robert Aitken Roshi describes the meeting of a U.S. Navy officer and representatives of the Hawaiian group visiting Kaho'olawe. "Don't ask me what I think about Kaho'olawe," the officer said, "I am here as a representative of the Navy, carrying out American policy."

Aitken concludes, *Confronted with people with profound religious convictions, the bureaucrat can only give away. On Kaho'olawe the Navy is fighting a losing battle because it lacks the armament of truth.*

Along with the process of finding the truth and of becoming Hawaiian again goes a deep rejection of all the values, if they can be called values, which brought the people to their present state of personal and social disorganization."

Thus the process of ecological resistance is both personal and collective. Changing the foundations of our minds and seeking help from others of like mind as well as understanding from natural processes is the challenge of living.

One of the outcomes of this process is modesty. This modesty is a virtue nearly lost in the dominant technocratic-industrial society. It is personal modesty which finds no reward in egotistical domination over other people or some aspect of wild nature. It is collective modesty of the species or the nation.

As Arne Naess concludes, "As I see it, modesty is of little value if it is not a natural consequence of much deeper feelings, and even more important in our special context, a consequence of a way of understanding ourselves as part of nature in the wide sense of the term. This way is such that the smaller we come to feel ourselves compared to the mountain, the nearer we come to participating in its greatness. I do not know why this is so."

In 1892, John Muir graciously accepted leadership of the Sierra Club and remained president of that organization until his death. The political struggles over the proposed dam at Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite National Park compelled him to enter even more deeply into the "political quag," as he called it. The strains of being a "public man" sapped his strength. "This playing at politics," he once wrote, "saps the very foundation of righteousness." Yet he threw himself into the fray, and finally President Theodore Roosevelt visited him in Yosemite, much as the Chinese emperors visited the hermit sages on sacred mountains.

Muir's theory of leadership seems

best described by the following quote from the *Tao Te Ching*: "Rivers and seas dominate the landscape because, by being good at seeking the lowest places, they fill and occupy and spread over everything. Likewise the intelligent man is superior to others because he admits that he is inferior, and he is a leader of others because he is willing to be a follower. Thus, although he is actually superior to others, they do not feel that they are being forced to obey. So all are happy to give him their support. Since he competes with no one, no one competes with him."

Muir cultivated friendships with diverse types of people, men and women, who encouraged him and whom he encouraged in his political campaigns. Some of these friends were politically powerful, such as President Roosevelt and the railroad baron Edward Henry Harriman. "We need all the friends we can get," the hero of Romain Gary's novel, *The Roots of Heaven*, says as he begins his campaign to save the elephant herds of central Africa. Perhaps Muir felt the same way. He needed all the friends he could get to wrestle the mountains away from the miners, loggers, and other resource developers. Certainly his friend Harriman was able to intervene both with the California state legislature and with the federal Congress at crucial times during various political debates over the future of the national parks and Muir remained his friend until Harriman's death in 1909.

and said, after the Hetch Hetchy vote in Congress, "They will see what I meant in time. There must be places for human beings to satisfy their souls. Food and drink is not enough. There is the spiritual. In some it is only a germ, of course, but the germ will grow!"

He had faith that others could appreciate Beauty as he appreciated Beauty/God. Bringing flowers back to San Francisco after a hike in Marin County, he encountered a group of children and saw the delight in their faces when he gave them the flowers. "... Their dirty faces fairly glowed with enthusiasm while they gazed at them and fondled them reverently as if looking into the faces of angels from heaven. It was a hopeful sign and made me say: 'No matter into what depths of degradation humanity may sink, I will never despair while the lowest love the pure and beautiful and know it when they see it.'"

Muir realized that the first priority was not just reformist movements in a liberal, democratic society, but fundamental changes in our metaphysics. The environmental crisis is much more severe, more enduring, more of a dilemma and a paradox than most have realized. It is appropriate, that Muir's most intensive ecological resistance should concern a place called Hetch Hetchy.

The issue of damming the Hetch Hetchy valley involved many sub-issues: public versus private water development in California, the integrity of the new national park

cept of unlimited expansion, and insisted on the point that man was going to have to think of depriving himself rather than abusing his environment. But more than that, it marked the moment when the implicit religious attitudes of the people gained explicit status, and though by a kind of reflex America violated its conscience, dammed the Hetch Hetchy, opted for the norms of the past rather than those of the future, a blow that sent Muir to his grave, nevertheless the corner was in fact turned."

Although it could be concluded that Muir lost Hetch Hetchy to what some people thought was the vital need to provide water to the city of San Francisco with its rapidly increasing human population, the larger context is more sanguine. Muir was resisting, or in more positive language, he was affirming the integrity of Hetch Hetchy. He had touched the earth. He was experiencing his own self beyond the narrow social self and his style of resistance, his persistence and even his personal expressions of frustration and inadequacy in the face of the overriding concerns of political leaders and developers, inspires us to seek a way for our own ecological consciousness to develop.

From a deep, long-range ecology perspective, whatever is to be done, we are the people to do it; the only people to do it.

Direct action means giving active voice to deep ecological intuitions,



Muir was never enthusiastic about abstract political "causes" or campaigns. He was specific and personal. In his early adulthood, Muir was concerned with the suffering of victims of the Civil War. But he was also a pacifist and decided to go to medical school to help those who were suffering. The delay in the mails due to the war prevented his letter of acceptance to medical school from reaching him, and he left his home to travel in Canada. Muir was never a misanthrope. His friendships with Carr, with Harriman, and with others he met on his travels attests to that. He was gracious even in his most bitter defeat over Hetch Hetchy. He understood why some opposed him

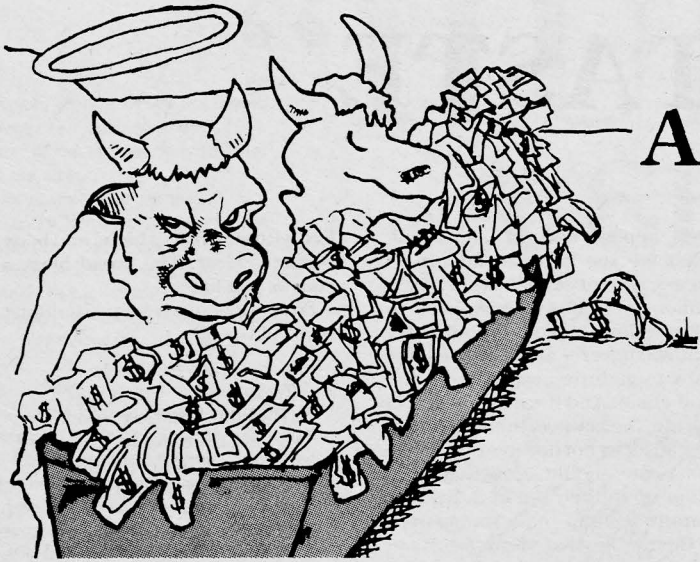
system, national interest versus regional interests, "the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run," and most important, for Muir, "right livelihood," the way we should live, relating to places beyond civilization. If Hetch Hetchy was dammed, Muir realized, all the rivers in California were open to scientific management, to economic development to serve the perceived needs of some humans rather than letting the river be.

In William Everson's perceptive theory, Hetch Hetchy became "... one of the main turning points in the spiritual life of the nation, perhaps the chief turning point, as far as the future was concerned. It marked the real closing of the con-

encouraging more intuitive insights, as well as acquiring more knowledge of our bioregion, homeland, nature and ourselves.

Much of the process of direct action means attuning our rhapsodic intellect and physical bodies more fully to what Martin Heidegger called "the round dance of appropriation," that quality of living fully in the space between earth, sky, gods and our own mortal flesh, realizing the danger, in our technocratic-industrial society, that acting in such a way is a kind of risking of our "usual" or entirely socially defined self. But we provide an opening to being, to receive

continued on pg 24



BEYOND SACRED COWS AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH ... OR HEADING TO THE LAST ROUNDUP ... (WITH ANY LUCK AT ALL)

by Don Schwarzenegger

In *Sacred Cows at the Public Trough*, Denzel and Nancy Ferguson have produced the seminal work on the grazing situation in the West. For any EF!er not to read it is a dereliction. In spite of a reference or two about relegating cowboys to roadside reptile garenas, where they can amuse but not do harm, *Sacred Cows* is the most thorough and professional catalog of the impacts of grazing on natural systems of the West ever put together. Therein lie its only flaws from the perspective of an eco-radical. If anything, it is too professional and detached in dealing with a problem, which in the West, is only eclipsed by the threat of a nuclear winter. Or as Philip Fradkin, writing in the *Backpages of Audubon Mag.* put it, "the impact of countless hooves and mouths over the years has done more to alter the type of vegetation and landforms of the West than all of the water projects, strip-mines, powerplants, freeways, and subdivision developments combined." We are already experiencing a "bovine summer," as it were.

Sacred Cows documents that there is more grazing pressure now on public ranges (and probably private) than at any time since "the great die off" (of cows during the last part of the 19th century due to overgrazing). It amazes (and hints at possibilities) with the description of an experiment that fenced a normally dry arroyo from cows and turned it into a live stream! The book points out that populations of fish and birdlife are as much as 500% greater or more on fenced riparian areas than on grazed ones. The U.S. Grade A taxpayer is forking over about \$3,500 in direct subsidies per public land ranch job to accomplish this destruction. This does not include the millions in predator control to protect a few thousand dollars worth of livestock, pest/rodent control, low-ball loans, and relief for drought — which in many cases is exacerbated by overgrazing. Nor does this figure include indirect subsidies in the form of environmental destruction ... destruction of soil, watersheds, flood damage, extirpation of species, climate change, desertification, etc., etc., etc. It occurred to me that if the Ruskies tried to pursue such a scorched earth policy against us, we would feel justified in "nuking" them.

The authors do an admirable job of exploring the biological dynamics of overgrazing and the political/cultural web that condones it. My only criticism of it is that they leave you nowhere to turn to spit out the bile that all this information has generated. *Sacred Cows* offers no real approaches or strategies but in all fairness this book is a first step ... an exposé ... a consciousness raising device.

The first impulse after reading *Sacred Cows* is to go out and Mau Mau a few bovinds, or engage in some kind of biological terrorism like innoculating a few thousand head with hoof and mouth disease as was recently threatened by extortionists in Australia. But this has been tried before. Americans killed at least 750,000 head of cattle, sheep, etc., in Mexico earlier in this century to wipe out hoof and mouth. The mere elimination of livestock was not enough. Cultural changes didn't accompany it. The cows are back in greater numbers in Mexico and the disease has virtually been eliminated ... tisk. A breakthrough against the Tsetse Fly (my totem animal) may even be at hand and livestock may decimate the remaining wildlife of Africa. No, the problem doesn't seem amenable to monkeywrenching or direct action. Laying down in front of a herd of cows is just a good way to "git cow shit on ya."

However, there is hope. I believe that it was in the 1940's that Pulitzer Prize winning historian and journalist, Bernard DeVoto, wrote, "The historian finds no convincing evidence that the cattle business was ever run intelligently enough to survive unassisted." Contemporary analysis reveals that things haven't changed a hell of a lot since. Witness the level of assistance the industry is receiving, and it's still singing a pitiful western tune about how it "jest cain't make it."

The outrageous level of assistance that the range livestock industry receives should make it as vulnerable to environmentalist attack as giant ground sloths were to Paleo-indian's spears ... with the same consequences ... extinction. Any strategy should focus on removing props and assistance that buttress these last "rugged individualists" (by their own acclamation). For instance, since many federal and state grazing leases are so low (in many cases 1/3 to 1/10 of what some ranchers sublease them to other ranchers), the ranches that these leases are attached to have a vastly inflated value, which in turn inflates the rancher's net worth and borrowing power. The market reflects that the ranchers are getting the forage dirt cheap by bidding up the price of the base (private) property that the lease goes with. If agencies ever had the *huevos* to insist on fair market value for forage, then that would kick out the props from a lot of operators, especially the marginal ones who are usually the worst abusers of the land.

A significant percentage of ranches are held by wealthy investors and speculators who've always wanted to be cowboys and also just happen to like the write-offs that agriculture provides. A standard greeting in cof-

fee shops "Beneath the Mogollon Rim" and elsewhere is: "Have a good tax year?" I ain't no tax attorney — I've never even made enough money to meet one — but anyone who has any expertise in the area should monitor proposed changes in the tax code which may come with all this talk of "closing loopholes" and "restructuring" the tax laws. When it looks like something is likely to break, all EF!ers should be alerted for a letter writing campaign — as distasteful as that might be. I'm sure if every EF!er wrote a letter on some obscure portion of the tax code, that would bowl over a few legislators. It goes without saying that agencies must be prevented from shelling out lavish sums for range improvements; which, as the Fergusons point out, usually just spread the damage as well as acting as another prop. How one accomplishes this, I'm not altogether sure. Possibly by attacking them in EIS's and forest plans.

A lot of the carrying capacity that is stated on the lease or on the rator's advertisement just ain't there. It has been eaten up in many cases. Dropped-out range conservationists have told me that they have seen drastic reductions in forage in the last 10 years and expect the trend to continue. Ranch values are usually measured in animal units of carrying capacity, and, if they ain't there, the ranch is just existing on phantom equity and borrowing power. Probably the main impetus for the "Sagebrush Rebellion" was BLM's timid effort to reduce carrying capacity to what the land could actually support. Again, a rancher would have liked to continue to pay for the additional units that his lease said the land could support whether or not he was running them, because what he is paying per unit of forage to the agency was

a hell of a lot less than what a bank's appraiser said it was worth in terms of sale price and/or collateral for a loan.

An absolutely crucial period for making honest men and women out of cowboys and cowgirls (i.e., that they be forced to practice this economic rugged individualism and self-reliance they are always talking about, at least for the other guy) is fast approaching. The BLM and USFS are currently studying their fee formulas, with a draft report due by 11/84 and a final report to Congress early in 1985. Influencing Congress' action on this report should head the environmental agenda for this period. Straight groups should be lobbied to take up the cause. I hate to admit it, but perhaps they are best suited for this sort of thing. It seems like relying on the impersonal pressures of the pseudomarket is the most effective way to deal with the problem, in the short term at least ... partly because they are impersonal. Any industry that has committed genocide against indigenous people (or had it done for them), extirpated numerous species and turned much of the West into desert is not going to be very troubled about roughing up a few greenies, as they have threatened to do more than a few times (see p. 296, Pub. No. 95-79 of the Congressional Record, for Christakes).

This economic akido is an important first step in restoring the range to a semblance of health, but it is only a stop-gap. The real battleground is a cultural one. The fact that the ranching industry has been able to pull off the above-mentioned coups is due to the fact that the cowboy has been viewed as a virtual demi-god by the American public ... especially

those with a little distance from the real thing. As Wallace Stegner has said, "the myths have consistently obscured — been used to obscure" the real West. The Fergusons state it a little more bluntly:

"Seldom in history have so many been so thoroughly brain washed by so few. The truth of the matter is: No industry or human activity on earth has destroyed or altered more of nature than the livestock industry. The slow-talking cowboy and his docile cows are the center of a monstrous myth, a part of Americana that rests on concocted imagery and fabrication — an enormous falsehood based on profound ignorance."

Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*, the insipid book I was forced to read in high school, is generally identified as the first, or at least the most successful, perpetrator of the myth. In Wister's view (from the East Coast), the cowboy was a knight-errant, a Lancelot, our Robin Hood ... "No soldier of fortune adventured with bolder carelessness; no fiercer blood ever stained a border." The range livestock industry has been hiding behind all this purple prose (consciously or unconsciously) for the last 80 or so years. Wister was their ultimate PR man. He's even got the president playing cowboy.

We need new myths as a nation ... myths that will elevate those aspects of American culture that are conducive to survival and equality among species. I'm not going to pretend to forge them. I'm no poet, as should be obvious by now. Those with the genius must be touched. The West must produce its own great writers, not fawning wimps imagining what "real men" are like.



Denzel and Nancy Ferguson, authors of "Sacred Cows at the Public Trough"

SACRED COWS AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH

DENZEL AND NANCY FERGUSON



Also, we must begin goring the sacred cow, treating the myth of the cowboy with the contempt it deserves. Shake the bastards' confidence that they are universally envied and adored.

News is coming along continually to the effect that beef isn't very good for you. Except for a few blips around the Pleistocene (from which we may not be descended anyway) most of the

animal protein for our species has probably been in the form of lizards, insects, rodents, fish, birds, etc. with the occasional windfall of red meat. There is some interesting anthropological theorizing going on that we actually evolved as scavengers and not hunters. Our current epidemic of degenerative diseases in part reflects that we are not evolutionarily adapted to a diet heavy with red meat — Dave Foreman being a case in point. The nutritionists may be the ultimate saviors of the range. But help them along. At your next cook-out amaze your hosts and throw that T-bone to the dog. Better yet, eat the dog. You don't want to be invited back by such middle class geeks anyway.

This is not to say that we should abandon all red meat production. There are vast tracts of the West that co-evolved with large herbivores over the last 20 million years ... wide ranging herds that would move and let the range recover and not ambush every green shoot as it emerges. The plains grasses actually need the trampling and manuring of big animals like bison, elk and probably mastodon, camel, ground sloth and the large carnivores that pushed them into herding behaviors. Diaries of the buffalo hunters reveal that they would track the herds by following the swaths of

green grass that the buffalo would create!

As the Fergusons point out, a Dr. Fredrick Wagner of Utah State University estimates that the plains supported more animal units in the form of bison, antelope, elk, etc., in pre-Columbian times than they do now in the form of white-faced range slugs. When you realize that wild herbivores have about 20-30% more protein per pound than domestic beef (at least that is the figure for moose) then this amounts to a considerable increase in production. What the ranching industry has done is to replace a very valuable resource (buffalo, elk, antelope, etc.) with a resource that is less valuable but stupid and docile enough to be compatible with its ideas of land tenure.

Instead of being apologists for the range livestock industry, the western land grant universities should be hard at work devising methods of tearing down fences on the range, reintroducing native grazers and their predators, and working on cooperative harvest methods at levels that would be sustainable. In wilderness preserves, people should be encouraged to hunt the, by then, much more abundant game animals, but with primitive weapons. If people want red meat, the healthy and active

should be encouraged to hunt it, if only to restore ritual and respect for the process of acquiring sustenance. Our culture should institute a successful hunt as a right of passage, with accolades surpassing those given to an All-State tackle. This could have an enormous humbling, and therefore positive, impact on the collective psyche of our nation.

Admittedly, the above is a rather high-blown and distant goal. More immediately, we must take some first steps toward restoring sanity on the range by excising the economic bloat of assistance from the range livestock industry, by some of the methods mentioned previously, and thereby getting rid of the worst abusers in the ranching community — those that would rather play cowboy than manage. Although it should be vigorously agitated for, an outright ban on livestock from public lands probably won't fly right now. The level of outrage on the part of the American people is not high enough. This is due to a massive ignorance of the problem. This situation has not been helped much by various elements of the environmental community who have bent over backwards in placating the cowboys out of some half-assed romantic notion that cowboys represent a free lifestyle that is the cultural equiva-

lent of wilderness. These "environmentalists" are fawning wimps of the worst order, who make Owen Wister look positively heraldic in comparison. Although it is frustrating in that it doesn't lay out any approaches, and that its points are sometimes inadequately documented, *Sacred Cows* is the first book with the guts to run counter to one of the predominant myths of our society, to begin to expose the egregiousness of the range livestock industry.

I'm sure that the Fergusons wrote the book in spite of the personal and financial risk they know will come in response. The least you can do is read it and disseminate the information widely. While you are at it, the next time you bite into a big juicy steak, remember that you are: "tasting the high country," and the desert, and the mesas, and woodlands and the riparian areas just as if you were eating with a ten-cubic-foot drag line.

Big Don Schwarzenegger is a longtime critic of grazing in the Southwest. He has worked as a cowboy and lumberjack in Colorado, an asphalt spreader in Indianapolis, an adobe mason in New Mexico, and a big game hunting guide in Alaska. Sometimes he washes his hands and writes an article for Earth First! and other publications.

BOOK REVIEWS

ANIMAL TOWN GAMES

by Wildcat Annie

Last year I discovered a great source for cooperative and non-competitive games for both adults and children. Animal Town is a family-owned mail order company started in 1976. The games they invent are about conservation, self-sufficiency, Mother Nature and social well-being and are designed to be highly informative, thought provoking — as well as fun to play. Two of their more popular conservation games are Save the Whales and Dam Builders. In Save the Whales, players must work together to save eight whale species from extinction. Oil spills, radioactive wastes, catcher ships and floating factories all threaten the whales and even with complete cooperation the players may lose a species. In the Dam Builders, players are beavers working together to build a lodge, gather food and to

protect themselves from predators and the Army Corp of Engineers who is out to destroy the beavers' habitat. Other games focus on organic farming, mountaineering, travel, music, American women, etc. There are numerous non-competitive games and books for children of all ages. Also featured in the catalog are cassettes of old time radio, lullabies, songs and stories, and sounds of nature. Over a hundred different rubber stamps are offered with something for everybody. There are stamps for teachers, stamps on health, love, animals, peace, stamps for special occasions, for borders and for business and correspondence. To get a free catalog write Animal Town Company, PO Box 2002, Santa Barbara, CA 93120. They would probably appreciate a 37¢ stamp to help with postage.

THE CHRONICLES OF THOMAS COVENANT, THE UNBELIEVER BY STEPHEN DONALDSON

Reviewed by Brian Carter

It may seem frivolous, with the nightmare of a planet being wasted becoming a reality around us, to indulge in reading a fictional account of the same process. Even more so when the story stretches over six volumes. But one of the first things to be lost in the process of "civilization" according to materialist terms is the power of myth to both educate and inspire. The old myths also provide a good perspective of the human race's place in this world, and the books by Stephen Donaldson are an updating of some of those.

There is no space here to go into detail about the complex but vivid mixture of characters and life forms, themes, metaphors and ideas con-

tained in Donaldson's books. I don't need to say much as far as entertainment — most of these volumes were on the best-seller list as they appeared. But I would like to mention a few reasons EF'ers might want to carry a volume or two along on expeditions to fill in those rainy days or to kill an hour or two while waiting for the evening's activities to begin.

Thomas Covenant is a typical American in his awareness of the natural world. It's something out there that's good for creating privacy, but he's got other problems — major ones, personally speaking. But his consciousness is destined to undergo some radical transformations when, through a benign sorcery, he finds himself in a completely different space-time frame. Except for a few uncomfortable details, it all still seems like the average Alice-in-Wonderland transformation. But Covenant soon discovers the people he meets and The Land, where he now struggles to survive and understand, have problems that make his difficulties pale.

What's more, he seems to be their best hope of pulling off some sort of victory in preventing what is left of the ecosystem they occupy from becoming wasteland. The villain here is Lord Foul, the Despiser, but it's almost too easy to substitute one's own favorite corporation.

It may be that is the one weakness — the story too closely parallels this age. Or it may be its major strength. Covenant goes on to meet different races, people whose intimate knowledge of the Land's secrets is fast being lost: those who can intone a certain type of rock to provide heat; others who know the power inherent in wood. The Land itself provides its greatest defense by the diversity and beauty which sustain life, material and spiritual. Covenant's senses are awakened to a health that is tangible but delicate, and he soon realizes the battle ahead. In scenes that many EF'ers will appreciate for graphic intensity, the Lords of Revelstone, sworn to defense of The Land, lead and support Covenant as he slowly overcomes his aversion to violence in aiding that defense.

Still, it's obvious that violence is not the ultimate answer, and perhaps that is where the real lessons are. There must also be room for those who can understand the subtle interrelationships of living creation, whose power lies in that they know when and where action is needed. And there is clearly demonstrated the spirit that pushes on after the worst losses, that turns an enemy to an ally or a wound into a weapon.

That may be what we'll need most. For myself, I'll never pass a bog of spring peepers again without considering the Waynhim and their way of life. I won't meet a fellow eco-freak without remembering the Woodhelen folk or the Giants of Coerci. And I won't soon forget the Forestal and his joy in torturing Ravers. But mostly I won't forget the need to take care lest I become what I hate.

One word of caution, and one of encouragement: read the six books in proper order or you'll be confused and miss out on important connections; and keep going — each book is better than the one before.

Betrayers of the Truth

By William Broad and Nicholas Wade, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1982. Reviewed by Holly Jensen.

Betrayers of the Truth is an intriguing book about the true nature of science and the mechanisms of change. It is also essential reading for anyone concerned with changing the current exploitive practices which now threaten our own earth's survival. Unlike the noble, self-verifying field described to us by sociologists, historians, and philosophers (all aliens to the field and thus unaware of the actual factors which guide the direction of research) the authors, by studying the pathology of science (i.e., the many researchers found guilty of fraud and deceit) have ascertained a clearer picture of the field than many individuals working within it.

For romantics and those unfamiliar with the publish or perish mandate for success, the numerous cases in which researchers have intentionally subverted the very tenets of science in the interests of

furthering personal goals, will seem astonishing, perhaps unbelievable. However, aware of the revolutionary nature of the ideas presented, the authors have carefully and cautiously presented their well-documented treatise.

Rather than accepting the researchers' premise that those scientists convicted of fraud were merely isolated cases of morally bankrupt individuals in a crowd of selfless scientists looking only for the truth, authors Broad and Wade propose that it is in fact the institution of science which tempts researchers to cheat and thus abandon the truths they pretend to devote their lives to. Despite the lofty ideals of their profession, much of science is guided by the same self-centered drives seen in other professions — economics, career advancement, ego and power.

The importance of this book lies not only in its demonstration that science is not the admirable profession we once believed, but also in its recognition of our casual and unquestioning acceptance of the

institutions which direct our lives. In so doing, it provides a keyhold through which other aspects of our indoctrinated reality may also be viewed more critically. We have been taught that science builds upon the ideas of the past, ever striving for the most sophisticated, validated and reasonable interpretation of the world we inhabit. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Paradigms or world views change by revolution, the new supplanting the old. Proponents of the Copernican Revolution which transferred solar system centrality from the earth to the sun, were condemned for heresy by people so isolated and insecure that they could not admit they were wrong, though professionally they were dedicated only to the search for truth. The task of exposing the currently accepted homocentric world view for the self-indulgent, exploitive fraud which it really is, and extending our sphere of moral concern to encompass all life is becoming increasingly recognized as an essential step we must take if

we are to avert the ever increasing threat of self-imposed planetary destruction.

When science demonstrated the fallacy of the inaccurate pre-Copernican vision that we projected, we adjusted our thinking. Ecology now teaches us that life has always been a seamless web of interconnected, interrelated parts. The homocentric assumptions currently responsible for the global tyrannization of non-human life and the destruction of the biota upon which all life (including our own) depends are without moral or scientific validity. This is the ultimate denial of reality.

The continued allegiance to economic and political constructs in the face of ever increasing biological evidence to the contrary is just another example of the unquestioning manner with which we accept the inculcated premises of our society's institutions.

Betrayers' real value lies in its ability to make us think critically and question authority.

Holly Jensen is an animal rights activist in Gainesville, Florida.

DIRECT ACTION (cont)

answers to questions we have not yet begun to ask.

From a deep ecology perspective there is a fascination, a deep engagement with living and yet a simplicity and joy in this serious undertaking. John Muir, near the end of his very active life, once said, "I only went out for a walk and finally concluded to stay until sundown, for going out, I discovered, was actually going in."

Inward and outward direction, two aspects of the same process.

We are not alone. We are part and parcel of the larger community, the land community. Each life in its own sense is heroic and connected. In the words of the Bodhisattva, "No one is saved until we are all saved."

This perspective encompasses all notions of saving anything, whether it be an endangered species, the community, or your own self. Each life is a heroic quest. It is a journey of the spirit during which we discover our purpose. We have only to embark, to set out in our own hearts, on this journey we began so long ago.

So the real work is becoming real, doing what is real, really dancing the days and nights away. Nothing is labored, nothing forced.

The process of developing maturity is simpler than many think. Like water flowing through the canyons, always yielding, always finding its way back, simple in means, rich in ends.

In this book we have looked at many aspects of the "ultimate norms" of deep ecology, self-realization and biocentric equality. We have seen how these norms can apply to our individual lives, to the development of maturity, and to public policy.

We have presented a tentative 'platform' or set of basic principles of deep ecology derived from these norms which applies to our predicament in technocratic-industrial society.

We have discussed various paths to better public policy from a deep ecology perspective and various ways to greater maturity in the individual.

And we have suggested that we need more ecotopian visions of living in mixed communities of humans, rivers, deer, insects and trees.

The final suggestion in this book comes from Arne Naess.

"In the long run, in order to joyfully and wholeheartedly participate in the deep ecology movement you have to take your own life very seriously. People who successfully cultivate a deep, intense inner life are much better able to consistently maintain a deep ecological view and to act on behalf of it. And I sit down and breathe deeply and just feel where I am."

Bill Devall is a professor of sociology at Humboldt State University, Arcata, California. George Sessions is a professor of philosophy at Sierra College, Rocklin, California. They are two of the leading students of Deep Ecology in the United States.



Now that America is on the threshold of a second term with the Reagan Administration, it is time for conservationists to take a second look at the record. The prevailing viewpoint espoused by the more vocal of our environmental leaders has been one of criticism, distrust and even slander against this administration. "Environmentalists for Reagan," an ad hoc group of concerned leaders within the ranks of the environmental movement, has chosen to rise out of a position of silent acquiescence to speak out in defense of the very misunderstood environmental record of Ronald Reagan.

We feel the crux of this unfortunate misrepresentation of the Reagan record lies in a shallow interpretation of his truly visionary perspectives. Critiques of this administration's actions on behalf of the environment, we feel, are generally based on narrow viewpoints, erroneous assumptions and values which are inappropriate to the times.

Let us begin with a very concrete example. During Ronald Reagan's tenure as governor of California he was quoted as saying something along the lines of "you've seen one redwood tree and you've seen them all..." This statement was widely touted by his detractors as exhibiting a profound callousness toward that mighty coniferous giant. On the surface it may appear that way, but in reality this statement was an expression of Reagan's deep understanding of the mystical foundations of physical reality. Within its appropriate philosophical context, the phrase, "you've seen one tree and you've seen them all" refers to the fact that all of reality may be reflected in each and every one of God's creations. To a man or woman of real vision, a single redwood tree reflects the essence of all redwood trees.

What then is the purpose of endlessly proclaiming parks and preserves for the redwood species? The Reagan administration realizes that wanting more, more, more is an insensitive materialistic attitude. Even though founded on good intentions, the insatiable demand for more parks and wilderness has gone too far and Reagan realizes this. Unless we begin to concentrate on

what we already have protected, we run the serious risk of losing the ability to perceive the beauties of a single tree. We become desensitized and the environment will ultimately suffer.

There is another widely repeated phrase which needs explanation; Reagan is quoted as saying something like "trees are a great cause of air pollution." This was a joking statement based on a serious principle of deep ecology. The natural world is diverse and what is food for one species is poison for another. Trees "breathe" like human beings, except that they "inhale" carbon dioxide and "exhale" oxygen. That oxygen becomes a primary source of "pollution" from the point of view of the forest. Granted, the joke was too subtle to be grasped by the general public, but true visionary ecologists who are capable of viewing the world through the eyes of trees as well as human beings will see his point.

Reagan is criticized for cutting National Park acquisition funds and supporting instead more concessionaire services. This was really a move to protect backcountry wilderness. The Reagan administration is accused of being anti-wilderness, but in truth the administration is pro-wilderness. Their method for protecting wilderness, however, involves a sophisticated reverse tactic evidenced in their National Park policy.

The idea is to create small concentrated meccas of development within and adjacent to parks, which will serve to attract the urban minded masses. Those who are not sensitive to wilderness values will gravitate to the public service centers operated by concessionaires. Thus, by improving the conditions of the commercial sections of our National Parks we are helping to protect from abuse pristine backcountry conditions too. We concentrate visitors in developed areas by making those developed areas cleaner, more comfortable and generally more attractive. Truly President Reagan's method for enhancing the National Parks is more effective in the long run than merely purchasing more canyons, mountains, and trees.

Reagan's record on cleaning up



ONE MORE FOR THE GIPPER

Guest Editorial by Environmentalists for Reagan

toxic wastes dumps has been assailed as a failure chiefly because his administration lowered the E.P.A. budget, cut its manpower and worked out deals with industry. Besides the obvious economic benefits, this seeming procrastination to clean up toxic waste sites has had environmental benefits too. The public has perceived the problem from only one viewpoint: Site X is polluted, so let's clean up site X. There is a further problem which only President Reagan and Anne Gorsuch-Burford seem to have comprehended: once the toxics have been collected from site X, they have to be deposited somewhere else. Then site Y or site Z become repositories of toxic chemicals. You have an ever-accelerating environmental hazard created by "clean-up" procedure.

By delaying clean-up programs the president is actually containing pollutants in existing areas, avoiding the collection of toxics in secondary dump sites where they might pose additional and more serious consequences due to their heavier concentrations. The small statistical increase in human and animal deformities, disease and deaths is the price humanity must pay for living in a modern world. "Environmentalists for Reagan" applaud his concern for all the currently "clean" areas which might become future repositories of concentrated wastes in the event of massive Superfund "clean-up" programs.

These are but a few examples of how President Reagan's environmental policies and statements have been misrepresented by the media and misunderstood by the public. We are confident that in the future as people begin to develop a deeper sense of commitment to the environment, they will see that the Reagan administration was a truly visionary administration with the highest respect for the environment.

In the meantime, the general public could benefit from a closer look at the record as we have tried to provide here. Let us not jump to conclusions at seeming insensitivities, but look to the deeper hidden rationale behind the President's actions.

Letters

Dear Dave:

Radical (definition 1): of or from the root or roots; going to the center, foundation, or source of something; fundamental; basic. This from an old Webster's; the ratio of its age to mine is approaching one. We should be proud of the radical label, explain to the masses just what-the-hell it means, and point out that Reagan, Crowell, etc., are not conservative but that perhaps we are. The philosophy of the Reagan crew needs some new title but I vote for no compromise on the use of "radical" to describe Earth First! And may the smoke long rise from your chimney.

Hank Bruse
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Earth First!

At last an environmental group that comes pretty darned close to expressing my own strongly (but secretly) held beliefs! No other group I'm familiar with has articulated the need for sane population decline and to return many (most?) currently developed areas to their natural state (e.g., Hetch Hetchy and Glen Canyon).

On the question of population reduction I strongly recommend for your readers the study "Urgently Needed Now: A National Policy to Reduce U.S. Population." (Write to Negative Population Growth, Inc., 16 E. 42nd St., Suite 1042, New York, NY 10017.)

To your "Principles of Deep Ecology," I would add: "Resource management must stress beauty, sustainability, and utility, with emphasis in that order." Up to now the emphasis of these principles has been reversed.

I am sending my membership donation to Wildcat Annie.

— Alamere

Dear Tree Huggers

I just sent in my renewal to Wildcat Annie, and enclosed an extra 10 bucks to keep the lock on Igor's cage. You may use it as bail money for an EF!ster or to send a subscription to some other weirdo like us who thinks the earth is still worth saving.

— Wyanokie Al

Dear EF!

... it's taken me a while. After reams of letter writing, memberships in too many conservation organizations (who don't have time in their elitist agenda for me), and a feeling of general crankiness—I'm finally admitting I'm an Earth First! person. Sort of like coming out of the closet or standing up for the first time at an AA meeting.

I've only got so much time, and don't want to end up having behaved too well and wasting my talent for creative disruption.

So sign me up—or whatever you do to recognize my happily admitted desire to be involved.

— Salt Lake City, Utah



**MOVING?
SEND
US YOUR
NEW
ADDRESS!**

SAVE A RIVER, STAKE A MINING CLAIM

by Abdul Alhazred

For the past year or so, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has been devoting much of its time and the public's money to the selling of some of the federal land it manages. For anyone who doesn't know it, the BLM is the federal agency within the Department of Interior delegated the responsibility of managing 284 million acres of public land, mostly in the 13 western states and Alaska. In comparison, the more widely known U.S. Forest Service administers only 191 million acres of your land. The stated purpose of selling these lands is federal debt reduction. Conceived as the Asset Management Program, more than a year ago the BLM, along with the other federal agencies which manage public lands, were told to identify those lands which were "uneconomical to manage and had no significant resource values." These lands were to be offered for sale at a fair market value. In the aftermath of ex-Secretary Watt's famous Powder River Basin coal giveaway, the much publicized Asset Management Program quickly

fell into disfavor. Or at least in name it did. Even though the Asset Management Program has been ended, the land sales by the BLM continue. This is due to the fact that the Reagan administration still favors the privatization of the public's resources and that the sale proceeds will enter the Treasury Department coffers.

I will not dwell on the fact that our national heritage is being squandered away forever for the purpose of reducing the Fed's influence in the western states, but will concentrate on the monetary proceeds from these sales. The facts of this matter are that, legally, very little of the BLM land sale proceeds can go towards reducing this country's sky-rocketing federal deficit. By law, only 20 percent goes to the general fund, 4 percent goes to the state in which the land was sold, and the remainder, 76 percent goes toward the reclamation fund. What is this "reclamation fund," you ask? Why, they're the folks who build the dams on your favorite western rivers: the Bureau of Reclamation! Monies obtained by

this tactic a little tricky if the proposed sale lands are withdrawn from mining location early in the bureaucratic pre-sale process. An announcement in the *Federal Register* may be the only early public notice given. Contact the local BLM offices regularly and use the Freedom of Information Act, if necessary, to determine what lands are to be sold and if, and when they are to be withdrawn from mineral entry. Even if the land has already been withdrawn when you discover the planned sale, all is not lost. You have 30 to 90 days (depending on which state the lands are in) to file your claim location notice with the county courthouse and 90 days to file with the BLM after you locate your claim. It is slightly illegal, but highly undetectable, to pre-date your location notices to before the date of withdrawal, but before the filing deadline. I recommend using association placer claims. They can be up to 160 acres in size, if there are 8 co-locators. Recordation fees are generally about \$10.00 and the yearly "assessment work" requirement is only \$100.00. Assessment work refers to any kind of mineral

this means don't have to be scrutinized and approved by your elected Congress. Pork barrel water projects have a guaranteed source of funding!

What can you do to stop this devious transmutation of our national heritage to unneeded water projects? You could petition your congressmen to halt all public land sales or to repeal 43 USC 391, that part of the Reclamation Act of June 17, 1902, which provides for its present mode of funding.

A more direct, grassroots approach to short-circuiting this dam-building scheme is to enlist the aid of a very old and outdated law: the 1872 Mining Law. This law gave the people of this nation the right to prospect for, extract, and lay claim to the mineral wealth on the public lands. Although it has been amended numerous times, it is still in effect more than 100 years after its enactment. Any mining claim, located on a piece of public land, precludes the sale of that land. The claim must be located prior to any land withdrawal enacted prior to the actual sale. Pending regulations may make

development on the claim. Performing all the paperwork and little, if any, of the ground work in locating and performing assessment work on claims is a common but extralegal activity. "Paper claims," as they are called, are routinely used by speculators to tie-up large blocks of public land. The federal government seldom challenges any of these claims unless there is some unacceptable use occurring on the claims, such as a residence, or if the land is needed for an important public project. In these cases, a costly and time consuming validity examination would be reluctantly undertaken by the BLM.

Your local BLM or Forest Service office can give you details on the ins and outs of the 1872 Mining Law and how to file a claim.

Mining claims have in the past, and will in the future, prevent public land sales. Here, at last, is a chance for you boaters to take direct measures to prevent the wanton damming of our rivers and streams and at the same time, protect the national heritage of our public lands.

Good luck and happy mining!

IN DEFENSE OF DOGS

by Jim Stiles

What are we, a bunch of environmental purists? I can't believe what I'm reading. This is the same movement whose spiritual leader advocates littering highways with beer cans? Isn't Nagasaki Johnson the guy in search of the perfect hamburger? (None of that millet and sprouts crap.) So, as I sat reading the latest *Earth First! Journal*, and information on the '84 Round River Rendezvous, I was stricken by two words, set in large, bold-faced type that stood out from the print around it. They arrogantly proclaimed:

NO DOGS.

I protest. For the last ten years, I have shared my good and bad times with a couple of dogs. For about the same period of time, I have been employed by an agency of the Federal government which is dedicated to preserving remnants of our once great America, and at the same time making those remnants available for the enjoyment of millions of human beings.

I spend a lot of time telling people what they can't do. They can't chop down the nearest juniper for the evening bonfire; they can't eternalize themselves by carving their initials on a canyon wall; they can't pick the flowers or trample the cryptograms; they can't use the Western Kingbirds for target practice with their .22s. ("But shit man, those birds are everywhere."); they can't piss in the potholes; they have to keep their four-wheel drive vehicles on the road. I could go on forever.

Never, ever have I seen a dog commit any of these violations. So what happens; instead of prohibiting humans from entering these natural areas, my canine friends

have been banned. An absolute outrage.

Of course the ban was applauded by most "environmentalists" who feel that dogs are not a part of the natural scene.

"That dog ruined my wilderness experience!" said the man with the "Big Wall" 100% wool cap, Patagonia Bunting jacket and Gore-tex parka, Yak Works cross-suspension pack, North Face prime northern goose down sleeping bag and Geodesic tent. He threw his gear into his \$12,000 Saab and indignantly drove away. Back to Boulder. Back to awesome Boulder.

Harrumph. My dogs don't own a Saab and they wear their own sleeping bags. BUT they are not without sin. They chase rabbits.

Yes, that's right; lizards, too, chipmunks occasionally. Muckluk even caught a lizard a few years ago - a western whiptail as I recall. Ate it right down.

I can hear the protests and outcries right now. But is it so bad? Let's consider those rabbits that my dogs so dearly love to pursue and harass. Each animal has developed its own defense mechanism in order to survive. The grizzly bear relies on its strength, the porcupine depends upon its quills, the skunk has its own unique system. But most animals, the smaller ones especially, depend on their speed and quickness to survive.

It is a sadly accepted fact that the predator population - the wolves, foxes, bears, bobcats, mountain lions - have been severely depleted. The coyotes are mercilessly hunted and trapped. Our movement in part exists in defense of those animals.

And what happens to their victims? What happens to the cottontails, the whiptail lizards, the antelope ground squirrels? They start getting complacent; their speed isn't as critical as it once was to their survival. So they eat more, they're bored, they watch too much television.

Their speed is linked directly to the animal that preys upon them. Have you ever considered, could it be possible, that at one time the Hereford Cow was a sleek, graceful, agile animal that could run rings around a gazelle? Until for reasons we will never know, the predator that fed upon them was eliminated.

Think about it. The possibilities are staggering. The hippopotamus, the elephant, Utah women. What

can I say?

So when I see my dogs futilely pursuing a cottontail, I will know that I'm being a good environmentalist because I'm keeping those little critters in top condition until the predators can rebuild their populations.

Which brings me back to the beginning, the Earth First! ban on dogs. By the time this goes to press, the RRR will be history and the dogs will have been shunned, ostracized and discriminated against by a prejudice based on ignorance which has no place in our enlightened society. On behalf of dogs, enslaved, abused, and yearning to be free, I am organizing the Dogs Have Rights Too Committee (D.H.-R.T.C., pronounced Dhrtc). Those

interested in joining this cause may write to: Box 221, Moab, Utah 84532.

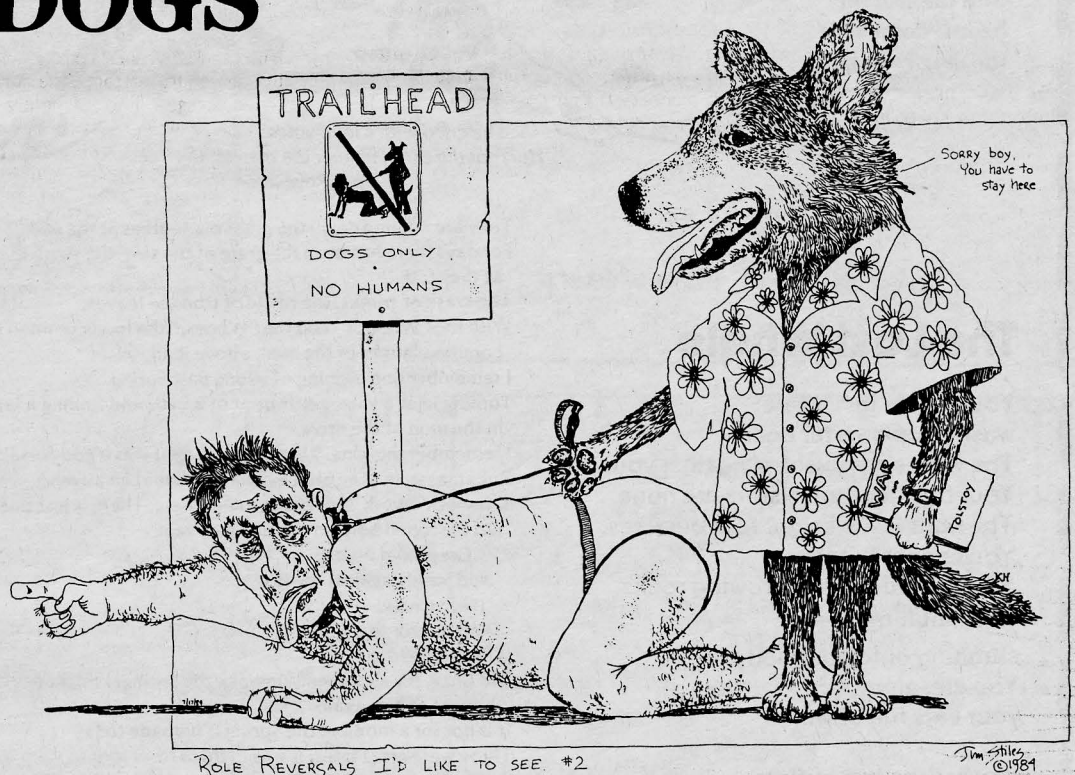
Together with an unshaken faith in our cause, with the unbounded determination of our souls, we will obtain the inevitable victory, so help us God.

Thank you.

(And I'll bet that not a single person reading the last paragraph recognized that Franklin Roosevelt uttered those exact words on December 8, 1941. History is dead.)

- Jim Stiles

Artist, curmudgeon and misanthrope, Jim Stiles is a ranger at Arches National Park, Utah, where he lives with his two dogs.



ARMED WITH VISIONS

Everyman played the part of Western Civilization & got rich
became a star but offstage Old Man Coyote
says he drank heavily & peeped through ladies' keyholes



THE MORNING

ON THIS MOUNTAIN

FOR LE LION COUCHANT

WATER SONG

O Heron, Turtle,
Beaver, sing
the magic songs.
Sing loudly
of the ripple
and falls, of
those who sang
your lives in
word, who lived
your heart in song.
Sing of children
under water, of
Blue Darter's wife,
she who fed them,
washed their clothes.
Come story us again
with the seldom
heard. Come sing
the magic songs.

Walt Franklin
Rexville

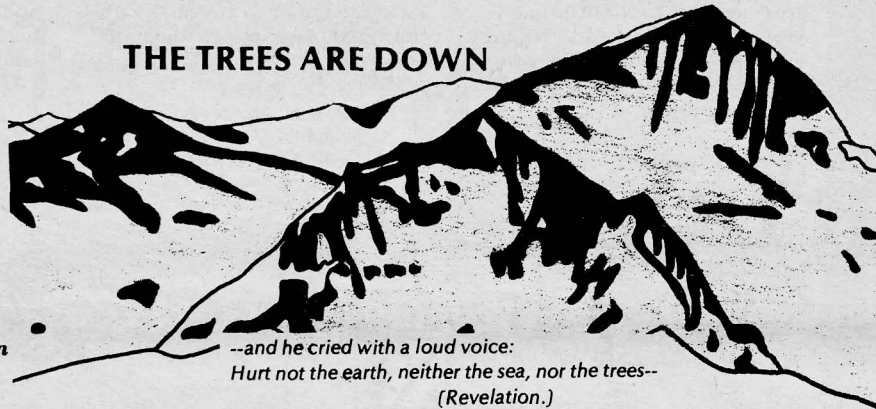
The morning
full of bird songs

When one
would be enough

Dennis Maloney
Buffalo

(from his book *Pine Hut Poems*, Swift Kick Press, 1984)

THE TREES ARE DOWN



--and he cried with a loud voice:
Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees--
(Revelation.)

They are coming down the great plane-trees at the end of the gardens.
For days there has been the grate of the saw, the swish of the branches
as they fall,
The crash of trunks, the rustle of trodden leaves,
With the "Whoops" and the "Whoas," the loud common talk, the loud
common laughs of the men, above it all.
I remember one evening of a long past Spring
Turning in at a gate, getting out of a cart, and finding a large dead rat
in the mud of the drive.
I remember thinking: alive or dead, a rat was a god-forsaken thing,
But at least, in May, that even a rat should be alive.
The week's work here is as good as done. There is just one bough
On the roped bole, in the fine gray rain,
Green and high
And lonely against the sky.
(Down now!--)
And but for that,
If an old dead rat
Did once, for a moment, unmake the Spring, I might never have
thought of him again.
It is not for a moment the Spring is unmade today;
These were great trees, it was in them from root to stem:
When the men with the "Whoops" and the "Whoas" have carted the
whole of the whispering loveliness away
Half the Spring, for me, will have gone with them.
It is going now, and my heart has been struck with the hearts of the
planes;
Half my life it has beat with these, in the sun, in the rains,
In the March wind, the May breeze,
In the great gales that came over to them across the roofs from the
great seas.
There was only a quiet rain when they were dying;
They must have heard the sparrows flying,
And the small creeping creatures in the earth where they were lying--
But I, all day, I heard an angel crying:
"Hurt not the trees."

Charlotte Mew
(submitted by Sp.4 Joe E. Pia)

I know
where the downy wood pecker nests
each spring, each year
where the old stone wall is half buried under
maple leaves
where secret glacial signatures mark the rocks
where the quiet place the deer drink is
cool and dark, moist green space
where the first birch leaves yellow and fall
where a patch of crowberry, partly hidden, grows
where, last week, dusk, a cooper's hawk
swooped close

all this given
that I might take
and give back
in the strange, wonderful, and sacred
nature
of ownership
of being owned
the gifts, given and giving,
the sweet dance

ELLEN KLAVER
Boulder

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The Last Whale

You are the last whale,
washed up on a far beach.
The waves are pushing against you.
Your brothers and sisters are gone.
The light is too bright for your eyes.
You cannot breathe.
Small children are throwing rocks
and laughing,
climbing onto your body.
You die, alone,
your ears full of wind.

You are the last buffalo.
The sun is setting over the plains.
You stand alone, enormous,
heavy with fur, lonely.
You are tired of running.
All of your friends have gone.
It seems even the earth has turned
against you.
There is no one to say goodbye.
You rest, listening to the wind.

When the time is right,
the spirit of the wolf returns.
GARY LAWLESS
South Harpswell

Caring for Your Meadow

What would your neighbors think if
your lawn was full of weeds
what if there were plants you didn't like
what if there were sparrows, starlings, pigeons
you preferred not seen
what if you didn't rake your leaves
and had a meadow with birds snakes and weeds
what if your lawn is growing slowly
and you give it some chemicals some vitamins
a little speed
what would you do if it was wild and beautiful
with sex and growth and song
what would your neighbors think if your lawn was full
of weeds, and too long
what if we felt gentle alive but still strong
what if the wind could make some movement through
the trees
what if the seasons turn and there's death
and growth and decay
what if there were germs and bugs and
leaves making soil
what if you didn't use plastic or burn gas
or oil
what would your neighbors think if your life was full
of weeds

Don Walsh
Alexandria

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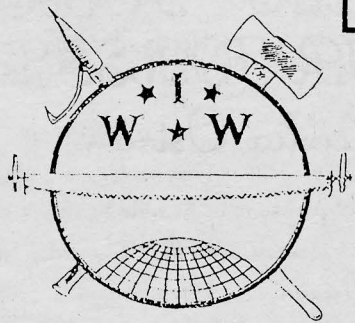
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ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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SPRUCE FOREST, FIR FOREST Cecelia Ostron

It gives me great pleasure to be able to share with you the music I have written in the Cascades and coastal mountains of Oregon.

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Money from these tape sales will help to fund me to work on the Cathedral Forest blockade in the Middle Santiam.

High-quality 45 minute tape; Cecelia, vocal, guitar and dulcimer. Recorded at Carnelian Studio, Lebanon, Oregon

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by Cecelia

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The 1985 EARTH FIRST!



Calendar

1000 ANNOTATED DATES:

- wilderness & national parks
- environmental triumphs
- environmental tragedies
- Luddites
- Wobblies
- Native Americans
- bizarre meteorological phenomenon
- natural disasters



INSPIRING QUOTES BY:

- Aldo Leopold
- Bob Marshall
- John Muir
- Henry David Thoreau
- Tom Jefferson
- Mother Jones
- Ed Abbey
- Daniel Boone
- Earth First!
- and more

JANUARY						
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1 	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

ART BY:
 Jim Stiles
 John Zaelit
 Roger Candee
 Bill Kelsay
 Bill Turk
 Brush Wolf

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	prices
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• Long-sleeved T-shirts	\$11.00
• Frog T-shirts	\$11.00
• Bumperstickers	\$ 1.00
• Multicolor Bumperstickers	\$ 1.25
• Silent Agitators (30 EF! or 10 Coors)	\$ 1.25
• EF! Window Stickers (4)	\$ 1.00
• Monkeywrenches	\$ 1.00
• EF! Camouflage Baseball Caps	\$ 8.00
• 1985 Earth First! Calendar	\$ 6.00
• 1985 Western Wilderness Calendar	\$ 8.00
• 1985 Yosemite Calendar	\$ 9.00
• Hayduke Lives Patches	\$ 3.50
• Beyond the Wall	\$25.00
• Good News	\$20.00

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Make out checks to "Earth First!" or send cash. Mail to: Earth First!, POB 235, Ely, NV 89301. Write us for details on wholesale orders. Please send cash for orders of \$5 or less. Please allow 5 weeks for delivery (contact us if it has not been received by then). First class delivery can be arranged.

how many Total

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 Defend the Wilderness Size _____ Color _____
 French cut or regular _____
 Long-sleeve or short-sleeve _____
 Tools Size _____ Color _____
 Frog Size _____

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 Boycott Coors "Beer" _____
 Hayduke Lives _____
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 Dream Back the Bison... _____
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 Vote Green _____
 Malthus Was Right _____
 Earth First! (with US flag) \$1.25 _____
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 Love it or Leave it Alone (with US flag) _____

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 Earth First! Tools (30/sheet) _____
 Coors (10/strip) _____

CALENDARS

1985 Earth First! Calendar _____
 1985 Western Wilderness Calendar _____
 1985 Yosemite Calendar _____

SNAKE OIL

Monkeywrench(s) _____
 EF! Window Stickers (4) _____
 EF! Camouflage Baseball Cap(s) _____
 Hayduke Lives Patches _____

BOOKS

Beyond the Wall _____
 Good News _____

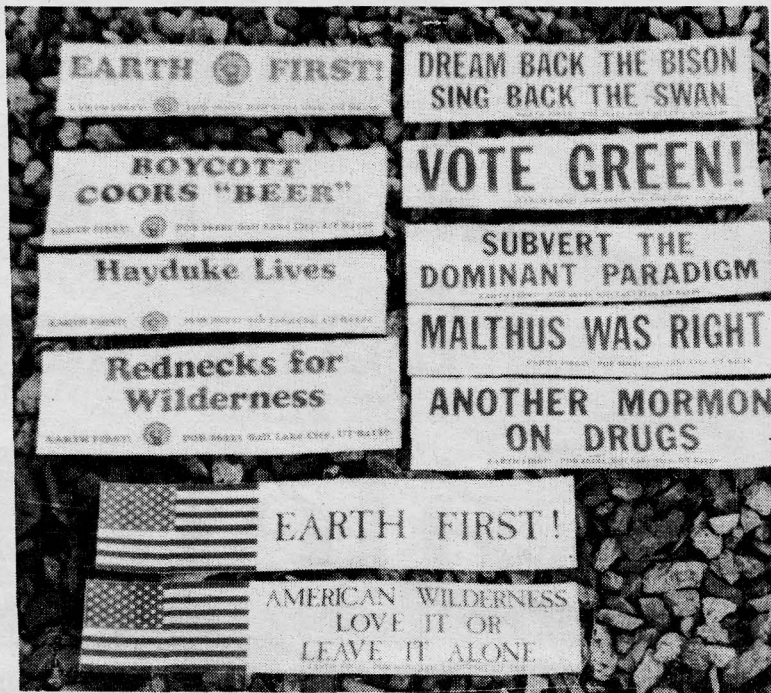
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Red, white and blue American flag with green lettering on white long-lasting vinyl. \$1.25 postpaid.

SILENT AGITATORS

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COORS—Black words on yellow paper:

Coors is Anti-Earth
 Coors is Anti-Women
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AND IT TASTES AWFUL!
BOYCOTT COORS

EARTH FIRST! FIST —

Green EF! logo with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in red ink. 1½-inch diameter. 30 for \$1.25 pp.

EARTH FIRST! TOOLS —

The Monkeywrench and Warclub crossed in brown, the words "EARTH FIRST!" in green. 1½-inch diameter. 30 for \$1.25 pp.



EARTH FIRST!

CAMO CAPS

We've now got a variety of camouflage baseball caps. There is a 100% cotton back and front in woodland camo, and a cotton front with a mesh in either woodland or desert camo. All are imprinted with the EF! fist logo and the words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in white. Specify which style you want or we'll just send you whichever we have in most supply. \$8 postpaid.

HEY KIDS!

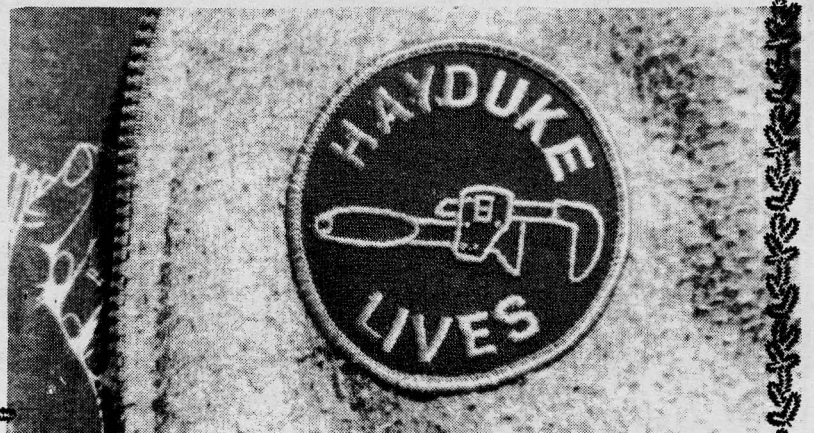


EARTH FIRST! WINDOW STICKERS

Green Earth First! Fist with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in green on 3-inch diameter white vinyl. 4 for \$1 pp.

HAYDUKE LIVES EMBROIDERED PATCHES

Due to popular demand we have finally done up some embroidered patches. These are 3-inch diameter circles with a red monkeywrench and the words HAYDUKE LIVES in red on black. Sew them on your pack, hat, coat, whatever. If interest is sufficient, we'll do some additional styles. \$3.50 postpaid.



TSHIRTS

BETTER SHIRTS - HIGHER PRICES

After watching Roselle's beer-belly become progressively more exposed after each time he washed his T-shirts, I decided to switch most of our styles to Haines Beefy-T's. They're still 100% cotton, but they come longer, shrink less, are a heavier weave, last longer and are a much better quality T-shirt. They also cost us 60¢ apiece more so we're going to have to raise our price to you by 50¢ apiece. We know you'll like the improvement in our shirts and we're sorry about the necessary increase in price.

- Nancy

Kids Shirts!

The Earth First! fist design now comes in kids sizes. Black print on green shirt. 50/50, sizes XS-L. \$7.00 postpaid, indicate kids shirt on order.



TOOLS - John Zaelit's powerful impression of wilderness defense both old and new. Black design on tan or blue. 100% cotton.

DEFEND THE WILDERNESS - The Monkeywrencher's shirt. Drawing by Bill Turk. Silver design on black or black design on white. 100% cotton. AVAILABLE IN WOMEN'S FRENCH CUT, black only & 50/50. Also in men's long sleeves, 100% cotton, black only.

THE CRACKING OF GLEN CANYON DAMN - Jim Stiles' infamous masterpiece. Keep on praying for that one little precision earthquake! Black design on blue or tan heather. 75% cotton/25% polyester.

EARTH FIRST! - Fist with words "EARTH FIRST!" No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in black on green, red or yellow. 100% cotton. ALSO AVAILABLE IN FRENCH CUT IN WOMEN'S SIZES - 50/50.

NEW SHIRT!

AMERICAN WILDERNESS



AMERICAN CANYON FROG (CROAKUS ABYSSUS PISTOFFUS)

LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT ALONE

AMERICAN CANYON FROG

Roger Candee's popular American Canyon Frog (Croakus Abyssus Pistoffus) with the message "American Wilderness - Love it or Leave it Alone." 4 color design on grey. 100% cotton.



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What do Wallace Stegner, Edward Hoagland, Jim Harrison, Thomas McGuane, and James Dickey have in common with Larry McMurtry? They all agree that Abbey is "the Thoreau of the American West." Here is Abbey at his best on a lyrical journey through miraculous, wild places from Alaska to Mexico—well beyond the constraining wall of contemporary life.

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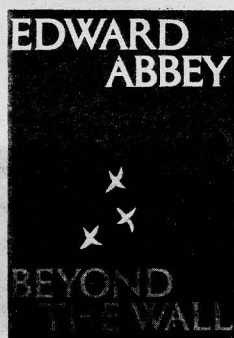
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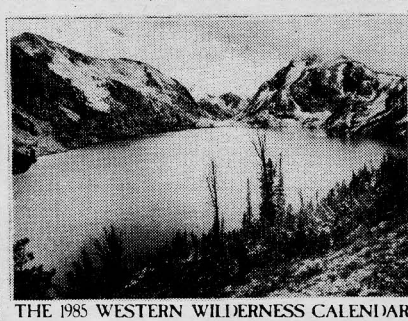
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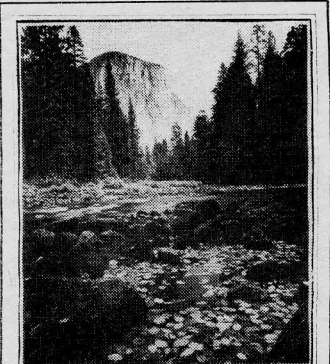
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