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## ELF BURNS DOWN VAIL

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

During the night of October 18, cloaked in the dark of an almost new moon, two or more people crept along a Colorado ridgeline, leaving plastic milk jugs filled with gasoline as fiery calling cards at five buildings and four chairlifts. The 33,000-square-foot, 550-seat Two Elks Lodge was totaled, resulting in minimum damages of \$12 million to Vail Associates (VA). In addition, a 2,500-square-foot picnic shelter, a ski patrol building and one of the chair lifts were ruined, pushing the total amount of damages much higher than the widely-reported \$12 million and making this the single most expensive act of environmental sabotage in US history.

The only known witnesses to the fire were four sleeping hunters, who alerted the authorities after they were

awakened by the blazes around 4 a.m. One of the four, Neil Sebso, had gone to sleep around midnight seeking warmth inside a Vail restroom, while the other three camped outside. Sebso says he woke from a sleepy fog, thinking that somebody had opened the door, looked in and left.

When he got up to investigate, he saw nothing "and went back to bed. Next thing, I was awoken by Steve," who showed him the rising flames.

The arson fires were set only five days after a court had ruled that Vail resorts could proceed with its planned Category III expansion into the Two Elk Roadless Area, despite the objections of local environmentalists.



Flames engulf Two Elks Lodge.

photo by Mark Mobeley

The Colorado-based group Ancient Forest Rescue (AFR) has led that opposition, noting that the development of 2,200 acres of additional skiable terrain on public land is but a prelude to VA's real plans for building luxury condominiums, a new base area and village to village gondolas on as much as 3,000 additional acres.

continued on page 26

## KENYANS STORM DEVELOPMENT

### GUARDS JOIN WAVE OF RESISTANCE

BY PORI KWA MILELE

In an unprecedented and dramatic action, hundreds of Kenyan environmental activists and supporters unleashed what has been called a new era in the peoples' struggle against a repressive, corrupt and rapacious regime in defense of their country's amazing but threatened natural heritage. On October 7, over 500 angry citizens, organized and led by members of the Green Belt Movement (GBM), invaded an illegal development in Nairobi's Karura Forest, destroyed the site offices, construction equipment and materials, and eradicated all the "improvements" that had transformed a virgin indigenous hardwood forest into just another upscale residential development. They were mad as hell and served notice to the tune of \$1 million in damage that they weren't going to take it any more. "This is the power of the people. They have decided, and there is no turning back. Let every land grabber and economic saboteur... know that the time for silence and inaction is over," said one activist.

The revelation that hundreds of acres of the Karura forest, a 14,000-acre area protected since Kenya's independence, had been quietly excised and allocated to shadowy private



Fences flying, bulldozers burning... "This is the power of the people."

interests sparked the outrage and action. The transfers were blatantly illegal under Kenyan law and were accomplished as a fund-raising measure during the run-up to the recent presidential elections (in a maneuver only slightly more subtle than that employed in the previous election, when President Moi simply printed and distributed billions of shillings in bribes, causing an economic disaster that conveniently manifested only after he was re-elected). The allocatees, relatives and cronies of the president, in turn, sold the forest properties to developers, funneling their ill-gotten money back into various ruling-party activities.

continued on page 23

## CORPORATE SCUM PIED! A BBB EXCLUSIVE

BY AGENT APPLE

On a Friday afternoon I was contacted by a Biotic Baking Brigade (BBB) intelligence source known as "Deep Pastry." S/he communicated to me that Robert Shapiro, chairman of Monsanto, would be delivering a keynote address at a conference the following Tuesday. We had recently heard from Our Man in London that the Brits were planning to pie him next time he crossed the Atlantic, and naturally we couldn't let the Limeys upstage us in this respect (since they already have in every other form of anti-genetic engineering activism). I had my orders: Compile a dossier on the target (photos, personal habits, culinary preferences, etc.), perform an extensive reconnaissance of the battlefield (the illustrious Fairmont Hotel, where Clinton and his ilk stay when they come to San Francisco), assemble a crack pie-slinging team, develop combat scenarios and await the go-ahead command.

By Tuesday afternoon, everything was in place. I went to the pre-arranged bake shop, ordered an apple-rhubarb crumble to go and repaired to the pub. Even though I had been through the routine before, I couldn't help but tremble a tad when I reached the bottom of the patisserie and uncovered the sealed and embossed envelope which read, "Special Agent Apple: For Your Eyes Only."

continued on page 24

photo courtesy of GBM

photo courtesy of GBM

# EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!

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## Fanning the Flames of Resistance

"...we can go back to the earliest recorded texts in our canon... and find that those who have served power have always been rewarded with respectability... That pattern just perpetuates through history, and for perfectly good reasons. If you serve power, authority and privilege, you'll end up, by and large, with respectability. And if you undermine them, whether it's by political analysis, moral critique or anything else, they're not going to applaud you for it."

— Noam Chomsky

Precisely because it was such a sensational public denial of the legitimacy of authority and the privilege of power, the Vail bonfire was not a respectable thing to do, granted. But let's face it folks, Earth First! is an ecological resistance movement that has come to engender beautiful radical and revolutionary philosophies—not respectable ones.

The planned Vail expansion is just one more example of humans overstepping their bounds unnecessarily and at all of our peril. As big corporations like Vail Associates are allowed to flourish, the rich get richer, the poor poorer and Mother Earth suffers the most. There have always been eco-anarchists among us who truly believe that the materialist/capitalist worldview in general, and the concept of the sanctity of private property in particular, must be deconstructed in order to incapacitate the nature-destroying juggernaut of industrial civilization. We dedicate our lives to fighting the power that turns people into "consumers," wilderness into "natural resources" and intentionally indoctrinates the world with an ethic of exploitation.

After every legal (*state-sanctioned*) means of trying to protect that incredible ecosystem had been exhausted, setting fire to a playground of the prosperous was a brave and eco-logical last resort (no pun intended). All such development projects must be opposed as vigorously as possible at this critical time in history. It is intellectually dishonest and morally unethical not to do so.

We should not be afraid to openly applaud the elves' blatant demonstration of disrespect for the accouterments of the aristocracy. We are members of a tribe of scofflaws who want to see the natural balance between humans and the ecosystems we inhabit restored. Certainly an important aspect of this is engaging in the public discourse about what our society's peculiar kind of political, technological, economic adaptation may mean to the future (à la the *EF! Journal*). But just as important is actively contradicting the policies and intentionally conflicting with the interests of those political and economic forces promoting development (à la the *ELF*).

The Earth Liberation Front's eco-sabotage of Vail constituted a political act of conscience perfectly in keeping with the sincere expression of the biocentric paradigm many Earth First!ers espouse. Ours is a movement of advocates on behalf of that which has no representation in government, no corporate sponsor, no voice in the world of men. We seek to address our concerns to a hostile civilization that maintains itself only by

assaulting the natural world. For those who care more about the cause than the mainstream perception of the movement, respectability is neither an attainable or a desirable goal.

Earth First!ers aspire to become effective social critics of rampant technological change, corporate domination, hierarchical class systems and unsustainable development with hopes of changing the hearts and minds of humanity. To accomplish this we must defy a rich and powerful elite who protect their vested interest in maintaining the status quo by attacking the integrity of our vision. Violent acts towards Mother Earth and those who defend her are routinely committed by the extractive industries we oppose, condoned by the state and ignored by a media that labels us terrorists. Finding a so-called "nonviolent" way to respond to or influence a society too far removed from the wild, too wedded to material possessions, too enamored with technology and too intent on profiting from exploiting the natural world to really appreciate our perspective is perhaps our greatest challenge.



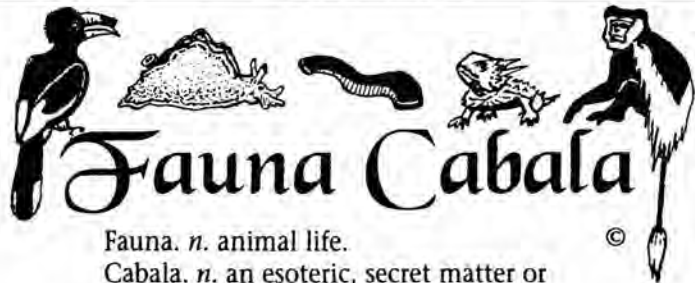
It may also be a fool's errand. The reality is the dominant value system in our culture denies the transcendental truth and beauty inherent in nature. Inflammatory actions like Vail succeed in letting Babylon know there are front-line revolutionaries willing to lead the fight to preserve the last wild places on Earth and who laud the last wild places in the human heart. The elves have asserted that an "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em" attitude is unacceptable. They are not willing to surrender, compromise their ideals or water down the mandatory radical critique in subservience to power. Good for them.

The destruction of the private property of the upper classes at Vail, in defense of the forest and the lynx, should not be portrayed as an irrational, violent, aggressive act. Rather, it was a rational, overtly political and defensive act undertaken by Mother Earth's freedom fighters, not terrorists, in the face of overwhelming odds and at great risk of personal liberty. Those courageous and idealistic enough to believe it is possible to beat 'em must be encouraged to use all the tools in the toolbox, especially their best judgment, in the battle on behalf of the wild. I say carry on elves, with love and rage! No compromise in the defense of Mother Earth!

— Theresa Kintz

*Last issue mentioned an incorrect address to order Cope: The Cartoon Book of Tree Protesting. It should be Orange Dog Productions, 7 The Green, Biddestone, Near Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK.*

BY FAITH WALKER



Fauna. *n.* animal life.

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

It's the color of the lips, not the grace of the wing, that makes Bewick's swans (*Cygnus columbianus bewickii*) swoon.

These largest members of the duck family, who migrate between Arctic Russia and Western Europe, are remarkable among vertebrates in that they form monogamous pair-bonds that last most of their 20-30 year lives.

As long as they are successfully begetting cygnets, mates are not abandoned.

Individuals vary in the pattern of yellow and black on the bill, which is inherited, such that offspring resemble parents. A swan chooses a partner whose bill looks different from its own. This is achieved not by gazing at reflections but by learning the appearance of relatives' bills and evaluating prospective mates by their dissimilarity.

In addition, it seems that the bill pattern is used for recognition after pair formation. If the pair is feeding with their heads underwater for a long period of time, one member of the pair will poke the other, causing the shocked bird to right itself and the pair to silently greet each other with head bobs.

This is an example of active outbreeding, where natural selection has favored the genetic consequences of mating between non-relatives.

Earth First!

Yule

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

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

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### SCHEDULE

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**Deadline for the next issue is:**

**January 11**

Deadline for the following issue: February 24

# How AFR Got Burned

BY BEN AND BRIAN, ANCIENT FOREST RESCUE

The recent fires that burned atop Vail Mountain have forced many people to stop and think, especially those of us at Ancient Forest Rescue (AFR). We are a grassroots Colorado-based consensus group of forest activists. We consider ourselves part of the Earth First! movement and adhere to a strict code of nonviolence (verbal and physical) to persons or property. While we do roadshows and workshops to educate the public and work within the system through monitoring and legal appeals, we are locally known for our nonviolent actions in defense of Colorado's biodiversity. We have had success in

Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), complete with public road closures, vocal opposition to VA's expansion will not be silenced.

The members of the AFR Vail campaign would like to discuss how an act of sabotage has affected months of work by forest activists in Colorado. Ancient Forest Rescue is the most radical voice in the coalition of groups that has been working to stop VA's ski area expansion for the past several years. This coalition has fought VA every step of the way, but eventually Forest Service corruption and corporate greed was victorious in all legal arenas. Most of the groups stopped actively attacking VA's expansion plans and relied solely on the legal appeal after VA received its



The Two Elk Roadless Area, before Vail's expansion

our community-based campaigns. Property damage has the potential to jeopardize the willingness of the larger community to shelter us and support our action campaigns. We strongly believe you cannot mix covert actions like monkeywrenching and overt actions such as lockdowns in a campaign.

People have responded differently to the events of October 19. Some have condemned the arson, claiming that it discredits the radical environmental movement. They say it gives the powers-that-be a reason to call us terrorists and an excuse to persecute us. Others believe that because there were no human casualties, this act of sabotage was a perfectly acceptable way to hit a monstrous corporation like Vail Associates (VA) where it hurts.

One glaring possibility is that the media stories linking the fires to environmental saboteurs are pure fabrication. It is not unreasonable to speculate that this is the work of someone with an interest in discrediting the radical environmental movement. Although VA is now enjoying newly found public sympathy and the Two Elk Roadless Area is under the watchful eye of the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol,

its greedy plans for expansion were brought under the scrutiny of the national spotlight. The fires that night brought this issue to the attention of the American public more than the coalition has managed through all its years of hard work. Unfortunately for AFR and the Two Elk roadless area, that seems to be where the positive results of the blazes cease.

Some say fires hit VA in the only place it would really feel it: in its pocket book. While the fire caused more than \$12 million in damage, VA is fully insured for the loss, and the corporation makes about \$1 million per day during the ski season.

Ever since VA proposed the expansion, the residents of the Vail Valley have overwhelmingly opposed it. People in these beautiful mountain towns are trying to hold onto their open space and sense of community. The expansion is the first step in VA's poorly veiled scheme to develop huge amounts of land while raking in millions if not billions of dollars from trophy home sales in nearby private land. This appalls many of our friends in Vail and the rural community of Minturn. They have stood beside us in opposing this expansion. But it's more

complicated than that. Even though so many oppose VA, its duplicitous expansion plans and what it's going to do to the Two Elk Roadless Area, the ski industry is the primary economy in the area and residents are all in some way dependent on it. If there is a reduction in visitors to Vail Mountain, it will be at the expense of the good people of Vail and Minturn.

What about the other costs? To your run-of-the-mill vacationer, "terrorism," (which is what the media has dubbed this action) is something to avoid. Insurance will not cover the lost revenue if many families with big money decide to take their skiing vacation somewhere besides Vail this year. Maybe instead they will ski at Keystone, Breckenridge, Arrowhead or Beaver Creek. All of these resorts are owned by VA and lie on public land. So even if the arson does cause revenue loss on Vail Mountain (although Vail Resorts stock price indicates otherwise) Vail Associates Resorts, the corporate monster, continues to sit pretty.

The weekend before the roadbuilding was scheduled to begin, AFR activists from around Colorado gathered to do reconnaissance of the area. We had the local support; we had an intelligent and committed group; we had the absolute moral high ground. On Sunday night, we moved base camp to the bottom of Two Elk canyon.

Little did we know that others were executing different plans during the night. On that cold, frosty morning the word came: No sign of machinery, but the mountain was ablaze. As helicopters circled the skies and an intense investigation commenced, it appeared impossible to complete our work in the area.

Our local supporters were silenced, and VA the corporate predator became VA the victim. The community felt under attack, and suddenly all environmentalists were terrorists. The working people of the Vail Valley felt screwed by people trying to save wilderness. Our group became paralyzed and morale fell apart.

The greatest casualty of the fires is the Two Elk Roadless Area. On the Wednesday following the arson, dozers rolled in and the destruction progressed at a break-neck pace. No activists were there to stop it. The efforts by environmentalists to work with the community to save the Two Elk Roadless Area and stop corporate excess were undermined by the arson.

Perhaps there are times and places for sabotage, but in the opinion of AFR-Vail, this was not one of them. If we as an environmental movement are to succeed, then we must somehow coordinate our efforts. Whether one supports nonviolent civil disobedience or covert night action, we are all driven by the same passion. In order to be a movement, the various factions of environmentalism must avoid cutting one another off at the knees. When we don't, the real losers are the wild places that we all love.

## Dear SFB: Irked, jerked, bewildered or ecstatic? Send letters to the EF!J, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; earthfirst@igc.org.

Earth First! Journal,

This is for you David:

Grandfather, look at our brokenness. We know that in all creation only the human family has strayed from the sacred way. We know that we are the ones who are divided and we are the ones who must come back together to walk in the sacred way. Grandfather, sacred one, teach us love compassion and honor that we may heal the Earth and each other.

In hope,

—MARK QUIRE

We are all saddened by the loss of David Chain and would hope we can share a bit of your grief to ease the pain.

From Glada McIntyre, to

whom the divas of the ancient cedars here sang this hymn:

*Oh Noble and Worthy  
Exploiters and Conquerors  
Have Mercy Have Mercy  
Do Not End Our Singing  
Which Allows the Conditions  
Necessary*

*To All Life on the Planet as You  
Kill It.*



*"The hymn of joy was becoming a litany of sorrow, and my cognitive mind recorded that I was witnessing that the song of the forest has now*

*changed, and I wondered if this was happening all over the planet and many people hearing it."*

—Glada McIntyre, BC 1995

We lost those giant cedars whose divas spoke to Glada. We share in your loss as well. Have courage, you are not alone.

—SUZY HAMILTON AND FRIENDS  
FROM NELSON ECO CENTRE

Dear EF!

Please forgive my silence of late, but I've been having personal/medical problems and often lack the energy to do anything.

I cried when I read the action alert about Gypsy's death. I wanted revenge at that moment for a comrade who died for his conviction and devotion towards the earth mother.

It wasn't so long ago that "Butterfly" was almost killed by an "accident" of the whirly bird blade. I remember -



ber writing then about fucking up the "offender" but I guess that would have been considered violent. Now one of us is dead, and I find it very difficult not to expand my earlier letter.

Being in prison makes it difficult and very frustrating to say or promote anything from a back seat, yet I do, from time to

time, produce zines that attempt to educate others toward an equalitarian way of life with nature and a "live let live" towards each other.

Yet, when I read of comrades being hurt and even killed in defense of our values of equality in nature and life in general, I feel the time and weather is right for a small group of devoted people to organize and change the system, now!

Yikes! There I go again! I can't help myself, oops! I love you all and many thanks for continuing my subscriptions.

Love, unity and trees,  
—PATRICK EARL, #744524, TERREL  
UNIT-INFIRMARY, 12002 FM 350  
SOUTH, LIVINGSTON, TX 77351-  
9630

continued on page 30

# ECOTERRORISTS GUN DOWN WOLVES

BY MICHAEL ROBINSON

Largely because Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt badly miscalculated the consequences of trying to appear reasonable to ranching extremists, five Mexican gray wolves have been shot, the one pup born in the wild is dead and two more are missing from the original eleven released in a reintroduction program. The remaining five animals have been recaptured. Thus, after less than a year of ecological healing, the sycamore-lined canyons and juniper-scented mesas of the Gila ecosystem have once again been rendered wolfless. And though the recovery program for this most endangered of the world's wolf subspecies will go forward, Babbitt's rank poltroonery threatens to encourage more killings.

Unlike almost every other species in trouble, wolves did not become endangered primarily because of habitat loss. Rather, a concerted government effort on behalf of ranchers was launched in 1914 with the explicit purpose of killing every large mammalian carnivore in the United States. Hundreds of federal hunters set traps and distributed poisons to kill wolves, mountain lions, bears and coyotes.

By the early 1930s, this program had resulted in the extirpation of breeding populations of wolves within the Southwest. And despite official denials that extinction was the intent, the US government shipped strychnine and the notorious predicide Compound 1080 to Mexico to help wipe out wolves south of the border.

Nevertheless, for decade after decade, wolves continued to migrate into this country, only to be shot, poisoned and trapped by a federal agent stationed along the border. Even after passage of the Threatened and Endangered Species Act in 1969, two wolves were killed in the arid grasslands north of Big Bend National Park, Texas, and one was poisoned in the Peloncillo Mountains, where New Mexico and Arizona meet along the Mexican border.

The 1973 Endangered Species Act was supposed to put teeth into protection and recovery of imperiled species, but in 1976 just as the Mexican wolf was listed, ranchers reportedly paid a \$500 bounty for a trapper to kill a lone wolf reported in southeastern Arizona.

Belatedly, between 1978 and 1980, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) (ironically the successor to the agency that supervised the extermination campaign) contracted an American trapper experienced in killing Mexican wolves to live capture wolves in Mexico. He caught seven, of which four survived long enough to become part of a captive breeding program intended to recover the species. Never before has an extermination policy pushed a species so close to the brink of extinction and then turned around. Today, despite periodic reports of wolves surviving in Mexico, the only known Mexican wolves are the approximately 170 in captivity.

The Blue Range of New Mexico was the site chosen for reintroduction. Located in the western terminus of the Gila Headwaters ecosystem complex of roadless areas, the Blue was the locale of Aldo Leopold's famous "fierce green fire" wolf shooting episode in 1909, an incident that festered in his memory and precipitated his great epiphany that the creed of predator extermination, the "challenge of fang against bullet," could be pursued only at the cost of ecological integrity. "I now suspect that just as a deer herd lives in mortal fear of its wolves, so does a mountain live in mortal fear of its deer," he wrote toward the end of his life. "So also with cows. The cowman who cleans his range of wolves does not realize that he is taking over the wolf's job of trimming the herd to fit the range. He has not learned to think like a mountain. Hence we have dustbowls, and rivers washing the future into the sea."

But the Blue was not chosen as a reintroduction site primarily because its original wolves taught Leopold to think like a mountain. Rather, it represented a compromise between ecological considerations and ranching politics. In 1987, officials with the USFWS, charged with the Mexican wolf's recovery, abdicated their statutory responsibility to choose the best habitat for reintroduction by asking the states of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas to make the decision. Texas reacted by passing a state law

banning reintroduction. Arizona officials said they would have to study the matter and eventually conducted a credible biological investigation. New Mexico nominated the White Sands Missile Range, which at the time was the only substantial area in the state without livestock but is so arid it is likely few wolves ever lived there.

When the US Army, which manages White Sands, said it wanted no wolves, the USFWS announced the termination of the reintroduction program and separated male and female wolves to prevent further breeding. Only a lawsuit by Earth First! activists (operating as the Wolf Action Group) forced the resumption of breeding and a commitment by the USFWS to pursue reintroduction.

Despite the USFWS officials' obeisance to the prerogatives of ranching, agency biologists recognized the Gila as the best habitat remaining for the wolf. The trick was to get them in there without arousing the active opposition of New Mexico's publiclands ranching establishment. Welfare ranchers are responsible for the most per capita whining of any demographic group in the United States, and in the Gila the whines routinely rise to an unmatched squawking frenzy. The solution was to put the wolves in the Blue, an area identified by the Arizona Department of Game and Fish as good habitat, and allow them to re-colonize the adjoining habitat in the Gila National Forest on the New Mexico side of the ecosystem.

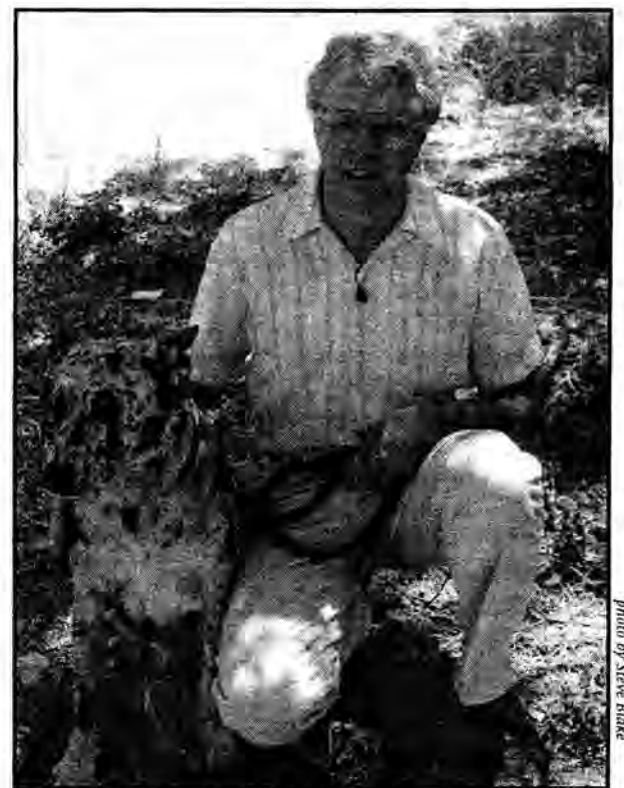
However, neither the Blue Range nor the Gila are pristine. Although over a million and a half acres within the designated recovery area are roadless, less than a third of the region is free from cattle. Furthermore, in designating the reintroduction program, the USFWS acquiesced to every single ranching industry stipulation (except for the demand that the wolf never roam in the wild).

The first and overarching capitulation made by the agency was deciding to designate the reintroduced wolves "experimental" and "non-essential," which allows the agency to reduce protections for the species. With this categorization in place, the USFWS limited the recovery area to the boundaries of the Blue Range and the Gila National Forest (ignoring wolf habitat on adjoining Bureau of Land Management land, for example), allowed ranchers to kill wolves that kill cattle under some circumstances and refused to designate critical habitat where the wolves' survival would be prioritized over extractive land uses. As a result of this latter provision, there are no road closures on behalf of the wolves, no migration corridors to other potential habitats, nor limits on public lands grazing.

Given the truculence of the local ranching community, it was easy to predict the results. Catron County, New Mexico, famous for its militias and challenges to constitutional government, offers a version of a coyote bounty: several coyotes are captured, inconspicuously ear-tagged and released, and anyone subsequently turning in one of the ear-tags is awarded up to a thousand dollars, depending on the markings on the tag. In neighboring Grant County, after flaming rhetoric from anti-environmental activists, a planned reintroduction of the endangered Gila trout was sabotaged this year by the dumping of non-native brown trout into a stream.

Such actions reflect the ranching industry's ideology and not that of most people. Indeed, a League of Women Voters survey indicated that 52 percent of residents of rural southwestern New Mexico support wolf reintroduction and only 34 percent oppose it.

But ranchers dominate the region's politics. And given the ranching mindset, the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity opposed any lessening of the legal protections for wolves, and urged the USFWS to close dirt roads in the reintroduction area and reduce grazing. In responding to the Environmental Impact Statement on reintroduction, the Southwest Center wrote: "Even should you not decide to immediately close roads and reduce grazing now, foreclosing the options to close such roads in the future, and to terminate grazing leases on



Humphrey first claimed the wolf was attacking, but evidence proved it was standing still when shot.

public lands within the recovery area, irresponsibly jeopardizes the Service's ability to respond to future events. For instance, the Service's ability to close roads and terminate grazing leases on behalf of wolves may well serve as an incentive to malevolent individuals not to violate the law."

But the USFWS ignored these concerns, and within a couple of months, the first wolf was shot. Richard Humphrey, a retired Tucson postal worker with ties to the Safari Club, a big game trophy-hunting group, who was camping in the Blue Range, shot a male wolf after he apparently attacked Humphrey's dog. Advised that only defense of human life sufficed to exonerate such a killing, he changed his story and claimed the wolf was running toward his wife. A necropsy showed the animal had been standing, not running, when the bullet entered his chest. But the USFWS declined to prosecute Humphrey.

Humphrey then hooked up with the Catron County anti-environmental movement, serving as the keynote speaker at the annual convention of a regional group fighting endangered species and public lands. On August 7, the day before his talk celebrating the shooting, another wolf was shot. This time no one claimed credit. Three more wolves have been killed since then, one has disappeared and may well have been shot, and the first wolf pup born in the wild in the US in over 50 years, its parents both killed, is missing and presumed dead.

Two additional wolves were recaptured after dispersing out of the recovery area, and another pregnant wolf was recaptured after her mate was killed. (Her pup, subsequently born into captivity, died anyway.) That left only two wolves in the wild—both males. In late November, around the time the last murdered wolf was discovered, these two survivors were recaptured also and paired with two females intended for release who are now in acclimatization pens.

Babbitt has announced that the wolf reintroduction program will go forward and, in addition to the two once-free males and their intended mates, more wolves are due for release in spring, 1999. However, Babbitt has also suggested tax breaks for ranchers who support wolves—a proposed lagniappe that is bizarre given that ranchers already enjoy millions of dollars in tax breaks and a smorgasbord of federal services and still won't abide by the law.

The Southwest Center, in contrast, proposes road closures in the Blue Range, direct releases of wolves in the Gila Wilderness, grazing restrictions and vigorous prosecution of admitted wolf killer Richard Humphrey. Since the stated intent of the experimental non-essential designation of the wolves was precisely to forestall the kind of illegal killings now taking place, it seems obvious that the provision should now be reexamined. The Southwest Center's staff has also pledged a collective \$5,000 in award money for information leading to a conviction in the killings (bringing the total reward from public and private sources to \$35,000).

continued on page 32

# COYOTES SLAUGHTERED

## Blood Sport Hunters Kill 200

BY ANDREA LOCOCO

Rawlins, Wyoming, was the site of the seventh annual National Coyote Calling Contest on November 13-14. Despite its benign title, the contest involves a lot more than just calling coyotes. It's a wildlife-killing contest that awards monetary prizes to hunters based on the number of coyotes they kill. This year, 74 teams, consisting of two hunters, from 17 states and countries around the world paid \$150 each to enter the event in the hope of winning a piece of the \$14,000 in prize money.

Contest participants dispersed with four-wheelers onto both private and public lands, using distress calls to attract coyotes and slaughter as many as possible during the two-day event. While there are rules (e.g., no night hunting, no use of live lures, no shooting from the roadway or within a half mile of a residence, no submission of captive-raised coyotes, etc.), the prize money creates a powerful incentive to ignore them, and it is virtually impossible for law enforcement officials to ensure that no laws are violated.

Last year, 242 coyotes were killed. A photo in a local newspaper showing scores of their dead bodies laid out in a hotel parking lot generated a tremendous amount of negative publicity. This year, hunters killed 200 coyotes but were careful not to display their kills for the public or the media.

Not surprisingly, the organizers of this year's contest, Tracy and Allen York of Utah, and organizers of other wildlife killing contests prefer not to draw media attention to such events. When unwelcome publicity does arise, organizers attempt to justify their actions by insisting they are performing a community service by eradicating coyotes before they can prey on domestic livestock and wildlife. Never mind that scientific research has demonstrated that lethal coyote control in general, and random killing contests in particular, may actually exacerbate predation problems rather than reduce them. Studies show that, in exploited populations, females breed at an earlier age and produce two to four times the number of pups as those in stable populations. The highest rate of livestock predation occurs when females hunt to feed their pups. Hence, increased reproduction rates translate into greater potential for predation.

Contest organizers tried to portray the event as even more community-friendly by awarding a \$1,000 scholarship to an area student and by donating proceeds from the sales of coyote pelts to a local domestic violence program. Pelts are estimated to sell from \$10 to \$12 each, and organizers boasted that the contest will

raise somewhere between \$2,000 and \$2,400 to help battered women. With psychological studies indicating a strong correlation between violence against animals and violence against humans, it is ironic that those who engage in killing animals for fun and money would attempt to avoid criticism of the contest by throwing money at a domestic violence program! Interestingly, Pat Way, executive director of Carbon County COVE, the domestic violence program slated to receive the donation, denied any knowledge of such plans and indicated she would discuss the matter with her board of directors.

Such feeble and self-serving schemes by contest organizers to seduce the public into tolerating what can only be described as a commercial wildlife slaughter are transparent. Fortunately, a growing number of states and communities are taking steps to prohibit or severely restrict wildlife killing contests. Killing any animal for fun and prizes trivializes the death of the animal. Such forms of recreation are no longer deemed acceptable in a society that increasingly understands and appreciates the value of all beings and the importance of preserving the integrity of ecosystems.

In Wyoming, coyotes are classified as predators and are consequently afforded no protection. Regulatory authority over coyotes falls under the Wyoming Department of Agriculture, which essentially functions at the behest of the livestock industry. Traditionally, coyotes have been perceived as "varmints" by the livestock industry throughout the West, which has undertaken campaigns to eradicate them by any and all means.

Even though many ranchers have successfully turned to nonlethal methods for effectively controlling predation problems in the long term, myths about the coyote persist.

Regardless of whether some ranchers and sport hunters are willing to admit that lethal coyote control does little if anything to address their concerns, they have no excuse for not condemning the killing contest format. Wildlife killing contests not only seriously harm the image of the communities where they occur, they also provide the public with negative impressions of hunters and livestock ranchers as enemies of wildlife. In a recent *New York Times* article about this year's National Coyote Calling Contest, Diane Gansauer, executive director of the Colorado Wildlife Federation, described the problem vividly when she stated, "Those contests give a black eye to hunting... The hunters need to police their own so the reputation of hunting is not in serious jeopardy."

There is simply no biological, ecological or ethical justification for inviting hunters to engage in the wholesale slaughter of wildlife in killing contests. Such reckless and wasteful abuse of wildlife should not be tolerated, and that message must be communicated to state officials, especially to Governor Jim Geringer. You can express your objection to wildlife killing contests in Wyoming by writing Honorable Jim Geringer, Governor, State Capitol, Cheyenne, WY 82002. Also write John Baughman, Director, Wyoming Game and Fish Department, 5400 Bishop Boulevard, Cheyenne, WY 82006.

Please send a copy of your letter to the newly formed Wyoming Business Council, charged with economic development in the state. You may want to include a message that sanctioning wildlife killing contests only thwarts efforts to remake Wyoming's image as attractive for new business. Their address is: John Reardon, CEO, Wyoming Business Council, Barrett Building, 2301 Central Avenue, Room 439, Cheyenne, WY 82002.

For more information on how you can help, please contact Andrea Lococo, Rocky Mountain Coordinator, The Fund for Animals, POB 11294, Jackson, WY 83002; (307) 859-8840; alococo@wyoming.com.



## BARE BONES

### Forest Robbery

Two illegal land trades are occurring in eastern Oregon. The North-eastern Oregon Assembled Land Exchange would trade over 90,000 acres of public Bureau of Land Management (BLM) land, including old-growth forests, for about 72,000 acres of private lands, many logged-over. The Triangle Land Exchange proposes to trade 4,863 acres of national forests, including ancient forests, for 7,410 acres of mostly stumplands.

These stumps for trees deals are being arranged by Clearwater Land Exchange—a profiteering venture begun with seed money by industry giants Boise Cascade and Louisiana Pacific. Using the pretense of "consolidating publiclands" and acquiring salmonidae habitat, the BLM and US Forest Service are trading away the forested headwaters of salmonoid streams.

Clearwater Land Exchange and the BLM have already had a previous land exchange ruled illegal by a federal appeals court. However, the deeds had already been exchanged, rendering the court decision moot.

Your help is desperately needed to stop these devastating impending trades. Call or write the Inspector General's offices and insist on a criminal investigation of Clearwater Land Exchange, their corporate timber backers, the BLM and the Forest Service. Demand these corrupt land exchanges be stopped. USDA, Office of the Inspector General, POB 23399, Washington, DC 20026; (202) 720-8001; USDI, Office of the Inspector General, 1849 C St. NW, Mailstop 5341, Washington, DC 20240; (202) 208-5745.

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

### Suits Stockpiling for Y2K

A new survey from *CIO Magazine*, a publication for chief information officers, chief executives and vice presidents of large corporations, shows some concern among business leaders regarding Y2K, the millennium bug. Of 330 executives surveyed, 56 percent said they believed the millennium bug would not be fixed in time, while a handful seemed to be planning for something more drastic. In fact, 10 percent said they planned to stockpile canned goods, 11 percent were buying generators and wood stoves and 13 percent were upgrading personal security "with alarm systems, fencing and firearms."

### Shasta Shafts Ski Resort

In an unprecedented action, the US Forest Service has revoked a permit for the construction of a ski resort on Mt. Shasta because of the mountain's cultural and sacred significance to Northern California tribes. Invoking the National Historic Preservation Act, Sharon Heywood, forest supervisor of the Shasta National Forest, determined that construction of the ski resort would adversely impact Native American historic sites on Mt. Shasta and therefore should be revoked.

Never before has a major federal project or sponsored project been stopped because of its adverse impacts on Native American cultural properties. The victory is the result of the work of Save Mt. Shasta and the Coalition to Save Mt. Shasta, two nonprofit organizations in Northern California that have fought for the protection of Mt. Shasta over the past ten years.

# The Makah Whale Hunt

## Killing for Tradition or Profit?

BY BEN WHITE

For the past two months in the misty northwest corner of Washington State, the Makah Nation, backed by the formidable might of the US government, has been poised to kill a California gray whale. Just offshore, a flotilla of a dozen boats from Sea Shepherd, Sea Defense Alliance, Progressive Animal Welfare Society and the West Coast Anti-Whaling Society patrol the rough seas to try to run interference for the whales. The situation is as fluid as the Pacific, but as the weather gets stormier, it appears unlikely a whale will be killed this year. In a confrontation rife with cross-currents and eddies, however, anything can happen.

The Makah were once the preeminent whalers of the West Coast, the only tribe in the country with the right to whale spelled out in their treaty. Whaling chiefs were the most powerful members of the tribe and competed in potlaches to see who could give away the most bounty. Rigorous spiritual preparation was required before going whaling: Whalers dove so deep they bled from their ears and lungs, scraped their arms and legs with cedar boughs, abstained from sex for months, tied cadavers to their backs before swimming like a whale, prayed, sweat and purified intensely. They intended to clean their bodies and minds to the point that a whale would be willing to give itself to the tribe.

The current hunt is a mixture of traditional and modern. For months the whaling team has practiced paddling the *Hummingbird*, a dugout cedar canoe. But in the real hunt, alongside the canoe there will be at least one motorized boat with a whaler wielding a huge elephant gun. The gunner will fire the instant the harpooner throws the steel and wood harpoon into the back of a gray whale.

In order to keep protesters away, the Coast Guard has declared a 1,500-foot exclusion zone above, below and around the whalers, whenever they launch. As might be suspected, certain market forces in the background are mightily cheered by the prospect of native people locked in a holy war with greens. Natural alliances are being fractured in favor of the concept that all wildlife and wild places are commodities. "Sustainable use" and "free trade" are the mantras of those now wearing an aboriginal mask.

A couple of years ago when the Muckleshoot tribe offered to eliminate sea lions eating steelhead trout at the Ballard Locks near Seattle, I made a call to the Native Fisheries Commission's chief scientist Terry Wright. I asked him if the native leaders he dealt with saw sea lions, whales and steelhead as *resources* or as independent, self-aware tribes. "As resources, of course," he said. I realized at that moment that an odd inversion of values had occurred. Native people long ago gave me a context for my love of this land and her wild families. Apparently, some native Americans now see wildlife the way my dominant culture teaches, as stuff put here for people to use. Meanwhile, many European imports like me perceive wildlife as taught by traditional elders: as teachers with their own purposes independent of serving humankind.

In a 1994 paper produced by the Cetacean Research Institute, Fuzoku Nagasaki, a Japanese professor, urged whalers to contact aboriginal people around the world and encourage them to revive their dormant whaling traditions. Nagasaki's idea was to use the almost universal sympathy for native people as a cover for spreading the very unpopular practice of whaling. Native people in the United States, the Caribbean and Canada were contacted. A new group called the World Council of Whalers was set up in the tribal offices of the Nun-cha-nulth of Vancouver Island, cousins to the Makah. They made no secret that their start-up funding came from Japanese and Norwegian whalers. They argue that if the "harvest" of whales is "sustainable" then there is no

difference at all between aboriginal and commercial whaling and that any restriction on commerce is racist. For those of us that have been attending the meetings of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) for years, that pronouncement was immediately recognizable as Japan-speak.

Documents and personal communication suggest that the direct Makah/Japanese connection happened like this. Originally, contact was made with a couple of influential Makah through their Japanese trading partners. The Makah were told that if they could get the gray whale off the endangered species list and wrangle permission from the US government and the IWC to whale, they could sell the whales for a million bucks apiece on the Tokyo market. What the Japanese really wanted, however, was not gray whale meat but a loosening of the aboriginal subsistence whaling (ASW) loophole. Since the global moratorium on commercial whaling was enacted by the IWC ten years ago, there are only two legal ways to whale: scientific and aboriginal subsistence whaling.

The Japanese have already stretched the scientific loophole to accommodate the killing and sale of over 400 minke whales yearly. They want to similarly stretch the ASW category to include their own "small-scale coastal" whalers. The Makah request was perfect for this job: They have not whaled in over 70 years, have repeatedly claimed the right to trade in whale products and claim no nutritional need for the whalemeat. If accepted, Makah whaling would overturn the historical prerequisites of the ASW category, which states that the whaling tradition must be unbroken, that there be no commercial component and that there be a demonstrable nutritional need. When the Makah and the US delegation came out of the 1997 IWC meeting claiming they had obtained a quota to kill up to four whales a year, essentially a third category of whaling was invented: non-nutritional cultural whaling.

In an odd twist, now that the Makah have arguably opened up the ASW category for the Japanese, it is clear that no one is going to buy the meat. Among whale-eating people gray whalemeat is considered disgusting. Last year, scientists tested the DNA of whalemeat from Tokyo and found 18 species of whales and dolphins (including blue whale!) sold as minke whale but nary a shred of gray whale. The Makah ate primarily humpbacks, not grays. Four years ago, the Makah snagged a gray whale in their fishing nets and distributed it to the tribe. After a spell in their freezers, almost all of it wound up in the local dump.

Another niggling detail being overlooked is the fact that the Makah have *not* won permission to whale from the IWC. The Makah plan, pushed by the usually pro-whale US delegation, dominated the IWC meetings in both 1996 and 1997. The first year, the US delegation pulled the plan when it saw it lacked the votes. The next year, the debate was fierce, with many countries adamant that the Makah proposal did not qualify under the guidelines of the ASW category. Whales are not allocated by country but by whale populations. One hundred forty gray whales a year are taken by the Russian Inuits, who feed them to foxes in Siberian fur farms. At the end of the meeting, the Northern Pacific gray whale allocation was approved (primarily for the Soviet Inuits) with special language designed specifically to cleave off the Makah. The quota was given to those aborigines whose "cultural and nutritional needs have been recognized." Even though

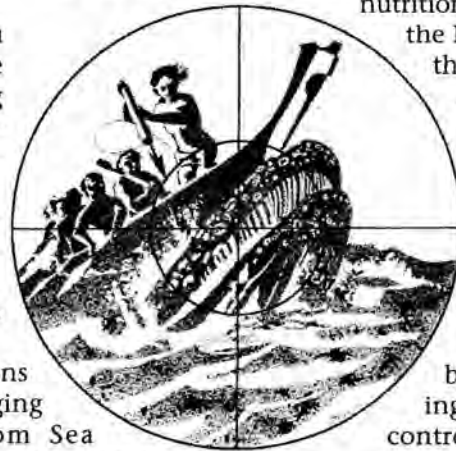
the Makah have no recognized nutritional need, the US delegation immediately claimed victory.

Recently, the IWC directorate reiterated that it did not give a quota to the Makah. The US cannot give itself a quota. The hunt is technically against international law.

Out of fairness, it is difficult to see how the US government could have avoided pushing for the Makah. They are bound by the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay to allow the Makah to whale. But they are also bound by the treaty backing the International Whaling Commission. The political minefield this controversy grows from is the uniquely American muddle wherein native people are both sovereign and not, depending on the circumstance.

It is a sad irony that the remnants of one recovering tribe nearly pushed to extinction have announced they will kill members of another recovering tribe that barely escaped the same fate. If the meat is not needed and the purpose of the whaling is the spiritual renaissance of the Makah, why is it necessary to kill the whale? Some Makah say it isn't and want to do a ceremonial, nonlethal hunt. All of the spiritual preparations would be fulfilled, but when the harpoon is thrown it would mark the whale with indelible dye instead of sinking into flesh.

Many who have worked for both native rights and animal protection recommend this path of heart. The Makah are right in wanting to provide their children an alternative to the culture of spiritual blindness and escapism we have all been offered. But to this outsider it is difficult to see how the ceremonial killing of a gray whale will bring about a shift in culture. The real challenge now is to use this opportunity to bring together these two groups so that we can clearly put forth the concept that this land is alive and sacred, and that her communities must be defended from the "sustainable use" machine that threatens to eat up the world. We really have little choice. We need each other.



## Showdown in Neah Bay

BY KRIS MAENZ

I guess it's true, nature really does bat last. High seas and cold temperatures have practically guaranteed that no gray whale will be slaughtered by the Makah in 1998. Next year may be a different story.

Early in the hunting season, daily patrols protected the mighty leviathan. Most mornings Sea Defense Alliance (SeDnA) activists were up before dawn, slurping down a quick breakfast and heading out to sea in our two little boats to join other protesters. The boat trip west down the Strait of Juan De Fuca to the mighty Pacific Ocean was beautiful and oftentimes rough, passing jagged cliffs, protruding sea stacks and unfortunately massive clearcuts. In October, we would pass through a gigantic pod of hundreds of harbor porpoises on our way to Neah Bay, Washington.

Some days we would see the canoe and the motorized chase boats that the Makah plan to use to hunt the whales.

Most days, we just waited, bobbing in our boats watching for the hunters and the guns. Every afternoon we would break our vigil to cruise with all the other protest boats into the Neah Bay marina and announce our dissatisfaction with the gray whale hunt. On November 1, this harmless little act of civil disobedience turned ugly.

The squealing air horns and loud music of singing whales blasting from Sea Shepherd's speakers drew a large crowd of Makah to the beach. Chanting and name calling, threats and mantras followed, and then the Sea Shepherd, a group specifically banned from the reservation, attempted a shore landing at the invitation of Alberta Thompson, a Makah woman who opposes the hunt. A melee ensued, leaving Sea Shepherd down one zodiac and with four arrested crew members. It was never clear why the tribal police took the activists into custody, but they were certainly vigorous about it, grinding one activist's head into the ground. The crowd of Makah was crazy with the giddy joy of slaying the mighty Sea Shepherd. Women and girls did line dances; men unfurled the Makah banner on the conquered zodiac; and the boys gathered on the docks to throw bottle rockets and rocks at the boats, breaking windows and making some serious dents. The demonstration lasted all day ending only when the light of day finally faded.

We stayed in the Pacific Northwest another 30 days waiting for the weather to change. SeDnA will be back next spring, when the weather clears and the whales are once again migrating past the shores of the Makah reservation. To get hold of us contact Sea Defense Alliance at POB 401, Williams, Oregon.

# NIGERIAN YOUTHS OCCUPY OIL WELLS

BY MONICA WILSON

On October 17 hundreds of people gathered to watch an oil pipeline oozing black crude across farmlands and waterways, a common occurrence in the Niger River Delta. Some people were carrying buckets of water from the nearby river, and others were scrambling to scoop up the precious resource that has brought devastation to their land. In Nigeria, a country where extreme fuel shortages cause cars to wait in gas station lines for days, a few containers of oil sold on the black market can substantially supplement poverty-level incomes. This was the third day of the spill.

As more came, the oil spill, covering an area the size of a football field near the town of Jesse, exploded into a deadly inferno. Something, possibly a match or spark, ignited the petroleum-soaked surroundings and people. Over 700 people were burned alive, hundreds more injured, and acres of farmland and fishing areas were destroyed. Shortly before the explosion, a Shell Nigeria helicopter flew over the spill site, and Shell employees yelled at the gathered people to stop collecting oil. But Shell and the Nigerian government did nothing to stop the spewing mess.

The explosion in the Niger Delta is only the latest in a series of tragedies to strike the region. Most are caused by negligence and gross disregard for people and the environment on the part of the multinational oil corporations, the Nigerian government and the largest customers of Nigeria's petroleum: influential, industrialized nations, including the United States and the United Kingdom.

## Oil Flow Shutdowns

The recent escalation of ethnic tension between two major groups, the Ijaws and the Itsekiris, exacerbates the delta crisis. Officially, the leaders of both groups have settled the dispute. However, factions of both are worried that the government and the oil companies have had undue influence, perhaps through bribery. In a violent escalation of the conflict, Ijaw youths razed the Itsekiri ancestral home in late October, killing a number of residents.

Since early October, Ijaw youths have succeeded in shutting off up to a third of Nigeria's oil flow, demanding economic and environmental justice and autonomy. In the ninth week of numerous drilling platform occupations, oil flow station shutdowns and production site takeovers, the armed youths are now facing increased Nigerian military presence. By November 20, Nigeria had lost approximately US\$1.25 billion from the protests. The companies, primarily Shell and Chevron, had lost millions more. The government and oil companies want to resume full operations, and the *Washington Post* recently reported that Nigerian troops were airlifted to the region. Were it not for international attention, it is probable that the military would have cracked down long ago.

## The Shared Roots of the Crisis

There are a few underlying roots that have helped create the turmoil in the delta. First, the lines of African nations, and even of modern ethnic groups, were manifestations of colonial powers and multinational resource extraction corporations during the last few centuries. These lines were drawn and enforced by the Europeans for their own convenience and financial benefit. Ethnic differences have been greatly enhanced by the divisive tactics of nations and corporations, as well as the economic disparity between the poor oil-producing regions and the opulent government and companies. Both the military and oil industry strategically split communities and traditional allies by giving money, resources and jobs to those who silence community resistance, hence the current strife among the Ijaws and Itsekiris.

Second, the flow of oil out of the Niger Delta has made billions for oil

environmental effects of the oil industry or regulate the upkeep of oil machinery and pipelines. Similarly, the Nigeria section of Shell enjoys the largest profit margins of the entire Royal Dutch/Shell Group. While this is partially explained by the high qual-

ity of Nigeria's Bonny Light crude, the results of cutting corners to create enormous profits are illustrated in Shell Nigeria's oil spill record: Although Shell operates in 110 countries, 40 percent of its oil spills occur in Nigeria. Pipelines are laid above ground to save expenses. In the early 1990s, the head of Shell Nigeria's environmental oversight



Demonstrating against the military-backed multinationals in the Niger River Delta

**Although Shell operates in 10 countries, 40 percent of its oil spills occur in Nigeria... In the early 1990s, the head of Shell Nigeria's environmental oversight team quit to protest the disparity between environmental efforts made by Shell in countries like the United Kingdom and the minuscule efforts and clean up operations made in Nigeria.**

companies such as Shell, Mobile, Chevron, France's Elf and Italy's Agip, and it is the lifeblood of the Nigerian government. Ruthless in the fight to maintain the oil companies' high profit margins and the brutal military's income, the two together have crushed demands for economic and environmental justice. Weapons supplies, transportation and funds are only part of the industry's collusion in ongoing human rights violations throughout the delta. Shell's helicopter presence before the Jesse explosion and its transportation of Nigerian dictator General Abubakar to the scene in the explosion's aftermath illustrate the close cooperation. When the Ogoni ethnic group began collectively organizing in 1993, succeeded in kicking Shell off their land and mobilized 300,000 people for demonstrations, the Nigerian military protected Shell's (and its own) interests by forming a brutal military task force to silence opposition. A corrupt trial of nine Ogoni leaders protesting Shell resulted in the execution of the activists on November 10, 1995 (see *EF! Journal*, March-April, 1998).

Third, environmental devastation in the Niger River Delta is among the worst in the world's oil-producing regions. As long as the government continues to have money, it has no incentive to responsibly monitor the

team quit to protest the disparity between environmental efforts made by Shell in countries like the United Kingdom, and the minuscule efforts and cleanup operations made in Nigeria. The comfortable living situations of oil industry employees in the field contrast greatly with the poverty of surrounding communities which rarely have electricity, clean drinking water, and basic health and education systems.

Mismanagement and neglect punish not only those in the southern delta region; they led to Nigeria's decline from the world's 33rd richest country to the 13th poorest. Insufficient oversight by the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) has resulted in the complete closure of three of the nation's four refineries. Thus the world's sixth-largest producer of oil is currently in the embarrassing situation of importing oil to meet its own needs.

## Who Is Responsible?

Regardless of the direct cause of the spill at Jesse, the incident tragically highlights the economic crisis in the region, now drastically compounded by the government's refusal to provide economic assistance and compensation for victims and their families. The NNPC, which operates the pipeline, has refused to accept responsibility for the crisis. The ex-

plorable in any way." Not only did it take the NNPC and oil companies too long to respond, but 44 days after the spill, a former Shell executive reported that oil was still leaking at the site. Adding insult to injury, dictator General Abubakar threatened to prosecute the victims for sabotage, a crime made punishable by death under the infamous late dictator, General Abacha. In this poverty stricken region, those robbed of profit from oil extracted under their feet can barely survive, yet those who dare try to obtain oil, even by capturing spilled crude, can be executed.

## What the Future Holds

The Nigerian military troops react violently to resistance: Last May, two peaceful protesters on a Chevron oil rig were killed by troops shooting out of a Chevron helicopter (see *EF! Journal*, September-October, 1998). The current shutdowns, which are creating heavy losses for Nigeria and its multinational oil corporations, are compounded by worldwide drops in oil prices, making the situation ripe for disaster. If the youths sustain the shutdowns, history shows that violent action by the military and oil corporations would not be surprising.

The legitimacy of Nigeria's transition plans to democracy are fundamentally tarnished by the continuing shutoffs and the reaction after the explosion. And a few hundred miles away, in Nigeria's neighbors Chad and Cameroon, a consortium of Exxon, Shell and Elf is planning a 650-mile-long pipeline to the Atlantic Ocean, possibly with substantial aid from the World Bank. With history as a guide, many predict that the devastation and economic inequality in Nigeria will spread in western Africa.

To get involved in the boycott Shell/Free Nigeria campaign, contact Essential Action at POB 19405, Washington, DC, 20036; (202) 387-8030; [action@essential.org](mailto:action@essential.org).

Monica Wilson is Boycott Shell/Free Nigeria project coordinator for Essential Action in Washington, DC.



# Home Depot: Spanked!

BY FLAMING ANGRY

As we all know too well, stories from the movement to protect the world's old-growth rainforests read a lot like the biblical tale of David and Goliath. Whether it's indigenous peoples and small communities at the point of destruction or bands of grassroots activists speaking out against the manufacturing and retailing of wood and paper products from the heart of our last remaining old-growth forests, the struggles call for an array of strong, sustained strategies and tactics to take down the corporate giants.

Home Depot is among the most hefty of retail Goliaths out there. Over \$8 billion of its \$24 billion in sales each year come from lumber and wood product sales, and it has a reputation for systematically seeking out and attempting to crush locally owned competition, often sprawl-malling into community open space and destroying vital ecosystems.

In addition to carrying plenty of irresponsibly harvested lumber products from private and public lands in the US, Home Depot is the world's largest retailer selling old-growth wood from rainforests around the world. Among the wide array of old-growth products the stores carry is lumber from the ancient temperate rainforests of British Columbia, mahogany doors and paneling from the Amazon, old-growth lauan plywood from Southeast Asia, and dowels and tool handles of the old-growth tropical wood ramin.

As the industry leader, Home Depot sets the tone for the rest of the lumber retail mega-giants, and scandalous as it is, claims to be an environmentally responsible company. If this Goliath were to change its evil ways and actually discontinue sales of old-growth products, the effect would ripple out through the rest of the industry.

So just how do you take on and conquer the largest do-it-yourself home improvement chain in the world, a company that is opening between three and eight new stores a week; a retail giant with plans to double its retail size in the next two years; a

company with the nerve to pledge to cease the sales of old-growth redwood and then admit a year later that *it never stopped and just said it would to "make the grassroots pressure stop!"* How? With a tenacious display of unrelenting grassroots pressure, that's how.

Home Depot got a dose of just that during the week of October 14, when rainforest activists across the US and in two Canadian provinces converged on local Home Depots. The week started with a big blow from *Time*. In



Activist locks down to the lauan display at a California Home Depot

a two-column piece called "Next Stop Home Depot," *Time* outlined for consumers of mainstream media the allegations against Home Depot and the activities planned against it that week.

Then the demos began! From Anchorage to Athens, from Hollywood, California to Hollywood, Florida, activists from local Rainforest Action Groups, the American Lands Alliance, Student Environmental Action Coalition and Free the Planet called on Home Depot founders Arthur Blank and Bernard Marcus to immediately phase out old-growth wood products. Activities ranged from small scale but powerful scenes in a few locations with petitions, postcards and educational materials to larger demonstrations and direct action.

The civil disobedience was neatly distributed across the country, with activists in Northern California, Iowa and New York locking down to displays of old-growth wood products at several locations within the store. Some stores even got hit twice, with

one local student group protesting in the morning and another in the afternoon. Some demonstrators took advantage of Home Depot's mascot "Homer," who was spotted in New York wielding a chainsaw.

The specifics of the demonstrations were complicated in some locations by the fact that, in recent years, Home Depot and other sprawl-mall tenants have attempted an end run around the US Constitution and our freedom of speech. Perhaps in anticipation of protests and objections to their activities, Home Depot, Wal-Mart and others have gone out of their way to get sidewalks, parking lots, crosswalks and all areas around their stores designated private property to restrict public access. Home Depot wants protesters to stand in desig-

headquarters. The company called for a series of emergency meetings with suppliers to address the issue of its questionable supply.

Protests and great local media coverage continued through the weekend, and just when the company caught its breath, the volume was pumped up considerably by activists from the Rainforest Action Network, Action Resource Center and Katuah Earth First! who hit the Atlanta headquarters with a banner hang off a crane used to construct the latest expansion. Five amazing activists held the crane from before dawn through early afternoon, captivating Georgia media, which hasn't seen too many direct actions on that scale. Home Depot's official response? Supposedly it is addressing its wood procurement and promises to phase out all old-growth rainforest products by the end of the year.

Forest activists around the US are not holding their breath, especially since Home Depot has broken promises before. Instead, groups are digging their heels in deeper. With over 700 locations and counting, there are plenty of opportunities to slam the message home that the citizens of the planet demand a real policy, one with teeth that will protect old-growth rainforests.



RAN and EF! climbers drop a banner off a crane at Home Depot headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia.

nated free speech boxes, put up a \$50 deposit and give 48-hours notice to the store manager. Armed with a recent Supreme Court case in which protesters were given the right to exercise their free speech within shopping center property limits, student groups braved security and police at Home Depot locations, waved the court case and held their ground. At some locations they were ejected off the property or banished to the far ends of the parking lot.

Meanwhile there was some serious scrambling going on at Home Depot

The campaign is a heartwarming display of what is possible when strong student and community activists work in coalition to take down an industry giant. But the Goliath has not fallen yet. What we need is more of the same, plus a dose of action from the wild EF! community to further take them to task. It is only a matter of time so join in and help us with the final heave.

For more information contact Rainforest Action Network at 221 Pine St., #500, San Francisco, CA 94104; (415) 398-4404; rags@ran.org.

## CONSUMER PRODUCT DIVERSITY SURPASSES BIODIVERSITY

For the first time in history, the rich array of consumer products available in malls and supermarkets surpasses the number of living species populating the planet. According to an Environmental Protection Agency study conducted in conjunction with the United Nations Task Force on Global Developmental Impact, consumer-product diversity now exceeds biodiversity.

"Last year's introduction of Dentyne Ice Cinnamon gum, right on the heels of the extinction of the Carolina tufted hen, put product diversity on top for the first time," study chair Donald Hargrove said. "Today, the Procter & Gamble subphylum alone outnumbers insects two to one."

The sharp rise in consumer-product diversity, with more than 200 million new purchasing options since 1993, comes as welcome news for those upset over the dwindling number of plant and animal species.

"Though flora and fauna are dwindling, the spectrum of goods available to consumers is wider than at any time in planetary history. And that's some-

thing we can all be happy about," Hargrove said.

Scientists call the current decrease in biodiversity one of the worst episodes of mass extinction in Earth's history. The rate at which species are currently vanishing approaches that of the "K-T Event" that ended the age of dinosaurs 65 million years ago and resulted in a loss of 76 percent of the world's species. Read the EPA report: "The planet Earth stands on the brink of one of the most devastating global extinctions in history. By the year 2040, nearly two-thirds of all current species will be extinct. Rainforest habitats that were once lush canopies of life, sustaining millions of highly specialized and interdependent species of plants and animals, have been reduced by upwards of 95 percent in some areas."

"Any healthy system needs diversification in order to flourish," University of Chicago biologist Jonathan Grogan said. "Any complex system, whether we are talking about the Amazon rainforest or the Mall of America, needs a rich array of species/products if it is to survive. That is why, in light of the crumbling

global ecosystem, it is increasingly vital that we foster the diversification of the global marketplace by buying the widest range of consumer products possible."

"The extinction of the Borneo hooded tern was an indirect result of the disappearance of the native species of sea snails upon which it fed," Grogan continued. "This kind of vicious cycle, once begun, is impossible to contain. Fortunately, though, the process can function the same way in reverse: The successful introduction of a new item can lead to additional items later on. For example, the proliferation of Love My Carpet-brand carpet cleaner in hall closets across America would not have been possible without the introduction of the affordable, easy-to-use Hoover 5.0 upright vacuum cleaner. And thus, the cycle of life goes on."

"When a species vanishes, the world loses not only that species, but the wide range of highly specialized physical and biochemical functions that species served. These ecological losses necessitate the creation of new, synthetic products capable of serving the same functions," according to science writer David Quammen. "So, for example, when we lose a strain of microbe that filters the water we drink, we compensate by developing the amazing Brita water filter, with its patented filtration technology.

# REI® SELLS ITS SOUL

BY SCOTT SILVER

Why is the outdoor retailing giant Recreational Equipment Inc. (REI) being hammered? What could this friend of "muscle powered recreation" possibly have done to cause Earth Firsters, Sierra Clubbers, sporting groups, religious leaders, typical Janes/Joes and even a retired National Park supervisor to actively picket REI stores? Why are REI members all around the West tearing up their membership cards and returning them with letters of protest?

Because REI has sold out. Or more accurately, because they've bought in! Bought in to the vision that there are enormous profits to be garnered by allowing public lands to fall prey to industrial strength recreation. (See *EF!* Mar.-Apr. '98, Sept.-Oct. '97.)

REI has joined the stampede of corporate interests racing to stake their claims on the new "wreckreation" frontier. While the vast majority of these modern day forty-niners are resort developers, concessionaires, and those who make, use or sell motorized thrill craft, there are a few exceptions, most notably REI and the Walt Disney Company.

While REI is by no means the worst villain amongst this unholy cabal, it is however amongst the most vulnerable. The other companies with whom REI and Disney are in cahoots, companies such as Harley Davidson, Outdoor Marine Corporation and Marathon Coach, care not when a bunch of environmentalists say: "We won't buy motorcycles, outboard motors or RVs from you!" But things get more interesting when thousands of us tell REI, "We're going to buy backpacks and hiking boots elsewhere until you quit cavorting with our enemies!"

Since October 10, seven REI stores have been picketed by locally organized protests in California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The most recent of these was held on October 31 in Seattle, where activists spent a rainy Saturday marching outside REI's flagship store, handing out literature and telling their story to the media.

REI claimed in its news release, "Because REI supports the concept of user-fees, we've been targeted for the protest."

REI's right. We targeted it, in part, because of the user-fee issue, but we did not target it because they support the "concept" of user-fees. We targeted REI because they helped create the user-fee program, helped sell it to reactionary congress people who eventually authorized the program, and because

REI is actively marketing and promoting the program to the American public.

During one Boise, Idaho, TV station's coverage of the October 10 protest, the local store manager spoke REI's we-support-the-user-fee-concept message while the following text scrolled across TV screens in thousands of homes:

"We are proud to say the American Recreation Coalition (ARC) and the Recreation Roundtable, a related group of recreation-industry CEOs, have invested heavily in staff and member time in helping the federal agencies covered by the fee demonstration program with project-level and national support and advice on sound fee programs. We have arranged for top marketing and communications executives from Disney, REI and other companies to work with the Enterprise Forest fee team in the design and implementation of that project; we have assisted more than a dozen additional Forest Service fee sites with specific communications efforts, enabling them to reach the general public and likely visitors with fee program information prior to arrival."

If there remains any doubt that REI and Disney are the actual perpetrators of the recreation fee program then consider the following quotation taken from a recent letter to Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman from the Recreation Roundtable:

"We are very pleased that the National Recreation Fee Demonstration, which is the direct results of our efforts..."

That letter was signed by REI's chairman of the board and by top executives from Disney, Harley Davidson, Outdoor Marine Corporation, Marathon Coach and the other recreation industry powerhouses that make up ARC's Recreation Roundtable.

REI is being hammered by environmentalists and non-motorized recreationists because it is selling the environment down the river while pursuing an agenda designed to facilitate maximal sales of recreation products and services. We have not called for a boycott of REI over the user-fee issue alone. We're doing so because REI is adversely meddling in a wide range of public land issues of critical importance to

the preservation of wildlands and wilderness values.

This summer REI worked with Senator Slade Gorton to sneak an anti-wilderness rider onto a "must pass" budget bill. REI is currently brokering highly controversial compromises with the motorized recreation community on the new Continental Divide Trail. REI and the other Recreation Roundtable members regularly meet with top-level government officials to develop national policies and strategies that affect all Americans.

And finally, we are hammering REI to commemorate its receipt of Vice President Al Gore's "Golden Hammer for taxpayer savings and government effi-



Freddies sportin' the logo of their new found sponsor at a protest against user fees

ciency." As part of Gore's "Re-Inventing Government" program, in which federal agencies are taught to act like multinational corporate thugs, the Seattle-based Federal Outdoor Recreation Information Center was relocated from public facilities into REI's store. The new information center has been situated in the most inaccessible recesses of the second floor ensuring that anyone coming to purchase a user-fee permit must first traverse the entire store. For REI, the benefits of this private/public partnership are obvious. The user-fee program brings in thousands of new customers each month, customers who came to purchase a permit and picked up a fleece or tent along the way.

As the recreation gold rush begins, companies such as REI are cutting deals with corrupt politicians and avaricious bureaucrats. Everyone in these backroom meetings understands that there are enormous profits to be made through commercializing, privatizing and motorizing America's public lands.

We are picketing REI to hurt them financially. If we can remove the profit motive from public land management, then we stand some small chance of protecting our public lands from the hostile takeover plans of corporate raiders and guileful carpetbaggers.

Scott Silver is executive director of Wild Wilderness. He has been fighting for undeveloped recreation since 1991 and can be reached at 248 NW Wilmington Ave., Bend, OR 97701; (541) 385-5261; <http://www.wildwilderness.org>.

## Wolves & Poodles

A litter of severely inbred bastard poodles in blue masquerading as pepper-spraying pit bulls to the Eureka, California, Police Department who win the Milk-bonehead of the year award for its stellar performance in handling a serial killer who recently turned himself in. The cops chased the killer out of the station the first time he came in, barking at him to get out and not return. The erstwhile killer had to go home and fetch a woman's breast he was saving in a zip-lock bag and bring it back before they would listen to him.

A spewing poodle to the city of Dallas, Oregon, for planning to use a grove of poplar trees to suck up the sewage and industrial waste it wants to spew on the community. The city plans to spray the trees with wastewater from a computer circuit board factory. It contends the trees will suck ammonia and nitrogen from the ground "like 100-foot soda straws" by metabolizing the compounds in their wood and will keep the heavy metals and salts fixed in place in the soil.

A dipped in green, yuppie scum of a poodle showing its true colors to the Nature Conservancy for planning to develop ecologically sensitive wetlands in Virginia. The conservancy told buyers of the homes-to-be that they will be able to enjoy the protected waterfront and marshes "like members of a country club."

A back-stabbing, cringing Judas of a poodle to the US Forest Service for selling-out to Honda, which supplied the Freddies with funds and equipment and then convinced Forest Service officials to allow an annual dirt bike race on a 204-mile course through the San Bernardino National Forest in California.



A fist in the air, no compromise, wrench-wielding Hayduke memorial wolf to Guy Jerome Weber for driving a 30,000-pound dozer into Flathead Reservoir, Montana. Weber stole the machine and drove it toward the city docks, swigging beer and throwing the cans out along the road. He proceeded to drive the machine into the water at full throttle. When a passerby stopped and asked him why he did it, Weber responded, "Because it fit."

A flower power, "No Nukes" t-shirt wearing wolf to the German government for putting an end to the country's nuclear power program. The new coalition government gave the energy utilities 12 months to propose how and when to completely shutdown 19 nuclear reactors.

A camera-toting, sunglass-wearing, tuxedo-clad Underwolf to activist videographers Tim Lewis and Undercurrents director Dylan Howitt for recently winning respected film festival awards. Lewis' documentary, "The Last Ancient Forests" and Dylan Howitt's, "The Celtic Enemy" won high awards. Pleasantly surprised, Lewis, who had never before entered his work in a festival, commented, "I never had the postage money before."

An unassisted, Houdiniesque wolf on the run to the two monkeys still on the loose after the largest monkey jailbreak in history. Twenty-four rhesus monkeys broke out of a research facility at Tulane University's Primate Center completely by themselves. The center uses 4,500 monkeys to study cancer, malaria, leprosy and AIDS.

A howling, wild and free wolf to the champions of the new Opal Creek, Oregon, Wilderness Area. On November 9, the final papers were signed and 28,000 acres were protected, with 12,800 acres in a Scenic Recreation Area. The ten-year battle finally ended in peace for the ancient forest.



# Willamette Chip Mill Shut Down

BY MELISSA PFEFFER AND PETER CHOWLA

In response to poor forestry practices, toxic releases, insensitivity to communities and destruction of regional forestry economies, Pennsylvania activists in the Allegheny National Forest region have mobilized to fight chip mills in the Eastern US that continue to gobble up the already cut over forests. With the support of activists from around the country, the only access road to the Keystone Chip Mill, operated by Willamette Industries, was blockaded on October 20. Two students held the blockade for half a day, while the rest of the 30 demonstrators were moved off Willamette property. The action coincided with Forest Products Week, declared by Pennsylvania's anti-environment governor, Tom Ridge.

The demonstrators charged the property before dawn, carrying a 30-foot metal tripod that they stealthily erected in the darkness before the opening of the mill. Log trucks had already begun lining up at the gate, but the activists continued with their plan despite disagreements with the truck drivers. Once the tripod was up and the two students had locked down to it, the demonstration commenced with chants and songs.

One student sat in a climber's harness atop the tripod. Another U-locked her neck to the front leg. The courageous activists held this position for more than six hours while state troopers, county sheriffs, log trucks and the three chip mill employees lined up outside. The activists refused to leave despite threats from angry truck drivers and employees.

"I have an open mind, but I am a man of convictions," said the tripod sitter, when talking with a representative from Willamette who came to the site. "There are things I am willing to go to great heights to achieve." This was the first tripod erected in

the Allegheny National Forest region. The action followed closely on the heels of the first civil disobedience in the region several months earlier at a regional Forest Service office. This time the multinational corporate giant was hit by several demonstrations throughout the country in the weeks preceding and following this action, including a demonstration at their headquarters in Oregon.

The activists, largely students from Pennsylvania but including forest activists from as far away as Oregon and Montana, held the demonstration in support of the growing national resistance to corporate monsters such as Willamette. Raising a banner demanding, "Willamette: Stop Devouring Our Forests and Our Fu-



Log trucks backed up after activists said no more

ture," the demonstrators showed their support of local residents who have fought the chip mill as a bad neighbor for two years now.

The level of tension and antagonism between people opposed to logging in the Allegheny region and those in support of it is extremely high. Many residents perceive that their economy will take a big hit without logging on public lands. But the activists from the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), the Native Forest Network and Allegheny Earth First! had a decidedly Zero Cut agenda in mind. "The nation's forests are far more valuable ecologically and economically, stand-

## First-Ever Tripod in the Allegheny

ing and growing where they are, rather than being liquidated for short-term gain," said Jake Kreilick of the Native Forest Network, one of the demonstrators on site.

The overriding message of the day, however, was about chip mills. There

start when, one enraged truck driver began threatening videographers with a crowbar.

As morning turned into day, the log trucks were forced to turn around because there were no signs that the protesters planned to leave. Several trucks dumped their loads on the side of the road before leaving. The sight of log trucks leaving buoyed the spirit of the protesters, but they were careful to indicate that they did not want to hurt or target the drivers of the trucks. It is Willamette they are after.

While the demonstrators were forced to move to the easement of the highway, the two activists who were locked down to the tripod stayed, as did two people who were providing them with direct support. Finally, at around 11:30

a.m., after long negotiations with the authorities, the two agreed to leave the site. They were arrested shortly thereafter and charged with criminal trespass, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct.

The escalation of tactics in the area highlights the growing demand for Zero Cut on public lands, as well as increasing public concern over the health of the forests. Confrontations are expected to increase as Earth First!ers and SEACers vowed to take further action against Willamette.

The forest has had major victories in the past few months. Due to the discovery of a small population of the endangered Indiana bat in the area, logging will be at least temporarily stopped on the entire national forest. Members of the Allegheny Defense Project and student supporters have pressed this issue against the wishes of the Fredgies and have forced the shutdown. They are now planning strategies to make the logging moratorium permanent.

For more information contact Jim Kleissler at the Allegheny Defense Project, POB 245, Clarion, PA 16214; (814) 764-5763; adp@envirolink.org; www.envirolink.org/orgs/adp.



Sunrise greeting for Willamette

are over 140 chip mills in operation in the Northeast today, with over 100 of them built in the last eight years. The Keystone chip mill produces wood chips which are either turned into paper pulp or used to make particleboard or other wood by-products.

Each of Willamette's chip mills employs only six people. Susan Curry, a

forest activist with the Allegheny Defense Project in Clarion, PA, said that is too few new jobs to trade for the public's forests. "Outfits like Keystone Chipping typically have a local life span of only a few years," Curry said, "after which they disappear, leaving the resource base in shambles and future generations without clean water, abundant wildlife or quality recreation."

Many of the people on site did not agree with the environmental activists. With as many as eight logging trucks, police cruisers and pickup trucks backed up along the road, the loggers and employees had plenty of time to express their opinions. Their attitude was pretty clear from the

## SOMETHING FISHY AT THE DEPARTMENT

Special agents within the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) report obstruction of criminal investigations by agency managers, political domination of agency decision-making and wide agreement that their agency's law enforcement program is getting weaker and doing a poor job protecting wildlife, according to a new national survey released by Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER). USFWS special agents are charged with enforcing the Endangered Species Act, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act and all other federal laws governing hunting and interstate transportation of wildlife. Of the roughly 200 agents nationwide, 61 percent responded to the PEER survey.

More than half of the agents related a first-hand experience with managers interfering "with an investigation in order to protect a prominent individual or powerful group." One third of agents report instances of managers having "compromised ongoing investigations by contacting the target" to cut a deal limiting or excusing liability. More than three-quarters (81 percent) say agency "managers overseeing investigations often inject political considerations into what should be strictly law enforcement decisions."

"The special agents of the US Fish and Wildlife Service are the thin green line protecting wild animals, native fish and plants from illegal exploitation

and extinction," stated PEER executive director Jeff Ruch. "In this survey, federal wildlife agents are indicting the corruption of their own agency's leadership."

More than 95 percent of respondents agree that expenditures and staffing are not sufficient to fulfill the agency's "wildlife protection mission," have not "kept pace with the needs of wildlife protection," and are not on a par "with the growth in other USFWS programs." More than three-quarters of agents feel that the USFWS leadership does not adequately support law enforcement while similar numbers say that "hunting groups exercise disproportionate influence" over agency decision-making. Only five percent of agents think that USFWS law enforcement is improving while nearly three-quarters think it is getting worse. As one agent in the survey wrote, "Increasingly, we look the other way at violations as we realize nothing will be done by our supervisors."

The survey also reflects a deep alienation between agents and agency leaders. More than 60 percent fear "job-related retaliation for raising concerns" about agency problems and less than 10 percent say that morale is "good." "Law enforcement professionals of the US Fish and Wildlife Service are warning the agency is headed in the wrong direction, for the wrong reasons and with the wrong people in charge," added Ruch. "Field agents are given suspensions from work for speaking out on the truth of the resource issues. This division has gone from agents who believe in protecting the resource to agents protecting themselves."

— PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

# How to Spin the Media...

The EFJ proudly presents part two of Brit George Monbiot's witty and instructive piece on how to exploit the media before it exploits you!

BY GEORGE MONBIOT

## How to Deal with Journalists who Come to Your Action

The whole media-exploitation process is about news management. This is just as much the case once journalists get to the action as when you're trying to attract them. You've got to give the best possible account of what you're doing and provide the clearest possible explanation of why you're doing it. This means:

- Make sure the right people talk to the journalists. Different people do different things best. Some are brilliant at building treehouses or digging shit pits but not much good at being charming to the running dogs of the counter-revolution. Some people will have just dropped a tab of acid or have last night's vomit stuck in their hair. This won't endear them to journalists who, in most cases, will be having enough trouble crossing the cultural divide as it is.

- Be careful, but don't come across as suspicious. Some of them will be there to help you, others will be there to get you. Sometimes the ones out to get you will pretend to be out to help you. The only real safeguards are to know who they all are and who they work for. Some journalists are notorious for dissing the movement. You should find out who the dodgy ones are before the action so you'll know to be ultra-careful if they turn up. Be friendly towards them, whoever they are. Bite your lip. Don't put their backs up even if you hate the bastards.

- Be a tour guide. Take them round the site, show them what you want them to see and steer them away from what you don't want them to see. Introduce them to the people who'll get on well with them, and keep them away from the people who won't be able to restrain their contempt.

- Be ready to deal with the ones who don't turn up. However good your publicity, lots of journalists won't be able to make it but might still be interested. They'll want to know what's happening and how things are going so there should be at least one person on site with a mobile phone (whose number has been posted on the press release). Journalists are suckers for on-the-spot reports, so when they ring put some excitement into your voice.

## Being Interviewed

Interviews and studio discussions are a bloodsport, and you, the interviewee, are one of the combatants. People watch or listen to them in the earnest hope that one or other of the participants will be gored to death. Like any other fight, you win not through brute force but through skill. And, like any other sport, there are rules you have to follow.

- Practice is absolutely critical. If you haven't done many interviews before, get someone to pretend to be the interviewer and give you a hard time a day or two before you go on. Find out which parts of your technique need brushing up.

- Be informed. This is the golden rule. Remember, this is an information war, and the best warriors are the ones with the best information. Don't go into a studio unless you know your subject better than the person you're up against. Make sure your information is reliable and stands up to critical examination.

- Be calm. However much the issue or your opponent winds you up, you mustn't let it show. Generally the calmest person is the one whom the audi-

ence sees as the winner. Your passion and enthusiasm must be tightly controlled and mustn't, repeat mustn't, spill over into anger. If necessary, take a deep breath before answering the question and be polite but firm.

- Be concise. Have a maximum of three main lines of argument. Any more and both you and the audience will get lost. It's amazing how little time you get. Say exactly what you want to say in as few words as possible with clarity and determination at the beginning of the interview. Summarise the issue in just one or two sentences before expanding on your theme.

- Finish your point. If the interviewer tries to interrupt you before you've made an important point say, "Just a moment" or, "If you'd let me finish." Be assertive without being rude. Turn hostile questions to good account by dealing with the question quickly and then moving onto what you want to talk about. A good way is to agree with part

***"Make sure the right people talk to the journalists. Different people do different things best. Some are brilliant at building treehouses or digging shit pits but not much good at being charming to the running dogs of the counter-revolution."***

of the question and then show that it's not the whole story, "Yes, of course human welfare is critically important, but that doesn't mean we should neglect animal welfare. At the moment, x percent of all dairy cows die before they're six years old because of the terrible conditions they're kept in." Or, alternatively, you may deliberately misinterpret the question. "You're quite right, there were a lot of undesirable elements at the protest. In fact, there's an urgent need to regulate the security industry properly. Do you know that a lot of security guards have criminal records for violent assault? It's symptomatic of the whole road-building industry: They don't care what they do or who they do it to." Always bring your answer back around to the point.

- Leave your notes behind. If what you want to say isn't in your head, you shouldn't be in the studio.

- Project. You're not having a casual chat. Put more emphasis into your voice than you'd put in a normal conversation. It might sound strange but if you don't, you'll sound flat and boring. TV and radio are all brightness and colour, and you must sound bright and colourful to make an impact. If you can do it without making it sound frivolous or irrelevant, a bit of humour can help a lot to win your audience over. Gently satirising your opponent's position is often quite effective.

- Don't hate your opponent—perhaps the hardest task of all, but absolutely necessary. If you allow yourself to hate them, you'll lose your cool, lose focus and lose public sympathy. Regard your oppo-

nent as someone who has been misled and needs to be told the truth. Think of your role as being to put them right, rather than to put them down.

## Following Up

- Keep up your contacts. Write down the names and numbers of all the journalists you meet, and make a brief note of what they're like and how they treat the subject. Keep the sympathetic ones informed about your campaign. Share your contact lists and experiences with people in other campaigns: It could help them a lot.

## Complaining

Activists are treated unfairly by the press more often than any other group of people except people of color, the poor and asylum seekers. The reasons are not hard to divine: We challenge powerful vested interests, we are prepared to break the law and, above all, we can be discussed collectively without any fear of libel, as we do not belong to

incorporated organisations. So, for example, the *New York Times* could claim that "eco-terrorist" tree-sitters booby-trapped buildings, attacked guards with catapults and crossbows and dug pitfall traps full of metal stakes, safe in the knowledge that, as long as no one was named, no one could sue, even though the whole story is bullshit. But if it makes the same allegations about security guards it would get its pants sued off by the company.

Redressing bullshit stories is difficult, time-consuming and often very frustrating, but sometimes it works so it's worth trying, even if it ends in failure. If we don't try the media will keep doing the same thing again and again. Here are the options:

- If you know a lawyer who's prepared to work for free and the case is a clearcut one, it is worth sending a threatening letter. If it's sufficiently convincing, it might prompt the paper or program to issue an apology and settle out of court, and a few thousand quid for your cause never goes amiss. Don't try it without a lawyer; they'll just laugh it off.

- Write a letter for publication. Make sure it's short, pertinent and not personally insulting.

Humour and irony are particularly useful weapons. It is a very long shot but, if you've got good writing skills, see if you can persuade the editorial page editor to let you write a column.

- If you can bear to, talk to the journalist who dissed you. Be ultra-reasonable and put your case calmly and clearly. Just occasionally, she or he will relent and write a follow-up piece, putting right your side of the story.

All campaigning is hard work, and exploiting the media is just as hard as any other aspect. We've tended to neglect it in the past and then wonder why no one comes to our actions. Our movement needs specialist media workers just as much as it needs specialist tree-climbers. The more there are, the more clearly our message will come across, and the more people will be attracted to our cause. This is how small rumblings turn into earthquakes. The revolution will be televised, but that doesn't mean that it won't also be live.



# ...Before It Spins You, Part II

# MINNEHAHA'S CAMP TWO PINES:

## "TWICE AS LONG AS WACO!" PROUD SQUATTERS REPORT

BY TUMBLEWEED

Winter has arrived, and we here at the Minnehaha Free State are digging in. As we approach our four-month anniversary of standing in the way of the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT), we have the memories of many victories to keep our spirits warm.

On October 27, "Sagebrush" and "Julio" rappelled off the top of a ten-story parking garage in downtown Minneapolis to unfurl a 90-foot-long banner that read: "City Council: Our Friends Are Dying to Stop the 55 Reroute. Hunger Strike Day 13." Even though the crazy length prevented the banner from unfurling completely, the media still got the message. The banner was dropped across the street from City Hall to make sure the City Council did too. Both climbers and two ground

The movement that we have built in the Twin Cities around this campaign is amazing. Earth First!ers from the free state have spoken out at police brutality demonstrations, Free-Mumia marches, anti-war rallies and often ride in monthly Critical Mass demonstrations that usually end at our camp. We have also had speakers at the National Lawyers Guild dinner and rallied in support of Yellowstone buffalo. In turn, activists from these movements have come to our aid by showing up when the police attack us and by coming to our demos. There is a huge potential in this town for a mass movement, revolutionary in words and deeds, to succeed. In the words of one local anti-war activist, "Every struggle is connected. When we come together for everyone else's campaigns, we will win." We hope that the connections we have made will be a catalyst for a larger, urban-based anti-road movement.

We have not forgotten our roots in wilderness defense, for we believe that reclaiming our streets and revitalizing the cities will result in less sprawl and less suburbanization of the population. We are also gearing up for possible campaigns in the Big Woods of northern Minnesota, but that's another story. We need your help! Please send cold weather gear, climbing gear, cash and good vibes! Activists are needed here so please come to Minneapolis to hang out with our band of

happy, ragged folk. We've got good food and lots of space. We have built a community of resistance to the dominant paradigm. Our camp is a blockader's playground, with new and experimental lockdowns devised weekly.

Call Governor Jesse Ventura's transition office at



Spirit rider arrives at Camp Two Pines, Minnehaha Liberated Zone.

photo by Tom Taylor

supporters were arrested and held for the day, but the charges against all were eventually dropped. Soon after, the hunger-striking affinity group announced the end of their strike.

During the first week of November, the free state played host to ten activists on horseback taking part in a 150-mile-long Spirit Ride that began in Birch Coulee and ended here at the four sacred trees used by the Mendota Mdewakanton for ceremonies. As they rode over the Mendota Bridge into our camp the riders brought traffic to a halt, certainly a beautiful sight for all in this anti-road campaign to behold.

November also saw Reform Party candidate Jesse "The Body" Ventura elected governor of Minnesota (yes, the same man who wrestled Hulk Hogan on Sunday afternoons is now going to grapple with the problems of running a state). His old high school is right down the street. Many in the Stop the Reroute campaign feel increased public pressure might prompt Ventura to come out against the project, and point out the puns and street theater possibilities are endless. (Jesse—don't wrestle with the truth!)

Members of the community continue to support us by donating cold weather gear, wood for our squatter stoves and by raising their voices at forums, which has caused one MnDOT official to complain about having to attend meetings where "everyone hates me." Over 100 people attended the Thanksgiving feast at the free state.

Unfortunately, the news isn't all good. The powers that be succeeded in taking the last tenant's house out from under her, and Carol's dream of spending her golden years in her home has been crushed by the greedmongers at MnDOT. On December 9 we are helping her pack and move. We've heard rumors that MnDOT will attempt to break up our camp on December 10, our four-month anniversary. We are preparing for that day by asking the community to help us defend the homes and the trees. Our removal from the houses would only be the first step, the trees would come next. We will be there to stand in the way.



Jim Anderson performs a smudge ceremony to welcome the Spirit Riders.

photo by Tom Taylor

(651) 297-9500 and tell him to stop the reroute of highway 55. Donations can be sent to MNRAG c/o Big Woods Earth First! at POB 580936, Minneapolis, MN 55458. The Big Woods Earth First! hotline is (612) 362-3387. The free state phone number is (612) 728-0595. Check out the awesome web site documenting our four months here at: [www.freenet.msp.mn.us/stop55](http://www.freenet.msp.mn.us/stop55). We also encourage you to organize anti-road actions in your neck of the woods. Like the little bunny says "You're next!"

## In Defense of the Sacred

BY JIM ANDERSON, WITH BOB GREENBERG

My name is Mahpiya-duta (Red Sky) Jim Anderson. I am the cultural chair of the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota community. If it were not for Earth First!, a huge part of our culture would still be missing. The Earth First! occupation of Camp Two Pines has changed the Mendota Dakota people's lives forever.

In August, my tahanshi, Michael Scott said Earth First!er Bob Greenberg told my uncle Bob Brown, tribal chair of the Mdewakanton people, about some trees and a spring sacred to our ancestors that were to going to be destroyed by the reroute of highway 55. A few days later when we went to the Sundance at Pipestone, Minnesota, my relatives told me more about this place and why I needed to protect it.

The day after we came home, I received a phone call from my aunt Linda saying the bulldozers were coming. "Tahanshi, we gotta go!" I yelled to Michael from the porch to his bedroom window. "We gotta go where?" my cousin replied. "Down to Hiawatha," I said. He said, "MnDOT does whatever they want, when they want, where they want, and you're crazy if you think we can stop them." But soon we were in the van. We arrived at camp and were greeted by Earth First!ers. At sundown we all went to the trees for a pipe ceremony. As I carried my bundle between the South and East trees I heard faint chanting. I asked Michael if he had heard the chanting, if he had been playing a tape or something, but that wasn't it. At that moment I knew this wonderful place was sacred and had to be saved.

*Mendota* means meeting of the waters. At this confluence, where the Mississippi meets the Minnesota is Pike Island. This is the center of our universe, where our creation story is from. You could say it was our Eden. Any interruption of the natural flow of this spring interrupts the spirit of the water, the spirit of this sacred place. It is the only thing we have left of our culture. We are tied to what our people did in this area. For MnDOT to say that these places are not sacred is a goddamn shame, and a goddamn lie. It is the dwelling place of Unktehi the spirit of the underground, and the spring's flow to the river is his route to Pike Island where the world began. This water is *mni wichoni*, which means giver of life. We know that this water is medicine, and this area is sacred to our people.

The four ancient sacred trees we talk about are in the center of this proposed reroute. These four trees represent the four colors of man and the four directions. This is how we have always prayed. We have had many ceremonies at these trees, and our elders tell us that they were used as death scaffolds by our relatives. The spirits of five of our relatives are still in this area because they were not repatriated into the ground correctly, with ceremony. They are what called us back to this area to save these sacred sites.

Along with Earth First!, we honor all of grandmother Earth. As I write on the 103rd day of the occupation, we still stand firm against MnDOT's wrecking machine. This has changed my life. In the name of the sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman, we need to save these sites for future generations, for the good and well being of all nations. *Aho! Pidamiya, kodas.*

# The Pumice Among Us: Mining San Francisco Peaks

BY FAITH AND ROXANE

The San Francisco Mountains ascend gracefully from the redrock splendor of the Colorado Plateau into vanilla-scented, yellow-bellied ponderosa forests of legend, from pinon-juniper woodlands through a trinity of life zones, all the way to alpine tundra, home of the endangered *Senecio franciscanus*. Because of these glorious sky islands, the desert state of Arizona contains six of the world's eight major plant communities. The range of forests and alpine tundra provides important habitat for many species of plants, insects, mammals and birds, including the endangered Mexican spotted owl. These are the mountains where C. Hart Merriam (the biologist named after the Merriam shrew) developed his life zones theory, relating altitude to latitude. Almost every Native American tribe in the region has long held these mountains sacred. And like most places of great beauty and ecological importance in the West, the San Francisco Mountains are threatened by a variety of development and extractive activities.

One of the most heinous of these activities is mining. On November 4, in a surprising move, the US Forest Service published a notice of proposed withdrawal from mining on northern Arizona's San Francisco Peaks. If approved, no new mining claims could be filed on the 74,380 acres of Coconino



The hideous White Vulcan Pumice Mine

Photo by L. S. Scala

***"And like most places of great beauty and ecological importance in the West, the San Francisco Mountains are threatened by a variety of development and extractive activities."***

National Forest land that encompasses the peaks, and existing claims would be subject to a two-year review process to determine which are legitimate.

The Forest Service, which controls

the land surface, cooperated with the BLM, which controls mineral rights, to craft this landmark proposal because, they say, they wish to protect endangered flora and fauna and mini-

## "I'M A KANGAROO"

The following is from statements given at the Southampton Zoning Board of Appeals on August 27 by novelist Kurt Vonnegut and writer/director Andre Gregory to protest the construction of a 66,000-square-foot home by Ira L. Rennert, a New York businessman. Rennert's home is being built in Sagaponack, New York, on 63 acres. It will have 29 bedrooms, 39 bathrooms, a 10,000-square-foot playhouse, a 6,000-gallon underground oil tank, a 2,500-gallon propane tank and a kitchen with a 1,500-gallon grease-trap. Rennert claims it meets zoning board regulations because it is a "single-family house."

**Kurt Vonnegut:** I'm a novelist. I have lived in a house in Sagaponack for 22 years. The house appears on the map in 1739. I restored the house. When I moved here, I had no idea how pliable the town government was. And how humorless, that it would look at a plan for a dwelling this huge, just visually, obviously not a one-family house and call it a one-family house. It

will destroy Sagaponack for me, where I have worked and lived very happily. It will cut off use of the waterfront. Such an enormous establishment does not belong between us and the water. And so I'll be leaving. Thank you. One more thing. I'm not a human being. I'm a kangaroo.

**Andre Gregory:** I'm a writer and a filmmaker. When I first came here many years ago, Sagaponack was a one-family community. It was a community of farmers, friends and artists, who had in common that they truly, truly loved Sagaponack. They loved the land.

What is happening here can never be turned back, if it happens. I beg you, I beg you, as a fellow human being—I'm not a kangaroo, I'm another human being—I beg you. Don't do this. We can never go back. Shame is a terrible, terrible feeling. Let us please not be ashamed that we have done this. Thank you.

—REPRINTED FROM HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

mize the "visual degradation" that affects tourism and the tribes. The Arizona Office of Historic Places is working with tribes and the Forest Service to list the San Francisco Peaks in the National Historic Register as a traditional cultural property. This designation would increase protection of the peaks and potentially throw a wrench into the expansion plans of Snowbowl, the wicked ski resort. Though all of this is a victory for the mountains and those of us who work to protect them, the Forest Service around here is not exactly famous for its iron will and unwavering determination to do the right thing, so lots of public support will be essential.

Because the Forest Service issued no warning of the proposed withdrawal, there was no scrambling by mining companies to initiate activity on their claims, and so it's likely that most of the 60 claims will be denied because they've been inactive or don't have a marketable mineral. During the two-year withdrawal, an environmental analysis will be undertaken to determine whether or not to close all or part of the area to mining for 20 years, the maximum amount of time that



land can be withdrawn. After this, the withdrawal could be renewed. Asked why the proposal is important, Faith Walker, of the Offspring of Human Parents Recovery Group, quoted a famous environmentalist, stating, "It's the peaks!"

Angels are singing on high because the proposal could mangle at least some of the plans of Tufflite, the company from Glendale, Arizona, that runs the White Vulcan Pumice Mine on the peak's eastern slope and has been a scourge in Flagstaff since its claims were filed in 1953. This mine is the perfect poster child for everything wrong with the 1872 Mining Law. Tufflite has 320 acres of mining claims, many of which will be void if the proposal is accepted. Ninety of these acres are the towering pumice piles of the White Vulcan Mine. Tufflite excavates down 70 feet to reach pumice of proper size for stone-washed jeans.

Tufflite's White Vulcan Mine has, incredibly, been working without an accepted Operating Plan (OP) for 10 years. Mining companies are required to submit an OP to the Forest Service for approval. For some reason, the Forest Service received the OP but did not bother to accept it, and so it has allowed the company to mine illegally for a decade. The mine has been cited for violations of the Clean Water Act, is being sued by the federal government for its refusal to pay the Forest Service for the pumice that is too small to stone-wash jeans with, it has destroyed at least six archaeological sites and has a horrible reclamation record. When asked about this company, Roxane George, of the Flagstaff Activist Network, said, "If lies, doublespeak, and evil could be bottled and washed with jeans, Tufflitewear would be a favorite of Arizona's congressmen."

It's probable that the Forest Service will find some of Tufflite's claims legitimate and allow the company to expand. It can't prevent mining from occurring on a legitimate claim because of the mining-friendly provisions in the 1872 Mining Law. Tufflite now wishes to expand its mining operation another 30 acres, and the Forest Service will begin the Environmental Impact Statement process in early 1999. Adding insult to injury, company owners have been granted a 20-acre patent, which gives them the deed to the mined land. They want to eventually patent all 320 acres, which would enable them to make much more money than they did mining, through such things as exclusive housing for the wealthy (the latest rage in Flagstaff), golf courses, etc. The Forest Service is appealing the decision.

Tufflite is visibly twitching and will be heaving all of its ugly weight at the proposal so we need you to submit comments in favor of the proposed withdrawal by February 2, 1999 (Groundhog Day, appropriately). Write Ken Jacobs, Lands and Minerals Staff, Peaks Ranger District, 5075 N. Highway 89, Flagstaff, Arizona 86004; (520) 527-8288 fax; kjacobs/r3\_coconino\_peaks@fs.fed.us.

# FRANKENMAI STILL LIVES *Nightmarish Trade Deal Must Be Stopped*

BY MICHAEL RUBENSTEIN

Lurking in dark alleys, stalking the poor and hungry, contriving the murder of thousands. Did you think I was talking about your run of the mill crank dealer? *Heck no!* Just when you thought it was safe to dive back into world economic circles, there it is, rising from the depths of hell, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). Back from the dead? Nah, just revived from the belly of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD, composed of the 29 wealthiest nations in the world, is back at work finalizing its plans of world domination. For those unfamiliar with the MAI's innards, here is a little background. This disgusting display of rich get richer, poor get the shaft, international law contains several provisions which will effectively globalize the investment language of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and expand the Global Agreement On Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to include the flow of capital. If the MAI is put into action, it would wreak havoc on bioregions worldwide.

The "Investor to State Dispute Settlement" provision would give transnational corporations (TNCs) the power to take nations to world trade court to challenge national, state and local laws and possibly collect damages. That's right folks, in the near future you may see *Shell v. United States*, or even worse, *Shell v. Nigeria*. Those of you who aren't versed in free trade and macroeconomics may be wondering, what could they sue about? Well, here are just a few of the many possibilities. The "Regulatory Takings" clause could force nations to compensate foreign corporations for environmental, human rights and labor laws. Say for instance, we pass Zero Cut and a foreign-owned corporation is on our public land raising hell, we would have to compensate it for potential losses. *Ouch!* Does anyone think the threat of massive corporate payoffs could stop environmental legislation from even being introduced in the future?

Oh, yes, kids, it gets worse. The "National Treatment" and "Most Favorite Nation" provisions prevent governments from promoting local businesses over foreign investors

and force nations to treat all nations the same regardless of human rights abuses, environmental destruction or labor practices. Two precedents have recently been set for the Most Favorite Nation clause. Ethyl Corporation, a US-based TNC, sued Canada for banning interprovincial transport of a nasty cancer promoting gas additive. Canada backed down, revoked the law and paid Ethyl \$12 million. In the US, a federal judge recently declared Massachusetts' Burma procurement policy unconstitutional. The state was apparently tampering with federal jurisdiction when it stopped doing business with companies invested in corrupt Burma. All this spells *bad news* if the MAI is adopted.

The MAI also includes a ban on "Performance Requirements" that force corporations to meet certain requirements when investing in a locality. Such requirements have included minimal recycling programs, gender equity in hiring, use of a minimal domestic content in manufacturing and so on. Basi-

dead and buried. But, the six month break was more of a, "Let's stop, think about strategy, and come back with full force" break than anything else. Slick Willie does it again, like the Salvage Rider wasn't bad enough.

The stage was set for intense negotiations to take place on October 20. With 90 percent of the MAI text agreed upon by all parties, it shouldn't have taken much to finish by the new April 1999 deadline. The impending doom of the MAI was upon us, but wait, Super France to the rescue! France may be a strange bedfellow, but after years of nuking the shit out of the South Pacific, it did something right and backed out of the talks just before they were set to begin. No, France didn't want to abandon the idea of corporate world domination; it wants to move the negotiations to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Negotiations at the WTO would be a little better, giving representation to some of the less developed countries, however, *we want the MAI to stay dead*, not undergo resurrection somewhere else!

So, here we are, October 20 came around and representatives from the 29 wealthiest nations on Earth gathered to sell out to the corporate monster. France was still not playing ball, and the US was trying to bully it into giving the talks another shot when all hell broke loose. You guessed it, infiltrators at the MAI negotiations. According to an undisclosed agent, "A journalist leapt up onto the tables at the conference, proclaiming 'the MAI will destroy human rights and the environment, it must stop!' The OECD Secretary attempted to ignore the disruption, while its source unfurled a banner reading, 'Wherever it goes, no to the MAI.' The British female 'journalist' was finally dragged from the room by security guards who were amused by the action. Meanwhile, a coalition of anti-MAI groups held a rally outside the OECD, with dazzling spotlights directed at the building and deafening drums, to ensure that their presence would be noticed." Go team!

Friends of the Earth believes four potential outcomes are possible. First, the MAI could be completed in the OECD and enacted worldwide (over my dead body) inciting global revolution (I hope). This outcome is not very likely considering France's refusal to deal with the OECD. The second theory is that the MAI could be wrapped up in a hurry within the OECD with France by April 1999. This

option would necessitate a half-assed version with vital elements of the agreement missing. It would also seriously debilitate or at least hinder complete and total corporate world domination. The third option, even less likely, would be for the OECD to accept what they already have as a "set of nonbinding principles." Like corporate America would ever let that happen. The fourth and most likely scenario is the opening of MAI negotiations in the WTO.

What does all this mean? What do you think it means? It's time to step it up folks! Hit the embassies, call the fuckers, especially Madeline Albright, Secretary of State, 2201 C St., NW, EB/IFD/OIA, Washington, DC, 20520; (202) 736-4247 and Charlene Barshefsky, United States Trade Representative, 600 17th St. NW, Washington, DC, 20508; (202) 395-6890. If they won't talk to you, go lock yourself to their doorsteps. Raise hell, get the word out about this monster. In short, we are in a world of shit if this comes down so fight it, now.

## Cofan Shut Down Oil Well

While government officials were politely exchanging speeches in Buenos Aires at the Fourth Conference of the Parties of the Climate Change Convention and talking about the need to conserve the world's forests to mitigate the impacts of climate change, a group of indigenous people in Ecuador were doing something far more concrete.

As an action of protest against the activities of the oil industry in their ancestral territories, 500 Cofan indigenous people occupied and closed the Dureno 1 oil well, near Lago Agrio in the northeastern region of Ecuador this October. The well, located only 20 metres away from the water sources of the Cofan community, had been polluting and depleting the flora and fauna of the area. "We have lived in this ancestral territory, as guardians of this forest, for centuries, as its sons and only owners. We have offered land, food, materials, work for what they call 'development' and during this process we are just getting poorer and poorer and even risking our possibilities of surviving as a people," stated a Cofan spokesperson.

Initially, the Ecuadorian government reacted by sending soldiers to the conflict area to frighten the Cofan, stating that it would not negotiate "under pressure." However, the government finally agreed to remove part of the installations and close the pond; establish a commission, including the Cofan's advisors, to make a decision on the closure of the oil well, taking into account economic, environmental and engineering matters; legalize the Cofan's territory; establish a team, including nongovernmental organizations, to verify the decontamination of the rivers that cross their territory; and financially compensate the Cofan for the damages suffered following oil exploitation. The Cofan decided that the compensation money will be dedicated to the purchase of land, where forest will be allowed to regrow.

The occupation, initiated on October 12 (anniversary of the Spanish invasion), ended on the 22nd, after having achieved its purposes. The action carried out by the Cofan gives them a unique opportunity to reverse the damage inflicted upon their people and the environment by the oil industry.

For more information contact Oilwatch Secretariat, Alejandro de Valdez N24-33 y La Gasca, Casilla 17-15-246-C, Quito Ecuador; 593 2 230 676, 593 9 700 712; fax 593 2 547 516, 593 2 527 583; oilwatch@uio.satnet.net.

—OILWATCH, ACCION ECOLÓGICA, ECUADOR



Nicaragua has lost nearly 60 percent of its forest cover in the last 50 years. Every year, approximately 375,000 acres of forested land is destroyed by commercial logging and the advancing agricultural frontier. Deforestation has contributed to the erosion of three-million tons of topsoil and the drying up of 200 rivers. Without tree roots to hold soil in place, heavy rains on barren hillsides cause the highly unstable soil to slide, taking with it everything in its path.

When Hurricane Mitch passed through this November, deforested hillsides were the first to give. In Nicaragua, already the second-poorest country in the hemisphere, almost 3,000 people are dead, 7,000 missing and over three-quarters of a million are homeless. The extreme ecological damage has yet to be measured.

The situation, as pictured above, is the same in Honduras. According to former Honduran president, Rafael Callejas, "Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that many of the deaths and much of the destruction was caused by mudslides that were the result of uncontrolled deforestation and therefore could have been prevented." Less than 35 percent of the country is forested, down from 41 percent in 1990. Deforestation is the cause; Mitch was the catalyst; devastation is the effect. Over 10,000 people are dead in Honduras and over 1.5 million, a quarter of the population, are homeless.

Action for Community and Ecology in the Rainforests of Central America (ACERCA) and Witness for Peace are sending an environmental justice delegation to Nicaragua in February. To join this important hands-on investigative delegation, contact ACERCA at POB 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571; fax 864-8203; acerca@sover.net; www.nativeforest.org/campaigns/acerca/index.html.

# INDIGENOUS UPRISING IN VENEZUELA



Freshly cut road paves the way for the power line

photo courtesy of Amazon Watch

the Amazon.

In response to the protest, the Venezuelan National Guard sent more than 40 soldiers in riot gear and stationed a military tank outside San Francisco de Yuruani, a popular tourist destination. Indigenous leaders say that the use of violence by the National Guard is an imminent threat but vow to firmly hold their ground.

According to Jose Luis Gonzalez, the spokesperson from the Indigenous Federation of Bolivar State, "The Pemon communities will continue to peacefully block construction crews here indefinitely until

we receive a positive response from the government of Venezuela. We are demanding that the government resume talks over our ancestral land claims and halt the construction of the power line through our communities until our land rights and environmental issues have been dealt with."

Indigenous protests against the power line began in July and culminated in a "historic" declaration by the Venezuelan government stating its commitment to legally recognize the boundaries of the indigenous areas (see *EFJ* Sept.-Oct. 1998). Construction projects were temporarily paralyzed. However, on August 26, the National Guard attacked 300 members of the Mapauri village, using tear gas and rubber bullets to

break the community's attempt to block the construction crews. Three Indians were hospitalized. Since then the entire route of the power line has been heavily militarized by the National Guard, which has accompanied the construction crews in order to suppress any opposition. On September 4, the government unilaterally broke off scheduled talks with indigenous leaders and construction of the power line advanced rapidly, destroying large tracts of rainforest and savannas as well as a significant number of indigenous sacred sites and subsistence farms.

In an attempt to divide the indigenous communities, on October 8, the government issued "fake" land use titles to five of the 34 communities affected by the project, an action

denounced by the Indigenous Federation of Bolivar State and the Permanent Council of Chiefs as "a trap to fractionalize our unity."

The communities continue to pursue legal means to challenge the project both nationally and internationally. In addition to the two court cases already filed, the federation recently filed a third lawsuit challenging the bilateral agreement on the power line between the governments of Venezuela and Brazil and is preparing to request a hearing at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

For more information contact Amazon Watch at 20110 Rockport Way, Malibu, CA 90265; (310) 456-1340; fax 456-0388; [asoltani@igc.apc.org](mailto:asoltani@igc.apc.org); <http://www.amazonwatch.org>.

BY ATOSSA SOLTANI

On October 12, more than 250 indigenous residents of the Canaima National Park and surrounding areas of southern Venezuela resumed their protest against the 450-mile power line being built to Brazil. The protests came one month after the Venezuelan government unilaterally broke off talks with the Indian leaders. For three days, indigenous communities partially blocked traffic along the road to Brazil, effectively delaying construction crews from working on the power line. The protest is centered in San Francisco de Yuruani, the town at the base of Mount Roraima, the legendary flat-topped mountain featured in the story of "The Lost World" of

## UK CRACK DOWN

### "Watch Out!"

A national police unit is being set up in England to track green activists and public demonstrations. Among the people to be targeted are campaigners against road building and live animal exports, protesters at industrial disputes, hunt saboteurs and far-right groups. The move follows growing concern among police chiefs that environmentalists are increasingly organized and creating an ever-growing threat to public order.

Green and civil rights activists reacted with anger to the disclosure of the new outfit, which is to be called the National Public Order Intelligence Unit. They argued that civil liberties and the right to peacefully demonstrate will be undermined.

The new agency will include three existing police teams. In southwest England an intelligence unit has been monitoring Travelers and people who occupy land illegally. While in northern England a small team has been logging details of hunt saboteurs. The Animal Rights National Index, which lists details of protesters, is already based at Scotland Yard.

Assistant Commissioner Anthony Speed of the Metropolitan Police, who chairs the Association of Chief Police Officers' public order subcommittee, said, "Experience shows that the same people are involved in demonstrations—whether it's disruption of building works and motorways, runways, live animals for export, or people 'reclaiming' the streets."

John Callaghan, overseas liaison director for Compassion in World Farming, the pressure group responsible for organizing many demonstrations against the export of veal calves, condemned the extra monitoring of activists.

"This is going too far. We are constantly being videoed by the police. I'm worried as a law abiding person that we are coming under this kind of scrutiny. Peaceful demonstration is part of a democratic society. It is part of our rights."

In related news, Britain's police appear to be the first in the world to be equipped with a new "spy on the street" security camera system, which can recognize the faces of crime suspects and alert officers within seconds. The system, which began a six-month trial in October in east London, is capable of checking 1,000 faces every second, and its developers say it can see through disguises like hats, glasses and facial hair. But civil rights campaigners warn that the computer-based "facial mapping" system known as Mandrake may lead to an increase in wrongful arrests.

Mandrake works by checking key features on the faces of people filmed by closed-circuit television cameras and comparing them with those of suspects whose photographs are in a database. A signal alerts the operator whenever a match is made. The system has been tried by Hertfordshire officers policing football matches at Watford, but the trial being carried out by the London Metropolitan Police in partnership with Newham Borough Council is the first time it has been used on the streets. The 140 closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras and 11 mobile camera units installed along streets in Forest Gate, East Ham and Stratford are linked up to the Mandrake computer.

Britain's activist video news service, Undercurrents, exposed the Big Brother-like uses of the video cameras. Local residents took direct action and designed a seven-foot alien which peered back into the police cameras. The police immediately sent four carloads of officers armed with dogs. Undercurrents succeeded in getting hilarious footage of police cars playing cat and mouse with a convincing alien before eventually cornering the beast and realizing it was only a local resident in costume. When the police were asked why so many resources were used to handle a prank the response was, "It didn't happen. No record of it exists." So it seems the police are selective in what they show on the CCTV.

The £65,000 trial will be a key test for the Mandrake system, developed by Slough-based Software and Systems International and may lead to it being adopted by police forces across the country.



photo courtesy of WOLF

## Slovakia

After exhausting all the legal avenues in trying to protect the Polana Biosphere Reserve, the WOLF Forest Protection Movement of Slovakia took its protest to the endangered silver spruce forests by blockading cutting. When forest workers arrived, they could not start due to the presence of 50 forest activists at the site. Some were sitting in trees, others were chained around trunks. Some blockaded an access road.

Meetings between forestry officials and activists ended in stalemates. The agency expressed its intention to continue logging. The activists responded with their commitment to continue the blockade. The blockade continued for another month.

With some help from members of the Slovak Parliament and letters from three biological experts validating WOLF's statement and objections to the clearcutting, the campaign gained ground. The agency in charge finally consented with WOLF's opinion, agreeing that the logging was in defiance of the main purpose of biosphere reserves and put off the cutting of 234 acres of native forests.

To assist the struggle, please refer to the article, "Help Save Them—Buy Your Own Tree!" in the July/August issue of the *Earth First!* Journal. Thanks to all of you who have contributed to the project of saving the native Slovak forests by contributing \$30 US for the symbolic purchase of one tree. The total purchase price for our native forest reserve is US\$93,000 and US\$24,000 has been raised thus far. Your support is needed with further contributions. Make your checks payable to the Rainforest Information Center and mail them to the Earth Trust Foundation, 20110 Rockport Way, Malibu, CA 90265.

Contact the WOLF Forest Protection Movement at: c.d. 27, 082 13 Tulcik, Slovakia; +421-91-7789488 (phone/fax); [wolf@vadium.sk](mailto:wolf@vadium.sk).



# Justice for Gypsy

BY KAREN PICKETT

What are those stages that grief counselors tell you to expect when dealing with tragedy? Shock, feelings of loss, anger, adjustment. Add to those the emotions and reactions accompanying the intensely political nature of David "Gypsy" Chain's death at the hands of a reckless logger and it gets scrambled up. The situation has been unfolding not pursuant to those stages, though certainly shock, anger and sorrow have swept through the activist community here in California, but so has a smear campaign, more pepper spraying of protesters, support from some unlikely sources, a renewal of strength and community, and a strong, abiding connection with a grieving family in Pasadena, Texas.

Within 24 hours of Gypsy's death, a vigil and blockade evolved at the site, holding it sacred and keeping silent the equipment to haul logs out of the forest, including the tree A.E. Ammons felled on Gypsy. The blockade stood until the morning of October 7, when 42 law enforcement officers descended on the protesters.

In their zeal to clear the area, on that day and two days later when another group blocked the road, Humboldt County's own storm troopers once again removed the pepper spray canisters from their holsters, dousing one young woman three times as an example to her companions.

For three weeks our vigil maintained four separate lockdown sites, a bipod, tripod, and a ridgetop tree-sit in an old-growth redwood that served as a radio relay and look-out. Hundreds came, did lock-down shifts, cooked meals and maintained security on the highway. The Gypsy Grove Free State, the fifth tree-sit in Humboldt County, continues to grow, with room for six sitters and weeks worth of supplies. More importantly, it's keeping Pacific Lumber out of Gypsy Grove until justice for Gypsy and the forest left on that mountainside can be realized.

## The Cover Up

Pacific Lumber immediately dove for cover following Gypsy's murder, attempting to vilify Earth First! in the press and calling on EF! organizers to discontinue "putting young people in harm's way." It became clear where this smear campaign was heading when, in an October 14 meeting with Cindy Allsbrooks, Gypsy's mother, Humboldt County's chief investigating officer Juan Freeman said he would recommend the district attorney file manslaughter charges against the eight EF! activists who were with Gypsy on September 17.

Cindy Allsbrooks brought her incredulous outrage at that news to a press conference, her first statements to the media since her son was killed. Calling the Headwaters area the "Deep North," she said, "Nothing prepared me for the shock of learning that the Humboldt County Sheriff's Department intends to implicate my son for his own death. I have been told... that they will recommend charging my son's friends, the activists who were

with him when he was killed, with manslaughter. Mr. A.E. Ammons, the Pacific Lumber employee that cut the tree that killed my son is not even a suspect... Apparently, the Humboldt County Sheriff's Department has an agenda to exonerate the Pacific Lumber Company."

Calling the county a "company town," Cindy explained in her Texas drawl that the investigator's bias was unmistakable. "Throughout my whole conversation with Mr. Freeman, I did not hear one impartial statement. It



A direct message to the US Fish and Wildlife Service regarding the Headwaters' HCP

was gung-ho Pacific Lumber, and I'm going after the Earth Firsters... What I saw... is the sheriffs are sick of Earth Firsters. They're sick of dealing with protesters... There was no sympathy for EF!ers whatsoever; no sympathy for my son's cause whatsoever." Describing the logger, Detective Freeman said, "A.E. Ammons is a reasonable man, much like myself."

Cindy's pre-empting of their announcement made it more difficult for the authorities to put forth their rationalizations for such charges, but every twist and turn in this case points up the inappropriateness of Humboldt County law enforcement as an investigating body. Indeed, the list of incidents that have gone unprosecuted and uninvestigated during the course of forest campaigns here is long. They've brought snipers out and threatened to shoot people; loggers drove a logging truck into a crowd, broken an activist's nose, assaulted several people, hog-tied civil disobedients, etc. The Humboldt County Sheriff's Department is one of two agencies currently being sued by EF!ers pepper sprayed at close range in the fall of '97.

But Humboldt County doesn't have a monopoly on civil rights violations of nonviolent protesters. In fact, it's worth recognizing that, with the exception of the bombing of Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney and the killing of Gypsy (big exceptions, granted), the level of violence against conservationists has been much worse in places other than Northern California, like Idaho and Nigeria.

While the absence of charges against the logger has elicited an angry response, the death of Gypsy cannot be blamed on one individual. The problem is not that loggers have the bad seed gene or that there's a "natural" animosity between loggers and enviros. Gypsy died because a greed-driven profit motive seeks a reduction in the number of people defending

the Earth and holding it sacred. Corporations, particularly large ones involved in the extractive industries, hot on a course to marginalize, disempower and intimidate activists, whip up sentiment against EF! and against activists. That's what puts activists at risk, not "dangerous" protest at the point of production, as PL would have you believe.

Who could conduct an investigation of David Chain's death that could credibly be called independent? While our fascist state Attorney General Dan Lungren was voted

out, his office remains unfriendly to the progressive movement. The federal government, which brings us the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), certainly can't take a fair look. The dearth of candidates notwithstanding, the call for an investigation in itself helps keep the Humboldt County investigation that much more public. In addition, the civil rights

division of the Department of Justice has at least taken note, and the California Occupational Safety and Health Administration is looking into job site violations.

## Deja vu

Working through this situation, I've experienced profound flashbacks to 1990, when a pipe bomb (a bomb meant to kill) was planted in Judi Bari's car. Isn't this what we were fearful of when we exclaimed, "Jesus, they almost killed Judi! That shows they'll use lethal force." "Someone could get killed!" we said. Yeah. Now someone has. While Gypsy's death was not as overtly political as the bombing of Judi Bari or the attacks on the Black Panthers, it was surrounded by, immersed in, fed by and caused by a political battle that has been going on for well over a decade, peaking in 1988-1990, and escalating again

in recent years.

The 1990 bombing was part of a calculated and deliberate agenda. Gypsy's death happened rather spontaneously; the logger didn't wake up that morning and say, "Hey, I'm gonna go kill me a protester." But the two incidents warrant comparison because both were promulgated by the climate of violence against Earth First! that has been bred and fed by Pacific Lumber, other corporations and law enforcement agencies. (That's here in California. In Idaho, it's Shearer Lumber and Forest Service personnel; in Florida, it's Procter and Gamble; in Maine, it's International Paper; in Nigeria, it's Shell and Chevron.)

Logging is not a safe job. Mill work is not a safe job. That's why they have safety standards. Protesting is not necessarily a safe job. That's one of the reasons we have nonviolence preparations. We're defenders in a war being waged against the Earth and the casualties can be any species. I'm not suggesting it's inevitable, I'm contending that's why it happened. We're at war.

Let's neither make a martyr of Gypsy nor a villain of Arlington Ammons. Gypsy deserves to be a hero, who died fighting for what he believed in. And while blame needs to be laid at the feet of the logger, the bulk of it needs to be placed squarely on the shoulders of the corporation, no matter how hard it tries to shake it off.

Direct actions continue in the redwoods of Northern California. Soon, Julia Butterfly will celebrate the one-year anniversary of her amazing tree sit. She's been joined in that effort by two tree sitters, Roger and Nate, local residents who got fed up one day after watching half their watershed fall to PL chainsaws in the last six years. Twenty people were arrested in a road action in Headwaters on November 16, the last day of the comment period on the Headwaters HCP. That same day a final comment was delivered to US Fish and Wildlife Service via a 40 by 40 foot banner on the side of the capitol building in Sacramento. There's lots more to come.

Thank you Gypsy for giving your all for the forest. We're carrying on.

To get involved, contact Northcoast EF! at POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598. To get updates and find out about other aspects of the campaign, call the Headwaters hotline at (510) 835-6303.

## Dying from Disconnection

BY JOHN SEED

After my shock and sorrow for this young man and his family... and my anger at the logging companies, and my dismay at the police... all of which seem to be well addressed by others, the thing that comes up for me is this:

We belong to a species characterized by our willingness to die in huge numbers in defense of some social fiction or other.

Whether it be a country, a flag, an ideology, a religion, we seem to be prepared to die in swarms, and no one is surprised, and the newspapers every day are full of instances. This war or that war.

Yet when someone dies in defense of nature, in defense of the very biological fabric out of which all countries and flags are woven, the matrix out of which all ideologies and religions emerge, we are shocked.

Why is this?

It must be 20 years since Ray Dasmann pointed out: "The 3rd World War has begun—it is being waged against the Earth."

Why aren't thousands dying each day to bring *Time* magazine to the redwoods?

Is it because we are so disconnected from our life-support systems that we don't really believe that this is happening? We can't believe that things are as bad as we know they are? We can't believe that after 65 million years we are witnessing the demise of the Cenozoic era?

I'm not suggesting that more of us ought to die, but I think if we could answer this question, we might be a lot more effective in spreading our mission, our desire to see the recovery of wild lands with their full complement of species.

# Workers Strike Maxxam

BY DARRYL CHERNEY

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are striking against Maxxam Corporation's Kaiser Aluminum in five plants around the country, while Charles Hurwitz, the chairman of Maxxam, is about to receive \$500 million, tens of millions in tax breaks and 8,500 acres of prime forestland from the federal government in exchange for a mere 7,500 acres of Headwaters forest, half of which is clearcut. Should Hurwitz get this money, he would have a war chest to outlast the striking steelworkers.

There is one more hoop Hurwitz has to jump through before he gets his dough, however. He needs an approved Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP). An HCP is a major loophole to the Endangered Species Act (ESA). HCPs allow the massive killing of endangered species on a certain land holding in exchange for setting aside a small parcel elsewhere that is always biologically inadequate to preserve much of anything.

Before the public comment about the HCP ended on November 15, USWA

members decided they had something in common with Headwaters forest activists and sent a thousand letters to the US Fish and Wildlife Service demanding that Hurwitz be denied his HCP. Common ground was found in this historical alliance between labor unionists and environmentalists.

Steelworkers have also taken notice of Charles Hurwitz and Maxxam's failed Savings and Loan, which cost taxpayers \$1.6 billion to bail out. Hurwitz and company currently face a court proceeding in which billions of dollars are at stake. Environmentalists want Hurwitz to lose the big bucks so he will consider trading his Headwaters holdings as a "debt for nature" swap. Steelworkers don't want Hurwitz to be let off the hook in a "pennies on the dollar" out-of-court settlement. Steelworkers, along with environmentalists, are petitioning the banking regulators to force Hurwitz to pay the full amount he owes.

There is a third important piece of common ground. Environmentalists appreciate unions because they give workers a voice. Unions guarantee

that workers have freedom of speech and assembly.

One hundred and fifty members of the USWA will soon be traveling to Humboldt County to dialogue with Pacific Lumber workers and local activists. This unprecedented and historic event will allow two sets of Maxxam factory workers, one unionized and one not, to meet.

The sight of 150 steelworkers in Scotia should bring the fear of God into Charles Hurwitz and offer the union additional leverage in its negotiations. It could also stave off some of the scabbing that Pacific Lumber employees are engaging in. A union at Pacific Lumber would offer workers a voice they do not have now. With a woodworkers' voice in place in Humboldt County, peace talks between enviros and timber workers could begin in earnest.

Wouldn't it be something? Hurwitz and Maxxam try to break the steelworkers union but instead get an additional union at Pacific Lumber instead. Instant karma. The notion is one to savor. Judi Bari must be smiling down upon us now.

## Pacific Lumber's License Yanked

BY LOBELIA

On November 9, the California Department of Forestry (CDF) revoked Pacific Lumber's (PL) license to log. PL, a subsidiary of Maxxam, has been cited more than 300 times for violations of the California Forest Practices Act since 1995 and had been operating on a provisional license since last December. Two of the most recent violations occurred at the Grizzly Creek site where EF! activist David "Gypsy" Chain was killed as he attempted to halt PL's illegal logging in the area.

Initially this seemed like a victory for forest activists. The revocation may have a powerful affect on approval of the Pacific Lumber Habitat Conservation Plan (the Headwaters HCP). As the Headwaters courtroom champion Environmental Protection Information Center states, now, "If the agencies try to say that they can trust PL with a 50-year permit to kill endangered species, they can expect to see us in court."

This moral victory is in some ways no more than a cypher, however. The license revocation only affects those PL logging plans that name the company as the "official licensed timber operator." Since about half of the company's logging operations are contracted out to independent loggers with individual licenses, none of these operations were suspended. PL will very likely try to amend the plans that were shut down so logging can continue under a contractor's license.

After CDF yanked PL's license, 180 PL woods workers received pink slips. It hardly seems fair that the working people at the bottom of the PL hierarchy should have to pay the price for their bosses' cynical decisions, given that PL's practice of routinely violating environmental laws seems to be management policy under Maxxam. The suspension of PL's license was both deserved and significant, but the people who instructed subordinates to break the law have essen-

tially gone unpunished. Real changes in the company's practices will probably only come about when management itself feels the consequences of its decisions. One thing to hope for—and to work for—is that their contempt for the law results in the collapse of the Headwaters agreement.

California Governor-elect Gray Davis recently appointed Barry Munitz to head his transition team. Munitz is a former Maxxam director and a co-defendant in the federal government's litigation against Maxxam. Munitz was the chief executive officer of United Financial

Group, which wholly owned United Savings Association of Texas, the savings and loan that failed, allegedly because of the illegal actions of Munitz, Charles Hurwitz and two other Maxxam directors.

Munitz is responsible for assisting Davis in budget and policy development, as well as recommending appointments to nearly 2,000 positions in state government, including the state Board of Forestry. Outraged? Contact Gray Davis, State Capitol Room 1114, Sacramento, CA 95814; (916) 445-8994; fax 327-4998; graydavis@ltg.ca.gov.

## PEPPERSPRAYSUIT Tossed Out

BY DIXIE CUP AND Q-TIP

"Justice is simply the interest of those in power." —Plato

On October 26, San Francisco federal court Judge Vaughn Walker issued his verdict in the nationally observed pepper spray lawsuit with the words, "The uncontroverted evidence presented at trial unequivocally supports the conclusion that the officers acted reasonably in using OC (pepper spray) as a pain compliance technique in arresting plaintiffs."

After an August trial resulted in a hung jury, plaintiffs were scheduled for a retrial on November 16, but instead Walker threw the civil rights suit out of court and ordered the plaintiffs to pay the defendants' legal costs. Walker's decision bolsters an alarming trend of institutionalized civil rights violations. Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST) of California recently approved a report entitled "Crowd Management and Civil Disobedience Guidelines." Prior to Walker's decision, the POST report aimed to justify the Humboldt officers' actions.

Although Walker's decision and the POST report stem from forest defense actions in Humboldt County, this ruling and the ratification of the POST guidelines affect communities of resistance everywhere. In its glossary of terms, the draft report defines passive resistance as an oxymoron. "Active resistance" is anything that "intentionally, physically and unlawfully violates the lawful order of a peace officer." This redefinition game equates all nonviolent civil disobedience with excessive force, justifying pain compliance holds and pepper spray torture tactics to control it. The report also states, "The application of nonlethal chemical agents, including OC, has proven effective in a wide variety of civil disobedience situations," and suggests "direct application" as a method.

The defendants remain steadfast in their commitment to seeking justice and have filed a notice of appeal with the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Help fight this gross attack on nonviolent activists. Contact Northcoast Earth First! at POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598; spuh\_ring@hotmail.com to request the "Stop Pepper Spray Torture" petition or make donations to the Pepper Spray Fund.

## BARE BONES

### Buy-back in the Kalmiopsis

In early October, 2,000 acres of forest within the Kalmiopsis Wilderness along the Chetco River slated for gold mining were returned to public ownership. Phil Wallin of Oregon's River Network brokered the deal, which earmarked \$3.2 million of federal money to Darrell Brown, a local miner who holds 18 claims in the area. He has also agreed to give up his remaining parcels. Brown had already built a 16-mile road through the rugged Kalmiopsis to access the land. Conservationists contended that his plans, including bringing in bulldozers and dump trucks to mound and move the ore, would have harmed plant life and devastated the Chetco's salmon and steelhead runs.

### Private Road Declared Public for Redwood Empire

Santa Cruz, CA, resident Kathy Dean has vowed to appeal the decision of a Santa Clara County Superior Court Judge to allow public use of her private road. The "public" in question is private timber firm, Redwood Empire, which is using Dean's road to log old-growth and second-growth redwoods in Gamecock Canyon. After years off battling the timber giant, she and the wooded canyon suffered a major blow with this ruling.

The November 13 decision was based on the testimony of two motorcycle riders who say they used the road in the 1950s and 1960s, and a woman who said she used to come up the road to the canyon as a teenager to makeout with boyfriends in the 1960s. Both motorcycle riders were asked to testify by Redwood Empire, and one of the men was the manager at a quarry that company works with.

### Victories in Eastern Oregon

A few victories have recently been achieved for the wildlands and wildlife of Eastern Oregon. On November 5, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals halted "all logging, road building and other ground disturbing activities within the Tower Fire area of the Umatilla National Forest." The court stated that "it will reverse the District Court and require the Forest Service to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement." The sale would have logged 30 million board feet from 4,186 acres of burned and recovering forest. The decision marks a huge victory for the largest remaining run of wild spring Chinook salmon and the healthiest steelhead run in the Columbia River Basin. The court ruling also stops five other area sales.

Last month the Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project (BMBP) settled with the Forest Service over a lawsuit against the JOBS timber sale—a strung together package of five sales. One sale in the Aldrich Roadless Area consists of steep slopes, incredible biodiversity, old-growth ponderosa pines, wolverine and pine marten. Another, the Billy II sale, is core goshawk habitat that lies between Aldrich and the Strawberry Wilderness and acts as an important wildlife corridor for marten and wolverine. After pushing for all it could, the BMBP got the Aldrich Roadless Area protected—at least for five to ten years until after the new Forest Plan has been through all appeals and barring any major "natural catastrophe" requiring that any proposed logging would require a full EIS (and another lawsuit!). Five out of the seven units of the Billy II sale were also dropped. Many of the units in the three other sales were also dropped.

## Frontlines

### Green Storms Stage

The well-dressed audience at the Portland City Club Forum's US Senate debate was ready to listen to business as usual from the Republican and Democratic contestants in the recent Oregon elections on October 23. That is, until Pacific Party candidate Karyn Moskowitz walked onto the stage and took the microphone.

While the moderator fumbled and said that only "serious candidates" would be allowed to debate, a roomful of supporters from Cascadia Forest Alliance and Oregon Wildlife Federation cheered her on. Moskowitz took her seat on the stage and refused to leave. The moderator agreed to give her one minute to speak at the end. A City Club member threatened to get a police escort for several of Moskowitz's supporters in the event of "any more outbursts."

Small wonder that a candidate such as Moskowitz, who supports ending logging on public lands, was excluded from the debate, which was co-sponsored by Weyerhaeuser. Ironically enough, the League of Women Voters, another co-sponsor of the debate, did not support Moskowitz's inclusion.

During her one minute, Moskowitz held up a new \$20 bill and said that, "This, in fact, is the symbol of America today... It's what's keeping me from our public airwaves."

Moskowitz then challenged Senator Wyden to go back to DC and introduce a Senate version of the National Forest Protection and Restoration Act to stop taxpayer subsidization of the destruction of our public lands.

### Greenpeace Acts for Great Bear Rainforest

In October, four Greenpeace activists slipped aboard the *Thorseggen*, a Canadian ship, in Long Beach Harbor, CA, under cover of pre-dawn darkness. They strung up a large banner reading, "Stop Destroying the Great Bear Rainforest," and chained themselves to a loading crane. Greenpeace representatives said the goal was to prevent the ship's crew from unloading more than four tons of newsprint until three British Columbian logging companies agree to stop cutting old-growth trees in the Great Bear Rainforest.

### Otter Wing Update

On October 20, activists with the Cove/Mallard Coalition set up their fifth tree sit. There were three people 80 feet in the air on the road being cut into Idaho's Wing Creek Roadless Area. The week before, sawyers with Highland Enterprises had gone into the area and cut trees both in front and behind the tree village. But, the sitters blocked all use of heavy road building machinery from entering the Otter Wing timber sale. The tree sits came down in early November due to winter weather conditions and the end of road building season.

The Cove/Mallard Coalition has been sending a strong message to the Forest Service that they cannot allow any more roads or logging in Cove/Mallard, Otter Wing or any of the other shrinking wild lands in the Northern Rockies.

# UK EF! Gathering

BY ANNIE OAKLEY

This summer I came to my rope's end over "the hamster wheel," or "the cult of nonviolence" as it was referred to this year in the *Journal*. Rather than succumbing to the familiar (and strangely comfortable) bitter cynicism that tends to hang around our folks, I had the good sense to attend the EF! gathering in England. I ventured across the big pond groping for inspiration, clues to my own dissatisfaction and new ideas. I carried with me sentiments shared by many others in our network whose lives have, in recent years, virtually revolved around a clumsy application of a very narrowly defined political strategy that pretty much consists of replicating the same tactics, each time expecting different results.

In the past year, activists from within and without the EF! network have attempted to deconstruct and shed light on the potential errors of our ways, citing the rampant disempowerment, cynicism and fragmentation among formerly enthusiastic activists and the general ineffectiveness of our strategies (or lack thereof). It was these internal critiques that motivated me to try and figure out what is so damn special about "them."

The primary thing that makes the difference in morale and, to some degree, effectiveness in England is the normalcy and encouragement of militant action and monkeywrenching among EF!ers. It was somewhat shocking to me coming from such a culture of paranoia. Their attitude astounded and delighted me: "So what if they think we did it, there's no hard evidence." And this comes from a country with no First Amendment, from a country where the editors of *Green Anarchist* are being tried on conspiracy charges for reporting on sabotage. It's enough to make one wonder if we Americans are waiting till they repeal the First Amendment before we start reviving a climate that encourages nonviolent monkeywrenching.

I've never heard or seen the assertion that monkeywrenching should never be a tool in the radical environmental movement's tactical toolbox, even from the most strict practitioners of nonviolent civil disobedience and the hard-core media stuntists among us. Yet, the general lack of eco-sabotage is noticeable, especially compared with the fervent climate of Animal Liberation Front actions in the past year. The effect on morale that militant actions have is obvious in Britain. It inspires people and feeds their desires. They don't get hung up on the moralism of it because they see it as economic sabotage against the ruling class, which can be nothing but noble. Peaceniks and flaky hippies are the exception rather than the norm.

Strategic monkeywrenching is a major topic of discussion in England, as opposed to our favorite topic—to monkeywrench or not—and they don't shroud these discussions in vagueness. It reminded me of what I've heard about "the old days" of tree spiking workshops at the rendezvous. I explained the history of infiltration in the US (which most were already very informed about) and the decision of some groups to build mass movements around the name EF!, which forced these matters underground and made discussing monkeywrenching hush-hush. The common response was, "But I thought it's a network of autonomous groups." To many UK EF!ers this is not an issue because they rarely use the name EF! publicly (and are seriously considering dropping it) and never as a banner for mass movement building.

Their aggressive tactics, from warding off tree evictions with buckets of human sludge to daylight office trashings, are never overtly claimed as EF!, which prevents the kind of pigeonholing we get over here. Also, they often get away before arrest. Their attitude is that property damage is about economic sabotage not public outreach so it doesn't matter who did it or even why. In this manner, they have succeeded in becoming a financial threat that the corporations and government have to figure into all future plans, directly affecting the decision to cancel the rest of the roads program.

British EF!ers are radical ecologists, but they are also anti-capitalist, self-organized social revolutionaries. A lot of us call ourselves anarchists because we're pissed and disobedi-

ent, and we believe in our desires. The same is true for them, but because they are quite well read in revolutionary theory and history (as well as ecological politics), they take anarchy seriously enough to apply it to their strategies rather than just their tactics.

Their political analysis involves a basic critique of capitalism and global economics, for which individual campaigns like Reclaim the Streets and genetically engineered test crop trashings act as "terrains of struggle" rather than ends in themselves. This is not to deny that their actions have goals. One of my favorite sentiments, expressed in the context of questioning symbolic nonviolent civil disobedience, was, "Even sabotage is symbolic, and if it's all symbolic, it might as well be a radical symbol rather than a reformist one." Actions such as throwing computers out of Monsanto's office building, pulling up genetically engineered test crops in the night and organizing with the striking Liverpool Dockers spring from this philosophy.

British activists take interest in discussing and analyzing what does and doesn't work, and questioning contradictions and liberalism. They're actually questioning a lot of the same things we are, especially in the realms of internal dynamics and fostering sustainability in activist communities, and they do it out of a seemingly sincere interest in social evolution. I witnessed a thought-provoking debate about accountable versus covert test site "decontaminations" in the anti-genetix Snowball campaign that resulted in the "accountable" folks asking some of the critics to come voice their concerns to the rest of the campaign. Much of this

**"Strategic monkeywrenching is a major topic of discussion in England, as opposed to our favorite topic—to monkeywrench or not. It reminded me of what I've heard about the old days of tree spiking workshops at the rendezvous."**



discussion takes place in the pages of their quarterly (sort of) journal, *Do or Die*. Since activists live so close to each other (Britain is the size of New England), informal strategizing is common, and local groups often consist of multiple close-knit collectives that live together.

The discussion structure at the gathering was dynamic, mixing small and large group discussions. Topics like "Review and Discussion of the Last Year" and "Tactics and Effectiveness" fostered healthy self-criticism. Questions about "What now for EF!?" and long-term strategy opened up the floor to visionary proposals.

Many of these discussions were led and structured by different local groups. Some groups and individuals wrote and disseminated discussion papers on timely and controversial issues, which got people thinking critically before the larger meetings. International and UK campaign update workshops, as well as practical skills workshops, were packed into what little time was left. A healthy dose of closed caucusing among the "long-term" core of the network (jokingly referred to as "the clique") resulted in a decision to hold a winter activist conference for strategic discussions among affinity groups and to let the summer gathering be more accessible, leisurely and diverse.

The most striking difference in our styles of self-organization is that British EF!ers have spent a lot of time developing regional affinity groups and collectives. The result is a kind of rapid mobilization of tight-knit groups I haven't seen here. It enables them to pull off militant, covert mass actions. It also enables activists to work closely in land and housing co-ops and practice mutual aid. Public outreach in the form of action camps and wide-open action planning isn't as common there, but direct action campaigns like Reclaim the Streets, Genetix Snowball and The Land is Ours are very accessible and can be stepping stones to more revolutionary activity.

My visit inspired me but ultimately left me with more questions than I went with. I find myself rethinking assumptions about the benefit of mass media coverage of direct action campaigns and mass organizing in the US. The effects of a potential backlash should we see an escalation in tactics here is unpredictable. Britain gave no easy answers. After all, there is no Wise Use movement or religious right there, and so much of the working class despises the industrial elite. Mostly, I am left questioning how we can organize and strategize in an ecologically revolutionary way, within Earth First! in the US. It's becoming clear to me that a parallel network is necessary to foster the seeds of an integrated awareness, where ecological direct action and social revolution are not opposing struggles and where sabotage is not a dirty word.

# San Luis Resistance

... LA LUCHA SIGUE

## ANCIENT FOREST RESCUE

P.O. Box 762, San Luis, Colorado 81152 • (719) 672-3012 • afr@amigo.net



Photo: Special to AFR

Sheriff Gallegos and Deputy Sheriff Benton drag Jeff Schwartz to jail for blockading a road.

### A NEW KIND OF RESISTANCE

In May of 1996, several members of Ancient Forest Rescue went to San Luis to investigate what was rumored to be one of the largest logging operations in Colorado history. They were warily welcomed by the locals, but after a weekend during which both groups realized their common goal, a group of Chicano farmers and environmental activists marched in solidar-

ity to Taylor Ranch Headquarters to demand accountability. The accountability was not forthcoming, so the actions continued. As the summer unfolded, police and ranch security saw activists and ranchers chained to gates and trucks, risking life and limb in various ways, to show opposition to the logging of La Sierra. "Direct action" or civil disobedience is a way people can express a voice that has gone unheard for too long.

"Direct action is our way to show support and commitment to the community here," AFR Activist Melina Parrish said. Direct action protests have brought increasing attention to the struggle for San Luis. The media perks up a great deal quicker when "laws" are broken than when a culture is quietly eliminated. Road blockades have halted logging, discouraged loggers from continuing to work on the Taylor Ranch, and generally lifted spirits of those who have felt alone and helpless in their struggle for justice.

Fourteen displays of civil disobedience have occurred since the first march of unity in May 1996, and they have resulted in more than 60 arrests of dedicated activists from throughout the country. Less conspicuous displays of opposition that have also sprung up spontaneously throughout the community. Automobiles and farm equipment have been known to "stall" for lengthy periods of time in the paths of logging trucks. Overloaded hauling trucks speed through town night and day, destabilizing adobe homes, ruining roads and bridges, and leaving the poorest county in the state with more bills to pay. A local rancher recently collected hundreds of signatures complaining about these effects. The county commissioners responded by designating specific hauling routes and times, but they have been ignored by the logging companies. The disregard for the authority of this community only adds to the frustration and antagonism people feel here.

In the summer of 1997, the Jaroso gate of Taylor Ranch was blocked and occupied by activists and farmers for 33 days. To show their support, community members, and others from as far away as Pueblo, brought food, firewood, blankets and friendly words of encouragement. The "protesters" never left the gate, and maintained 24-hour security. "We were reclaiming a small piece of the Ranch, such an occupation is unprecedented in the state of Colorado," AFR Activist Lars Ortegren said.

The person locked down at the Jaroso gate had his hands secured in a tube, which was cemented deep in the earth. Protesters were also found with arms locked to the axles of logging trucks, nestled inside abandoned vehicles blocking the road, and fastened to cattle guards with U-locks. When hearts are invested in a struggle, creativity flows freely.

### 38 YEARS OF RESISTANCE

When Ancient Forest Rescue first became involved in this struggle in the spring of 1996, we found that most of the leading environmental groups were shying away from the issue. We wondered how such an obvious case of ecological devastation and social injustice could be overlooked by the rest of the environmental community. It soon became apparent that the apprehension could be summed up in two words: private property.

Although it seems that assailing the sanctity of absolute private property rights in the US is political suicide, AFR and the Culebra Coalition have not yet been ostracized. In order to truly understand this struggle, one must come to know how la gente de (community of) San Luis has had its communal property rights violated by the Taylor family for so many years.

In 1844, Mexico awarded almost one million acres of the San Luis valley and the Sangre de Cristo mountains to be settled as the Sangre de Cristo land grant. Only three years later, the United States won the Mexican-American war and asserted its ownership of the southwest. According to the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo, which was signed at the end of the war, the United States agreed to honor the property rights of all Mexican settlers in the territory. At that time, La Sierra was a commons. The original deed from 1863 makes this clear: "All the inhabitants shall have the right ... to enjoy the benefits of the grazing lands, water, wood, and timber ...." In 1864, the first governor of the Colorado territory, William Gilpin, bought the unsettled portions of the land grant for \$15,000, with the stipulation that he respect all claims of the Chicano settlers.

Beginning in the early 1900's, ownership of La Sierra changed hands several times, but because it was provided for in the property title, communal use of the mountains continued. This changed in 1960 when a North Carolina lumberman named Jack Taylor bought 77,500 acres of the mountain tract for about \$500,000. The land was so inexpensive because of the land grant's requirement to respect communal use rights. Life changed drastically for the residents of the Culebra valley with Taylor's purchase. He erected fences to forbid local access to the mountains and hired security guards, who beat and tortured those who refused to stop visiting La Sierra.

In 1978, the people of the valley formed the Land Rights Council and began researching and documenting their history. The community began to mobilize. Shirley Romero-Otero returned home to San Luis after college and began to gather knowledge and strength from the elders in the community. "They knew more about the mountain than any of the research we did. The elders

were the books we didn't have," said Romero-Otero. She recalls that her grandparents' generation staunchly resisted when Taylor first closed off La Sierra. Not only did residents continue their traditional use of the mountains, they cut down Taylor's fences in order to regain access.

During the course of their research, members of the Land Rights Council discovered that Taylor took illegal actions when he originally removed the peoples rights to the land. In 1981, a class action lawsuit was filed against the Taylor family.

"  
**All the inhabitants shall have the right ... to enjoy the benefits of the grazing lands, water, wood, and timber ....**  
"

— Beaubien document, 1864

According to Glenda Maes, Community Organizer for the Land Rights Council, the majority of those in the community were never notified by Taylor that their rights to the mountain were being severed. Although the residents were primarily Spanish-speaking, the few notices printed were published in English newspapers. Most of the women landowners were never named in the action, nor were they served notices. Also, many children who were not landowners received notices, while their parents did not. Although there was a hearing held to provide an opportunity for heirs to the land grant to voice their opposition to Taylor's action, the hearing was barely advertised. These hearings were held in Denver, at a great inconvenience to the subsistence farmers of San Luis, who for the most part were unable to attend. Furthermore, there were no translators for the members of the Spanish-speaking community.

In 1992, the Colorado Supreme Court agreed the heirs' rights had been violated, and ordered that the case be heard in Costilla County. A week long hearing was held in San Luis in late September 1997, and the judge ruled that the heirs were not duly notified. Finally, the case was heard in San Luis in May 1998.

At the beginning of the two week proceeding, it became obvious that things were not going the peoples' way. The Judge threw out documents vital to the plaintiff's case. The sleazy tactics of Taylor's lawyers were consistently allowed and encouraged while the polite and justifiable objections of the Land Rights Council's lawyers were met with fines and threats of contempt of court. After some deliberation, the judge ruled in favor of the Taylor family. Once again, the justice system has protected the wealthy, at the cost of the people.

It is not over. An appeal is being prepared, and the dedicated team of lawyers is committed to continue the fight. Unfortunately, the unfettered appetite of industrial logging has destroyed much of the beloved La Sierra. If and when the people of San Luis regain the right to freely visit the mountain, what will be left for them? The land that has sustained seven generations of farmers is being destroyed to sustain the greed of one man.

# La Sierra, the mountain, the heart of the San Luis community



Culebra Peak, the highest peak of La Sierra, overlooks the San Luis community.

Photo: Scott Smith

The spine of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains stretches about 300 miles from Santa Fe, N.M., north to Salida, Colo. The mountains form the eastern boundary of the Rio Grande headwaters. Above the little town of San Luis, which is almost exactly at the midpoint of the Sangres, the ridge rises in elevation, forming several high peaks such as Purgatore, Vermejo and Miranda. Above them all towers Culebra peak, the southernmost fourteener in Colorado. It is the mountains of the Culebra range and the verdant valleys that fall away to the west of these peaks that the locals here know as La Sierra. There are nine major drainage areas that flow out of these mountains and feed the Culebra River. From the peaks to the prairies, Zachary Taylor claims the entire Culebra watershed as his private property; One hundred twenty-one square miles to dispose of as he pleases.

North Vallejos Creek is the largest of the several drainage areas of La Sierra that has not yet been roaded and cut by Taylor's logging juggernaut. The drainage area exists today as it always has, thickly wooded and wild. The old road following the lower portion of the creek is just a trail now, washed out and grown over. At one time all of La Sierra was in the pristine state of the North Vallejos. So as you read this, consider the watersheds that have been methodically deforested in the past few years: Jaroso, San Francisco, El Fragoso, Capulin, Alamosito, Rito de Aban and El Valle.

It is important to note that some people think the North Vallejos is not pristine. Local Chicano farmers from the valley below have been using the resources of La Sierra for hundreds of years. The good health of the forests and rivers are

silent testimony to their sustainable land ethic.

The North Vallejos is a mosaic of habitats: clear streams, wetlands, hanging lakes, forests and grassy meadows make it a haven for all kinds of wildlife. Animals common throughout the Rockies are found here. The list is long: herds of deer and elk, black bear, bobcat, mountain lion, porcupine, coyote, weasel, grouse, turkey, eagles, other raptors and all kinds of other birds. Rare species like the Pine Marten and Goshawk were spotted last year in the Vallejos. Locals tell of trapping Lynx years ago and sightings of Grizzlies persist to this day. The remoteness of La Sierra, coupled with the fact it lies in private hands, has resulted in a lack of biological surveys. One of the only studies done here found that the protection of the streams of La Sierra are the last chance to save the vanishing Rio Grande Cutthroat trout. The huge expanse of wild country within La Sierra prompted one of the nation's leading conservation biologist, Michael Soule, to declare La Sierra as the most vital forested mountain link for wildlife migration between northern New Mexico and Colorado.

The forests of the North Vallejos are vast and diverse. The lowest elevations are sparsely vegetated with pinyon and juniper. Higher up, the canopy becomes more dense with ponderosa pine and white fir. The dry south-facing slopes bear seemingly endless stands of Aspen from mid-elevations almost all the way to tree line. The cool and moist north-facing slopes are covered with stands of mixed conifer, dominated by Douglas fir, that give way to Englemann spruce and alpine fir stands.

It appears that the regular fire regime, which has been largely suppressed elsewhere, has remained fairly consistent here in the North Vallejos. This is evident in the diversity of the forests. Young doghair stands and ancient oldgrowth groves lie in close proximity to one another. A typical forest in the North Vallejos is a community of all sizes,

Anyone who has experienced La Sierra knows the printed word cannot begin to approximate its splendor. Such vast and remote country outside of public hands is truly priceless. It is easy to fall in love with La Sierra, and that is why Chicano and environmental activists from around the country have put aside differences and united to protect the area. Maybe that



North Vallejos

Photo: Brian Arnold

shapes and ages. Seedlings grow among the herbs and shrubs on the forest floor. Young saplings stretch for a place in the canopy of strong and straight mature trees. Here and there, an enormous old-growth elder towers above all, sprawled out wild and eccentric in its old age.

is why young Anglos and local housewives alike have locked themselves in the middle of the road to stop the logging. It is because of this intense connection to the land that old ranchers, who are otherwise tough as leather, have been seen weeping over the desecration of their beloved La Sierra.

# La tierra y la gente (the land and the people)

Many of the old timers of San Luis remember the Sanchez family's sawmill. If someone in the area needed lumber they would place an order with the Sanchez mill and the family loggers would then go into the forests of La Sierra and fell a tree by hand. All the limbs were then removed and the log was hauled down into the valley by a team of horses. This operation supplied all the lumber needs of the Culebra Valley and employed the entire extended Sanchez family while only harvesting about 300 trees per year.

The people of the Culebra river villages have an understanding with La Sierra. That understanding of stewardship, and their sustainable lifestyle continue to this day.

When Colorado was still part of Mexico, the ancestors of today's Culebra valley residents were coming north from Santa Fe and Taos to settle in the valley. During that time, the people of the Culebra villages were devising a living system that satisfied the needs of not only the human inhabitants, but also the wildlife of the area as well. Each family settled on long rectangular pieces of land known as vara strips. They dug acequias, traditional Spanish irrigation ditches, to carry water from Culebra Creek to the farm fields. This essential water flowed down from the Culebra mountains east of town. These mountains, known here as La Sierra, were designated commons land, and fulfilled all the needs of the people, which were not supplied by the family farms. Wild game, fish, building materials, firewood, medicinal plants and summer grazing for livestock are some of the fundamental resources La Sierra provided.

Corpus Gallegos is owner of the oldest ranch in Colorado. His ancestor, Dario Gallegos, settled on here nearly 150 years ago. "Almost the whole community makes a living off the water from the mountain. Without it, there's no way we could exist," Corpus Gallegos said. This is because there is not enough rain to grow crops here. The essential water from the mountains, and the community that depends upon it, is endangered by Taylor's logging.

"I could never be here if it wasn't for the five generations before me," Joe Gallegos said. Joe Gallegos, Corpus Gallegos' son, lives much as his forefathers did. Joe Gallegos explained that the crops grown here have always been organic and the beef is also raised without steroids and other chemicals. "We've always done it that way. We never got into the chemical scene."

Someone once visited the Gallegos farm and asked Joe if all this land was his. He said, "No, I'm just taking care of it." Statements like this display the depth of the land ethic here, and provide a sharp contrast with Taylor's concept of absolute private property rights.



Joe Gallegos and Rose Mendosa-Green braid chicos, a traditional storing technique for corn.

Photo: Scott Smith

## Taylor's industrial invasion of La Sierra

Zachary Taylor claims he has sold every tree on Taylor Ranch so he can afford high-priced lawyers to defend him in the Land Rights Council law suit. Considering he is a very wealthy man, the truth is more likely that he foresees a potential success of the people in gaining their rights to the mountain back. A good businessman knows to liquidate his assets before he loses control of them. Whichever story is true, the fact remains that Zachary Taylor has given industrial logging interests free reign in the exquisite forests of La Sierra.

Taylor insists the logging operations under way on his property are sustainable.

Although he has released very little information about his forest "management," the few figures that have become public bring his assertions into question. At 210 mmbf (a.k.a. board feet), this is quite possibly the largest timber sale in the country. To put this in perspective, consider the nearby Rio Grande National Forest. The Rio Grande National Forest and Taylor Ranch share virtually identical ecosystems. While the Rio Grande is 225 times the size of the Taylor Ranch, it allows the removal of less than one tenth the amount of timber each year, and the Forest Service is often criticized for being unsustainable.

To support claims of responsible logging,

Taylor and his minion refer to mildly favorable testimonials of a handful of people he has allowed to "survey" the operations. One problem with these accounts is that none of the observers were allowed free movement. Each person was chaperoned by Taylor's paid foresters to pre-selected "showcase" cuts. Even if they had been allowed to go where they chose, it would not have mattered. All of the observers were outsiders without relevant expertise, and none of them were familiar with the landscape of La Sierra. In short, they were duped. If they had only taken the time to consult the locals or Ancient Forest Rescue before their tour, this could have been avoided. AFR has collected countless photos, videos and personal testimonials that tell the real story of logging on the Taylor Ranch. Aerial flyovers and ground-level reconnaissance by locals and others have uncovered rampant devastation.

Taylor's payroll foresters would have us believe that the "progressive" forestry technique of selective thinning is being employed on the Ranch, while there are rumors of clear-cutting in environmental circles. Both claims are inaccurate. The timber harvest technique most used here is best described as overstory removal. Overstory removal is selective by choosing only trees that are more than a foot in diameter, which in many cases is almost the entire forest. The resulting ecological devastation of overstory removal is virtually indistinguishable from that of clear-cutting.

Imagine the effects on a human community if every person over sixteen years old was taken away. When the large mature and oldgrowth elders are cut from a forest community, the remaining spindly saplings are no longer protected from the elements. There are areas on La Sierra where, one year after being logged, over half of the remaining trees have blown down. At this rate, there may be no trees standing in five years. Is there much difference between this and a clear-cut?

One excuse Taylor's foresters give for the necessity of the logging is that the threat of wildfires need to be reduced. Any tree large enough to survive a fire is cut for timber, leaving behind only small trees whose bark is not yet thick enough to protect them. Secondly, huge piles of dead tree limbs and woody debris are scattered throughout the deforested areas of the mountain. There are slash piles left in the wake of the logging operations. Not only do these slash piles provide huge amounts of tinder which encourage catastrophic fires, but they also furnish prime breeding habitat for tree infesting insects.

One of the nation's foremost hydrology experts, Robert Curry of UC Berkeley, has been studying the health of La Sierra's watershed. His original reports, compiled before the logging commenced, found the creeks were in good condition. Since the timbering operations began, however, there has been "significant damage to the watershed." Curry also said, "there is massive erosion on the Taylor Ranch, typical of the forest road networks associated with logging operations." In order to access the remote forests of La Sierra, hundreds of miles of poorly built roads have been hastily constructed. During a logging operation, tank-like machines called skidders pull felled trees down the mountainside. This process rips open the earth and results in deeply gouged gullies in the forest floor. These roads and skid trails are exposing vulnerable subsoil. They are also serving as channels for sediment to wash into La Sierra's creeks.

The huge increase in sedimentation is bad news for life in the creeks of La Sierra. Most trout and other fish rely on clean, clear water to breath and breed. The fouling of the creeks and endangering the survival of wildlife is also creating a serious predicament for the farmers and ranchers of the valley below. The water essential for nourishing crops is now sullied and dirty. Furthermore, the heavy debris is clogging stream channels and blocking irrigation ditches. Most of the landowners here are just scraping by as it is, and the added expense of cleaning out the acequias several times each year adds more burden.

There is another, perhaps more serious threat to the streams that the agriculturists depend on. When the forest canopy is removed, so too is the shade, and the sun's heat melts the snowpack much more rapidly. This creates a rush of runoff in the early spring, and in the heat of the summer, the water becomes scarce when crops need it most.

There can be little wonder why so many people are speaking out against this environmental tragedy. Taylor's logging is destroying an irreplaceable ecosystem and driving one more nail into the coffin of this community.



Slash piles in Capulin area of La Sierra.

Photo: Brian Arnold

# Fight against Taylor gets personal in N.C.

For too long, Zachary Taylor has hidden from ongoing direct action in Colorado from the effects of his greed and genocidal behavior by seeking shelter in his North Carolina mansion. Taylor could hide no longer, however, when outspoken activists in his community banded together with radical social and environmental activists, from both the East and West coasts, in his home town of New Bern, N.C. Taylor felt the heat from nearly 40 activists who sat on his lawn, chanted and shared information with his neighbors about the evil way in which he makes his millions.

Beginning on May 15, activists from Ancient Forest Rescue and the Culebra Coalition hit the road in a VW van overloaded with people and gear, with an eighth of the original budget, and bound with one mission ... education. Armed with the newly released documentary "Sin Agua No Hay Vida," prepared speeches and the music of folk musician Danny Dolinger, the motley crew was ready to spread the word. The story of La Sierra reached four states, 13 venues and the eyes, ears and hearts of nearly 300 people. The crowds were very receptive to the issue. Generous hosts gave us roofs to sleep under, food to eat and even helped us find free food for the road. And, about 25 people, who had seen our roadshow, joined us in New Bern to protest Taylor.

Once in New Bern, activists quickly mobilized to build coalitions within Taylor's community. After giving a copy of the video to a local environmental organization, we started receiving phone calls from some of New Bern's most prominent activists, asking how they could help. By the end of the day, we had a base camp set up with regional TV press making us its number one story for the evening news. Taylor's own community does not think fondly of him, and thus alliances with locals were easily built. Taylor's family has a history of crimes ranging from stealing land to treating his employees poorly, so no one had a hard time believing their neighbor could do such terrible things in Colorado. By the next morning a new message, on a billboard owned by local activist and firebrand Bill Harper, found its way to the side of Highway 70. It read: "Zachary Taylor destroys communities from Colorado to New Bern, NC." The response from authorities was quick and fierce. Bill was threatened with a lawsuit, and was forced to change the sign to something less slanderous. Later that day, "Zach, Give the Mountain Back" replaced the original message.

The third day gave way to plans of a parade. Although permits had been applied for and received, a telephone call from the police chief, the eve before the parade, announced that the permit had been revoked. Standing behind their First Amendment rights, 4,000 petition signatures and over 100 letters, the activists hit the streets nonetheless. With a street puppet of Taylor, as well as signs and pamphlets, they spread out through New Bern from end to end only to be met at Taylor's house by the entire regional police force. Not surprisingly, Taylor was nowhere to be seen.

Another attempt to confront Taylor was made later that same evening with the letters and petitions asking him to do the right thing. A small group of people lit 178 candles (one for each family that is dependent on the water of La Sierra) and placed them on his lawn. The group knocked on the door and waited for an answer, but the only acknowledgment they received was the sound of a dead bolt clicking into place. Police were on scene within min-



Paper maché puppet of Zachary Taylor used in protests, New Bern, N.C. Photo: Patricia Coleman

utes; and after being hassled and threatened with arrest, the activists headed home. On June 15, the fourth day, "Judge" Perricone, in Colorado, announced a ruling against the plaintiffs in the Land Rights Council of San Luis. The ruling denied the plaintiffs' traditional-use rights to the mountain. When the group in New Bern heard the news, there were some emotional moments, and then the group decided to pay another visit to Taylor. With nothing left to say to the man who has hurt so many innocent people, activists stood silently, holding candles and letting Taylor wonder what was going to happen. Candles burned all night as the protesters maintained a constant vigil in front of Taylor's home. The morning sun rise found the protesters still on Taylor's lawn, and a new addition on a 25 by 12 foot billboard outside the town limits. A banner was hung over the billboard's frame that said: "ZACH TAYLOR'S GREED DESTROYS FAMILIES, FARMS, AND FORESTS....call him 919-638-2330." Taylor's security and police spent the morning pondering how anyone could have gotten up there, and how the police would get the banner down. Nearly 7,000 commuters saw the message before it was cut down. With the success of the night's events, the group began the long drive home.

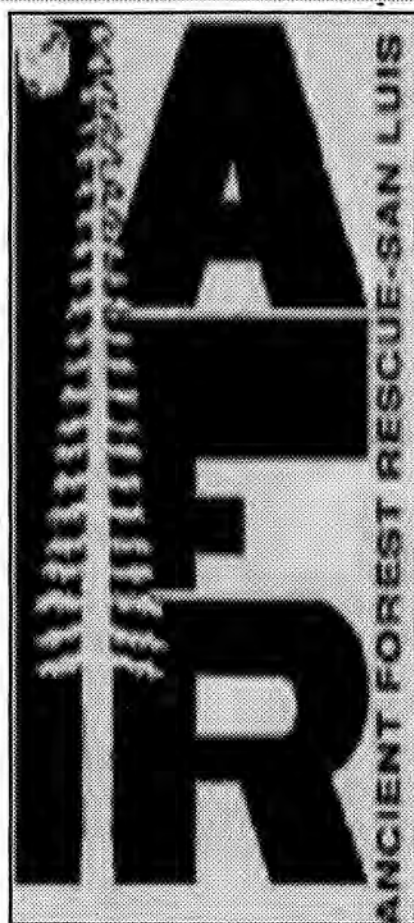
In January and February of 1999, AFR along with locals and other members of the Culebra coalition plans to make a return visit to Taylor's home town. Currently we are busy writing grants and working with student groups throughout the Southeast to have a more encompassing, better funded roadshow and gathering. We are returning in the early winter off-season with hopes of more local participation. Plans are to transport, house, and feed everyone with the funds raised. We learned a lot of lessons on the last trip and plan to put all our new knowledge into action in order to make the upcoming trip more effective.

## Get involved!

So the question may be asked: what hope is there for La Sierra and the North Vallejos? The San Luis continues to work on a diverse spectrum of angles. From direct action to litigation, fundraising to roadshows, there is a piece for everyone. In conjunction with education and direct action, AFR San Luis has also been actively pursuing ways to stop the destruction of La Sierra through legal action. We are involving law firms, sustainable forestry specialists and others to attack this issue from several vantage points. AFR's coordination with the Culebra Coalition and the community of San Luis seems to be galvanizing unity to protect the community's way of life. Recently, overwhelming state opposition succeeded in preventing an industrial hog facility from being located in the county. In San Luis the 150-year struggle continues, and hope springs eternal.

Ancient Forest Rescue is a statewide grassroots collective pledged to preserving the state's last wild places and sustainable human cultures. We govern ourselves by consensus and adhere to a strict code of non-violence. The handful of full-time volunteers at AFR San Luis are supported by donations from concerned individuals like you. If you want more information, would like to help, or want a copy of the video documentary "Sin Agua No Hay Vida," or just want to visit, please contact AFR at:

P.O. Box 762, San Luis, CO 81152  
(719) 672-3012  
afr@amigo.net



ODE TO THE CULEBRA  
by Eman Martinez

Poetry Corner

Culebra, born of the blood of Christ, the Sangre de Cristo  
What a beautiful life you live, touching everyone who knows you.  
You will always be a source of beauty, strength, and abundance for the people of this valley. And for this we owe you so much.

We've already cheered for the spring thaw, you've begun your journey of renewal. You give us all of yourself, as you make your way down through the mountain, coloring the land as would an artist.

You have given us water and food and everlasting beauty. All this, asking only that we guard your watershed and keep you pure.  
We call you Culebra, but I believe I know who you really are, or at least the spirit that lives within you. One who gives so much to so many, yes, I do believe I know your true identity.

I thank god for you Culebra. I feel very lucky and special for having lived near you. Thank you for the joy that you have brought to me and the memories I shall forever carry in my heart. I must go now, but I shall return in the spring, as will you, like a faithful lover whose strength is renewed after a long rest, giving to the earth and her people as only La Culebra can.

# Kenyans Rise Up

*continued from front page*

The allocatees, relatives and cronies of the president, in turn, sold the forest properties to developers, funneling their ill-gotten money back into various ruling-party activities. Public outrage has been mounting as details of the sordid deals have leaked out and emerged as a pattern repeated nationwide in forests in Ngong, Kiambe, Mt. Kenya and elsewhere.

The deforestation of Kenya is largely a phenomenon of the 20th century. Decades of extractive British colonialism saw the wholesale clearing of forests for cash crops such as tea, coffee, pyrethrum and farmed tree species replaced the extensive forests of the highlands. Marginalized and displaced indigenous people, forced off their lands in the White Highlands put further pressure on the forests, particularly in the densely populated Central Province, a designated native reserve. Ages-old hardwood forests were cleared and replaced with plantations of eucalyptus, wattle and cedar and the subsistence plots of dispossessed Africans.

Despite high hopes, Kenya's independence brought no relief in the destructive pressures brought to bear on the forests. They have continued to be viewed as little more than a quick source of cash or as vacant land suitable for accommodating the country's mushrooming population. Forests set aside as preserves have received little practical protection and continue to shrink at an alarming rate.

Gross mismanagement and unsustainable exploitation have resulted in the loss of a full 40 percent of Kenya's natural forest cover. The exquisite Kakemega forest, the easternmost extension of Central Africa's once great equatorial rainforest belt, has been reduced to only 10 percent of its turn-of-the-century size, and at least seven species of endemic birds have been driven to extinction since the 1960s, again largely as a result of clearing for export-oriented agriculture.

The consequence of the unbridled free-market exploitation of Kenya's forests by the white colonials and the black colonials who replaced them in 1963 has been a tragic loss of biodiversity in the region. Less than five percent of Kenya's original natural forest cover stands today. Yet the doddering government of President Moi, despite lip service advocating environmentally sustainable development, continues to promote further insults to Kenya's forests through a combination of corruption and indifference. The looting of billions from the national treasury has resulted in an impoverished, demoralized and highly politicized Ministry of Natural Resources, whose employees, charged with protecting and managing the forests, are instead participating in their destruction: selling forest plots, accepting bribes from loggers and charcoal makers, even operating sawmills.

A *Daily Nation* report that a developer, Orbit Enterprises, had begun clearing several acres of Karura forest provided the spark for the October 7 action. Green Belt Movement coordinator Professor Wangari Maathai, addressing a rally in Uhuru Park, demanded that Orbit immediately stop the cutting or face citizen action.

Arrogantly, the Orbit management continued the destructive work and, in the best tradition of the American robber barons ("I can hire half the working class to kill the other half"), brought in a private army of 50 armed guards to protect its squalid operation. Maathai and the GBM activists organized hundreds of citizens, including a handful of nearby residents forcibly prevented from gathering fuelwood in the forest. Five hundred strong, they marched on the fence surrounding the development, intending to plant trees and call for an end to the wanton destruction of their country's remaining forests. Enraged by the sight of the bladed forest, and by the presence of guards and the arrogant project manager, the crowd tore down the fence and advanced on the equipment. The guards, mostly poor youths from nearby communities, threw down their weapons and either fled or joined the demonstrators, taking the project manager hostage for an hour while activists avenged the forest. Within minutes, the construction offices were in flames, as

were several earth moving machines, a truck, a concrete mixer, a water bowser and piles of construction materials. Demonstrators obliterated

drainage channels and began to return the land to its original contours.

Angry, powerful statements were made ("Kenyans are fed up... and are prepared to do anything to reclaim their land;" "We shall repossess for our generation and posterity whatever of our land has been illegally allocated... We shall do it at whatever cost..."), and the solemn work of replanting the tortured land began.

Demonstrators planted over 2,000 indigenous tree seedlings at the site that afternoon.

The decisive action stunned the country. In the weeks since the march on Karura, a national debate on the issue of forest policy has been raging, a Whitewater-style inquiry into the misdeeds of Kenya's politicians has begun and development in forests has screeched to a halt. Threats to respond "in the Karura way" have been taken seriously. Replanting at the site has continued, and at this time over 10,000 seedlings, donated by GBM, are being tended by Green Belt workers.

Send letters to the following individuals demanding that the government end illegal allocation of forest land, repeal existing allocations and grant meaningful protection to all remaining natural forests in Kenya. They're sensitive to the tourist dollar so tell them you're canceling your vacation plans until there has been a stop to these shady practices. Mention your support for the work of the Green Belt Movement.

His Excellency Pres. Daniel T. arap Moi, POB 30510, Nairobi Kenya; Minister Lotodo (mr.), Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources, POB 30126, Nairobi Kenya; Mr. Kipkora, Chief Conservator of Forests, POB 30513, Nairobi Kenya.



"Angry, powerful statements were made..."

## As for me, I have made a choice...

Founded in 1977 under the sponsorship of the National Council of Women of Kenya, the Green Belt Movement (GBM) has become one of the leading voices for environmental and economic justice in Kenya and all of Africa. Its primary activity has been the reforestation of Kenya—20 million seedlings planted and 3,000 tree nurseries established to date—but its mission goes far beyond silviculture.

GBM promotes sustainable development and the empowerment of the poor (women in particular) and attacks poverty's roots through a radical program denouncing corruption, manipulative foreign assistance and the development barriers of international market structures.

GBM's program includes environmental education, creation of rural employment in forest-related industries, no-compromise protection of remaining native forests, and promotion of no-grazing and organic farming policies to complement its reforestation work. It's a clear

rejection of the status quo, and GBM's courageous activists, who work in the shadow of a repressive government with a vested interest in business-as-usual and few compunctions about the use of force, often find themselves confronting powerful, malicious interests. Dangerous work, "but we have no option." The movement, led by the charismatic and outspoken Professor Wangari Maathai, has confronted the government and its moneyed allies on several occasions, once saving Nairobi's Uhuru Park from a land-grab attempt by KANU, the ruling party. Your letters to Kenya's leaders expressing support for Maathai and the aims of GBM can help provide a measure of protection for these kindred spirits. Send messages of support and checks or international money orders to the Green Belt Movement, POB 67545, Nairobi Kenya (payable to the Green Belt Movement, A/c 1500785).

## MUMIA EXECUTION SET: ACTIONS FOLLOW

Radical political activist Mumia Abu Jamal may soon be executed. On October 30, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Mumia a final appeal on trumped-up charges stemming from the 1981 murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner. With this ruling, Governor Tom Ridge can sign Mumia's death warrant and set an execution date within three months of the decision. Mumia has adamantly denied that he killed the Philadelphia officer.

The Supreme Court ruling has ignited an international outcry for Mumia's freedom, resulting in mass demonstrations. With less than one week's notice, nearly 2,000 supporters of Mumia gathered at City Hall in Philadelphia to rally against the decision. Picketers in Manchester, England, occupied and leafleted American Express offices about the issue. Masses have been protesting at the US Embassy in Cape Town, South Africa. A few thousand people marched two miles through various San Francisco communities on November 2. The Mobilization to Free Mumia has reportedly handed out over 20,000 leaflets in the Bay Area. Dozens of other demos have occurred and will continue throughout the world, shining the spotlight on Mumia and the imminent threat of his execution.

In the early hours of December 9, 1981, Mumia was moonlighting as a taxi driver when he saw his brother Billy being beaten by officer Faulkner in downtown Philadelphia. Mumia approached the scene and was shot in the stomach. He was found bleeding on the curb. He was arrested and brought to the hospital. Faulkner was dead. During his trial, iffy witnesses and fabricated testimony were presented, and Mumia was found guilty by a nearly all white jury.

Since he was a youth, Mumia has been outspoken on issues of race and class. At age 14 he was arrested for taking part in a protest against the racist, pro-segregation governor of Alabama, George Wallace. At the time of his arrest, Mumia was a leading member of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Association of Black Journalists. He also served as lieutenant of information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party and wrote for the Black Panther newspaper in Oakland, California. In 1994, Mumia's scheduled commentaries for National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*, "Live From Death Row," describing life behind bars, caused such controversy that the shows were canceled, sparking intense national debate about censorship and the death penalty. Mumia also served as a key figure in the organizing of several conferences aimed at galvanizing national support to address prison issues including Jericho '98, held in Washington, DC, this past March and the Critical Resistance Conference spearheaded by renowned activist Angela Davis in Berkeley, California, this past September.

Julie Hurwitz, a member of the National Lawyers Guild, said there are countless examples of injustices surrounding Mumia's case. "The fact that the Supreme Court Justice who sat on the panel to deny Mumia his appeal was a prosecutor in his case in the lower court speaks volumes in regard to the unfairness and violation of rights that has gone on with Mumia's case."

Protests continue, and you are urged to take action. Contact Governor Tom Ridge, 225 Capitol Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120; (717) 787-2500; fax 772-1198; US Attorney General Janet Reno (202) 514-2000; fax 514-4371; District Attorney Lynn Abraham 1421 Arch St. Philadelphia, PA 19101; (215) 686-8700; fax 686-8024. For updates contact the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu Jamal at (215) 476-8812; fax 476-7551.



## Nike Swooshed On

Corporate property was damaged and the local Nike store was closed after anarchists and other anti-corporate activists rallied against the shoe giant in Eugene, Oregon. After some speech making and leafleting downtown, a group of about 60 people took to the street, in violation of the municipal parade ordinance. A block of young anarchists led the march. Following the stick- and gas mask-toting radicals came a giant 12-foot swoosh dragged by small children to dramatize Nike's use of child labor. The group proceeded to the 5th Street Market, where the Nike store is located and the site of previous conflict over the removal of numerous large trees for the Nike expansion. The swoosh prop was destroyed in dramatic fashion as the anarchist block pulled down the fence surrounding the construction site of the new Nike Town store.

It was several minutes before the police responded in enough force to threaten the group. As the not-so-rapid deployment unit assembled with riot gear and pepper spray, several people entered the market and made their way to the Nike store, where they pulled items off of shelves, vandalized displays, ignited fireworks, dumped an entire rack of clothes off a balcony into a fountain below and then got away. At this time no arrests have been made, but many people were photographed. One young anarchist's house has since been raided; his mother's computer was taken and held as evidence.

## Nuclear Test Site Action

The Leonard Peltier Affinity Group commemorated Indigenous Peoples Day with a road blockade at the Nevada Test Site on October 12. About 70 people halted traffic for 25 minutes at the gates of the site, which is operated on Shoshone land by the Bechtel Corporation and guarded by Wackenhut Corporation.

Native Americans, Mexican Americans and European Americans met before dawn around a fire to pray for the water, the rocks, the plants and the sun. Test site workers were greeted with this sight as they went to work. Led by representatives of the Shoshone traditional government and Corbin Harney, a spiritual leader of the Shoshone, the people proceeded to the gates demonstrating against the life-destroying practice of testing nuclear weapons and creating nuclear waste. Women prepared tobacco ties, and activists crossed into the traffic lane and sat down, arms linked.

Thirteen activists were handcuffed, kidnapped by the Wackenhut mercenaries and released the same day. Three others crossed into the test site and were briefly held.

## Wheat Cut at Trade Show

The Kenilworth Croppers openly cut 75 percent of the genetically modified (GM) wheat on display at the Royal Agricultural Show, near Kenilworth, England, in a protest against unnecessary genetic modification of our food. The wheat, developed by the Integrated Approach to Crop Research (IACR), is being produced for "improved bread-making qualities." It had been kept under close guard at the show all week following the decontamination of IACR's wheat test field in Rothampstead by the Lincolnshire Loppers earlier this year.

The wheat contains antibiotic marker genes, which could lead to antibiotic resistance in humans. The government's own Advisory Committee on Novel Foods and Processes has ruled that these marker genes are unsafe and must be banned from future experiments. The IACR ignored the warning.

# IT IS A GOOD ...

*continued from front page*

I had the green light; the plan was a go. We were to commence "Operation Safe Harvest" at 18:00 hours and carry out the mission by any means necessary.

By 18:07, the "Anti-Genetix" splinter faction of the BBB had penetrated the tight security perimeter, and we were surrounded by dozens of the world's corporate and socio-political elite. This year's "State of the World Forum" enjoyed an attendance of 900 individuals from 103 nations and tribes, and cost a mere \$5,000. It is perhaps the classic example of liberal, consensus, win-win, Clinton-esque, spin-doctor, sell-out, cultural appropriation, commodification-of-dissent-type event in the world today.

After a welcome from Mayor Willie Brown, the moderator introduced our man, Bob Shapiro, as a great progressive and a pleasure to have at the forum. Cautious applause mingled with murmurs of dissent, perhaps because there were people inside and outside the event distributing copies of the special "Monsanto Files" issue of *The Ecologist*. After thousands of copies were printed, Monsanto's people got to the printshop and managed to scare them so badly that the printers shredded the entire print run. *The Ecologist* managed to find a printer with a spine, and dozens of copies were express mailed to San Francisco, arriving that afternoon just in time to make the event.

This was the moment of truth in the theatre of modern pie warfare. Shapiro stepped to the stage and waxed grand eloquently about Monsanto's crucial role in saving the Earth from soil erosion, pollution, overpopulation, famine and the destructiveness of industrial society. I kid you not. He described the inherent wastefulness of cars and other industrial products, especially agricultural. His solution: more technology.

At this point, my eyes began scanning the table for any remains of the scrumptious chocolate cake served for dessert, and I almost leaned across the table and grabbed a slice with the intention of storming the stage right then and there perforce. Luckily, the intensive training I've undergone as a BBB field operative clicked in, and I restrained myself by sticking my hands under my buttocks and diverting my gaze away from his wild eyes, which were darting to and fro across the Big Brother screen. Finally, he finished his speech and left the podium in a hurry. I perceived Agents Custard and Lemon Meringue approaching him directly, and so I prepared for a delicious case of culinary comeuppance. As Caesar said from the banks of the wide river Rubicon, while gazing across at Rome, "The pie is cast."

A young man at a table near the stage stopped Shapiro cold in his tracks with cries of "Shame, shame!" A dia-

logue ensued and then, from Shapiro's three o'clock angle, two pies originating from suited figures went airborne. The first made delightful contact with his upper left facial quadrant and left eyeglass piece, while the second sailed past harmlessly. Our victim directed some verbal unpleasantries toward the



Mr. Friedman's shiny dome about to be decorated with coconut cream!

rapidly departing flan-ers, and then barely stopped to wipe his glasses and face before returning to the argument, exclaiming loudly, "Roundup is perfectly safe!"

Though Shapiro continued to make a scene, his handlers quickly took him by the elbow and hustled him out while wiping his head with a towel... a scene your humble correspondent will never forget, one which would cheer the hearts and souls of millions across our lonely planet. I found inside my own breast a peace which passeth all understanding.

The General Command wishes to dedicate this action to the brilliant and utterly inspiring activists in Europe who have kicked off the anti-genetix revolution. In particular, we salute the pixies and sprites who tear up genetically engineered fields by day and night, through cricket matches and other sporting ventures; the Genetic Engineering Network, who puts out excellent information and keeps the industry under an eagle's eye; the Genetix Snowball campaigners for their pie-a-neering efforts; and a dear friend who has been nobly toiling away at the office while her heart has been pining for direct action in the field.

## Nobel Laureate Economist Milton Friedman Gets Pied

San Francisco, CA, Oct. 9—The Biotic Baking Brigade (BBB) struck another blow against globalization when one of its operatives threw a pie in the face of neoliberal economist Milton Friedman at a conference he organized on the privatization of public education titled "School Choice and Corporate America."

"When it comes to defending the Earth from the scum of the corporate universe, the pie's the limit!" said Agent Apple, 27-year-old pie-thrower and concerned citizen.

Special Agent Apple of the BBB stated, "Friedman serves as the world's preeminent neoliberal economist, supporting globalization and 'free trade'

policies which have brought the world poverty, misery, starvation and ecological devastation. As a young American, what can I look forward to under neoliberal economics besides a depressing McWorld? This cutthroat economic system has devastating impacts globally as well as in my own backyard. I have witnessed the abuse of my fellow activists as they have been arrested, jailed, beaten, pepper-sprayed and recently killed for trying to defend the Headwaters forest from fascist economics."

The BBB dedicated the Friedman action to the Great American Pie Man, Aaron Kay. **BBB Pies WTO President Ruggiero**

London, England, Nov. 4—The Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) is nestled in a discreet,

leafy square in the heart of London's West End. Normally the haunt of sleek shoppers and secretaries-of-state whose purring Mercs await their masters obediently, it recently played host to a bewildering gathering entitled "Trade, Investment and the Environment," organised by RIIA, supported by *The Guardian* and sponsored by the following (take a deep breath): Imperial Chemical Industries, the Department for International Development, the Worldwide Fund for Nature, the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development and the Department of Trade and Industry.

The keynote speaker at this array of the great and not-so-good was none other than Renato "Rocky" Ruggiero, a one-man charisma bypass and outgoing director-general of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Rocky is probably one of the most powerful men on the face of the planet. As the WTO's first boss, he has, to paraphrase his own words, rewritten the rules of the global economy.

The conference was obviously a perfect opportunity for Rocky to further his plan of spoon-feeding greenwash to nongovernmental organizations by giving them a baby chair at the table of power. Little did he know that as he waxed lyrical on the joys of sustainable economic growth, outside waited trained representatives of the UK arm of the BBB, aka People Insurgent Everywhere (PIE), each armed with an exquisite lemon pie enhanced with the tackiest, most wastefully packaged product known to humankind: whipped cream in an aerosol can.

So, after a hard morning's work schmoozing, the bald-pated, bespectacled, well-rounded Rocky emerged from the hallowed portals of Chatham House. Our fearless band of entarteurs (to use the original Belgian term made famous by Bill Gates-pier Noel Godin) approached him, one hailing him before he reached his chauffeur-driven limo.

"Mr. Ruggiero?" said the pie-handler, feeling desperately for his pie.

# DAY TO PIE



"Yes?" said Rocky, his minder stepping between charge and assailant, the latter still fumbling in a plastic bag for ammunition. Suddenly out of left field came a perfectly aimed pie, striking Rocky on the left cheek. Again out of nowhere a second pie scores a second direct hit. Rocky goes down, shielding himself with a sheaf of documents from the glare of cameras and the eyes of conference delegates sucking at ciggies. "Oh my gaad!" shrieked an unidentified American accent, possibly referring to the nightmare that is the North American Free Trade Agreement.

"That's a present from the dispossessed!" shouts one exultant assailant. Another achieves full coverage by spreading thick, sickly cream all over Rocky's sweaty head. As he cowers, one shouts, "That's from the turtles!" reminding him of the recent landmark WTO decision refusing the US permission to boycott turtle-unfriendly shrimp. "We are everywhere!" came another call, before the adrenalised entarteurs made off into the West End crowds, leaving Rocky to lick his wounds and mourn his dignity.

Rocky slithered back into Chatham House with videographer in hot pursuit, the final shot being of the bathroom door slamming in the intrepid cameraman's face. Temper, temper, Rocky. Could this be the start of a global epidemic of entartement?

## San Francisco Mayor Gets Pastry Treatment

San Francisco, CA, Nov. 7—The BBB successfully delivered a "three strikes and you're out" message to San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown in the form of three pies flopped directly in his face. Mayor Brown had just begun to deliver the opening speech at the "Great Sweep III" event, proclaiming, "This morning we have something even more dramatic to talk about," when three BBB agents tossed tofu cream, mixed berry and pumpkin pies, all of which scored direct hits.

The Biotic Baking Brigade pied Mayor Willie Brown in order to expose this event for what it is: the start of the "Great Homeless Sweep." The mayor's "San Francisco Cares" program is designed to drive homeless people out of key tourist and commercial districts. According to the National Coalition for the Homeless, there are more than seven homeless people for every available shelter bed. Approximately 1,150 people are turned away from the largest shelters each month. The three largest shelters run nightly lotteries for beds. Under the new program, the police will offer shelter to homeless people. If a person "refuses" the generous help of the San Francisco Police Department, they will be ticketed for "quality of life" infractions!

The three pie-slingers were immediately tackled by security and police, and one BBB agent suffered a broken clavicle. The BBB will press

assault charges against the security officer responsible.

## POPE PIED

San Francisco, CA, Nov. 14—The BBB generously delivered a cappuccino cream pie to Sierra Club President Carl Pope at the club's annual board of directors meeting. Agent Key Lime served up this treat to the Sierra Club's "cappuccino environmentalist" president with the announcement, "Hey Carl, this is for Headwaters," then vanished from the third floor of the building without a trace. Agent Key Lime gently achieved full facial contact, thereby successfully completing "Operation Carl's Comeuppance."

The BBB tried and pied Pope for the following crimes: using his political influence to save the Headwaters Deal from defeat in the California legislature; supporting the disastrous and unpopular Quincy Library Bill rider; siding with multinational timber corporation Weyerhaeuser by supporting fraudulent land swaps in Washington state and Arkansas; and most importantly, for accepting multimillion-dollar gifts for the club while refusing to disclose who made them or the strings that may be attached. Where's the money coming from, Carl?

The General Command of the Biotic Baking Brigade, Ecotopia Cell met in emergency session at Boysenberry Prairie and issued the following statement: "In defense of our headquarters and secret ovens here in the heart of the Headwaters forest, we issued a

neering group the Hexterminators to offer their input on two "strategic alliances" between public universities and multinational biotechnology corporations. Operation "Double Fudge" consisted of two phases: Phase I, code-named "Privatize This!" took place shortly after a press conference announcing the new "strategic alliance" between the University of California, Berkeley and biotech giant Novartis.

BBB Agent "Tart Classique" and Hexterminator activist "Super Seed Woman" delivered two delicious airborne vegan pumpkin pies to Novartis president Douglas G. Watson and Gordon Rausser, dean of the College of Natural Resources at UC Berkeley. Watson's pie hit its mark, while Rausser's pie nicked him and then splattered across a university banner in the background. The pumpkin pies symbolized the estimated 60 percent of food on American tables this Thanksgiving that contained genetically engineered products.

Phase II was code-named "Cow Pie Special." At a campus brown bag lunch, BBB Agent Cow dished up a lovely banana crême pie to University of California, Davis Chancellor Larry Vanderhoof, also achieving pleasant and harmless facial deliverance. This special treat was served as a response to the UC Davis strategic alliance with genetic-engineering pirate Monsanto, which will result in a new biotech research facility on campus.

"We hold the University of California in flagrant contempt of its mission as a public interest institution by selling its facilities, services and students to the world's largest biotechnology and agrochemical corporations, Novartis and Monsanto. This is completely unacceptable, especially at a time when both corporations face heated international criticism for their business practices. Novartis and Monsanto are playing with the basic building blocks of life, as well as the food security of millions across the globe. These corporations continue to give us lies so we have no choice but to respond with pies," said the BBB.

The BBB would like to dedicate this field work to some of our favorite creative/subversive types: Eric Drooker, whose artwork moves us deeply; Danny Dollinger and Dan Fortsen, brilliant musicians, troubadours and supreme pie aficionados; and Dennis Fritzing of the Warrior Poets Society, a BBB supporter since day one.

"The BBB is a movement rather than a group. We have no members, though there is an underground network of militant bakers who provide us with nothing but the best vegan and organic pies. The focus of the current pastry uprising is to hold corporate crooks and their lackeys in government and the nonprofit sector accountable. Our track record shows that unlike them, we don't just promise pie in the sky, we deliver," concluded Agent Apple.



Operation Free Willie—If the people will pie, the leaders will swallow. Agent Lemon Meringue delivers Willie's just dessert.

directive to our agents in the Bay Area to deliver a message to the Sierra Club's Pope: 'HCP this!' Carl Pope has no business bargaining away wilderness that he hasn't even been to. We speak pie to power and send this message to his other corporate enviro cronies as well.

This action is dedicated to the work and inspiration of a certain musician, who wrote the following lyrics for a song about Sierra Club founder John Muir: "If he could see the pollution now, he'd settle for no compromise/ It's too bad the Sierra Club waters down his legacy straightening corporate bigwigs' ties."

## Watch Out, Here Comes the Pies Again!

Berkeley, CA, Nov. 23—The BBB teamed up with the anti-genetic engi-

## BARE BONES

### Witch-Hunting Federal Employees

The witch hunt to indict federal employees as criminal environmentalists has grown beyond Rep. Don Young's efforts (see *EF!* Nov.-Dec. '98). In a September 21 letter, the Ferry County, Washington, Board of Commissioners asked the US Department of Agriculture's inspector general to launch an investigation into federal employees who exert "undo influence upon federal decision making in our county" and "are also members of environmental groups that advocate 'reform' of federal policy from within."

"We know that some of our local federal employees are also members or officers of foundation-funded environmental groups with agendas to 'reform' federal policy... which has an ominous sound to our ears," the commissioners wrote.

### World Bank Cuts Off Yadana Pipeline

World Bank officials have decided not to fund the Ratchaburi power plant in Thailand that would have used natural gas from the Yadana gas field (see *EF!* May-June '98) lying 44 miles off the Burmese coast. US-based Unocal and Total of France own 28 and 31 percent of the pipeline project respectively. The remaining shares are owned by the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise, which is controlled by the Burmese military dictatorship.

The pipeline is controversial because its route will cross ecologically fragile mangrove swamps, the Tavoy and Zinba river valleys, and the densely forested mountains along the Thai-Burma border. Local villagers also say that the Burmese army has rounded up tens of thousands of villagers to build this pipeline as well as roads, airports, military facilities and multinational oil company buildings. A US embassy report issued in July 1996 said, "The military continued to force ordinary Burmese on a massive scale (including woman and children) to contribute their labor, often under harsh working conditions, on construction projects around the country."

In late August, Earth Rights International activists in Thailand and the Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL) in Washington, DC, sent a letter to the board of directors at the World Bank to ask the bank not to fund the Ratchaburi plant because of the human rights and environmental implications of supporting the project.

### Russian Enviro Espionage Case Dismissed

In late October a Russian judge concluded that the indictment of Aleksandr Nikitin for treason was too unclear and that the court could not accept any of the expert conclusions.

Nikitin was charged with espionage and disclosure of state secrets while working for the Russian-based Bellona Foundation. He was arrested on February 6, 1996, after writing two chapters for a Bellona report on the risks of radioactive pollution from Russia's Navy. He was held in pre-trial detention for over 11 months and had been officially restricted to the city limits of St. Petersburg since his release from custody.

"Never before in Soviet and Russian history was an indictment of treason through espionage dismissed by the Court," said Thomas Nilsen, co-author of the Northern Fleet report. "Therefore, today's decision is of historic value."

# ELF BURNS VAIL RESORT

continued from front page

The new ski area alone, without the condos, would include four new chair lifts, 12 miles of road and ski ways and a 350-seat restaurant spanning Two Elk Creek, among other things. Ben Doon of AFR noted in the May-June issue of the *Earth First! Journal* that, "Twelve-hundred logging trucks would be needed to haul away six million board feet of virgin spruce and fir. In return for the destruction of this pristine roadless area, the public would get back a pitiful 1.5 cents on every dollar made by Vail Inc. on this expansion, or less than \$1 for every \$56 lift ticket." Vail's net revenues last year were \$291 million, garnered from Vail Mountain and its five other ski resorts, which already include six hotels, 72 restaurants, 40 retail and rental outlets and over 1,300 condominiums. Altogether, Vail Resorts, the parent company of Vail Associates, controls almost half of the Colorado ski market.

The focus of the environmental opposition, however, was not the unwieldy size of the corporation but the unconscionable destruction of the last of the potential lynx habitat in Colorado. Since 1935, only four lynx sightings have been documented in Colorado, and three of those sightings were in the immediate vicinity of the proposed expansion. White River National Forest Supervisor Martha Ketelle had agreed in writing not to allow work on the expansion until a voluntary consultation with the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) on the risk to the lynx had been concluded. But both Vail Resorts and the Forest Service threw the pretense of concern about the lynx to the wind when logging equipment was brought in on October 16.

Why the rush? Because hearings are now being conducted on listing the lynx as endangered. If the lynx is so listed, USFWS consultation would be required, and, as the Colorado Division of Wildlife has stated, "If there is any critical lynx habitat in the state, this is it!" Indeed, the listing of the lynx would necessitate the largest endangered species recovery effort ever, encompassing 53 national forests and 24 Bureau of Land Management districts.

And so, as soon as the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals decided on October 14 not to impose an injunction on the expansion until the appeal is heard, Vail began clearcutting and roadbuilding. AFR intended to protest in earnest. But while AFR bided its time, the ELF acted.

The widely held suspicion that the fires were set to protest the Vail expansion was confirmed two days after the fire when the ELF issued a communiqué claiming responsibility (see box opposite page).

Suddenly, the ELF was center stage in the theater of national media. But the star of the show is camera shy. The ELF is an underground group with no spokespeople or office. In the past two years, its actions have included burning two Forest Service wildlife research facilities in Wash-

ington, burning

Forest



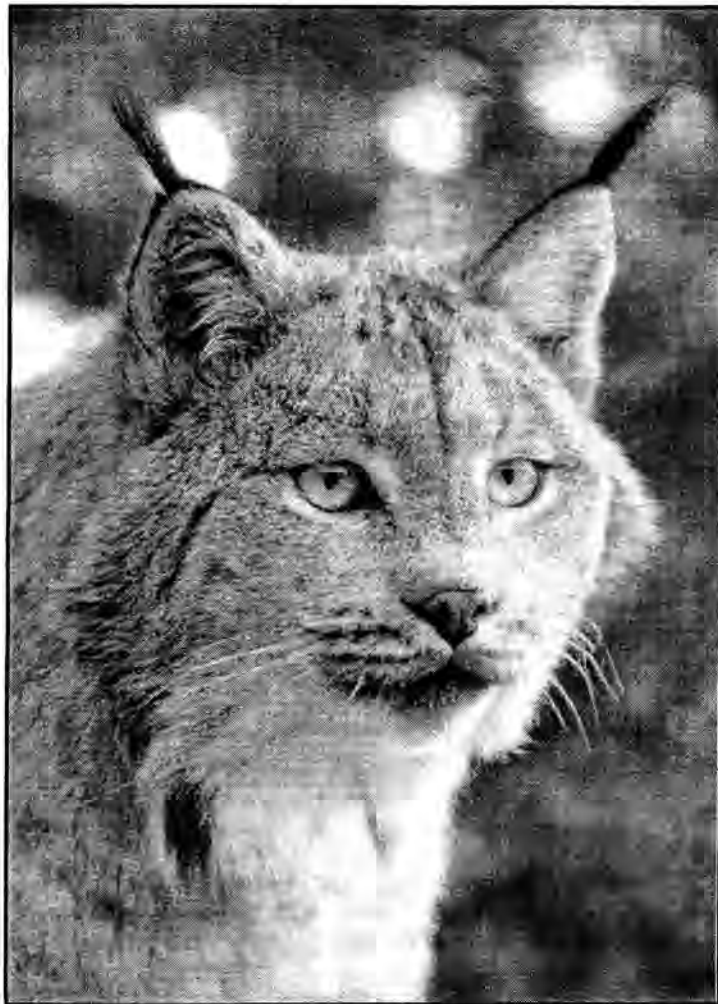
Service vehicles and spiking trees in Oregon's Willamette National Forest, monkeywrenching bulldozers in California, and burning a horse slaughterhouse in central Oregon.

Much of the information about the ELF available in the US has come from the *EF!*. In the September-October 1993 issue, an anonymous article announced the creation of the ELF in England. It said the ELF "is a movement of independently operating eco-saboteurs" that split from the "British *EF!* movement, which has focused largely on public direct actions." The author noted that, unlike the ALF which seeks publicity, "ELF cells, for security reasons, work without informing the press and do not claim responsibility for actions... The surest way to be done for conspiracy or to attract surveillance or infiltrators is to seek attention." Instead, the ELF publicizes pre-announced, internationally coordinated "Earth Nights." These announcements always call for harm to property only, never life.

A second article in the September-October 1996 *EF!* by Tara the Sea ELF specified that the "ELF solidified in 1992 at the first UK Earth First! gathering in Brighton, England." It also reiterated that the "ELF has no command structure or solid network, each group is independent. There is no press office or office, so the authorities have nowhere to trace or focus their eyes and ears."

The ELF also lacks a phone number, contact person or e-mail address. For information, the journalists covering the Vail arson turned to the next best things, Earth First! and the Animal Liberation Front press office in Minnesota

(what the heck, *EF!*, ALF, ELF, the names are so similar!). The story quickly turned from arson and its motives, to "eco-terrorism" and its perpetrators. Much like when Theodore Kaczynski was arrested and the media tried to portray him as an Earth First!er, the spark of interest was whipped into a full-blown conflagration by long-time anti-environmentalists, Ron Arnold and Barry



The last lynx habitat in Colorado will be destroyed by the Vail expansion.

© Rick Thompson/Western Ecosystems, Inc.

Clausen. They put themselves forward as experts on "eco-terrorism," and contacted major media outlets to spin the story. Lazy reporters failed to disclose both Arnold and Clausen's ties to the timber industry. In the past, Arnold has gone as far as to say, "We are out to kill the fuckers. We're simply trying to eliminate them. Our goal is to destroy envi-

ronmentalism once and for all." In service of that agenda, Clausen and Arnold portray all frontline activists as violent terrorists, besmirching the good names of thousands of activists across the country who put their own lives on the line as Earth First!

The *Rocky Mountain News* ran with the story, quoting Clausen saying, "The *Earth First! Journal* puts out the call for action. They read the literature and then they go out and commit acts of sabotage." To prove his credibility as an eco-terrorist researcher, Clausen contrives analysis like, "The language in the Internet communiqué claiming responsibility 'sounded exactly like' other messages the Earth Liberation Front has sent," specifically because the communiqué uses the word "tolerated" (that most terrorist of words!). Clausen continues, "The ecoterrorism movement has spawned 'serial arsonists, no telling how many, who are going around the West.'" Ron Arnold even said in *USA Today* that "the fires have 'upped the ante' to the tactics used by terrorists in Europe and the Middle East."

While Clausen and Arnold spewing bull-pucky is no new thing, the media's alarming perpetuation of libelous and inaccurate information was truly surprising. Perhaps no article was further from the truth than one in the *London Observer*, which claimed, "Last month's issue of *Live Wild or Die* delivered an eco-terrorist manifesto that has come to a smoking cli-

max in the ski town of Vail, Colorado." The ELF "is lead by a man in his early thirties who calls himself 'Voice from the Siskiyous'... In 1988 Earth First! fell apart. Foreman, concerned at the growing violence,



## SABOTAGE BY ANY OTHER NAME

Two stories received substantial (and substantially different) media attention over the past two weeks: the murder of abortion provider Dr. Barnett A. Slepian in Buffalo, New York, and the arson attack on a Vail, Colorado, ski resort. While both acts were politically motivated, there is at least one glaring difference in media coverage: the frequency of terms like "terrorism" or "terrorist."

According to an October 28 search of papers and broadcast transcripts on the Nexis news database, reporters referred to Dr. Slepian's murder as "terrorist" or "terrorism" six times (not counting quotations from sources). Reporters themselves called the arson attack on the Vail ski resort "terrorist" or "terrorism" 55 times.

The destruction in Vail was an attack on private property, while Slepian's murder was an act of violence against a human being. None-

theless, the Vail fires were labeled by journalists as a "terrorist" act nearly ten times as often as the murder of Dr. Slepian.

The overwhelming bias in labeling was accompanied by other, more straightforward forms of bias. Consider the following explanation of the Vail fires, provided by *Time's* John Cloud: "More broadly, the fires may signal a last wheeze of radicalism within environmentalism. When radicals lose arguments, they burn things, thereby rendering themselves unable to affect real change."

Media outlets also relied heavily on self-styled experts on "eco-terrorism" with very little discussion of their backgrounds.

Consider Ron Arnold, the executive director of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. Arnold was named to the Top 10 "enemies of the Earth" list in a poll of environmental groups. He considers himself the chief orga-

nizer of the Wise Use movement, an anti-environmental movement backed by corporate and right-wing dollars. Arnold has also been a spokesperson for Dow and Union Carbide and wrote a biography of Ronald Reagan's former Secretary of the Interior, James Watt. (Watt was fond of dividing US citizens into two categories: "liberals" and "Americans.")

Since the Vail arson, Arnold has been used as an expert on "eco-terrorism" by dozens of media outlets, including ABC News, the *New York Times*, Associated Press and *USA Today*.

In commenting to an industry group in 1981, Arnold said, "Antichemical activists are the world's number one crop pest. Once you recognize that, you must treat them like a noxious weed or a pernicious disease that attacks public opinion and public policy. They are just another hostile organism that must be controlled."

In an interview with author David Helvarg, Arnold speculated on the possibility of Wise Use activists resorting to violence: "Ask the FBI. They're concerned, and they should be. There's a war brewing here."

—FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING, OCTOBER 1998

# Media Field Day Follows

ceded the leadership to Darryl Cherney and Judy Bari... The group is now part of the Direct Action Movement, based in Eugene, Oregon, and publishes a Direct Action Manual... The ELF is now part of a network loosely fronted by an alliance called the Liberation Collective, based in Portland, Oregon." That one article contains so many inaccuracies it takes the whole idea of slovenly journalism to a new level. For the record, *Live Wild or Die* did not print an "eco-terrorist manifesto," it doesn't publish monthly, there is no ELF leader, EF! didn't fall apart, there is no EF! leader, Judy is spelled Judi, there is no such thing as the Direct Action Movement, and the Liberation Collective is not an ELF front.

Despite the media's seeming certainty about the identity of arsonists, some have questioned the authenticity of the ELF communiqué. They point out that the communiqué wasn't sent out until two days after the arson, that the ELF has said previously it wouldn't claim responsibility for actions and that the communiqué seems to contain a veiled threat of physical violence ("For your safety..."). Likewise, one AFR activist pointed out that a more effective act of sabotage would have been aimed at the machinery working on the expansion, not the existing resort.

Oh yes, Ancient Forest Rescue... The environmentalists working publicly to stop the Vail expansion, has been somewhat lost in the sound and fury over who or what the ELF is. Their nonviolence code specifically disavows property destruction, and AFR spokesperson Jeff Berman went so far as to say, "I would rather see Vail Resorts, through all their duplicity and greed, destroy the Two Elk Roadless Area than have some cowardly actions and threats erode the growing opposition to Vail's rapacious plans..."

Such sentiments were reiterated by mainstream environmentalists and even some Earth First!ers across the country, who called yet again for a reconsideration or prohibition of monkeywrenching in the radical environmental movement. Meanwhile, other activists maintained the ELF's actions should be supported by Earth First!

Over the years, a number of arguments have been trotted out to justify night actions. Some people believe sabotage discourages developers by hitting them in the pocket book, making insurance companies leery of underwriting their development schemes. Some say strategic wrenching during certain windows of opportunity can delay a project until other tactics permanently halt it. Some go in for the pure intimidation value or the visceral pleasure, offering a shining light to the disaffected masses by highlighting the true power of a turn of the wrench or a flick of the Bic. Opponents argue primarily that sabotage alienates too many people whose support is critical to the development of a mass movement and that sabotage doesn't really stop development anyway. Regardless of their stance, however, both camps tend to cling dogmatically to their own perspectives, with opponents back-pedaling and advocates spinning faster than the facts come in.

Truth be told, it is unlikely that a complete diagnosis of the damage inflicted to Vail Associates will ever be revealed. VA has gone to great lengths

to lull the skiing public into believing that "the premiere guest experience for which Vail has always been known will not be compromised." Its list of "frequently asked questions" provides reassurances about every last detail: "Will the dining experience on Vail Mountain be negatively impacted by the fires?" Don't worry, "Vail Moun-

## ON BEHALF OF THE LYNX,

five buildings and four ski lifts at Vail were reduced to ashes on the night of Sunday, October 18. Vail, Inc. is already the largest ski operation in North America and now wants to expand even further. The 12 miles of roads and 885 acres of clearcuts will ruin the last, best lynx habitat in the state. Putting profits ahead of Colorado's wildlife will not be tolerated. This action is just a warning. We will be back if this greedy corporation continues to trespass into wild and unroaded areas. For your safety and convenience, we strongly advise skiers to choose other destinations until Vail cancels its inexcusable plans for expansion.

—EARTH LIBERATION FRONT

tain has 17 other restaurants."

Certainly, from a public relations standpoint, it's prudent for VA to underplay the loss, but most of the evidence corroborates the claim that the direct economic damage was minimal. The cost of the torched buildings will be covered by insurance, as will any "business interruption" revenue losses. Vail Associates says media coverage of the fires has not affected book-

ings for the coming season, and its stock price was up 1.5 points as of close of trading the day after the fire. The resort did open a few days later than planned, but that was attributed to an extreme winter storm, not the arson.

Strategically, the arson seems to have had little on-the-ground effect as well. Vail was able to continue logging in the roadless area two days after the arson. At present, work in the roadless area has been stopped due to early snows.

The indirect effects of the arson are harder to quantify. It certainly gained the anti-expansion campaign an international audience. At some level, the elves' action will cause developers to think twice about undertaking such a controversial expansion in the future, and it's possible that insuring such schemes will be more difficult. In the whaling industry, for example, concerted sabotage has made it almost impossible for prospective whalers to insure their boats.

Perhaps the most dramatic effect of the arson will not be felt by VA at all, but by the activist community. In a state where skiing is king, AFR had succeeded in the impossible—wrenching local sentiment away from VA. Of 401 comments received by the Forest Service in regards to the expansion, 375 (over 93 percent) opposed the project, while only six expressed support. Of those six, four were from VA executives and contractors.

After the fires, the pendulum swung back again. Two hundred community do-gooders offered VA volunteer help. "Offers of support poured in from area businesses, school children and residents," according to the Associated Press. "These fires have created a lot of sympathy for Vail Associates," said Town Manager Bob McLaurin, "I think it's going to

pull this community together."

The fires also prevented AFR from continuing their protest of the expansion. Many people have surmised that AFR had "failed" to stop the expansion and that sabotage was the next logical step. In truth, AFR had already established satellite camps in the roadless area in order to protest and monitor the expansion. Their plan to begin direct action when Vail attempted to bring in a bridge to cross Eagle Creek, as well as monitoring to watch for con-

tract violations, was suspended due to the extreme law enforcement presence immediately following the fires. (There were five National Guard helicopters scouring the region.)

In the aftermath of the arson, an intense police investigation has been focused on the activists. From day one, law enforcement threw itself willy-nilly into the search, tossing a dragnet over all of the local activists. One hundred and eighty-five public safety officers and Vail employees scoured the mountain the day of the fire. Since then, up to 45 Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents, 18 FBI agents and 25 Eagle County Sheriff officers have been working on the investigation. Over 50 interviews have been conducted, including many with local environmentalists. Stephanie Altman, head of the Wilderness Study Group at Colorado University in Boulder, was contacted by FBI agents, and when she failed to return their phone calls, they went to her advisor, drilling him about why she wouldn't talk to investigators. Another university student, whose only involvement in the campaign was attending a single slide show, was also questioned. Jonathan Staufer, lifelong Vail resident and AFR activist, and other AFR activists were contacted. Fortunately, most environmentalists close to the campaign have refused to speak to investigators, and only random people at the edge of the campaign have dignified the witch-hunt with the universal: "But, I don't know anything!"

In the final analysis, there is no way to know whether the arson was more effective than the civil disobedience it preempted. In the past, sabotage has helped stop developments in Colorado. At Bowen Gulch, a timber sale on the edge of Rocky Mountain National Park, tree spiking was part of a campaign of road blockading, tree sitting and boycotting that delayed the sale until it was incorporated into the 1989 Colorado Wilderness bill. Alternatively, the East Fork ski resort in Colorado was stopped without any sabotage. What is important is that the activists who have been there for the long haul continue to oppose the expansion. And if the international magnifying glass focused on Vail helps stop the expansion, it might all have been worth it.

## BARE BONES

### Ruling for the Grizz

A federal judge ruled recently that the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) had failed to protect the critically endangered Selkirk grizzly bear population in the Selkirk Mountains of northern Idaho and north-eastern Washington. Once part of a contiguous population of more than 50,000 ranging from Mexico to Canada, the 26-36 Selkirk bear population now teeters on the brink of extinction.

### Surveilling the Anti-nukers

A decade ago, the Department of Energy (DOE) tried to argue that opponents of atomic energy were somehow psychologically unbalanced. Now, the DOE is trying a similar tactic on opponents of radioactive waste dumps and transportation. "If you can't beat 'em," the DOE seems to be saying, "track 'em, follow 'em, check their funding and intimidate 'em."

A new DOE survey done under the auspices of contractors Booz, Allen, Hamilton and the University of New Mexico aims to discover the depth of opposition to the nuclear industry and DOE-supported plan to transport high-level atomic waste across the nation to an interim storage dump at Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

The questionnaire presented on behalf of DOE does not attempt to measure public opinion. Rather, it is aimed only at organizations critical of nuclear policies and asks questions such as: "How often has your organization provided training for protest (civil disobedience/training for police confrontation)? participated in litigation over spent nuclear fuel issues? How is the organization funded? How effective are you in convincing policy makers in the US Congress?" and other questions intended to gauge the level and effectiveness of opposition to the options promoted by the nuclear power industry.

### USFS Raid Fall Creek

On Thursday, October 15, Forest Service law enforcement terrorized the Fall Creek, OR, forest occupation again, conducting a hit-and-run raid on the Red Cloud Thunder Free State in the Willamette National Forest.

Eight federal officers in military-style camouflage woke up the tree sitter's ground support crew and issued them tickets for blockading the road. Individuals were told to gather their gear and leave. Supporters who rushed from town witnessed heavy machinery clearing all the blockades on the road above the camp.

The officers took down a gazebo covering the entrance to a tunnel and dismantled the kitchen structures. They then piled the poles, kitchen cabinets, spice rack, boxes and trash into a bonfire in the middle of the road and burned everything. They "confiscated" tarps, climbing gear, lanterns, water filters, video cameras, food, books, pots, pans and personal gear, leaving ground support nothing to survive the approaching winter months. They even slashed the water containers. The backhoe then tore apart the tunnels and filled the holes with a "temporary road." The support crew witnessed this from the edge of camp after being questioned and searched by police.

For more information Cascadia Forest Defenders, POB 11122, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 343-7305.

# FEDERAL SENTENCING

## YOU MAY BE HEADED UP SHIT CREEK WITHOUT A PADDLE

BY DELYLA WILSON

The latest oppressive weapon used against activists is the federal sentencing statute. In communities all across the nation a federal program called "Weed and Seed" is being enacted by the government. The program's agenda is to form coalitions between local, state and federal law enforcement agencies so that "undesirables" in the community can be nailed with federal charges. These stiffer sentences have many advantages to the government and corporations extracting labor from the prison industry.

To help with the "criminal" element in the forest, Forest Service law enforcement officers (LEOs) are no longer under the jurisdiction of the local Forest Service district but under the Department of Justice. This means LEOs are basically FBI agents in green, and Joe activist is suddenly facing federal charges for that road blockade, tree sit or closure violation. Though this is a recent development there is a long sordid history behind federal sentencing.

During the Reagan administration there was a great outcry about racism in federal courts as well as large discrepancies in sentencing for similar crimes from one region of the country to another. To correct this and make federal sentencing tougher, a set of guidelines was developed. These guidelines removed a federal judge's ability to look at a particular case and decide that leniency was appropriate but left intact a judge's ability to sentence heavily. Several federal judges actually left the bench because they felt they no longer could be fair and reasonable with the guidelines in place.

Recently a federal judge in Montana sentenced an undocumented Mexican worker to 57 months for illegally attempting to cross over the Canadian border. He had been arrested previously for the same "crime" and also charged with possession of a small amount of marijuana. This so drastically affected where he stood on the guideline charts that he ended up being sentenced to almost five years. Wait, you say, *that's absurd!* Bad news, the feds are doing it more and more.

Many activists I have spoken with seem to think that federal charges aren't much different than state charges. Having faced federal charges, I decided to take the time to learn as much about the federal system as I could. What I learned should be a warning to Earth Firsters and all activists.

First of all, activists need to understand that all federal indictments are handed down by grand juries. In the past few years we've seen grand jury probes into a variety of our campaigns and people. What we may have missed is that every business day a grand jury meets to indict people for everything from assassination to illegally shooting fireworks. The feds can bring your case before a grand jury and indict you without you knowing anything about it. A special grand jury does not need to be convened; your charges can be brought before a grand jury already in session.

Unlike the state, whose only investment into your charges is a prosecutor filing paper, the feds are not likely to drop charges if they have taken the time to indict you via a grand jury. The point is to get you into the system and sentenced on a federal level. This is a much more effective method of curbing and breaking activists.

To understand how this works take a look at the sentencing table. On the left is offense level, which is broken into zones. Across the top is criminal history points. In federal cases, a judge must follow this chart. This means that even if the judge is sympathetic with you s/he must sentence you within the range shown by the chart.

Each "crime" has an offense level. A nonviolent activist participating in civil disobedience might be charged with, say, a level eight. Now that crime is a high misdemeanor which carries a one-year maximum jail sentence. This means no matter where you end up in the chart they can't give you more than one year for this crime. However, additional charges

can be brought against you that scale up your sentence in a bewildering manner. Say you were in a tree sit and now face up to a year, but a level eight shows zero to six months and is in zone A. This means the judge can sentence you up to six months but has the option of probation. But wait, somebody's kid brought you food so you used a child in the commission of a crime. Offense level up two, and now you're at a ten. This puts you in zone B, and now you're facing six to 12 months of jail time, but the judge still has the option of house arrest (which you must pay for). If you manage to get into the small zone C, then you only have to do a minimum of half your time in custody. But you had a knife, a dangerous weapon, so add nine points, and don't forget the other nine for conspiring with your support crew. Well, this puts you at 28, which is 78-97 months. They can only give you the maximum for your crime so you won't do more than a year, but once you hit level 13, you had a year minimum and you are now in zone D, which means you must serve the minimum amount shown or the maximum amount for the charge. See ya in a year.

The same scenario again: high misdemeanor, facing up to a year with a level eight. We'll take a look at how the criminal history category plays. This

is the maximum for the charge, but now you will get at least four and a half months in a federal prison. Three more points would have moved you into category 13, zone D, and you would be doing the full year. This is very important for those activists that are getting strings of small misdemeanors because the feds can get you for a relatively small crime and jail you for extended periods.

Finally, to bring it all together I am going to use an example of a more serious offense, shall we say, arson (damn shame those mills burnt down!). You were busted by the FBI, which got involved because of the perceived political nature of the arson. When you were indicted by the grand jury they handed down a charge that had a maximum penalty of 10 years and was a level 20 offense. So you start by facing 33 to 41 months. Because there were multiple offenses, we can add on two levels for each charge. Let's say you only burned two mills total. This brings you up to level 22. Next they decide you put someone at risk of death (yeah, no one was there but someone could have been), add nine. This brings you up to 31. If they wanted to, they could add points for damage amounts, relevant conduct and/or many other "offense enhancements." There are a few things that can reduce

your offense level, but they're limited to pleading guilty and a bad childhood. So without the super-extras at level 31, zone D, you are facing a minimum 108 months or nine years in federal prison of which you must serve at least 80 percent or seven years and three months. To make matters worse, before you went underground you got popped at a road blockade a couple of times and received probation. One of these times you were sentenced to six months in jail with all but 30 days suspended. That means you move into criminal history category two. Your minimum sentence is now 10 years of which you must serve at least eight. If you plea, you can drop two levels and only face 97 months (which is why many folks plea).

There is also a career criminal law that can be applied to repeat offenders who are busted with a controlled substance or for violent offenses. For example, you got busted at the scene and you happen to have controlled substances on you. For the controlled substances bit, you only have to have two previous arrests and a pot bust (so watch

out if you've got a record and some herb). The way things are going we never know when the feds will start pulling this out of the hat.

It is time to wake up to the reality of the federal system. Yes, some activists are choosing to plea out at the federal level because, particularly for ELF and ALF activists and monkey-wrenchers, pleading can save them a year or more in prison. The feds don't kick people out because of over crowding in the prisons. You must do at least 80 percent of your sentence, and it is to their advantage to have you in prison if you are able-bodied. Prisons are now the number one growth industry in the United States and a great source of free labor for multinational corporations. It is past time to set up an underground to get our people safe if they choose to run. The days of 30-day jail sentences are over and some of us that end up facing real time may choose to go underground, where we can still be useful and not work for the puppet prisons of the evil multinationals destroying our world.

**SENTENCING TABLE**  
(in months of imprisonment)

Criminal History Category (Criminal History Points)

Offense Level	I (0 or 1)	II (2 or 3)	III (4, 5, 6)	IV (7, 8, 9)	V (10, 11, 12)	VI (13 or more)
1	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6
2	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6	1-7
3	0-6	0-6	0-6	0-6	2-8	3-9
<b>Zone A</b>						
4	0-6	0-6	0-6	2-8	4-10	6-12
5	0-6	0-6	1-7	4-10	6-12	9-15
6	0-6	1-7	2-8	6-12	9-15	12-18
<b>Zone B</b>						
7	0-6	2-8	4-10	8-14	12-18	15-21
8	0-6	4-10	6-12	10-16	15-21	18-24
9	4-10	6-12	8-14	12-18	18-24	21-27
<b>Zone C</b>						
10	6-12	8-14	10-16	15-21	21-27	24-30
11	8-14	10-16	12-18	18-24	24-30	27-33
12	10-16	12-18	15-21	21-27	27-33	30-37
13	12-18	15-21	18-24	24-30	30-37	33-41
14	15-21	18-24	21-27	27-33	33-41	37-46
15	18-24	21-27	24-30	30-37	37-46	41-51
16	21-27	24-30	27-33	33-41	41-51	46-57
17	24-30	27-33	30-37	37-46	46-57	51-63
18	27-33	30-37	33-41	41-51	51-63	57-71
19	30-37	33-41	37-46	46-57	57-71	63-78
20	33-41	37-46	41-51	51-63	63-78	70-87
21	37-46	41-51	46-57	57-71	70-87	77-96
22	41-51	46-57	51-63	63-78	77-96	84-105
23	46-57	51-63	57-71	70-87	84-105	92-115
24	51-63	57-71	63-78	77-96	92-115	100-125
<b>Zone D</b>						
25	57-71	63-78	70-87	84-105	100-125	110-137
26	63-78	70-87	78-97	92-115	110-137	120-150
27	70-87	78-97	87-108	100-125	120-150	130-162
28	78-97	87-108	97-121	110-137	130-162	140-175
29	87-108	97-121	108-135	121-151	140-175	151-188
30	97-121	108-135	121-151	135-168	151-188	168-210
31	108-135	121-151	135-168	151-188	168-210	188-235
32	121-151	135-168	151-188	168-210	188-235	210-262
33	135-168	151-188	168-210	188-235	210-262	235-293
34	151-188	168-210	188-235	210-262	235-293	262-327
35	168-210	188-235	210-262	235-293	262-327	292-365
36	188-235	210-262	235-293	262-327	292-365	324-405

time you decide to plea out, they didn't see the kid, you ate with nothing but a spoon and chewed apart any rope you needed cut. Because you plead and accept responsibility for your crime, they drop the offensive level by two so now you're at a six. Cool—zero to six months probation here we come. But wait, you've had six prior arrests. You received probation two times on minor trespass charges and 30 days another time so that moves you to category three with four points. Then you got that judge who gave you 90 days the first time you saw him (add two points). Because he was sick of seeing your face, he gave you six months the next time. You never served more than 30 days in a stretch, but what you served is immaterial because what you were sentenced to is what counts, so let's add four more points. This brings you into category five with ten points. Instead of facing zero to six and probation, you're facing nine to 15 months of which at least half must be spent in custody because you've moved into zone C. Again they cannot sentence you for more than a year if that

courtesy of Rud Coronado

# Dear Ned Ludd

DEAR NED LUDD is an irregular feature in the *Earth First! Journal* for discussion of creative means of effective defense against the forces of industrial totalitarianism. Neither the *Earth First!* movement nor the *Earth First! Journal* necessarily encourage anyone to do any of the things discussed in DEAR NED LUDD. Send us your submissions.

Dear Ned,

I have some burning desires I simply can't put out of my mind and, even though they may not traditionally fall within the realm of *Earth First!* tactics, I must bring them to light. After all, it has been five and a half years since spicy reports from the Radical Vegan Barbeque blazed across the pages of the *Earth First! Journal*.

First off, lest I ignite a heated debate of violence versus nonviolence, I must say: Torching the buildings and equipment of the corporate bastards who are raping the Earth and exploiting animals should always be done with a supreme reverence for all living beings! Arson is a highly sophisticated and extremely dangerous act that I don't take lightly. Rash actions serve no good and will burn you and others. Think before you strike that match, hothead; if you or anyone else is blown away not only will that loss be suffered, but the integrity of the rest of the movement will go up in smoke.

Stoke your flames on the moral high ground, take heed and don't get caught! The state would take great pleasure in raking you over your own coals, slowly roasting you in prison because there is no statute of limitations for arson. But don't let that dampen your desire. The

## Kerosene Fire Jug

Plastic water or milk jugs filled with kerosene make simple, effective incendiaries for burning buildings or cars. Inextinguishable birthday "joke candles" have been substituted for incense sticks in this recipe for their greater success rate in the field.

### Materials Required:

- One one-gallon plastic water/milk jug with screw on lid
- One and one-quarter gallons of kerosene
- One quart-sized container with a screw-on lid
- One thick, rectangular household sponge
- One pencil
- Two to four inextinguishable candles (birthday "joke candles")
- Two cigarette lighters

### Procedure:

1. Thoroughly clean the jug and the lid and remove all fingerprints!

2. Fill the jug almost to the top with kerosene, leaving approximately an inch of space for fumes to collect so the jugs won't leak. Pour the remaining quart of kerosene into another container with a screw-on lid.

3. Set the sponge on its side and use the pencil to punch two deep holes in each side of it to fit the inextinguishable candles, which will act as ignition delays.

4. Transport separately the jug, the quart of kerosene, the sponge and the candle igniters. Place the incendiary jug in the location you want it to burn and stuff the sponge through the handle of the plastic jug. Douse the surrounding area with the quart of kerosene, making sure to saturate the sponge. Light two to four inextinguishable candle igniters a safe distance from any fuel sources. Carefully insert the igniters into the holes in the sponge, one on either side of the jug handle.

When the candles burn down they ignite the sponge, which will in turn melt the jug, which will finally ignite the kerosene.

*NOTE: The inextinguishable candle igniters act as time delays on the ignition of the kerosene jug. They may burn anywhere from 15 to 45 minutes, depending on the circumstances. Take into consideration the atmospheric temperature, humidity, wind velocity and the length of the candles. Test the candle igniters under conditions that approximate the real thing so you can anticipate how long it will take before the jugs*

Earth is being burned. Let this information fan the flames of your resistance. We've gotta fight fire with fire.

## Safety Precautions

When mixing fuels, make sure there are no open flames in the area. Never smoke around fuels or devices! When possible, use kerosene as a substitute for gasoline. It is less volatile. Be aware of your position when igniting incendiaries so you don't get burned. Keep your hair back, and wear close-fitting clothing. Be careful not to get trapped inside a building or in an area that you cannot get out of. Above all—practice, practice, practice.

## Security Measures

Tell no one. Be acutely aware of leaving fingerprints, hair and fibers or any other traces behind. Mask your materials acquisition trail. Some stores have video cameras so get materials well in advance and from different and far away stores. Be a clean freak! Dispose of all tools and materials used to manufacture the devices. Wear gloves, old clothes and shoes that you can throw away during the entire process.

The following information introduces several incendiary devices, the materials required to make them, where to acquire the materials and the procedure for building the devices.

### Inextinguishable Candle



*"Fire has often been compared to a living creature: it eats, it breathes oxygen, it reproduces itself, behaves in ways according to certain rules that could be considered a thought process, it fights for life, and if deprived of its essential needs, it dies. Living or not, it is a ferocious beast of tremendous power."*  
—Lyle Whitney's new book, *"The Black Book of Arson."*

ignite. If you need to, the candle igniters can be skipped and the sponges can be lit directly from a safe distance.

## Gelled Flame Fuels

Liquid gasoline fuels are greatly enhanced by mixing various substances into them. Adding lye, soap, latex or wax to gasoline will create "gelled" or "paste" type fuels which are more viscous than liquid fuels. These will "stick" to the target and produce a higher concentration of heat. Gel can also be injected into the walls of buildings to achieve intense structure fires that are difficult to extinguish.

The following is a recipe which uses common household soap and alcohol to gel gasoline.

### Materials Required:

- One gallon gasoline
- One quart ethyl alcohol
- One box laundry soap (powdered or flaked)
- One gallon container with tight fitting lid
- Stirring stick

### Procedure:

1. If using bar soap, carve it into flakes using a knife.
2. Pour alcohol and gasoline into container and mix thoroughly 36 parts gasoline to one part ethyl alcohol.
3. Add 20 parts powdered soap or 28 parts flaked soap to gasoline-alcohol mix. Stir occasionally until thickened (about 15 minutes).

*NOTE: Detergents cannot be used! Unless the word "soap" actually appears somewhere on the container or wrapper, a washing compound is probably a detergent.*

## Molotov Cocktail

A Molotov cocktail is an incendiary projectile that bursts into flames when it hits the target. Acquire a quart-size glass bottle with a cork. Your standard bottle of wine, albeit large, will work just fine. Beer bottles will also work but are considered small ammo. Wide-mouth, 16-ounce bottles are great. Fill it two-thirds full with gasoline and one-third full with motor oil. Add styrofoam peanuts or soap flakes. Now, shake it baby! Fashion a fuse from a gasoline-soaked rag and stuff it in the mouth of the bottle. Push the cork in to hold the rag fuse. (Tampons soaked in gas make fine fuses screwed into a hole through the twist-cap on the 16-ounce bottles). That's it! Light the fuse and throw it, sidearm, at your target. Do not throw it overhead! You don't want Molotov juice all over your head!

### Placement of Incendiaries

For maximum combustion, place incendiaries strategically. It is important to know the strength of your incendiary and the structural weakness of the target. Find the most vulnerable, flammable, fuel-loaded area to hit, such as electrical wiring boxes, wood piles and paper/document storage areas. After all, you want to reduce to ashes what is built to withstand earthquakes, storms and yes, even fire itself.

Locate and assess the fire-sprinkler and security systems. Consider prevalent wind direction for outdoor operations and the proximity of things you don't want burned, like a forest. Place incendiaries where fire will quickly spread to the rest of the structure. Analyze the building type and its structural materials. If it is made of wood, you may be able to simply burn it from the outside. If it is made of concrete, you may need to get inside. Get the blue prints/floor plans if possible. Ask yourself if the whole thing will go up with just a carefully lobbed Molotov cocktail or will you need to ignite four kerosene jugs on the roof. Maybe you'll need to pump the walls full of gelled fuel?

Whatever the situation calls for, take every precaution to ensure no life is harmed in the process. Fully scout the target months in advance of your action: Make sure you know when and where any people or other animals typically are so as not to endanger them. Then, develop a plan for total incineration.

### Light reading for those with heated passions:

*The Black Book of Arson*, Lyle Whitney. Available from Loompanics Unlimited, POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

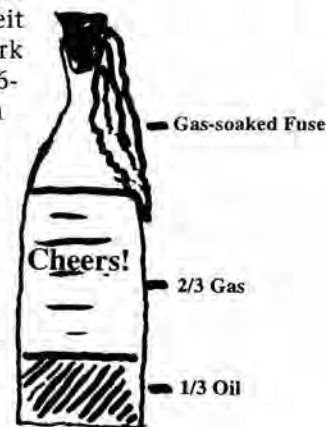
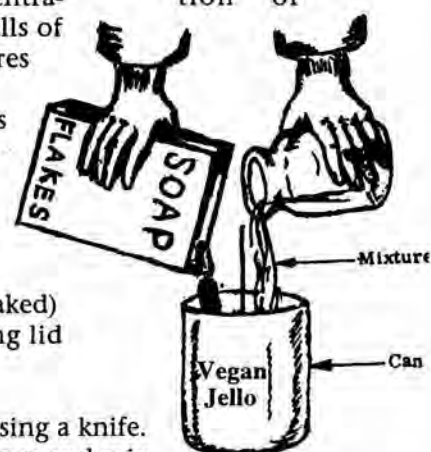
*The Final Nail, Destroying the Fur Industry #2*,. Found on ALF web site: [www.animal-liberation.net](http://www.animal-liberation.net).

*Black Book of Improvised Munitions*, Vol. 2. Also available from Loompanics.

Incendiarily yours,

Sparky

Inspired by the courageous resistance of Animal Liberation Front warrior Barry Horne. May his memory and his defiant death lend others the strength to act.



*"Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."*  
—MALCOLM X

# Now, what would you

"Ho, Ho, Ho! MERRY ANARCHISTMAS!"



CALL SANTA CLAUSEN AT (707) 268-1354 AND WISH HIM A MERRY ANARCHISTMAS!

who was directly involved. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,  
—THE ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS CLASS AT BURKE MOUNTAIN ACADEMY, POB 78, E. BURKE, VT 05832.

Dear Shit for Brains,  
I don't know if the claim of responsibility for the Vail fires by the Earth Liberation Front is true, but regardless of who actually lit the match, I'm pissed at the ELF who wrote this:

"This action is just a warning. We will be back if this greedy corporation continues to trespass into wild and unroaded areas. For your safety and convenience, we strongly advise skiers to choose other destinations until Vail cancels its inexcusable plans for expansion."

I believe that the real eco-terrorists are the ones destroying the earth and terrorizing her children. But the above quote implies a threat of violence to other human beings. And it begins to justify giving the FBI power to investigate radical environmentalists as a "terrorist threat" because the above text is, essentially, a terrorist threat.

—OIKOS

Dear Journalistas:

The "promise" of civil disobedience (CD) is a historical falsehood. First of all, any movement striving for social change has had a radical fringe that used means that involved damage of property, and sometimes, people. Where would Martin have been without Malcolm? Where would Gandhi have been without the thousands who took up arms against the British? Where would republican Spain have been without Durruti? Second of all, CD as a strategy does not threaten the power structure and will

only result in minor reforms. The civil rights movement resulted in the appearance of a just and equal society, but there are now more people of color in prison than ever before. And Gandhi's India is now just another world superpower with millions in poverty and rampant ethnic violence.

Third, some people have never kept their end of the "promise:" they are the upstanding citizens who killed Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner in Mississippi, the Nigerian generals who hung Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Chevron thugs who gunned down student protesters and the guardsmen who opened fire at Kent State.

Fourth, CD is not only unnatural, but anti-natural. Name another animal species that sits passively by while being attacked; it either fights, flees or goes extinct. The same goes for almost any person resisting attack on the street or in the home. But CD says, when resistance is really needed, in situations of social significance, deny these instincts.

Fifth, if you have grown up being harassed by the law and

Dear SFB/Letters to the *EF!* Journal

The *EF!* Journal's Samhain issue front page featured the alarming news, "Headwaters Activist Killed." Evidently a giant redwood tree was intentionally felled by an enraged MAXXAM/Pacific Lumber logger and aimed at protesters, fracturing David "Gypsy" Chain's head. Karen Pickett's article suggested contacting various government officials, but many of them are likely to be in cahoots with the perpetrators of this crime. If you really want to do something, as I have, send a check to Trees Foundation, POB 2202, Redway, CA, 95560 or Northcoast Earth First!, POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518 and designate it "For David Chain Legal Fund."

—I WASN'T THERE BUT I CARE

Charles Hurwitz, MAXXAM and A.E. Ammons fit the definition of maximum shits, as described in the *Webster's Dictionary*: maximum *adj* 1: greatest in quantity or highest in degree attainable or attained; shit *n* 4: slang: a contemptible person.

Charles Hurwitz is to the highest degree a contemptible person for directing his MAXXAM-Pacific Lumber to pay its loggers, such as the out of control A.E. Ammons, to cut down Earth's natural heritage of awesome, 1,000-year-old trees and in the process kill Gypsy who was a compassionate person for standing by the redwoods. MAXXAM is to the highest degree a contemptible group of persons, as seen in their connivance to furtively sell away our ancient forests. A.E. Ammons is to the highest degree the most contemptible person for brutally killing a tree so as to kill Gypsy, who was compassionately guarding the forest. They are *maxxam shits*, and saying so cannot possibly be construed as slander, as their actions and the dictionary confirm that they are maximum shits. Given that Charles Hurwitz, MAXXAM-Pacific Lumber and A.E.

Ammons are sitting safely, while activists are being pepper sprayed for protecting what Gypsy stood for, it's only fair that the rest of the world know the home address of Charles Hurwitz, Pacific Lumber and A.E. Ammons. Please print it here so that we may have the opportunity to write to Charles at his home, as Gypsy was killed in his home in the forest.

—DR. DICTIONARY

*Ed. Response: Contact MAXXAM at 5847 San Felipe, #2600, Houston, TX 77257; (713) 267-3722. Please forward all home addresses to Live Wild or Die at POB 481, Tucson, AZ 85702.*

—JB

Dear \$FB,

The recent action at Vail, Co. fits our universal premise of "No Compromise in defense of Momma Earth." All administrative remedy had been exhausted. The action was nonviolent. While some disagree with the tactic of financial ecotage, let's not fail the ELF's warriors and distance our movement from these brave defenders in the night. The elves' rallying call has not completely fallen on deaf ears. The power of truth is final.

—SNAGGLE TOOTH & ANNIE

Dear SFB,

The *Journal* has not done well supporting the action of the alleged ELF's arson of the Vail Resort on behalf of all of us in the *New York Times*. Here's why:

1) The FBI has used this once again to round up nonviolent protesters. Can we even be sure that this was done by people protecting the environment?

2) The communiqué asks skiers to use a different resort. Ahem. No self-respecting biocentrist would ask anyone to ski at any resort. A clear indication of a non-wilderness oriented ideology on behalf of the "ELF" writer.

3) We really have little information on this event and for the *Journal* staff to comment flippantly on a major news story designed to discredit our campaigns shows a severe lack of experience and critical thinking.

My personal response to CNN was that we don't have enough information to comment. The fact is that arsons can kill and Earth First! has a 18-year track record of never harming another human being, regardless of whether the individual groups have a nonviolence code they adhere to. Our actions define our philosophies. Wannabe

monkeywrenchers should keep their mouths shut, lest they ruin it for those actually involved in the full spectrum of actions.

—DARRYL CHERNEY

*Ed. Response: For the record, the NY Times quote read "Personally, I don't have a problem with hitting people like Vail Inc. in their pockets... I don't have a problem with seeing their facilities burn down. It's a war. Monkeywrenching and ecosabotage are strategies that some people feel are justified in some circumstances."*

*I wasn't being flippant, I was being honest.*

—TK, WANNABE MONKEYWRENCHER, BUT NOW AN *EF!* J EDITOR.

Hello there from Vail. You should tell your friends at the Earth Liberation Front that fires and terrorism will not be tolerated here in the Vail Valley. So, without anything "intelligent" (as I'm sure u would put it) to say, I will simply say to you—Stay the fuck away from our ski mountain. I dare you to come try and burn it down again, you are likely to get a ski shoved right up your terrorist ass. That hurts...

—SNOWRNGR@AOL.COM.

If those responsible for the Vail destruction would realize the damage done to the environmental community. Trees will probably be cut to replace what was burned, and more CO2 was released into the atmosphere because of ones impatience. Certainly I, and the rest of the environmental infrastructure, would have responded immediately to the greedy individuals at Vail regarding their proposed expansion, and the preservation of the lynx. Here in the White MT's of New Hampshire, we have had many achievements regarding the halting of ski-MT expansion through nonviolent means. Please contact me for ideas regarding strategy that works through non-destructive means in the hopes that the environmental community can rally together and not be undermined by a few apples that have maybe gone astray.

—PAUL KNIGHT, ENVIRONMENTAL BIOLOGIST; PAUL.KNIGHT3@GTE.NET.

This email is from a resident of Vail, Colorado. Environmentalists you call yourselves? What kind of example do you think you just set for the children of Eagle County and the rest of the World. "Save the lynx—screw up the children" should be your motto. Arson as a way to solve a problem?

That's smart. Hope none of you have children. I can only hope that my three boys grow up to be more productive problem solvers than your organization and its members.

—MICHELE M. NICHOLS; MICHELE@THEGUIDE.COM.

Dear Earth First!,

We are writing because we are an Environmental Awareness class at Burke Mountain Academy in East Burke, Vermont. We are concerned about the recent fires at Vail, Colorado. We understand that they were set by the Earth Liberation Front, who are associated with your organization. Please forward this letter to them.

Although we are concerned about environmental issues, we are also a ski



academy and we are a bit confused about your decisions. We have read a newspaper article about the incident at Vail, and we would like to ask a few questions.

What were you trying to accomplish by burning the Two Elk restaurant? We feel that it may have been hypocritical of you to defend the environment by setting a match to it. This, however is because we do not fully understand the situation and would appreciate some insight from you. Furthermore, we are wondering if you have accomplished that which you set out to do. Have you made any progress?

Why did your organization admit guilt so freely? We are wondering about the legal ramifications following your actions, did anyone get arrested, do you have to pay mad fines? Will you be sued? If you do have fines, how will you raise the money to pay them?

We would appreciate a response, as we are genuinely interested in your reasoning. Please get back to us as soon as possible, we are looking forward to hearing the facts from a party



# like for X-mas? Just tell Santarchist in 300 words or less kids. He and his trusty elves get the goods. What's more, they deliver!

seeing your friends and family go through the same, then why are you going to allow it to be done to yourself? So your cause will appeal to a bunch of white liberals who never gave a shit when you were being arrested and beaten just for walking down the street?

If used like an ideology, CD is blown full of holes. If used as a tactic with regard to context, CD may still be salvageable. But like David Chain's sad story illustrates, activists cannot always control that context.

¡Viva la Lucha!

—EL SUBWAY

Your attention please,

Just the past few years, major threats and damage to our ecosystem, our (only) life support system have been occurring. As you read this letter of urgency, disasters are now happening, and more are on the way. Disasters are coming down big time!

People are being wounded and murdered by abusive technology. Corporations and govt's still continue to allow these detrimental technologies to exist. We are paying a horrendous price, and our children are suffering the consequences. Do we care about this? Over \$40 billion in damage so far (who is paying for all this?) caused by changing weather patterns, droughts, fires, disease, insect infestation and the list grows longer.

Many people sit apathetically while the carnage continues, and as well, many environmentalists sit behind their desks while nature continues to be ravage. Letter writing campaigns, petitions, research (how much research does it take anyway?), writing articles, etc., are good up to a point, and as an environmentalist, you probably know that these take a long time. Most bought-off govt's ignore or do little to make serious change. If your house was on fire and your loved ones were threatened, what would you do? Write a letter? Do more research?

Nature is being slaughtered, and the time is ripe for serious action! It's now time for the people who care for the Earth, I'm sure you do or you wouldn't be where you are today, to start to put the wrench into the gears that are grinding up our life support system into a pulp. It is time for serious direct action!!!! It is time to get out from behind your computers and get your hands dirty. This is war and nature needs allies. If you really care, then your actions will speak louder. We cannot wait any longer. Time is running short. Stop wasting precious time, stop the excuses and start to become a true ally for the Earth.

I must remain anonymous. As you may know the corrupt corporate gov't we have running (ruining) us would have me arrested as a subversive. I live in a part of Alberta where the biggest environmental abomination in North America is raping the North. The Tar Sands, Alberta, Canada.

—ANONYMOUS



Dear He/She/It with shit 4 brains,

What's with the ads for washing machines in *EF!* Journal? As for us, we hand wash our duds in the communal bathtub when not in the wild. I imagine that this advertiser means well, but I believe that Mother Nature is a better provider than Niagara Mohawk, GE, Con Edison, et al. Maybe this advertiser should start supplying his contraptions with solar panels that double as a dryer?!

—LOVE CANAL EF!

*Ed. Response: Has all the dioxin affected your eyes? If you looked past the picture you would have noticed it was an ad for washing machine detergent substitute balls. They keep phosphate/petroleum based detergents out of our watershed! Thanks,*

—FR

SFB,

The forests have lost another defender here in Wisconsin. He worked on an entirely different front but his commitment was equally strong. Walther Kuhlmann generously contributed his legal expertise to the forest plan revision process and led an unsuccessful effort to have the courts overturn the previous plans for the Nicolet and Chenquamegon National Forests here in Wisconsin. His dedication and integrity were an inspiration to us all.

He took his own life the night of September 27. The bastards had broken his heart.

—HANK

I realize you said you wouldn't print anymore letters about Birth First!, but you can understand why I am a weensy bit upset about the two quotes included in my letter which got truncated and run together so as to make no sense at all. The correct quotes are as follows:

Les U. Knight: "The intentional creation of one more of us by any couple anywhere can't be justified in light of the tens of thousands of children who die from malnutrition each day and considering the millions of species going extinct as

a result of our activities."

Joe Fournier: "Anyone who has children is just as guilty as Exxon for spilling oil in Alaska and causing environmental destruction."

Thanks for setting the record straight.

—JOANNE COCKERILL

Dear SFB,

I have an idea for the "Stop the Re-Route" campaign in Minnehaha. It's a long shot, but it will work. First off, I'd like to applaud Patchouli's "Minnehaha Under Siege" article. The re-route threatens to destroy the last fresh water spring in Minneapolis. It violates the 1865 treaty of the Dakota nation. And, it promises to bulldoze through sacred burial grounds.

Not mentioned in Patchouli's article is that over 8,000 people have signed a petition against the re-route. Even for a city of Minneapolis' size, the "Stop the Re-Route" campaign suggests a level of community support that Minnesota Department of Transportation (MNDOT) cannot ignore.

My plan of action: A direct assault on the re-route through the appropriation of Princess Di's wedding dress!!! While many of us may oppose cooperating with Prince William for access to the dress, this is a cause he may support. We bury the dress in the line of the re-route and thus stop the project in its tracks! This is an obstacle which no one, not even MNDOT, will threaten. America

and Europe will together rise up against the state of Minnesota if they so much as threaten the dress! While the governor of Minnesota might not respect the sacredness of our land,

the sacredness of native burial grounds, the sacredness of an objet de Princess Di permeates the heart of nearly everyone! Together, the re-route can end!

—BLAKE STONE-BANKS, ST. PAUL, MN

Dear Sisters, Friends and Brothers!

I have been silent about the Swan long enough! The Swan Valley in western Montana that is. My life-partner and I live in a tipi here by the river and are

caretakers of a magnificent old-growth forest.

Nature's harmony seems to still be in balance here. Even our small organic garden is the happy home of myriads of birds and insects. What is unsettling to us though is the war against Nature all around us. The Swan Valley, for those who have never heard of it, is nestled between the Mission Mountains Wilderness to the west, and Bob Marshall Wilderness to the east, which is part of the North-

ern Continental Divide Ecosystem. This area is the last stronghold of the Grizzly Bear in the lower 48 and the last place left outside the Arctic where it's possible to find virtually all the wild critters that were here prior to European conquest.

Wonderful. But here's the reality. A huge timber company called Plum Creek is hauling away the homes of our wild and free neighbors. Every morning at about 4 a.m. we hear the machine start up. They spend the next 16 hours or so grinding up what's left of what makes this valley special. We live a mile off the highway, so we are aware of the hundreds of logging trucks that go roaring by on their way to a mill that is 200 miles from the trees.

We feel pretty much alone out here in our opposition to the rape of our common Mother. That is why we are writing this letter. Our tears drop to the Earth, our prayers rise up with the Eagles to carry this message to anyone who has ears to bear this plea: "Come to the Swan and help us defend what is left of the Wild Northern Rockies!" We speak on behalf of Moose, Bear, Eagle, Mountain Lion, Beaver, Muskrat, Marmot, Linx, Grey Wolf, Flying Squirrel, Boreal Owl, Elk, Snowshoe Hare, Pileated Woodpecker, Vole, Mink, Deer, Skunk, Fox, Otter, Wolverine, Coyote, Porcupine, Grouse, Bobcat, Bull Trout, Frogs, Toads, Salamanders, Turtles and many, many others!

Please come to the Swan if you aren't already defending another part of Mother Earth. We have nothing organized yet, but we welcome your presence and input. But know beforehand what we are up against: A huge timber beast that holds title to nearly every other square mile of land up here, and they plan to clearcut it all: sub-alpine forests that don't grow back! Also, it gets really fuckin' cold here in the winter. But cold and darkness does nothing to stop these boys from raping this forest. We sure could use some help defending what is left of this magnificent place. If you have any input or interest, please write.

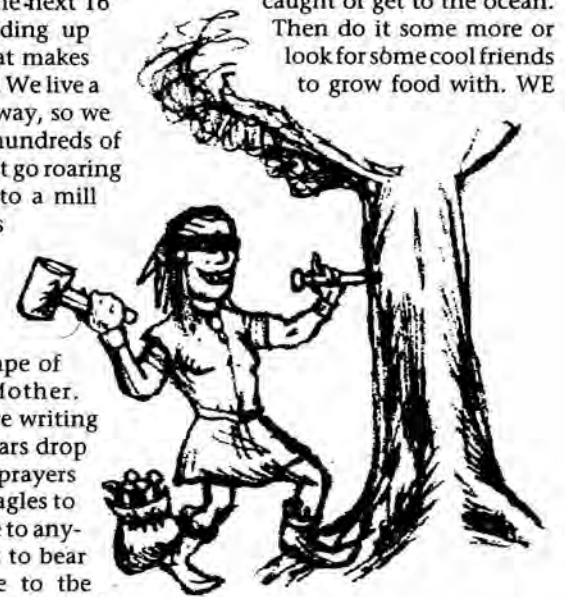
—TREFROG AND LITTLEBIRD, MONTANA HIGHWAY 83, SWAN LAKE, MT 59911.

Excuse (— use) MMMMMEEEE, I'm SSSSSorry (& so right) to inconvenience you, but we're just trying to save the PLANET... THE ppPLANET

TREE SITTER, HANGING OFF A building in San Francisco, Feb., 1998. WAAAAAAAKE UP!!! We are calling a planetary wide "RED Alert!!" RED ALERT: not communists, not "red"-neck militia, red-like in "on Fire" red hot, too damn late to do much about, red.

You can sit there and smile into the TV—as you roast and the walls fall down on your lazy-ass, bone-headed excuse for existence—or? do something rad. Think for a change or better yet just listen to your instructions:

Pack up, head out North by North West, fuck up everything expensive or modern or shiny or techno that you can get away with fucking up, do it now, do it often, keep doing it until you run out of shit to destroy, get caught or get to the ocean. Then do it some more or look for some cool friends to grow food with. WE



are gathering where we are, we are praying, and we are expecting to get our asses walloped if enough of you don't hurry up and do your share for America, for Apple pies you will never eat, for Ganja heaven or who cares why. Do it. Do it good. God is a short cut to/of good. Please remember to wash your hands... thank you.

—ANN ONYMOUS

Dear SFB,

Regarding putting sand in the fuel tanks of those yellow earth destroyer/rapists, it is a total waste of time. White sugar is far more destructive and harder to detect until it is too late. It dissolves in the fuel and turns into rock hard carbon in the combustion chamber when it is burned with the fuel. Sand is easily filtered out by the fuel filters, whereas dissolved sugar passes through. This results in severe damage to the engine, requiring major overhaul and replacement of pistons, rods, valves, head and sometimes crankshaft.

—DREW





# Dance for Life: Victory in Sierra Blanca

BY RICHARD BOREN

I'll never forget October 22, 1998 when the people triumphed over the powerful interests that had invaded our community. After listening to the unbelievable news that the Sierra Blanca nuclear waste dump had been defeated, we walked outside the fateful hearing to find the sun shining after five days of rain. In the parking lot the young *matachines* dancers from the Mexican community of Guadalupe were engaged in a victory dance. It was great to be alive.

Since the *matachines*, who draw upon a mixture of indigenous and Catholic traditions to preserve indigenous heritage, arrived in Austin, they had been dancing. They danced in front of the state Capitol, at the governor's mansion and in a vigil at the Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission (TNRCC) complex.

Texas officials and police were confused by the presence of the *matachines*. They had prepared to deal with environmental activists by cordoning off the entire TNRCC complex and putting up barricades. But nothing in their training prepared them for 12-year-olds dressed in brightly colored costumes performing dances with gourd shakers and drums.

The rest of us, however, knew what the *matachines'* presence meant. They symbolize how we overcame the forces of death, representing spirituality, unity, courage and a great love for Mother Earth. Not even the \$50 million spent to promote the dump could stop us. We had practically no money, but we had justice on our side.

One might ask why the *matachines* from Mexico were fighting a nuclear waste dump in Texas. The answer: When it comes to saving the water, the

land and the air, there is no border.

Over a year ago more than 3,000 Mexican students and US supporters blocked five international bridges in Juarez and the Juarez Valley to protest the dump. It was like an earthquake felt all the way to Austin. In August, over 500 Mexican and US citizens marched the 76 miles from Sierra Blanca to El Paso. Dozens of other protests, hunger strikes and events, almost always involving both nationalities, were held. Never before has such unity been seen on this part of the border. The bond of friendship across borders that has come from this experience has been the best part of all.

Although we have won this battle, the war continues. Sierra Blanca is still home to the largest sludge dump on Earth. Andrews, another West Texas community that already has a toxic waste dump, is now being targeted as the replacement nuclear dump site. Mexican border communities are being affected by toxic waste illegally dumped by US-owned *maquiladora* industries. The Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in southern New Mexico is trying to become the dumping ground for nuclear waste from nuclear weapons production. We have an obligation to help any community in any country that is facing the toxic curse.

Our victory is a beacon of hope for many commu-

tered threads of Southwestern wildlands together again. But that won't happen without a reversal of the political dynamics that first brought the species so perilously close to extinction.

You can help by writing or calling Secretary Babbitt and urging him to close grazing allotments and roads within the Mexican wolf's range, to prosecute Richard Humphry for the first wolf shooting, advocate with Congress for the Blue Range's designation as protected wilderness and place additional wolves directly into the Gila Wilderness. Bruce Babbitt, Interior Secretary, Room 6156, 1849 C St., Washington, DC 20240. (202) 208-7351. Contact the Southwest Center at POB 710, Tucson, AZ 85702-0710; (520) 623-5252.

Michael Robinson is communications director at the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity. He is completing a book on the history of the wolf extermination campaign.



Matachines dancers' celebratory march in Austin, Texas, October '98

nities. Peaceful, nonviolent struggle is a powerful weapon. At Sierra Blanca, we became even stronger by joining hands with our Mexican neighbors. It has been one of the most enriching experiences of my life.

## WAGONS HO! BIONEERS

BY FIELD AGENT CR

The deep ecology literati recently circled their wagons at Fort Mason in San Francisco for the oddly named Bioneers Conference, an annual event that plays host to some of the most prolific and influential intellectuals in the environmental movement. Organizers Nina Simon and Kenny Ausubal say the mission of the Bioneers gathering is to provide "inspiration and illumination" so this year they invited such luminaries as Fritjof Capra, Jerry Mander, David Orr, Starhawk, Peter Warshall and John Mohawk to present updates on their latest endeavors.

Jerry Mander, author of my favorite treatise, "In the Absence of the Sacred," addressed issues raised in his latest book, "The Case Against the Global Economy," a spectacular compilation co-edited with Edward Goldsmith, founder of the leading European environmental journal, *The Ecologist*. Mander is a powerful and persuasive speaker and writer, and the audience sat in rapt attention as he eloquently indicted the very concept of the corporation. His critique is radical, profound and uncompromising. But when asked, Mander said he would stop short of advocating illegal activity against corporate tyranny, adding with a wink, "especially in an interview situation." While Mander was certainly preaching to the choir, his clear-thinking rhetoric helps build the metaphysical foundation for deep ecology activism.

Seneca community leader and former editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, John Mohawk, gave an inspiring speech about virtue, the merits of the dialectical philosophy of Socrates and the social organization of the Iroquois, and lamented a civilization fueled by greed. Starhawk, the most famous ecofeminist witch in North America, spoke passionately about the West's long history of persecuting nature lovers. At the end of her presentation, she led the audience in a moment of silence for fallen Earth First! forest defender David Chain.

There were three days of well-attended lectures, workshops, book signings, music and networking designed to appeal to a highbrow coterie of wealthy liberals who share an obviously sincere spiritual concern for Mother Earth. Portions of the conference had a decidedly radical bent, at least in terms of theory, however the "Youth Action" workshop struck me as promoting anything but. The gist of the obviously privileged youth's "activity," they proudly proclaimed, consisted of holding a series of meetings to discuss the looming environmental crisis, facilitated by the generous contribution of \$10,000 from a group of Buddhist monks associated with the Dalai Lama—huh!?! I did learn that all the Bioneers love Julia Butterfly. The youth activists who interviewed her by cell phone applauded her commitment and remarked on how sweet she is. Even though I'm pretty sure none of them will end up in a tree very soon, they'll probably get their parents to send her money and, well, I guess that's cool too.

## WOLVES

continued from page 4

Beyond bringing the culprits in these killings to justice, the Southwest Center believes that recovering wolves cannot be a numbers game won by dropping wolves on the ground faster than they are killed. The current recovery plan calls for de-listing when only 100 wolves survive in the wild. Instead, we must start responding to the landscape's own needs and learning from the historical accounts of Southwestern wolves' original travels.

Real recovery would entail restoring wolf corridors extending from the Gila and Blue Range west and southwest into the Sky Islands (such as the Peloncosillos, Chiricauhaus and Mount Graham) and south into Mexico. Through its tireless peregrinations, the Mexican wolf can help reknit the tat-



KEIKO CO-HO IS A REMNANT OF THE GREAT CO-HO NATION, AND NOW MUST LEAP THE RAPIDS OF DELAYED ENDANGERED SPECIES LISTINGS AND GOVERNMENT/INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY SCAMS.

A FOUNDATION FORMED TO FREE KEIKO THE CO-HO. A BIG FORMULA MOVIE SERIES! FUNDS FLEECED FROM THE INNOCENCE OF CONCERNED YOUTH!

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD TATTOO THAT FISH TO LOOK LIKE A KILLER WHALE. A CUTE FISH.

I STILL BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONSIDER BUILDING AN ANIMATRONIC WHALE. A HAPPY WHALE.

HE LOOKS BIGGER ON TELEVISION.

WHAT FISH PLANNERS FAIL TO FORECAST WHEN THEY CALCULATE FISH OUT OF THE RIVERS: A FISH PROTECTED IN A POND IS NEVER SAFE.

LOCAL NEWSCASTS GET EXPOSED FOR WHAT THEY ARE. LET'S PEEK IN TO SEE WHAT OUR FAVORITE FISH IS DOING WITH OUR KEIKO CO-HO CAM AND 'OH...

KEIKO CO-HO CAM

SALMON REINTEGRATION RESEARCH CENTER

ONE DAY KEIKO COULD SWIM FREE WITH HIS PEOPLE.

THAT WHALE LOCKED IN NEWPORT CAN ONLY LIVE SO LONG. IN THE FUTURE THE GREAT KEIKO MACHINE NEEDS MORE FIN TO GREASE IT'S GEARS TO SKIRT AN ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT LISTING. THE GOVERNOR DECREED ANOTHER SALMON RECOVERY COMPROMISE TO SAVE ONE OF THE LAST WILD CO-HO. THE NEWPORT AQUARIUM WOULD GET ANOTHER EXHIBIT.

KEIKO WAS CAPTURED AS A MERE SMOLT, THEN FORCED TO PERFORM IN A THIRD WORLD CIRCUS.

# Spell of the Sensuous

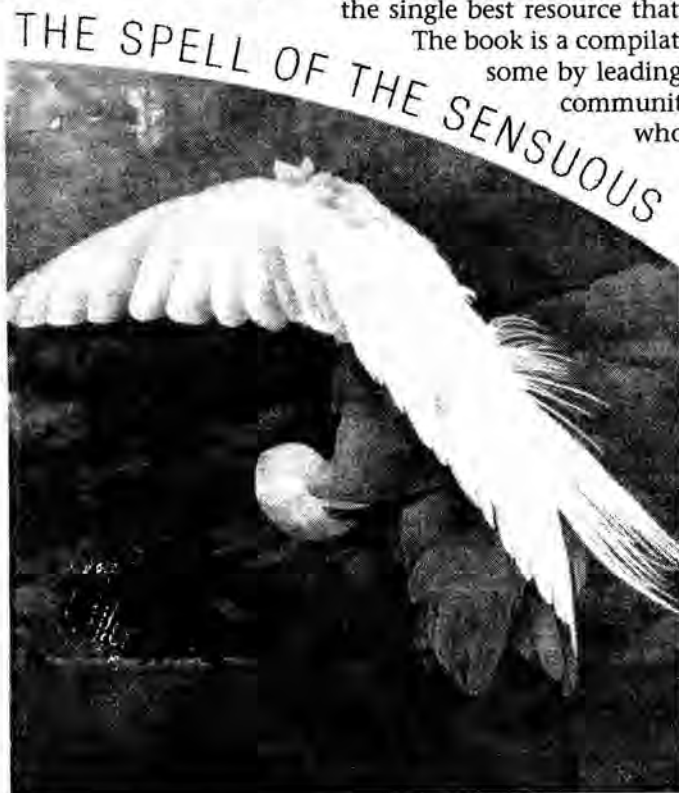
REVIEWED BY JEFF HOGG

So you think you've read enough ecological philosophy? You've flipped through the tomes of Naess, Sessions, Bookchin, Beale, etc., and you get the point, it's time for some action. Well, you might want to read "The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in the More-Than-Human World" and then take that month-long backwoods venture you've been planning. For, as Bill McKibben wrote, "This is a landmark book. Scholars will doubtless recognize its brilliance, but they may overlook the most important part of Dave Abram's achievement: He has written the best instruction manual yet for becoming fully human. I walked outside when I was done and the world was a different place."

Unique among the arguments made in popular works of ecological philosophy (at least in my pathetic repertoire), the thesis of David Abram's provocative first book is that the alphabet is one of the biggest factors responsible for humanity's sensorial disassociation from nature. He illustrates the influence of spoken and written language and rational thinking on humankind's perception of the natural world and physical interaction with nature. Abram writes beautifully and simply, avoiding the dry, academic flavor as much as possible with engaging stories and illustrations. The book is "laudable for its bravura and opulent coloring of the sensorial canvass surrounding us," comment the editors of "Philosophy and Religion."

Abram contends the individual in alphabetic, industrialized civilization looks out at a purely "exterior" nature from a purely "interior" zone, a consciousness unrelated to other human or non-human minds around it or to the enviroing Earth. Abram challenges the psychological baggage left to us from the likes of Socrates and Plato. Using the philosophy of phenomenology, his research on oral tradition in indigenous cultures and his experience as a sleight-of-hand magician, he explores the psychology of perception and the de-sacrilization of the sensuous "life-world." The evils wrought by literacy have been discussed before, but Abram takes it to a new level, subverting the dichotomies of culture and nature, body and mind, convincing the reader with his well-researched arguments and illustrations of the existence of a visceral world stolen by the Greek scribes and the subsequent evolution of Western culture.

In the first chapter, "The Ecology of Magic," he draws the reader in with captivating personal accounts of his perceptual transformation while living amongst indigenous people. He asserts that, contrary to many anthropologists' interpretations, the shamans in these cultures function as intermediaries between people and the "larger, more-than-human field." Then he shatters your mystical dreaminess in chapter two with an introductory synopsis of the philosophy of phenomenology, leaving less scholarly readers such as myself, fascinated and eager to read the work of French philosopher Merleau-Ponty (maybe at the next blockade). "The Spell of the Sensuous" dives deep into linguistics, animism, the history of written language, and the connection between landscape and language, and is chock full of interesting accounts of oral, indigenous cultures from North America, Australia and beyond.



Just when you come up for breath thinking, "Wow, where could he go from here," Abram proceeds to deconstruct the Western concepts of time and space, again contrasting them with oral, indigenous cultures. To finish, Abram lightens up, discussing the forgotten sacredness of the air and how it is really the medium of our "more-than-human" collective consciousness, the essence of Gaia. After reawakening our sensuousness, our animistic dimension of per-

## AWAKENING: THE UPSIDE OF Y2K

REVIEWED BY MARK ROBINOWITZ

Imagine a decade from now looking back at the end of the 20th century—the most destructive to humans and all other species in our history. Think about ways that the year 2000 (Y2K) global computer crash prompted transformations in industrial society toward local self-reliance by using more sustainable technologies. How was Y2K the impetus to create new ways of living closer to the natural world?

The recent book "Awakening: The Upside of Y2K" is the single best resource that answers this question.

The book is a compilation of essays, including some by leading visionaries of the Y2K community organizing movement

who argue that surviving Y2K will require much more than individual efforts, including community-based, collective responses to build resilience and reduce dependence on distant automated systems.

An introductory essay notes:

"The new millennium heralds the greatest change to modern society we have yet to face as a planetary community. Whether we experience this as chaos or social transformation will be influenced by

what we do immediately."

In "Who Will Do What and When Will They Do It?" psychologist Douglass Carmichael constructs a series of potential Y2K scenarios based on the extent of technical and social breakdowns. Extreme mal-

ception, he asserts we can do this without renouncing rationality and intellectual analysis. Abram leaves us with a reminder that we must cultivate a fresh and responsible awareness of our tentative place in the universe, that we must embark on the project of re-grounding humanity in nature.

The first three pages are filled with acclaim from Bill McKibben, Thomas Berry, Joanna Macy, Max Oelschlager, Gary Snyder, Theodore Roszak and Lynn Margulis among others. Although the editors of "Philosophy and Religion" wrote, "shaky on the grounds of the arguments given, Abram's work is otherwise both moving and convincing," I'd say this is a keeper folks. This is one for your lifetime bookshelf (or backpack) to be reread and pondered.

"The Spell of the Sensuous" is printed by Vintage Books and is available at university bookstores for \$14.

functions would be the worst case, apocalyptic situation, full of widespread famine and techno-fascism. A more hopeful scenario would be interconnected technological failures with community responses that enable people to survive and even thrive.

"A Big Grocer's Y2K Nightmare" describes the looming disaster for a large grocery store chain. Even with its backup generator, the chain would be out of business without electric power or telecommunications. If Y2K is more than a day-long blip, providing basic foodstuffs to large populations could get extremely difficult. Community gardens, Food Not Bombs soup kitchens, municipal food storage warehouses and diverting grains from animal agriculture to feeding people will all be needed.

Several articles address the unique psychological stresses of Y2K. Even for environmentalists used to contemplating mass extinction, thinking about the worst case possibilities of Y2K is truly sobering—especially because the deadline is immediate and immovable.

To date, most discussion of the crisis has focused on the technical aspects or how bad Y2K failures will be. But little attention has been paid to the nascent efforts by communities to prepare and use Y2K as the catalyst for a new society. A profile of Y2K's environmental impacts in the fall 1998 *Earth Island Journal* notes that, "We've built a society that is so vulnerable to glitches that two digits can bring it down."

Now, like no other moment in human history, the future of our species probably depends upon how well we can use our intellect and cooperative abilities to mitigate the damage caused by the 20th century's insanities. We probably won't get another chance if we screw up next year.

Copies of "Awakening—The Upside of Y2K" are available on line at [www.cointelligence.org](http://www.cointelligence.org). Printed copies are available for \$10 plus \$2 postage from The Printed Word, 4327 S. Perry, Spokane, WA 99203; (509) 624-3177. Call for bulk pricing.

For more information look at [www.tmn.com/y2k](http://www.tmn.com/y2k); [www.y2ktimebomb.com/Tip/Lord/lord\\_9836.htm](http://www.y2ktimebomb.com/Tip/Lord/lord_9836.htm); [www.earthisland.org](http://www.earthisland.org); [www.igc.org/icc370/y2k.htm](http://www.igc.org/icc370/y2k.htm).

## Live Wild or Die!

REVIEWED BY EL SUBWAY

"In wildness is the preservation of the world."

—HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Every morning I wake up and wonder what calamity I will hear about next. Deadly hurricanes in Central America, species extinction everywhere you look, genetically engineered food, waste incinerators in the neighborhood and government-sponsored drug dealers on the street corner. Kinda' drives a guy or gal to despair, wouldn't ya say?

And then I pick up a copy of *Live Wild Or Die (LWOD) #7* and it all doesn't seem that bad. Like a mutant amalgam of Lenny Bruce, Rod Coronado and Elizabeth Gurley-Flynn, *LWOD* plows through the swollen ego of free market capitalism. This latest display of impish eco-radicalism brings together a delicious melange of humor, anger and practical advice aimed at the heartless heart of the megamachine. Continuing in the "Fuck You! Ha! Ha! Ha!" tradition of earlier

*LWODs*, the latest version covers almost every aspect of radical politics, from anti-fascism, feminism and monkeywrenching, to class struggle, animal liberation and prison abolition. It is a whirlwind tour of the mind of the eco-anarchist—chaotic, overflowing with information and hilariously bitter. It resounds with the message: The shit is so bad, all there is left is to act and to act soon.

*LWOD #7* also has the wonderful gall to print a letter by that most maligned of eco-radicals, Mr. Ted K. They also give a shout out to their *Green Anarchist* comrades and show solidarity with underground groups still fucking shit up. There are some great how-tos for all interested in lending a hand (or paw) to the struggle.

*LWOD #7* goes where most zines fear to tread and does so with humor, an international scope, and a heartfelt call for solidarity between all movements that stand for the liberation of ecology and humanity.

In *Live Wild or Die* is the preservation of sanity. *LWOD* is from POB 204, 2425-B Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94704.

# READY TO GET INVOLVED?

## FIRE IN THE EYES

Headwaters Action Video Collective (HAVC) announces a new, powerful, unnerving video looking at Humboldt County's new policy of using pepper spray on nonviolent protesters. With the primordial redwood rainforest as its backdrop and in-your-face direct actions by Earth First! as the catalyst, this video

shows the increasing violence and police-state mentality of government and big business. Though disturbing in subject matter, this movie needs to be seen. Includes the story of David "Gypsy" Chain's tragic death and the police response to a three week road blockade that followed. To order contact HAVC, POB 2198, Redway, CA 95560, (707) 459-5490 ex. 582; \$20 suggested donation.

## AMERICAN ACTION UPDATE

This is a call for submissions for the first issue of the North American edition of the *Earth First! Action Update*.

The *Action Update* has been around for years serving the Earth First! movement in Europe. Their *Action Update* covers all the activities of Earth First! and other radical environmental groups all over Europe. The actions are summarized in short paragraphs with a couple of "feature" action articles. There is a "news in brief" section and upcoming actions diary. It also contains a directory of EF! contacts, a list of supportive groups and calendar of events in Europe and internationally. Australia has also published their own *Action Update*.

Earth First! in this country/continent has needed a newsletter literally since the movement began. The *EF! Journal* comes out every six and a half weeks and nowadays is a professional paper with a big budget (relatively speaking) and international readership. The North American *Action Update* would come out every moon at first, with the goal of eventually publishing twice a moon. The target audience would be EF!ers on this continent, and the format would be a low budget, copyright-free, four- or eight-page newsletter.

Additionally, our *Action Update* can accommodate inserts from local groups in the form of flyers or handbills, a rowdy letters section, and other internal movement discussion and debate.

Send written submissions, graphics, photos and suggestions to the Earth First! *Action Update*, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; earthfirst@igc.org (put "Action Update" in the subject).

## BUFFALO NATIONS

Snow is flying, and the Yellowstone buffalo need your help! Come join us at Buffalo Nations—we're the only group working on the ground everyday to make sure that not one more buffalo is killed.

With the construction of a new capture facility coming up any day, we need people NOW! We welcome anyone who wants to spend their days watching buffalo, cooking meals, splitting wood and doing the many activities that make Buffalo Nations a reality.

Even if you can't come out, we have a new video documentary "Buffalo Bull" and other materials that can be used for outreach. We are also grateful for donations. Contact us at POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; buffalo@wildrockies.org.

## Win a Peltier Painting

The Leonard Peltier Charitable Foundation (LPCF) is raffling an original Leonard Peltier oil painting. Observe this gorgeous painting at <http://members.aol.com/lpcfound/homepage.html> (then click on LPCF raffle). The LPCF is providing an exciting opportunity for Peltier supporters to own this extraordinary work. The painting comes with a certificate of authenticity and a depiction by Leonard Peltier that can be mounted with the painting.

You may purchase as many raffle tickets as you like at \$1 ticket. When we have \$1,000 (there are lots left), Leonard will choose a ticket and the winner will be notified by mail and/or telephone. Please sign and save your raffle ticket upon receipt. After personal verification, a release form must be signed by the winner. Your beautiful painting will then be shipped to you UPS at the expense of the foundation.

Send \$1 per ticket (check or money order) to LPCF c/o Shannon Collins, POB 681 Rimrock, AZ 86335; (520) 567-6523. Good luck!

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## END PRIMATE EXPERIMENTATION

The Coalition to End Primate Experimentation (CEPE) is organizing 1999 Primate Freedom Tour for the summer of 1999. We will caravan to 21 different primate research facilities and hold teach-ins, protests, vigils and more. The goal is to spark a national debate on the moral, scientific, ethical and medical implications of the continued use of nonhuman primates in medical and scientific research.

We are looking for volunteers who want to either join the caravan, help promote the tour, organize events in the areas we will be stopping at, or help out with camping gear, food, vehicles, places to crash, fundraising, etc. Contact CEPE, POB 34293, Washington, DC 20043; (888) 391-8948; CEPEmail@yahoo.com; [www.envirolink.org/orgs/cepe](http://www.envirolink.org/orgs/cepe).

## TIME 4 ZERO CUT!

Order free copies of the new *Zero Cut Times!* Send your name, address and the desired quantity to Jeanette Russell, Native Forest Network, POB 8251, Missoula, MT 59807; (406) 542-7343, fax 542-7347; russell@wildrockies.org.

## National Conference on Civil Disobedience, January 23 - 24

The second annual National Conference on Civil Disobedience will be held at American University in Washington, DC.

Civil disobedience is an old and effective technique of resistance and protest which has helped lead many oppressed groups to lasting freedom. Today, forms of civil disobedience are being used by many different groups for a variety of liberation struggles around the world. It has become timely, important and necessary to learn from each other's struggles while keeping in mind the lessons of those who have fought before us.

The National Conference on Civil Disobedience is geared towards the activist. It is run by activists who adhere to a strict nonprofit, noncorporate ethic.

The cost is the lowest possible rate, \$10 prepaid, \$15 at the door. Each lunch will be \$5, \$7 at the door. Housing is only available by preregistration. If your group requests a table, the cost is \$20 total for both days. Spaces are limited for tables so we suggest submitting your request early.

To find out more, e-mail Nisha Anand, Conference Coordinator, at nisha@igc.org.

## Tree Flesh • Tree Flesh • Tree Flesh

*Tree Flesh* is a journal of revolutionary environmentalism and anti-authoritarian action and thought, intended to provide a forum between communities engaged in "No Compromise" struggles. *Tree Flesh* is put together and sent out from Searsport, Maine, covering news primarily of eastern North America but also including worldwide coverage of radical actions. While this zine is a humble attempt to convey information and thought, more contributions can only further this discussion and reporting. *TF* is calling for action updates, Earth night news, detailed industrial destruction work, articles, poetry, rants, photos, art, service/goods offered for free or trade, DIY info, etc. *Tree Flesh* #1, #2, and #3 came out this summer and fall; #4 should be out the beginning of 1999. This 40-page zine is an ambitious attempt to give voice to the "real" rebellion. Send them a buck or a dollars worth of stamps (more if you can) to cover postage for each issue, and help stoke the flames of our resistance.

Contact *Tree Flesh* at POB 869, Searsport, ME 04974



## Who Says You Can't Change the World?

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— Dean Whitehead, West Hollywood, CA

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## International Action Against Global Economy

...Wherever there is oppression there is resistance....

A proposal has been made by activists from diverse UK groups including Reclaim the Streets, London Greenpeace, Earth First!, Green Student Network and Partizans to hold an international day of action aimed at the heart of the global economy: the financial and banking institutions and districts. The suggested date is June 18, 1999. This proposal is made in the spirit of strengthening our international networks and follows from the success of coordinated global action during May 16-20, 1998, when demonstrations, actions and protests took place (including over 30 street parties in more than 20 different countries).

Next year between June 18-20, the eight most industrialized nations will be meeting in Koln, Germany. June 18 protests should occur in the major financial/business/banking districts or at relevant sites, e.g. at transnational companies offices, local banks, etc. Events would be autonomously organized and networked by a diversity of local groups. It is hoped that a whole range of different movements will take part.

Already there have been discussions with activists from around the world; we'd like very much to hear what you think. Please reply to: [j18discussion@gn.apc.org](mailto:j18discussion@gn.apc.org) Your replies will automatically go out to other interested groups around the world, in order to facilitate broader discussion about this proposal. Or write to June 18, POB 9656, London, N4 4JY, UK.

## Western Forest Conference Feb 4-7

You all are hereby invited to the 8th annual Western Forest Activists Conference from February 4-7, 1999 at the Southern Oregon University campus in Ashland, Oregon—sponsored by the Headwaters Environmental Center.

Over 400 forest activists will come together as a learning community to attend a series of workshops, plenary and breakout sessions, field trips and wilderness hikes, networking caucuses, keynote addresses and inspiring entertainment.

The theme of this conference is "Towards Regional Awareness: Restoration, Politics, Wilderness and Culture." There will be a special focus on the Klamath-Siskiyou and other places where a sense of the region is being used to make people more aware of conservation opportunities.

A special gathering of Youth Activists will kickoff the event Feb. 4th at Southern Oregon University in scenic Ashland (where the Siskiyou Mountains and the Cascade Range collide).

Conference fee is \$75-\$100 (\$60 until Jan. 1) including three breakfasts and two lunches. Dakubetede Environmental Education Programs is offering undergraduate and graduate level academic credit for the conference through Antioch University.

For more information or to make suggestions, contact Chant Thomas at Headwaters, POB 729, Ashland, OR 97520; (541) 899-1712, 482-4459; [chant@mind.net](mailto:chant@mind.net); [www.headwaters.org](http://www.headwaters.org).

## TOTAL LIB. CONFERENCE

February 12-15, Boca Raton, Florida

To make change, we must band together. Join MOVE, the Anarchist Black Cross Federation, American Indian Movement, Animal Liberation Front Supporters, Food Not Bombs and others at this important conference. Contact Animal Defense League, POB 812462, Boca Raton, FL 33481-2462; (561) 988-1323; [xdbergerx@juno.com](mailto:xdbergerx@juno.com).

## agit press'agit press'agit press

Agit Press, an all volunteer publishing collective, has two EZLN communiques, and pamphlets on the prison industrial complex and women political prisoners available. \$1-3 each. Profits will go to the causes.

To order contact AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140; (415) 864-0892, fax 864-0893; [akpress@akpress.org](mailto:akpress@akpress.org).

## The 1999 EF! Organizers Conference, Winter Fiesta and 20th Anniversary Hike

The EF! Baja beach party you've always been waiting for is just around the corner. The only thing is that it's not going to be in Baja; it'll be on a beach in Mexico across the Gulf of California, five hours south of Tucson. Also, it won't be just a party, it will be the 1999 Earth First! Organizers Conference and Winter Fiesta. In addition, there will be a hike to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Earth First!

The whole show starts on February 9-11 with a hike to El Piñacate. Dave, Mike, Howie and the boys climbed the beautiful, volcanic Piñacates in 1979. That trip was part of the inspiration for a new, no-compromise environmental group—Earth First!. (El Piñacate is now a biosphere reserve, with camping restrictions. Space is limited for this event.)

On Thursday, February 11, we'll drive just south of Puerto Peñasco, the site of this year's conference. The conference will begin that night, with a greeting meeting and a finalization of the agenda. The conference continues Friday and Saturday (February 12-13), with a huge fiesta Saturday night lasting until sunrise on Sunday. Sunday night and Monday (February 15, President's Day in the US) have been left open for snorkeling, siestas and/or traveling back to the states.

The upper Gulf of California is known for its phenomenal tidal changes. We have arranged for trips to tidal pools, a local women's oyster cooperative and birding locations on Sunday and Monday mornings. Trips are limited in space, require reservations and will require a small donation.

With the killing of David Chain and the media circus surrounding the Vail arson, we have a lot to talk about this year. The proposed agenda is listed below. In an effort to jumpstart deeper discussion on controversial topics, conference participants are encouraged to submit brief discussion papers. Send 'em to the *Journal*, and we'll make copies for the conference. If you have any comments or suggestions for the agenda, also send them to the *Journal*, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440, (541) 344-8004; [earthfirst@igc.org](mailto:earthfirst@igc.org) (put "conference" in the subject line).

Proposed agenda items include: etiquette in Mexico; David Chain; Vail/sabotage; media; long-term, movement-wide strategy; Organizers Conference structure; 1999 RRR in the Gila Mountains of New Mexico, June 21-28; EF! worldwide; *EF! Journal*; Direct Action Fund; and Fund for Wild Nature. Suggested workshops include Wise Use; law enforcement infiltration; manufacturing Y2K; pepper spray counter strategies; urban activism; industrial recreation; end corporate dominance; zero cut/exploitation; and genetics.

Here are a few travel trips: Learn Spanish. Bring a birth certificate and a voter registration card, state identification card or passport to make border crossings and policia encounters smoother. Crossing into Mexico is usually not a problem, but coming back into the states can be a shakedown. Don't transport anything they might be looking for. Clean out your car. Any camo, khaki or militaristic gear will be suspect. Do not carry or attempt to buy drugs in Mexico.

Check the current monetary exchange before you leave, but it should be about 10 pesos to the dollar. The best exchange rate will be found in Mexican banks. It is cheaper to buy your gasoline, oil, auto parts, batteries and film in the US. If you plan to drive, it is highly advised to buy Mexican auto insurance at the US border towns or from AAA. Insurance is less than \$10 a day.

The ever depressed Mexican economy will provide us numerous opportunities to infuse it with some good ol' American dinero. We are suggesting that all of us fend for ourselves in the local cantinas, taquerias and mercados. The best defense against Montezuma's revenge is to bring all your water and to cook your own food. When eating out, avoid leafy greens or vegetables which might have been washed in water. Ask if the water you are being served is "agua puerificada" (bottled or filtered water).

About the February 9-11 Piñacate hike: There is very limited camping space and even less parking space. Carpooling is necessary. Dogs, alcohol and campfires (among other things) are prohibited, and this is strictly enforced. Expect dry, rugged, volcanic terrain, magnificent winter conditions and scenery! If you plan on attending, contact one of the carpool numbers below.

About the February 11-15 conference/fiesta: We will camp and meet on an estuary beachfront, southeast of Puerto Peñasco, on La Pinta Ejido. Come prepared to camp; bring all food and water. Dogs are not permitted at the conference. Minimal bathroom facilities available. Cold, cloudy and/or windy weather is possible. There will be a \$5 per vehicle per night charge, so carpool! If you need a ride from Tucson, please contact one of the numbers below ASAP. Directions from Lukeville on the Arizona/Mexico border: Go South on Mexico Route 8 to Puerto

Peñasco for 63 miles, then East on Route 37 towards Caborca for 21 miles. Turn right at the sign for La Pinta Ejido. Stop for the guard dogs, say hello to our hosts, and get waved on straight ahead to our beach and campsite!

So, come and join us on la playa! If you want to hike with us, plan on arriving in Tucson on February 8 or 9. If you can just come to the conference, arrive in Tucson by February 10 or 11. For carpooling from Tucson, call Dwight at (520) 740-0810 or Turtle at (520) 623-5252 x303.

The conference is open to any EF!er interested in helping to steer the movement. The cost is \$20 (plus camping fees). For more information or to apply for travel \$\$, call Jim at (541) 714-9193.

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## MEDIA

# 'TCHKUNG!

RESISTANCE, SABOTAGE AND MUSIC, a two hour video documentary (NTSC) about the history of resistance to industrial capitalism, focusing on Earth First!, the IWW (wobblies), and the Luddites. Features interviews with Judi Bari, Howard Zinn, loggers, wobblies, and many more. Compares cultures of resistance, their arts and music, and their tactics. Includes quite a bit of vintage footage, as well as current action footage from demonstrations.

\$15.00

'TCHKUNG! vs. THE STATE, a one hour video documentary (NTSC), it follows the heartwarming relationship between an anarchist performance collective and their local police and fire depts. Exploding dumpsters, parades, riot cops, clowns, tall tales, and a lot of good show performance footage.

\$15.00

'TCHKUNG! "POST WORLD HANDBOOK", a compact disk recording with propaganda booklet, it is full length and features such tracks "Clearcut-Spike" "Feral" "Truckstop", and more. Family Fun!

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so the globe's adorned with McDonald's golden arches;

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replace all your organs to do away with fatality—

After all, who needs nature when we have virtual reality?

—Seth Mendelowitz

## FOR THE BEARS

Here, on Montana's Rocky Mountain Front  
Blackleaf Canyon is the  
Mother of the World.  
Here wind blows,  
Sometimes fierce  
Sometimes gentle  
Here grizzlies roam  
Sometimes fierce  
Sometimes gentle.  
Plans are afoot,  
Plans are afoot,  
To develop this place  
For oil and gas.  
The limber pine  
The wolverine  
The elk  
Scream, no, no, no!  
But plans are afoot.  
We must prepare  
For battle!

—Greg Bechle

## I JUST WANT IT Post, Post-Modern

I used to long for revolution  
but now apocalypse  
would do.

I just want this  
whole civilization  
to collapse

This giant engine of the work week slave system corporate state  
poison factory nightmare  
To die in its deep tracks,

short-circuit, meltdown, crash,  
freeze up in terminal gridlock,  
boil in a caustic cauldron of toxics  
that the earth and its animals  
have spit back at us.

I just want it  
fucking destroyed  
gotten out of my face  
and off of my life.

And maybe someday  
as some mutant survivor  
I'll find my simple joy again:  
Dancing on the carless overpasses  
finally free on the freeways  
that have cost us so much,  
Drumming on a spare parts marimba  
in an auto graveyard  
big as a town,  
playing a totally outside tuning  
on the xylophone of the ribs  
of this dead dinosaur  
Like some obstinate weed  
blooming  
in the pavement cracks.

—Kirk Lumpkin

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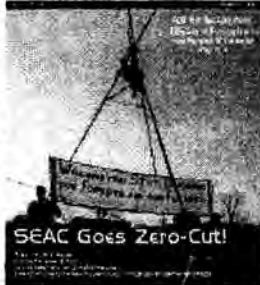
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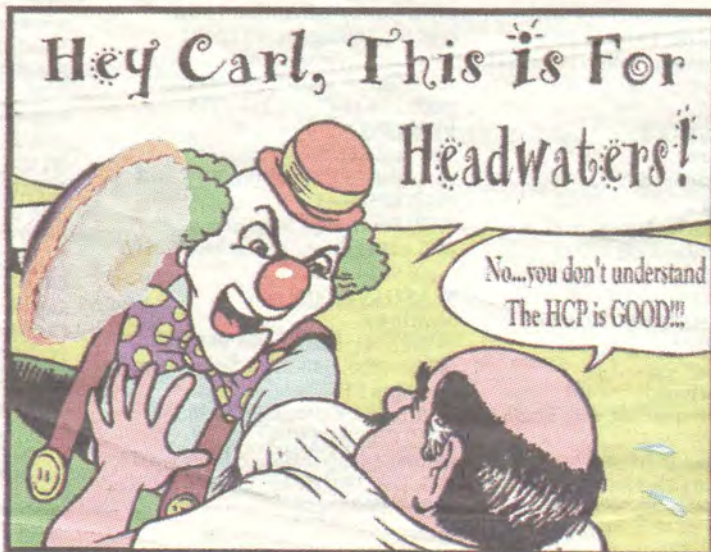
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ELF Strikes at Vail.....	1
The Pies Fly: A BBB Report.....	1
Kenyan Insurrection.....	1
Ancient Forest Rescue on Vail.....	3
Wolf Exterminators on the Hunt.....	4
Coyote Carnage.....	5
Opinion: The Makah Whale Hunt.....	6
Green Nigerians on the Frontlines.....	7
Activists Target Home Depot.....	8
Pennsylvania Chip Mill Protest.....	10
Exploit the Media: Part II.....	11
Mining San Francisco Peaks.....	12
Minnehaha Spirit Riders.....	13
FrankenMAI.....	15
In the Aftermath: Gypsy's Death.....	16
The Ectopia News.....	17
Report: British Earth First! Gathering.....	18
Federal Sentencing Guidelines.....	28
Dear Ned Ludd Returns.....	29
Spell of the Sensuous Review.....	33
Activist Conference Announcement.....	34



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