



Environment & Society Portal

Suggested citation: Franz, Susan, et al., eds., *Earth First! Journal* 18, no. 4 (20 March 1998). Republished by the Environment & Society Portal, Multimedia Library. <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/7035>

All rights reserved. The user may download, preserve and print this material only for private, research or nonprofit educational purposes. The user may not alter, transform, or build upon this material.

The Rachel Carson Center's Environment & Society Portal makes archival materials openly accessible for purposes of research and education. Views expressed in these materials do not necessarily reflect the views or positions of the Rachel Carson Center or its partners.



Ogoni woman tending her crops less than 30 meters from massive Shell gas flare.

photo by Steve Kretzman, Project Underground

OGONI UNDER FIRE

SHELL ON EARTH

BY NICK JUKES

News of a further clamp down in Ogoni should come as no surprise to observers and activists used to the cynical disregard for the environment and human rights acted out by transnationals and the governments they support. It is business as usual for those in power, despite the murder of 2,000 Ogonis by the Shell Oil-backed Nigerian military regime and the internationally condemned executions of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight colleagues. Another 21 Ogonis are being held in prison on the same false

charges that led to the murder of Saro-Wiwa, and the conditions in Ogoni have worsened. Shell now plans to resume its piracy of oil in Ogoni against the wishes of the people, and the Abacha regime is plotting to succeed itself in a still-born transition to democracy.

Shell's Political Influence

The laws under which Shell operates in Nigeria are unjust and brutally repressive: Military decrees have stripped people of their fundamental rights to freedom of speech and assembly.

continued on page 16

Strip Mining Blockaded in Ohio

BY JOSH RAISLER COHN AND WHALEY MANDER

In the predawn hours, two vans cruised down a road with their lights off, slowing to a halt. Fifteen sleepy forest defenders piled out and scrambled up the steep embankment, disappearing into the woods. Our scouts had informed us that a police car was 100 meters from the first dozer, guarding the gate, but the site was free of security, free for the taking. In we trudged, lockboxes over our shoulders in the glow of a nearly full moon.

The activists crept down the last hill and slithered through the mud to the dozers, tingling with joy at the prospect of shutting down the day's work of

preparations for a stripmine. Positioning our steel-pipe lockboxes, four brave defenders locked down only minutes before the police entered the site to patrol with a foreman. Two support folks and a peacekeeper were immediately arrested, not being attached to anything, and led off the site. They were soon released, and this interaction allowed time for the rest of the eco-warriors to scamper away, crossing the blue property lines that marked safety.

Sounds like Cascadia? Maybe Cove-Mallard or Headwaters? No, this is the Wayne National Forest in southeast Ohio. This is a ravaged land, clearcut

continued on page 25

MAHESHWAR DAM STOPPED

On February 2, a dramatic midnight announcement of capitulation by the state government of Madhya Pradesh, India ended the protest occupation of the Maheshwar dam site. The site of the enormous hydropower project had been occupied by thousands of demonstrators since January 11, and an indefinite fast had started on January 26 by area residents worried that their land and homes would be submerged and that environmental impacts on the region would be severe and irreversible.

The Maheshwar dam would have been part of the Narmada Valley Development Project, which proposes 30 large, 135 medium-sized and 3,000 small dams in the valley. The Maheshwar dam alone would submerge very fertile tracts of cotton, chili and wheat as well as 61 villages with a combined population of 100,000. Though the environmental implications were far reaching and fearsome, the environmental impact studies and mitigation plans were confidential and not publicly available. In fact, there was no public process for input on the project whatsoever.

During the last year, the peoples' movement *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (Save Narmada Movement) has been organizing the affected villagers. On October 3, 1997, the people staged a massive rally of about 10,000 calling for a work stoppage and review of the project in consultation with the people. Instead, the company sped up work. In response the people began their occupation of the work site. The police sealed roads to try and prevent the occupation, but the villagers reached the site by darting from their villages in the middle of the night, using little-known pathways.

On the evening of January 30, even as the news spread in the submergence area that the government had almost accepted the demands, thousands of people poured into the occupation site. As the night wore on, the crowd swelled



photo courtesy of International Rivers Network

Ten Thousand people mobilized to shut down Maheshwar Dam.

from 3,000 to more than 8,000. At midnight, the Deputy Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh came to the dam site and made the official announcement, accompanied by written government orders.

The government accepted all of the protesters' demands, ordering the stoppage of work and a total review of the project. The Energy Department was also ordered to stop work on the project's massive land acquisition. The task force set up to review the dam consists of government agents, independent experts and representatives of the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*. One such representative, Ms. Medha Patkar, said the victory would send a strong message "to Indian and foreign corporations that privatization will not be accepted on their terms. The people will decide how development proceeds in the Narmada Valley."

EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!

POB 1415 • EUGENE, OREGON 97440 • (541) 344-8004



Screw Woo!

woo -woo (wü wü) [abbrev. woo]; 1. A label for inauthentic spirituality. 2. The act of spiritual colonialism. adj.; 1. An imposing form of ritual. 2. A reflection of the new age movement gone sour.

You hold hands in a circle while the incense smokes and crystals dangle, feeling the energy flow as its karmic rhythm brings you to the next level of enlightenment to save our planet. Yours for only \$19.95!... or the dozer is punching roads through a forest, millenniums old, and tambourines rattle, dancers begin to swirl... and your lunch rises to your throat, while rude thoughts about what to really do with that freshly mined crystal fill your aura. Many of us have had similar encounters on the front lines and at the fire circle, fueling the debate about who and what is woo.

The woo label, said to be birthed by the beer-stained lips of the Earth First! old guard, is often used to mock a mutated form of spirituality that reminds us of the scary religions imposed on us as children. Yet the "vibes" cast by woo cause us to question the very concept of spirituality, forcing determinations about what has the genuine stamp of holy approval. I did some movement research and found vast differences between people's views on woo. To some, woo symbolizes spirituality, while to most it's an outright joke.

Humor often rises where there is confusion or anxiety. Woo, in all good fun, jabs at our spiritual existence. Since our long lineage of spiritual tradition has been fractured by conquest and oppression, many of us flounder to define our spirituality, often by laughing off what we consider false or misguided. Yet this comic relief casts judgement on a wide variety of beliefs, further confusing the difference between woo and "authentic" spirituality. Its power as a label hides the reality that beyond woo there is a powerful spirituality that lies at the roots of our existence.

Should we define politically correct spirituality at the next Earth First! Rendezvous? A crusty Cascadian guru once said, "One person's woo, is another's spirituality." I imagine the movement's effort to consense on a definition would inevitably end up in a chicken fight. Instead, I see our spirituality as individually defined through personal experience, much in the same way we choose our own tactics to defend the earth. When in doubt, listen to the elders, seek out your own roots or just cast a spell for society's collapse and galactic peace.

I'm hell bent on getting beyond the negative implications of woo to discuss the inextricable connection between spirituality and our resistance. Our work as eco-activists in defending the Earth is largely physical; the body between the saw and the tree, the debates and incessant rallies, the monkeywrench to the machine. I talked with a wise Kalapooya woman, Carol Logan, about the state of the EF! movement. She believes that the resistance at Warner Creek, an area sacred to her people, was a success because we incorporated both the physical and the spiritual. By recognizing the "old ways," we liberate them from dormancy. Through ceremonies led by local Native Americans, hunger strikes, nonviolent direct action, prayer and magic, the area was defended. Currently at Ward Valley, the Colorado River Native Nations Alliance has announced a spiritual occupation of the area. So far, it has been spared from radioactive waste dumping, and Bureau of Land Management law enforcement has withdrawn. I do not consider these powerful actions woo, and I think campaigns are stronger when we use more than physical tactics.

I believe that spirituality largely defines our morality. As Earth warriors, we revere this planet as sacred and all-giving. In opposition to the forces of mass destruction, we make the obvious moral decision to defend her. Yet do we respond to utter violence with nonviolence or more violence, use a monkeywrench or a lock box, scream raunchy rants or strategic political chants? Our responses vary because of our different views and experiences. Accordingly, we have opposing views on morality which reflect our spiritual diversity. It is possible that by accepting the diversity within the collective whole, we will be able to effectively revolt against the atrocities of fundamental society. For those of you who laugh, envisioning us holding hands in a circle while swaying to revolutionary mantras, for the sake of our movement and for the sake of the Earth think harder, think deeper.

Those who are frustrated by ineffectiveness and ongoing debates, take heart, because these are the growing pains of our resistance. We are privileged to have open discussion on differences of opinion. Soon enough, we will be faced with revolution in North America and our movement cannot continue to be paralyzed by debates of theory and tactics. It is this very paralysis that allows government and industry to laugh all the way to the killing field, while we fumble over how to stop them. Separating our spirituality from our lives and actions perpetuates division and strains our participation in mass change. The cultivation of our spirituality, outside the confines of woo, will give us strength as a movement to overcome the stagnation of our tactics, and to thrive by the power of Earth.

—ALLISONE LUNN

Earth First! Eostar March 20, 1998 Vol. 18, No. 4

The *Earth First! Journal* is published by an editorial staff from within the Earth First! movement. Contents are copyrighted 1998. We are pleased to allow reprinting if credit is given, except for those articles specifically copyrighted by the author. Art, photographs and poetry are copyrighted by the individual artists and permission for use must be received from them.

Earth First! Journal is a forum for the no-compromise environmental movement. Responsibility rests with the individual authors and correspondents. The contents do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of this newspaper, the Earth First! movement, local Earth First! groups or individual Earth First!ers.

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

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

ISSN 1055-8411, *Earth First! Journal*, is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. The *Earth First! Journal* is recorded on microfilm by University Microfilms, Inc.

All correspondence regarding subscriptions, merchandise orders, donations, letters to the editor, articles, photos, graphics, etc., should be directed to:

Earth First! Journal POB 1415

Eugene, OR 97440

Phone: (541) 344-8004

Fax: (541) 344-7688

E-mail: earthfirst@igc.apc.org

<http://www.envirolink.org/orgs/ef>

Business Manager: Acasia Berry
Merchandise Goddess: Isabella Barnes
Circulation Czar: Jeff Hogg
Editorial Staff: Susan Franz, Allisone Lunn, Lacey Phillabaum, John Bowling, Jim Flynn

Poetry Editor: Dennis Fritzing
Artists in this issue include: Vaughn Frick, Brush Wolf, Russ Hodin, Hinz, Julie Generic, Lone Wolf Circles, J. Collignon
Volunteers: Carol, Paul, Frog, Isabella, Ben, Peter, Jim (x2), Jeff, Ebola, Kris, Josh, Allison, Garth, Craig, Michelle, Mark, John
Cover art by: Mud
Back art: Elephant Seal by Sky Jacobs

SCHEDULE

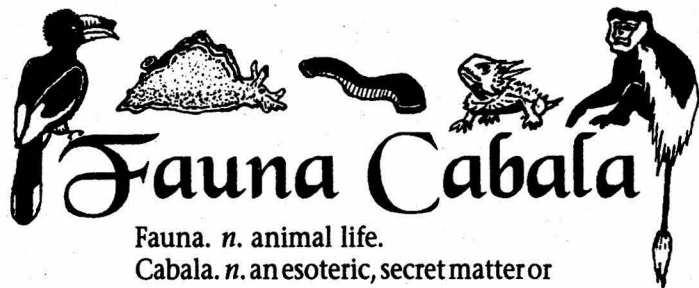
Earth First! Journal is published 8 times a year on the solstices, equinoxes, and cross-quarter days on or about November 1, December 21 (Winter Solstice), February 2, March 21 (Vernal Equinox), May 1, June 21 (Summer Solstice), August 1, and September 21 (Autumnal Equinox). One-year subscriptions in the US via third class mail are \$25. First class delivery is \$35. Outside the US, surface delivery is \$35 and airmail is \$45. Corporate and law enforcement rate is \$45.

Deadline for the next issue is:

April 6

Deadline for the following issue is:

May 23



Fauna Cabala

Fauna. *n.* animal life.

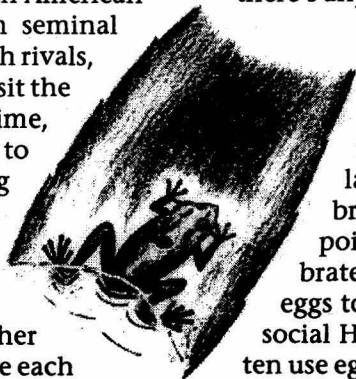
Cabala. *n.* an esoteric, secret matter or mysterious art.

Poison-arrow frogs (*Dendrobates pumilo*) throw their babies in with the bath water. Males of this South American species slather horizontal leaf surfaces with seminal fluid and, after winning wrestling matches with rivals, mate with females atop them. Fathers-to-be visit the eggs daily to keep them moist. In the meantime, they creep around, eating other males' eggs to ensure that proportionally more of their young survive and causing brooding females to become receptive to mating sooner. Eggs that survive this caviar festival become tadpoles in 10 to 12 days.

The female carries tadpoles one by one on her back to a water-filled bromeliad leaf axil, where each

is deposited into its own private tub. Every one to two weeks she hops around to each tadpole and lays unfertilized eggs, which are devoured. Meanwhile, other frogs use the leaf axils for bathing. However, a tadpole sensing an approaching frog goes into frenzy, believing its mother has come to deliver huevos rancheros. The unsuspecting frog, who backs into the water for its 30-minute bath, discovers the tadpole thwapping against its legs. Frogs apparently find this disturbing. They carefully inspect axils first, and if there's any sign of a tadpole, move onto the next one.

This is the only frog species known to feed its offspring; most simply lay eggs and leave. The use of eggs as food for young is a common practice among Animalia. For instance, the intrauterine and intracapsular larvae of black salamander, and many proso-branch molluscs, feed on nutritive eggs. The poison arrow frog, however, is the first vertebrate known to regularly produce and transport eggs to free-living young. It is similar only to the social Hymenoptera (honeybees and ants) who often use eggs as food for offspring or colony members.



BY FAITH WALKER

Define One Corporation, Define 'Em All

BY JANE ANNE MORRIS ©1998

A third of your friends are locked down in an old-growth grove or at a corporate headquarters with law enforcement officers rubbing pepper spray in their eyes. Another third are preparing testimony so they can be persuasive at a generic regulatory agency while begging for enforcement of a tiny portion of our laws. The last third are trying to raise money to pay lawyers to get your friends out of jail (after they've been released from the hospital) or take the regulatory agency to court (after it refuses to enforce the law).

The pepper spray, groveling and money-grubbing might not be so bad if we could honestly say that the Earth is better off today than it was four years ago. I can't honestly say that. This diatribe is an effort to insinuate some elements into the debate.

Many of our groups are organized to save wolves, butterflies, trees, prairie flowers, rivers, deserts or estuaries. But corporate executives don't organize to destroy wolves, butterflies, flowers or estuaries. Nor do they organize to pollute the air, spoil the rivers or promote five-legged frogs. This asymmetry should give us pause as we try to understand why corporations are on a roll while we're stuck in a feedback loop.

Corporate strategy leverages their power; their efforts reinforce and magnify each other. Our strategy splits our resources and dissipates our power. Corporate strategy aims to increase the power that corporations have over people.

When a single corporation gets a victory, it helps all other corporations, too. They all have more power, and people have less.

Some think that this fracturing results from not being organized enough or not being organized right. This opens the door for endless bickering about whether we should organize by bioregion or by article of clothing, by species or by chemical, by issue or by occupation. Either way, we're still fractured. Meanwhile, what are corporate people doing?

Every few years corporate lobbyists make a quiet pilgrimage to state legislatures to make changes in the corporate code, the law that creates and defines corporations. There are no banners, no mock barrels of toxic waste, no lock-downs, no buckets of guts. Legislators offer no resistance, and non-corporate human citizens don't even raise an eyebrow. It is a free lunch for corporate management.

Citizen activists "working within the system" are elsewhere, engaged in regulatory agency marathons where they will spend years or decades preparing testimony, hiring experts, paying lawyers and urging people to attend hearings and write letters to unresponsive bigshots.

While corporations use tax-deductible funds to fill the airwaves and newspapers with self-serving propaganda, citizen activists dress up as animals to get a moment on TV or a two-line caption in a newspaper.

There is an unspoken agreement, evidently, that citizen activists will limit ourselves to two venues—the regulatory playpen (which was designed to neutralize our input) and direct action (which mainstream media corporations will ignore, exaggerate and distort).

It's as though a spell has been cast over corporate law, protecting it from the eyes of citizen activists who never think of reading it or rewriting it. Corporate representatives do not feel constrained in this way. Nothing is too destructive, too audacious, too outrageous for them to attempt. After all, they have most of us believing in the idea that corporations have "rights."

Why would activists want to bother with corporate law?

At regulatory agencies *corporate* persons (that is, corporations) have constitutional rights to due-pro-

cess and equal protection that *human* persons do not. Corporate law proclaims that corporations are legal constitutional "persons" with rights to due process and equal protection before the law for their "private property," privacy and free speech, among others.

Corporate law requires corporations to maximize profits to stockholders and externalize costs onto society and future generations. Corporate law allows corporations to evade liability by hiding in a maze of subsidiaries, freeing stockholders of liability. It defines corporations as entities that can divvy up their assets and then decide to go out of business to avoid responsibility for the consequences of their actions. This corporate law is not hidden away in sacred texts under a rock somewhere. It is in the same law books that contain the regulatory law we have practically memorized. In fact, the provisions of corporate law insure that regulatory law will regulate citizen input instead of corporate behavior. As long as we persist in leaving corporate law to the corporate lawyers, the consequences will continue to be devastating.

Campaign reform efforts will be constipated and trivial as long as we accept corporations as participants in the democratic process with First Amendment rights. Public opinion will continue to be swayed by corporate fairy tales as long as we accept that corporations can buy off potential opposition with strategic charitable, civic and "educational"

contributions. Human persons will have to continue to have to fight for "standing" to participate in the democratic process as long as we accept the law that defines corporations as constitutional "persons."

Corporate law—defining law, as opposed to regulatory law—bestows upon corporations powers and rights that exceed those of human persons and sometimes of governments as well. It seems pretty obvious, then, that we need to rewrite the defining laws. Sooner or later we come up against the claim that all this stuff about "rights" and so on is just too legalistic. None of us wants to be involved in narrow and excessively legalistic strategies.

However, a glance through any *EF!* Journal will confirm that we're constantly dealing with the law, whether we're filing testimony or engaged in direct action. As long as we're in the legal arena, we might as well be dealing with defining law and not the regulatory frufu that distracts us.

Here is one cluster of ideas for rewriting the defining law of corporations. It's not a three-point plan, and it's not the beginning of a 20-point plan—just some ideas to think about.

1. Prohibit corporations from owning stock in other corporations. Owning stock in other corporations enables a corporation to control huge markets and shift responsibility, liability, resources, assets and taxes back and forth among parent corporations, subsidiaries and other members of their unholy families. By defining corporations in such a way to prohibit such ownership, much of the antitrust regulatory law becomes unnecessary and superfluous.

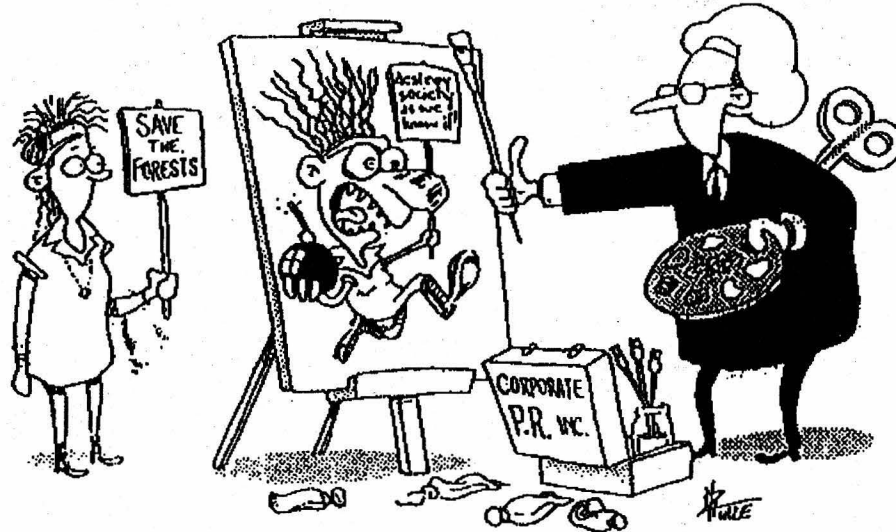
2. Prohibit corporations from being able to choose when to go out of business (in legalese, no voluntary dissolution). This would prevent corporations from dissolving themselves when it came time to pay taxes, repay government loans, pay creditors, pay pensions, pay for health care and pay for toxic cleanups.

3. Make stockholders liable for a corporation's debts. People who want to be stockholders would reallocate their resources to corporations that they knew something about, that weren't engaged in risky, toxic projects. (This would encourage local, sustainable businesses and healthy local economies. Imagine that.)

These three measures might seem "unrealistic" to some, but it beats the heck out of a voluntary code of conduct or a wasted decade at a regulatory agency. *All three of these provisions were once common features of state corporate codes.* No wonder corporate apologists prefer that we hang around in the regulatory agencies with our heads spinning with parts-per-million and habitat conservation plans.

These three measures were quite effective, which is why corporate lawyers worked so hard to get rid of them. But they address only a tiny portion of what needs to be done.

Here's another cluster of ideas for ways to shape a democratic process.



cess and equal protection that *human* persons do not. Corporate law proclaims that corporations are legal constitutional "persons" with rights to due process and equal protection before the law for their "private property," privacy and free speech, among others.

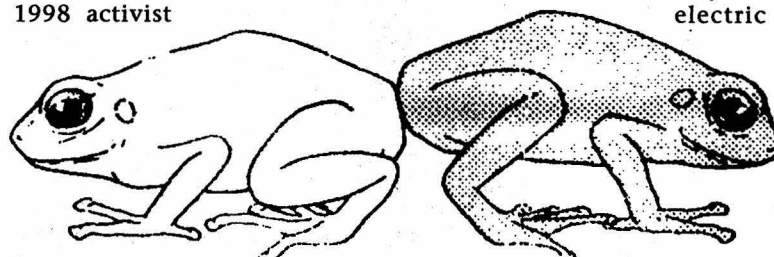
Corporate law requires corporations to maximize profits to stockholders and externalize costs onto society and future generations. Corporate law allows corporations to evade liability by hiding in a maze of subsidiaries, freeing stockholders of liability. It defines corporations as entities that can divvy up their assets and then decide to go out of business to avoid responsibility for the consequences of their actions. This corporate law is not hidden away in sacred texts under a rock somewhere. It is in the same law books that contain the regulatory law we have practically memorized. In fact, the provisions of corporate law insure that regulatory law will regulate citizen input instead of corporate behavior. As long as we persist in leaving corporate law to the corporate lawyers, the consequences will continue to be devastating.

Campaign reform efforts will be constipated and trivial as long as we accept corporations as participants in the democratic process with First Amendment rights. Public opinion will continue to be swayed by corporate fairy tales as long as we accept that corporations can buy off potential opposition with strategic charitable, civic and "educational"

or even something that gets good gas mileage like a Geo Metro. We must think about the message we send, how can we badmouth logging companies and industry while driving around in a beat up '76 Dodge Dart. Get rid of your cars! Don't even ride a bike, think of the rubber processing plant that made the tires, think of the mining that had to occur for the steel. If you have to move walk. Also get rid of your clothes, millions of innocent cotton plants are picked each year for your T-shirt. Stop the vegetarians, don't they know the plants they eat have feelings?!?! Hell, I guess it all boils down to killing yourself, if you love your mother earth you'll do it.

Peace, man!

—BEN



(All nice and neat and under 300 words, we're sure.)

"Wildlife Services" is like calling Hitler's extermination program "Jewish Services." Words have power. ADC's name change is part of an orchestrated P.R. campaign to give the program a modern, less negative image. Let's not buy into their fraud.

Wildlife Damage Review has been working to expose and stop Uncle Sam's war on wildlife since 1991. If you'd like more information about ADC or about our fall 1998 activist

conference, please write to us at PO Box 85218, Tuscon, Arizona 85754.

—PATRICIA WOLFF

Subject: Car Bomb Article

I just read your article about the car bomb planted in an Earth First!er's vehicle. The question I have is, why is an Earth First!er driving?!?! And on top of that the article mentioned a frame, a car with a frame is obviously not electric

Letters to the Editors

From: The Kingdom of Hawai'i, Sovereign Nation of God
To: Earth First!

The Royal House of Akahi now makes this Proclamation; His Majesty Akahi Nui, King of the Islands and Kingdom of Hawai'i shall be Crowned into Service, on the Twelfth Hour of the Twenty-Second Day of the Second Month of the Holy Year of the Almighty Creator, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Eight, followed by a Private Reception on the Three-O'clock Hour of the Twenty-Third Day.

You are Hereby Cordially Invited to Attend the Coronation, Crowning and Reception of His

Royal Highness Majesty Akahi Nui. RSVP

—KINGDOM OF HAWAI'I
POB 2845, WAILUKU,
MOKUPUNI O MAUI, HAWAI'I 96793

Dear EF:

Your recent article ("Uncle Sam's Bloody Hands," Brigid '98) referred to the federal government's predator control program as Wildlife Services. It is true that the feds changed their name in 1997 from Animal Damage Control to Wildlife Services, but we are under no obligation to use that name and participate in their little charade.

Calling this heinous program

continued on page 26

continued on page 28

BARE BONES

UN Hears Big Mtn. Resisters

The grievous struggle of the Dineh (Navajo) people at Big Mountain/Black Mesa, Arizona, is finally being investigated by the United Nations! On February 2 and 3, Mr. Abdelfattah Amor of the UN Commission on Human Rights heard testimony on the Dineh's charges against the US government of forced relocation, suppression of traditional religious practices and environmental degradation of Dineh lands by Peabody Coal Co.

The UN hearings resulted from a complaint filed by the Dineh in 1996 charging the federal government with human rights violations. The hearings are an attempt to pressure the US government to repeal laws that have legalized livestock confiscation, outlawed any home improvement and construction on Dineh homes, and denied the people access to water and firewood.

Mr. Amor and visiting non-governmental organizations heard the testimony of Dineh elders, who gave their accounts of forced eviction, demolition of their peoples' homes and harassment by the US Bureau of Indian Affairs. Elders from the neighboring Hopi reservation verified many of these statements and gave their own testimonies, especially accounts of the increasing scarcity of water due to diversions for mining by Peabody Coal. The Hopi elders also publicly dispelled the myth of a Dineh/Hopi land dispute, which was manufactured by the US government and energy corporations in an effort to prevent solidarity among the Hopi and Dineh. More info at (520) 226-9109; web site: <http://www.solcommunications.com>.

Radioactive Pigeons

In February, the British government announced a ten-mile exclusion zone for handling of radioactive pigeons in the Sellafield area. Concurrently, Greenpeace called on the government to turn down British Nuclear Fuel's (BNFL) application to increase discharges of radioactivity in the environment. Already, radioactive lobsters, seagulls and seaweed have been found in the area. In a bizarre press release, the Ministry of Agriculture warned locals not to handle, slaughter or consume pigeons near the area. BNFL research shows that a person who consumes the breast meat of as few as six birds would receive a full year's radiation dosage. BNFL's application for increased discharges would perpetuate its dumping of liquid waste at sea.

Crop Circles Appear at Eco-Action Sites

Activists have confirmed the mysterious appearance of crop circles at two distinct sites of massive Earth First! resistance. Three extremely impressive glyphs of bent English plaitain and wild oats appeared along a steep, weed-covered construction embankment adjacent to the Laguna Canyon Toll Road in Southern California on March 9, 1996. This was not long after the completion of the toll road when the ground swell of community resistance to the destruction of the canyon fell by the wayside.

Crop circle formations also emerged in wheat and barley fields at East Dean in Hampshire, England on the site of the M-3 motorway extension through Twyford Down on July 24, 1992. The circles measured a remarkable 360 feet and 170-feet across. They were recognized not long after hundreds of people were arrested for occupying the site and the motorway was built.

Crop circles are a worldwide phenomenon. It is believed that crop circles emanate from an omniscient and infinite intelligence and reflect the focus of our collective consciousness and the attention of our concerns.

TREE SITTING Without Limits

Behind the Redwood Curtain

BY JULIA BUTTERFLY HILL

On August 18, 1996, my head collided with a steering wheel, dislodging my skull, damaging my brain and body, and changing the course of my life forever. Almost a year later, I headed West, following my spirit to an unknown destination. At the time, I thought my journey would lead me out of the country. However, when I entered the great majestic cathedral of the redwood forest for the first time, I dropped to my knees and began to cry because I was so overwhelmed by the wisdom, energy and spirituality housed in these holiest of temples. I knew I had found what my spirit yearned for.

I spent a little over a month hiking and absorbing the beauty of the incredible Lost Coast of Northern California. During a re-supply trip in Garberville, I met a volunteer for the Environmental Protection Information Center who told me about the plight of Headwaters forest. I went back to Fayetteville, Arkansas, where I had my wreck, settled my lawsuit, sold everything I owned, said my good-byes and came back West determined to help.

Upon reaching Arcata, I called basecamp to get specific directions. After two hours of calling, I finally got through to someone only to find out that, "Basecamp is closing, we don't need you." I was given the media office number, only to have the same words repeated. I told the voice on the other end that I felt compelled to be here doing anything at all in the fight. He told me that there was an anti-pepper spray rally in Eureka and gave me directions on how to get there. Approximately 45 minutes later, my worn body and backpack were part of the growing crowd. During the course of the day, several people asked where I was from and what my plans were. Everyone of them answered almost exactly the same, "Yeah, basecamp is closing—they really can't use you." A brother by the name of Shakespeare overheard one of my conversations and took it upon himself to make sure that I made it to basecamp anyway. He told me that even though it was closing, basecamp was the best place for me to get plugged in. I spent the next three days wandering around the camp trying to figure out who the right people to talk to were and how to plug in. One day, a man named Almond was enlisting people to sit in a tree called Luna. I volunteered my services, excited to at last be doing something. Two days later, I hiked to the top of the



Perched 180-feet high in Luna, Julia is completely at home.

that the destruction of the environment is a direct reflection of the destruction of our lives! A perfect example is the mudslide that occurred December 31, 1996, less than a quarter mile from where I sit, the direct result of logging by Pacific Lumber. This torrent of mud and debris destroyed seven homes in the town of Stafford, directly below me, and now threatens even more.

We are demanding that all 60,000 acres of Headwater's forest be saved. No Compromise! No Deal! We are demanding that every last old-growth tree be saved from the saw, including Luna. We are demanding that pristine areas, watersheds and critical habitat for threatened and endangered species be placed off-limits to logging! We are demanding that they respect people's homes and lives and cease all cutting on steep, unstable slopes! This is our world, and we have every right to make these demands.

I refuse to pass this legacy of self-destruction onto future generations. This is what our fight is about. So, I'm going to continue to cross their lines, to trespass. There are important, sacred, beautiful things behind their lines. On their side they hold nothing sacred and nothing dear; so I'm going to continue to break through their barricades and take back and reclaim what is!

Thus ends this chapter of the beautiful, organic, magical story of Luna. Her story is merely a small part of the struggle

Stafford ridge and learned to climb on this gigantic 1,000-year old tree called "Luna." I spent the next six days in her branches learning the life of tree sitting.

**"Luna and I stand together
in defiance of the destructive practices of
corporate greed and paid-off politicians."**

When Luna came under attack in early December, Almond and I decided to hold down the fort. Two weeks turned into three and after three I thought, "I'm so close to a month I might as well stay." As I sit here writing this by candlelight, I am on day 79 of living and loving on Luna. She and I have become one in a way I never thought possible. We have stood together through the sadness of watching giant elders smash into the ground; through Pacific Lumber's deputized climber cutting our lines to other trees; through a siege by Pacific Lumber security to try and starve me down; and through some of the worst storms in recent California history. With the love, unity and support of some incredible individuals (many of whom I've never even seen), our occupation of this hillside is now closing in on 200 days of open defiance.

Luna and I stand together in defiance of the destructive practices of corporate greed and paid-off politicians. Luna is a beacon of hope and truth. In all her majestic glory, she has become our platform to the world. From her branches we are making people aware

to save our Mother Earth and, thus, ourselves. Luna's story is about unity amidst adversity, perseverance through torture, and the willingness to stand tall for what is right, true and good.

[Ed. note: The tree sit began on October 5, 1997, with activists taking turns occupying Luna. Julia began her turn on December 10 and as this issue goes to print she is still holding on strong.]



Riding El Nino's storms with style!

Headwaters HCP Looming

BY HUGH MOROSE

Rain drips from the sky virtually every day and night this time of year in Humboldt County, California. From the South Fork of the Eel to the Klamath, rivers run chocolate brown, bearing tons of silt and mud washed down from failing roads and crumbling hillsides upstream. Only a few scattered creeks run clear as the rain comes down, their steep banks shaded by old-growth redwood and Douglas fir, spared from the chainsaws and bulldozers for another season.

The ancient groves of Headwaters forest still stand, far removed from the political and financial maelstrom that holds their future in limbo. After another year of actions, rallies, lobbying, lawsuits, advances and retreats, Headwaters remains caught in an argument between politicians looking to shore up their shoddy environmental credentials and ruthless financial manipulators who just want to make another few hundred million bucks. Meanwhile, a broad-based popular movement continues to demand that this natural treasure be protected once and for all.

Clinton administration officials, Senator Dianne Feinstein and Maxxam CEO Charles Hurwitz announced their Headwaters "deal" 18 months ago but left critical details unresolved. Now another Feinstein-brokered compromise has been reached, stating the principles that will guide a Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) for the 210,000 acres of forest land Maxxam/Pacific Lumber will own if the deal is completed. The state/federal purchase of 7,500 acres of the 60,000-acre Headwaters forest is contingent upon completion and approval of the HCP.

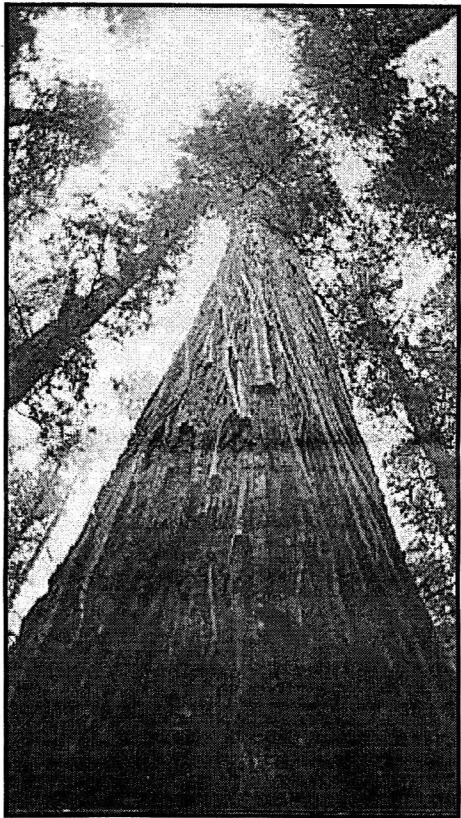
Negotiations over the HCP's effect on two species, the marbled murrelet and coho salmon, had been deadlocked for many months. With deal-related deadlines becoming less flexible, Feinstein and Deputy Interior Secretary John Garamendi intervened in the HCP negotiations in early February, finally arriving at a compromise on February 28. As Headwaters activists expected from the very beginning, the inevitable meddling of politicians in this process produced a total biological sham.

Eight years of citizen litigation and constant pressure finally convinced the government to "set aside" three of the four ancient redwood groves not acquired by the deal as marbled murrelet habitat. These "set-asides" are not permanent protection by any means, but simply areas Hurwitz agrees not to log for the next 50 years. Nonetheless, Hurwitz will have an opportunity to cut at least one large, vital complex of murrelet-occupied ancient and residual redwoods. Owl Creek was the first grove protected from logging under the Endangered Species Act. Following a successful federal lawsuit by the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC), in truly chickenshit fashion, the feds "set aside" Owl Creek for now, but will allow Hurwitz to cut the grove if he can demonstrate that another complex of ancient and residual murrelet habitat near Grizzly Creek State Park has been "conserved."

Grizzly Creek is vitally important to the murrelet's survival and recovery, as is Owl Creek. Owl Creek, however, con-

tains more than three times the acreage of unentered old-growth redwood. So, if the company finds someone to buy Grizzly Creek, or simply sets it aside under the HCP, it would get permission to cut the far more valuable timber of Owl Creek. Of course, both groves are occupied by murrelets, and no biological justification exists for cutting either location. Thousands of acres of ancient Douglas fir in the Mattole/Bear River headwaters also could be sacrificed.

The so-called "protection" afforded coho salmon and other aquatic species under the HCP is even more dismal. Even Clinton's Option 9 fiasco calls for 300- to 600-foot "no cut" buffer zones along fish-bearing streams. By contrast, the Headwaters HCP provides no logging-free buffers at all. A 30-foot "restricted harvest" band, followed by a 140-foot "late seral selection" band, composes all the protection fish-bear-



The HCP is a license to kill these giant redwoods.

ing streams will get under this HCP. Smaller streams in the upper watersheds—which contribute most of the sediment that chokes spawning grounds further downstream—receive even less protection. Even these ridiculous buffer zones can be modified by a company-driven "watershed assessment" process that will allow exceptions to the "default" standards for stream protection.

Thus the HCP fits into the overall pattern now taking shape in the Pacific Northwest with respect to salmon "protection." Cozy industry/government deals, like HCPs and the much-touted Oregon salmon plan, are replacing strong Endangered Species Act (ESA) enforcement. The Clinton administration's long-standing conspiracy to surreptitiously gut the ESA is also getting another shot in the arm, as the national media trumpets the success of an HCP in "saving" the "lesser cathedrals" of Headwaters forest.

The struggle over paying the Headwaters deal's \$380-million price tag also continues. President Clinton appropriated the \$250-million federal share of the Headwaters buyout last November. California Governor Pete Wilson's plan to provide the state's share of Headwaters funding (a paltry \$130 million) via a bond act for either

the June or November elections came under fire from State Senator Byron Sher and Assemblywoman Carole Migden, co-chairs of a special Headwaters Committee in the California Legislature. Sher and Migden caused quite a stir by threatening to oppose the bond act if Pacific Lumber's HCP is inconsistent with the recovery needs of marbled murrelets and coho salmon. It remains to be seen whether Sher and Migden will keep their promises or be swept away in the saccharine tide of self-congratulation currently oozing from the offices of Feinstein and Garamendi.

Meanwhile, logging continues at a furious pace. A Timber Harvest Plan (THP) for "residual" old growth at the edge of Owl Creek grove received approval in December and cutting quickly began. Earth First! actions held off logging for awhile, and EPIC filed a lawsuit challenging the THP. In an all-too-common demonstration of Humboldt County justice, however, Judge Dale Reinholtsen sat on EPIC's restraining order request for over two weeks while the ancient trees went down.

Still, there are many reasons for hope. The longest-running tree sit in history continues high above the town of Stafford [see article on facing page]. Long-time residents of Stafford and Elk River Road (familiar site of many Earth First! gate blockades) recently filed lawsuits against Maxxam, Pacific Lumber and Barnum Timber Company, seeking damages for the flooding and landslides that destroyed their property. County residents also plan to put a "soil conservation measure" on the ballot this year. The measure would allow the county to zone high-erosion areas out of timber production, putting the wider community in greater control.

Even the California Department of Forestry (CDF) is showing some signs of life. Citing over 100 violations of the state's forest practices rules during the last three years, CDF very nearly denied Pacific Lumber's timber operating license for 1998 (last-minute negotiations produced a "provisional" license, to no one's surprise). Pacific Lumber was placed on probation for a few of these violations in July of 1997; the company continued to break the law and has been arraigned on two more citations. Unfortunately, at a February 18 pre-trial hearing, company attorneys indicated that some kind of deal with the timber-friendly district attorney is in the works. Justice is fickle in Humboldt County: Very few Earth First!ers around here could get away with flagrantly violating their conditions of probation.

Despite all this, with the HCP practically a done deal, thousands of acres of ancient redwood and Douglas fir forest stand to be cut. Ultimately, it is up to our movement to permanently preserve these forests, creating solid political will out of thin, hot air.

BARE BONES

Hearst Resort Rejected

Impossible dream or small price for some of the best remnants of central California coastal wildlands? The question is just one of many under discussion in the wake of the Coastal Commission's unanimous decision in January to reject the Hearst Corporation's plan for a series of resorts along the spectacularly unique and fragile San Simeon coast in northern San Luis Obispo County, where Hearst owns a 77,000-acre ranch, including 16 miles of prime, undeveloped shoreline.

A broad coalition of environmentalists, Native Americans, small business owners, ranchers, farmers, surfers, windsurfers, wildlife lovers and beach combers formed to oppose the sprawling, multi-unit resort/golf-course development. Over 1,100 project opponents attended the commission's hearing. The project's impacts would devastate already overdrafted local water supplies, destroy endangered plants and animals, strip mine important cultural resources for golf links, convert valuable agricultural lands and eliminate historical beach access rights. The proposal had all the anti-appeal of something concocted in a downtown Los Angeles high-rise by overpaid lawyers.

Predator Hunt Stopped

Following massive public outcry, the organizers of "Predator Hunt Extreme 98" have canceled their sickening \$10,000 contest to see who can kill the most wildlife in two days. According to the rules, the hunters would have accrued points for every bobcat, mountain lion, coyote and fox they killed. A dead female bobcat was worth 60 points, a male mountain lion 100 points and a female fox 15 points.

Grizzlies in the Gila

The Southwest Center has continued its program of righteous protection of the flora and fauna of the Southwest with a recent proposal to reintroduce grizzlies into the Gila and Aldo Leopold wilderness areas.

Local response has not been enthusiastic. "It will be a catastrophe," said Louis Campbell, a retired rancher who runs cattle on a 2,000-acre spread. "Those doggone things were eliminated because we couldn't live with them. They are dangerous." Not so says the Southwest Center. "People are tired of their whining," responded Peter Galvin. "Grizzly bears were here until they were wiped out by the livestock industry."

Though details of the proposed reintroduction are still in the works, there is reason to believe that the Gila could support populations of wild grizzlies. There were once 50,000 grizzly bears in the lower 48 states. Today, there are only 700 who live in just 1.5 percent of their original range.

Salmon to Get Habitat

The National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) will soon designate critical habitat for two groups of coho salmon along the southern Oregon and north-central California coasts. The designation of habitat will also benefit the steelhead, Chinook salmon and cutthroat trout. Send your comments to NMFS on the proposed habitat designation until April 26 at Protected Resources Division, 525 NE Oregon St., Suite 500, Portland, OR 97232-2737.



WARD VALLEY STRONGHOLD REPELS BLM AND US ECOLOGY

BY DANIEL PATTERSON, CHRIS FORD & ELENA ZUNIGA

History is being made at Ward Valley in California's East Mojave desert. Since February 12, a strong and diverse coalition of American Indians, EF'ers and anti-nuclear activists has occupied this sacred land, which is also critical habitat for the threatened desert tortoise. Led by the five tribes of the Colorado River Native Nations Alliance (CRNNA), a committed band of between 50-200 activists has maintained an occupation at "Ground Zero" to stop a dangerous radioactive waste dump project.

On Friday, February 13, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) ordered Ward Valley closed to the public. In response, tribal elders held a ceremony in the middle of the road leading to Ground Zero while members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and supporters blockaded the entrance. The next morning, after negotiations between representatives of the CRNNA, peacekeepers and the BLM, area manager Molly Brady and BLM special agent David Burns were allowed to pass through the blockade. Following terms of the negotiations, the BLM reps left their vehicle, were frisked and escorted into the area by AIM. They then walked past Earth First! activists locked down in the road. After listening to the concerns of tribal representatives face-to-face, the BLM presented a five-day notice of eviction from the permanent encampment at Ground Zero. The encampment has been occupied by activists since October 1995.

To turn things around, Mojave EF! held a rally in Needles at the headquarters of US Ecology, the company selected by the state of California to build the dump. Protesters brought an eviction order "from the people," ordering US Ecology off sacred land and out of Ward Valley. To solidify the eviction order, the coalition stationed posts at three gates guarding the Ward Valley site. Twice in recent weeks US Ecology has been blocked from entering Ward Valley to service monitoring equipment. Law enforcement officers and other non-uke types have also been denied access.

As in any village, daily life continues. To keep us well connected with the land and strengthen our commitment to its protection, ceremonies led by the tribes have been constant. Just prior to the eviction notice, a spirit run from the Fort Mojave

Reservation to Ground Zero was held. It began with a sunrise prayer circle, followed by a 22-mile-long relay run along I-40 to Ward Valley. Runners carried three sacred staffs from the reservation to the site, where they were joyously greeted by supporters.

BLM California State Director Ed Hasteley made a visit to Ground Zero on February 18. He has been a long-time foe of efforts to stop the Ward Valley dump. About 300 people were there that night, including at least 50 elders. Hasteley personally witnessed the spiritual ceremonies taking place and was told of the sacred nature of Ward Valley by CRNNA spokesman Wally Antone and several elders. Hasteley was clearly uncomfortable with the

Ward Valley. However, they say they remain committed to conducting tritium testing that would further desecrate the land. With this small victory for the coalition, tensions at the Ward Valley village have eased as BLM cops have pulled back. The "no compromise" position remains strong.

Tribal leaders and elders of the CRNNA have expressed solidarity on the following points; President Clinton and Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt must reject the land transfer and stop the dump now. Bruce Babbitt must also meet with CRNNA as soon as possible. The federal and state governments must acknowledge and respect the tribe's position that Ward Valley is sacred and can't be desecrated any further. The CRNNA will continue to occupy Ward Valley and conduct religious ceremonies until there is serious and respectful government relationship established and a just resolution to the crisis.

The Ward Valley occupation is a very positive and powerful experience. It is a great example of cross-cultural activism that, while challenging at times, is working. We are all learning from each other as we live out in the desert. Barriers are broken every day and our momentum and strength is growing. We are winning!



A closure by EF'ers and natives continues to deny access to US Ecology and BLM.

Photo by Zachary Singer

overwhelming show of power and unity between the tribes and activists.

On Friday, February 20, the whole village attended the wedding of long-time Ward Valley activists Molly Johnson and Rick Beaumont. Just a few days later, one of the founders of the *Save Ward Valley Coalition*, Stormy Williams, was given a traditional burial ceremony. She is the first non-native honored in this way by any of the five Lower Colorado River Nations. Some of her ashes were placed in the ground at Ward Valley, adding further protection to the land. A Mojave spirit runner who had recently passed on was also honored.

On February 25, in a surprise move, the BLM removed all of its law enforcement personnel from

ning! But your direct support is still needed.

The CRNNA and Save Ward Valley Coalition will continue to peacefully occupy these sacred grounds until they are safe from destruction. Tribal elders have asked that we maintain our resistance in a spiritual manner, free of human-made blockade tools. We strongly encourage all who are willing to abide the code of nonviolence and follow the guidance of the elders to come join the Ward Valley Village. The Ward Valley occupation is located 22 miles west of Needles, CA, off the Water Rd. exit, south of I-40.

Contact Save Ward Valley at: 107 F Street, Needles, CA 92363; (760) 326-6267, (760) 326-6268 fax, email: swv1@ctaz.com.

Wolves & Poodles

- A wolf dancing-on-the-ruins to the Dogwood Alliance, the Arkansas Watershed Alliance and the Russellville City Council for denying a business license denied to Weyerhaeuser for a proposed chip mill by the Arkansas River. The council's decision was influenced by citizen concerns regarding traffic, noise and impacts to tourism in the region. Weyerhaeuser had already received a permit for an export facility from the US Army Corps of Engineers.



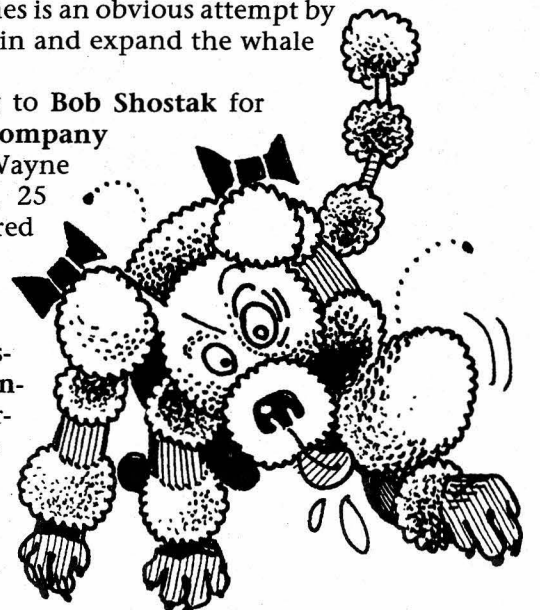
- A this-is-my-habitat howling wolf to the marauding monkeys in Ito, on the scenic Izu peninsula of Japan. These monkeys showed the tourists a good time at a seaside resort by biting their ankles and calves. The monkeys, a species of macaque, have long been a problem in many areas in rural Japan, where they damage crops and even swipe food from grocery stalls.

- A howling-at-the-top-of-our-lungs wolf to the *Journal* volunteers every issue. They make the paper happen each and every issue.

- A bloated, whale-meat-eating poodle to the city of Shimonoseki, Japan, for planning to use whale meat obtained from Japan's "scientific" whaling program for school lunches at 50 schools with 25,000 students. The use of whale meat for school lunches is an obvious attempt by the Japanese government to sustain and expand the whale meat market.

- A poodle in wolf's clothing to Bob Shostak for representing Buckingham Coal Company in its attempt to stripmine the Wayne National Forest in Ohio. So far, 25 acres of the Wayne have been cleared for the mine. Bob previously represented the environmentalists against coal companies.

- A barking-on-both-sides-of-its-mouth poodle to the League of Conservation Voters for giving California Senators Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein perfect 100 scores in the 1997 Environmental Scorecard. If the proponents of Quincy Library Group legislation and the Headwaters deal score so well, who flunks?



NONVIOLENCE

In the November-December 1997 issue, we printed an article, "The Cult of Nonviolence," that struck a nerve (like a root canal) with Earth First!ers far and near. In short, the authors argued that dogmatic adherence to nonviolence sets up unhealthy power dynamics and alienates potential activists from our movement.

The cult analogy stirred up a rich stew of ideas and criticisms that had been simmering in different parts of the movement for quite awhile. Suddenly, everyone had something to say about our strategic victories and failures. In the following five-page section, we have assembled some of the most eloquent advocates of varying futures for the movement. The authors include the old guard, the new guard, recidivists and law-abiders, committed non-violence trainers and practiced iconoclasts.

As Mike Roselle says, the debate over the role of nonviolence in the movement reoccurs periodically. We believe the occasional reconsideration of this question is essential as the movement evolves.

Lest it be forgot, the opinions that follow are those of the individual authors, not of the *Earth First! Journal*, any local Earth First! group or the Earth First! movement. To take any of the following out of context and proclaim it the philosophy

of Earth First! would be an ideological and intellectual crime of the first degree. We don't, of course, presume our opposition to be above such tactics. Nonetheless, we believe the debate to be integral to the growth of the movement.

The question the movement faces, and which the authors address, is not whether violence is an appropriate tactic, but what form of nonviolence is. Our use and understanding of nonviolent philosophy is nuanced and complex (as evinced by the two codes of nonviolence). We hope the following deepens our understanding of and commitment to practical, workable nonviolence.

COVE/MALLARD CODE (CIRCA 1993)

Some principles of nonviolence (each affinity group should consense on their own)

- We listen to others and acknowledge our differences.
- We endeavor to respect all living things we encounter (even cops, though not too much).
- We will not return the hostility or anger of others.
- We will take personal responsibility for being in a clear state of mind.
- We will not retreat from conflict if it occurs but will act in ways to resolve it peacefully. (We will not leave others in the lurch.)
- We realize that there may be people at actions (including workers or police) who do not share the same principles as we do.

Caution: Nonviolent direct action may be hazardous to your health, and in some cases has led to injury and even death. Self preservation is not a wise reason to use nonviolence. We use it to try to stop the cycle of destruction, but that sometimes means it stops *after* us. Be careful and brave.

REDWOOD NATION NONVIOLENCE CODE

This nonviolence code was adopted from many different movements, with the strongest influence from the late '70s/early '80s anti-nuke movement. It was formalized and consensed in May 1990 (only weeks before the bombing of Judi and Darryl) in response to increased death threats, intimidation by wise use groups and the coming of Redwood Summer. It remains unchanged and is the root of all of our organizing efforts (and successes!)

- Our attitude will be one of openness, friendliness and respect toward all people and the environment around us.
- We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any being.
- We will not damage any property.
- We will not bring firearms or weapons.
- We will not bring or use illegal drugs or alcohol.
- We will not run.
- We will be aware of extreme fire danger and obey fire safety rules at all times.

IS THERE ANY OTHER OPTION?

BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

I always welcome intelligent thought-provoking opinion pieces about movement strategy. Gaia knows, we don't do enough of it. But, Gary McFarlane and Darryl Echt's essay on the "Cult of Nonviolence" in the Samhain issue ultimately begs the question: What other options do we have?

I didn't come to my nonviolent beliefs as some glassy-eyed, cult-brainwashed dupe. Very real events like getting drafted and resisting the Vietnam War caused me to assess what violence was doing to my world and whether reactive violence could right societal wrongs. It was not easy to witness my friends fight and die for an unjust government while other friends plotted the destruction of draft boards and ROTC buildings. I grew up in inner-city Flint, Michigan, and witnessed firsthand the injustice of racism. I was there during the assassination of Dr. King (whom I once saw speak to a crowd of hundreds of thousands) and the Detroit insurrection, and I was perilously close to responding violently. I wavered but finally concluded that active, nonviolent resistance is the only option. For me, nonviolence really is a moral issue. If an action requires that I engage in violence to stop the juggernaut (be it racism, war or the war on the Earth), it unacceptably requires buying into the notion that violence can result in a positive solution. My fatalistic view is that if violence is what it takes to affect change, we're such a flawed species we aren't worth it.

Can we really win using violence? When I look around and see a corporate machine backed by the enormous police powers of the state, I think not. We could never out-firepower them.

McFarlane and Echt cite the Black Panthers. We saw what happened to the Panthers. The legacy of a generation of black, male leaders lost to state-sanctioned murder and incarceration continues to devastate the African-American community. Though there's no guarantee that the Forces of Darkness (FoDs) won't crush even a nonviolent, decidedly white movement like ours, there's a definite guarantee that the FoDs would come down in force given the least provocation. Just because one doesn't believe in mass, voluntary arrests (I often question the efficacy of that, as well), we can't resort to violence.

We can only win this with the right reasons and the right means. I know attacking a local mill owner or blowing up his mill wouldn't end old-growth logging in my watershed. Making the right biological arguments and winning over the greater public might.

Just as the National Guard murders at Kent State are often cited as the

turning point in ending public support for the Vietnam War, we'll lose support if our efforts to preserve wilderness become violent. Just look at the public outrage over the Humboldt County Police Department's use of pepper mace on nonviolent protesters. Even Dan Rather lambasted the FoDs for that one. The support the forest protection movement enjoys with the general public comes from our CD campaigns. Back there "in our murky past," warriors, yes warriors, like Mary Beth Nearing, Freda London and Karen Wood took on the task of educating the movement in the principles of nonviolent CD. Some practiced CD for ethical reasons, some for reasons of practicality. Many warriors submitted to voluntary arrest. Many were subjected to retaliatory lawsuits. They consciously chose to pay the price. It was, and continues to be, empowering. It demeans their sacrifice to merely dismiss it as cult-like and mindless.

Back in the early '70s, when my friends and I were crying in the rain as the forests fell, I dreamed of a day when enough people would stand up and resist ecological destruction. It was the efforts of the legions of CD warriors putting it on the line that finally brought the issue to national attention. Now, the question remains whether the nation's conscience has the will to end the destruction.

Ultimately, if your means don't reflect your ends, you cannot attain your ends. Like Gary and Darryl, I don't have all the answers, but I'll never question the effectiveness of civil disobedience. It has stood the test of time.

NONVIOLENCE DisCONTENTS

- *Is There Any Other Option* by Michael Donnelly (A peacenik thinks "Arms are for Hugging"), above.
- *Man Without a Column* by Mike Roselle (An old timer's refutation of the Cult of Nonviolence), page 8.
- *Beyond Civil Disobedience* by Snap Dragon (Someone's got a bone to pick with the pacifist-aggressive amongst us), page 9.
- *Nonviolence Forever* by Mikal Jakubal (A reminder that Earth First! is a nonviolent movement), page 9.
- *Cult of Ass Kissing* by Spike and friends (A sharp critic of nonviolence as practiced at the Headwaters campaign), page 10.
- *Peace Bro* by Ed Denson (The accused responds), page 11.
- *The Sum of the Parts* by Ann Arcky (The accused responds, take II), page 11.

MOVEMENT BUILDING BASICS

"Please Open to Michael 3:16"

BY MICHAEL ROSELLE

Hello folks. After four years in the Wild Rockies I have returned home to the beautiful South, and I am back in Washington, DC. I love this town and can't figure out why everyone calls it a hell-hole. It's a wonderful, friendly, African-American city full of strange music and spicy food. I'm currently researching the global underworld of pirates, thieves, liars and plunderers that we know fondly as the timber industry. My goal is to get all old-growth products off the market by the year 2005.

I was asked by the *Journal* to respond to the recently published article, "The Cult of Nonviolence," written by my good friends Darryl Eht and Gary Macfarlane. I like to see this kind of discussion in the *Journal*, even though it has been covered many times since the first issue appeared in 1979. But I feel compelled to question many of the assumptions that the authors raise.

Let's start with this first statement, "Sometime in our murky past, the self-elected 'leaders' of Earth First! issued some decisions: The movement was too violent, too morally impure, too fascistic, too stupid, the wrong media grist and in need of education. Anyhow, it was decided that we should clean up our act and become ethically principled resisters."

I feel like Rip Van Winkel. When did this happen? I must have passed out at a Rendezvous and woken up after it was over. This may be a reference to the renunciation of tree spiking initiated by Judi Bari at the 1989 ELAW conference in Eugene, Oregon. If so, it might be useful to note that the signers, of which I was one, expressly mentioned that they spoke only for themselves and were not denouncing anyone who disagreed. Anyway, all of us are constantly in need of further education, and I hope that we all want to be ethical and principled.

Later Darryl and Gary declare, "We have established our own nonviolent priesthood. We have determined that we need experts, priests. We build heroes, inflate martyrs and devalue the roles of

other activists. Too frequently we defer decision making to our experts or priests."

Who are these priests? Certainly we have created a martyr of Judi Bari, but let's face it, the woman was vilified by many in Earth First! when she was alive. And while I believe that her life story as told today by

become nonviolence trainers—they've been ordained. Well, overreliance on them creates an imbalance, an unhealthy hierarchy that haunts campaigns."

I agree that some nonviolence trainers can be self-righteous,

sanctimonious pains in the ass. But it takes rigorous training before you can be a competent warrior. Good trainers teach you to think and to question, not to accept dogma.

Later Gary and Darryl write, "Often it is the tactic that becomes the message, not the Earth. The issue for which we chose to be arrested becomes obscured by the act itself."

Losing the message is a real risk in nonviolence. It is a bigger risk with monkeywrenching, a greater risk still with violence. But that

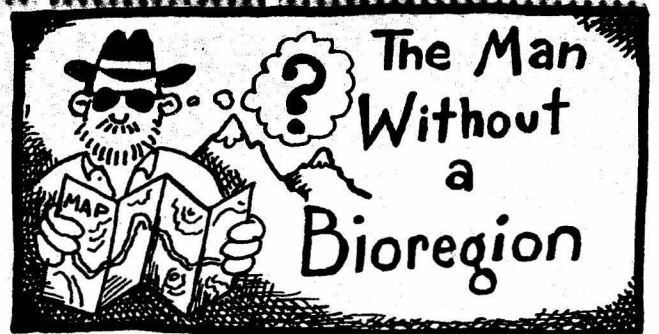
doesn't make any of those paths wrong. Staying on message is the greatest challenge most activists will face. But through hard work and discipline, and by thinking everything through, it can be done. Look at the African National Congress and their successful struggle to end apartheid. The movement started as a nonviolent

struggle modeled after Gandhi's Indian National Congress. It renounced nonviolence only after brutal repression. It stayed on message and won international support and recognition. It toppled the hated regime, and Nelson Mandela is today the president of South Africa, a man who spent 26 years in prison as a terrorist.

One of my favorite statements in the article is, "Indoctrination, be it called education or training, is done to create groupthink. For example, it has been our experience that some people involved in the Cove/Mallard campaign have not felt their ideas and skills were welcome or respected."

As someone who has spent many an afternoon sitting in a circle at Cove/Mallard, I know how the writers feel, but this sounds a lot like whining to me. Consensus is often a long and difficult process, but for direct actions it is extremely useful. Otherwise, one yahoo can endanger the safety, freedom and effectiveness of the whole group. There has to be some give and take.

Likewise, I have not found it true



Put your faith in "Nonviolence!"

many in her amen corner is false and misleading, they have every right to tell the story any way they choose. And what's wrong with experts? Would you take your car or VCR to get repaired by anyone other than an expert? The writers seem to question all heroes, but later they speak of the Sea Shepherd in almost reverential tones. All movements have heroes, experts and martyrs. It may not be right, but it helps us to teach each other and to tell our story, and that is important. I believe anthropologists call this an oral tradition, and it is probably older than campfires.

They go on to say, "The learned and/or experienced among us have

that "fighting the system through the court is disempowering. It keeps the focus on the legal system, social justice and human rights—everything but logging."

I like having my day in court. Jail is tough, but I have found it useful as a way to reach out to others. I still have all the letters that I received during my four month stint in a South Dakota jail. It may have been the best organizing I've ever done.

Finally, I want to address the statement, "A Native American ecologist told one of us that although he respects those who choose arrest, he would never ask his friends on the reservation to subject themselves to the very power that has enslaved them for over 500 years. Are we creating and encouraging roles for people like him and his friends in the movement?"

Besides the fact that one Native American may disagree with another on this point, haven't we all been enslaved by the industrial technology that is killing our planet? Aren't we all, to some degree, in the same boat?

Most white activists I know are knee-jerk on the point of diversity. There are people of color who choose nonviolence. There are those who don't. There are globally more people of color in the environmental movement than there are whites. The larger environmental movement is extremely diverse and growing. If Native Americans, African Americans, Asians or Hispanics aren't drawn to your campaigns, maybe you need to look at yourselves. You want nonwhites at your meetings and gatherings, but you display no understanding of different cultures. You want them to be vegan, pegan, eco-anarchists just like you. Do you go to their churches, mosques or temples to speak? Do you table at their cultural or neighborhood events? Or do you expect them to read a poorly laid-out flyer, show up to your campfire, eat half-cooked beans and sleep in the mud? Get real.

The fact is, diversity is poorly understood in our movement. It is beautiful, but it is not the point. All peoples, all cultures, have their movements and organizations. We need to work with them when we can and respect our differences. You don't have to join their movements, and they don't have to join ours. We must work together, however, if we want to succeed.

I found Darryl and Gary's article, while provocative, very divisive and ignorant of the basic concepts of movement building. I wonder if they've ever read Gandhi or King, neither of which, by the way, were white.

PS: You can now contact the Man Without a Bioregion directly at roselle@essential.org.

NONVIOLENCE

BEYOND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

BY SNAP DRAGON

If someone broke into your home, tried to kill your family and steal everything you had, what would you do? A: Make a banner and call the media. B: Call a lawyer and file for a restraining order. C: Chain yourself to the front door. Such reactions seem ridiculous because they would be completely ineffective. However, this is exactly how we respond to the homicidal maniac of industrial society, and it is no less inappropriate. The most sensible response is to fight like hell. Passive resistance, civil disobedience and related strategies don't work, not as a long-term strategy for transforming society nor as short-term stopgap measures.

Our problem is larger than endangered species or the plunder of public lands. Our solution will not be found in a piece of legislation or a better management plan. Industrial collapse, an end to corporate capitalism and a complete transformation in the way our culture relates to the environment are necessary to stop this assault on the planet. On this, most agree. Our movement, however, has become dominated by the rhetoric and tactics of civil disobedience (CD), which are incongruent with this necessity. CD has never been a strategy for revolutionary change but a way to reform existing institutions. Because of this inconsistency, these actions will continue to be largely ineffective.

Civil disobedience is an established part of the political process that has defined and modified the American empire for over 200 years.

It is widely accepted as legitimate, regardless of its legality, because CD attempts to pressure government to remedy the situation through legislation, administrative action or court rulings. However, there is enormous pressure to maintain the status quo or shift it in favor of corporations. This pressure is generated by bureaucratic momentum, industry and government collusion, good ol' boy networks and systemic tendencies (such as how laws are written to uphold the interests of property). Government, industry and technology are inextricably linked, forming institutions that make the wholesale destruction of the biosphere possible and profitable. Government consistently rushes to the aid and defense of industry, unless specifically forced to

do otherwise by massive public outcry. To this end, nonviolent resistance tries to elevate consciousness and gain public sympathy. However, the supposition that the public will someday rise to the defense of other species denies the reality of modern society.

Biocentrism is necessarily opposed to almost everything the American people know; their lifestyle, the technology they use every day, the way they relate to the world. Their values and beliefs are molded by a mass media owned by exploitative global corporations and controlled by the advertising demands of other corporations. Television, radio, magazines, newspapers and other media outlets teach people who they are, what is going on in the world and what they should think about it. This corporate conditioning and the perspective it promotes are practically inescapable. As people become more dependent on technology and the infrastructure that makes it possible, life without it becomes not only undesirable but unimaginable. The success of all forms of nonviolent resistance depends on substantial public support, and citizens of an affluent industrial society are not going to demand radical changes.



(whichever comes first) CD can temporarily slow habitat destruction. We can sometimes achieve environmental victories using CD by appealing to human-based concerns such as pollution, recreation and economic efficiency, but we must realize what we give up in the process. In doing so, we compromise our vision to gain public support. This is the same compromise mainstream environmental groups make to gain political clout, and it is a mistake for the same reasons. Cooperating with destructive institutions by engaging in the political process grants them legitimacy through complicity. We accept a limited realm of debate and become co-opted and incorporated into industrial culture. We create the illusion that the system works, both to the public and to

OPINION

(ourselves, which only masks the real problem.)

Making these compromises would be justifiable if we were getting something significant out of it, but we don't. We have our successes, but these small political gains are always temporary. They are tolerated only as long as they don't threaten corporate interests, and then they are systematically ignored, circumvented or dismantled. The entire saga of the spotted owl injunction, Option 9, the Salvage Rider and now the Quincy Library Group is evidence of the transitory nature of political solutions. Old-growth logging, roadless area incursions and habitat destruction continue; the only thing that changes is the political framework that justifies these travesties.

Most CD campaigns require enormous amounts of time and resources but achieve very little.

In the absence of effective methods of nonviolent resistance, we need to consider more militant strategies. The most common objection to more radical tactics, of any kind, is that they are equated with violence and thus inherently oppressive and immoral, and "good" ends cannot be achieved through "evil" means. This analysis is based on the extremely unbalanced morals of modern human civilization. We know that we are part of the Earth and that the web of life which allows for our survival is imminently threatened, but we often forget the moral implications of this biological fact. We are fighting in self-defense, a situation in which violence is almost universally accepted. In the natural world, when animals are attacked, they run or fight back. To claim moral superiority in nonviolence separates us from the natural world. We are part of the Earth defending ourselves. We are animals with nowhere to run. To think that we have somehow evolved to higher consciousness is naive at best.

The fear of more radical tactics triggering a backlash against environmentalism is unsubstantiated. Popular support for environmentalism is a reaction to the continued degradation of human environments, which will be unchanged by the public's perception of "extremists." For example, the current efforts to cut emissions of greenhouse gases are not based on altruistic concern for delicate ecosystems but on the very real economic and social consequences of global warming, a cause for concern no matter what you think of radical environmentalists.

There simply is no moral or strategic imperative to adhere to nonviolence and engage in civil disobedience. We don't need to convert the public; we need to protect wild places. Without its symbolic underpinnings, CD is a terribly inefficient way to stop logging, road building and developing. Every day 137 species become extinct and 176,000 acres of forest are lost forever. We don't have the luxury of civility. We must do whatever is necessary to defend our home and protect our ecological family. Once it is gone, we can only wish that we had done more.

NONVIOLENCE FOREVER

BY MIKAL JAKUBAL

Amidst all the controversy over violence and whether or not it should be discussed or even obliquely advocated in the *Journal*, one basic point seems to have been overlooked: Earth First! is not a violent movement. We never have been and never will be. Violence is not the inclination of the vast majority of EF! activists and, equally important, it is not what an even greater majority of those who contribute to our campaigns would support. Openly advocate, say, political assassination in the *Journal*, and see how long before a new office space has to be found, a new basecamp site, new food donations, new funding sources and so on. Like any guerrilla movement, we live or die on whether or not the larger community will shelter us and underwrite our action campaigns. Advocate killing or bombing and watch this movement starve.

Our enemies understand this all too well, which is why we regularly have to fend off attempts to link us with the Unabomber. Here on the north coast of California, the timber industry concocts a steady stream of fake sabotage and fake threats of violence because they know the best way to discredit and undermine support for nonviolent activists is to attribute violence and sabotage to us. For those who think that sabotage might be effective against the likes of Maxxam's Charles Hurwitz, owner of Headwaters forest, remember that he received a \$1.6 billion federal bailout. He has enough pocket change to amply guard and insure all his equipment against damage by any would-be ninjas in camo. Distancing ourselves from violence (and in most cases, sabotage as well) is a prerequisite to successful organizing. Nonviolence is our strength. When was the last time anyone heard of the FBI infiltrating an armed group and provoking them to nonviolence? ("Psst, hey kid! Forget about bombs, let's go do a sit-in!")

Theoretical discussions about whether or not violence is ultimately the only effective recourse are just that—theoretical—because EF! will never convert to violence as a policy, and fortunately so. Intellectual laziness, lack of discipline, failure to build institutional wisdom, lack of competent strategy and ego-driven leadership often impede the potential effectiveness of EF! actions. But bring a load of grenades to basecamp and those flaws become tragedies. Those who believe in violence are ultimately wasting their time and that of the rest of us as well. For their own sake, they'd be better off simply starting their own paper, printing exactly what they want and setting about the arduous task of organizing whatever kind of violent movement they think will work. Proselytizing among the unbelievers will only leave everyone frustrated. If a violent radical environmental movement is ever organized (and lasts more than a year or two) it would be its own separate thing and not part of EF!

The real threat to environmental and animal rights activists is not so much that we'll go out in the streets and be shot, but that we'll be ignored. In many ways these movements have marginalized themselves into irrelevancy, stuck in the literal and metaphorical ghetto of basecamps and secretive affinity groups. Many groups have let basic outreach and organizing skills atrophy in favor of the same media stunts performed by the same few people. All the ingenious remaking of history over Gandhi or Martin Luther King, Jr. only detracts from the real work of organizing and developing effective movements.

Instead of printing any more oh-so-much-more-militant-than-thou posturing passing itself off as critique, I suggest that the space would be better used for articles designed to improve basic organizing, strategy and movement-building skills. If EF!'s past use of nonviolent activism has not been altogether effective, it is not nonviolence that is at fault, but the skills of the activists. Introducing violent methods into an ineffective, dogmatic, nonviolent group would only result in an ineffective, dogmatic, violent group.

Cult of Ass Kissing

BY SPIKE AND FRIENDS

It's time for a sober appraisal of this "movement" and the effectiveness of its tactics, in particular where the nonviolence code is concerned. Nonviolence is reactive, a negative objective—however, it's becoming increasingly clear that the tactics employed by the EF! movement can be better described with a positive, pro-active term—namely, ass-kissing. It's time to face the fact that ass-kissing is not an effective tactic for social change.

Nonviolence is a potentially empowering concept, not to be confused with complacent ass-kissing, which helps reinforce traditional hierarchical relationships within society instead of challenging them. Nonviolence started out promisingly as a genuinely radical alternative to the moribund carcass of mainstream environmentalism, but has since become effete and formulaic, a masturbatory exercise in defeat.

Earth First! cannot be an effective movement and continue practicing the brand of nonviolence it currently professes. Our numbers simply aren't sufficient. Even at large campaigns with a couple of hundred people, only a fraction are willing to risk arrest or defy the police.

A prime illustration of this is the '97 Headwaters campaign. The rally was nothing more than a party, and the political dialogue there was virtually indistinguishable from that which might be overheard at the local McDonald's. Even the local papers recognized the rally for what it was: a gathering of nostalgic, harmless liberals, about as intimidating as the Promise Keeper's. In fact, the organizers were so terrified that this rally would be mistaken for an actual protest that they were compelled to provide their own security force, dubbed "Peace Keepers," although "Ass-Kissers" would have been a more appropriate term. Their primary function seemed to be to remind the participants that they were there to party, not to protest.

The next day, about 200 people walked from the California Department of Forestry (CDF) in Fortuna to the entrance of Pacific Lumber's property. The next few hours entailed listening to a variety of watered-down, uninspiring propaganda that would have had us believe that our presence was impeding the progress of Maxxam. The fact was that no logging was planned that day, but that was all right because it was a "Good Action."

More excellent examples of this sort of risk-free activism can be found in an October 9 Headwaters action alert. The action alert begins with a greeting from the Headwaters basecamp and almost immediately launches into a self-congratulatory, delusional rave about giant puppets and street theater shutting down Maxxam. After wading through an ocean of generic EF! rhetoric, I saw a paragraph that caught my eye: "Immediately after the rally cleared out, we transformed into basecamp and dove right into action. On Monday the 15th, 200 folks marched from CDF in Fortuna to the Newburgh road gate, where 15 women held a line across the gate, and wood elves hiked around to the road above.

"The Humboldt County Sheriffs and California Highway Patrol stood stone-faced as we rallied, ranted and prayed, until reinforcements arrived in riot gear and got into military formation. After removing activists from the road above, the police focused on the crowd who were peaceably assembling and allowing police vehicles to pass. They declared us an illegal assembly and ordered us to disperse by threatening us with chemical agents! We circled up to seek consensus but at the last moment the police charged us and most of us moved." In my opinion, this one paragraph says more about the present state of our "movement" than the last 20 issues of the *EF! Journal* put together.

As anyone who is actually out on the front lines will tell you, we are badly in need of some new tactics and some type of long-term revolutionary strategy that links our actions with those of other resistance movements around the globe. The fact

that the authors of the above-mentioned Headwaters action alert went out of their way to actually boast about obeying the police shows that the real

priority of most activists is not protecting the Earth but protecting the reputation of Earth First! as a law abiding, nonviolent protest group that "plays by the rules."

At Headwaters rallies, people shout things like, "We're not extremists, we all have jobs, we all pay taxes; we're not against logging, we just want to see it done differently." Signs that read "Jail Charles Hurwitz" and "End Lawless Logging" are everywhere. In 1998, as we teeter on the brink of total ecological devastation, this type of liberal ass-kissing is intolerable. Asking the system that created Charles Hurwitz to punish him can only be described as pathetic; if Hurwitz ever went to jail it

liever," ass-kissing. Not coincidentally, the only rule included in the nonviolence code that doesn't explicitly call for ass-kissing is also the rule most EF!ers have no compunction about breaking: We will not run. Oh, yes—we will run, and darn fast, when cops or loggers are after us. The Headwaters nonviolence code, aside from being archaic and ineffective, can be downright dangerous when used as a shield for cowardly behavior. Strict, dogmatic adherence to a nonviolence code often endangers the safety of fellow activists who place themselves in vulnerable positions at the mercy of hostile forces with only their "support group" as protection.

An excellent example was an action at Dillon Creek this year. A young EF!er locked down to a water truck that blocked the roadway leading to the sale units. When the loggers arrived, about half of the support team fled, leaving about six of us. The loggers opened up a valve and began dumping water on the poor kid's head. We still had them out numbered, and I tried to convince

everyone to band together and shut off the water. No one would back me up, and I wound up facing two loggers alone. I nearly got my ass kicked for nothing, as they physically prevented me from shutting off the water and finished emptying hundreds of gallons of water upon their unfortunate target who had been abandoned by most of his support group.

Then, they chased one of our number through the woods and hit him with a shovel. Another protester was thrown on the ground. Later, when I chastised my fellow blockaders for not forcing them to shut the water off, one of them looked at me aghast and said, "That might have provoked violence." I don't think he was joking. The fact is, the loggers did get violent—but not with the people who stood up to them. Subsistence is no guarantee of personal safety; in fact it is an insult to the memory of effective nonviolent movements whose members risked life and limb standing up to and defying their oppressors. None of the great, successful nonviolent movements were ass-kissing in nature; they were developmental and progressive, not dogmatic and inflexible. The very notion of resting on one's laurels is antithetical to the idea of calling something a "movement." People in Earth First! need to become familiar with the history of nonviolent resistance before they begin to espouse a political philosophy

they cannot even claim to understand.

Further evidence of the depraved toadying that passes for activism can be seen in another of the fascist rules included in the nonviolence code: We will not destroy any property. How can a creed fashioned with the ostensible aim of preserving the Earth even acknowledge the idea of "property"? This is an inescapable paradox, and a fatal flaw in our strategy. Clearly, this movement is suffering from an identity crisis.

For too long we have relied on gurus and ideologues to define us and our shared philosophy. Deep ecology is an intellectual concept about putting the



"Self-congratulatory, delusional... power-tripping liberals... display their lack of revolutionary courage" at a Headwaters rally.

would only be as a skill for the capitalist system whose very *raison d'être* is resource extraction.

Let's return to the text of the action alert, "On Thursday, 21 activists locked down in cement-encased lock boxes across Fisher road, the controversial site of the last two September Headwaters Rallies. Again, authorities ordered us to disperse, which we chose to do willingly as a sort of Akido move."

Akido is based on the concept of leading your opponent, of harmonizing with your opponent's charge and turning their aggression against them. Yet nowhere in this flyer is it ever explained how this clever "Akido move" was used against the police; in fact, it is never mentioned again. This is because no Akido move ever took place and the self-styled "Earth Warriors" of Humboldt County are only trying to make themselves appear heroic, when their actions clearly betray their lack of revolutionary courage and their cringing obedience to authority. The police did the leading in this situation and the crowd scattered, probably because most of them were new recruits under the insidious influence of the power-tripping liberals who try to set policy for the entire environmental movement.

What is this policy? Ostensibly, it is contained in the nonviolence code, the holy scripture that liberal environmentalists adhere to with all the religious zeal of any fundamentalist fanatic, seeking to convert those who have not yet "seen the light"—at least until the letter of the law conflicts with the single most holy precept conceivable to the "be-

OPINION

Earth first created by college professors who are environmentally radical but politically reactionary and who are pushing their own reformist political agenda that will never take us far beyond fairly limited forms of lawful protest and lobbying.

Are we willing to concede to this kind of tyrannical manipulation?

There is a police-like mentality at work that should frighten anyone concerned with real social or ecological change. The movement must be what we decide it should be, not what self-appointed leaders decide for us, especially when these decisions were made in a different era. This type of intellectual browbeating would be inexcusable in an effective social movement. It's time to jettison the nonviolence code and allow this movement to be redefined in the terms of its actual participants.

PEACE BRO

A PEACEKEEPER RESPONDS

BY ED DENSON

Spike's exuberant flame about nonviolence at the Headwaters campaign is quite interesting. While I am not an EF'er, I am a long time nonviolence preparer who has worked with people taking part in several of the larger Headwaters demos of '95-'97, as well as in the Redwood Summer of 1990. I was one of the peacekeepers that Spike felt was restraining the revolution at Stafford in 1997.

I share some of Spike's feelings about the inadequate implementation of nonviolence guidelines at some Headwaters actions. I don't mean that these actions were violent. But, like Spike, I thought some protesters were confused and did not implement nonviolence with more imagination and creativity than just sitting down or milling around in the road. Unlike Spike, I don't think this means forest activists should quit being nonviolent. Quite the opposite, I think it means they need to work on their nonviolence so that they will be more effective next time.

I was especially struck by Spike's version of the Dillon Creek action at which people did not try to stop the loggers from dumping water on the locked down activist because that "would provoke violence." Without knowing the particulars, I won't comment on what occurred, but I will comment on what Spike reported. The point of a nonviolent action is to make a highly principled moral statement that will resonate in the hearts of those who hear about it. Being attacked for making that statement is a side issue. To put it another way, you are being nonviolent, not them. You follow your conscience and others react as seems appropriate to them. If you allow your plans to be canceled because someone else threatens violence, then you will soon be unable to act at all.

What is most interesting about Spike's discussion

tions in years: the lockdown at Pacific Lumber's headquarters in Scotia last September and the two in October at Bear Creek and US Congressman Frank Riggs' office in Eureka. During these actions, Humboldt County deputies used swabs to rub pepper spray into the eyes of locked-down activists.

I cannot think of any other forest actions during the entire struggle to protect the ancient forests that achieved the national attention that the three pepperspray incidents did. The bravery of the victims, and the moral and physical courage they displayed garnered not only national attention but almost universal outrage. The police, on the other hand, have had to hire counselors to help them deal with the outpouring of national disapproval of their torture techniques. The sheriff's office is in disarray and under attack in several court cases.

The pepper spray actions were not perfect from our end, but they were spectacular successes. They show that the great nonviolent actions are not confined to Gandhi's time in India or Martin Luther King's marches in the South 30 years ago. The extraordinary power of nonviolence to reach national public opinion, and to gain national public support, is still available to us today. Forest activists have the power to achieve similar successes this year. This is the time to build on what has been achieved so far. To me the question should not be: Do we

of nonviolence, and his call to discontinue it, is what he doesn't mention. In the fall of 1997, the Headwaters campaign included three of the most successful nonviolent ac-

continue nonviolence? Nonviolence is a huge success. The question is: How can we build upon the momentum we have had with nonviolence?

Were I working on plans for 1998's Headwaters campaign there are two things I would make major priorities. One is support of the pepper-spray victims during their criminal trials in Eureka and the federal suit against law enforcement. The ongoing national attention to these events creates an unprecedented chance to reach and shape public opinion about the Headwaters forest crisis.

The second thing is building upon these actions.

Look at the videos that the Sheriff was kind enough to make. What worked? What didn't work? What future actions can be done that build upon these actions?

Planning a successful nonviolent action is not easy work. Most of Gandhi's and King's actions failed, and they knew nonviolence best. Undeniably, luck helped make the pepper-swab lockdowns successful in comparison to the dozens of similar lockdowns with much smaller results. But luck only comes to those who act. And it doesn't take many people to make a successful action. The Headwaters forest will be far better served by four people doing a good nonviolent action than 200 who do a confused and purposeless action.

Spike, someone with your intelligence and your obvious willingness to put yourself on the line is the kind of person most likely to succeed with nonviolent action. Don't give it up because some of those around you are not effective or don't understand it as well as you do. Look for those who do understand, who are willing to do the work and withstand the violence, and together you can create the actions that can save the forest.



Protesters and cops at a Headwaters rally

Photo courtesy of Ecotopia News Service

NONVIOLENCE

THE SUM OF THE PARTS

BY ANN ARCKY

Many activists (both in EF! and other struggles) share a similar frustration with a lack of unity and solidarity in responding to police repression and the inability to escalate and evolve tactically. Many of us feel unfulfilled by the repetitive, almost compulsory gadgetry of tripods and lockdowns.

Like activists at Cove/Mallard, Cascadia and beyond, EF'ers in the redwoods have explored the cutting edge of blockading and tree-sitting techniques. But we've also organized mass rallies and civil disobedience actions, drawing from the dense population of sympathetic citizens in our region.

It's a strategy that almost requires that you appeal to the least radical of the masses, which affects the path of the collective will. The "masses" we've seen here in Humboldt don't resemble the rabid, high-risk, confrontational throngs of the animal rights movement or urban European protests. Our protests are tailor-made to reflect who we are. I don't think you have to be aggressive to affect change, much less to save trees. But without either close-knit affinity groups or charismatic "organizers" taking leadership roles to inspire tactical escalation, mass action in our region (and others) can really feel like a collective descent into the world of irrelevant, "risk-free" activism.

This is due to a lack of strategic thinking, partly because of inexperience and partly because of fear. It's easy to form affinity with close friends who all agree to stay with the lockdown or to sit down when the police lash out, and sometimes it happens spontaneously. But when there are 200 people, all with their own personal thresholds, how can someone rely on everyone else's willingness to stand their ground?

You can rant and rave and try to inspire fiery emotions, but when the dust clears, and there are 20 brave warriors suffering pain compliance holds in some rural cul-de-sac or suicidally occupying a busy urban intersection, it's hard to answer the question, "What's the point?" (especially when the trees are still falling, and the media cameras have fled). Being a mercenary to prove how hardcore you are might be a quick outlet for your pent-up aggression, but what does it actually accomplish?

At Headwaters, we've finally reckoned with a possible answer to this common problem: affinity groups, duh. The anti-nuke movement has organized that way for years, but I haven't experienced a real, functional model in any eco-defense campaigns.

The obvious advantage with an affinity group is that you know ahead of time how far you can push it, and your numbers are your power. You can agree beforehand to hunger strike in jail or to all sit down when the cops order you to disperse.

Yes, we *do* respect the judgment of those who came before concerning property damage, and it has nothing to do with glorifying Pacific Lumber's claim of ownership. It has to do with being part of a community-based movement and, in some ways, preserving our reputation.

EF! has a unique, inherited role in the wider Headwaters campaign, of which direct action is only one element. The liberal/reformist slogans Spike described are a very real part of the greater Headwaters campaign. EF! has taken steps to work with the greater campaign, rather than against it, hoping to attract folks to more radical tactics and to encourage healthy interaction with workers. The no sabotage rule and the "no verbal violence" part of the code are both a part of this too.

When participants agree to the nonviolence code, we take on the collective responsibility of calling each other on it. New participants know it from the beginning and, by and large, they choose to abide by it while at basecamp. Beyond the code, as anyone who has visited basecamp knows, we tolerate a lot of disruptive behavior because we truly want people to be able to just stumble upon us and get involved, maybe even find direction in life through the experience, as so many of us have in years past.

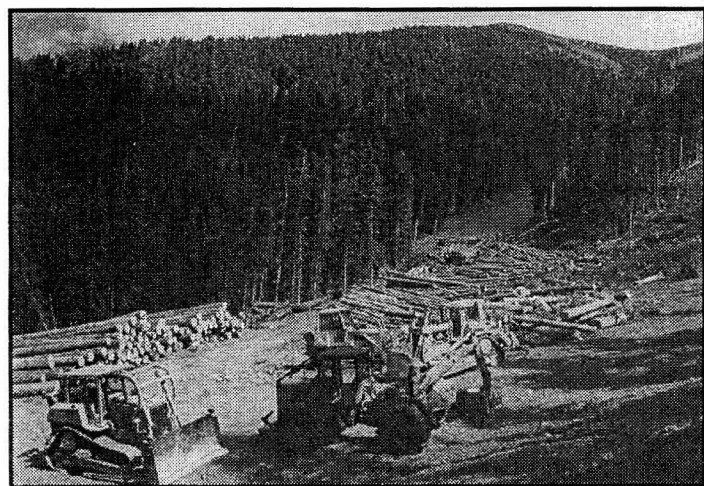
As far as I know, there are no EF! groups actively claiming acts of sabotage anymore, but our movement seems to disagree about our relationship to the issue. I think no EF! group need either claim nor condemn nonviolent, covert actions, but every campaign has a right to utilize its own unique toolbox. In our particular context, many of us feel that the long-term work of social and economic transformation is an issue of challenging class power as much as advocating for biodiversity and ecosystem survival. Monkeywrenching a gyppo (contract) logger's equipment in a rural area, where there simply is no other line of work, seems like a flagrant abuse of class privilege.

As we all know, the corporate war on the Earth involves complex economic weaponry that prevents simple solutions and armors itself against fundamental challenges. Many of us recognize the potential of local residents, timber sympathizers and workers themselves to challenge Maxxam's agenda—and we see it happening before our eyes. It's more important for us to be a radical voice within that chorus than to distract it with tactics that alienate ourselves from that movement and don't save any trees.

Earth Warriors Battle Ski Bunnies on San Francisco Peaks

BY MICHAEL WOLCOTT

Earth warriors are praying for a little precision volcanism to stop a proposed ski center expansion on the sacred San Francisco Peaks, Arizona's



Clearcuts and heavy equipment encroach upon the San Francisco Peaks

highest mountains. So far, these 12,000-foot sleeping volcanoes have been silent. But activists are making plenty of noise.

Arizona Snowbowl operates under a special use permit seven miles north of Flagstaff on Coconino National Forest land. "At this point we're using the system—consciousness-raising, the media and legal process—to stop this," said local Earth First!er Roxane George. "But we're prepared to put our bodies on the line."

George and about 30 other activists held a vigil on Snowbowl Road February 28 to remind a weekend crowd rushing to the slopes that the peaks are more than a winter playground.

Members of the Diné (Navajo), Hopi and Hualapai tribes held banners that read "Help Save Our Church" and "Oppose Desecration." Tree-huggers brandished signs defending rare species that live on the mountain.

Some skiers jeered or flipped the bird; others waved or honked horns in tepid "support." Stern-looking civil servants in unmarked vehicles snapped pictures of activists and their dangerous signs. The sun smiled down on us all.

The protest was sponsored by Flagstaff Activist Network (FAN), which is also fighting a proposal to expand a pumice mine elsewhere on the peaks. (Arizona's Tufflite Inc. wants to enlarge its 90-acre strip mine so Americans can buy jeans that look old when they're brand-new.)

Snowbowl plans to "improve recreational opportunities" (and its profit margin) by cutting 66 acres of new ski runs, an "upgrade" in Snowbowl's terms. Native Americans whose deities live on the peaks have a sharper word for it. "It is desecration," said Klee

Benally, a young traditional Diné and FAN member. "Having a ski resort on *Doko'osliid* (the peaks) is like setting up a skateboard park in the Sistine Chapel." In early February, the first of four prayer vigils for the mountain drew about 60 Native Americans and others. The next vigil is scheduled for spring equinox.

A 6.5-acre cut in the ski area was done in August 1997 (see photo above). The Forest Service says it sought but did not receive public comment on that stage of the expansion.

Snowbowl general manager J. R. Murray claims the new trails and a new lift aren't intended to attract more skiers, but to relieve overcrowding and shorten lift lines. In other words, the business wants to spend about \$2 million just to be nice. Right.

Snowbowl's lease area is 777 acres, bordered on three sides by designated wilderness. About 130 acres are currently termed "skiable." The expansion was originally approved on the

basis of an environmental impact study (EIS) completed in 1979. Federal law requires an Environmental Assessment (EA) to update that study before the Peaks District Ranger can decide on the proposal. The draft EA will be released this spring. But, tree huggers say, the EA cannot adequately update the 1979 study. Grand Canyon Trust and the local Sierra Club have called for an entirely new EIS, citing changes in environmental law since 1979, chiefly the federal listing of the Mexican spotted owl as a threatened species. The expansion would cut old-growth spruce-fir forest, prime owl habitat. Spotted owls have been observed on the mountains, which also have strong populations of black bear, elk and deer.

If the Forest Service approves the plan, activists will probably sue to stop it. FAN is working with Tucson-based Southwest Center for Biological Diversity on legal strategy. The Endangered Species Act is an obvious tool, as are the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution of 1991 and President Clinton's 1996 Executive Order, laws intended to protect Native American sacred sites.

Several hundred Navajos have signed a petition against the expansion circulated by Alfred Yazzie, cultural advisor to the tribe's Historic Preservation Department and a traditional healer. "We have prayers and songs that relate to the mountain," Yazzie says. "As chanters, we are charged to protect the mountain. We're willing to defend what needs to be defended."

The Forest Service tried to limit public comment last fall to a single weekday-afternoon hearing at Snowbowl two days before Thanksgiving. Enviros complained and got a second hearing in December, which put the issue on the front burner. More than 500 comments have been received, with more than 2-1 opposed

Pioneer ecologist C. Hart Merriam completed the first biological survey in the Western US on the San Francisco Peaks in 1889. He found a unique biological island that includes several life zones, including Arizona's only alpine tundra. Thirty-eight plant species living on the mountain exist nowhere else in Arizona.

The fight for the peaks is an old one. Developers with Aspen-style wet dreams were overwhelmed by public opposition in the early 1970s when they pushed for a luxury condo "base village" and golf course on Hart Prairie, at the foot of the ski terrain.

Lawsuits based on religious freedom statutes, filed by Navajo and Hopi groups, failed to block expansion of the ski area in the early 1980s. A series of appeals and reversals ended in 1984 when the US Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

Letters opposing the Snowbowl expansion/Peaks desecration should be directed to John Nelson, Peaks Ranger District, 5075 N. Highway 89, Flagstaff AZ, 86004. For information contact Flagstaff Activist Network, POB 429, Flagstaff AZ, 86002; e-mail: avb@dana.ucc.nau.edu.



Resistance to the San Francisco Peak ski expansion is clear.

EXXON Minerals Corporation Flees Wisconsin Threat to Great Lakes Persists

The news resounded among the thousands fighting the monstrous mining project near the Wolf River in north-eastern Wisconsin: Exxon Minerals Corporation has sold its share of the Crandon Mining Company to Rio Algom Corporation for \$17.5 million. Exxon's divestment is a qualified but important victory in the 23-year-old campaign against the mine. Exxon Corporation has been the lead on this project every time it has come up for a permit, and Exxon has been the primary rallying point for anti-mining forces.

Now Exxon has departed the fray and abandoned its 44-million-ton toxic waste dump at the headwaters of the Wolf River to its lesser known (but equally revolting) corporate ally, Rio Algom Corporation of Toronto, Ontario.

Grassroots environmental efforts across Wisconsin have forced Exxon out of the state. A recent poll taken by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* stated that only 26 percent of Wisconsinites support

this project. Likewise, groups across the state, including grassroots ecological organizations, numerous labor union and regional labor federations, county boards, city councils and tribal organizations have supported a strong Mining Moratorium Bill to disallow new metallic sulfide mining until a company proves a safe record—10 years of operation with no acid leakage at a similar mine. The bill has widespread support and has made it through a number of hurdles.

It was first passed in the state Senate by a vote of 29-3 last spring. In the House, last minute maneuvering resulted in an amendment that attempted to define pollution in a very vague manner, thereby taking the moratorium out of the bill. Let's just say that people across Wisconsin were outraged.

As the newly gutted bill headed back to the Senate for a final vote, activists got on the phones and started a storm of protest. On February 2, some 70 people

from a dozen Wisconsin communities assembled outside the House chamber and began a 12-hour occupation of the Capitol.

Throughout the day, protesters maintained a vigilant watch on the goings-on in the halls of marble, sang a half dozen versions of "Solidarity Forever" and redecorated the west wing of the Capitol. A two-hour sit-in disrupted the office of State Representative Marc Duff, chair of the Assembly's "Environment" Committee and principal gutter of the Mining Moratorium Bill. Representative Duff, by the way, is the genius who uttered the following, splayed across front pages statewide: "I would hope that my fellow representatives would not vote with the majority, but with their colleagues on this one."

Late in the afternoon of the protest, gubernatorial candidate Ed Garvey, a populist and a labor lawyer representing the town of Nashville against the Crandon Mine, stopped by to say, "If I'm Governor, mark my words, there will be no Crandon Mine."

As the day wore on, news arrived on

two fronts: First, the Capitol police informed the assembled crowd that they would be subject to arrest at 6 p.m., normal closing time for the Capitol complex; second, some hours later, protesters found out that the Senate leadership had decided to vote on the Mining Moratorium Bill a week and a half earlier than it had been scheduled.

The next day, the Senate altered the amendment to close the loopholes in the bill. Then they passed it, sent it back to the Assembly where it was approved and forwarded to Governor "Toxic Tommy" Thompson. Toxic Tommy is hinting that he'll sign the bill, for he says, "the people want it."

Future actions in opposition to toxic mining include Earth Day actions and a march from Lake Superior to the state Capitol set to begin May 29.

For more information, contact Midwest Headwaters Earth First!, 731 State St., Madison, WI 53711; (608) 255-8765.

In the aftermath of last year's EF! RRR, the trials of the Crandon 29 began March 11. Letters of support are appreciated and donations are welcomed. Send checks to the EF! July 7 Support Committee at the address above.

Enola Hill Activists Convicted

Felonious Trespasser Gets Six Months

BY MOLLY MAGUIRE

On February 9, almost two years after the campaign to protect the ancient forests and sacred Native American sites of Enola Hill on Mt. Hood, Oregon, five activists were served severe sentences



for low-level federal misdemeanors. These convictions are the last in a long line involving scores of activists since the early 1990s, when Earth First!ers pledged their support to defend Enola Hill to the Tygh band of the Warm Springs tribe, the Yakima and the Nez Perce people. The area is a vision quest site, an edible and medicinal plant gathering spot, and a trading route to be preserved for cultural and ecological values. The commitment to stand with the native people in defense of Enola Hill culminated in the spring of 1996 when logging began under the Salvage Rider. What ensued can be described as nothing less than a local uprising, with three weeks of intense nonviolent action including blockading of the logging operations, tree sitting and mass occupations of the forest (for which these five activists were targeted).

The prosecutor argued that the five had all been arrested more than once during the campaign and deserved severe punishment. Mollie Faggan and Heather Vergottis were excused for acting out of passion and idealism. However, the US district attorney asked the court to acknowledge that Robert Lawrence, Mick Garvin and Leslie Hemstreet are career trouble makers, deserving to be punished to the fullest extent of the law for their respective ties to Greenpeace, Cascadia Forest Defenders and the *Earth First! Journal*.

There was some question as to whether the court should weight a sentence in regards to organizational membership, employment or affiliation, but the judge decided he damn well could and handed a volubly unrepentant Mick Garvin a \$1,000 fine, 200 hours of community service and a year of special probation, barring him from any involve-



ment in logging protests, all for violating a closure order—the same closure order hundreds of others disregarded during the three weeks of action. When Judge Panner asked Mick if he was sorry for his actions, he answered, "I am not, and I'll do it again." Protesting that probation was useless, Mick told the judge, "I don't want to be disrespectful, but you'd better violate me now... let's just cut to the chase." Panner then levied the fine, probation and community service hours. But, things went worse for an absent Bob Lawrence.

Bob's attorney, Stu Sugarman, read a letter submitted to the court by Bob from his home in Alaska, explaining that Bob was unable to appear in court for financial reasons. The letter said he was unwilling to accept probation or pay a fine to the US Forest Service for any inconvenience he had caused as they enabled the destruction of Enola Hill. Panner accepted this statement and handed Bob a six-month

judge affirmed the six-month sentence, he dismissed the year of special probation. The motion had unintentionally reopened the sentencing of the case, but luckily the judge did not increase Bob's sentence.

At the sentencing hearing, Leslie Hemstreet squeezed out a tear and pointed out that the prosecution's justification for filing federal charges against her was bullshit (she was arrested only once at Enola Hill). The judge gave her 100 hours of community service and six months probation. Heather Vergottis received 50 hours and six months probation. Mollie Faggan, swearing direct action is a lifestyle choice for her as well, was chagrined to be fined only \$100 and given 100 hours community service and a year of conditional probation.

"We are seeing the agencies really start to target those they believe are organizers and ringleaders and lay down some pretty heavy consequences.

"We are seeing the agencies really start to target those they believe are organizers and ringleaders and lay down some pretty heavy consequences."

federal prison term with a year of special probation to follow (for blockading a log truck!). His co-defendants and friends were stunned.

"I couldn't believe it," said Mick. "Everyone thought 30 days. You don't get six months even for stealing cars or assaulting someone around here, only for nonviolent civil disobedience. He could have burned that truck and not gotten six months if he wasn't an activist."

In response to this harsh judgement, Sugarman filed a Motion for Reconsideration that summoned Bob to court in person on March 9. There, Bob Lawrence proudly affirmed his commitment to engage in such behavior to defend the Earth. Again the outcome was surprising. Although the

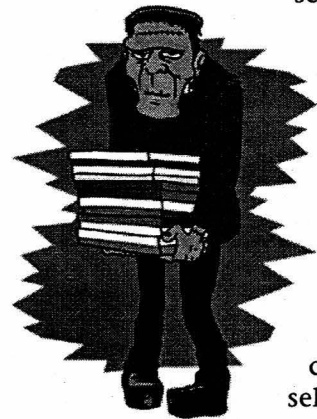
Now we can put coercive sentencing up there with pepper spray and pain holds as evidence that these protests have an effect and get attention," said Mollie. "1998 is going to make them wish for '95 and '96 like they were the good old days."

Send financial support earmarked for Bob, Mick or Mollie to Cascadia Forest Defenders, POB 11122, Eugene, OR 97440. Forward letters directly to Robert Lawrence #61950-065, FPC Lompoc, 3705 W. Farm Rd., Lompoc, CA 93436. If you would like to help the Belmont Law Center in its representation of Mick, Bob and numerous other forest protestors, please send money and words of inspiration to Paul Loney and Stu Sugarman at 3430 SE Belmont St., Suite 101 Portland, OR 97214; (503) 234-2694.

Mass EF! Follows Frankenstein to Cloning Conference

BY OAK

Like Dante's journey through the seven levels of hell, Mass EF!, with the eminent Dr. Frankenstein as its guide, descended into the 24th annual conference of the International Embryo Transfer Society (IETS) at the Marriott Copley in Boston in mid-January. IETS is home to most of the world's scientists engaged in cloning research. Forgoing such

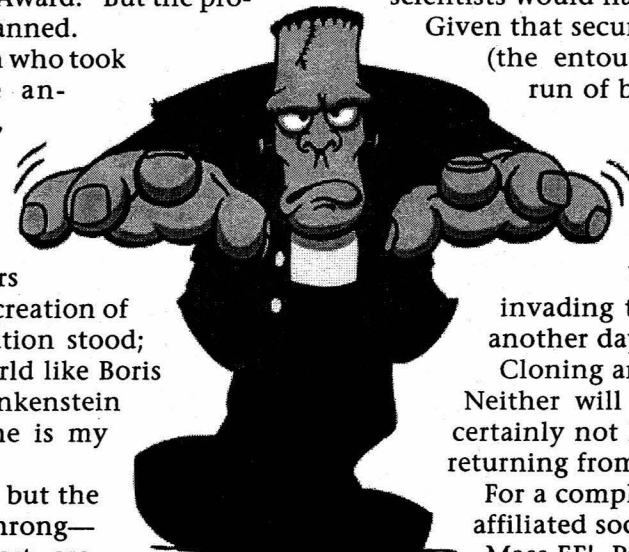


enlightening workshops as: "Cloning: the Media-Interest, Education and Interpretation for the Public" and "Genetic Modification of Animals: Methods and Applications," Frankenstein and his entourage chose to join some 500 other mad scientists from around the world in the presentation of IETS' "Pioneer Award." But the program didn't go off as planned.

It was Dr. Frankenstein who took the podium after the announcement of the winner, claiming the award for himself. Much to the astonishment and discomfort of

assembled technocrats and minions of the status quo, Dr. Frankenstein scolded his fellow lab dwellers for failing to recognize his pioneering work in the creation of life. Gesturing toward stage right, where his creation stood; arms held high in greeting (looking for all the world like Boris Karloff with 20 pounds of green face putty), Dr. Frankenstein noted, "Here is my son! I am his creator, but he is my master!"

Frankenstein's monster may seem scary to some, but the creature paled in comparison to the assembled thron-



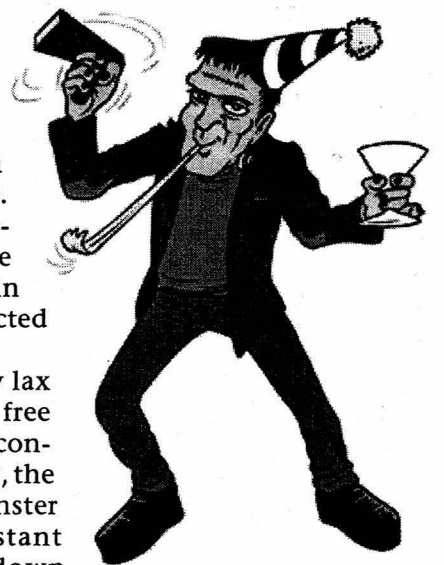
convinced they can manipulate life for their own ends, placing themselves where gods once stood. Usually, it is all performed with such frightening normalcy, such seeming blandness, as to appear... what? Innocent? But on this occasion more than a few mild mannered scientists, faced with the potential results of their vile deeds, suddenly turned into monsters themselves. With red, grimacing faces, they turned on Dr. Frankenstein and his oration, endeavoring to remove him from the hall. The doctor called out, "I only wish to share in your insanity!" But, alas, the respected scientists would have none of it.

Given that security was amazingly lax (the entourage having had free run of both floors of the conference for hours), the

doctor, his monster and their assistant walked right down three escalators and out the front door undetected, blending into the business suits and bell hops. The invading trio walked free of the bonds of hell to fight again another day.

Cloning and genetic engineering will not, of course, go away. Neither will Earth First!, the tenacious Dr. Frankenstein, and certainly not his monster who, as you all know, has a history of returning from the grave time after time.

For a complete list of IETS conference organizers, sponsors and affiliated sociopaths, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to Mass EF!, POB 35, Montague, MA 01351.



PUTTING THE COPPERS IN THEIR PLACE

BY DAVID HEILPERN

It is cold, foggy and dark. The convoy of geriatric four-wheel drives snakes its way along the ridge top in Richmond Range State Forest in Northern New South Wales, Australia. Redneck country. The moon is setting on one side, and the first rays of sunlight are visible only by a milky mist in the fog on the other. We are tired, but we are near our destination.

The bulldozer sits in a log dump, looking almost alive in the mist. We stand in awe for a moment as our joints reset themselves after the jarring ride. Within three minutes a tripod is erected over the beast. A neck lock and other devices looking remarkably like torture equipment are positioned for "lock ons." I put on my legal observer shirt; we light a small fire; the radio crew makes contact with Lismore base; mobile telephones are charged; the video camera is on; and we wait for the loggers to come. I look around at the motley crew that feels like family after so many nights on blockades together—a genuine tribe. Aged six to 60, some dreads, some crew-cuts, many tats but all so committed and determined. We sing to quiet guitar; we reminisce about previous campaigns; a poem is read; and we wait. Some sleep, some smoke, some make warm sweet chai, and we wait.

The sound of machinery echoes through the hills, breaking the silence. Some scurry to place branches on the road. A North East Forest Alliance (NEFA) banner is hoisted, and a chain of four-wheel drives moves slowly down the hill, stopping at the blockage. A spokesperson, emerging almost organically from our group moves forward and greets the loggers with a smile, a welcome and the statement that there will be no logging here today. "In fact," she says, "this is a deferred area; there should be no logging at all here. The logging is illegal, and we have seized your equipment." A redneck and his 'dozer have a symbiotic relationship—separation caused by greenie activists is likely to engender rage and violence. Hence, we always carry a camera.

"You fucking cunts have no right to be here; get off my 'dozer; get out of the way. I'm here to earn a day's wages. Who's paying you, you fuckwits?" All outbursts are met with a smile. The loggers are shown those people who are locked on and those on top of the tripod, and they are invited to have a cup of tea. "Youse have no right to be here youse cunts."

"Well, we do, this is state forest. We can be here if we want. The forest is not closed, and you should go back to State Forests and get advice. This area is reserved under all agreements."

"Bullshit!"

"Well, would you like to speak to our lawyer?" On cue, I emerge from the shadows, clutching my briefcase and mobile telephone, suited and tied, even shaved. I introduce myself to the loggers, who stand in stunned silence, and I lecture them on the complexities of the deferred forest agreements, the amendments to the Forestry Act and Regulations, the defense of necessity, and the right of free speech, assembly and protest. Without a word, they retreat to their vehicles and drive off. Another blockade has begun.

Formed three years ago, Lawyers for Forests (LFF) is a group of green lawyers committed to providing 24-hour-a-day legal advice and representation for environmental activists at demonstration sites. We stay with blockaders, assisting with police liaison, legislative interpretation and pre- and post-arrest advice and representation. We have attended nine blockades, most of which were managed by NEFA. We have negotiated a six-page protocol with police for environmental actions and have prepared written advice for protesters on their legal rights and obligations. We assist people making claims for victim's compensation when loggers attack blockades, ensure that charges are pursued for violent acts and provide on-the-ground advice for lawyers working on court challenges.

It is wonderful work. Lawyers rarely have the opportunity to spend days in the bush, surrounded

by music and children, learning to identify trees and the marks of endangered fauna. It is also very risky work. We have been at blockades where people were seriously injured, where trees were felled around people, where bulldozers were driven at blockades, and when loggers have attacked at night. Recently, at the Timbarra Gold Mine action, we were blockaded by pro-mine local farmers for two days. There is the ever-present threat of arrest and the personal toll of giving difficult advice without having showered for three days.

In some cases, the advice can be very complicated. A woman chains herself by the neck to a cattle grid on



The author (right) advises a locked down activist.

the border of the state forest and private land, thus blocking a convoy of logging trucks and a dozer. The logging operation is not authorized and is possibly otherwise illegal. The police inform her that if she does not release herself she will be arrested. She responds that she cannot release herself; she hasn't got the key, and mock calls for the key bring no response. We are seeking an injunction to save this old-growth forest classified as crucial for two species of endangered fauna and one of endangered flora. I am asked whether she could be successfully prosecuted for hindering the police, intimidation or anything else. The advice must be immediate and accurate.

We have had some notable successes. At a recent blockade, a security guard was charged with assault after our intervention. We are currently suing for false imprisonment regarding the mine blockade. We have not had a single successful prosecution of a protester arrested at any action where we were present, and we have had over 100 charges dropped. Police tend to behave better when a suited lawyer is watching them along with a video camera. False information espoused by loggers and government agents as to the law is immediately corrected.

Perhaps the most important success has been the development and adoption of the Police Protocol.

This document is almost a Geneva Convention for environmental actions. Some examples of key clauses include:

- "At all times New South Wales (NSW) police service officers will act impartially, by not taking, or appearing to take, sides with any party involved in the protest.
- "NSW police shall not engage in harassment of people involved with the protest, including: targeting vehicles for registration or other violations, searching people or requiring people to give their names and addresses unless police have a substantive reason for doing so.
- "A legal observer, a police liaison person and members of the media shall be permitted into closed areas with police. The legal observer and police liaison person shall advise a person within a closed area that they are in an arrestable situation.
- "Where a person has 'locked on' to a vehicle or structure and is unable to leave when asked to do so, a personal support person may remain with that person during and until the person 'locked on' has been safely removed by NSW police.
- "The safety of the protesters shall be a primary consideration and all steps that can be taken to minimize the risk to protesters shall be taken.
- "In particular, tripods shall not be removed by cutting them down, as this has led to serious injury.
- "A cherry picker style crane, or other means which meet relevant occupational health and safety standards shall be used for the effecting of any arrests over two meters above the ground.
- "When a protester is arrested, and provides suitable identification, and states that he/she will not place themselves in an arrestable situation for a period of five days from that time, NSW police shall take that person's information and deal with the matter by way of summons.
- "The NSW police will, on request, provide the police liaison person with the names of all protesters detained or arrested and the name of the police station to which they have been despatched."

The protocol has made protest situations safer for all concerned and has dramatically reduced arrests, but there are still some interesting ethical dilemmas. How far should officers of the court go in providing advice to those who are probably breaking the law? Should these people be lawyer-free in situations where they are at risk and where the presence of a lawyer seems to make a difference? How can we effectively represent people when there is a risk of being a witness to the proceedings?

Of course one can intellectualize some clever responses—lawyers in such circumstances are not participating in a criminal activity just observing, for example. But in the end, the personal, the political and the professional are merged and a commitment to the environment overwhelms.

Contact Lawyers for Forests, c/o David Heilpern, Senior Lecturer in Law, POB 157, Lismore 2480, Australia; e-mail: dheilper@scu.edu.au.

David M Heilpern is the academic programs coordinator for the School of Law and Justice at Southern Cross University.

VICTORY: AMAZON LOGGING HALTED

In late January, the government of the Brazilian state of Amazonas put on hold millions of dollars of projects by Chinese and Malaysian logging companies. The victory followed on the heels of an announcement by the Brazilian government that logging in the region has not slowed since 1994.

Breaking years of silence, the government conceded that destruction of the Amazon rainforest reached record levels in 1995, before leveling off in the last two years. In 1995, deforestation nearly doubled to 11,621 square miles, up from 5,958 square miles in 1994, a 95 percent increase. Though rates have dropped in the last two years, they are still higher than in 1994, a period when it was commonly believed that deforestation had slowed significantly in the magnificent rainforests. The government stonewalled on releasing this data for years, claiming that it didn't have the money to analyze satellite photos.

Concurrently, the state of Amazonas halted new logging projects in the region, claiming that logging companies have failed to follow forestry laws and are refusing to pay fines. Most of the affected concessions involve Asian logging companies that invested \$100 million in the region in 1996 alone. The role of Asian logging companies in Brazil's Amazon came under fire last year when a federal congressional committee investigated the continuing destruction of the rainforest caused by such companies. The congressional report found that regional government functionaries were offering incentives to Asian companies to set up logging operations. Although no figures have been prepared to document the specific impact of the Asian logging companies, they were fined in excess of \$1 million for logging violations last year.

OPENCAST MY ENGLISH ASS

BY AL DECKER AND CATH (LEEDS EF!)

In the same way that timber corporations have replaced workers with feller-bunchers here in the US, mining corporations in the British Isles have replaced the labor-intensive deep-pit mines with opencast mines in the interest of profit. These strip-mines are massive pits, hundreds of acres across and dozens of meters deep.

Opposition to opencast mining has really kicked off in Britain. A diverse coalition of eco-freaks, current and former miners, anarchists and social justice advocates has engaged in a series of hard-line actions over the last several years to oppose the brutal strip-mining of what was once a green and pleasant land. In the process, they have hit the industry with massive financial losses and have built significant relationships between enviros, workers and communities (understandably pissing off a few people in the process).

Most of the mining is for coal, but there are also rock and mineral quarries. All three are used by the road building cartels, making them particularly heinous to anti-road activists.

The damage to environmental and human health is dreadful. Opencast is notorious for air, water and noise pollution and is linked to respiratory diseases. There is a significantly higher incidence of asthma in many opencast areas. Biodiversity and heritage are replaced with either landfill (a profitable sideline for opencasters) or "plastic countryside"—a monocultural desert where trees are held up with wire and streams are culverted.

Opencast mines also destroy the social cohesion and economy of an area. Although the working conditions may be safer in this new type of mine, other problems are exponentially worse. Once a massive hole is dug and the resource is gone, so are the jobs. Afterwards, the soil is too polluted for farming or any reforestation other than tree farms. Mining is perhaps the ultimate, unsustainable sunset industry.

Opencast My Arse!

Earth First!ers first took action over opencasting in early 1995, targeting a site near Leeds run by HJ Banks. The police were prepared for the action and the Tactical Support Group (the scary ones) arrived en masse, together with a helicopter and dogs. Those present were shocked by the force used against the 30 resisters. At about the same time, Welsh EF! groups were setting up camps at Selar Nature Reserve and Brynhenllys, both near Swansea in Wales.

When activists first moved onto the site at Selar and started to build treehouses and tunnels, the local population got involved, offering help and support. After several weeks of fortifying the site, the authorities were brought in to evict the camps, spurring a three-day battle involving an estimated 200 police and professional climbers. The sight of convoys of riot vans revived unpleasant memories for the community of the virtual police state that ruled during the miners' strike of 1984-85. The last remaining deep pit in the coal field, Tower Collier (now under a form of workers' control) sent help and coal for the protesters. What's left of the old Selar farm is now an 880-acre slimy hole, purportedly the largest in Europe and visible from the moon.

"We Shut Whatley!"

December 3, 1995, will live long as a day of infamy for the mining and road building industries. On that day, bagpipes awoke 500 riff raff at 3:30 a.m. for the first EF! national action. By 5:30 a.m., the Whatley

quarry site had been invaded on all sides. Quarrying and opencast are different types of mining that are equally destructive. Whatley is operated by Amey Roadstone Corporation, owned by Lord Hanson of Peabody Coal.

The early-risers wrenched the place up, causing an estimated \$400,000 worth of damage and shutting the site down for days.

According to *Schnews*, "The action was a total success... There was nobody manning the office or machinery! All surveillance cameras were quickly taken out of action. There were people up every crane, on top of offices, up lights, up chimneys! The pumps at the bottom of the quarry were stopped. A section of railway line mysteriously disappeared. One of the air conveyor belts, which had been mysteriously trashed due to a stray fire extinguisher, made an excellent trampoline!"

Interestingly enough, quite a few of the 60 folks arrested for aggravated trespass were acquitted. One bloke claimed he was too drunk to understand police instructions to leave, and another gentleman argued that the protest chants of "Hanson, Hanson, Fuck Your Hole" (which was duly and merrily sung to the judge) made it impossible to hear the coppers! Last winter, the railway tracks at Whatley again mysteriously fell apart and disappeared, resulting in charges against several people for conspiracy to cause criminal damage and endanger me.

British campaigns often enjoy three advantages which we don't: relatively strong squatting laws, (allowing protesters to occupy a site for a long time before being evicted), close proximity to urban centers and, often enough, massive local support. Extolling such virtues, a friend encouraged me to go out to South Wales and visit an occupation site, recounting how even a local under-sheriff picked her up hitchhiking, drove her to the Selar basecamp and donated \$30 to the cause.

So I went to Brynhenllys and experienced an EF! action entirely different from the way we Yanks do things. The Brynhenllys opencast site is a 770-acre monster. In '95, it witnessed the longest eviction in the British Isles since WWII (until that point), the result of a fierce resistance put up by EF! with local support.

In February 1996, another EF! national action descended upon the opencast beast, shutting down work for the day at Brynhenllys. About 100 folks, the majority in balaclavas and face scarves, drew around the rim of the pit; huge excavators and dozers ripped apart the earth below. Shouting and whooping, people ran and slid down the embankments and swarmed onto the moving equipment, forcing the operators to shut down. A number of machines were damaged, though not as flagrantly as at other actions.

Your faithful correspondent unfortunately managed to get nicked, and at the gaol I gave the forest name that I used whilst abroad, Edward Abbey. A Special Branch agent told the cops that Edward Abbey founded Earth First! and wrote eco-terrorism manuals, which provided some comic relief when I was removed from the cell I shared with several colleagues and put in a cell of my own for the safety of the other inmates. Needless to say, when the authorities discovered Abbey had died a decade ago and their big chance at catching an international terrorist had disappeared, they weren't very amused.

Garden Parties
"No Opencast" is a campaign run by the Miners Support Group with support from the National Union of Mineworkers and Women Against Pit Closures, which did much for the miners during the

strike in the '80s and the pit closures in the '90s. Frustrated by the Tories' open attempts to destroy mining communities and by the loaded planning process, the miners decided to take radical action.

They lodged a planning application to opencast a small area of Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine's estate. Anyone, you see, can lodge a planning application, whether they own the land or not. One misty November morning in 1995, they set up the site. Areas were cordoned off and signs put up to hide the fact that they were digging a reasonable-sized hole in the front garden. The local village constable arrived, realized that there were far more of them (about 25) than him and got two of his mates to come and watch it all from a distance. Even the tabloids took up the story, and we got great coverage in every single one.

The action was repeated a year later, as the planning process was still ongoing and the miners needed to test that there really was coal (there is). On another occasion, Heseltine found several tons of coal dumped outside the gate of his mansion with a love note from the miner's union, which stated eloquently, "Up Yours." The 68-acre mining application is currently in the hands of the Environment Minister, though Heseltine fiercely opposes it, claiming it was made "without his consultation." Indeed.

Campaigners from all over the country also descended on the country spread of a major opencast supporter, the Duke of Devonshire. The Miner's Support Group was met with a large police contingent but managed to make its way to the Duke's stately mansion. Three people went inside and hung banners from the roof, and a lively protest was maintained outside as a speaker blasted the sounds of an opencast mine in operation.

"No Opencast" then targeted Richard Budge, chief of RJB Mining Ltd, the biggest coal-producer and open-caster in the country. After a failed attempt to opencast his lawn (foiled by the police, who put up roadblocks in a two-mile radius), two activists were injunctioned from going near any RJB sites or Budge's home. Shortly afterwards he got a message on his wall, reading, "who will u injunct 4 this?" in two-foot high white paint. In mid-May his garden was successfully dug up by a nocturnal group.

Clearly, anti-opencast protesters take very seriously the concept that, "The Earth is not dying, it is being killed. And those that are killing it have names and addresses."

Trick or Treat!

A recent Halloween action surely takes the cake. *Schnews* was on the case with this report, which deserves to be quoted in length both for its humor and for showing how different EF! actions can be across the Atlantic:

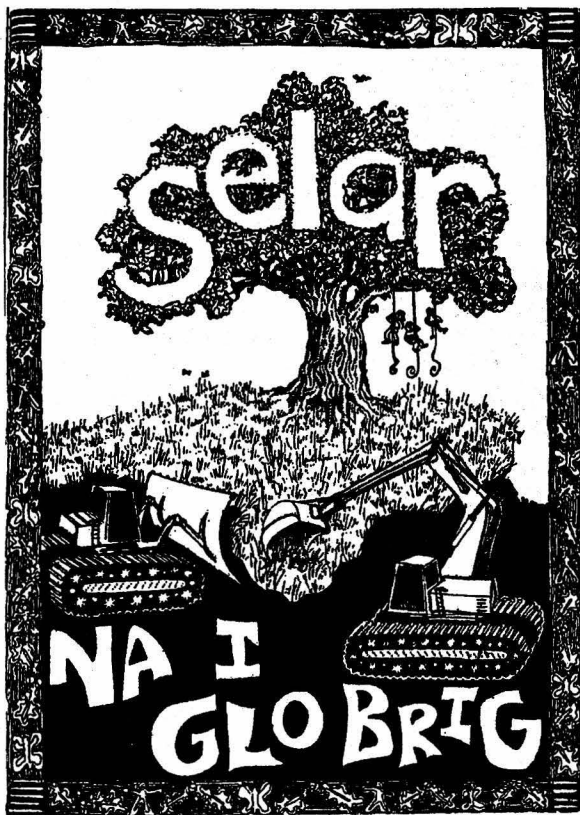
"A nasty big opencast coal mine in Derbyshire was put decidedly out of action by the amassed forces of miners, ex-miners, radical ecologists, ghosts, witches and vampires. The action kicked off at 6 a.m. and enjoyed the passive cooperation (if not support) of the Derbyshire constabulary, whose scant number of officers looked on as an estimated £350,000 of damage was joyously wreaked upon machinery. One activist told *Schnews* 'machinery was dismantled, engines clogged, windows broken, tyres slashed and wiring ripped from vehicles. Several generators and rigs 'fell' over the side of steep cliff edges as bemused workers stood back and laughed.' Rumours that the larger scale damage only began after the proprietors of the mine refused to proffer up sweets to trick or treat activists are unconfirmed. What is known, however, is that by the time the protesters made good their escape after two or three hours of industrious activity, the site had been pretty comprehensively trashed; a spokesperson for mine owners HJ Banks confirmed, 'every item on site was damaged.'"

At that point, 50 people went off to take over the offices of Harry Banks in nearby Chesterfield, where they stayed for nearly four hours. They attempted to send a fax from Banks' offices, but were strung along by the office staff and made sitting ducks for the police. Forty-seven people were arrested, even those sitting in front of the building.

Just another day in Merry Old England...

For more information, contact the following groups: No Opencast, 190 Shepherds Bush Road, London, W6 7NL; 0181 767-3142 or 0181 672 9698.

Schnews: POB 2600, Brighton, E. Sussex, BN2 2DX, England; 01273 685913; e-mail: schnews@cbuzz.co.uk, <http://www.cbuzz.co.uk/SchNEWS/index.html>.



Shell in Ogoni

continued from front page

With its history of supplying fuel to the army of apartheid South Africa, Shell is certainly no stranger to working hand-in-hand with repressive regimes wherever and whenever it can profit. According to N. A. Achebe from Shell, "For a commercial company trying to make investments, you need a stable government. Dictatorships can give you that." And Shell provides the throne for any regime it can do business with: The company currently supports the Abacha regime through economic guidance and investment. Shell managers have even worked in key government positions: Ernest Shonekan, now head of the Shell-backed economic development project for Nigeria, "Vision 2010," was president of the country in 1993. To date, Shell has accrued \$30 billion from its investment in brutal regimes and its theft of resources in Nigeria.

The Ogoni's struggle for environmental and human rights was precipitated by the poverty of the oil-producing regions and Shell's devastating pollution. Oil provides over 80 percent of the illegal military regime's income, and Shell is responsible for half of that. Yet those who live above this source of wealth are amongst the poorest in Nigeria.

Environmentally, Shell operates under a clear policy of racist double standards. In contrast to its performance in areas where white, Western shareholders live, the company has for 40 years plundered the oil from the Niger Delta and left a trail of neglect and indifference.

Rusting high-pressure pipelines crisscross villages and farmlands, and countless oil spills and blow-outs are left unchecked. The land, rivers and lakes are polluted with oil. Gas flaring contributes massively to global warming, and the construction of flow stations has led to severe respiratory and other health problems. Exploratory work devastates rain-forest, mangrove and wetland habitat, threatening the biodiversity of the Niger Delta. It is now virtually impossible for Ogoni farmers and fishers to lead their traditional, sustainable lives.

Three hundred thousand Ogonis rallied peacefully against Shell on Ogoni Day on January 4, 1993. The company was declared *persona non grata* and forced to stop all oil production in Ogoni. By 1994 a confidential internal memo by the head of the new Internal Security Task Force, Major Okuntimo, called for a "ruthless military operation" to ensure that "smooth economic activities" could commence. Okuntimo launched a genocidal attack against the Ogoni that left a total of 2,000 dead and up to 100,000 as internal refugees. Hundreds have since fled Nigeria to refugee camps across west Africa. The people's mobilisation threatened the profits of Shell and angered the regime, which views resistance as a major threat to its income and security, particularly if other minorities emulate the Ogonis. Thus the catalyst for this peaceful and effective grassroots resistance, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) and its president had to be stopped.

Peaceful protests of oil installations were crushed by the paramilitary Mobile Police Force whose presence Shell repeatedly requested. After years of denial Shell was forced last year to admit having imported weapons and to paying the military in Ogoni. The company has, in fact, financed military operations throughout the region and supplied vehicles, boats and a helicopter to transport soldiers who have raided villages. Killings, beatings, rapes, large-scale looting, arbitrary arrests and torture are commonplace. The company even has its own armed police force, the Shell Police, who themselves are responsible for numerous human rights abuses.

Huge rallies on Ogoni Day in 1996, 1997 and 1998 showed that the Ogoni's spirit has not been broken. Yet Shell's collusion with the military continues. Against its own promise not to resume operations in Ogoni without the full sup-

port of the people, the company is preparing to reenter Ogoni for full oil operations.

For this to succeed the communities must be split: Pro-Shell/pro-government organisations have been set up; local chiefs have been bribed to tow the company line and some even forced at gun point to sign invitations requesting Shell to come back. The company is also trying to split the non-governmental organizations watchdogging abuses in Nigeria, particularly those in Europe, by funding or "consulting" certain groups. It has succeeded in co-opting those who want money or are naive about the corporate agenda and Shell's unwillingness to change. Shell's new, improved public relations machine is working busily on many fronts to repair the company's image and greenwash the dirt away. In the West, Shell officials have been touring with their supporters from Nigeria. Journalists from Europe have been taken on Shell trips and fed propaganda about the company's commitment to reconciliation. Other journalists seem to fear legal action and are effectively censored from reporting the truth.

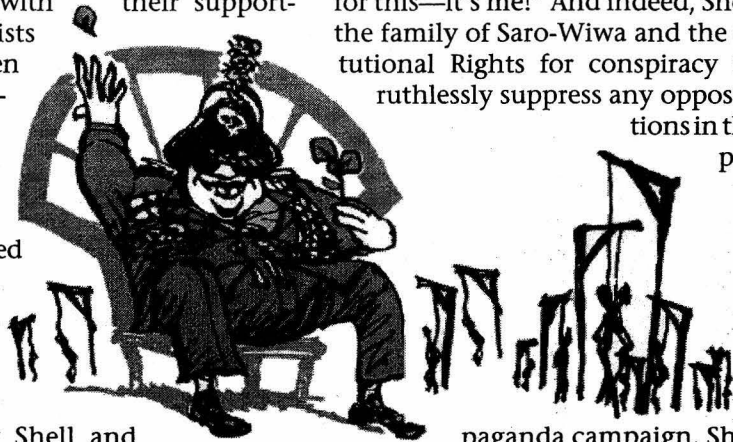
Across the rest of the Niger Delta, recent occupations of flow stations and hostage-takings have disrupted oil production by Shell and Chevron. At one point, Shell was almost forced out of some Ijaw areas. Ethnic conflict between the Ijaws and Itsekiris, encouraged by Shell/government manipulation of tribal differences and of the local political situation resulted in the deaths of dozens of people in clashes. As the violence died down, however, a new peaceful movement for environmental and human rights, Chicoco, began to form. Shell now faces growing Delta-wide opposition to its environmental racism.

The Nigerian oil workers' unions also have great potential to bring about major change. They have a radical history of solidarity with anti-apartheid movements in South Africa and initiated a huge nationwide strike in 1994, the demands of which were similar to elements in the Ogoni Bill of Rights. Nigerian oil workers occupy a strategic position in the Nigerian economy, and they are becoming more conscious of this. A union official in Lagos says the unions will "articulate a comprehensive agenda to challenge military dictatorship in Nigeria," and

that Shell "could easily become the target of very serious political action" in the future.

Meanwhile, other pro-democracy activists, both internally and externally, are building firm foundations for the organised structures of resistance needed to successfully replace the regime with some form of democratic representation. The new Nigerian-based United Action for Democracy is evidence of this positive development.

At Shell's annual shareholders meeting in 1996, the board and major shareholders rejected a motion from a number of concerned investors calling for greater corporate responsibility. The directors were offended that their competence in, and desire for, monitoring environmental and human rights was questioned. As Cor Herkstroter, group managing director, said, "There's already someone responsible for this—it's me!" And indeed, Shell is being sued by the family of Saro-Wiwa and the Centre for Constitutional Rights for conspiracy to "violently and ruthlessly suppress any opposition" to its operations in the Niger Delta. The



prosecution alleges that the executions of the Ogoni nine were carried out with the "knowledge, consent and/or support" of the company.

Despite its propaganda campaign, Shell's environmental and human-rights abuses are not slowing. This January environmental activist Nnimmo Bassey was arrested and jailed briefly for a second time for unexplained reasons. He described such persecution as "one of the inconveniences that activists have to go through in Nigeria... I was locked up in a place designed for 12 people. I was number 87, and at times we were up to 100... It shows how fragile our freedom is in Nigeria—no one is really free. You are only free in installments."

The Ogoni issue is a test of our response to the growing militarisation of commerce and corporate-sponsored attacks on environmental and human-rights activists worldwide. The test demands that we step up our organisational ability and activity. Effective networking and international solidarity with indigenous groups at the sharp end of the corporate stick are paramount.

Contact DELTA at Box Z, 13 Biddulph Street, Leicester LE2 1BH, UK; +44 116 255 3223; e-mail: lynx@gn.apc.org; www.oneworld.org/delta.

POPULATION EXPLOSION Ain't What It Used to Be

From 1750 to 1950 global population increased from 1 billion to 2.5 billion. From 1950 to 2000, it will increase to 6 billion, a truly horrifying lesson in geometric progression. Everyday 217,000 people are added to this planet.

After publishing his best-selling book *The Population Explosion* in 1968, Paul Ehrlich appeared on the Johnny Carson show 25 times to popularize the idea of an unsustainable population growth rate.

But geometric progression works for division as well as multiplication, and in startling new reports, demographers are suddenly finding that birthrates have never fallen so far, so fast, for so long all around the world. The slowing of population growth has already yielded tens of millions fewer people on Earth than expected.

The United Nations publication *World Population Prospects: The 1996 Revision* reports that from 1950 to 1955, the global "total fertility rate" (the average number of children born per woman per lifetime) was five, much higher than the "replacement rate" of 2.1 children per woman at

which a population stays stable. Between 1975 and 1980, fertility fell to four children per woman. Today the total fertility rate is estimated at 2.8 and falling. Suddenly, 650 million people are missing from demographic projections for the year 2050.

In May 1997 the US Census Bureau estimated that the annual growth of the world's population had fallen to just over 79 million. Just a year and a half earlier, the Census Bureau had estimated that population was growing at 86.8 million yearly. Likewise, in November 1996 the UN Population Division charted an increase of 81 million persons a year between 1990 and 1995, down from the high of 87 million per year between 1985 and 1990, the peak period of population growth in the history of the world. Both the Census Bureau and the UN had suggested that the world's human population would reach 9 billion in 2050 before it stabilizes. If the new, lower estimates are true, the population will stabilize at 7.5 billion.

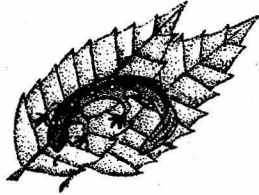
Between 1965 and 1970, the fertility rate for less developed countries was six children per woman. Now it's three, and it is falling more quickly than ever

before in demographic history. The rate in Bangladesh, for example, has fallen from 6.2 to 3.4 in just over 10 years. Mexico has moved 80 percent of the way toward replacement levels.

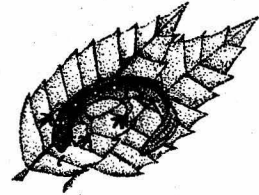
In Europe, birthrates have fallen 20 percent during the '90s to about 1.4 children per woman, below replacement level. Even if the pendulum of European births swings back towards replacement levels, by the year 2060 there will be 24 percent fewer people in Europe than today. Japanese and Russian rates are also at about 1.4 children.

For the past 25 years in the United States, birthrates have been below replacement levels. Since 1972, the fertility rate has averaged 1.9 and rates have fallen in five of the last six years. In America in 1790, women bore an average of 7.7 children each. Benjamin Franklin wrote of children "swarming across the country like locusts."

Today, it looks as if people are beginning to agree that, as Luis Munoz Marin said, "There is an old saying that a man must do three things during life: plant trees, write books and have sons. I wish they would plant more trees and write more books."



Central Appalachia: Our Mountain Home



Not so long ago the hills, hollows and valleys of Appalachia were a sea of deciduous forest. From Pennsylvania's Allegheny Highlands to the rich coves and glades of Virginia and West Virginia, the grandeur and diversity within a temperate forest are only equaled by the forests of Hunan and Szechuan in China. Today, though, we have forest fragments, stories of old-timers about species like "painter," the Eastern Cougar, and a vision of what can be again.

The list of extirpated and worse, extinct species of Central Appalachia is long (see below). The climax forest of the Central Appalachians is gone. The small patches of native forest that remain are not representative of what was. Yet, the age of these Appalachians seems to beckon a saddened twentieth century observer into hope. Hope that with time, and a cultivated love for these forests, the splendor and wildness of Appalachia will be renewed.

In his book, *Hollows, Peepers and Highlands*, George Constantz helps us understand the time involved in the formation of this place we call Central Appalachia; "Appalachia existed for 200 million years before terrestrial organisms evolved to occupy it." At roughly 600 million years, the Appalachians are one of the oldest continuously exposed land masses on earth. With some rock formations in the Blue Ridge dating to the Ordovician and Cambrian Periods, Appalachia has weathered many natural changes. In comparison, the Colorado River began carving into the Plateau Province only six million years ago. Old age directly contributes to the vegetative, and therefore animal, diversity within this region. This diversity, like that of most places on Earth, is suffering a dramatic decline. Human land use is the biggest single contributor to this decline in Central Appalachia.

Unlike the western United States, over 90% of the East (east of the 100th meridian) is privately owned. These non-private lands provide an excellent base for ecological recovery, but are not the keystone to a wildlands vision for this region.

As we grapple with public lands management from the Wayne and Allegheny National Forests in the north to the Jefferson and Daniel Boone National Forests in the south, the "private lands imperative" grows. Land use patterns are inherently most disruptive to ecological processes on the patchwork of private lands in the east. There are roughly 5 million people in rural Central Appalachia, and most are dependent on wildland activities. However, ownership is skewed as the largest private landholders are major multinational corporations involved in resource extraction. While industry loves to cite that the quantity of temperate forest in the United States is increasing, the quality of these forests is in sharp decline (Sugal, 1997). A solid vision must rely on existing traditions, a closer relationship to the land, and a positive approach to behavior and life-style changes. Looking to the

past, mainly to life before multinationals, may provide some answers, but this must be augmented with a new vision and land ethic.

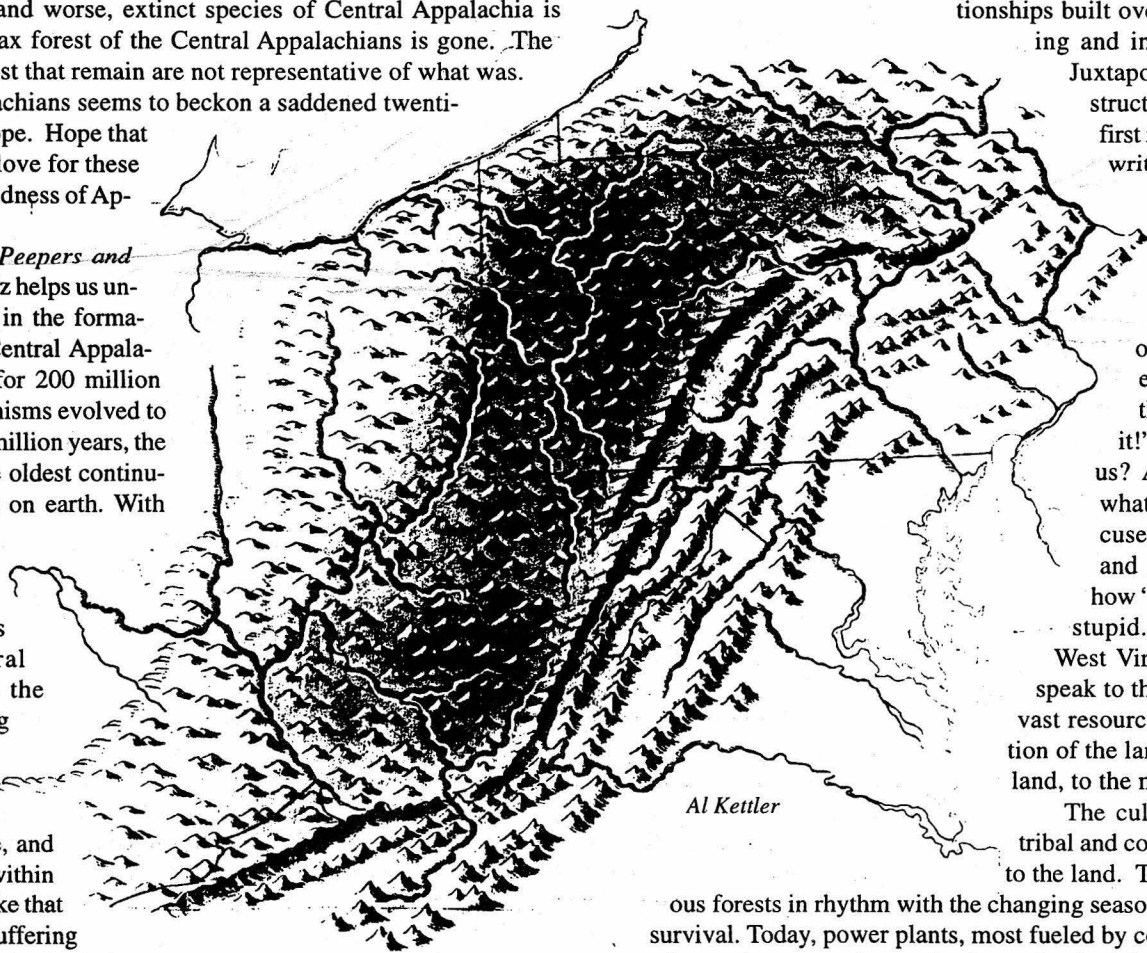
It is important to note that the native humans were the first species extirpated from these forests and mountains. Like the floral and faunal diversity, the diversity and endemism of the first human inhabitants here is largely untaught, ignored and misunderstood. First accounts are rough sketches of complex relationships built over thousands of years of living and interacting with Appalachia.

Juxtaposing our culture and our destructive tendencies to those of the first inhabitants is hubris. Articles written by "foresters" at the turn of the century rationalize total liquidation of forests, bare mountains, and rivers filled entirely with silt, as simply a continuation of "the use and abuse of forests by Indians." Still we hear the mantra of "the Indians did it!" Where does this logic leave us? Arguing about what was, not what could be. Groping for excuses for obvious greed, denial and ignorance. Laughing about how "those folks in Appalachia are stupid." How many jokes about West Virginia do you know? None speak to the systematic exploitation of vast resources, or the enforced subjugation of the land, and people living off the land, to the mercy of outsiders.

The culture of Central Appalachia, tribal and colonial, has always been close to the land. The cyclical nature of deciduous forests in rhythm with the changing seasons forced humans to fight for survival. Today, power plants, most fueled by coal removed from our mountains, no longer serve mere basic needs. Coal fuels huge factories, pulp mills, and serves the almighty "grid." Appalachia is a resource colony. Despite vast resources, Central Appalachia is still poor. Clearly this wealth is key to ending our cycle of poverty and exploitation.

In our struggles to defend wildness in Central Appalachia, we face many opportunities. One example is coal. No other resource has shaped and defined parts of Central Appalachia. The movies *Matewan*, and *Harlan County USA* are testament. From mountain-top removal to the underground mine fires still burning Centralia, PA, the quest for coal has left its scar while providing an, albeit tenuous, economic base for over a century. Ironically, burning coal and other fossil fuels is killing our forests, poisoning streams, and devastating communities.

Still, the spiritual strength, determination, and strong traditions of the people of Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania will be the essentials for rediscovering the antiquity and restoring the diversity of Central Appalachia.



WE SPEAK FOR THEM.

EXTINCT, EXTIRPATED AND FEDERALLY LISTED SPECIES of CENTRAL APPALACHIA (incomplete)

Birds

Passenger Pigeon-Extinct
Peregrine Falcon-Endangered
Bald Eagle-Threatened
Loggerhead Shrike-Proposed

Amphibians

Shenandoah Salamander-Endangered
Cheat Mt. Salamander-Endangered
Hellbender-Proposed

Reptiles

Northern Pine Snake-Proposed
Bog Turtle-Threatened

Fishes

Cheat Minnow-Proposed
Spotfin Chub-Threatened
Slender Chub-Threatened
Yellowfin Madtom-Threatened
Roanoke Logperch-Endangered

Mammals

VA Northern Flying Squirrel-Endangered
Virginia Big-eared Bat-Endangered
Gray Myotis-Endangered
Indiana Bat-Endangered
Red Wolf-Endangered Extirpated
Gray Wolf-Endangered Extirpated
Eastern Cougar-Endangered Extirpated
Elk-Extirpated (reintroduced)
Bison-Extirpated
Fisher-Extirpated (reintroduced)
Beaver-Extirpated (reintroduced)
Porcupine-Extirpated (except Pa.)

Insects

American Burying Beetle-Endangered
Extirpated
Regal Fritillary-Proposed
Diana-Proposed

Tawny Crescent-spot-Proposed

Southern Grizzled Skipper-Proposed
Mollusks
Cumberland Monkeyface-Endangered
Appalachian Monkeyface-Endangered
Fanshell-Endangered
Dromedary Pearly Mussel-Endangered
Littlewing Pearly Mussel-Endangered
Cracking Pearly Mussel-Endangered
Birdwing Pearly Mussel-Endangered
Tan Rifle Shell-Endangered
Green Blossom-Endangered
VA Fringed Mountain Snail-Endangered
Fine-rayed Pigtoe-Endangered
Shiny Pigtoe-Endangered
James River Spiny mussel-Endangered
Tubercled-blossom Pearly-Endangered
Pink-mucket Pearly-Endangered

Flat-spined Three-toothed Snail-Endangered

Clubshell Mussel-Endangered
Northern Riffleshell Mussel-Endangered
Ring Pink Mussel-Endangered Extirpated
Flora
Smooth Coneflower-Endangered
Peter's Mountain Mallow-Endangered
Virginia Spirea-Threatened
Small-anthered Bittercress-Endangered
Shale Barren Rockcress-Endangered
Virginia Roundleaf Birch-Endangered
Swamp Pink-Threatened
Harperella-Endangered
Northeastern Bulrush-Endangered
Running Buffalo Clover-Endangered
Running Glade Clover-Proposed
End.(Discovered 1992)
Eastern Prairie Fringed Orchid-Threatened

restoring the central appalachians

Realizing the Vision: Steps Towards Wildlands Restoration in Central Appalachia

For long-term success, we must redefine terms of the debate to shift the burden of proof from its protectors onto those who would destroy this region for short-term profit. Following are three steps to this end.

Enable private land stewardship

The fate of the Central Appalachian landscape is in the hands of private landowners. With over 90% of this region under private ownership, it is critical that landowners have options and incentives to protect their land. Conservation easements allow landowners to donate the "right" to destroy their land to a non-profit land trust organization for considerable reductions in property and estate taxes. Under these agreements, the land is protected *in perpetuity* and the easement follows the land deed. In addition, ecoforestry and non-timber forest products are viable alternatives to large-scale industrial extraction. Ultimately, pride in our home and a Central Appalachian land ethic must be renewed to restore this region.

Reinvent public land policy

By expanding the role of public lands past their management boundaries, we can demonstrate the need for systematic protection of these lands. For example, when the Wayne National Forest in Ohio is seen as an ecological representative of the southern Allegheny Plateau, its importance and need for restoration is elevated. In the heart of the region, the Monongahela, George Washington, and Jefferson National Forests comprise several million acres. As one tool, Citizens' Management Alternatives (CMAs) can transcend the hackneyed jobs-vs-environment myth by articulating what lands need to be protected in National Forest plans and what jobs are needed to realize this. These efforts are currently underway on the Wayne, Jefferson, Allegheny, and Monongahela National Forests.

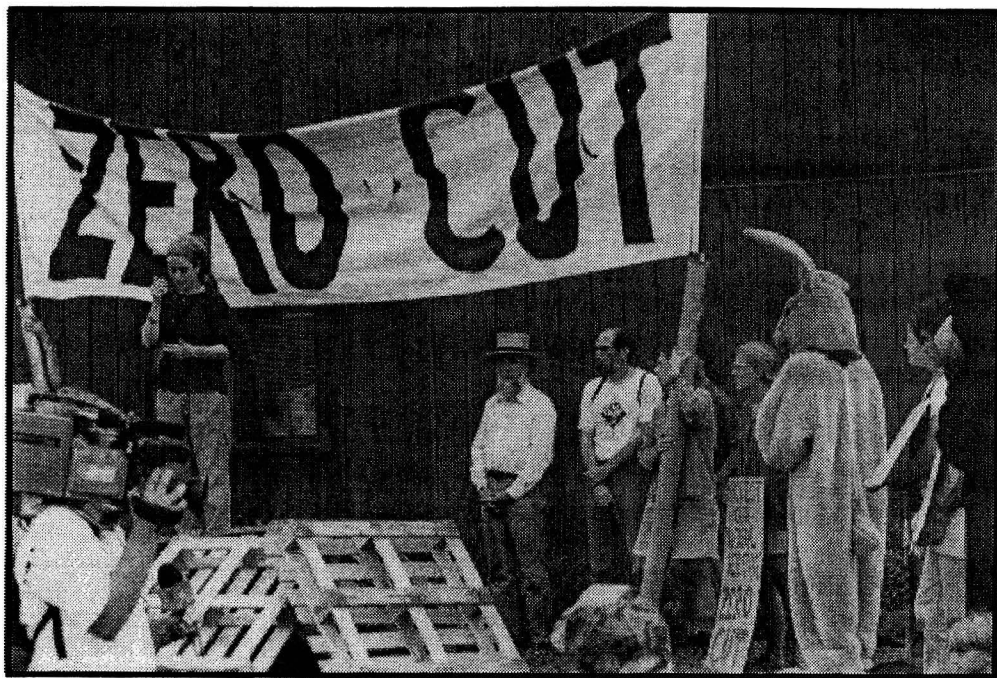
Develop regional priorities

The landscape knows no political boundaries. Accordingly, biocentric conservation is based on the fundamental principle that ultimately, all of our land-use decisions are constrained by ecological criteria, and politico-economic decisions must be made within this framework. While all land is sacred, we need to identify minimum protection criteria to insure ecological functionality across the region as a whole. At the most basic level, we need to represent and reconnect each ecoregion in its natural state. In the Central Appalachians, these ecoregions include the Allegheny Plateau, Ridge and Valley section, the Cumberland Plateau, and the Blue Ridge section.

For more information contact The Appalachian Restoration Campaign (see back page).

Going to the mountains is going home.

—John Muir



Citizens call for an end to logging on public lands

"Who will love the imperfect lands?"

—Christina Wulf

*In the night, coyotes scattered the bones
now a hip bone mates with the jaw
white bones on a green bank
Osage orange "escaped cultivation" and
fled
north on an underground railroad
one landed here to knit the streambank,
a web of peeling orange root.
Sycamore stands behind us, and above
that, forest, rolling skyward.*

*The stream descends from heaven
and is gentled by mountains of ancient
sandstone and older rock, slices of Africa,
magma, ocean floor, dust of glaciers.
Disparate pieces join into joints
of valley and ridge.*

*To the West, plateaus widen like a smooth
belly, where water is everything
a landscape of fossil cliffs and limestone
caves, streaked with color, always
sinking.*

*We plow the hollows and smooth valleys,
leaving sycamore creeks in their hearts
forest on the upland, fragments.
A bone trotted to the far shore and
thrown.*

*Appalachia: an entire skeleton, with
parts misplaced & deplaced & replaced
rivers run through pulp mills, through
textile factories, poultry farms and open
mines.*

*Bear wander into city parks, deer onto
highways, humans with chainsaws into
forest cathedrals.*

*We fence our buffalo. There are no elk,
no panther, no singing wolves. Ghosts
of hemlock join in the death dance
with mighty chestnut snags.*

*Somedays I cannot stop
charting our disjunct anatomy,
where blood vessel severed from bone
still fights to give life.*

*Somedays I cannot stop
calling for the bone woman
who can gather these and bring
flesh back, set the bones running
on the mountains.*

*Eyes still speak from deep within
a white skull on a green bank,
and the question still burns.*

title taken from Barbara Kingsolver

Consumption, Forests and a Wild Future

Due to ongoing and past environmental impacts, most of the remaining Central Appalachian natural areas are impoverished, stunted, diminished, and fragmented. Even so, an incredible opportunity remains. The remnant forests of the Central and Southern Appalachians offer a unique opportunity for ecological recovery; an opportunity certainly unmatched in the East, perhaps anywhere in the world. The wild old-growth forests which naturally blanketed this region have been extirpated, battered, and dismembered. It's up to us to remember these forests here and now. The region's remaining natural areas are under increasing assault from within and without. Their content and context are being damaged by highways, pulp mills, mines, factory farms and rampant "meat" production (the unhappy relationship between pork chops, hamburgers, chicken nuggets and wilderness/ecological degradation seems to be the big unmentionable of contemporary environmentalism; the magnitude of this excessive meat addiction is explicit throughout the Central Appalachians), industrial strength wreck-creation, expanding development, population, acid deposition and on and on.

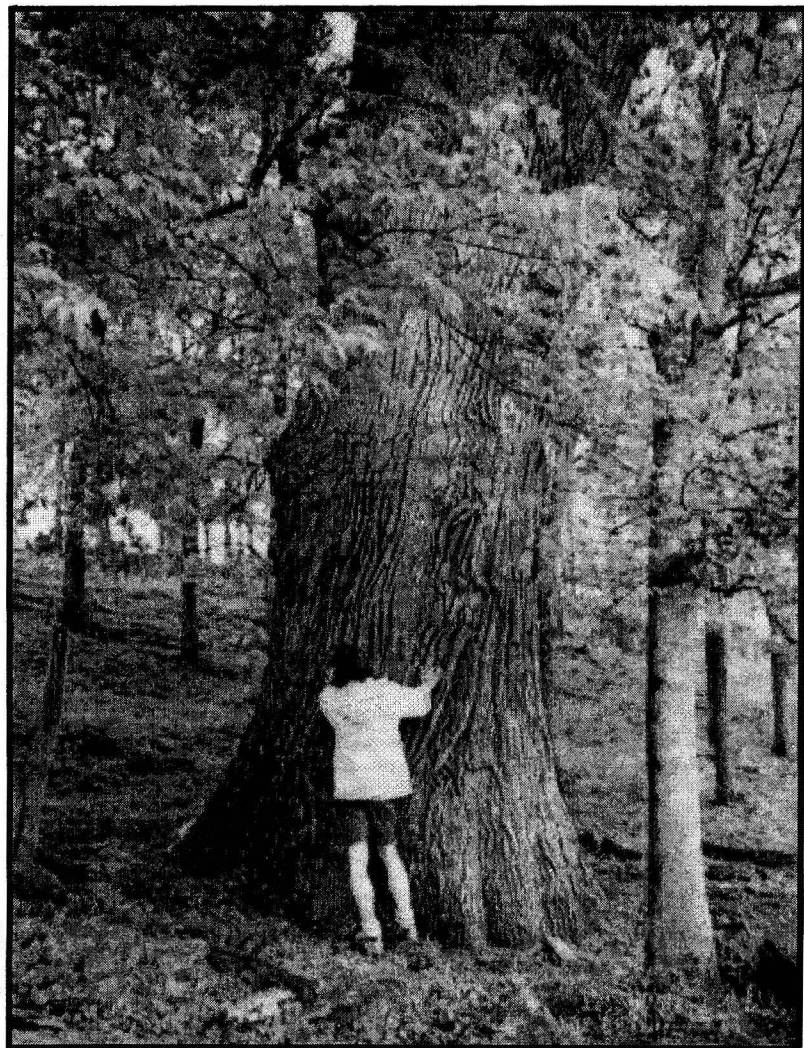
The region's integrity (its wholeness and sound functioning) is severely compromised. A region wide proactive land conservation policy is the only viable strategy that offers a way to progress beyond ubiquitous abuse. This is a massive undertaking. Linking issues, groups and ethics is essential. One goal of this effort is the re-establishment of big, connected Eastern wilderness.

To begin to protect and restore functionality of the Central Appalachians, we need to establish criteria for ecological integrity and translate this into achievable policies. Though it must be remembered that the establishment of a reserve system is not the be-all and end-all of conserva-

sary for an effective conservation strategy. The only "commons" we have left are essential for providing what can't be found elsewhere—large, relatively undisturbed natural areas to counterbalance and mitigate the effects of resource extraction and habitat fragmentation in the surrounding landscape.

It must be emphasized that preservation alone is not sufficient. Past damage and present human impact require restoration ecology. Active human intervention to help lands recover from severe abuse consists of activities designed to mitigate, stabilize, reduce and neutralize human disruption. This basically means aiding natural processes, not substituting for them. This massive restorative task entails a shift in agency budget priorities, increased public involvement, job training, research and education. Specific budget transfers from roads, timber sales, and game manipulation to active restoration practices, recreation management, research, education, and vigorous protection against poaching are a good start.

The ecological reserve system will be a new form of partnership, not designed to further erode local control, but instead decentralize responsibility for the region's destiny. The National Forest Protection and Restoration Act (H.R. 2789)



Remnant Bur Oak in Kentucky

State	Human Population Density (people per square mile)	Population Increase Since 1982	Increase of Developed Lands Since 1992	Number of Federally Threatened and Endangered Species
West Virginia	75	8%	20%	21
Virginia	157	17%	26%	52
Pennsylvania	265	1%	15%	10
Maryland	470	15%	16%	24
Kentucky	93	2%	29%	38
Ohio	267	2%	15%	18

Table stats from "Saving Biodiversity: a Status Report on State Laws, Policies, and Programs," Defenders of Wildlife, 1996.

tion. These proposed preserves are only crisis-response refuges—a necessary stop-gap measure until human population-consumption-production patterns balance with the Earth.

We, as individuals and as a society, have to face the fact that our existing protected natural areas are much too small. Our present conservation efforts are much too timid. We have to honestly ask: What are the conservation needs and opportunities? The need is the preservation of extensive habitat base to sustain biodiversity at all levels.

The opportunities to meet this pressing need largely lie in the few extensive tracts of relatively undeveloped land we have left—the natural areas known as public lands, the National Forests, Parks, and Refuges and various state-owned properties. It is these lands, along with adjacent private holdings, that are large enough to serve as core roadless area preserves that are neces-

will do much to help achieve this vision. Beyond this, a comprehensive Appalachian Ecosystem Restoration bill is necessary.

For too long agriculture, development, and industry have defined the debate and set the agenda for our relationship with the Central Appalachians. A new paradigm is in order—one that emphasizes the wholeness, health, and sacred beauty of the mountain forests that are our life support systems.

In all our decisions, both individual and collective, it is vital that we never forget the others who are not represented. They cannot hire lawyers, they cannot file appeals, they cannot sit on the juries and boardrooms deciding their fate. We must represent them ourselves. Who speaks for Copperhead? For Slime Mold? Lichen? Wood Rat? Paw-paw? Toad and Millipede? To embrace them all is our covenant.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Braun, L. 1950. *Deciduous Forests of Eastern North America*. The Blakiston Company, Philadelphia.

Caudill, H. 1963. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of A Depressed Area*. Little, Brown, Boston.

Clarkson, R.B. 1964. *Tumult on the Mountains: Lumbering in West Virginia*. McClain Printing, Parsons, WV.

Constantz, G. 1994. *Hollows, Peepers, and Highlanders: an Appalachian Mountain Ecology*. Mountain Press Company, Montana.

Davis, M.B. 1996. *Eastern Old-Growth Forests: Prospects for Rediscovery and Recovery*. Island Press, Washington, DC.

Giardina, Denise. 1987. *Storming Heaven: a novel*. Norton, New York.

KTFC 1991. *Making History: the First Ten Years of the Kentuckians for The Commonwealth*. M. Zuercher, ed. Brown and Kroger Printing Company, USA.

Little, C. 1995. *The Dying of the Trees*. Penguin Books, Ltd., New York.

Mueller, R.F. 1991. "The George Washington National Forest: Central Appalachian wilderness in perspective." *Wild Earth* 1(3): 62-67

Mueller, R.F. 1992. "Central Appalachian wilderness in perspective: the Monongahela National Forest." *Wild Earth* 2(2): 56-60.

Mueller, R.F. 1985. "Ecological preserves for eastern mountains." *Earth First! Journal* 5(8): 20-21.

Noss, R. 1983. "Proposal for a deciduous forest ecosystem preserve." *Earth First! Journal* 3(3): 6.

Sayen, J. 1987. "The Appalachian mountains, vision, and wilderness." *Earth First! Journal* 7(5): 26-30.

resources

To Increase Our Understanding and Aid in Our Wanderings:

Atlas of the Virginia Flora, Third Edition. Virginia Botanical Associates. Harvill, Bradley, Stevens, Wieboldt, Ware, Ogle, Ramsey, and Fleming. 1992.

Flora of West Virginia, Second Edition. Seneca Books Inc. Strausbaugh and Core. 1978.

Herbaceous Plants of Maryland. Port City Press. Brown and Brown. 1986.

Woody Plants of Maryland. Port City Press. Brown and Brown 1972

Atlas of the Flora of Pennsylvania. The Morris Arboretum of the University of Pennsylvania. Wherry, Fogg, and Wahl. 1979.

Guide to the Vascular Plants of the Blue Ridge University of Georgia Press. Wofford. 1989.

Gray's Manual of Botany, Eighth Edition. Dioscorides Press. Fernald. Reprint 1987.

An Illustrated Flora of the Northern United States and Canada, Second Edition. Dover Publications Inc. 1970.

A Guide to Endangered and Threatened Species in Virginia. McDonald and Woodward Publishing Company. Terwilliger and Tate. 1995.

Threatened and Endangered Plants and Animals of Maryland. Maryland Natural Heritage Program. Dept. of Natural Resources. 1984.

Mammals of the Carolinas Virginia and Maryland. University of North Carolina Press. Webster, Parnell and Biggs. 1985

Amphibians and Reptiles of the Carolinas and Virginia. University of North Carolina Press. Martof, Palmer, Bailey, Harrison and Dermid. 1980.

Freshwater Fishes. Houghton Mifflin Co. Page and Burr. 1991.

A Field Guide to the Birds of Eastern and Central North America. Houghton Mifflin Co. Peterson. 1980.

A Field Guide to Eastern Butterflies. Houghton Mifflin. Opler and Malikul. 1992.

credits

Groups listed do not necessarily subscribe to the views expressed herein.

Production, Design & Layout: Jason Halbert & EF! Journal

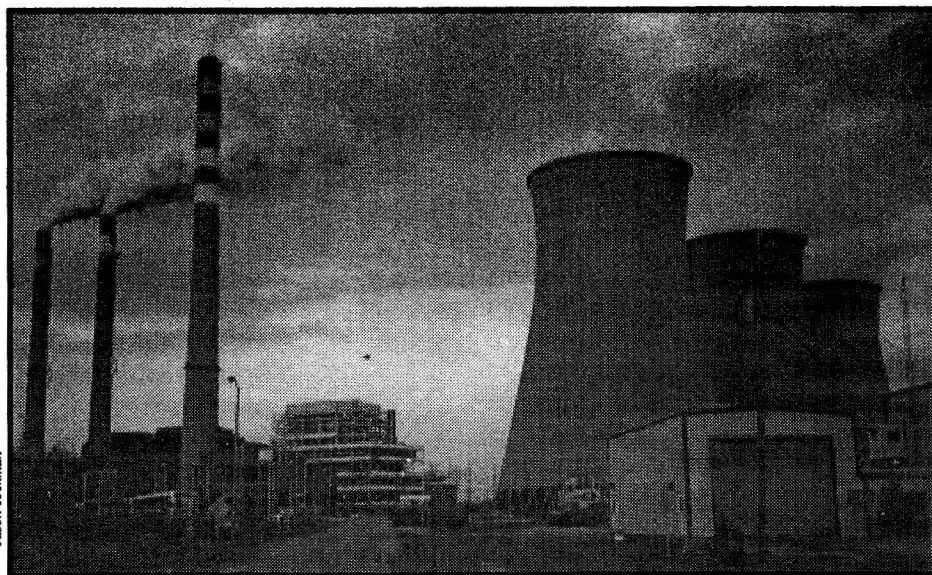
Writing: Steve Krichbaum, Than Hitt, Jason Halbert, Christina Wulf

Species Lists and Field References: John Parrish

Gratitude:

M.A. Jones, Nic, RG, The ARC Office, Whaley, Hog-Dog, The Ecology Center
THE FORESTS and RIVERS of APPALACHIA.

February, 1998



What's left of John Prine's "Paradise" Kentucky—TVA's Paradise Coal Station

contacts

Allegheny Defense Project
POB 245
Clarion, PA 16214
(814) 226-4918
adp@envirolink.org

Appalachian Restoration Campaign
POB 5541
Athens, OH 45701
(740) 592-3968
arc@frognet.net

Buckeye Forest Council
POB 99
Athens, OH 45701
(740) 594-6400
bfc@frognet.net

Central Appalachian Biodiversity Proj.
Route 3 Box 390
Hedgesville, WV 25427
(304) 754-9161
cesull@ix.netcom.com

The Greenhouse Educational Fdtn.
POB 2750
Elkins, WV 26241
(304) 637-4082

Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition
1101 6th Avenue, RM 225
Huntington, WV 25701
(304) 522-0246

West Virginia Highlands Conservancy
POB 306
Charleston, WV 25321
(304) 252-8733

West Virginia Environmental Coalition
POB 144
Pullman, WV 26421
(304) 659-3193
gzucketto@igc.org

Shenandoah Ecosystems Defense Grp.
POB 1891
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 971-1553
sedg@earthsystems.org
www.heartwood.org/VA

Virginians For Wilderness
Route 1, Box 250
Staunton, VA 24401
(540) 885-6983

Southern Appalachian Biodiversity
Proj.
POB 3141
Asheville, NC 28802
(704) 258-2667
sabp@main.nc.us

Appalachia-Science in the Public
Interest
50 Lair Street
Mt. Vernon, KY 40456-9806
(606) 256-0077

Kentucky Heartwood
660 Mt. Vernon Ridge
Frankfort, KY 40601

Eastern Old-Growth Clearinghouse
POB 131
Georgetown, KY 40324
(502) 868-9074

Lucy Braun Association
Department of Zoology, Miami U.
Oxford, OH 45056
(513) 529-1677

Heartwood
POB 1424
Bloomington, IN 47402-1424
(812) 337-8898
(812) 337-8892
heartwd@bluemarble.net
www.heartwood.org

MONTANA GOVERNOR STAMPEDED BY CRITICAL HERD

BY GRAMPA SMEDLEY AND CRUSTY BROWNSHORTS

Fresh from the hot springs of Montana, two-legged EF! buffalo converged in Missoula to confront the buffalo killer Governor Marc Racicot during his brief visit to the Garden City. In the early morning hours, activists scaled the exit sign overlooking I-90 and hung a banner reading, "Stop the slaughter" with a painting of a healthy buffalo on one side and a bloody buffalo on the other. It was the first image the governor saw as he drove into Missoula County. Hours later, when the governor came to the University of Montana, he was welcomed by Earth First! and a lot of pissed off buffalo who stopped him from entering a meeting until he answered some questions about why his henchmen at the Department of Livestock (DOL) are killing our last wild buffalo herd.

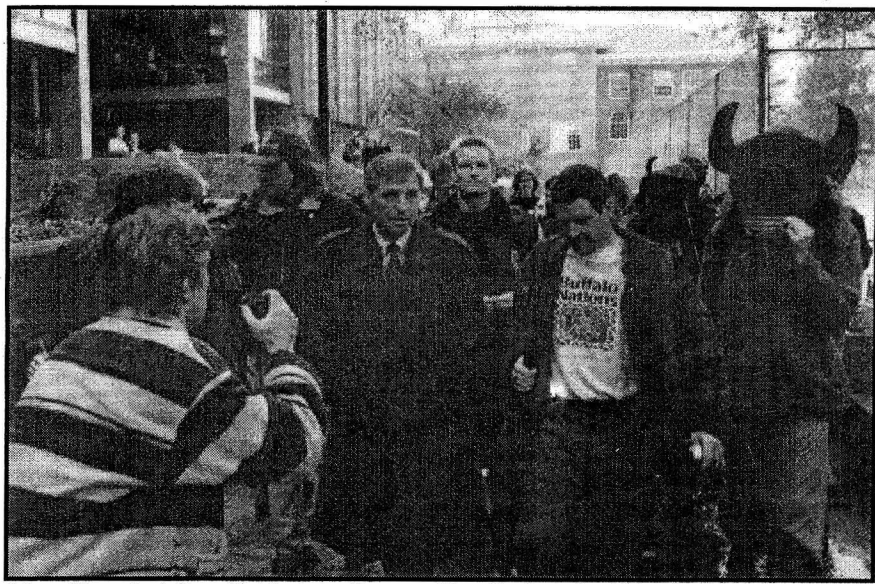
The governor's policy is to treat the buffalo as livestock when they step out of Yellowstone National Park to look for food. This policy allows the DOL and other rednecks to shoot the buffalo. The governor responded to our questions with the usual political bullshit. While he was speaking, an activist took over the stage at the University Center to draw in students. Delyla Wilson spoke to about 100

people and two-legged buffalo until the DOL came and shot the buffalo with red dye. After the theater, activists cornered the governor once again. They demanded he answer more questions and attend a public meeting in March. The governor soon escaped, but the two-legged buffalo will return!

The buffalo then headed to the griz statue on campus and were greeted by 150 students ready for the Critical Herd march to Senators Baucus and Burns offices. This time the herd was confronted by city cops who demanded we walk on the sidewalk. But these were wild buffalo, so we took all four lanes and clogged traffic in all directions. One activist was given a \$100 citation. As the herd marched downtown and by Hellgate High School the chant transformed from "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho. Save the wild buffalo!" to "Skip school!" and, "They're teaching you lies, lies, lies!" Three students joined the march as it made its way downtown (followed by several hundred cars) to the senators' offices, which had closed up shop. The herd then headed to the federal building. Building security saw us coming but was unable to stop us from taking the front doors.

Last year 1,100 buffalo were slaughtered by Montana's Department of Livestock. This year only 11 have been killed due to the efforts of Buffalo Nations. One dead buffalo is too many! Help stop the madness; come to West Yellowstone, send people and money to Buffalo Nations, POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 642-0070. Thank you Earth First! and Environmental Action Community for taking a stand!

From the action in Missoula, some folks headed to Boise for an exclusive, wise-use meeting with the heads of the US Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and Parks Service. With just a few people, we made a huge media splash! We not only delivered the Zero Cut message to Michael Dombeck, chief of the Forest Service, we caught the lens of the *New York Times*. A photo of our banner which read, "Dombeck—End Logging on Public Lands! Zero Cut!" appeared next to a photo of Dombeck and Park Service Director Robert G. Stanton.



Adam Horowitz talks with Montana Governor Marc Racicot about his administration's role in the senseless slaughter of America's last free-roaming buffalo herd.

photo by Joshua Mahan

EF! ORGANIZERS CONFERENCE CLEANED UP

BY SUSAN FRANZ

The setting was perfect; a grand old hotel complete with fireplaces, porches and hot tubs nestled in the Buffalo Bill Divide of the Thompson Range. A wild winter in the mild Rockies choked to an end, and spring crept just over the horizon (which can take a long time in Montana).

The roar of vehicles was heard, and cars descended into the hotel parking lot like bison into a capture facility. The dust cleared, and black and camo-clad gangs emerged with towels in hand.

If you didn't make it to the 1998 Organizers Conference/Winter Rendezvous, you missed the cleanest gathering in EF! history.

Meetings junkies gathered in comfortable spaces, and the straggling few who wanted to play had facilities to do so on site. Small group discussions, regional and interregional caucuses and tête-à-têtes took place in the hot tubs. Coalition building, message development and the direction of the movement were discussed at length. We examined our effectiveness and rose to the new challenges ahead for us, such as anti-immigration racism, Zero Exploitation, millenarian cults and the green fringe.

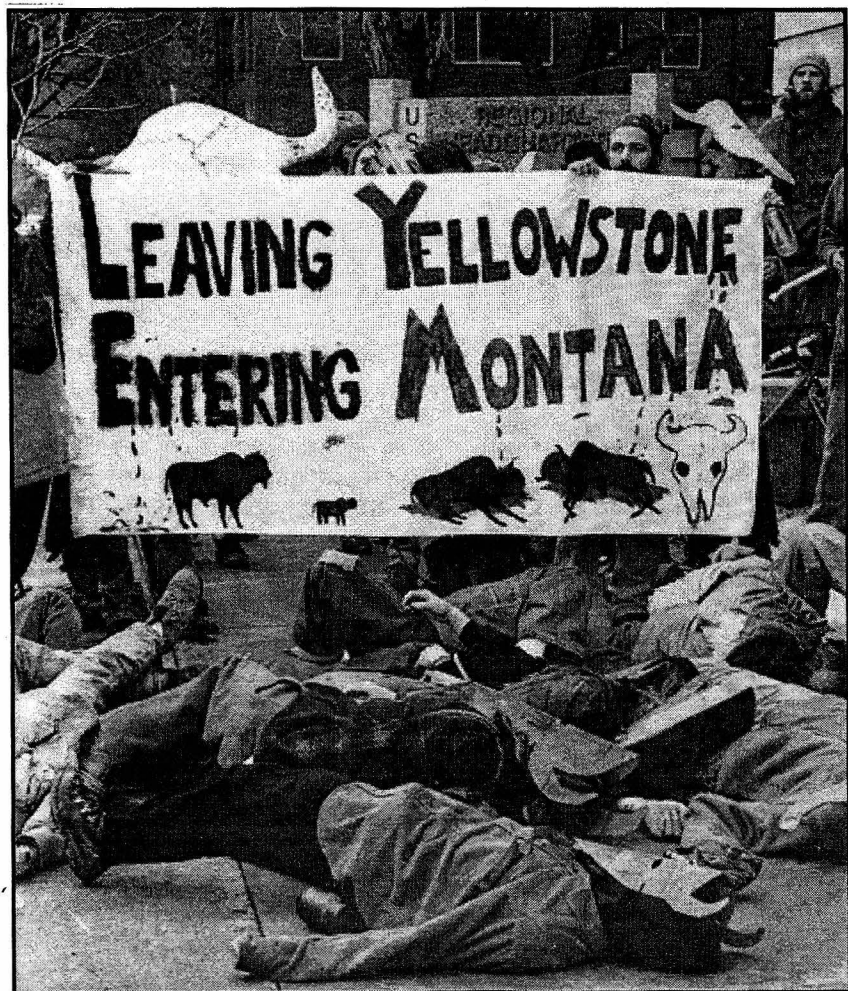
We even decided a few things. We consensed, although not easily, on revised "guidecircles" for the *Earth First! Journal* (the changes are printed below). We consensed on a strong statement denouncing the Sierra Club anti-immigration ballot initiative (also below). We decided to try the Organizers Conference/Winter Rendezvous structure (meeting, meeting, meeting, party party, meeting, party), which seemed to work well.

Movement moving and shaking took place down at the community center/bowling alley. High scores (by Midwesterners, of course) were in the 160s, an unidentified Minnesotan was rumored to have bowled a 175 (if anyone has any information on this, please contact us immediately). Music was provided by the Velcro Sheep (whose name has something to do with cowboys and chaps, you figure it out). Frazzled from too many meetings, folks thrashed to the music, sharked away on the pool tables and bowled like amateurs (except for the aforementioned Midwesterners).

At one point late in the evening, there was a blockade to save the pins. People felt senseless destruction and violence was being inflicted on the pins, pushing them towards extinction (plus the band felt neglected). Violence ensued (in the form of bowling), and peacekeepers had to be called in. Soon the protesters retreated to dance some more. Pinheads First!

All in all, the weekend produced good things. We got to rant, strategize, relax and be rowdy. I hope all our conferences will be as fruitful as this one.

"We welcome submissions of articles, letters, poetry and art that put the Earth first, ~~build the Earth First!~~ **movement aid in healthy debate shaping the growth of the movement and advance the creation of a world wild and free of speciesism, racism, sexism, violence, exploitation and oppression.**"



The Critical Herd slaughtered by the Department of Livestock as they grazed at the federal building in Missoula, Montana

photo by Joshua Mahan

EF! RESPONSE TO RACISM

"Increasingly, racists and xenophobes are camouflaging their agendas in the terms of environmentalism. An example is the upcoming referendum offered to the Sierra Club membership advocating reducing US immigration. Peoples crossing borders imposed by European immigrants are not disproportionately responsible for environmental destruction or consumer culture. Corporations and the governments they control are. Social justice and self-determination are integral to environmental sustainability. To address overpopulation, we must first end systems of dominance and advance a worldview that puts the Earth first. We encourage the members of the Sierra Club to reject in the strongest terms this racist referendum. Racism has no place in the environmental movement."

—1998 EARTH FIRST! ORGANIZERS CONFERENCE

Newly Revised Earth First! Journal Guidecircles

(Listed here are the significant guidecircle changes. New wording is bold. Removed wording is struck. The Journal Advisory Board was also removed, with a provision for reinstatement if needed. Other changes were made to reflect the way the staff is currently structured.)

Frontlines

Ronald McDonald Burned in Effigy

On February 18, six members of Island Residents Against Toxic Environments (IRATE) gathered outside of the new McDonald's restaurant in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada. The event was the grand opening of the new building, and Ronald McDonald was in attendance for the ribbon cutting ceremony. The protest culminated with a five-foot-tall Ronald McDonald lookalike being set afire as the "real" Ronald got into his van.

When the activists arrived, they set up the homemade Ronald, and distributed leaflets to bystanders and customers inside the store. The public responded positively by honking as they passed or by turning into the parking lot to talk and get a leaflet. Ronald kept casting nervous glances out the window, but his twin just stared back at him.

The reasons for protesting McDonald's are many, including cruelty to animals, environmental damage, low wages, poor treatment of workers and brainwashing children into eating unhealthy food. As Ronald left the building, his twin burst into flame. After Ronald had finished burning, the demonstrators doused his charred remains with water and left.

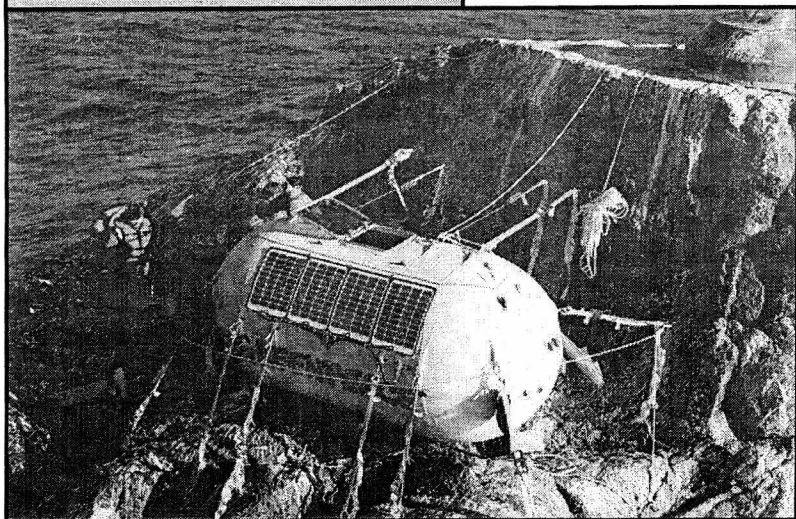
For more information, contact Aaron Koleszar at Island Residents Against Toxic Environments (IRATE); (902) 659-2570; e-mail: aaronk@isn.net; <http://www.mcspotlight.org/>.

Activists Blockade Oil Exploration Vessel

On January 22, under the gaze of heavy security, two Greenpeace activists in a solar survival capsule delayed British Petroleum's (BP) new offshore oil exploration ship from leaving Belfast harbor for the Atlantic Frontier.

This is the first nonviolent action against new oil exploration since the Kyoto summit on climate change. Supported by three inflatable boats and a team of eight divers, the activists evaded Belfast's militarized streets before slipping into the water to prevent the *Schiehallion* from leaving port. The bright yellow survival capsule was chained to the harbor floor.

BP's *Schiehallion*, a new floating production, storage and off-loading vessel, was on its way to the ocean wilderness of the northeast Atlantic, called the Atlantic Frontier, to begin extracting new oil. The deep trenches of the Atlantic Frontier support a level of biological diversity roughly similar to a temperate rainforest. The blockade was primarily intended to highlight the British government's hypocrisy in tackling climate change.

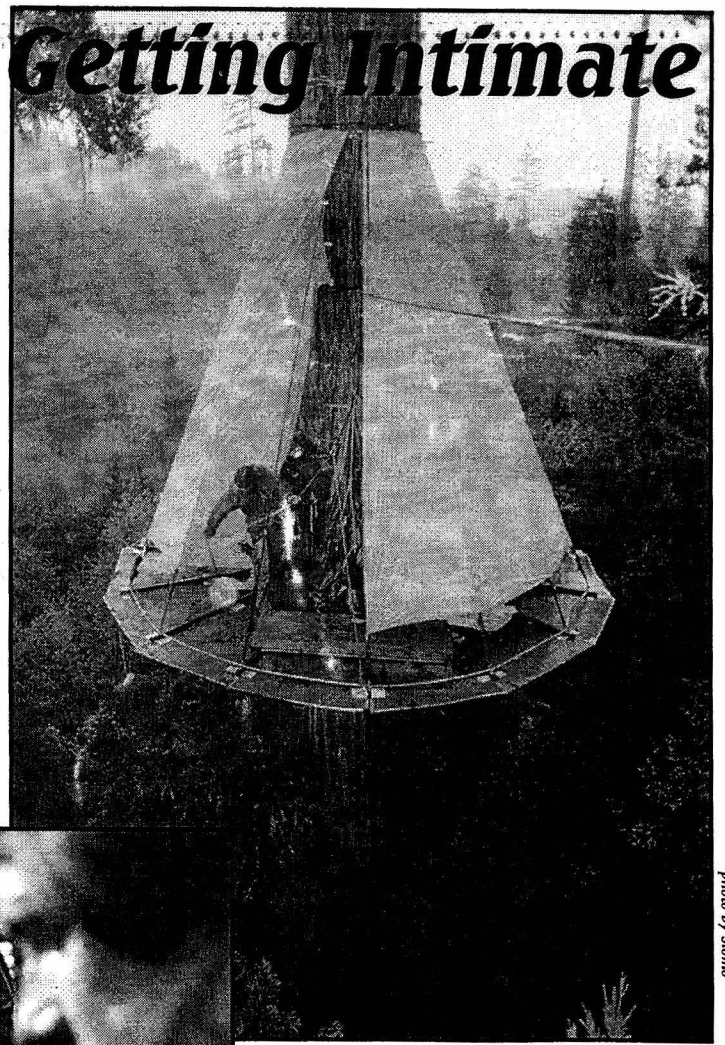


Activists occupy Rockall.

The Love Pod: Getting Intimate in the Treetops

BY TIGGER

Why a love pod? Imagine creating a resistance in ancient tree tops with platforms, nets and determined activists, only to have it destroyed by eviction, placing the forest and the lives of activists in danger. The love pod was created by earth defenders who had seen and heard of one too many tree sit evictions and knew there was a solution. Plans sprouted from rough sketches in the dirt to the real thing this fall at Headwaters. The love pod became a steel-skinned, multi-panel tree house that's designed to provide raid-proof housing for tree villagers. Visualize a metal disc around a giant redwood, over 100 feet up, like a collar on a ship's mast line, but infinitely more comfortable. Make it large enough for a wild bunch of eco-warriors with food to last them a few months. Include a golden teepee cover wrapped around the sup-



A love pod in the making

from being ringed by the steel cables, which are necessary for installation. There are numerous safety mechanisms built into the structure, so inquire if you have questions as to how to build each piece. Please don't substitute materials or hardware.

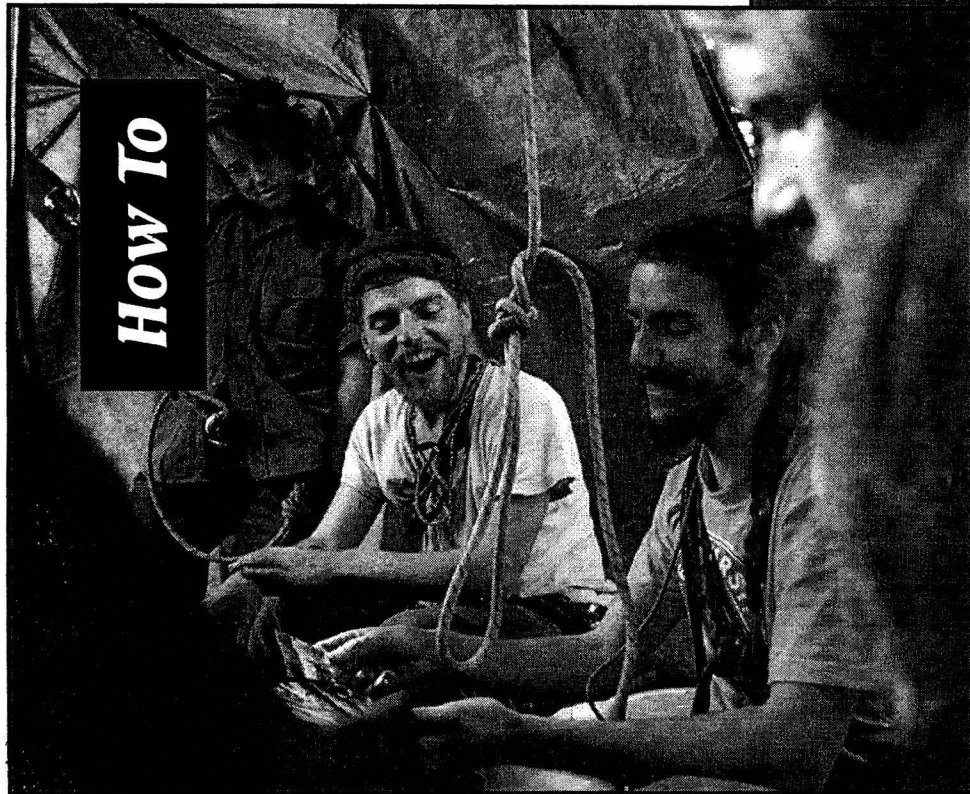
In addition to the love pod structure, you will need proper training and gear for each climber. Other accessories include water containers, cooking utensils, first aid, communication equipment and cameras, as well as food for a month or two.

The cost for one full-sized pod is approximately \$2,000. Allow approximately 200 hours to assemble everything. The next consideration is how to transport the materials. We built a

couple of bikes with steel frames (similar to a glass rack) that worked fine in rehearsal, but because of the deployment group's inexperience, a wheel collapsed on each "horse."

We have prepared an information packet with detailed drawings, pictures and notes that we will gladly send to anyone interested in building a pod. I feel that '98 is the year of the tree village, and I hope that scores of activists become inspired to take to the trees. Good Luck!

Contact Fairfax Action Team, POB 393, Lagunitas, CA 94938; e-mail: fat@grin.net.



Life in the love pod

How To

port ropes, add some water storage barrels and solar powered communication equipment.

The core of the platform is a steel cable and machine alloy block anchor, into which 15 seven-foot steel bars bolt. These beams can pivot at the anchor, allowing the whole structure to move with the tree. There is a second set of steel cable anchors 14 feet above the suspension ropes (one for each spar) to clip into. Fifteen wedge-shaped, bonded plywood and sheet metal panels slip into alloy plate retainers. Upon completion, the love pod forms a living room 18 feet in diameter. It's effective because the panels stick seven feet out all the way around the tree, forming a seamless barrier against eviction.

The original vision was to erect two love pods with a walkway in between suspending hammocks and a giant banner. At Headwaters this fall, due to strategy and logistics, a single love pod was set up with a cargo net stretched between six trees, along with a few traverses and platforms.

North Coast Earth First! gave the love pod it's first test.

So, how to build a love pod? First, understand that all the measurements are variable, so smaller pods on smaller trees are definitely possible. If you have a favorite tree, it's possible to dimension a "custom" pod for your own village. The size of this first pod was largely determined by the materials we were able to procure with our limited budget. The design transfers approximately one-third of the weight radially inward onto 15 alloy blocks, preventing the tree

A Love Pod Consists of:

- 15 wedge-shaped bonded steel and plywood panels, seven-feet long, tapering four feet to one foot
- 15 mild steel spars 6.67-feet long, .10-inch wall thickness, 1.5 square feet
- 15 7,000-series alloy plates seven-feet long, .25-inch thick, six-inches wide
- 45 7,000-series alloy plates one-foot long, .25-inch thick, three-inches wide
- 15 6,000-series alloy blocks seven-inches long, 1.25 square feet
- 10 steel cables, 20-feet long, .43-inches in diameter
- 15 forged steel eyebolts, .375-inch shank
- 15 grade-eight bolts, 3.5-inches long, .375 inches in diameter
- 45 grade-five carriage bolts 4.5-inches long, .375 inches in diameter
- 30 forged cable clamps
- 15 support ropes (static)
- 15 carabiners (utility okay)
- associated washers, nuts and paint
- optional but recommended: teepee cover (15 panels 18' long tapering 4' to 1')

BOOTLEGGING—DIRECT ACTION RADIO COMMUNICATIONS

BY THUJA

Field communications is an increasingly important aspect of our work. A lot of folks in the movement are suspicious of technology. I am too, but I believe it's important to take up the tools available to us. Those who don't "do" tech will have it done to them. For this reason, the following information is presented to acquaint activists with radio so that they have a better chance of establishing effective communications in the field.

Radio is magic. It has to do with rhythm just like everything else in nature. The laws of physics are another beautiful manifestation of the intricacies of Gaia. Radio frequencies are measured in megahertz (MHz), or millions of oscillations per second. The portions of the radio spectrum of primary interest to activists are the 27 MHz citizens band (CB) (which will be dealt with in more detail next issue) and a broad swath known as VHF and UHF frequencies roughly between 130 and 500 MHz.

Legal

Unfortunately, no effective communication systems are freely available to private citizens. CB and family radio service (FRS), another grossly inadequate system, are the only options legally available to anyone without a license. Radio communications in the US are regulated by the FCC (Federal Communications Commission or Fucking Censorship Conspiracy). This is the same agency that busts community micro-power broadcasters and sells the public airwaves to the highest corporate bidder. The FCC has it set up so you have to register with Big

Brother if you want anything that works.

Now, I don't believe in these laws, but people should be aware of them. It is a felony to use radios in the commission of a crime, even a misdemeanor. Mundane campaign communications are one thing, but using a radio in connection with night work could be serious shit. It is illegal to transmit any signal over 1/100th of a watt without a license, except CB, FRS or marine VHF from a boat. Depending on the situation, fines can run from a few hundred to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Bootlegging

That said, let's talk about what people might do in the real world. Operating without a license is known as "bootlegging." Bootlegging in VHF or UHF is the best bet for clandestine operations.

General mobile radio service (GMRS) is a five-watt system operating at 462 MHz. Technically it requires a license, but the licenses are free and the radios can often be purchased with nothing more than a promise to the retailer that you'll send in for one. The channels will be pretty full in metro areas and will be one of the first places the cops will listen if they know you are using radios in the woods. The radios cost \$200-\$300 new and can be purchased from most business radio retailers. They are also advertised in mail-order hunting supply catalogs.

Marine VHF radios are widely available and fairly affordable. They operate around 156-161 MHz and generally run five watts. Stay the hell off channels 16 and 19, especially 16. These are emergency and contact channels and are well monitored. I've heard

of people being fined \$5,000 for using channel 16 while hunting well inland. Anywhere near a coastline or a waterway the channels will be crammed. Again, authorities looking for troublemakers will listen here first. A brand new marine handheld can run you \$300 at a boating shop, but they can be had quite a bit cheaper at pawnshops or yard sales in coastal communities.

In addition to using the above systems without a license, another option is finding frequencies allocated to unused services in your area and modifying radios to operate there. This is a more involved undertaking but has the advantages of getting you away from other users and making it harder for those who would listen. Get a scanning radio and a *Police Call* or *Betty Bearcat* frequency book at Radio Shack and familiarize yourself with frequency use in your area while learning what channels the cops use so you can monitor them. Acquire old cop or business radios and get them set up on these frequencies. This will require cultivating a sympathetic electronics person to actually do the modifications.

A quick note on amateur radio. It is tempting to bootleg on the amateur VHF/UHF bands

because the equipment can be had at swap meets. Please don't. Amateurs (private citizens licensed for certain frequencies) are locked in their own struggle with corporations that want their bandwidth. Anarchy on the amateur bands only gives the corporations more ammunition, and some amateurs would curry favor with the FCC by turning you in. That said, many amateur radios can be "opened

up" to operate over broader swaths of spectrum outside the small amateur range. These are truly versatile communications tools. Information on modifications to amateur equipment is readily available on the internet or in "mod books" available from ads in publications such as *Popular Communications* or 73.

If you choose to bootleg, pick your frequencies carefully. You should listen to a frequency a lot to insure that it is unused in your area. *Do not* interfere with other users. The whole idea is to exist in the cracks and never get noticed.

Operation

The best thing you can do to keep your communications from being intercepted is to practice good operating procedure. This is common sense security stuff, but I've seen it ignored too many times.

Don't flaunt your abilities. It's tempting to run around in front of the cops talking to each other, "Neener, neener. We've got our toys too." Don't! Cops love to bust people with radios. They figure they get to bag a leader, take out someone with an important role in the action at hand and send the radio into their lab to see what you've got. You may not get it back. Some radios seized at the 1996 Chicago Democratic Convention were gone for over a year before the cops gave them back.

So, keep the radios out of sight. The best example of this I ever witnessed was a woman wired with an earphone concealed under her hair, a throat microphone under her scarf, a push-to-talk switch in her pocket and a little wire antenna wound into her dreadlocks. The actual radio was in her day pack. She was negotiating with the cops while transmitting, and they had no clue. It was awesome!

Keep the power down if you can. If the radios have variable power and you can establish reliable communication on low power, do it. As long as the signal hits your intended audience, that's all you need. Anything more is just extra signal for someone else to find. In many situations keeping the power down is impossible. You will often need every bit of

a five-watt radio and wish you had more. Keep transmissions short. Yacking away serves no purpose, runs down your batteries and makes your frequency easier to find. Even sophisticated scanning equipment usually takes a couple seconds to lock on a transmission, unless it is really close to you. With good planning beforehand, vital information can often be distilled down to a couple syllables. I've seen operations pulled off in which key communications consisted of a couple of grunts—total time on the air, about four seconds.

Work up a private language within your affinity group. If planning time is short, a few "code" words or noises may be all you are able to prepare. Be sure to make them distinctive and sharply audible. The best codes, however, are really entire rudimentary languages that can adapt to changing communications needs in dynamic situations. Be warned, authorities have alleged in court that coded activist transmissions caught on tape alluded to planned acts of violence.

Get plenty of battery packs to fit your radios, and go into situations with all of them charged. Most handhelds eat 12 volts, so a good trick is to get sealed motorcycle or computer backup batteries and rig them to fit your radio's power jack. Be sure the +'s and -'s get to the right places or you'll smoke the radio. These batteries will last all day (or night) and with enough wire can go in a fanny pack or cargo pocket.

Effective communications can make or break an action. With enough care given to planning and training, you can create your own action communications systems that enable you to relay vital information. The FCC has its hands full at the moment with the burgeoning micro-power broadcast movement so keep 'em out of sight, keep it short, stay out of the way of other users and you can get away with a lot.

FOR THE PEOPLE

FOR THE PEOPLE

Activist Harassment *in the Allegheny*

BY JOSH RAISLER COHN

Harassment is nothing new to social and environmental movement activists. Attempts to intimidate, isolate, scare, threaten and harm us are both pervasive and sometimes effective. As more people within our movement are targeted with this type of harassment, it becomes more important to address this issue and begin thinking about a solid network of support for targeted activists. As someone who has been singled out for harassment, I have learned that there are many others who have had similar experiences. People are trying to quell our movement, and I want to beat them at their own game by telling my story and removing the cloak of isolation. We can foil wise use and law enforcement attempts to paralyze our movement.

I have only been active for about a year and a half. Within that period, I have been targeted various times, including on my "first day" as an activist when I went out to the Allegheny National Forest to meet with the Allegheny Defense Project (ADP). After a day hiking in the woods, I slept in the bushes (having forgotten my tent). Two men walked into my campsite, which was two miles from a road, and started talking about how nice it would be if they opened a hunting season on "long hairs." One of the men had a rifle. Once they left, I got outta there, only to find my car spray painted with, "Fuck off tree hugger." I went home.

Seven months later, I started interning at ADP, and within a week we filed a major lawsuit against the Forest Service. One week later I went to a Ruckus

action camp in North Carolina. After I returned to the Alleghenies, I got a phone call from a good friend who told me she had received a threatening letter about me. The letter included a photo of me in my car, with a target drawn around my head, and the message, "Tell your pain in the ass friend to get the fuck out of my forest before he gets hurt." I checked my mailbox and found a copy of the same photo with a bull's-eye drawn around my head. The only place I can figure the photo could have been taken was when I was parking at the action camp,

involved in the Wayne protests.) We did not think you were leaving until the morning; you made us come out earlier than we were expecting. Speaking for myself, and many others, we are glad you are leaving southern Ohio, and why don't you stay away for a while? Drive safely."

He walked back to his car, and the policeman told me to be on my way. Ecstatic to be leaving, and hoping to change into some dry pants, I did just that.

I have taken part in a few demos, hung off a

building on my campus to protest live animal experimentation, interned with a forest defense group, attended a zero cut organizing meeting and helped out with some civil disobedience actions. I am by no means a seasoned activist. This sort of harassment is nothing new, but I am an unlikely target. However, I have learned a lot and want to pro-actively counter these attempts at intimidation and isolation. I've received much good



The cordial greeting left by timber industry goons in the Allegheny

800 miles from my home.

A few days later I was circled by a pickup truck while a man in the passenger seat took photos of me. The license plate of the shiny pickup truck was covered in mud.

I am not named in the lawsuits filed on the Allegheny National Forest. I have not commented on many timber sales. I have not had my name in the press, and I am not especially visible in the community.

In the fall, we won a major lawsuit, shutting down half the year's timber sales on the Allegheny National Forest. Two weeks later, while driving home alone from an animal rights organizing meeting, I was pulled over by an unmarked car with flashing red lights on the dash and white lights in the grill. The car sat behind me for about two minutes and drove away. Some days later I received a letter through my campus mail system that read, "Don't like getting pulled over do you? No more warnings." The next day there was a flier in our campus mail room that read, "Wanted Josh Raisler Cohn \$500 Reward. This tree spiking, animal liberating, machine sabotaging asshole must be stopped. He is an eco-fascist and doesn't give a shit about people's well being. If you stop him we will find you with this reward."

This February I was down in southern Ohio helping out with the first ever blockade in the Wayne National Forest, fighting an illegal stripmine. On my way home I was pulled over by the police twice. The first time I was warned for driving five miles over the limit. The second time, an hour later, a policeman walked up to the car (which is not registered to me) and said, "Hi Josh. You were speeding and we suspect you have drugs in your car." Two officers spent 45 minutes searching the car and found nothing. At this point, an unmarked car pulled up, and a man in a suit got out of the passenger side. He walked over to me and said, "Hi Josh. Did you have fun at the party tonight? Though I know you are not much of a partier. (There had been a victory celebration that evening for those

advice, which I will try to pass on.

If you are a victim or witness of harassment:

1. Write everything down, as accurately as you can, and keep all records in a safe place.
2. Report it to the police, and ask for a copy of the report for documentation.
3. Keep the originals of anything you receive, and let the police have photocopies. If the harassment comes from somewhere within the government, it would be too easy for the police to "lose" documentation. Do not give them the opportunity.
4. Record all badge numbers and license plate numbers, if you can. (I was told by police in southern Ohio that I could have their badge numbers "at the station.")
5. Contact other activists. These are attempts to make us ineffective and scared, and we should all reach out to our community when we need the support.
6. Remember that you are being effective as an activist. There must be some reason why you have been targeted.

There are a number of groups out there that can provide support and information. *How to Deal with Harassment* is a report available from the Western States Center, POB 40305, Portland, OR 97240; (503) 228-8866; e-mail: harassment@wsc.pdx.org; website: www.epn.org/westernstates. Brain Glick's short book, *War At Home: Covert Action Against US Activists and What We Can Do About It*, has many references and groups that can provide further support info. It's published by South End Press.

Events like this happen, sometimes in unlikely places at unlikely times to unsuspecting people. I carry a cell phone and a little container of pepper spray with me wherever I go. It took some reconciling to be able to do that, and I don't like the idea of it. All these experiences have greatly affected the way I live and have strengthened my resolve, reinforcing what is truly important within my life. Be strong, be proud and be safe.

WIDESPREAD ATTACKS

Activists on the Allegheny National Forest have been targeted in a strategic campaign by wise use groups, the timber industry and government officials in an attempt to squash the growing resistance to forest destruction in Pennsylvania. After a successful legal battle over a 31-million board foot timber sale, the Allegheny Defense Project (ADP) and its lawyers have been bombarded with the timber industry's reaction. In addition to the threats Josh received, the ADP has been investigated by the Pennsylvania attorney general, who halted the fundraising abilities of the organization for a considerable time. University officials at a school that two ADP activists attend have been asked to put pressure on the students, and ADP lawyers have had their jobs as professors at the University of Pittsburgh threatened.

Congressman John Peterson has become the champion of the timber industry. He is already the seventh largest recipient of timber industry money in Congress, and he is only serving his first year in office. Peterson has made "dealing with the radical preservationists, anti-loggers" his number one objective. In an effort to bring national attention to the ADP court victory, Peterson intends to bring Newt Gingrich and a congressional delegation to the Allegheny to confront activists.

The more effective the Allegheny Defense Project and the national movement to end logging on public lands becomes, the more we will see the intensity on the Allegheny increase. The Allegheny National Forest is one of the few national forests that makes a large profit for local communities and a few cherry veneer companies. This is not a place that the industry is willing to lose. But more importantly, it is not a place which the Allegheny Defense Project will sacrifice under any degree of threats and/or harassment.

Wayne Blockade Stops Stripmine

continued from front page

and stripped for coal too many times to count in the past century and a half. This region is also home to the federally endangered Indiana bat, which is the spotted owl of the East, and many other flora and fauna.

The protests follow a two-year campaign to prevent this 25-acre coal stripmine, the first mine to be allowed on the Wayne in five years. Despite strict federal prohibitions against coal mining on national forests, Buckingham Coal Company was given the right to stripmine by the Office of Surface Mining (OSM). Appeals of the OSM's authorization, and the permit granted by the state, have been submitted by the Buckeye Forest Council. While those appeals are pending, along with requests for a stay of operations until the appeals can be heard, Buckingham has subcontracted with R&D Hilltop Lumber to clearcut the site in preparation for the mine. Logging has begun. The goal of the protests is to prevent as much damage as possible to the tract until relief can be granted through appeals or litigation. A ruling on the stay is expected sometime in March.

Actions began on February 9, when four activists locked their necks with kryptonite U-locks to bulldozers and a log loader, and a fifth person climbed into a 40-foot high tree platform with a "god-cam," to document police actions once non-arrest protesters were removed. The first few loggers on site, having refused our offer of fresh-brewed coffee, were quite bitter and proceeded to accost Gabe Ciani, who was locked by a krypto to the cab of the log loader. The logger backed off in the presence of peacekeepers and after assurances that none of his machines had been damaged. Luckily, this was our only physical confrontation during the first week of actions. Operations were shut down for half of day one. Three of the krypto locks were snipped by three-foot bolt cutters, one person unlocked when threatened with a cutting torch glowing next to her head, and the climber came down when the others were cut free and work resumed around him.

Despite security to prevent a repeat of day one, the loggers were dismayed to find protesters in lockboxes attached to their machinery the next morning. Unfortunately, the cops were able to cut the webbing on the wrists of those locked down. Nine people were cited those first two days with criminal

trespass—for trespassing on national forest land. They were escorted off-site and released.

On Wednesday, protesters began hunger striking, and on Thursday, the merry band of pranksters packed the tiny court room in support of the first five arrestees. Everyone arrested or cited has plead not guilty. Friday morning we took our message directly to the head asshole, James Graham, owner of Buckingham Coal Company. Since Buckingham Coal Company has taken over our national forest, we decided to return the favor at its office. About 40 people demonstrated in front of the company's headquarters in Shawnee, Ohio. Three women deftly locked their necks together on the front porch as we chanted, "The Wayne is not for sale," and, "There ain't no future in mining coal, don't strip the forest of its soul." Along with the three women locked together in a daisy-chain, one man locked himself onto the porch railing. Those four were arrested with two others who put a banner in front of the coal company's office sign. The banner read, "How many jobs; how long; what then?"



Photo by Sarah Korte

Than Hitt 40-feet up a sycamore

On Monday, February 23, four more protesters used lockboxes to immobilize a bulldozer, skidder and log loader. In the most tense confrontation yet, three of the four activists released themselves after loggers angrily started up their equipment and began to use it with the activists still attached, endangering their lives. Two other protesters stood in front of the skidder to prevent its use while their comrade was locked to it. After a momentary pause, the skidder driver lumbered forward, pushing the blockaders backwards. Amazingly, no one was seriously hurt.

Sixteen people have been arrested. Charges include criminal trespass, resisting arrest and, believe it or not, rioting. A deep howl to those who are standing in defense of the wild and special thanks to Patagonia and the Earth First! Direct Action Fund for donations of winter gear and money. A legal defense fund has been started to raise money for those arrested. Donations can be sent to the Buckeye Forest Council. To get involved, contact the Buckeye Forest Council at POB 99, Athens Ohio, 45701; (740) 594-6400. And to all of you who ran away to the charismatic megafauna and big wilderness of the West, maybe it's time to come home. There's work to be done here.

Pies in the Sky

BY SARA LEE

Until a couple weeks ago, Noel Godin was relatively unknown in the United States. He's a 52-year-old Belgian film historian, actor ("The Sexual Life of the Belgians"), writer (*Cream and Punishment*) and "entarteur" (a Godin coinage that roughly translates as "encaker" or "pie-er").



Godin led the gang that gave to Bill Gates what so many of us only dream of—a big wet pie in the face. The attack took place at the entrance of Le Concert Noble on Arlon Street in Brussels and was widely reported in the press. Godin doesn't own a computer and didn't even know what a URL is. Godin stated that Bill Gates was chosen as a target "because in a way he is the master of the world, and then because he's offering his intelligence, his sharpened imagination and his power to the governments and to the world as it is today—that is to say gloomy, unjust and nauseating. He could have been a utopian, but he prefers being the lackey of the establishment. His power is effective and bigger than that of the leaders of the governments, who are only many-colored servants. So Bill



DISCLAIMER:
EARTH FIRST! DOES NOT ENDORSE THE PRACTICE OF THROWING POODLE PIES AT PORKLY POLITICIANS AND OTHER EARTH RAPIERS.

Gates was at the top of our list of victims. The attack against him is symbolic, it's against hierarchical power itself. Our war cry was explicit: 'Let's pie! Let's pie the polluting lolly!'



Patrick Moore also received his "just desserts" recently when a rogue environmentalist splattered a cream pie upon his head. The pie-ing occurred at the end of a debate with Joe Foy of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Why was he deserving of such treatment, you may ask. For too long now, Moore, a Greenpeace-founder-turned-logging-industry apologist, has fed the people of British Columbia a steady stream of bullshit about what goes on in the forest. Included in Moore's mythology are the ideas that: the clearcutting of old-growth forests has *nothing* to do with the habitat loss of the grizzly bear; all the forest critters *love* clearcuts and logging roads; those who are concerned about watershed logging are overreacting to a bit of mud in the water; and the forest industry can continue indefinitely under the present system of clearcutting and tree farms. The applause that the pie-ing received should be sufficient to let Patrick know that there are many who don't buy his crap.



An animal-rights activist was arrested recently for throwing a pie in the face of John E. Pepper, the CEO of Procter and Gamble, during an awards ceremony at the Hyatt in the town square of Columbus, Ohio. Melynda Duval of Virginia, a member of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, pied Pepper over Procter and Gamble's tortuous animal tests. She was charged with disrupting a lawful meeting, a fourth-degree misdemeanor. Pepper was struck while receiving the Governor's Award from Governor George Voinovich at a banquet of the Ohio Newspaper Association.

CASCADIA

PORTLAND BIRD IS A GREAT BLUE HERON WHO LIVES THROUGHOUT THE CASCADIAN WATERWAYS AND ENJOYS A COMMITTED RELATIONSHIP WITH A SPOTTED OWL.

FROG SONGS ARE SILENCED ACROSS COOL CASCADIAN EARLY SPRING NIGHTS. OUR DISAPPEARING AMPHIBIANS, NEARLY AS OLD AS THE BIRTH OF LIFE, ARE LEAVING THIS WORLD AS QUICKLY AS THESE LAST MILLENNIAL DAYS. THEIR PERMEABLE SKINS CANNOT ABSORB OUR MANY TOXICALLY PENETRATING EXCUSES, U.V.-B. RADIATION INCREASES, HABITAT LOSS, CHEMICALS AND POISONS/PARASITES AND PREDATORS. OUR WEB-FOOTED LIFE (TORN) FROM THE WEB OF LIFE.

CONCERNED GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY RESPOND WITH THE "DEFORMED AND DIMINISHED AMPHIBIANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT."



STUDIES, PLANS, COMMITTEES, COMPROMISES, SOLUTIONS, PETITIONS, PROTESTS, LOBBYISTS, OUR CHARGES, TAXES, PERMITS, PAY-OFFS, AND HABITAT CONSERVATION PLANS. A WORLD OF RESPONSES!



TIMBER INDUSTRY SCIENTISTS BLAME AMPHIBIAN LOSSES ON FORESTS CHOKING OUT THEIR HABITAT. A NEW BI-PARTISAN CONSERVATION PLAN TO CLEAR-CUT OUR FORESTS!!



TANKER TRUCKS FILLED WITH U.V.-B. RAY SUN BLOCK SPRAY AGGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT SENSITIVE WETLANDS. "GREEN CLOWNING" STUDIES ARE FUNDED.



FROG SONGS ARE REPLACED BY CONSTRUCTION DIN AS TWO LANE WIDE "DISABLED AMPHIBIAN" WHEELCHAIR RAMPS ARISE OUT OF CASCADIA'S MARSHES.



CHARGES ADDED TO UTILITY BILLS FUND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PERMANENT STEEL NETWORK OF TINTED GLASS OVER SUSCEPTIBLE MARSHES. THE FIRST WINTER SNOW COLLAPSES MOST OF THEM.



EARTH NIGHT NEWS

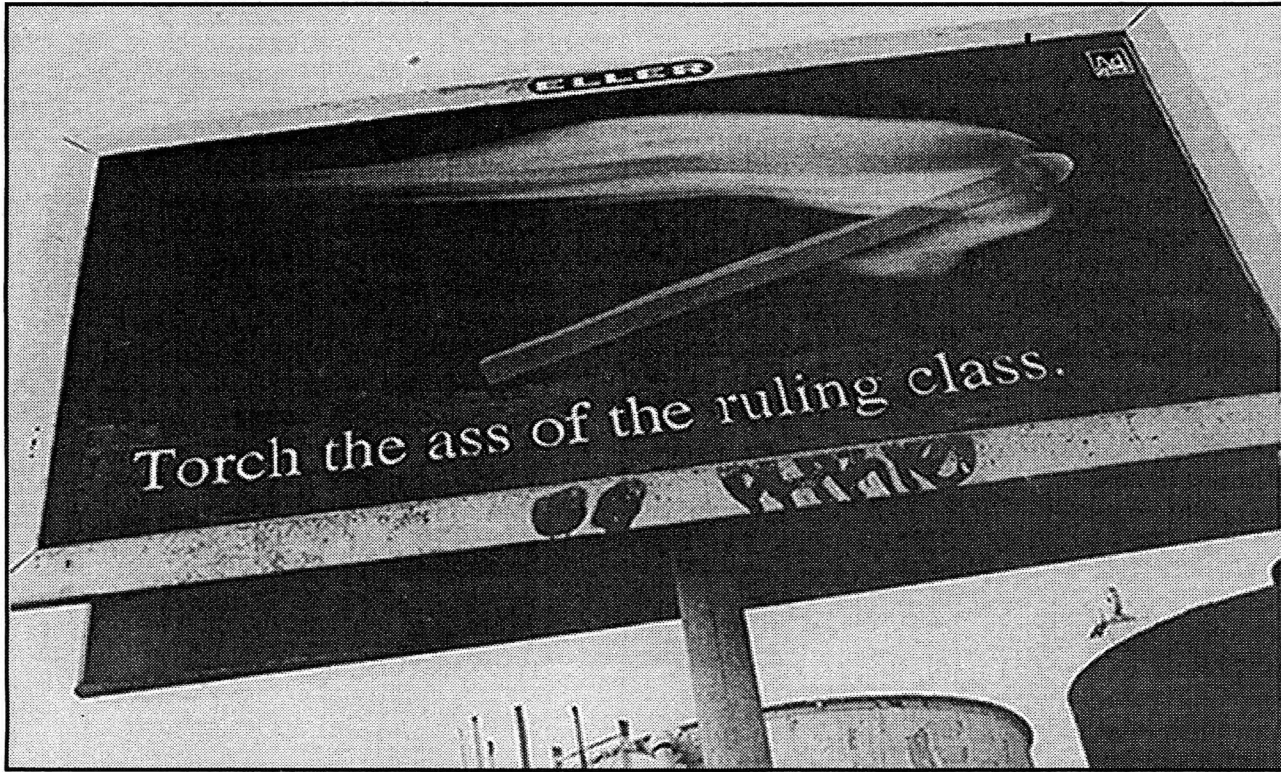


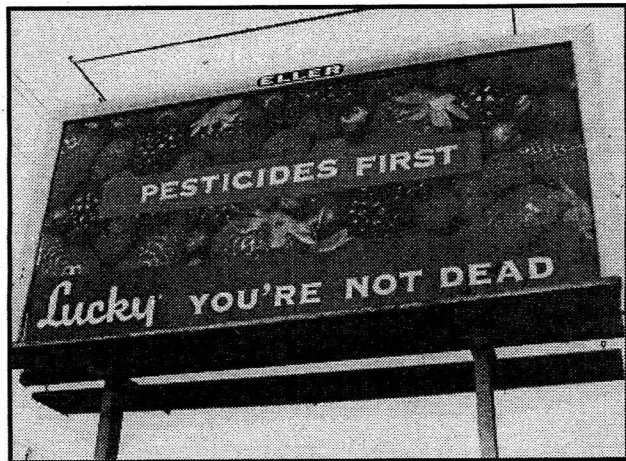
Photo contest entries by the California Department of Corrections

BILLBOARD BLACKOUT CHAMPIONSHIPS!

The world's first ever Billboard Blackout Championships is currently in full swing throughout Britain! The spectacular urban games convened during the week leading up to Buy Nothing Day '97 on November 27. So far, spectacular entries have included blacked out writing on advertisements and subverted or cosmetically improved corporate slogans. Subverters have valiantly deleted brand names and crass corporate images from billboards nationally to create remarkable ad free zones!

All are strongly encouraged to enter the event. To ensure that the playing field is completely leveled

during this "full-on, full-frontal attack on planet trashing consumerism," participants should divide up their town or city between teams. American teams, such as the "California Department of Corrections" are reportedly scrambling to submit their own foreign entries to the grand event. No official competition end date has been announced to close this incredible competition and ad space is everywhere. So, what are you waiting for? Join the race to blackout billboards today!



Wyoming Fence Liberation

The Ned Ludd section in Eostar '97 gave a detailed lesson in fence mending to inspire the "alteration" of fences to spare creatures, like birds, coyotes and deer, from lethal injury caused by vicious barbed wire. Soon after the *EF! Journal* hit the shelves, rampant fence cutting appeared in central Wyoming, mostly on fences surrounding public lands. In a month's time, fence mending occurred in 63 places, with extensive mending at each area. Notes were posted on the cut fences claiming the project was done for the purpose of range improvement by "Extended Palm Range Consultants," demanding that ranchers stop grazing their cattle on public lands. Dust off those wire cutters folks!

Sunnyview Spiked

Community organizing, civil disobedience and blockades all failed to stop the Sphynx timber sale in Oregon. But, the Forest Service says someone or some group of people have vented their frustration with a hammer and spikes in the yet uncut part of the sale. Forest Service law enforcement has announced a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the ceramic spikes in trees at the Sunnyview timber sale (the second part of the infamous Sphynx timber sale) on the Detroit Ranger District of the Willamette National Forest. Sphynx was hotly contested as a showcase example of the Forest Service allowing logging in slide-prone areas in a municipal watershed.

The Forest Service, of course, claims that the spiking hasn't affected logging of the sale whatsoever. John Herrick, Forest Service special agent, refused to say if the area that had been spiked and he also refused to comment on how the ceramic spikes were found. The Forest Service was originally notified of the spiking by an anonymous letter from the perpetrators. Herrick says the Forest Service has numerous leads and some suspects. He stresses that the reward was offered not as a last ditch effort but because the Forest Service "knows individuals in the area" have information about the spiking.

Swedish Road Project Wrenched to a Halt

In Stockholm, Sweden, on January 18 and 19, activists associated with Action for Social Ecology severely damaged four road building machines, temporarily stopping the construction of the Southern Link road. The link is a part of a large road building project that will have extreme environmental impacts.

After lobbying by the big road building corporations, the city of Stockholm declared that road users were going to pay for the road. The road link was met with strong opposition until the project was finally stopped. There was great celebration.

Yet in reality, the Swedish government appropriated public money to continue the project one part at a time. In Sweden, like most of the world, neoliberal politics rule, and while governments have no problems funding road projects, they say it's impossible to find money for decent public schools, hospitals, libraries or public transportation. May action in the night teach them to look harder.

continued from page 3

No corporate participation in the democratic process. Democracy is for and about human beings. Corporations should be prohibited from paying for any political advertisements, making any campaign contributions or seeking to influence the democratic process in any way.

2. Corporations have no Constitutional rights. A corporation is an artificial creation set up to serve a public need, not an independent entity with intrinsic "rights."

3. Corporations should be prohibited from making any civic, charitable or educational donations. Such donations are used to warp the entire social and economic fabric of society and make people afraid to speak out against corporations.

These probably seem even more "unrealistic" than the first batch. Imagine how nice it must be for corporate executives that we find these ideas "impractical." And by the way, *these were all once law, too.*

Focusing on corporate law offers an opportunity to work on common problems without neglecting specific issues. That is because there's not a separate version of corporate law for each corporation, for each factory, for each grove of old growth, for each type of athletic shoe, for each toxic chemical.

Corporate law is very similar in regards to for-profit corporations. (Each state has its own corporate code, but variations are minimal. More than half of the Fortune 500 corporations are chartered in one state, Delaware.)

If we were to change even one line of defining law in the corporate code, it would affect thousands of corporations. Our efforts would be magnified, instead of being split among countless individual campaigns. When we rewrite a line of the corporate code, we don't just define one corporation, we define them all.

A final objection to be raised is that we'll never get anywhere as long as the "news media" is against us. Agreed. But the "news media" are corporations, key players in a system of propaganda that encompasses not only television, radio and newspapers but also the entire educational system. The "air waves" belong to the public. Why have we allowed a puppet federal agency to "lease" the public airwaves to huge corporations?

Ya wanna lock down? Lock down to a TV or radio station and make the public airwaves public again. Not for a day but for a lifetime. Ya like boycotts? What if a regulatory agency gave a hearing and nobody came? The outcome would be the same, but we wouldn't have wasted all the time and resources, nor would we have helped grant an aura of legitimacy to sham proceeding.

What could we do instead?

We could come back from our self-imposed exile in the regulatory agencies and turn our attention to the defining law of corporations. And there, we could start acting as though we believed that people are people, and corporations are not.

Jane A. Morris works with the Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy, POB 246, S. Yarmouth, MA 02664.

VIRTUAL REALITY

To you who always tell me
of the wonders of cyberspace
in sterile terms that don't inspire:

I see you in my mind
in sealed rooms of toxic glue vapors and plaster board
sitting passively before a plastic box
emanating a radioactive glow
plugged in to a simplistic binary logic
isolated from the wild that is all
with evil federal eyes watching every move of mind
through the Internet circuits you call the "Information
Revolution,"
your use of currency—one life's time—
dictated by the constant updating of a fact
through the manipulation of corporate imperatives
an apple today, a modem tomorrow,
then lust—as it were—or a laser printer the next day. I
see your
funding proposals revolving in a plastic
consumerist loop
of no return
hear your high tech chatter trying to convince me
until I walk away
to rejoin the conversation of birds
the sun pointing out the most recent flower to bloom
in a succession that is my calendar.
In long nights of staying awake to fight the systems of
the machine
mechanical typewriter keys pounding
my hand cramps from the long flow of handwritten
thought
I walk outside and see the northern Lights
showing me the pattern as owls speak
with a chorus of coyotes to herald another dawn.
My most basic reason for resistance to computer
programming?
I don't like them.
I rest my ease in sleep, by following dreams.

—KAREN COULTER

ROUTE 90 TO HOTSPRINGS MONTANA

thoughts and visions fall from my brain
like the skins of moonflowers
that shake back to the red mesa—
husks of wrinkled blossoms
returning back to the warm air
that rocks from canyon to cacti to riverbed

the sky stretches and the moon pulls its course
arching over desert basins that yawn for the sun
your eyes, pupils and all, are sucked
in by this vastness and this gravity takes
you into your own self where wisdom boils—
where action takes root

rhythms of your travel—
sometimes in the swaggering hitchhike
the rumbling riff raff roar of the rails
the churning of wheels, wings or legs—
weave patterns over landscape and sky,
create an ebb and flow to grab your soul
making the questions slam dance
and the answers croon

sleep sinks your eyelids
and the yellow line rips by on the pavement
forced on Earth like a repressive ruler
but she's strong, stronger than rigid tar
stronger than the machines that invade her flesh
so strong, that given time
given that upwelling power
the green blades will crack the thick
dark force of road
the highway strip for convenient carriers
that gouge oil from the veins of wild and sacred—
but those green blades know best
to sever the structure, break the line!

—ALLISONE LUNN

ARMED WITH VISIONS

Clear as Cut Glass

& Just as Dangerous

Send poems to:

WARRIOR POETS SOCIETY

ASUC Box 361

Berkeley, CA 94720-4510

HOT SPRINGS

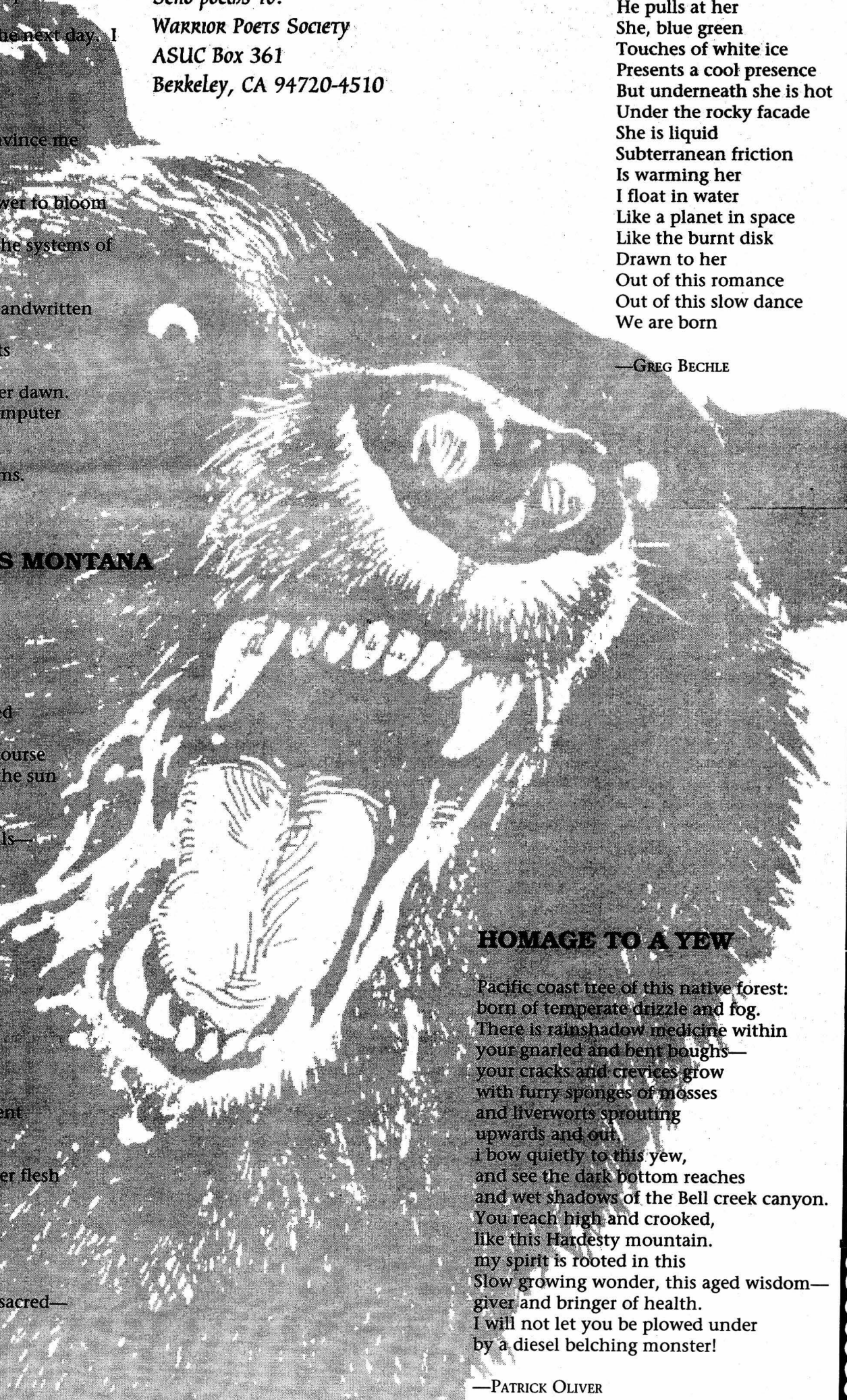
In the soft mountains
I enter warm water
Water of rock
Water of air
Water of fire
Water from the warmth
Of the long slow
Loving dance
Brilliant burning
thermonuclear
He pulls at her
She, blue green
Touches of white ice
Presents a cool presence
But underneath she is hot
Under the rocky facade
She is liquid
Subterranean friction
Is warming her
I float in water
Like a planet in space
Like the burnt disk
Drawn to her
Out of this romance
Out of this slow dance
We are born

—GREG BECHLE

HOMAGE TO A YEW

Pacific coast tree of this native forest:
born of temperate drizzle and fog.
There is rainshadow medicine within
your gnarled and bent boughs—
your cracks and crevices grow
with furry sponges of mosses
and liverworts sprouting
upwards and out.
I bow quietly to this yew,
and see the dark bottom reaches
and wet shadows of the Bell creek canyon.
You reach high and crooked,
like this Hardesty mountain.
my spirit is rooted in this
Slow growing wonder, this aged wisdom—
giver and bringer of health.
I will not let you be plowed under
by a diesel belching monster!

—PATRICK OLIVER



Study these positions. Tell us which ones you like and

continued from page 3

Dear Earth First,

I am 21 years old and am currently incarcerated in an Indiana prison. Let me start this out by telling you what led me to my being incarcerated.

I was born and raised in the small town of Crawfordsville, IN. My father owns a small plot of land where our home is. We have a small 1/2 acre pond and raise horses. We have always encouraged wildlife onto our domain. In the spring of 1996 a local doctor bought some land adjacent to ours and began clearcutting several acres to build a two-story home. Enraged by the fact that our old "stomping ground" was being destroyed, two other accomplices and I burnt down the home in the midst of construction.

Over a period of six months, myself and seven other young people proceeded to drive around the countryside setting fire to uninhabited structures. When we were done there had been approximately nine fires, with different members of our group being involved in different fires.

In November of 1996, I had been charged and convicted of arson and was sentenced to 30 years in the DOC, with 10 years suspended to house arrest and probation. As the other individuals began to receive their sentences it became evident that the wealth and status of the youths' parents was having a major bearing on the sentences. One individual, who's dad plays golf with the sentencing judge, was involved in three fires. He was sentenced to six years probation. He never spent a day in jail. Another individual, who comes from a lower class neighborhood, was involved in one fire. He was sentenced to four years in prison, two years house arrest and two years probation. All eight of the sentences are inconsistent with the person's involvement in the crimes.

I am remorseful for what I did. I was not raised to act that way or disrespect other's property. I do plan to pay back the full amount of financial loss. It is not the punishment I received that I am grieving, it is the inconsistencies in sentencing.

I don't know what it is I'm asking from Earth First! I heard about the Earth First! movement through a friend. I guess I'm asking for some empathy or support from other Earth First!ers. I want to know what I can do from my position, how I can help, if at all.

I am going to continue to fight for my cause, but not in the barbaric way I did before. I am taking college courses now and plan to come out armed with a bachelor's degree at least. I plan to major in environmental science.

I would like to receive your newspaper, but due to my incarceration my funds are low. If you could publish my letter in your newspaper to show others that you can't just go out there and fight for your cause without taking precautions. Don't make the mistakes I did. Think First, Earth First!ers.

Sincerely,

—MATT ROLAND, #962480-14N
PUTNAMVILLE CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
1946 WEST US 40
GREENCASTLE, IN 46135

Dear EF!:

Hello, hello, hello! I am writing to thank you so much for

your journal. The Nov.-Dec. issue hurt me a lot. I know

Big Corporats don't give a damn about the earth, because they're doing everything they can to purposely destroy her. And I was angered (as always) concerning the "law" officers torture of peaceful demonstrators. Yes, my soul aches for the land, its creatures and the treatment of its protectors. Yet, the Dec.-Jan. issue has so many victories I could bust for joy. We need more legislature, more awareness, more hands-on involvement, more... monkeywrenching and liberations. (Big smile!) And we, as you said so beautifully, need to appreciate every facet of resistance to greedy-fingered-wimpy-posturing government lobbyists and corporats. We must integrate and function with balance as a whole through: legal, civil, passive, aggressive measures. My, I was going there. Sorry. I just get worked up over waste. I waste nothing, as I was reared that way. I'm making as many as I can aware of the "true" happening with environment, habitats, coppers, etc. I let all that will read your journal and will formally establish Free Lance when I'm freed. It will be as the name says a group of organized individuals that liberate, monkeywrench, and participate with our non-violent bros. and sisters. I will target all age, ethnic, class groups to let them know what's happening. There is other things.

As we grow, I'll

give aid to as many as I can: equipment, funds, etc. At the moment Free Lance informally total one in members—me! But I'm confident that will change once I'm out in a year or two. So, to Free Lance's future, though penniless now; All EF!ers, all liberators, monkeywrenchers, peaceful resisters, for the species that's no more, animals, and the earth I salute you with a nice big howl "woooo!! Keep up your greatness and solidarity among us all. PEACE

—GREGORY MYLES

Dear Folks,

A discussion of tactics is more or less ongoing within the radical environmental movement and viewpoints on effective strategy vary widely and conflict often enough. One thing I think we can all agree on is that we can remain most effective by focusing on our common objectives, organizing around them, and working to achieve them. Our differences are many, but we do not necessarily have to reconcile every aspect of our ideologies in order to work together with the circumstances at hand.

As a long-time animal liberationist, I had little personal problem with the four page animal rights section in the Brigid 1998 issue. However, as a long-time ecological activist, I was surprised and somewhat dismayed to see it there. A number of people within the movement simply are not animal rights activists.

And, as a sensitive issue, it can do a great deal to alienate and distance people. Also, it can make our message harder to communicate to the mainstream and hinder our ability to widen our audience.

Animal rights and radical environmentalism are at totally different points in public perception and, I believe, require totally different approaches from their proponents. For now, I think it could very well be better to keep the two separate.

Unfortunately, like any movement, we are prone to become divided over our differences, and such divisions can seriously hamper our effectiveness in working towards the goals we had in common. It has happened within Earth First! before.

Between two to five percent of our primary forest in the US remains in biologically significant quantities. Some of the best and some of the worst legislation concerning public lands in history is currently under the consideration of Congress. This is no time to lose focus, and certainly no time to bicker.

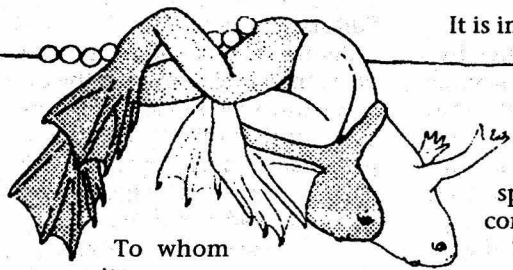
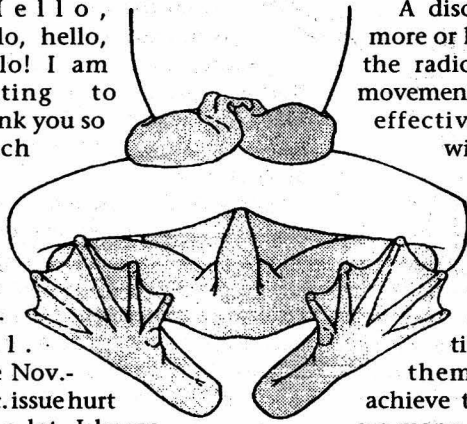
Best regards,

—SCOTT SCHRODER

Ed. note: Yo, Scott, dude. Last issue's insert, "Animal Liberation Front, Past and Present" was from a group of animal rights activists. Our center insert, the "Blank Wall," is produced by separate group that prepares and edits it every issue.

We apologize for any confusion of its origins.

—JF



To whom it may concern:

I am writing to express many concerns on many issues that directly involve my neighborhood and could become (and possibly are) issues in many other neighborhoods across the country.

Recently, a gun club/firing range moved into our community, creating noise pollution, the potential for lead poisoning, a safety hazard for people living for miles around, and a financial nightmare due to the cost of litigation. I will try to give each issue a heading, with descriptions for our concerns to better facilitate your focus on areas of interest to your organization.

1. Noise pollution: Noise from shotguns, rifles and pistols carry for miles. If the noise travels five miles, in a 360-degree radius from the point of shooting, it could affect the serenity of a 78 square mile area.

2. Water Pollution/Lead Poisoning: If a shotgun shoots 1.76 lbs. of lead in five minutes (based on averages of shooting in this neighborhood and that a Target Load consists of 1.125 oz. of lead) then 21.12 lbs. of lead fall on the ground in one hour. In just under 95 hours of shooting, a ton of lead is put on the ground and eventually into the water table.

3. Safety Hazard: If a shot from a high powered rifle can go five miles in a 360-degree radius, then an area of 78 square miles will be in danger.

4. Legislation: Bills are being introduced nationwide to protect the interests of gun clubs/firing ranges. There are no Federal or South Carolina laws regulating installation and operation of these entities. I do not know about the other 49 states.

Our neighborhood is poor and primarily uneducated. We need help. Financial aid, expertise and moral support are badly needed. We have been forced into the courts where we question the integrity of the infrastructure to right the injustice we have suffered. Will you help us?

Sincerely,

—BOB LIPSCOMB
POB 47
TAMASSEE, SC 29686-0047
BLIPSC1386@AOL.COM

Dear SFB,

I recently saw an Earth First! press release (no local group name given) from Darryl Cherney (12/10/97: Riggs Uses Dirty Tricks to Quell Outrage over Pepper Spray). In it EF!er Alicia Littletree is quoted by Cherney stating that "Earth First! adopted a strict non-violence code in 1990 calling for no property destruction or violence of any kind, even verbal."

Whatever the merits of such a code, Littletree's statement is, of course, completely untrue. Nothing of this sort has been adopted by EF! nationally, or internationally. Ecotopia EF! can adopt anything they want, but no one who disagrees is bound by it.

It is important that the movement know what claims are being made in our name. Perhaps Cherney and Littletree might respond publicly to these concerns.

Thank you,

—JAMES BARNES

Alicia responds:

James Barnes writes this issue about a press release in which I am quoted by Darryl Cherney about Earth First!'s nonviolence code. One of our biggest strengths as a movement is our decentralization and our ability to determine our strategies based on the needs of our own bioregions; not the dictates of some hierarchal decision making body. I am reminded to clarify that EF! in Northern California has enacted a strict nonviolence code that includes no sabotage in order to further our goals of creating a public, mass movement to defend the threatened ecosystems in our area. I hope James Barnes agrees that this clarification does the job, rather than to weigh down every press release with a lengthy explanation of our movement's tactical discrepancies.

Whether I am writing or editing a public statement for our group in the future, I will be more careful to specify that I am speaking for Earth First! in Northern California.

But as far as Earth First! not enacting a strict nonviolence code, this characterization is also false. Accountability must go both ways. In our bioregion, as well as in many others, there does exist a nonviolence code for EF! actions. To state that EF! has never instituted one is to misrepresent the groups in Cove/Mallard, Ward Valley, San Luis/Colorado, Western Shoshone Defense Project in Crescent Valley, Nevada and many others that have made the strategy decision to base their struggles on a nonviolence code. To some it means the very survival of their campaign. If you're talking about national EF! never instituting a strict nonviolence code, I am not aware of EF! ever agreeing on anything except drinking beer, which seems to be our biggest commonality besides loving the Earth.

Just as we in California should not say that Earth First! does not spike trees, by the same logic is it appropriate for someone from a movement where spiking is a tactic of choice to represent EF! as a movement that does spike?

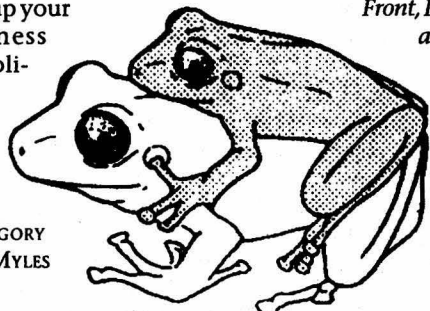
I appreciate the challenge involved in trying, as the EF! Journal does, to be a mouthpiece for such a diverse, stubborn group of people.

By the way, what happened to the EF! contacts page last issue? That's the one page in the journal I thought was beyond controversy. It is the best national networking tool we have for people to get in touch with EF! groups across the country. I hope it will not be permanently omitted. Thanks for the ink,

—ALICIA

Ed. note: Never fear, the directory (printed on page 35) is a cornerstone of the paper. We had such a cavalcade of quality articles last issue, we shelved it for one issue. The firm response we received from our faithful readers indicated that it was not a popular decision. It will never happen again (for awhile).

—JF



which ones you don't.

Dear SFBs,
Correy E. Mason writes in a letter last issue, "I suppose somewhere some poodle has the spirit of a wolf but is unfortunately trapped inside of a small pox virus... I mean poodle's body. Meantime, I'm trying to envision what goes on in the hearts and minds of the buffalo assassins..."

What's going on in the hearts and minds of the buffalo assassins is the same thing that's going on in your heart and mind, the hearts and minds of whoever writes "Wolves and Poodles," and all racists, misogynists, ageists, etc., etc., etc. You decide that you somehow have the right to make some kind of determination about what form of life is better than another. Pick some criteria. Look for rationalizations. Label the other as "less" somehow. Marginalize. Close your tiny minds. Feel good about identifying/associating with the "better" people/animals/plants.

Well, I have a question for all of you. *Who or what the fuck gave you the right to judge?!* Of all humans I would expect (though I'm not sure why) EF!ers to realize that none of us is in a position to judge and rank living things. That's not to say we should accept all behaviors. If you're being attacked by an individual of any "group," including viruses and humans, fight back. And if you feel that domesticated animals are a threat, and you want to attack someone for that, look in the mirror! Cows, poodles, etc., were and are enslaved, exploited and abused by humans, just as are the bison. None of them were volunteers. To blame them for what we've done to them is idiotic. To rank them as "less than" is to use the logic of the bison assassin (and all other oppressors throughout history). When you figure out how to change these attitudes in yourselves then you can clue the bison assassins in. Meanwhile, you're closer to them than you realize.

—PUCK THE MAINE-IAC POODLE

Dear Schwag for Neurons,
I thought I was mistaken at first, but then I systematically scoured through every word of the *Journal*. An obituary for Princess Di? Nowhere. I couldn't believe it. The *only* publication on earth not to have one? What's going on? And what would the Princess think if she knew EF! didn't care enough?

You think she cares about the 4 issues (or was it 5) *TIME* devoted to her? *No!* She wanted us to do it! You know she did!

—ANONYMOUS FLAGSTAFF, AZ

Editors:

I'd like to move on to an issue other than hog farms, but the US Government won't let me. Saturday morning Feb. 21, I bought a paper and came across a new outrage. The first paragraph in an article reads: "The Agriculture Department will buy \$30 million worth of pork to help boost sagging hog prices for farmers, Secretary Dan Glickman announced on Friday." Well, shit! I should have figured. While one branch of government, the EPA, claims to be concerned about the devastation brought on by hog farms in North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia to their fisheries and coastal areas, another branch of government is providing \$30 million worth of corporate welfare payments.

Don't think for a minute that had not the corporations taken over a large percentage of the hog industry that the government would be showing this kind of concern. During the farm crisis of the 80s just the opposite prevailed with the Feds foreclosing on farm loans to small farmers; driving them out of business and paving the way for corporate takeovers. Once again, had we ever doubted it? We are shown that we can't save the environment and have the unfettered metastasis of corporatism.

—SID BRIDGES

Dear SFB,

To whomever it may concern. I have a friend whose dad owns a machine and tool shop. They got a contract to make doors for the safes in which certain third world dictators keep their ill earned gold.

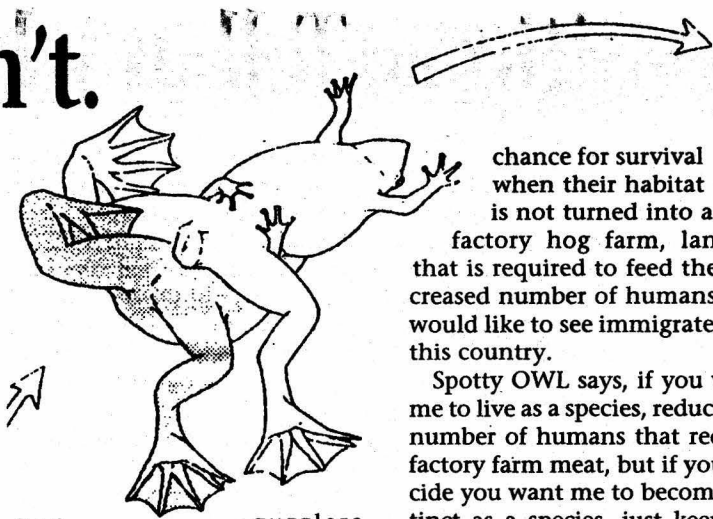
The doors are supposed to withstand an army of rebels for at least a month. The cement used in these doors will have about an equal amount of nails and sand rather than just sand as used in normal cement. The idea is that the nails would break the tool used to drill through cement, and the cement would rapidly dull the tool used to drill through the nails. I have no personal experience with the effectiveness of this practice. Seeing as cement is sometimes used in the building of blockades, I would be interested in hearing if this tactic could be effective in defense of mother earth.

—ANONYMOUS

Fellow Earth Lovers,

I resent Michael Dorsey's portrayal of immigration policy activists as racists and fascists. It's especially weird to be equated to David Duke, a right-to-lifer who opposes (white) family planning. I could make a similar flimsy comparison between Michael Dorsey and right-wingers Julian Simon and Ben Wattenberg. They say we need more immigrants so corporations will have enough new slaves and customers.

True, people pollute wherever they are, but if they come to the US, they pollute and consume a lot more. Most immigrants want a higher standard of living. We all know what that means—more forests leveled, more strip mines,



g a s guzzlers, etc. Dorsey lost me when he said Americans do disproportionate harm, but American immigrants don't contribute to that harm.

Unfortunately, touchy-feely politics and the defense of Mother Earth don't always go together. Years of reading liberal rags has taught me that conservatives aren't the only ones who put human happiness above nature. After hearing that welfare reform is forcing Utah polygamists to stop having 15 or 20 kids per wife, I saw some good in something we're all supposed to hate.

Having spent my life among Mormon rednecks, I am hardly a fan of white people. Maybe that makes me a racist, but I prefer to think of myself as an equal opportunity misanthrope. New American consumers are bad news whether they're brown, pink, blue, recent immigrants or descendants of Mayflower immigrants.

—LESTER WOOD

Subject: Article "Racism or Environmentalism?"

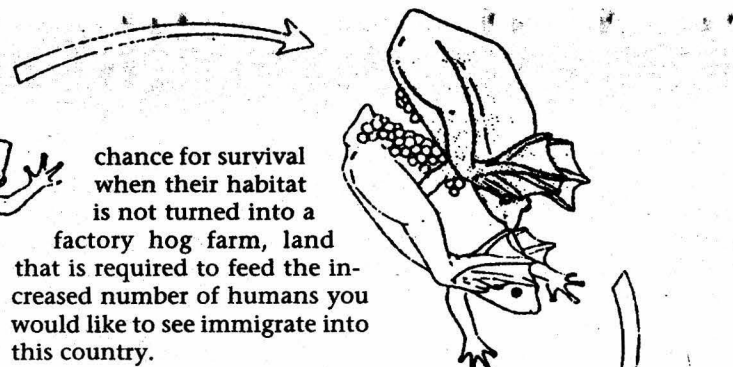
For Michael Dorsey to be advocating an increase in population whether it is by immigration or an increased birth rate is for Michael to also advocate that an increasing population does not impose increased pressures on wetlands, non-human species habitat or old-growth forests. It seems Michael wants it both ways. Sorry! But! That's a NO! NO! Michael.

The *EF!* *Journal* article, "Racism in the Ranks," is keeping great company with the corporate vampires that fund lots of propaganda in obtaining and keeping a cheap labor force.

The best long-term thing we can do for immigrants is to help them change the oppressive circumstances in their own countries. And by assisting them into changing a belief system that promotes an increased birth rate.

Michael Dorsey, are you now saying, there are no limits to our Carrying Capacity? But, if you do recognize at some point a *limit* to growth, then does this not also mean you become one of the racists you now claim others to be? What I fear is harming the effectiveness of the environmental movement is folks who give lip service but really do not believe or fully understand the concept that non-human species have an intrinsic right to co-habit this planet with humans.

Michael, it is really very simple, creatures really have a better



chance for survival when their habitat is not turned into a factory hog farm, land that is required to feed the increased number of humans you would like to see immigrate into this country.

—THE GJ "LORAX"

Earth First! Journal,

There have been several letters about whether EF! should care about Mumia. Here's my perspective: After the Vietnam protests we felt so impotent... We could see big money winning and we felt so trapped. I personally felt that suicidal behavior was quite logical. Then they bombed the MOVE house. All I could think was: They made them that mad. Just by wearing hair, eating right, living tribal and being black, they bothered the powers that be more than the whole anti-war movement. My current life, growing medicine food plants, working in groups and honoring the African Ancestors of my species daily, is partially rooted in this insight. The lie that says: "It doesn't matter what you do, so you might as well treat yourself like shit" got blasted out of my ocean by that bomb. It does matter what a person does, what they believe, and how they live. I will always mourn the brave heroes of MOVE whose deaths helped teach me that. I hope more and more like them are born into this world until we all come to our senses.

Sincerely,

—REBECCA

Subject: get a life

I bet you're all upset that your poster child Ted got caught. Well, he didn't succeed in hanging himself with his underwear, but if at first you don't succeed, try, try again. What are all of you tree huggers going to do when the day finally comes that some redneck has had enough of you and finally decides the easiest way to get you off his equipment is with a blow torch? man you guys need some serious help. get a life and leave the rest of us alone. we don't care about your bullshit ideology.

but some day you are going to push someone too far and then one of your numbers is going too pay for it in blood.

—ANGIEGATOR@prodigy.net

Dear Earth First,

I loved Rod Coronado's article "Every Tool in the Box." I wish that my own life circumstances allowed me to be such a brave warrior as himself. I loved his honest assertion that nonviolence is moral and kindly and good for publicity, but sometimes other tactics are necessary.

A discussion of tactics leads me to some thoughts about the most notorious eco-Luddite warrior of all: the Unabomber.

I know that the Unabombings were inappropriate and criminal... but I was also disgusted by the stampede of radical enviro's to distance themselves from him. After all—his cause is the same as ours. As soon as I read the words "Wild Nature" in his Manifesto, I knew that Theodore Kaczynski was "One of us." He considered himself a friend of EF, read the *journal*, maybe took some of the radical enviros' statements to heart. It's regretful that he let personal anger get the upper hand... but can any of us look at the destruction of forests and not feel anger? The media has attempted to discredit his philosophy by portraying him as crazy. By extension I suppose that means that all of us who love the Earth are crazy? I think not. I think we should show them they're wrong, by acknowledging our solidarity with Kaczynski (even though we don't like bombs.) Be honest and admit, as I do, that "I don't support his actions, but I do support his cause."

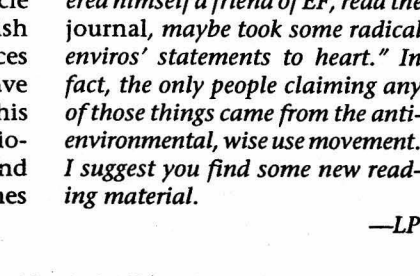
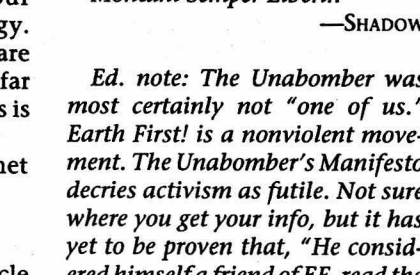
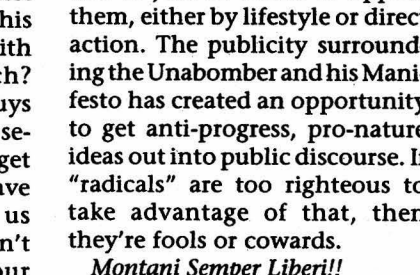
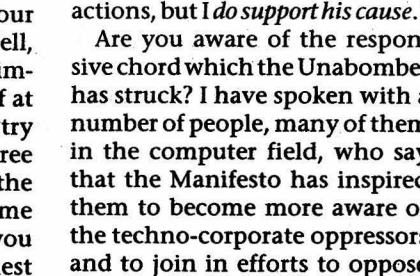
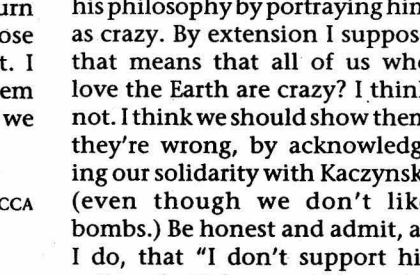
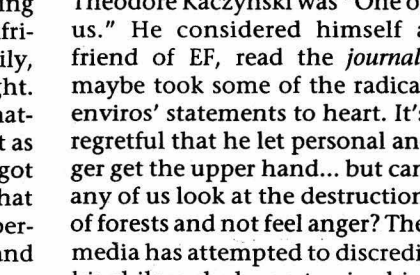
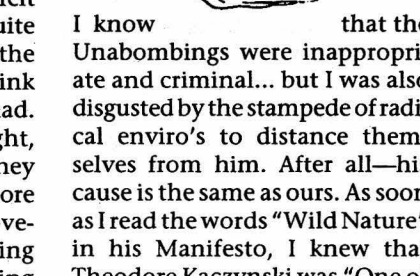
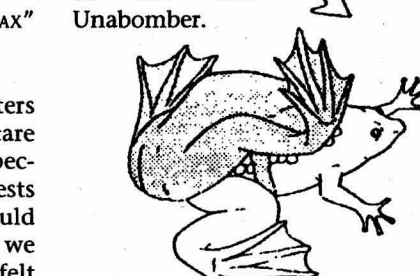
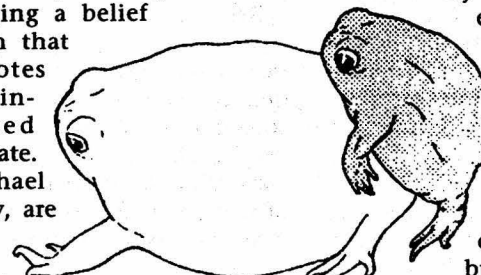
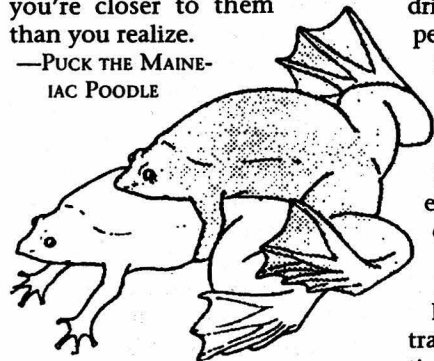
Are you aware of the responsive chord which the Unabomber has struck? I have spoken with a number of people, many of them in the computer field, who say that the Manifesto has inspired them to become more aware of the techno-corporate oppressors and to join in efforts to oppose them, either by lifestyle or direct action. The publicity surrounding the Unabomber and his Manifesto has created an opportunity to get anti-progress, pro-nature ideas out into public discourse. If "radicals" are too righteous to take advantage of that, then they're fools or cowards.

Montani Semper Liberi!!

—SHADOW

Ed. note: The Unabomber was most certainly not "one of us." Earth First! is a nonviolent movement. The Unabomber's Manifesto decries activism as futile. Not sure where you get your info, but it has yet to be proven that, "He considered himself a friend of EF, read the journal, maybe took some radical enviros' statements to heart." In fact, the only people claiming any of those things came from the anti-environmental, wise use movement. I suggest you find some new reading material.

—LP



SPRING ACTIVITIES:

Northwest Rendezvous Cove/Mallard Reunion

MAY 23-25

If you have ever been to Cove/Mallard, it's time to come back. If you have never been, it's time. The Big Wild is calling you!

Experience the largest wilderness in the lower 48 states. The forest still stands, thanks to you. Please come and enjoy it.

Learn how to climb a tree, set up a tripod or a bipod, monitor timber sales, create your very own dragon, repair a road, cook for the masses, find your way through a forest (map and compass style) and much, much more!

You'll learn all you ever wanted to know about the Cove/Mallard campaign, and then some! Yes, folks, it will be educational. And, yes, it will be a party!

PS. This is your chance to get in shape for the 1st Annual Neanderthal Olympics at the 1998 RRR (in Oregon, June 29 to July 6).

BIG WILD ROADSHOW

For months the Big Wild Roadshow has been on tour from Portland, Oregon to Portland, Maine. It has educated and networked with students regarding the US Forest Service devastation of our national forests, Idaho's horrible Cove/Mallard timber sales and ending logging on public lands.

Students, recognizing the importance of the Big Wild and the destruction of places like Cove/Mallard, are preparing for an incredible summer campaign. The roadshow will be continuing into May and then returning to Idaho for the kick off of Cove/Mallard summer activities.

Bring the Big Wild Roadshow to your college campus or activist group or come to the Northwest Rendezvous. For information, contact the Northern Rockies Preservation Project at (208) 345-8077, POB 625, Boise, ID 83701; e-mail: nrpp@lesbois.com.

NORTHEASTAH SPRING RENDEZVOUS

MAY 1-4

Everyone is invited to come and get involved in the Northeast Forest Practices Campaign on Sears Island (Wassumkeag), a beautiful 940-acre island near Searsport, Maine.

Bring warm gear, tarps, food to share, drinking/cooking water, etc. Also, bring musical instruments, poems, rants—whatever. We're a very appreciative audience, and we'll even feed you. Please, no drugs/alcohol.

Please bring full-body black clothing and costumes for the theater/action. For more info contact Wassumkeag EF!, Maine EF!, New Hampshire EF! or Mass EF! at the addresses listed in the directory on page 35.

Big Woods Rendezvous

MAY 22-25

Last year over 100 people from eight states spent Memorial Day weekend on the shores of Lake Geneva in Southern Minnesota. They shared stories and skills, learned to climb and built friendships.

The Big Woods Rendezvous is a three-day gathering for new and life-long activists working for peace and environmental justice. The Rendezvous will bring together a diverse community to develop new skills while sharing time-tested tactics to affect social change. Come enjoy the nonviolence workshops, tree climbing, banner hanging, blockades, as well as discussions and campfire revelry. For information contact Big Woods EF! at POB 580936, Minneapolis, MN 55458-0936; (612) 362-3387; earthfirst@juno.com.

The Leonard Peltier Food Drive for the People of Chiapas

In response to the recent massacre in Chiapas, the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and Food Not Bombs have joined together to take a caravan of food and humanitarian aid to Chiapas. Leonard Peltier is working with Cecilia Rodriguez of the National Commission on Human Rights and Democracy in Mexico to take a delegation to Chiapas with the food and money raised from a series of events in the upcoming months.

After the December 22 massacre of 45 people in the town of Acteal near San Cristobal natives began an exodus from villages in Chiapas. So far 15 children, eight women and 10 men have died of fever, respiratory infection, parasites and malnutrition after fleeing their homes and seeking refuge in Chenalho or Polho near San Cristobal. The government seeks to exterminate the natives because they support the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

There are some 11,000 displaced people in Chiapas and the international community is urged to step in and ship them food staples. Please help! Organize and make a commitment. Money raised will be used to buy as much of the staples from the local farmers in Chiapas as possible.

The caravan will head down to Chiapas as part of the May 18-25 protests against the World Bank.

You can send your donations to the Leonard Peltier Food Drive/LPDC, POB 583, Lawrence, KS 66044; (785) 842-5774; lpdc@idir.net. Donations can also be sent to Food Not Bombs at 3145 Geary Blvd. #12, San Francisco, CA 94118; (800) 884-1136; foodnotbombs@earthlink.net.

Global Reclaim the Streets Party!

Put on your dancing shoes and prepare to seize the streets this spring. Since 1995 thousands of folks worldwide have reclaimed the streets with the love, rage, carnival and revolutionary fervor of a street party. From London to Amsterdam, from Sydney to Tel Aviv they have closed down the streets to cars and opened it up to dancing in what has become a truly international movement.

In celebration of that internationalism and in defiance of the corporate forces that currently rule our streets, Reclaim the Streets (RTS) has declared May 16-17 a weekend of simultaneous global street parties. So far parties have been confirmed for Australia, Canada, USA, Finland, Sweden, Ireland, France, Germany and four or five UK cities.

Act locally to organize your own global street party. You'll need a tripod, a gang of happy hedonists and the right yahoo attitude (carefree and car-free). RTS can offer advice on planning and executing the street party and will let the world know too. Contact them now. As the old RTS mantra goes, "We shall not rest until the streets are for people and every car has become a flowerpot!"

Contact RTS at POB 9656, London, N4 4JY, England; +44 171 281 4621; RTS@gn.apc.org; <http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/rts.html>.

Fund for Wild Nature

A non-profit, tax-exempt foundation which funds research, education and literature projects.

Funding proposals and donations can be sent to:

POB 1657, Corvallis, OR 97339

Regional Conference to
**End
Corporate
Dominance
over Ecosystems and
Communities**



May 29-31, 1998
Portland State University
Portland, Oregon

Sponsored by
the End Corporate Dominance Alliance
Eugene: (541) 345-5720
Fossil: (541) 468-2028
Portland: (503) 241-5468

ZERO CUT Earth Day Action

April 22

Thanks to all who participated in the June 4, 1997, Zero Cut day of action. It was a great step to an end to all logging on public lands.

Now, take on Earth Day!

Organize in your area to make this day a success. Speak out in your community, organize press conferences and rallies and take direct action. Do what it takes to make your voice heard. For support or ideas for activities contact us.

We are going to make this a national media event, so let us know the time, place and description of the events you are holding.

For more information contact the Northern Rockies Preservation Project at POB 625, Boise ID 83701; (208) 345-8077; nrpp@lesbois.com.



Un-natural Menstruation !!

Toxic Shock
Dioxins

Artificial Fragrances
Millions of Tons of Garbage

Just some of the "benefits" offered to Women by the trans-national makers of Disposable pads. There are health and planet Positive alternatives; Many Moons is proud to offer Women:



Washable Pad
with "wings"

- 100 % Cotton Washable Menstrual Pads/Panty Liners
- The "Keeper" Natural Gum Rubber Menstrual Cup
- Non-chlorine bleached single use products

Free brochure - Call Toll-Free 1-800-916-4444 (24hr/day)

Many Moons
Box 59, 15 - 1594 Fairfield Rd
Victoria, BC, Canada, V8S 1G0 (we ship worldwide)

Menstrual Cup



LOU GOLD'S ANCIENT FOREST ROADSHOW

Storyteller/forest advocate Lou Gold is on the road again.

Lou toured the US for nine years with a very moving and popular slideshow, which was presented over 600 times and directly touched more than 100,000 people.

Lou now has an updated slideshow, with stories and visions to spread the word about current efforts and the real opportunity to protect our public forestlands.

You can help! If you are part of a group or know a group(s) who may be interested in sponsoring a very inspirational event, please contact us as soon as possible.

You can reach us at Siskiyou Project POB 220, Cave Junction, OR 97523; (541) 592-4459; fax: 592-2653; e-mail: lougold@siskiyou.org.

WANTED: 1998 RRR T-SHIRT DESIGNS

A t-shirt design contest is being held for the 1998 EF! Round River Rendezvous in Oregon. (The rendezvous will take place at Twin Lakes near the North Umpqua River June 29 to July 6. More information will be printed next issue.)

T-shirt designs should be easily reproducible. Words such as "1998 Round River Rendezvous/Twin Lakes/Oregon" will need to appear on the shirt, so artists may want to include lettering (or space for lettering) in their designs. Two designs (front and back) will be chosen by the rendezvous committee and printed for sale to help fund the event. Design winner(s) will receive a free t-shirt and free admission to the RRR.

Deadline for submissions is May 31. Send submissions to EF! RRR Shirt Design Contest, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 344-8004.

Now only \$25! Get yer copy now!

Earth First!

Live in Texas, the first 13 years

Spiral bound, 100s of pages, clippings, graphics, photos, cartoons. Send \$25 to: Austin EF!, POB 7292, Austin, TX 78713

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER
links compatible, socially conscious singles who care about the earth, the environment, and a healthy society.
Nationwide • All ages • Since 1984
Free Sample: Write Box 444-EF, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; call (413) 445-6309; or browse <http://www.concernedsingles.com>

8th Continental Conference on Social Ecology

Social ecology integrates the study of human and natural ecosystems through understanding the interrelationships of culture and nature. With the 8th continental conference we will explore the history and practice of modern education and its relationship to capitalism and hierarchy, contrasting it to an educational practice whose goals are social freedom and municipal direct democracy. April 3 to 5, Montreal. \$25 sliding. To preregister or get further information, please write us at 2130 Mackay, Room 101, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 2J1; e-mail: QPIRG@alcor.concordia.ca; web site: <http://www.tao.ca/~ise/>.

Pedal for the Planet with Bike-Aid 1998

Exercise your mind... expand your lungs
Ten weeks of education and action for a better world!

Routes available from Seattle, WA, Portland, OR and San Francisco, CA. Rides start in June and end together in August in Washington, DC.

For more information contact the Overseas Development Network, Bike-Aid '98, 333 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94103; (415) 431-4480; (800) RIDE-808; e-mail: odn@igc.org; <http://www.igc.apc.org/odn/>.

1998 Slingshot Organizer

What better time to get it together.
What better way to learn.

Only \$5 (includes postage)

Bulk: \$3 each for five or more copies (includes postage)



Send checks, etc. to:
Slingshot Collective
3124 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94705
510-540-0751

email: resist@burn.ucsd.edu
<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~resist/slingshot.html>

Healing Global Wounds
Spring Gathering '98

Stop nuclear waste dumping and nuclear weapons testing!
With: Winona LaDuke
Nevada Nuclear Test Site
APRIL 10 - 13th
Healing Global Wounds
6060A Freedom Blvd., Aptos CA
95003 (408) 661-0445
www.shundahai.org/HGW
RECLAIM WESTERN SHOSHONE LAND!

1998 Anti-Vivisection Conference Portland, Oregon • May 6-10

You are invited to take part in the 1998 Anti-Vivisection Conference. An anti-vivisection movement has formed to have a profound effect on the research community. The Liberation Collective is organizing this conference to formulate strategies of unification and effectiveness within this movement.

The conference will consist of panel discussions, workshops, demonstrations, and many other events. For more information contact the Liberation Collective at POB 9055, Portland, OR 97207; (503) 525-4880; fax: (503) 525-4880; e-mail: libcoll@aracnet.com; <http://www.aracnet.com/~libcoll/>.

URGENT ART APPEAL

Friends of the Lubicon (FoL) still face phenomenal legal costs from an arduous legal battle with forestry multinational Daishowa.

Three years ago, Daishowa launched a multimillion dollar lawsuit against FoL, a small, volunteer-run grassroots activist group fighting for the rights of the Lubicon Lake Indian Nation in northern Alberta.

To raise legal costs, FoL will be conducting its second Benefit Art Show and Auction, Spirits of Power '98, and they need your talent! Last year's event was a big success. The theme of the auction is "power" and can be interpreted in any way you choose.

The money raised will be used to

fight for justice for the Lubicon Cree against the greed of multinational corporations and to defend fundamental democratic rights attacked by Daishowa's lawsuit including the right to protest, boycott and freely speak out on issues of public importance.

The Art Auction is scheduled for 8 p.m. June 6 at A-Space Gallery, 401 Richmond St. W., Suite 110, Toronto. Preview will be June 3-6. Submissions deadline is March 18, 1998.

Contact Friends of the Lubicon today. Friends of the Lubicon (Toronto) 485 Ridelle Avenue, Toronto ON, M6B 1K6; (416) 763-7500; fax (416) 603-2715; e-mail: fol@tao.ca; <http://kafka.uvic.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/Lubicon/main.html>.

Prisoner's Literature Project

The Prisoner's Literature Project gets hundreds of letters from prisoners each month. In our attempt to send free books to prisoners as quickly as possible, we need donations and volunteer help. A project of Bound Together Bookstore and Bay Area prison activists, the Prisoner's Literature Project is not affiliated with any religious organizations, political parties or government agencies. Contact the Prisoner's Literature Project c/o Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA 94117; (510) 845-8813.

ON JUNE 1, 1997 IN EUGENE, OREGON, 11 PEOPLE CLIMBED LARGE TREES DOWNTOWN TO HALT THEIR DESTRUCTION. THE EUGENE POLICE DEPARTMENT RESPONDED BY PEPPER SPRAYING AND BRUTALIZING THE TREESITTERS. A FUND HAS BEEN SET UP TO HELP PAY THE COSTS OF A CIVIL SUIT AGAINST THE CITY. SEND DONATIONS TO THE JUNE 1 LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, c/o OUR CREDIT UNION, POB 11922, EUGENE, OR 97440.

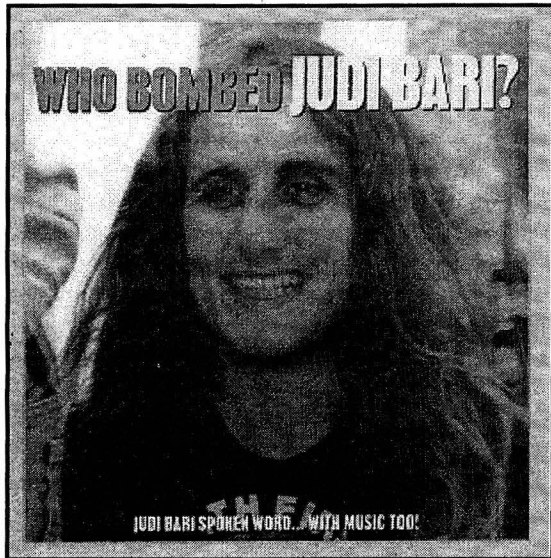
The Caretaker Gazette is a unique newsletter containing job openings, advice & information for property caretakers, housesitters & landowners. Published since 1983, each issue has 80+ property caretaking job opportunities, worldwide. Property caretakers enjoy rent-free living in desirable locations. Only \$15/half yr, or \$24/yr.

#1 Source for Caretaker Jobs!
The Caretaker Gazette, 1845 Deane-
EF, Pullman WA 99163. Credit card orders, please call: (509) 332-0806.

"We better keep that in a safe place."

LIVE WILD OR DIE
2425 B CHANNING WAY, Box 204
SATHER GATE MALL
BERKELEY, CA 94704

Fantastic Phone Savings!
from
Affinity
Long Distance
Affinity Long Distance guarantees a rate reduction on your phone bill. Plus, Affinity will give 5% of your bill to the EF! Journal; a gift that keeps on giving.
To sign up, contact Steve at Affinity, 2631 Regent St., Berkeley, CA 94704-3314 (510) 644-2778
ORG# 6710500-000 • REP# 141-0142-85



Who Bombed Judi Bari

MUSIC REVIEW BY JIM FLYNN

Judi may be the most powerful speaker I have ever seen. Her in-your-face charisma made the impossible possible, do-able and crucial enough to do right now. Her razor-sharp sense of humor could cut through icebergs of bullshit on

any and all sides.

She taught us how important it is to understand that there is more than one side. Her labor organizing background allowed her to see loggers and millworkers as potential allies, instead of dismissing them as ignorant rednecks.

Judi is far more than a local figure in a local battle. She was such an effective activist and dynamo of woman-power that it's easy to overlook that she was a great spoken word artist.

I wanted to release this album, with her blessing, so that others could feel her energy and gain strength from her words and her spirit.

In an age of no heroes, she is someone to respect and admire. I will always miss her.

—JELLO BIAFRA

I couldn't have said it better myself. "Who Bombed Judi Bari?" captures Judi at her best. It is a fine compilation of her original songs and speeches. From organizing Redwood Summer to surviving being bombed to suing the FBI, Judi's words recount her struggle with corporate logging and government corruption. Fellow EF! troubadour Darryl Cherney and Penelope Andrews of Environmentally Sound Productions pro-

duced and edited this fine collection.

Confrontational speeches from rallies and interviews are woven together with rowdy music to create an entertaining and educational history of Earth First! movement leader Judi Bari. The liner notes include some of Judi's writings on revolutionary ecology that explain biocentrism and how it contradicts capitalism, communism and patriarchy and what all this means to the deep ecology movement. Song lyrics, quotes, a glossary and a list of resources round out the high-quality magazine that accompanies this compact disk.

The songs include, "Redwood Summer," "The FBI Stole My Fiddle," and "Who Bombed Judi Bari," fine examples of Judi and Darryl's musical style and satirical wit.

If you loved Judi Bari, you'll love this album. If you weren't lucky enough to have experienced Judi in person, you'll fall in love with her spirit through this album. It will make you laugh; it will make you cry; it will make you think; and hopefully, it will make you act.

"Who Bombed Judi Bari" is available through the *Earth First! Journal* for \$17. Use the order form on page 33.

Consolidated: Dropped

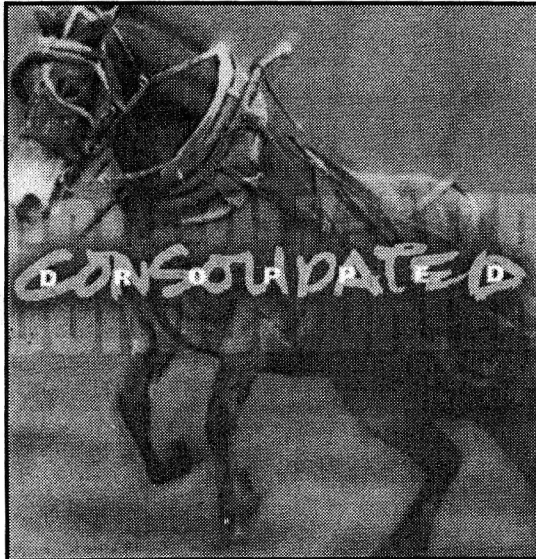
MUSIC REVIEW BY GIN PHLEGM

"Don't you get tired of living on your knees/ Scrapping by eating somebody else's cheese?"

—CONSOLIDATED

Consolidated has got to be one of the most well-known political bands in the US, like Chumbwamba from the UK, only Consolidated doesn't have a pop song with a cheezy video. When I say political, I mean most of their songs have a political message; they aren't one of those bands that just does benefits or burns t-shirts on stage. Their focus started out primarily on animal rights, but they quickly diversified into gay rights, patriarchy, racism, the sexual politics of meat, the American music industry, nationalist dogma, oppression, fascism and all sorts of "serious shit."

One of the band's signatures is their use of sampling of particularly outrageous comments from the audiences at their shows. Typically they set up a microphone on stage at different times of the show and allow audience members to speak their mind. Now, this band has toured all over the world, so they get *all sorts* of comments. The band does an amazing job of capturing and editing together these opinions into a rhythmic flow into and in-between their songs. These comments, combined with



political speeches and factual commentary, make for a powerful message.

Oh, and did I mention that their music kicks ass? Most of it is drivable and danceable; it's hard to sit down as I write this review listening to *Friendly Fascism* (my personal favorite).

Their new album, *Dropped*, is just as political, addressing homelessness, suicide, incest, violence against women and children, and patriarchal values. They also seem to have a new cause: the *Earth First! Journal*. Our name is all over the album. On one page of the liner notes, they have a coupon listing groups whose

literature they offer. Included with the *Journal* are Rape Abuse and Incest National Network, National Abortion Rights Action League, Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Southern Poverty Law Center.

This is not the first time Consolidated has mentioned Earth First! in their music. On their 1992 album, *Play More Music*, the song "Praxis, Bold as Love," is about resistance and the power of the individual; listen to this song!

"Judi Bari knows what the power of one can do/ A union organizer and mother of two/She was almost killed by a terrorist/She became a mark because she was an Earth First! activist/Using her mind/Putting her body on the line/Redesigns/ Making change in her own lifetime/For all the rock stars, preachers and all the politicians/There are people in our own backyards who have the vision/ To try to create the kind of peace whose time has come/Theory into practice/Bold as love."

If you are looking for some radical music with a message, check out Consolidated. They're one of the few bands that hasn't sold out as they become more popular. If they ever come to your town, check 'em out. Make sure to bring your table and literature.

Get a copy of *Dropped* for just \$12 with the order form on page 33. Look at your local radical record store for their past albums. If you want to get up on stage at one of their shows, contact their publicist, Carrie, at (212) 226-6713; fax 226-6795; e-mail: solstuff@aol.com.

Keep It Wild!

MUSIC REVIEW BY CHRIS ROTH

Some "various artists" albums suffer from Suneven quality, stylistic disharmony or lowest-common-denominator commercialism. Not so with *Keep It Wild!* This is a remarkably cohesive, high-quality collection created by Earth First! musicians and activists. It contains two songs each from Dana Lyons, Joanne Rand, Alice DiMichele, Darryl Cherney, Casey Neil, Peg Millet and Robert Hoyt.

Keep It Wild! captures each musician at his or her best, celebrating the Earth and its defenders with passion, conviction, humor, originality, integrity and skilled musicianship. This is not your typical, middle-of-the-road music designed to put you to sleep or lull you into purchasing something; it is radically honest environmental music intended to wake you up. It is music that will decommodify and personalize your

relationship with the Earth and turn you onto action to help "keep it wild." Most important, it never comes across as dogmatic propaganda. From "You Can't Clear-cut Your Way To Heaven" to "He Looked a Whole Lot Like Jesus" to "Bottom of the Land, Phil" to "Dancing on the Ruins (of Multinational Corporations)," these songs remind us that the ability to laugh is a necessary ingredient in ecologically sustainable politics.

While much of the music was already familiar to me ("Radiation on My Windshield," "The Beaver Song" and others are Earth First! classics), I appreciated the unfamiliar songs and artists just as much. Whoever chose the song order must have been inspired that day, for the album flows as if the musicians collaborated on its creation in the studio. The packaging, consistent with the message of this project, is created from 100-percent recycled scrap paper printed with soy-based inks. The booklet is complete with lyrics and printed on



bamboo paper. This is a highly recommended, no-nonsense compilation of some of the best environmental-activist music you'll encounter. Order a copy of *Keep It Wild!* for only \$14 with the order form on page 33.

EARTH FIRST! STUFF

T-SHIRTS

(All t-shirts are 100% cotton and available in medium, large and extra large. For XXL add an additional \$3.)

Eagle

Black on Unbleached—\$12

Visualize Direct Action

Black and White on Unbleached—\$12

Arm & Wrench

Multi-color on Yellow/Gold—\$15

No Fucking

Compromise

White on Black—\$12

Earth First! Fist

Green on Unbleached—\$12

Black on Kelly or Willow Green—\$12

Multi-color on Black or Forest Green—\$15

Green fist w/ White lettering on Black—\$12

Earth First! Tools

Black on Unbleached—\$12

• SALE • Black on Blue or Tan—small only \$6!

• 2 NEW T-SHIRTS •

Stop Public Lands Ranching

Bison busting fence, Silver on Black—large only \$10!

"The Cow that Ate the West," Black on Cream—large only \$10!



• NEW BOOK •

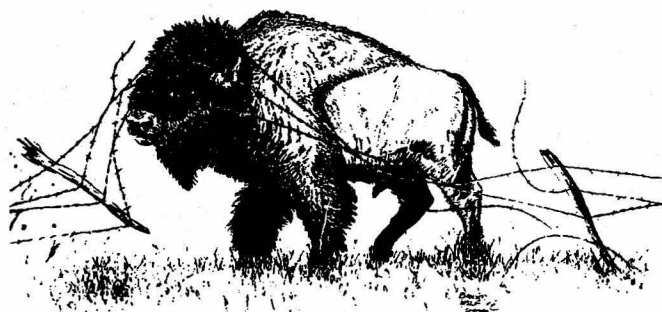
Concrete

Think Like a Mountain

By Paul Chadwick

A full-color illustrated novel about a group of EF!ers who contact Concrete (a contemplative mountaineer/writer trapped in a large concrete body) to help with an old-growth campaign. A 6-issue comic book series compiled into a book about Earth First! history and philosophy. 160 pages—\$17

SEND FOR A FREE COPY OF OUR COMPLETE MERCHANDISE CATALOG!



BOOKS

Anarchist Farm

By Jane Doe. Fiction, 192 pages—\$10

The Big Outside

A Descriptive Inventory of the Big Wilderness Areas of the United States

By Dave Foreman & Howie Wolke. Maps, list of areas by size and state, 490 pages—\$17

Desert Solitaire

A Season in the Wilderness

By Edward Abbey. Nonfiction, 295 pages—\$6

EF! Direct Action Manual

The antidote to despair! Over 150 pages on blockading tactics, techniques and devices to defend the Earth.

Diagrams, forms, graphics, 154 pages—\$8

Earth First! Songbook

77 songs/33 artists/guitar chords/info—\$10

ECODEFENSE:

A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching

By Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood. Extensively revised, expanded third edition, 350 pages—\$18

Ecological Resistance Movements:

The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism

Edited by Bron Taylor. 422 pages—\$20

The End of Nature

By Bill McKibben. 226 pages—\$12

Green Rage

Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization

By Christopher Manes. 291 pages—\$15

Grizzly Years

In Search of the American Wilderness

By Doug Peacock. Photos, 375 pages—\$13

The Monkeywrench Gang

By Edward Abbey. Fiction, 387 pages—\$7

Refuge

An Unnatural History of Family and Place

By Terry Tempest Williams. 304 pages—\$12

A Sand County Almanac

with Essays on Conservation from Round River

By Aldo Leopold. Special edition, 295 pages—\$10

Think Like a Mountain

Towards a Council of All Beings

By John Seed, Joanna Macy, Pat Fleming, Arne Naess.

Illustrated by Dailan Pugh. 128 pages—\$10

Waste of the West

Public Lands Ranching

By Lynn Jacobs. Encyclopedic overview of grazing.

Contact list, statistics, over 1,000 photos, cartoons, graphics, charts, maps. Large paperback, 602 pages—\$28

Wilderness on the Rocks

By Howie Wolke. Ned Ludd Books, 240 pages—\$15

MORE • NEW • EF! PARAPHERNALIA

• NEW • 100% Hemp Wallets • NEW •

Tan w/Black & Green Fist

specify wording "Greed Kills" or "Earth First!"—only \$10!

Fist Patch

Quality 3-inch patches for your daypack, jacket or butt
Earth First! Fist—\$3

Rubber Stamps

Sturdy wood-block stamps made from unfinished scrap
Earth First! Fist—\$5
Earth First! Tools—\$5

Fist Caps

(100% cotton, adjustable)
Desert Camo—\$12
Brown Forest Camo—\$12

• NEW • NEW • NEW •

100% Hemp Cap

Tan w/black & green embroidered fist—\$14

Silent Agitators

Little 1.5-inch stickers good for your bike or your bulldozer
Earth First! Fist—30/\$2
Earth First! Tools—30/\$2
No Deal, Assholes—30/\$2

Window Stickers

3-inch stickers for high visibility
EF! Fist-4/\$1 • Anti-Grazing-8/\$1

EF! Merchandise Order Form

Clip and send to: EF! Merchandise, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440 USA

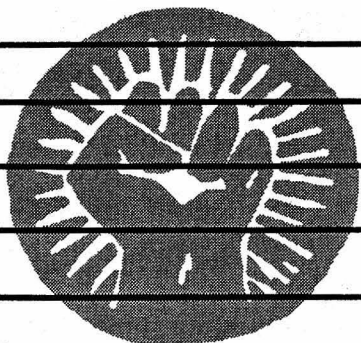
Quantity

Description

Color

Size

Price



TOTAL

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

foreign orders add 15%

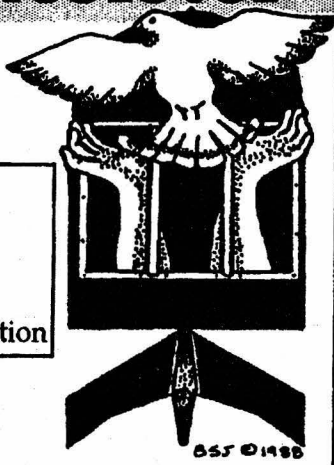
Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Call us at our new # (541) 344-8004 if you haven't received your order. Please use this form for ordering. Thanks!

the Nuclear Resister

information about
and support for imprisoned
anti-nuclear and anti-war activists

- Action reports & future actions
- Prisoner support info
 - Writings from jail
 - International resistance news
 - A network for nonviolent direct action

Subscriptions \$15/year
(US\$20 in Canada, US\$25 overseas)
ASK FOR A FREE SAMPLE ISSUE



POB 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733 USA • nukeresister@igc.org

THE WARRIOR POETS SOCIETY PRESENTS:

A NIGHT TO HOWL!



Warrior Poets Live!

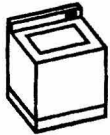
February 3, 1994 *Live in Los Angeles*
90+ minutes - \$10 ppd

February 8, 1996 *Live in Tucson*
(2) 90 minute tapes - \$15 ppd

Order all 3 tapes for only \$20 ppd

- Professionally dubbed
- Limited edition
- One-of-a-kind performances by Earth First! poets & musicians

All proceeds to benefit EF! Campfire Poetry Publishing Project.
Send check or money order to: Arizona Earth First!, P.O. Box 3412, Tucson AZ 85722



**DON'T JUST THINK AND READ
ABOUT SAVING THE ENVIRONMENT,
DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT!!**

Each Ultra 7™ LaundryMaster™ System Used Keeps 600 Pounds of Chemical Toxins from Contaminating the Earth's Groundwater. Save water and eliminate the need for laundry detergents FOREVER!

Just drop the Ultra 7™ LaundryMaster™ System into the washing machine with your dirty clothes. The LaundryMaster™ forces the dirt from clothes using Liquid Magnetic Technology. It lasts approximately 2500 washes and is backed by a 7 year warranty.

Mail To:

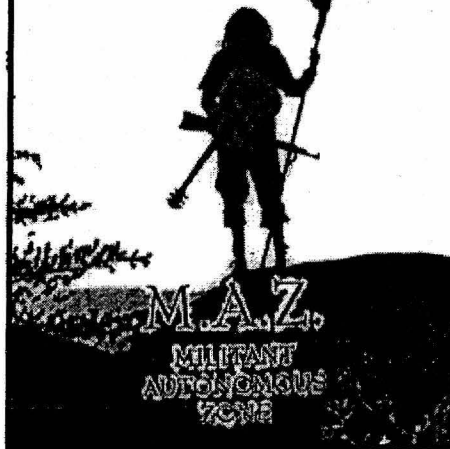
J.M. Wilks, Distributor
P.O. Box 11297
Prescott, AZ 86302
(520) 778-7072

- One LaundryMaster™ \$89.95 +\$3.00 Shipping & Handling
 Two LaundryMasters™ \$169.95 +\$6.00 Shipping & Handling

Name: _____
Address: _____ Apt or Suite: _____
City: _____ State: _____ Zip Code: _____
Card # _____ Expiration Date _____
Signature _____



\$ELLH!



45 minutes of riotous FOLK-PUNK to send you rushing into the next revolution.

Featuring classics like Born Against and Garden.

Songs of social, political, ecological, revolutionary and anarchistic struggle and resistance.

Cassette \$7 ppd. Well concealed cash or check/m.o. made out to "cash".

Mention this ad and \$1 from each cassette will be donated to the EPFJ.

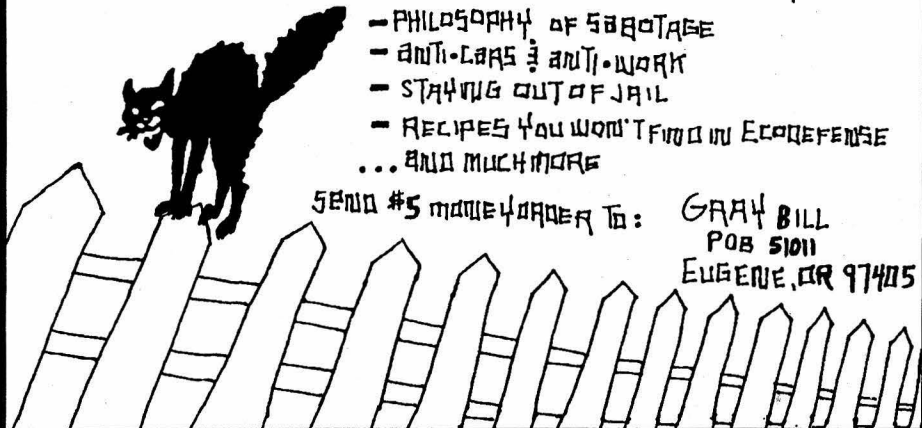
Po Box 3223, Running Springs, CA 92382

THE BLACK CAT SABOTAGE READER

140 pages of WRITINGS, GRAPHICS & CARTOONS
FROM RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL/ALF/ANARCHIST LITERATURE

- PHILOSOPHY OF SABOTAGE
- ANTI-CARS & ANTI-WORK
- STAYING OUT OF JAIL
- RECIPES YOU WON'T FIND IN ECODFENSE ... AND MUCH MORE

SEND \$5 MONEY ORDER TO: GARY BILL
POB 5101
EUGENE, OR 97405



Earth First! Direct Action Manual



First Edition

Uncompromising Nonviolent Resistance
in Defense of Mother Earth!

The Earth First! Direct Action Manual is the antidote for despair! Over 150 pages of action-packed information on nonviolent tactics, techniques and devices used by activists to defend the Earth from corporate scumbags and lawless governments. Check out what it's got!

DISCONTENTS

NONVIOLENCE • LEGAL DEFENSE • SECURITY • SCOUTING • BACKWOODS/BACKCOUNTRY ACTION • U-LOCKS • COBRA LINK MOTORCYCLE LOCKS CHAINS AND HEAVY DUTY CABLES • LOCK BOXES AND BRACELETS • BARRIERS • BAYMOBILES • SLEEPING DRAGONS • RAIL BLOCKADES • TRIPODS • BIPODS • MONO POLES • CANTILEVERS • TREE SETS • KNOTS • INTERNETS • ROAD OCCUPATIONS/FREE STATES • HELICOPTER BLOCKADES • SHIP BLOCKADES • CAT AND MOUSE • CRITICAL MASS • BIKE RIDES • HUNT SABOTAGE • MASS ACTIONS • YARNING • DEBRIS • ROAD RIP • TRUCKER FUCKERS • HOT ROCKS • GATE CLOSURES • DOOR CLOSURES • MANURE DUMPS • PUCK-INS • SAWDUST DELIVERIES • CONTACTS • MOVEMENT HISTORY • CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHS FROM THE US, AUSTRALIA, U.K. AND CANADA!

Enrich your campaign with this detailed and heavily illustrated "cook book" of the strongest blockading tactics known—tactics activists all over the world have proven successful when the law fails you... and it will!



"Years from now our grandchildren will ask us what we did to prevent the destruction of planet Earth. The Earth First! Direct Action Manual is your ticket out of a shameful response. The Manual deserves a place in your pack with Ecodfense and The Final Nail... It will hopefully become required reading for our growing movement..."

—Rodney Coronado

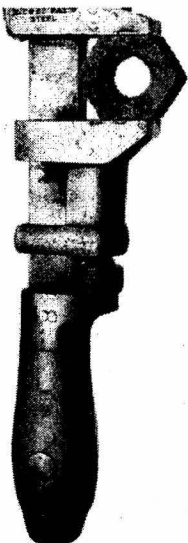
AVAILABLE FOR \$8 FROM THE EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL. USE THE ORDER FORM ON PAGE 33.

How 'bout a subscription to Earth First!, the Radical Environmental Journal?

clip and send to

Earth First! Journal, Subscriptions, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440 USA

Where did you hear of the EF! Journal?



- \$500 LIFETIME SUBSCRIPTION
 \$25 Regular Rate
 \$20 Low Income/Non-Profit/Library
 \$35 (US\$) Surface Mail, International
 \$ _____ DONATION

- \$35 First Class Mail: US, Canada or Mexico
 \$35 Brown Bag (First Class in a plain wrapper)
 \$45 (US\$) Air Mail, International (no foreign checks, please)
 \$45 Corporate or Law Enforcement Rate

Subscriber Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

The Earth First! Journal subscription list is confidential and never traded. If you use an alias, make sure that the post office knows that you, or someone, is getting mail at your address under that name or it may not be delivered.

US Earth First! Directory

ALASKA
Michael A. Lewis
POB 80073, Fairbanks, AK 99708
Mike or Billie
POB 6197, Sitka, AK 99835

ARIZONA
Phoenix EF!
POB 8795, Phoenix, AZ 85066
Arizona Wildlands Museum
POB 24988, Tempe, AZ 85285
Tucson EF! AZEF! Newsletter
POB 3412, Tucson, AZ 85722
Bradshaw EF!
220 Grove, Prescott, AZ 86301
Ponderosa Wingnuts
2155 E. Maple #17, Flagstaff, AZ 86004
(520) 774-6542; reg3@dana.ucc.nau.edu

CALIFORNIA
Northcoast EF!
POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518
(707) 825-8911
Redwood Action Team
Darryl Cherney
POB 34, Garberville, Ecotopia 95542
(707) 923-DEMO
Sonoma County EF!
POB 7544, Santa Rosa, CA 95407
(707) 523-1229
Wiley Coyote
POB 74283, Davis, CA 95617
Davis EF!/FOW-Cascadia
POB 73063, Davis, CA 95617
(916) 753-1678
Fairfax Action Team
POB 393, Lagunitas, CA 94938
(415) 339-7874; fax 332-4393
Bay Area EF!
POB 83, Canyon, CA 94516
Bay Area EF! Hotline (510) 848-8724
Santa Cruz EF!
POB 344, Santa Cruz, CA 95061
(408) 425-3205
Santa Barbara EF!
POB 12799, Santa Barbara, CA 93107
Orange County EF!
POB 4960-593, Irvine, CA 92616-4960
Los Angeles EF!
POB 4381, N. Hollywood, CA 91617
(818) 569-5592
Alhual EF!
POB 77027, #102, Pasadena, CA 91107
(909) 422-1637
Mojave EF!
POB 492, Lancaster, CA 93584
(805) 948-6291
mojaveef@envirolink.org
Baja Ecotopia EF!
POB 7745, San Diego, CA 92107
(619) 581-3250 or (760) 740-1174
sdef@envirolink.org

COLORADO
Walkabout
POB 1166, Boulder, CO 80306
mjl@nilenet.com
San Juan EF!
POB 3204, Durango, CO 81302
Wilderness Defense!
POB 460101, Aurora, CO 80046-0101
aq328@freenet.uchsc.edu
Art Goodtimes
POB 1008, Telluride, CO 81435
Tim Haugen
The Wild Ranch Review
POB 81, Gulnare, CO 81042
Gunnison Basin EF!
POB 592, Crested Butte, CO 81224
Culebra EF!
POB 386, San Luis, CO 81152

FLORIDA
Big Bend EF!
POB 20582, Tallahassee, FL 32316
(904) 421-1559
Alachua EF!
POB 1638, Alachua, FL 32616
(904) 462-3374

GEORGIA
Students for Environmental Awareness
Univ. of Georgia, Tate Student Center
Athens, GA 30602
Katúah EF! Downsizers
POB 531, Athens, GA 30603
(706) 355-9904

IDAHO
Northern Rockies Preservation Project
POB 625, Boise, ID 83701
(208) 345-8077
Cove/Mallard Coalition
POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843
(208) 882-9755; fax 883-0727
cove@moscow.com

ILLINOIS
Earth First! Chicago
c/o The Autonomous Zone
1573 N. Milwaukee Ave. #420
Chicago, IL 60622; (773) 252-6019
azone@wwa.com

Red Gate EF!
3400 W 111th St #154
Chicago, IL 60655
friends@enteract.com
Shawnee EF!
913 S. Illinois, Carbondale, IL 62901
(618) 549-7387

IOWA
Tallgrass Prairie EF!
POB 1503, Iowa City, IA 52244
jjquig@blue.uiowa.edu

MAINE
Maine EF!
POB 183, Harmony, ME 04942
Wassumkeag EF!
POB 869, Searsport, ME 04974

MARYLAND
Anacostia-Rock Creek EF!
POB 5625, Takoma Park, MD 20913
(301) 270-0857; http://www.igc.org/icc370

MASSACHUSETTS
Mass EF!
POB 708, Littleton, MA 01460-2708
Martha's Vineyard EF!
RR 1, Box 381A
Martha's Vineyard, MA 02568
Mass Direct Action
POB 484, Somerset, MA 02726

MICHIGAN
World Tree Peace Center
POB 50814, Kalamazoo, MI 49005
(613) 383-9317

MINNESOTA
Forest Ecosystems Action Group
2441 Lyndale Ave So, Mpls, MN 55405
(612) 450-9178, fax 871-9597
paarise@mtn.org
Big Woods EF!
POB 580936, Mpls, MN 55458-0936
(612) 362-3387, earthfirst@juno.com

MISSOURI
Ray O. McCall
Rt 1, Box 89
Mountain Grove, MO 65711
Pink Planarians
POB 7653, Columbia, MO 65205-7653
(573) 443-6832,
74747.2052@compuserve.com
Chinquapin Resistance
POB 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163
(314) 772-6463

MONTANA
Northern Rockies Biodiversity Project
POB 4431, Whitefish, MT 59937
(406) 862-4945
Wild Rockies EF!
POB 9286, Missoula, MT 59807
(406) 728-5733 (message #)
Yellowstone EF!
POB 6151, Bozeman, MT 59715
Bison Action Group
POB 7326, Bozeman, MT 59771
(406) 586-9141

NEBRASKA
Environmental Resource Center
370 Bordeaux Rd, Chadron, NE 69337
(308) 432-3458

NEW HAMPSHIRE
New Hampshire EF!
POB 4101, Portsmouth, NH 03802

NEW JERSEY
PAW Pinelands/Kittatiny Project
POB 506, Bloomfield, NJ 07003
(201) 748-4322
Green Vigilance
46 E. Monroe, Mt. Holly, NJ 08060
(609) 265-0392

NEW MEXICO
Land of Disenchantment EF!
POB 72295, Albuquerque, NM 87195
New Mexico Direct Action
POB 22488, Santa Fe, NM 87502-2488
(505) 988-8128

NEW YORK
Wetlands Preserve
James Hansen
161 Hudson St, NY, NY 10013
(212) 966-5244, fax 925-8715
Foghorn
POB 889, Westhampton Beach, NY 11978
(516) 288-2688
Love Canal EF!
532 Portage Rd, 1st Floor
Niagara Falls, NY 14301-1936
(716) 282-7777

NORTH CAROLINA
Katúah EF!
POB 1485, Asheville, NC 28802
(704) 285-9521
Katúah Highlands EF!
POB 223, Deep Gap, NC 28618
(910) 973-7032; sternood@wilkes.net

OHIO
Cleveland EF!
17305 Grovewood Ave
Cleveland, OH 44119
(216) 383-9985

Ohio Valley EF!
POB 17, Univ. of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, OH 45221-1001
(513) 281-6892

Oberlin EF!
Wilder Box 76, Oberlin, OH 44074
OEARHFIRST@oberlin.edu
Hock-Hocking EF!
8 N. Court St # 309, Athens, OH 45701
(614) 594-6400
Piankasha EF!
7992 Hopper Rd., Cincinnati, OH 45255

OREGON
Southern Willamette EF!
POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440
(541) 343-7305
Kalmiopsis EF!
POB 2093, Cave Junction, OR 97523
(541) 592-3386
Blue Mtns. Biodiversity Project
HCR 82, Fossil, OR 97830
Kangaroo EF!
POB 332, Williams, OR 97544
Blue Heron EF!
Reed Coll., SAO, Portland, OR 97202
(503) 771-1112 x7875
Cascadia Forest Alliance
POB 4946, Portland, OR 97208
(503) 241-4879, fax 235-9976

PENNSYLVANIA
Allegheny EF!
POB 81011, Pittsburg, PA 15217
Antoinette Dwinga
842 Library Ave, Carnegie, PA 15106
Scott Thiele
RD 4, 237-A Elk Ln, Montrose, PA 18801
Allegheny Defense Project
POB 245, Clarion, PA 16214
(814) 226-4918, adp@envirolink.org

TENNESSEE
Katúah EF!
Tennessee Valley Faction
POB 281, Chattanooga, TN 37401
(423) 624-3939

TEXAS
EF! Austin
POB 7292, Univ. Stn, Austin, TX 78713
(512) 478-7666; entropy@eden.com
Corpus Christi EF!
4114 Claudia, Corpus Christi, TX 78418
(512) 937-6019
East Texas EF!
Rt 1, Box 2120, Point Blank, TX 77364

UTAH
Autonomy House
POB 11015, SLC, UT 84147
Wild Wasatch Front
847 W. 700 St, Brigham City, UT 84302

VERMONT
Biodiversity Liberation Front
POB 804, Burlington, VT 05402
Save the Corporations
169 Main St, Brattleboro, VT 05301
(802) 254-4847

VIRGINIA
Virginia EF!
Rt 1, Box 250, Staunton, VA 22401
(540) 885-6983
Massive Retaliation
2129 General Booth Blvd #253
Virginia Beach, VA 23454-5872
PAW Southwest Virginia
POB 13192, Roanoke, VA 24031-3192
(540) 982-0492

WASHINGTON
Seattle EF!
POB 85541, Seattle, WA 98145
ph/fax (206) 632-2954
Sea-ef@novaproj.org
Olympia EF!
POB 12391, Olympia, WA 98508

WEST VIRGINIA
Central Appalachian Biodiversity Project
Rt 3, Box 390, Hedgesville, WV 25427
(304) 754-9161

WISCONSIN!
Midwest Headwaters Action
Midwest Headwaters Journal
731 State St, Madison, WI 53711
(608) 255-8765
The Old Man
235 Travis, Wisconsin Rapids, WI 54495
(715) 423-5636
North Forests EF!
748 Algoma Blvd, Oshkosh, WI 54901
(920) 424-0265
Bay Area North Guard
POB 116, Washburn, WI 54891
(715) 373-2717
Driftless EF! c/o WPA
POB 2761, LaCrosse, WI 54602-2761
(608) 782-6997
Sand County EF!
POB 992, Stevens Point, WI 54481
Chippewa Valley EF!
POB 143, Menomonie, WI 54751-0790

EF! PROJECTS & CAMPAIGNS

Bison Action Group
4880 S. 19, Bozeman, MT 59718
Cascadia Fire Ecology Education Project
POB 3563, Eugene, OR 97403
Coast Watch
POB 1811, Rockland, ME 04841
Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers Video Project
POB 7941, Missoula, MT 59807
(406) 728-0867
cmcr@wildrockies.org
Direct Action Fund
POB 210, Canyon, CA 94516
(510) 376-7329, fax 631-7958

End Corporate Dominance
POB 7292, Austin, TX 78713
(512) 478-7666, entropy@eden.com
Genetic Alert
Wise Use Watch
POB 2182, Berkeley, CA 94702
halcarl@rahul.net
Warrior Poets Society
ASUC Box 361
Berkeley, CA 94720-4510
Xtract from Public Lands
EF!J, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440
earthfirst@igc.apc.org

International EF! Directory

Check out the international Earth First! web page at:
<http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/ef/earthfirst.html>

AUSTRALIA
Rainforest Information Centre
POB 368, Lismore, NSW 2480
(066) 21 85 05
Australian EF! Action Update
POB 12046, Elizabeth St
Brisbane 4002
ef_au@hotmail.com

CANADA
Coast Mountains EF!
1472 Commercial Drive, Box 128
Vancouver, BC V5L 3X9
(604) 708-9660
EF! Prince George
Box 1762, Prince George, BC V2L 4V7
Boreal Owl
Box 1053, Kamloops, BC V2C 6H2
EF! Manitoba
15-222 Osborne St. South
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3L 1Z3
(204) 453-9052
EF! Toronto
POB 70, 1576 Queen St. West
Toronto, Ontario M6R 1A6
EF! Ottawa
Box 4612 Station E
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5H8
Autonomous Green Action
POB 4721, Station E
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5H9
di695@freenet.carleton.ca
EF! Montreal, Diffusion Noire
c/o Librairie Alternative
2035 St. Laurent, 2 e étage
Montréal, PQ H2X 2T3

EIRE
An Talamh Glas c/o Anne
Abbey St., Ballinrobe
County Mayo
Limerick Talamh Glas
41 Glasgow Park, Limerick
00 353 61 313308, atglas@inet.ie

ENGLAND
Over 35 EF! groups exist in England; for a list, contact:
EF! Action Update, Dept. 29,
1 Newton St, Manchester M1 1HW
(0161) 224 4846
actionupdate@gn.apc.org
Oxford EF!
Box E, 111 Magdalen Rd.,
Oxford, OX4 1RQ, (01865) 791391
South Downs EF!, Dead Trees EF!
and Do or Die
POB 2971, Brighton BN2 2GY
savages@easynet.co.uk

FRANCE
Eco-Action/EF! France
95 Rue de la Marine
62224 Equihen-Plage
(+33) 3 21 31 1862, fax 1953
eco-action.ef.mala@wanadoo.fr

GERMANY
EF! Germany
c/o Avalon, Friedrich-Ebert Str 24
45127 Essen

INDIA
Anand Skaria
PB #14, Cochin 682001, Kerala
(009) 484-25435
Bander Bagicha
Near Maurya Lok PATNA-800 001
Bihar, Post Box 229
THE NETHERLANDS
Groene Front!
Postbus 85069, 3508 AB, Utrecht
ruigoord@hotmail.com

PHILIPPINES
Ariel Betan, Green Forum
3rd Floor, Liberty Building
Pasay Rd., Makati, Metro Manila
(2) 816-0986, 851-110, 818-3207
Volunteers for Earth Defense
189 San Antonio Ext. SFD
1105 Quezon City

POLAND
Workshop for All Beings
ul. Modrzewskiego 29/3
43-300 Bielsko, Biala
fax 0048-30-29496

RUSSIA
Rainbow Keepers (10 local groups)
POB 14, Nizhni Novgorod 603082
(8312) 34-32-80, tetryput@glas.apc.org
Rainbow Keepers, Moscow
(095) 954-91-93, rk@glas.apc.org
ECODEFENSE!
Moskovsky prospekt 120-34236006
Kaliningrad/Koenigsburg
ph/fax +7 (0112) 43 72 86
ecodefense@glas.apc.org

SCOTLAND
Glasgow EF!
POB 180, Glasgow G4 9AB
44 (0)41 636 1924/339 8009
fax 44 (0)41 424 3688
scotree@gn.apc.org

SLOVAKIA
Earth First!
A. Hlinku 11, 96001 Zvolen
kolenka@uvt.tuzvo.sk

SPAIN
Manuel A. Dernandes
Taller de E. A. A. CURUXA
J. B. Xelmirer J, Campus Universitario
1570 S. Santiago
(81) 584321, fax (81) 584533

SWEDEN
Morgan Larsson
Lagmansgaten 9C
46-37 Vänersborg

UKRAINE
Rainbow Keepers (5 local groups)
c/o Nadia Shevchenko
POB 322, Kiev 252187
+7 (38044) 263-4954, 265-7628
nadia@gluk.apc.org

PRISONER SUPPORT

Rod Coronado
03895-000, FCI Unit SW
8901 S. Wilmot Rd.
Tucson, AZ 85706 USA
North American ALF
Support Group
Box 69597, 5845 Yonge St.
Willowdale, Ontario
M2M 4K3 Canada

Bob Lawrence
#61950-065
FPC Lumpoc
3705 W. Farm
Lompoc, CA 93436 USA
Direct Action Defense Fund
POB 57357
Tucson, AZ 85732-7357 USA
(520) 795-5171

Earth First!

March-April 1998
Eostar

\$4.00 Canada
\$3.50 US



Julia Butterfly Speaks

Ward Valley Stronghold

Ohio Strip Mine
Resistance

Enola Hill
Convictions

SF Peaks Defended

Screw Woo

Ogoni Under Fire

Exxon Ousted
from Wisconsin

The Great
Nonviolence Debate

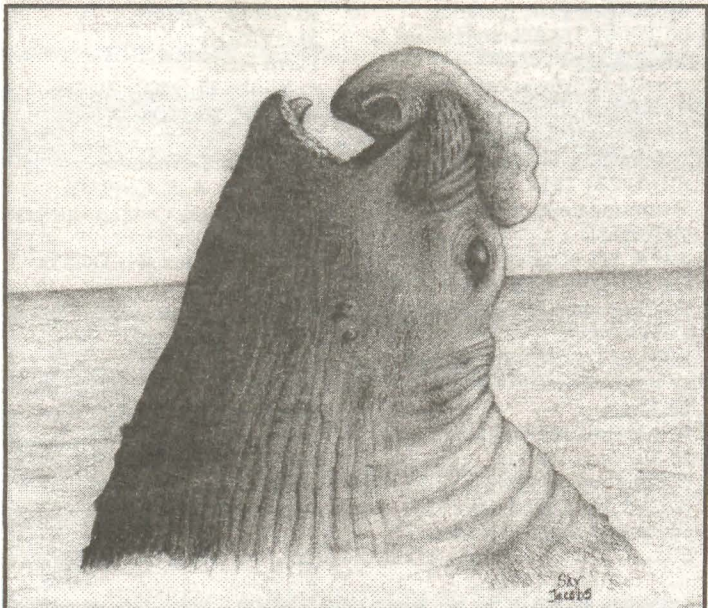
Spikings & Billboards

NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH

Daily Planet Publishing
Earth First! Journal
POB 1415
Eugene, OR 97440
USA

Address Service Requested

Non Profit Org.
US Postage
PAID
Eugene, Oregon
PERMIT #621



Innards

Julia Butterfly Speaks.....4	Man Without a Bioregion.....8	Organizer's Conference Roundup.....21
Headwaters HCP Looming.....5	Beyond Civil Disobedience.....9	How to Make a Lovepod.....22
Ward Valley Stronghold.....6	Cult of Asskissing.....10-11	Direct Action Communications.....23
The Great Nonviolence Debate.....7	Exxon Ousted.....12	Activist Harassment.....24
	Enola Hill Convictions.....13	Pies Fly.....25
	Cloning Chaos.....13	Spikings and Billboard Blackouts.....26
	British Mining Resistance.....15	New Music Reviews.....32



A red check mark means
your subscription has
expired. Time to renew.