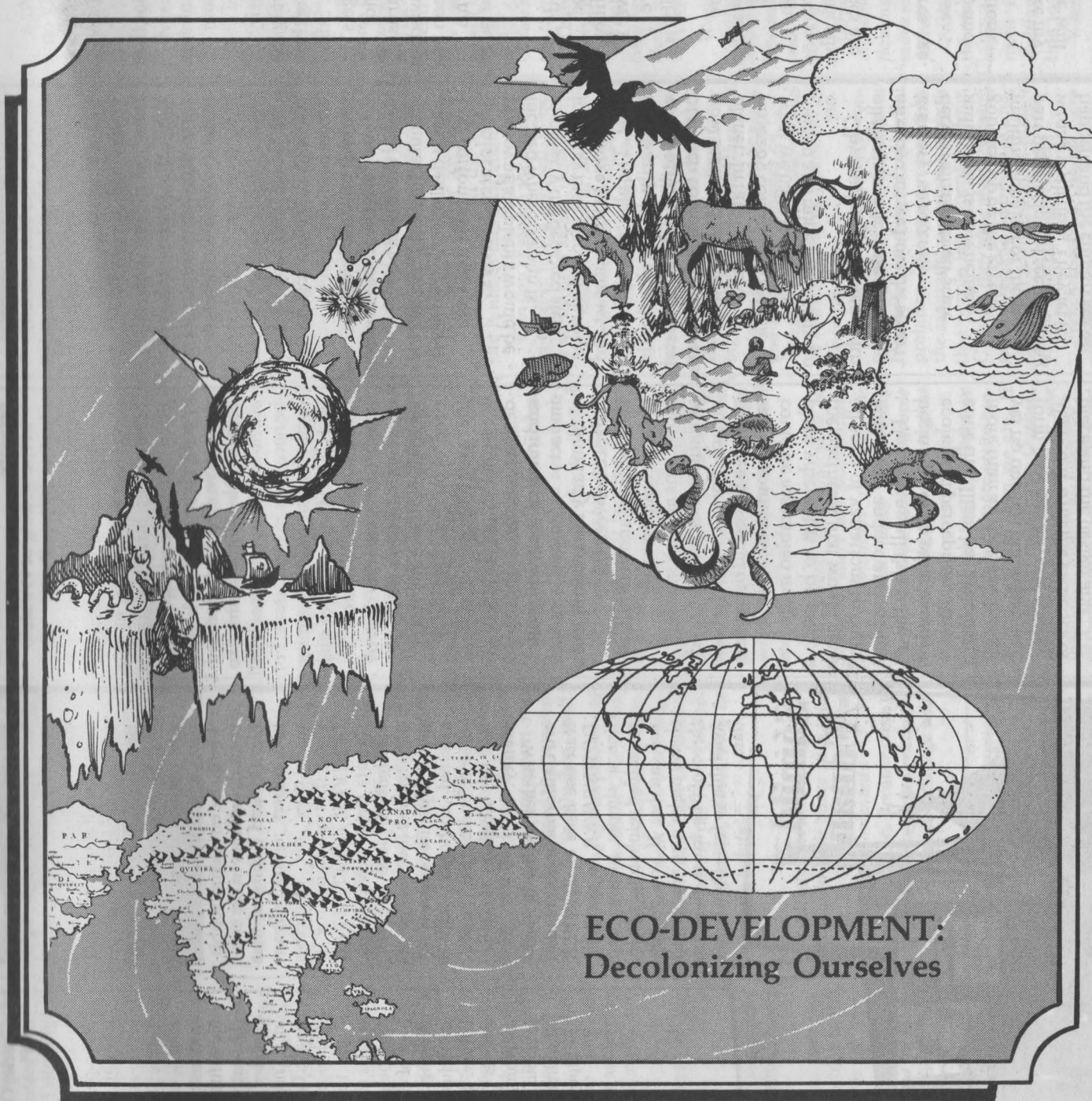


RAISE THE STAKES!

WINTER, 1981 \$2

The Planet Drum Review

VOLUME I, NUMBER 2



ECO-DEVELOPMENT:
Decolonizing Ourselves

Reports from: THE BLACK HILLS, QUEBEC, BRITTANY, SAMILAND, AND MORE.

POLITICS

REVIEWS

NATURAL
PROVISION



NATURAL
SCIENCE

AESTHETICS

ETHICS

CIRCLES OF REGIONAL COMMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE



Report from SCOTLAND

Jerry Gorsline

What you heard about Iona is pretty much true—pilgrims, mystics and new age idealists (a la Findhorn). A christian group calling itself the "Iona Community" uses the island and restored cathedral as its base and propagates a left-liberal international political line.

No sign of nationalist or place-located, values in the sense you mean. But such thinking is in evidence elsewhere, in the Outer Hebrides most notably, where the Highland (Gaelic) culture is making a last-ditch stand, as expressed in *The West Highland Free Press* (of which I'll send you a copy) and the writings of Brian

Wilson (radical journalist), Andrew Currie (ecologist), and John McGrath (playwright). The great ecologist of Scotland is J. Fraser Darling, whose major work, *West Highland Survey: An Essay in Human Ecology*, was published in the 50's and provides a radical and detailed prescription for re-inhabitation. John Mercer has written a good review of naturalist issues called *Scotland: The Devolution of Power* wherein he asks; "can the Highlander expect an assembly in Edinburgh to take more account of his demands for radical reform, such as that of landholding, than has the London parliament?" Scotland, as a nation, has always suffered internal divisions; between Gael and Anglo-Scot, lowlander and highlander, Crown and clan. The Highlands have also suffered from complete deforestation, 200 years of extractive sheep farming and a policy of deliberate genocide. Patterns of exploitation continue today in essentially extractive development schemes—oil, nuclear waste dumping, EEC fisheries rip-offs, etc. All very tragic and grim, really. Meanwhile a naturalist grouping petitions the UN to grant recognition to the majority desire for devolution as expressed in the 1976 referendum and since ignored by Parliament.

I have been working 6 days a week here at the hotel since April doing cooking and maintenance, which hasn't left much time for anything else. I haven't been off Iona except to the nearby Isle of Mull and a recent trip out to the Treshnish Isles with a local crofter to help him off-load sheep from one of the islands where he has grazing rights. A wild, steep-cliffed place; some tumbled stonework marking an 18th century village site. We manhandled 61 sheep into his open boat; when we tried to leave, a stern-line got wrapped around the propeller shaft and we took an icy plunge into the Atlantic to cut it away; when we got off, it was blowing and the sea was rising and far-away Iona had vanished in the fog. We made it back with the help of my compass; not without some nervous moments for me. On Mull I've been tracking down standing stones and other megalithic sites, using map and compass. I find myself fascinated by these reminders of a culture tuned to the cosmos in both ritual and practical ways—perhaps instruments of a vast and highly scientific astronomical observatory? No similar inter-related system of landmarks was laid on the country until the Ordinance Survey imposed its network of triangulation across the landscape in the 19th and 20th centuries A.D.

Today a force 10 gale, a massive swell rolling thru the sound, smashing in white fountains of water against the granite cliffs of Mull. Awesome and beautiful. The "season" comes to a close in mid-October, when Kathy and I plan to go to the Outer Hebrides and Orkney. During the winter months we will be caretaking the hotel: Kathy silversmithing and carving, me exchanging maintenance work for food and coal and electricity credits at the hotel. Next, perhaps another season in Iona, or a move to the Orkney Isles, or perhaps to Ireland?

Enclosed is \$10 to secure my standing with *Planet Drum*. □□□

RAISE THE STAKES!

The Planet Drum Review



REPORT FROM QUEBEC

Christian Lamontagne
interviewed by Peter Berg

Christian Lamontagne is an editor of Quebec's *Le Temps Fou* (The Crazy Times). This interview took place in February, 1980. Since then the autonomy referendum has been defeated and while Pierre Trudeau attempts to frame a new Canadian constitution to accommodate some degree of self-determination for the provinces, Quebec liberation forces are re-grouping for future struggles to gain total independence. Will the goals of the separatists be the same as they were before the referendum? Christian was critical of Parti Quebecois' narrow vision especially in regard to environmental issues before the May vote, and his view of what an independent Quebec could achieve instead may prove prophetic for the next contest over, "Quebec libre, oui ou non?"

Peter Berg: Christian, is the separatist sympathy in Quebec connected to any bioregional, ecologic thinking? What would secession for Quebec mean?

Christian Lamontagne: People are not expecting anything very new if Quebec succeeds in secession. Nobody is thinking that this will change the order of things. Most of us think that, "Yes, we will vote for the referendum, but it is only because we don't have any other choice." Between two bad things, we will choose the one that is less harmful. So, right now, many of the people who were activists in the Sixties are looking for something else, something new. I would say that they are getting bored by the idea of separatism, as this idea is articulated by the Parti Québécois. The Parti Québécois is perceived as a petit bourgeois party. Which it is. So there is a

place for new ideas and organizations. There are a lot of groups right now who are involved in ecology, feminism, the anti-nuclear movement, but they don't share a very sophisticated political analysis.

PB: Separatism in Quebec doesn't relate to any questions having to do with ecology or anti-nuclear activity?

CL: No, in no way. It still has a very strong nationalist aspect. I mean it is essentially a French Canadian movement, and there are other minority groups in Quebec who have not been able to find their place in that movement. There are some English-speaking ethnic people that are separatists, are members of Parti Québécois, but I think that they must be considered as petit bourgeois also.

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TRINITY RIVER

Brian Hill
Trinity Watershed
Denny, California

There was a "Public Involvement Meeting" in the Civil Defense Hall on April 19 in Weaverville, Calif., to consider the "Proposed Trinity River Basin Fish and Wildlife Management Program."

Farmers up from the Sacramento Valley were lobbying for more water from the Trinity for their crops. The federal government's management program officials were there to insure more total regulation of the Trinity River (the Trinity River drainage system) and to regulate those of us who participate in the Trinity environment.

The local people who attended seemed to be in unanimous agreement concerning their environment. They want local regulation of extra-government agencies and to refurbish the Trinity River and its accompanying bioregion.

It appears that we have reached the point in this area where there is more demand for the river's water and organic resources than is available. Rather than direct

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REPORT

so much energy toward competition for these renewable resources, the most fruitful future which could promise an adequate generation of these resources must be seen with another vision in order to halt the increased exploitation of these resources.

Water-Life: Without water no life is possible. Our water comes from the clouds. The clouds provide us with rains because, as they come into our hills from the ocean, they are semi-saturated; when they reach the cool moist air provided by the fir forests the clouds become fully saturated and they empty themselves on the hills as rain. The cool moist air occurs below the firs because they keep the forest floor shaded as well as hold the subterranean water close enough to the surface of the earth to sustain vegetation. The trees furnish an insulating layer of moist shade.

The Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management regulate logging as their lawful obligation to manage public land. The logging practices which are hammered out and enforced by these federal agencies are, in fact, anti-ecological: clear cutting destroys the all-important layer of cool moist air which fully saturates the incoming clouds. Therefore, clear cutting causes less rainfall and thus less water for the river and, subsequently, less water for the farmers in the Valley.

There must be a moratorium on the current Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management policies and practices. Then, after a complete examination of their policies, the public would see how hazardous these practices are to Nature's health and, consequently, our own.

The conquest of Mexico by the Spanish in 1521 is a perfect but tragic example of how huge masses of earth which were once fertile degenerated into deserts. The Spanish cut down the teeming fir forests; today, only sage brush and cactus remain—life is impossible. Once the trees are gone then the rains go and then most life vanishes.



The Trinity River is full of gravel because the bare, clear cut hillsides quickly erode into the river and streams. Also, the gravel fills the waters quicker because there is already a low level of water in the river. With clear cutting comes roads for the giant equipment needed for hauling out the timber. These roads are improperly constructed and inadequately maintained by the Forest Service. With increased roads in an already fragile ecosystem more gravel slides into the rivers and streams. This means less water which translates into less fish population even if no fish are taken by humans.

The managers of our public lands have been putting out forest fires for many years. Currently, we are facing the possibility of a "fire storm" stretching from San

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MATTOLE WATERSHED

David Simpson

Dear Judy, Peter and Michael,

I am in this abject position, feeling pretty bad about not having been able to talk to you prior to the meeting over a week ago and only now getting to this communication and doing so on this scuzzy paper with this cheap ballpoint. A slipshod operation all around, but I have my excuses.

Primarily, is more work than I can possibly do, long exhausting days at the end of which there is only bed—nor is there here enough order to concentrate readily. Just too damn much to do and too many kids (we have two 3-year-old wards for the month).

Secondarily, and related to it has been my lack of clarity about the questions you posed in our long phone conversation—for instance, what relevancy can *Planet Drum* have in my life? What direction should *Planet Drum* turn?

My answers are just beginning to emerge, may indeed seem simple-minded but, I suspect, will not be short-winded. I think, feel and hope that we are at the onset of a 20 year long work here, perhaps longer, which might be labeled a number of things—environmental repair, watershed rehabilitation, fishing enhancement, forestry renewal, right agriculture, agricultural diversification, etc. We are at the onset

of two decades during which Northern California's resource base can and hopefully will be reexamined and renewed. The nature and need of the work are quite clear to many. The ways it's going to get done are less clear. But the following things are happening:

THE WRITING ON THE WALL:

1. Groundswell for repeal of Peripheral Canal in northern California.

2. Proliferation of new forestry co-ops and a forestry management cadre, making livings at present largely on federal forest land.

3. Slow accretion of knowledge and techniques amounting to the art of watershed repair—to wit ENT Project in Redwood Park—BLM and CCC stream rehabilitation work in Mattole drainage/King's Range—development of small scale hatchery techniques in Alaska, B.C., etc. promising local rehabilitation of fish resources.

4. Government awareness—Huey Johnson's Renewable Resources Investment Fund. Blue Ribbon State Committee reports to State Board of Forestry that \$600 million must be spent in the next 20 years to rebuild California's forests.

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TRINITY RIVER . . .

Francisco to Canada because the brush and hardwoods have grown high enough to incinerate the firs. When Nature and natural people regulated the forests, fires were encouraged by lightning and seasonal burning of the underbrush. Now we live in a tinder box because of less rainfall and hardwoods tall enough to reach the highly flammable fir branches.



Increased rainfall would clean the rivers and streams of gravel and silt as long as new erosion can be halted. Increased rainfall will help us back into a healthy and productive river system only if we augment our harvest with measures to replace it. For instance, hatcheries and nurseries would be a fruitful alternative. Also, more rain means that the farmers in the Valley will have enough water for their crops and, perhaps, even enough to begin flushing out the poisons and toxic wastes which they have inundated their rich lands with.

In order to create more rainfall, logging practices must be devised to guarantee the continued existence of cool, moist, insulating layers of air. Non-arable land areas can be stimulated to produce trees by planting such hybrid grasses as fesque, birds foot, tree foil, clover and orchard grass. Grasses increase

soil production and help hold the subterranean water close to the surface.

The tinder box problem of undergrowth is a monumental one and only quick action will avert a fiery future. Sometimes the undergrowth is too tall for a controlled burn. More road-building will cause erosion. It appears that labor-intensive removal of undergrowth is drastically needed if we are to save our forests and water supply. Brush can be cut and put back on the ground as mulch. Hardwoods can be used for energy (firewood and alcohol), building materials or even food. And, because the absence of fires hinders the conversion of acid vegetation to natural alkaline fertilizer, it may be necessary to spray the forests with lime to obtain optimum Ph levels. Ecologists could figure this out.

For those environmentalists who support the present Wilderness area policies, I would like to note here that the FS and BLM practice of putting out forest fires has had more negative impact on the ecology of our forests than all other human activity with the exception of logging. And because the present undergrowth/tinder box problem has been created by human intervention (putting out forest fires), it should also be corrected by humans. People will have to manually remove the dangerous level of undergrowth, especially in the Wilderness areas.

I suggest the idea of Wilderness areas be changed to include human beings. We are part of Nature and Nature is part of us. As "civilized" people we have been cruel to Nature. I am sure that through the use of scientific ecological and technological means we can have as positive an impact on the future as we have had a negative impact on the past. Instead of

using our civilized devices to exploit, conquer and destroy Nature, let us use the same means to rebuild and complement Nature.

I live in a "Primitive" area, 12 miles from the nearest road. Last year I had the distinction of bringing an old timer, 84-years-old, back here. It was the first time he had been in the back country in 40 years. He told me that when he lived here in the hills 40 years ago they used to ride horses anywhere in these hills. Now it is solid branches from the ground to the tops of the firs.

"The whole forest is gonna burn!" he said. "There's dead yew wood and cedar trees. No new ones can grow because there's not enough water for them."

We are the victims of improper forest management. Instead of protecting our public lands, the FS and BLM have, in fact, permitted their imminent demise. We should be protected from government policies and practices with a moratorium on their destructive actions.

Teams of students and professors from nearby universities could come to help the local people of each county decide appropriate management policies and practices. Their decisions could then be directed to the managers of the public's land (our land) for them to carry out. This is a call for local regulation of federal agencies to assure salvation of our forests and our water.

We need more water, more trees, more soil and intelligent logging practices. We need to prevent our forests from burning down so our water will not vanish! The removal of undergrowth in each county must be a major effort.

In a democracy the people decide what is best for the government. In a totalitarian regime the government dictates what is best for the people. □□□

MATTOLE WATERSHED . . .

5. Growing region-wide awareness of the waning Salmon resources and a wide commitment to do something about it. Salmon, of course, is the base line for forestry practices—silt in the river kills the fisheries.

One of the really interesting things involved here is that re-inhabitory people are very actively involved on many levels; economic, cultural and spiritual. It is work we can, ought, and will be doing. We are at last addressing ourselves to the heart of things—primary production and trying to make it jive with what Linn House calls natural provision. We finally might have some real effect on the real processes that feed and house Americans. The old timers can't simply sluff us off as starry-eyed kids. The Salmon are disappearing. The timber is disappearing. The resource base is waning.

Now who's going to spearhead the fight? The loggers aren't. The timber companies aren't. The government is basically ineffective and deeply uninformed.

What we're up against is an incredible lethargy in some areas, often on the part of people who strongly support us.

We have an opportunity here to reverse a trend, that of waning salmon first, timber resources second. We have the techniques, hard information that no government agency has, and a fairly broad commitment. We can make a difference. We can and are es-

ablishing a model for local people taking a resource into their own hands.

We need support on several levels. We need a limited amount of money to enable a few people to step just enough above the constant rigors of life here to do the literal work involved. We need an informational agency to sort out just what priorities are, what the real bill is and who might pay it.

I reiterate—the government has achieved, in the areas about which we're talking, an ineffectiveness bordering on the criminal.

So how might Planet Drum play a role? I'm not sure but you can easily see some glaring needs. If there are small research grants involved, 3 would make a significant difference here. The need for an overall lobbying and information agency is strong. The need for an agency to sort out where and which and what is involved viz-a-viz avoiding pitfalls, of playing patsy for big business & government is there.

Northern California is approaching its great denouement. The forces to set it right are there.

What do you think? I've been writing over the din of 6 critical children, a picky teenager, and a harassed wife. I have rambled & overflowed the simple & easily applicable. I've had no choice. □□□

REPORT FROM QUEBEC . . .

What is the feeling of Canadian Indian people toward the Parti Québécois?

There are about, I would say, 16,000 Indian people in Quebec, and there is a kind of warfare between the federal government and the provincial government over who should have control of them. At present they are still the responsibility of the federal government.

And the provincial government wants that responsibility?

Yes. They want to have the responsibility. Indian groups are practically dying. They are too small to have any kind of bargaining power, and they are also a very small minority.

What people are we talking about?

The Montagnais and the Iroquois. The Six Nation people. Their problem is that they are still living in the northern part of Quebec where there are a lot of mines, and plenty of hydro-electrical projects. So they are being removed at the same time that they still have rights on the lands.

The Parti Québécois is for the hydro projects?

Yes. Is its power in any way based on the fact that the hydro projects are there?

I would not say so directly. But Hydro Quebec, which is the national company, is a very strong symbol of power.

Réné Levesque had a lot to do with setting it up, didn't he?

CHRISTIAN LAMONTAGNE



SAM SILVER

Yes. He was the man who nationalized it, in '62.

His personal power as a political person is somewhat based on having done that.

Yes.

Would the future economic power of a free Quebec be in turn based on hydro-electric power production?

In some part, because we already sell electricity to New York. And the James Bay project was built mainly for export reasons. We don't need that amount of electricity in Quebec itself.

The building of that project has been oppressive to the Cree people in particular. You say the provincial government is no more helpful to them now than the federal government. If the Parti Québécois ran Quebec, would they be any more helpful?

No.

Is it likely that the Parti Québécois would, if it came into total power in Quebec, be more environmentally oriented?

I would say no. Because there is a strong emphasis on creating a stronger economic exchange with

the United States. They are playing the United States against English Canada.

What would be necessary for a more environmentally oriented government to take power in Quebec? Would there have to be a challenge to the Parti Québécois?

I think that isn't possible yet. Maybe after the referendum next spring. If they lose, I think that some of the members of Parti Québécois, and also all the old activists of the Sixties, will see a chance to build something else.

Would the anti-nuclear people form a likely basis for another party?

No, and I don't think they ever will because there is only one nuclear plant operating in Quebec. There is a second one which has been in construction for 6 or 7 years now, but it will be our last one. So for the next 10 or 15 years, the nuclear reactor problem will not be very acute in Quebec.

Why isn't there a more ardent ecological feeling? In some separatist movements, the ecological and environmental content is quite high. Is it because Quebec is so industrialized?

It is because of the national question. Maybe it is paradoxical to say this, but, the separatist movement in its first year was seen as a national liberation struggle which had very little to do with ecology. . .

In France, and especially in Brittany, there are publications and personalities pushing environmental ideas. Apparently they want to be known as people that are taking first steps in that direction.

But, I think that it is because they are facing a more acute ecological problem than we are. If you see the country in Quebec, you'll see that there is only one major city, Montreal, where 60% of the industry is located. The rest of the province is very quiet. The industries outside Montreal are

primarily mining and the forest products industry.

Perhaps it's because they're so busily engaged in destroying the eco-systems of Quebec, that the Parti Québécois doesn't want to espouse an environmental point of view? Maybe it would get in their way economically if they did.

You see, when there is an unemployment rate of about 20 percent or 30 percent, which is the rate of unemployment in most of the regions of Quebec, people don't care very much about ecology. They want jobs, the price is not important.

Do people feel under the gun as far as making a living is concerned in Montreal, and in Quebec generally? Do people feel desperate economically?

No, because they are still in North America, and the way of life is not as bad as it could be.

Can you compare the situation in Quebec with Cornwall, which is really very small, with no city even near the size of Montreal? Cornwall still has a lot of agriculture because they have so much land intact. They have an interest in the future of Cornish native industries. They're very concerned that they be able to continue farming and fishing. Some of them are determined to get free of England and England's demands on Cornish resources, so that there could be more reasonable treatment of those resources.

It is our particular political context in Quebec that impedes us from being conscious of ecological problems. The main reason why the separatist movement grew is that people felt a menace from Canada, they were afraid of being assimilated and destroyed as a nation. That is still the main subject of the separatist movement.

French-speaking people are also oppressed in terms of employment, aren't they?

Yes, they continue to be. All the

major companies are American or English Canadian. Maybe 90 percent of the economy is under foreign control. For my part, I see the ecological movements, or ecological approach to politics, as the only way to include English and ethnic minorities in the party in Quebec.

Why?

Because then the main subject of the political struggle would be the regional base. It would no longer be merely the solution to an ethnic problem.

How would you be able to support a regionist consciousness?

We will have to mix it with social preoccupations to create a more democratic society, economically and socially. I mean it will have to be a kind of ecological decentralist movement.

It can't come from within the Parti Québécois?

No.

You're suggesting that there be another party.

There is the basis for that kind of party. But, it cannot be done yet.

What would be the constituency for that party? Would it include native people?

It would.

Would it include rural people?

Rural people are no longer an important part of the population. The number of farmers has dropped from 100,000 to maybe 20,000 within the last 10 years.

Do you think that the separatist movement is for the time being floating on top of another enormous social change that is taking place?

Parti Québécois doesn't reflect the exact situation in Quebec. Everybody feels stuck in the movement right now. Everybody is waiting for the autonomy question to be closed forever.

What issue is present in Quebec now, or is emerging in Quebec, that will force the environmental question? Which single issue? →

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BLACK HILLS REPORT

Leonard Rifas

You have asked whether the much-advertised Rancher-Indian Alliance to save the Black Hills is for real. There are opinions on all sides. The short answer is *no*, but first some background.

Before there was a Black Hills Alliance there was the Black Hills Energy Coalition, a group formed in response to the threat of uranium mining in the hills. Early last year some American Indian Movement people came to one of the BHEC's meetings and offered to join forces.

Some coalition members thought that A.I.M. support would be a political liability. Others were interested in the possibility of Indians and whites working together on something. The latter group formed the Black Hills Alliance.

The Black Hills Alliance has put most of its effort into organizing two big events. Last year's was the *National Gathering of the People* which included an evening of speeches and music (Jackson Browne reportedly praised it as the best-organized movement event he'd played for); a 20 mile march into the Black Hills the next day; and then a day of speeches and workshops. This year's big event was the ten day *Survival Gathering*.

The people in the Black Hills Energy Coalition are still active and have recently formed the South Dakota Committee for People's Choice. They have placed an *initiative* measure on the November ballot which would require South Dakotan voter approval of all new uranium mines or mills, nuclear power plants, or nuclear waste dumps in the state. (*Editor's note—The initiative lost 49 to 51 percent.*)

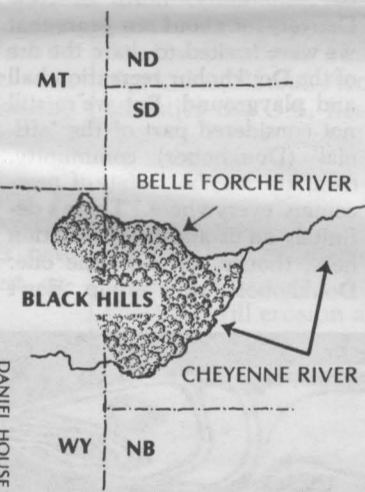
The moderate backers of the initiative (which like California's Prop. 15 of 1976 is not even strictly anti-nuclear) are trying to disassociate themselves from the Alliance, which has a partly deserved local reputation for being radical, weirdo, "foreigners" (i.e., non-South Dakotans).

The South Dakota Committee for People's Choice (hereafter

referred to as the Committee) decided not to distribute their brochure and bumper sticker at the Survival Gathering because they thought it would harm the initiative's chances if it were associated with the Alliance. After some hot argument, an Alliance leader, without asking anyone, had a flyer printed up and distributed at the gathering with text lifted from the Committee's brochure plus an original lead paragraph which attacked the Governor and President for failing to protect the public interest. Local people cite this story as an example of why they don't like to work with the Alliance.

This kind of insensitive, undemocratic decision-making apparently lost the Alliance most of its local support after the "National Gathering" last year. The estimate I heard on how many local people helped organize this year's Gathering was so small you could count them on one hand with enough fingers left over to throw a bowling ball.

Still, the Alliance deserves credit for making a great effort to conduct the Survival Gathering in a way that would not alienate surrounding communities. Participants were briefed repeatedly on the importance of abiding by conservative dress codes and maintaining sobriety. I heard that



Maybe the question of forests because they have been extremely exploited for the last 50 years. And now there is a modernization plan which has been proposed by the government. It wants to put 2 billion dollars into modernization of forest industries in the next 10 years. Actually that modernization means bigger machines and more effective ways of cutting trees. This will kill the forests sooner or later.

What percentage of the economy is related to forests?

It is the biggest industrial sector in Quebec. It might be around 10 or 15 percent.

Is there any significant agricultural issue that will force the environmental question?

Two years ago the government passed a law to stop the misuse of land through speculation in the Montreal area, where most of the people are. Since the best agricultural land is also in this area that law was supported by the farmers as well.

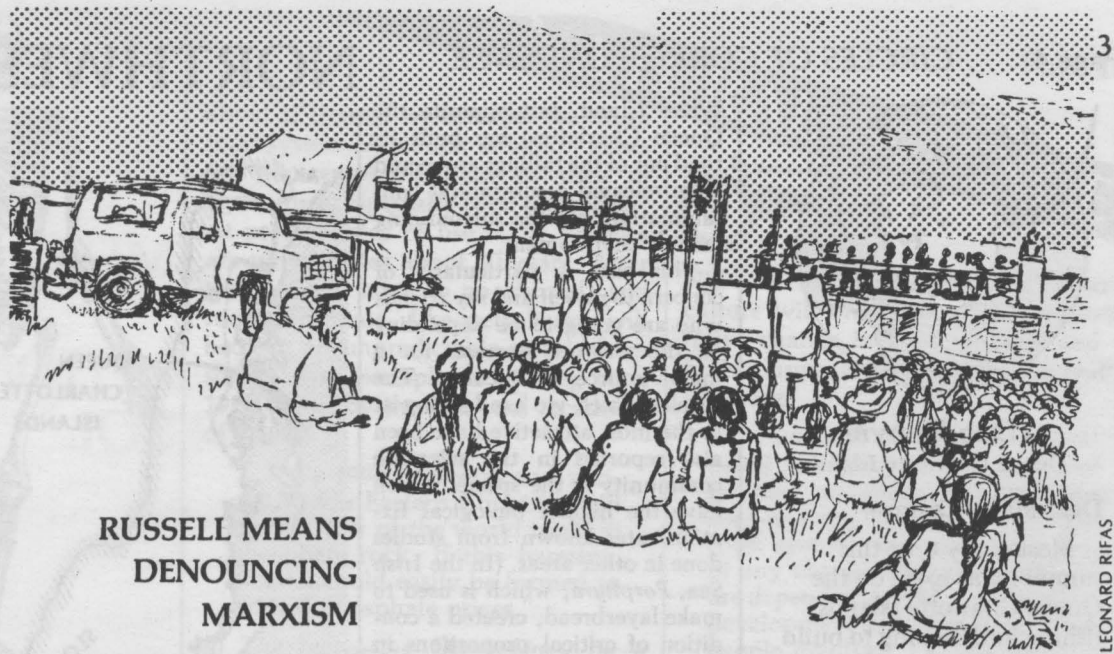
We haven't discussed Quebec's foreign policy at all. What would be the possibility that an autonomous Quebec would want to relate to the rest of the world as an interdependent region of the biosphere?

I think it is a real one. Already

there are a lot of Quebecois-speaking and French-speaking people in Africa, for example. There is also a very strong feeling among Quebecois for Cuba. There are about 20,000 Quebec people who take their vacations in Cuba each year.

Would you talk a little bit about Le Temps Fou. What made you want to start the magazine?

The reason for starting *Le Temps Fou* has to do with wanting to articulate our personal history. We were activists in the Sixties and in the early Seventies; and then a part of the movement, the bigger part, was transformed into two major Marxist-Leninist organizations. We couldn't agree with that. So we left the movement for two years, and lots of other people did the same. There was a very deep mood for a new critical approach to politics and social change. We could no longer see social change only in terms of class struggle. So we started *Le Temps Fou* as a vehicle for exploring and articulating our histories within a less rigid structure. (*Editor's note—copies of Le Temps Fou, a French language publication may be obtained by sending \$2 to 4073 Saint-Hubert, Montreal, P.O., H2L 4A7 Canada.*)



RUSSELL MEANS DENOUNCING MARXISM

LEONARD RIFAS

one woman was banished from the Gathering for removing her shirt and I personally observed one of the folks from the bus I rode out with being hassled by "Security" for appearing spaced out.

Also all Marxist-Leninist literature was kept out of the Gathering by an "outside literature review committee." The Revolutionary Communists did show up, slip through a bungling Alliance bureaucracy, and briefly display their paper. They were overheard telling a BHA leader that the people of South Dakota were ready and eager for this kind of information, and he was overheard telling them that if they tried to sell that stuff in local towns they'd be lucky to escape with their lives.

Fortunately the censorship committee had no objection to political humor and so the material available at the site included bumper stickers and buttons from the Hog Farm's "Nobody for President" campaign and the Plutonium Players' "Reagan for Shah" offensive, and the full line of Educomics comic books (the R. Cobb editorial cartoons and Anarchy Comics aroused the most enthusiasm).

Some of the speeches seemed partially calculated for their effect on local opinion, including Russell Means' much discussed denunciation of Marxism and John Trudell's call for "liberation, not revolution."

The rules which governed the Gathering kept local opinion from becoming as negative as it easily could have been. Local press coverage was generally favorable.

An Alliance staff person told me, "We've done nothing but gain on the local level. People who thought the Alliance was a bunch of hippies last year now agree with our objectives."

A local newspaper reporter thinks the Gathering will help the moderates working on the uranium initiative because "people who would be turned off by it are already turned off" and that "for the most part people are impressed."

A local historian thinks the Gathering "might have done more harm than good" because of speeches given there which "breed more hate" by "carrying on like it was the white people today who did those things 100 years ago."

A South Dakotan actively opposing uranium development considered the Gathering "not helpful" because of "anti-development, anti-business, anti-government rhetoric" which "is not what South Dakota people want to hear."

Another local reporter thinks the Gathering won't have much effect on the uranium initiative either way and that people will decide on the initiative in the fall.

The Tuesday after the Gathering I walked around Rapid City asking local people what opinion they had of the Gathering. It was 107°(F) but so dry that it was almost comfortable. Of the ones who told me their opinions most

were in favor of the Gathering. Some who criticized the Gathering for being pointless or locally counter-productive also opposed uranium development. Some who said nice things about the Gathering were personally in favor of uranium mining.

Still your question was not how the Survival Gathering went over locally, but whether ranchers and Indians are sitting down together to work for their common survival. The answer is "no" or "not yet" or "a start has been

made," depending on the strength of your optimism.

The Alliance boasts one rancher, Marvin Kammerer, on whose family's land the Survival Gathering was held. He's clear-headed, a great speechmaker, committed and likeable. He's the only local rancher active in the Alliance.

I hope this letter answers your question. If you print it I hope you edit it in such a way that my high regard for the people active in the BHA and the BHEC is apparent.

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RUSSELL MEANS AT 1980 SURVIVAL GATHERING



SYLVESTER WESAW

... Right now, today, we who live on the Pine Ridge Reservation are living in what white society has designated a "national sacrifice area." What this means is that we have a lot of uranium deposits here and white culture (not us) needs this uranium as energy production material. The cheapest, most efficient way for industry to extract and deal with the processing of the uranium is to dump the waste byproducts right here at the digging sites. Right here where we live. This waste is radioactive and will make the entire region uninhabitable forever. This is considered by industry, and the white society which created this industry, to be "an acceptable" price to pay for energy resource development. Along the way they also plan to drain the water table under this part of South Dakota as part of the industrial process, so the region becomes doubly uninhabitable. The same sort of thing is happening down in the land of the Navajo and Hopi, up in the land of the Northern Cheyenne and Crow, and elsewhere. Over 60 percent of all U.S. energy resources have been found to lie under reservation land, so there's no way this can be called a minor issue. For American Indians, it's a question of survival in the purest sense of the term. For white society and its industry it's a question of being able to continue to exist in their present form.

We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice area. We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice people! The costs of this industrial process are not acceptable to us. It is murder to dig the uranium here and to drain the water table, no more, no less. So the reasons for our resistance are obvious enough and shouldn't have to be explained further. To anyone.

Now let's suppose that in our resistance to extermination we begin to seek allies. Let's suppose further that we were to take revolutionary Marxism at its word: that it intends nothing less than the complete overthrow of the European capitalist order which has presented this threat to our very existence. This would seem to be a natural alliance for American Indian people to make. After all, as the Marxists say, it is the capitalists who set us up to be a national sacrifice. This is true as far as it goes.

But, as I've tried to point out, this "truth" is very deceptive. Look beneath the surface of revolutionary Marxism and what do you find? A commitment to reversing the industrial system which created the need of white society for uranium? No. A commitment to guaranteeing the Lakota and other American Indian peoples real control over the land and resources they have left? No, not unless the industrial process is to be reversed as part of their doctrine. A commitment to our rights, as peoples, to maintaining our values and traditions? No, not as long as they need the uranium within our land to feed the industrial system of the society, the culture of which the Marxists are still a part.

Revolutionary Marxism is committed to even further perpetuation and perfection of the very industrial process which is destroying us all. It is offering only to "redistribute" the results, the money maybe, of this industrialization to a wider section of the population. It offers to take wealth from the capitalist and pass it around, but in order to do so, Marxism must maintain the industrial system. . . .

□□□

NORTHWEST NATION



Dug Dobyns

Queen Charlotte Islands

Dear Planet Drum—

Most of my time this summer was spent on the Queen Charlotte Islands, fishing and helping to build up a little trading company that has its centre on the Northwest tip of the northern island. These people have obtained a permit to hand-harvest seaweed for organic food stores. They have been making trading trips up the Nass River as well, to trade for oolichan grease—and this Fall went up with dried seaweed, halibut, snapper, and other seafoods.

In previous journeys, when these people have returned to the Queen Charlottes they have gone into the Haida village in Masset and given jars of grease to the grandparents. The idea of getting a trade economy established between regions is one which has been around for a long time. The question is, at what distance and in which political context?

The reason that I'm mentioning this is because I feel that a certain resistance to inter-regional trade exists in much of the Planet Drum community. The food for a people in a region should come from that region—this is a very often-stated tenet of regionalism.

In regards to the region referred to as the Northwest Nation I would give a different boundary. The Queen Charlottes and the Islands of the Haida in Southern Alaska; Skeena & Nass; Stikine; Taku (with Atlin & Carcross); Chilkat & Tatshenshini (with Haines and Yakutat); Islands of the Tlingit. Of course this really is a problem, because it includes both territory in the State of Alaska and in the Province of B.C. (and a couple of communities in the Yukon Territory). But there is either this one big territory, or else one will have to look at the Northwest Nation, as *Raise the Stakes I* has it, as 3 smaller nations—the Queen Charlotte Islands, Nass-Skeena, and the Stikine.

The point is, there are some big problems in this whole area that stem from the international boundary between Canada and the United States. We need to make some real attempts to lessen the effect that this has had on developing a regional culture, and by creating an exchange of regional products we will begin to have a way to share some of the basic identities with our environment.

One factor in the exchange is the different resource policies in B.C. and Alaska. This goes into a great complexity. One example is the difference in logging practices, which Doug Aberly has drawn out so well. (Ed. note: *Raise the Stakes #1*.) Another is the practice of uranium mining. In B.C., we are holding hearings about the pollution problems that might result from uranium mining, and there is at least a good chance that this type of mining will be restricted from the Province. In Alaska there has been mining for some time. In one instance, a mine near the boundary (on Prince of

Wales Island, just opposite the Queen Charlottes) has built its road out of the tailings and could have released a substantial contamination into the surrounding marine environment.

This case is particularly of concern to myself and my friends who are going to be depending on the seaweed harvests for a major source of income. The species which we are looking at as the most attractive have been also reported in the scientific community as the species which have the highest biological fixation rates known from studies done in other areas. (In the Irish Sea, *Porphyra*, which is used to make laverbread, created a condition of critical proportions in heavy consumers near the English Windscale re-processing plant; the giant brown algae, attractive to the B.C. Government to be developed near Masset, have some of the highest known rates of plutonium and polonium—a uranium decay element—uptake.) . . .

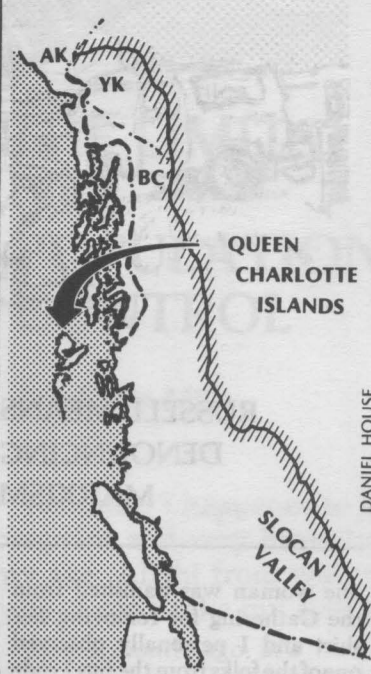
Another interesting question is the treatment of the native peoples in B.C. as compared to those in Alaska. There have been many devastating attacks on the indigenous peoples in S.E. Alaska in the past, but at least they have been recognized as having rights, in the past few years, and there has been a settlement. This is not the case in B.C. What this means in terms of law is not something I wish to address—the natives have good legal counsel—but it has a great effect on the communications between non-natives and natives. In Alaska, there is a much better communication. I was able to return to Alaska and visit with friends, both native and white, after a 13 year period of exile. I had a good basis to compare the feelings I got with those of working for several years with (and for) natives in B.C. I attribute the better feelings in Alaska to the fact that the people there have had the recognition of their position and a basic settlement.

These are the types of problems that I feel come under regional responsibilities. If there is no other way than expropriation of the responsibilities into regional hands, then so be it. If we are able to educate the government departments, then we need to do this—after all they are just people—but failing their willingness to learn, we must take action to survive as communities and as people.

At this time there are hearings taking place in Vancouver under the National Energy Board of Canada to review the applications by B.C. Hydro to export 10 billion kilowatt hours of electricity per year to the U.S. for the next 5 years. This amounts to about 40% of the production in B.C. at this time, and it is widely held that our power authority is using this move as a springboard to develop more dams in the north of the Province.

The B.C. Energy Coalition is acting as an intervenor in these hearings, along with other groups like the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs. We have been very busy getting information about the developments of energy legislation in the U.S. and more-or-less secret developments by B.C. Hydro (often totally without permission) to build roads and powerlines through areas which are claimed by various Indian Bands, or exist as wilderness at this time.

The work we are doing also tries to relate what the benefits of conservation measures and small-scale community power projects could be, as opposed to large-scale developments. We want people to understand that as environmental priorities are raised in the U.S., so that minimum flows are guaranteed in streams in the Columbia drainage and other reclamation moves are made. Virgin watersheds



Joel Russ

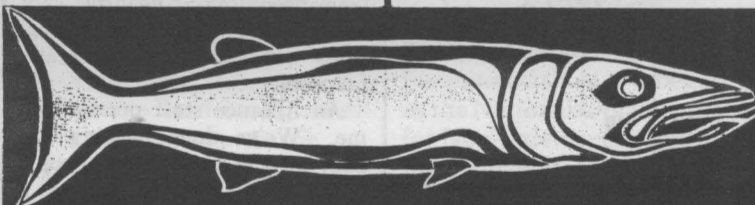
Slocan Valley, B.C.

The West Kootenay area (particularly the Slocan Valley, where I live, and the communities in and around the towns of Castlegar, Trail, and Grand Forks) is still homeland to many Doukhobors. They are, I think, the largest ethnic group in the area. The older generation (say over-50) remembers the communes vividly—sometimes fondly, sometimes with embarrassment—but I don't know of any existing Doukhobor communes. Most live in nuclear or somewhat-extended families, frequently on ten or twenty acres of land with a nice garden and orchard, with many relatives living nearby.

The way of life of mainstream rural BC has influenced them greatly; and though they often try to keep their taxes down by leaving their homes unfinished on the outside, the interior of homes reflects the adoption of the simple worldly values of their non-

Doukhobor neighbors of their generation: color TV sets, a fridge full of beer, Sears type living room furniture. Many of the Doukhobors are employed in the regional mining, smelting, logging, and lumber industries, as well as in the local Department of Highways. I would say that many of them are still suspicious of the Canadian government. To the extent that they participate in Canadian politics, they tend, as a group, to favor the New Democratic Party (somewhere in the area of *social democracy to state socialist*). Among themselves, the Doukhobors are split into a number of factions, and there is some interfactional strife every now and again over religious and social matters. There are still some leaders who claim a prophetic role in relation to their people.

Some Doukhobors have been very friendly to the long-haired newcomers who began moving into the area around twelve or thirteen years ago—there's one warm-hearted older couple just down the road whom I particularly enjoy visiting with—but others have been more standoffish, even hostile. This may break down roughly into age groups, with the elders (60s & 70s) being friendly, the middle-agers (35-50s) less amiable, and the youngsters tending to be friendly, too. But that's very general. Some of the Doukhobors saw us youthful social experimenters as their spiritual children (nephews?), and others resented things like how much easier it was for us to find an alternative to public school for our children, and how we were able to get government grants for community projects. It was only after the newcomers were here in Hills (unincorporated community, north of New Denver) for about ten years that we were invited to share the use of the Doukhobor recreation hall and playground. But we're still not considered part of the 'official' (Doukhobor) community. (Alas, this may be the fate of 'newcomers' everywhere.) There's definitely an us-and-them situation here, though not a hostile one. Doukhobors, as a group, don't



in Canada are being considered for development to off-set the power losses that will result. Also, we have now found that the Regional Energy Bill (S-885), that is being pushed by Senator Jackson, has clauses in it to assist the development of nuclear power (which will be very expensive) by using hydro power (cheap) to blend the costing. Therefore, we are in the position of subsidizing the nuclear industry with power from B.C.—power which will be sold cheaper to the U.S. in many instances than its cost to the residential user in Canada.

You might ask why I am involved in all this since I do not have power delivered to my home, but you must realize that there are roads being planned on the Stikine River for construction this coming summer, and that our power authority is making moves in several watersheds at once, often without hearings and without legal mandate to initiate these developments. We have to create systems of communication and perhaps stronger actions from a base in rural locations. So far, the bulk of city dwellers have no inclination to support those in the hinterlands.

understand the marijuana, the split-ups among couples, our minimal consumer interest, or our frequent favoring of 'environmental' over 'employment-opportunity' values.

By now, most of the hippie communes, as such, have disbanded, too. The engrained or preferred individualism of the participants, the mobility to which they were accustomed, their range of opinions and interests, the instability of couple relationships within the group, and other factors eventually decimated their numbers, resulting in people wanting their own piece of land, or sub-dividing the communal land, or moving away. But many of us are still here in the West Kootenays, maybe a thousand or more (including our kids). There's lots of us still gardening; some operating 'alternative' businesses like natural food stores, small lumber mills, horse logging operations, craftwork, etc. There's probably more relaxed interaction among long-time residents, Doukhobor and otherwise, and us 'newcomers' now than when I moved here eight years ago; and it probably has something to do with our becoming more realistic about the actualities of life in this area.

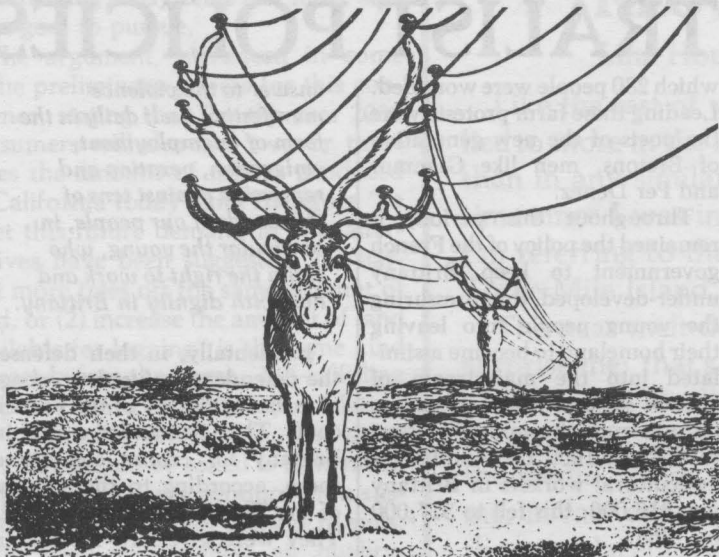
The region is diverse, politically. There's a general concern over the high unemployment rate and escalating property taxes. Some people feel the solution to the problems lies in the general area of boosting business and incentives to 'success', and thereby promoting employment: these people support Progressive Conservatives (roughly 'Republicans'). Others would like to see increased taxation, federal and provincial, of upper income people, and more government control (and presumably aid to small industry and businesses): they support the New Democrats (socialists); the NDP candidate for Member of Parliament won out over the PC incumbent in the recent election. As I said, Doukhobors mostly go NDP. A lot of hippies do too, but we had a very on-the-ball, thirty-year-old, new-agey Liberal candidate running for MP in the last two federal elections, who a lot of long-hairs liked (he lost, though).

Environmentally, we have three major problems: clear-cut logging, damming and diversion of rivers for hydro-electric power, and uranium exploration and mining. After a few confrontations, and community outcry, last year at Genelle (near Trail), a uranium exploration operation, undertaken by a big American company, was stopped. More recently, due to popular opposition, the B.C. government granted a seven-year moratorium on uranium exploration and mining. The lofty Bates Commission, which was studying the issue, was simultaneously asked to hand in its report, even though on the original schedule they were allotted three months more. We may have to fight this one again. The other two problems are still very much with us, at present, though they're receiving public attention.

Counterculturally, there's lots going on here, with a number of streams converging in Nelson. There's a super-fine natural foods restaurant, The Jam Factory. Fairs are put on twice a year, with crafts, music, etc. There are gestalt groups there (and in Slocan), Tibetan Buddhist (a Lama resident in Nelson), an environmental group runs a soup-and-sandwich house, some accomplished resident artists there. Two good alternative bookstores, one just for children's books, a bulk natural food store, dance and drama groups, concerts of various sorts fairly frequently. Rolfers and other body-work people, a China-Canada Friendship League chapter, Sierra Club chapter, alternative home-energy business (wood stoves, etc.); now designing and building passive solar houses), active women's centre, and so on. All of these things seem to be of interest mostly to people who've moved into the area from somewhere else; I'd imagine that this fact has parallels in other regions. There's a health-food store in Nelson that's been around for longer than I've been here. It's run by a middle-aged Doukhobor man, and has a lot of long-haired customers, but many Doukhobor customers too, who have known the owner for many years. He speaks Russian to them, and English to us. The people who encounter one another in the store are real friendly. It's nice.

Reflecting on the Doukhobor/New Settler relationship once again, I'd have to say that generally the most empathy is there when there is a shared sense of economic fate: the specific kinds of work people commonly get, the pressures of inflation and taxes, the fact that few people here are getting rich!

SAMILAND



David Pingitore

In the nearly untouched forests and deltas of Norway's northern counties live the Sames (saw-mes), or Lapps as the West has come to call them. A nation of 50,000 people, their nomadic heritage on these lands goes back for centuries prior to the settling of Scandanavia by the Europeans, and the creation of the Norwegian State.

As a people rooted to the land well before the expansion of Western society into the north, the political history and culture of the Same people resembles that of the Native Americans. For as the buffalo influenced the pattern of life for the tribes of the Great Plains, the reindeer once occupied a similar position for the Sames in their lands that stretch across Northern Scandanavia and the Soviet Union.

Yet today, the real implications of this history continue to lie in the political situations that these people experience with the national governments they live under. Just as the Sioux tribes that occupy the Black Hills are now faced with the expropriation of the wealth of their land, so are the Sames of Finnmark County confronted with an identical prospect: that the Norwegian drive to create energy, under the justification of remaining self-sufficient, will ruin the varied ecology that is the land's treasure, and continue the erosion of a Samish culture that has survived for centuries under the shadows of the Midnight Sun.

Polar Colonialism

What is currently at stake, is the outcome of a 12-year struggle over whether the Norwegian Electricity Board (NVE) will be able to dam the Alta-Kautokeino watercourse, a vast network of waters and delta land that branches thru the length of the county. Since the proposal was first announced in 1968, the Same and Norwegian residents of Finnmark have fought the NVE's intention to construct the 660,000 to 1,400,000 Mega Watt station.

Within the Alta watershed system are lakes, marsh land and rich deltas, and upland plateaus covered with forests, providing one of the largest bird sanctuaries left in the nation, and marking the northern boundary for pine trees in Norway. A massive offshore fishing industry provides nearly 500 million kilos to the nation's yearly catch, and along with agriculture, hunting, and reindeer breeding, provide the economy for Alta, a village of 13,000 Norwegians and Sames.

The NVE plans call for the construction of a dam 110 meters (330 ft.) tall, and the flooding of not only the largest canyon in Northern Europe, but the Same village of Masi itself, placing it under 10 meters of water in the spring.

Over the last few years, Norway and its Scandanavian neighbors have developed at least 100

energy projects in Sameland, displacing the people to exploit the waterways of the north for the industrialized centers of the south. This has created a hardship and bitterness in the people, to an extent that the Nordic Same Council, representing Sames throughout Scandanavia, would declare that "We have experienced how the land where we live and endured has been taken from us . . . [and how]. We have experienced the destruction of our traditions and cultural heritage. We are Sames and want to remain Sames."

After petitioning the Storting (Parliament) in Oslo for nearly 10 years, and holding votes in the local governments that rejected the NVE's proposals, the people were still faced with a confrontation over the proposed dam. On November 30, 1978, the Storting voted in favor of an NVE-backed resolution that would impose a halt to all further construction by the Sames in their villages along the Alta river, and provide for the inevitable displacement of the people. But beyond this development were the wider political consequences: the continued erosion of the people's economy and culture thru imposed industrialization.



It was shortly after this vote that the residents of Finnmark adopted the strategy of the Folkeaksjonen (People's Action), and extended their struggle into non-violent direct action. A national movement then developed, that reflected both the politics of ecology and safe energy now of concern to the industrialized West, and the political rights of an indigenous people fighting to maintain their independence.

On January 16, 1979, just two days before the Polar Darkness would once again give way to light, the people met in the classrooms of the village school, and agreed to the principles and strategy of Folkeaksjonen. By the end of the year, Folkeaksjonen would have local groups in 42 communities, and nearly 20,000 members. As the movement developed,

Folkeaksjonen necessarily began to take on a direction and composition that placed it within the anti-nuclear/safe energy movements of the industrialized West. People from Denmark, Sweden, and West Germany came to Finnmark in large numbers in 1979. Helge Mathisen, an organizer for Folkeaksjonen in Bergen, acknowledged the relationship when he said that "Yes, definitely there is a connection between protecting Samish waterways and nuclear reactors. Those who oppose [construction on] Alta, also oppose nuclear plants and large scale energy development connected with the Common Market and the International Energy Agency." It is this consortium of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States that has pushed the development of energy sources capable of blunting the dependence on OPEC oil, and securing the economic and political stability for capitalism lost after the 1973 oil boycott. The result has been a relentless program of construction from the Basque region of Spain to the coast of Brittany, as each government has pursued energy development for its own domestic base.

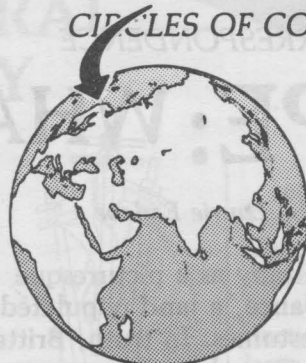
Folkeaksjonen is presently committed to nonviolence, not because of the pacifism of Gandhi or King, but because of certain elements in Same culture, and the present bourgeois democratic nature of Norwegian society which reinforce this direction. Tore Bongo, a Same resident of Alta who has worked against the plant since 1973, pointed out that "before they [the Europeans] came, we did not have the word war in our language; we have not fought amongst ourselves like your tribes. We have heard of Gandhi and the others, but we have not studied them. Folkeaksjonen is for all the people of the area. We know it is right, the people like it better than guns, and the police do not act like in your country."

The years of systematic integration with the values and structures of Norwegian society have, however, left their mark on both the individual psychology and social patterns of the people. Beginning in the 1920's, the northern schools did not permit the teaching of the native Samisk language to children. Though this policy was reversed by the government in the early 1970's, it has met with uneven success, while the impact of the climate of the past has been more serious. "After so many years," remarked Terje Danielsen, a social worker living in Bergen and active in Folkeaksjonen, "a Same dresses and tries to speak like a Norwegian. He tries to forget he is a Same, because he is ashamed."

For the Same communities, there has been the continued development of its lands, providing the benefits of industrial society, yet imposed in such a manner that overlooks their political rights, and threatens to exhaust the traditions of their culture. The most endangered element in this situation is that of reindeer breeding in the northern lands. In 1978, a reindeer breeding act was passed in the Storting that has amounted to a new version of enclosure: both the amount of land and the number of family members engaged in this activity are regulated, while ownership of the land remains with the government. Though a scant 8% of the Sames are engaged in the breeding, its practice represents the most conscious assertion of Same culture. Their efforts to maintain some independence have led them to accept treaties and laws, until by 1979 they initiated direct action.

Social Democracy in Crisis

At Stilla, a remote section of land about 20 miles south of Alta, Folkeaksjonen met the construction crews and police on July 5,



1979. Using the sit-in tactics, chains, and persuasive discussions so often employed elsewhere, the 150 occupiers successfully stopped construction that day, and for the next 104 thereafter, as more than 1500 people occupied the site. Fortunately for the occupiers, a number of wrinkles in the political situation developed, which prevented either their removal or effective arrest, and reflect how the current nature of Norwegian society tolerates the tactics of nonviolent direct action.

One involved the police who, in large numbers, either refused to be sent north out of sympathy with the issue, or collaborated with Folkeaksjonen by telling them the official plans in advance. The chairmen of the Police Union, meanwhile, openly questioned the use of the police for such a "political" issue, thereby underlining the fact that construction on Alta was tied to other maneuverings in Oslo.

As for the Army, the only other force available in this nation of 4 1/2 million people, at least 200 riot troops were on call during the summer. But their employment would have created a political reaction more serious than the situation called for at the time. The last person to use military force against the people was Vidkun Quisling in a repression of an electrical workers strike in 1932. Quisling later formed the fascist party in the country, was a member of the Nazi's occupation government that destroyed nearly every house in Finnmark in 1943, and eventually was executed after the War. No one in the government was willing to risk the comparison, so the occupiers remained.

A permanent camp was eventually established at Detsika, on 10 acres of land west of the Alta river. Until September 7, the camp served as a base of operations, as over 6,500 people from 20 nations visited the site, took part in the series of actions, or otherwise mixed with the Same residents, sharing information or taking in the harvests from the lands. A permanent occupation force of 400 was maintained until the return to school of its large student population forced its closure. A smaller replacement was built at Stilla, and occupied by the Sames until October 19.

By this time the movement's leaders had realized that it needed to employ more than just passive resistance to halt construction: it wanted the government to concede defeat, and announce a change in policy. So in early October, Folkeaksjonen took the issue to the Storting, while support actions were held throughout the country, and the camp at Stilla remained active. On October 9 and 10, a small group of Sames set up camp in the park leading to the front doors of the Storting, and at once, made headlines that took the issue out of the far north. They were eventually arrested, only to return with a permanent camp supported by 200 people. A hunger strike was also initiated, with the demands that the government stop construction and re-open negotiations.

The presence of an embattled Same community in front of the Storting was becoming difficult for the ruling Social Democrats. Over the years, the SDP has cultivated a posture of humanitarianism with respect to the Third World. Whether it was offering

refuge to the famine victims of Bangladesh, helping in the reconstruction of earthquake-torn Guatemala, or more recently, aiding the boatpeople of Vietnam, the SDP has sought to maintain this image of cooperation with respect to the North-South controversy. So to have the Sames encamped in Oslo demanding political changes, and mobilizing the Norwegian community behind them, was something the government could neither witness nor tolerate given their international reputation. On October 15, the government conceded to Folkeaksjonen when it announced that construction attempts would be halted, and further discussions would take place in the NVE and the Storting concerning Same rights.

If it appeared that the SDP government had truly changed its position, those hopes were soon dashed after the agreement. The newly appointed Environment Minister, Rolf Hansen, cancelled a scheduled meeting with Folkeaksjonen on October 29, in a rebuff of the group's status with the people, the Same's right to the land, and their willingness to continue discussion with the government.

The political maneuverings that took place in Oslo in the wake of Folkeaksjonen's direct action tactics, were taken to bolster the slim margin Prime Minister Nordli and his party hold over the Conservatives and Christian Democrats. Elections are scheduled for just two years away, and with every opposition party publicly against construction in Finnmark, the SDP politically cannot afford to loose the issue, as energy development of the northern waterways along with the North Sea oil constitutes the centerpiece of its economic picture for the future.

In the decades ahead, the SDP hopes to increase Norway's exports of both electricity and oil to provide the capital for a program of expansion of its industrial base, and overcome its dependence on earnings from the agricultural, fishing, and textile sectors. Earnings from the sale of electricity to Sweden and Denmark total nearly \$800,000 a day, and could increase if export began to powerful Common Market countries like West Germany. By the 1990's, the vast oil reserves of the North Sea will constitute 20-25% of the GNP, and 40-45% of Norway's total exports. However, opposition to this program has surfaced on a variety of fronts, and particularly threatens the continuance of State-direction in the economy by the SDP. The opposition Conservatives and Christian Democrats are more inclined to seek official entry into the Common Market, and generally "open up" the economy to private banks and international firms.

Except during the era of occupation, the Social Democrats of Norway have ruled for an unbroken period of nearly 40 years. Pursuing this cradle to grave system of capitalism, the Labor Party can boast of governing while the per capita income of Norwegians is ranked fourth (at \$9,850) among Western capitalist countries. Yet this program is maintained, in part, by a taxation rate of nearly 40% and where discontent has erupted in Oslo for the second year in a row, as nearly 3,000 people rioted on May 1, looting stores and offices and battling with the police in an action that even the press reported was a conscious rejection of authority.

Recent events in Sweden also point to the fact that social democracy has come to a crossroad that will affect the future direc-



FROM PARIS AND LONDON HAVE IN COMMON?

NORTHUMBRIA by Colin Simms

The North of England, the fifteen million people living between the Midlands and the Scottish border, constitutes one of the largest and most important regions not just of Britain, but of the whole of Western Europe. It is a clearly defined region, with a considerable cultural identity and a common economic history and prospects—despite centuries of London rule.

Yet whilst we hear a lot about devolution to Scotland and Wales, London government seems to assume that we in the North, who suffer from the same concentration of political and economic power in London, are content with our lot.

So what is the Campaign for?

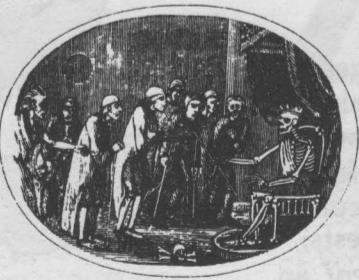
It is a pressure group committed to the belief that the North of England needs the power to tackle its own problems in its own way. That means we too want devolution, or some form of regional government within the United Kingdom for the North as a single unit, or with the North divided into two, three or four regions, according to what the people want. The Campaign for the North brings together people who share this belief, who want to promote it and also would like to join in filling out the details of just what sort of self-government we should have.

Is there any demand for regional government in the North?

The demand is beginning to grow. The Kilbrandon Commission on the Constitution found that dissatisfaction with centralised government from London is actually greater in the North than it is in Wales, and not much less than in Scotland. We believe that this dissatisfaction can and must be developed into a conscious and positive demand for self-government.

We have too much government already. Why create more?

That's not what we are proposing. Firstly, a lot of power would be shifted downwards to the regional level so that Westminster and Whitehall would retain only limited all-UK functions and be less significant in people's lives. Secondly, a regional tier of bureaucracy already exists in the



form of regional offices of government departments and a large number of unelected, undemocratic regional boards and authorities (water, health, economic planning, tourist boards and so on); it must be made democratic. Thirdly, we would abolish one of the two layers of local government created in the disastrous 1974 reorganisation—in most cases the county councils. County council powers would then be re-allocated between the district and regional levels. So there should be no overall increase in the number of tiers of government or the number of officials.

Won't this undermine the sovereignty of the UK Parliament?

The idea of government through a single point of sovereignty is out-of-date and inappropriate to modern needs. Many other democratic countries have abandoned it. Parliament justifies its sovereign role from the concept of the UK as a centralised unitary state—yet in the complex modern age it is becoming increasingly obvious that Britain, or even just England, is simply much too big to be governed efficiently as one unit. Parliament and Cabinet are showing themselves increasingly incapable of controlling the vast amount of detail which government nowadays involves. It is the people, not a particular institution, who should be sovereign. And devolution-all-round would leave Westminster free to deal properly with the responsibilities which suit it best—the functions (such as defence, foreign affairs, customs and currency) which have to be decided on an all-UK basis.

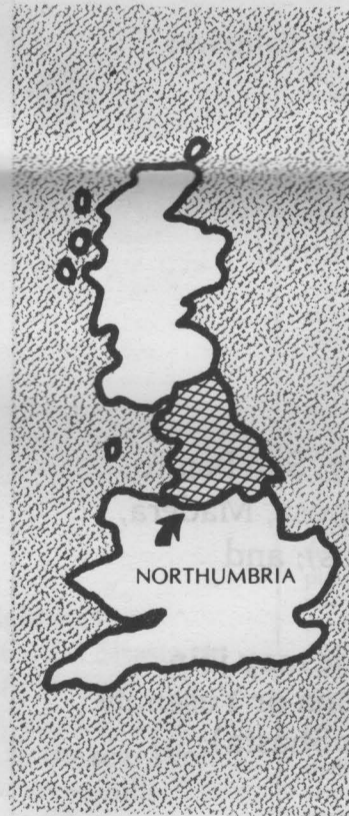
But why split up England—surely the English regions are not the same as Scotland or Wales?

Not the same, but more comparable with Scotland and Wales than is England as a whole. There is very little sense of English (as distinct from British) nationhood; England is not a nation in the sense that Scotland and Wales are nations. Rule by London over a unitary England was not fully established until 1642 when the Council of the North, along with the Council of Wales, was abolished. More to the point today, England is anything but homogeneous—economically, culturally or socially—and in many ways the North has more in common with Scotland and Wales than with the rest of England.



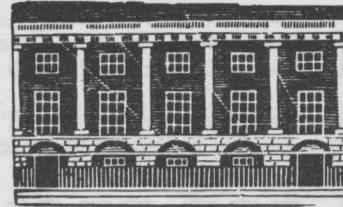
Restructuring the machinery of government is a very boring subject—is that all your Campaign is about?

Not at all. We want to develop people's sense of identity as being Northern as well as British, and we feel that the North's traditional distinctness in a great many spheres deserves to be preserved and strengthened. This separateness appears in many ways—differences in speech patterns and language, lifestyle, popular culture, food, sports—any one of which may seem trivial, but all of which taken together are indicative of the resilience of Northernness in the face of decades of London-chauvinist propaganda from the Oxbridge-centered education system, the so-called "national" (i.e. London) press, the grossly over-centralised BBC, and the whole London-based establishment. It is disgraceful that a "regional" accent is still a considerable disadvantage in many walks of life (when Londoners are giv-



DANIEL HOUSE

ing an impression of a stupid person they frequently adopt an imitation Northern accent), that nearly all serious BBC programmes are peopled overwhelmingly with the regional accent of the South-East (Northern voices are fine for light entertainers and trade union leaders), that when people talk about a "typical Englishman" they usually mean someone with the typical outlook, values and speech of South-Eastern England. Yet 75% of the



people do *not* live in the South-Eastern corner of the country. We say that the Northern identity should no longer be something you have to discard or hide if you want to "get on" in London-chauvinist Britain. We want people in the North to be proud of their distinctness, for diversity is strength. The North must start to rediscover its soul.

But London is the capital after all, and surely every country must have a big capital city?

In fact, Britain has one of the largest populations in the world to be governed from one centre by a single Parliament and a centralised civil service. In the developed western world, only France can match Britain's degree of centralisation for such a large population. Concentrating all major decision-making in one large capital has a centralising effect on all aspects of life. A vicious circle is set up whereby organisations of all kinds—commerce, labour, pressure groups, the media, as well as cultural and other amenities—feel they must be based where the government is. Power and wealth are sucked into the centre (or rather the corner)—on practically any measure of affluence the South-East corner of the country comes out much more prosperous than the North—and so is talent, for all national career structures lead there. The rest of the country is correspondingly ignored or regarded as a mere hinterland to the capital, and its potential is stultified. Thus much of the North suffers from economic neglect, relative poverty and dereliction, and high unemployment—and from outward migration as our young people move away to the lush pastures and better opportunities of the South-East.

But aren't regional aid policies correcting all this nowadays?

Regional economic, employment and industrial policies of successive governments, created as palliatives from above rather than constructive policies from below, have in fact almost wholly failed to correct regional inequalities because they have attempted to tackle the symptoms without touching the root cause of the trouble—the centralised system. Instead, they have afflicted our local politicians, trade union leaders and businessmen with a subservient begging-bowl men-

tality, making trips to Whitehall to extract as much regional dole as they can. Government aid may encourage big business to site a factory in the North, but the odds are that it will be a branch factory employing low-wage labor, the boss will still be in London (or New York), and when the economic climate worsens it will be the first to close down. Indeed, many such factories have closed down the moment the Government aid ran out. All the power remains in the South-East, and the net effect is in fact to increase the long-term dependency of the "assisted areas" on London. Instead, the severe economic problems of the North, like those of Scotland and Wales, must be solved by the people who live there, and they must be given the powers and resources to do so.

Isn't your campaign just part of a backlash against devolution for Scotland and Wales?

No. The Campaign for the North supports those in Scotland and Wales who are demanding a measure of self-government; we hope they will in turn support our demands. Unfortunately the press, both in London and Scotland, has tended to suggest that English regionalism is in some strange way the opposite of devolution for Scotland and Wales—whereas what ought to have developed, and what we will try to promote, is a coalition of forces (Scottish, Welsh and Northern English) demanding decentralisation and opposing their common enemy—the concentration of power and resources in London.

Does that mean you want a completely separate state, cut off from the United Kingdom?

No. The devolved regions would remain in the UK. But we have to break up the centralised monolith so that we can negotiate freely with each other how far we want certain things decided on a common basis for the whole UK.

Is the Campaign going to put up candidates at elections?

No. We are not a political party but an all-party pressure group. Most of the people so far involved in the Campaign already belong to one or other of the three main parties, and remain committed there. Instead we want our supporters to work through the existing parties, and indeed through trade unions and any other organisations to which they belong, by spreading awareness of our belief in self-government for the North and trying to convert them to that view. For more information, contact:

Campaign for the North, Birchcliffe Centre, Birchcliffe Road, Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire HX7 8DG

Director: Paul Temperton

Telephone: Hebden Bridge 3962

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RECONSTITUTING CALIFORNIA

A MODEL FOR REGIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Jack Forbes

I am suggesting that we adopt an initiative which would provide for the possible division of California, subject to these new entities being admitted to the national union by Congress.

Very briefly, I am proposing that the voters of this state should possess the right to divide California as an inherent right of democratic self-government, provided that it be done in some kind of orderly, logical manner.

To achieve this we could divide California into a series of regions, as follows:

PALOMAR

(San Diego and Imperial counties);

RAMONA

(Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino);

INYO

(Inyo, Mono, Alpine);

YOSEMITE

(Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Monterey, San Benito, Kings, Kern, Tulare, Fresno, Merced, Mariposa, Madera, Tulolumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus); and

SHASTA

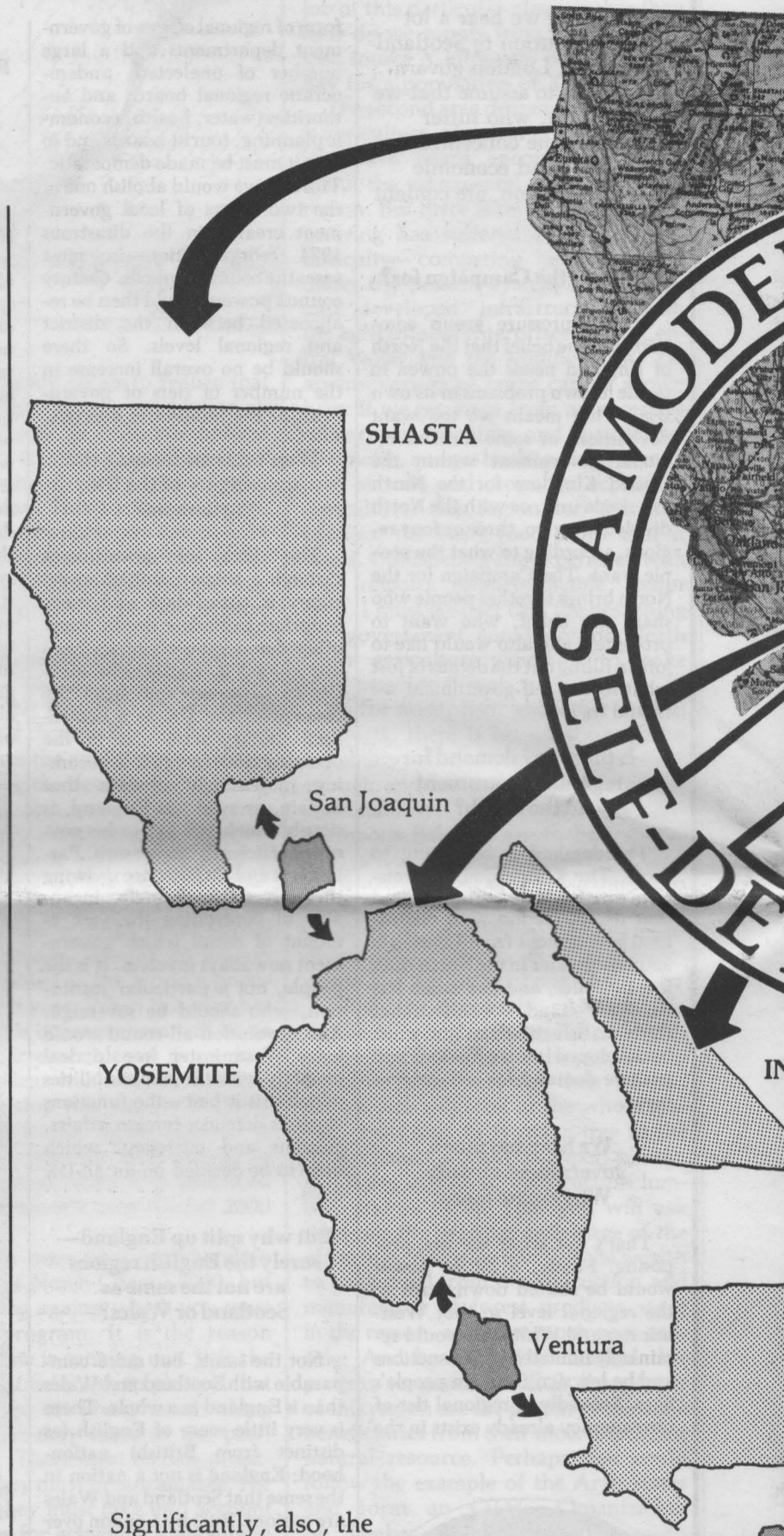
(all of the remainder except that Riverside may join Palomar or Ramona, Ventura may join Ramona or Yosemite, and San Joaquin may join Yosemite or Shasta).

After the initiative were passed into law those regions along the edges of present California (Shasta, Palomar, and Inyo) would be entitled to form separate states (or to join Nevada, in the case of Inyo) after appropriate elections.

The voters of Ramona and Yosemite would have to wait to set up new states because their location precludes pulling out until after action by either Shasta or Palomar.

The proposal also provides the opportunity for Palomar and Ramona voters to form a single state if they wish and the same is true for Shasta and Yosemite. The objective of this plan, in short, is not to arbitrarily chart out the future of California in some rigid way but rather to retain a degree of flexibility.

I have not analyzed the proposed new states to see if Democrats or Republicans, Whites or Blacks, or Chicanos and Indians will gain any advantage. The reason for this "oversight" is that I consider it inherently advantageous for people of all races to possess legislative districts of near-neighborhood size. The number of ethnic minorities holding office would have to sharply increase under this plan without, however, making any special efforts in that direction.



Significantly, also, the following other advantages would accrue: (1) campaign costs would be greatly lowered, thus allowing more people to run for office without becoming indebted to special interests; (2) the cost of government, in general, could be made more consistent with the needs of particular communities; (3) new counties would doubtless be created by the new states (especially Ramona and Palomar), thus making local government more rational and responsive (for example, breaking up huge Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties);

(4) new constitutions could make possible the ease of city-counties or other forms of organization which would avoid the duplication of overlapping city, county, and special district governments; (5) similar fossilized school districts such as that of Los Angeles could be broken up and recombined with other

DIVIDING CALIFORNIA: AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

I. The Constitution of the State of California is hereby amended to provide for the possible division of the State of California into several new states, subject to the following provisions and subject to the admission of any new states to the United States of America by Congress.

A. The voters of the State shall possess the right to divide the state or to join another state as an inherent right of democratic self-government provided that it be done in an orderly manner as prescribed below.

B. (1) For the purposes of dividing the State of California the territory of said state shall be divided into five regions, as follows:

Region I — PALOMAR shall consist in San Diego and Imperial counties

Region II — RAMONA shall consist in Los Angeles, Orange, and San Bernardino counties

Region III — INYO shall consist in Inyo, Mono, and Alpine counties

Region IV — YOSEMITE shall consist in Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Monterey, San Benito, Kern, Tulare, Kings, Fresno, Merced, Mariposa, Madera, Tulolumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus counties

Region V — SHASTA shall consist in Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, Alameda, San Mateo, San Francisco, Contra Costa, Amador, Sutter, Sacramento, El Dorado, Placer, Yolo, Solano, Napa, Sonoma, Marin, Yuba, Nevada, Butte, Colusa, Lake, Glenn, Tehama, Lassen, Plumas, Modoc, Shasta, Siskiyou, Mendocino, Humboldt, and Del Norte counties.

(2) Riverside County voters may elect to join Region I or Region II; Ventura County voters may decide to join Region II or Region IV; and San Joaquin may decide to join Region IV or Region V.

C. Upon approval of this amendment to the Constitution by a majority of the state's voters the following shall be mandated:

(1) The voters of each of the above regions shall be authorized to separately hold elections to establish new states, said elections to be held at the next regular statewide election following the validation of a petition containing the signatures of at least five percent of each of the region's registered voters. Region III (Inyo) shall be authorized only to hold an election to determine whether or not a majority of the region's voters wish to join the State of Nevada. However, if the vote is negative, then the said voters of Region III may vote to join Region IV (Yosemite).

(2) If a majority of voters in any given region vote to establish a new state, or, in the case of Region III (Inyo) votes to join the State of Nevada, the following actions are mandated:

a. Region III (Inyo) will be required to join the State of Nevada as soon as the legislature of the said state agrees to the said joining and to the assumption of the portion of the State of California's bonded indebtedness and other financial liabilities directly related to Region III or apportionable to Region III on the basis of the region's percentage of California's population as determined by the most proximate Federal decennial census.

b. Regions I (Palomar) and V (Shasta) shall proceed to establish new states in the following manner: (1) the members of the California State Senate, and of the California State Assembly having their principal places of residence within one of the said regions, and of the members of the county boards of supervisors representing counties within each of the said regions, shall convene within thirty days of the election in meetings called by the Secretary of State of California; (2) each said meeting shall constitute a constitutional convention for each region but said conventions shall be authorized solely to adopt the existing Constitution and laws of the State of California as the interim constitution and laws of the new states until such time as a regular constitutional convention is chosen by the voters of the new state; provided, however, that the said Constitution of the State of California may be modified to provide for an interim unicameral legislature for the said new states; upon the completion of the above, the Secretary of State of California, acting on behalf of the new states, shall formally request their admission to the United States of America; (3) within sixty days of the convening of the above meetings special elections shall be held in each new state to elect a complete slate of statewide officers and legislators, to serve for the same length of time as if they were serving in the State of California; (4) in the same election representatives to the United States Congress shall be elected, provided, however, that they cannot assume office without the concurrence of said Congress; (5) the expenses of the said meetings and elections shall be borne by the State of California but shall be reimbursed by the new state within two fiscal years; (6) until such a time as the said Congress admits the new states they shall operate as if they

were already admitted in the same manner as the State of California operated between the time of its Constitutional Convention of 1849 and its admission to the United States in 1850; (7) each new state shall assume its proportionate share, based upon percentage of California population as determined by the most proximate Federal decennial census, of the debts and obligations of the State of California except that Region V (Shasta) shall be required to reimburse the State of California for the value of the non-portable state facilities located in Sacramento, said value to be based upon square-footage replacement cost.

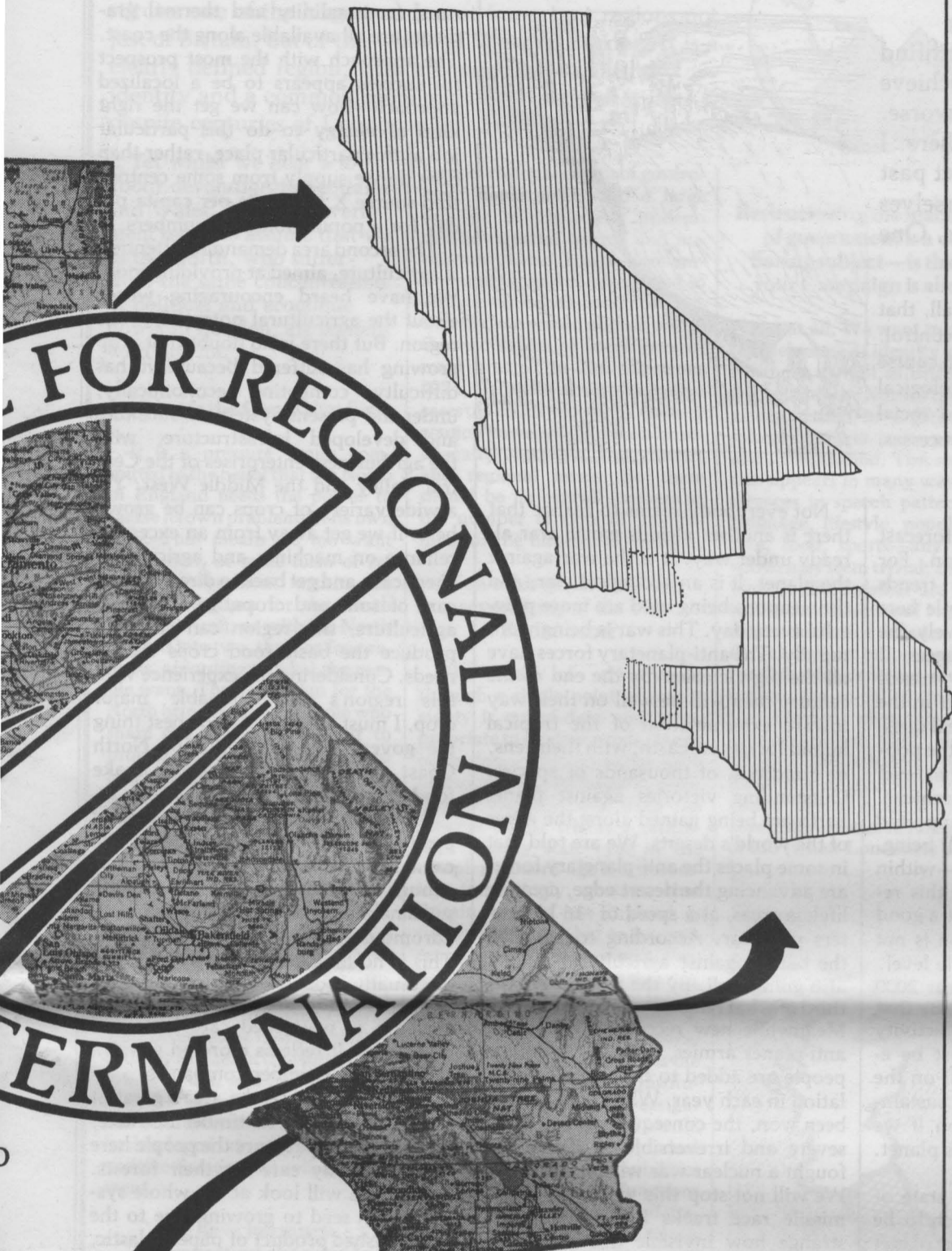
c. The same procedures and obligations shall be mandated for Regions II and IV except as follows: (1) Region II (Ramona) may not proceed to make a new state operational unless either Region I (Palomar) or Regions V (Shasta) and IV (Yosemite) have voted to establish new states and (2) Region IV (Yosemite) may not proceed to make its new state operational until the voters of either Regions I (Palomar) and II (Ramona) or of Region V (Shasta) have voted to establish new states.

d. The counties possessing the option of joining two regions may conduct a special election at any time, either at the call of the Board of Supervisors or as a result of a petition of 5 percent of the registered voters, to decide which region to join. If such a county's voters decide to join a particular region prior to the conducting of an election as described in (c) above they shall be entitled to vote in the said region-wide election; otherwise, they shall be bound by the decision reached by voters in the neighboring regions.

e. Nothing in the above is to preclude the right of the voters of Region I (Palomar) and Region II (Ramona) from joining with Riverside County to create a single state or to elect to remain as the State of California in the event that Regions IV and V elect to form new states.

f. Nothing in the above is to preclude the right of the voters of Region V (Shasta) and Region IV (Yosemite) from joining with San Joaquin County in reaching a decision to form a single state or to elect to remain as the State of California in the event that Regions I and II elect to form new states.

LIFORNIA:



Many of us might have a vision of what we want Shasta or Yosemite to be like in 2000. We might still want the Eel and the Klamath to flow to the sea. We might want to see green hills between Oakland and Sacramento. We might want to fish in unpolluted streams, or ride bicycles along bike paths stretching from sea to mountains.

Whatever it is that we want for Shasta or Yosemite, at present, is not a dream but an illusion. Why? Because we do not have the majority vote over our own fate. Palomar and Ramona (southern California) possess veto-power over all our wishes, and that is a political fact of life.

But I don't propose to pit region against region. All parts of the state can benefit from division and it is in that spirit that this plan is offered.

that currently exist as islands or enclaves; and (perhaps most importantly), (6) local people can have a meaningful role in determining the future of their homeland, of the region in which they live, (7) the number of Federal Senate seats would increase from 2 to 10 senators, thus giving us a much stronger voice in Congress.

RAMONA

PALOMAR

also... creation... rms... nt end... ing... strict... s,... ricts

ECO-DEVELOPMENT: Decolonizing Ourselves

Raymond F. Dasmann * *

It is obvious that we are here today because we want to pathfind our way into the year 2000. We want to try by that time to achieve a better world than we have today, or at least one that is not worse. We need to decide where we want to go, and how to get there. I don't think there is much to be gained by attempting to project past or recent trends into the future, except by way of warning ourselves that certain supposedly safe looking roads lead to dead ends. One thing is certain, present major trends will not continue.

We have to assume, if there is to be any reason for this gathering at all, that we are not being pushed into the future by inexorable forces beyond our control, that within certain limits we can decide our own future. Some forces of course are beyond our control—astronomical, geological, climatic and ecological forces—but we must assume that we can direct economic, political and social change along ways that take into account and work with these natural processes, so that we are not caught unprepared.



VITO

However, what is essential for any of this to happen is a change in attitudes. You must become, if you are not already, natives of this region—not transients, invaders, carpetbaggers, but people who belong to the land and love the land. To become a native you need not be born here, but you must identify with this country. Only you who feel this way can really be trusted to build the kind of North Coast 2000 that will be needed.

For example, I see little value in saying that population growth in this region is going to continue to such and such a level. I see a real negative value if we use such population forecasts as a basis for planning. If we say populations will reach double what they are today and therefore we must provide schools, roads, medical facilities, sewerage, energy, water, food for that number of people—then we are engaging in the process that many people have described as making the population forecast into a self-fulfilling prophecy. We are either agreeing that population growth is a force beyond our control, which it is not; or we are saying we want to see that level of

growth. In fact any population forecast must be viewed with suspicion. For example, if present military trends continue there may be no people here in the year 2000, or alternatively the area may be flooded with refugees. If certain resource exploitation trends continue, there may be little left in the region to support people. The real question to be asked is not "what is the population forecast", but rather, what level of population do you want to achieve. What level can be reasonably supported at a standard of economic well being, personal dignity, and freedom—within the ecological constraints that this region presents. Bear in mind that a good share of the present population is not being supported at a reasonable level.

There is one goal for the year 2000 that we must regard as essential. By that time every major economic activity in which we are engaged must be ecologically sustainable, or well on the way to becoming ecologically sustainable. There is no other option if we wish to continue to inhabit this planet. We are running out of time.

It is difficult to look at the state of the world today and find much to be cheerful about. Conditions on planet Earth have become really scary, and it is only by forgetting about them, at least temporarily, that a person can sleep at night. Obviously we live with a continued threat of war, a big war, the final war. We have lived with that threat ever since we dropped the first nuclear bomb on Hiroshima. It is an old familiar demon. Sometimes I think we have grown fond of that demon—we seem to need an enemy that we can fear and hate. But too much concern with that threat causes us to waste our resources, energy and personal substance in preparation to prevent or fight the wrong war.



Gébé From LE SAUVAGE

Not everybody seems to realize that there is another vicious world war already under way. It is the war against the planet. It is an ecological war, and the weapons being used are more powerful every day. This war is being won, rapidly. The anti-planetary forces have all the big victories. By the end of the century they will be well on their way toward extermination of the tropical humid forests on Earth, with their tens, or hundreds, of thousands of species. Outstanding victories against planet Earth are being gained along the edges of the world's deserts. We are told that in some places the anti-planetary forces are advancing the desert edge, creating lifeless areas, at a speed of 16 kilometers per year. According to the UN, the battle against agricultural land is also going well. By the year 2000 one-third of what remains will be destroyed. Meanwhile new recruits flock to the anti-planet armies, around 80 million people are added to the world's population in each year. When this war has been won, the consequences will be as severe and irreversible as if we had fought a nuclear war with the Soviets. We will not stop this war by building missile race tracks in Nevada. It is strange how invisible this war is to politicians, even when it is described in the government's own *Global 2000* report.

All of this may seem peripheral to the subject of North Coast—2000, but it is the setting against which you must plan your program. It is the reason why I say time is running out. It is the reason why it is foolish to pretend that things will go on pretty much along the lines that they have in the past. They won't. There must be new directions, and they must be sustainable. For this region they must take into account the necessity for achieving a maximum degree of self-reliance.

By self-reliance I am not suggesting that the region become totally self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency in a full economic sense is probably both an unrealistic and undesirable goal—since it involves sacrificing the natural advantages of the region in favor of emphasizing activities that are best performed by other regions. At worst, it means going back to what would be for most people involuntary simplicity—doing without enough. Self-reliance, as I see it, involves development of the capacity to supply the basic needs of people—food, energy, water, clothing, shelter—but more particularly taking control of and understanding the processes by which those needs are met.

The North Coast has been traditionally a colony, a Third World area, supplying raw materials to population centers in California and elsewhere. For the year 2000, I am suggesting that the region should break the colonial bonds and achieve economic indepen-

dence. This can be achieved by various routes.

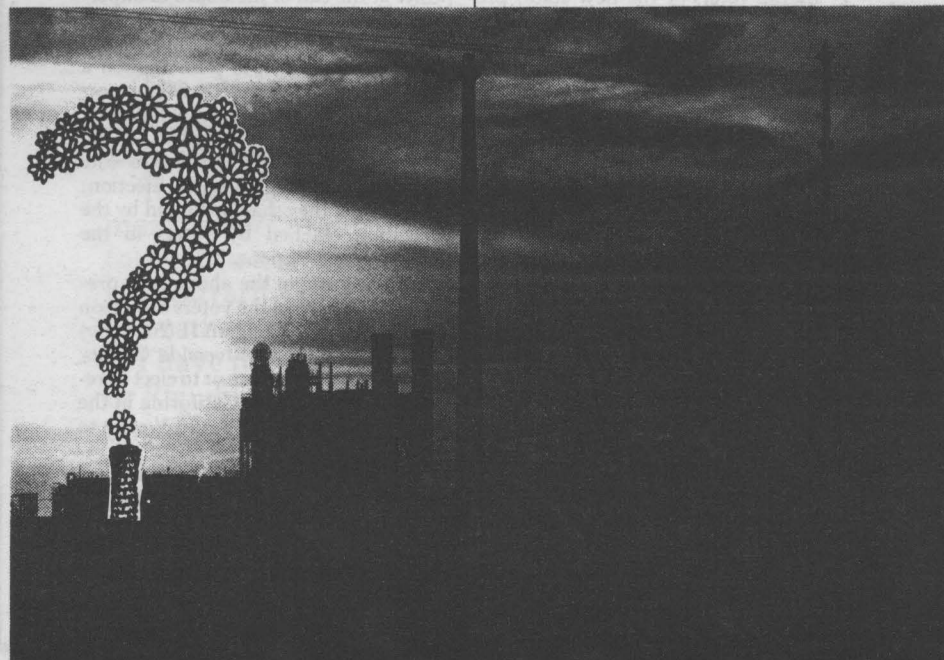
I would give first priority to energy independence, to developing your own energy resources and controlling your own energy transfers. The region is rich in water-power, and excessively rich in wind power. It has a high direct solar potential, and one of the greatest biofuel potentials of any region in the country. Power from waves and tidal runs, from salinity and thermal gradients are all available along the coast. The approach with the most prospect for success appears to be a localized approach—how can we get the right kind of energy to do this particular job at this particular place, rather than how do we supply from some centralized source X kilowatts per capita per day for a population of X numbers.

The second area demanding attention is agriculture, aimed at providing food. We have heard encouraging words about the agricultural potential of the region. But there is no doubt that crop growing has suffered because it has difficulty competing economically, under the present system of subsidies and developed infrastructure, with the agribusiness enterprises of the Central Valley and the Middle West. Yet a wide variety of crops can be grown here. If we get away from an excessive reliance on machines and agricultural chemicals, and get back to direct human care of soils and crops, to ecological agriculture, this region can certainly produce the basic food crops that it needs. Considering the experience with this region's unmentionable major crop, I must suspect that the best thing the government could do for North Coast agriculture would be to make food growing illegal.

As for meat, fish, and other animal products, there is no question of the capability of the region to produce enough and more while still retaining sustainability. Admittedly the anadromous fisheries are in bad shape. This is no fault of the fishermen, who are usually cooperative when questions of conservation are concerned, but a question of watershed care and river diversions. It reflects more on government, and the timber companies.

Finally, to discuss the area's greatest source of wealth—its timber resource, I hope that in the future the people here begin to really care for their forests. I hope you will look at the whole system, from seed to growing tree to the final finished product of paper, plastic, furniture, plywood, construction lumber, and so forth. That you will ask who gets the profit at each stage of the operation. Ask how much of the wealth to be derived from the production and manufacture of forest products stays in the region, and how much goes outside. And how you can control this process to guarantee that the people of this region are the primary economic beneficiaries from their most important natural resource. Perhaps you could follow the example of the Arab states and form an OTEC—Organization of Timber Exporting Counties—to guarantee a greater share of the profits for your people.

These economic and social questions are vital to this region, but the most important goal for the management of timber and all other wild land resources in this region is conservation. I mean conservation in the broad sense to include both preservation and direct economic use. The key terms that go with it are multiple use and sustainable yield, those words which have their meanings changed by almost every user. I define multiple use to include wilderness areas and national parks as well as commercial timber and range lands. Sustainable yields are produced by wilderness for the benefit of all. They are also produced by commercially managed lands, providing the temptation to achieve maximum short-term profits from the exploitation of one or a few products is resisted. The whole concept of so-called maximum sustainable yield applied to any single product of an ecosystem is now under



**From a talk given at the North Coast—2000 Conference, Eureka, California; September 13, 1980.

REVISIONING NATURAL RESOURCE POLICY

Linn House *

Like the rest of you, I've been lied to more in the last few weeks than in any similar length of time since I was in school. I'm referring to the incident at Three Mile Island.

The near melt-down didn't surprise me; that's built into the technology. The lies didn't surprise me; they're built into the media. What *did* surprise me, in fact depressed me, was the complacency of the local people.

I kept expecting rioting in the streets of Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Instead, I kept hearing statements like, "Well when the boss says we leave, we'll leave." You saw a few angry mothers . . . but most of the people seemed lost and confused.

After some thought, I became convinced that this complacency was the result of the fact that those people have been convinced that they don't live anywhere in particular. Everything possible has been done to obscure the fact that they live in an unique and beautiful region which could be the source of their everyday sustenance and delight. Instead they've been filled with concepts and head-sets like: "natural resources."

The phrase "natural resources" is a quantification for something that might better be called, "the web-of-life-which-surrounds-us-all-and-of-which-we-are-a-part." As such a quantification, the web of life is subject to "consumer needs," the priorities of "private property" and the "demands of the public," in capitalist countries, and to the "needs of the masses" in socialist countries.

I will use the phrases "natural resources" and "web of life" interchangeably to indicate two different attitudes about the same thing. The former attitude is centralist; the latter is decentralist.

This disparity of approaches offers us not only our strongest arguments for social, political and economic decentralisation, but also a form around which to organise such moves.

As I speak, please keep the terms interchangeable in your mind and see what that stimulates. Here are some characteristics of the two attitudes:

Web of life is enduring.

Natural resources are expendable.

Web of life is mutually nurturing.

As natural resources, some species are singled out for market value; others are considered pests.

Web of life is somewhere you can live; it's home.

Natural resource systems have "resource bases."

Webs of life are diverse, both within themselves and one to another.

Natural resource managers would prefer that they were monocultural. When resource repair is done, it usually is monocultural repair.

A web of life has human niches, places where humans fit into it.

Natural resources has zoning planning. (And "departments of human resources," employment agencies, and career-counseling.)

Webs of life are organised into biomes, bio-regions, watersheds, eco-systems, etc.

Natural resource management is organised into states, provinces, counties, districts, etc.

The web of life is an inhabited place.

Natural resource zones are occupied territories.

Examine the way the living planet organises itself: into biomes, biore-



MICHAEL MYERS

gions, watersheds and ecosystems. These are all complex entities. They require some attention for an understanding of how they work. While these systems are interrelated in the workings of the organism we call the biosphere, each is different from the other. Species vary from bioregion to bioregion. Running and still water, salt and fresh water maintain different sorts of balances from watershed to watershed.

These factors make it difficult for even the best-intentioned of centralised bureaucrats, be they in Washington, Ottawa, or Sacramento, to come up with intelligent management planning. Their constituencies are divided by arbitrary boundaries with certain economic and political priorities. They invariably respond to the depletion of natural resources with market-value statistics, turning diverse and stable biotic provinces into extremely brittle and unstable monocultural blocks. They don't *have* to act that way, but they do.

Some examples: Herbicides are used to discourage the growth of anything but Douglas Fir in the Northwest, because that is the most marketable plant. The genetic diversity and natural abundance of the Pacific Salmon tends to be subverted by self-perpetuating and centralised hatcheries. Surely everyone here knows the horrific results of phosphate fertilizers and monocultural agriculture in the Central Valley.

So it seems to me that such planning cannot be comprehensive. It must be site-specific. Information and policy decisions for such matters must come from local people who are far-sighted enough to realise that the future of their homes, and the homes of their children, depends on right decisions about natural resources, or the web of life of which they are a part.

At the very least, federal, state, and county agents in forestry, fisheries, and agriculture should be required to do an internship, much like a doctor does—a minimum of a year in the regions to which they are assigned—talking to the inhabitants, studying the local natural systems, and spending some time in the woods. People living with the Ponderosa Pine in the Sierra, the Douglas Fir and Salmon in the Coast Range, or with the deep top soil and scarce water of the great valleys, or the delicate balances between salt and fresh water in the Delta will make different sorts of economic and cultural policy when they realise that their continued existence there depends on it.

Let's go back in time for a moment. There is evidence to show that when *Homo sapiens* arrived or arose in North America there was a period of one or two thousand years, resulting in the extinction of at least several species of large mammals. But there is also evidence that these disturbances taught these early inhabitants something. For this period was followed by some twenty to thirty thousand years of human stability, characterized by tremendously diverse cultures and languages resonant with the surrounding life-zones. A pre-European language group map of North America put side by side with a land-form or biotic province map will show surprising correspondences. The last two hundred years have again been characterized by great biotic disturbances as the industrial age organized itself around mass markets and global commerce rather than around planetary realities. This time there is no place to move, once our natural provision has been destroyed.

So it is time once more to re-examine how to act within North America and the biosphere. It is time to invent social, political and economic forms devoted to the preservation of unique life-zones, our homes. It is time to re-assess our notions about individuality and the role of humans in the web of life. Rich and diverse human cultures are not made up of masses or of consumers, those two most belittling of descriptions, but of peoples who are in daily interaction with the surrounding web of life and who will fight to ensure that their home is not terminally injured.

But meanwhile, local people are convinced that their choices and their very lives are controlled by a global economy which is riddled with paradoxes and over which they have no control. They are told that their jobs, their fuel supplies, are at stake if they don't act as instructed. Feeling helpless, they watch the web of life which supports them being stripped away and wonder where their food and heat will come from ten years hence.

Neither of the two dominant camps of classical economics (right or left) considers natural resources as capital. Capital for them is something that floats about three feet off the ground, is *very* mobile. It can move very fast, it feeds off natural resources. It is infinitely hungry. It moves on when the food is gone. Capital acts as if natural resources are inexhaustible, even though we have known for more than a generation this is not so. The first thing I was taught about Business was never to use your own capital, but to borrow from others. And sure enough, capital moves from bioregion to bioregion, ecosystem to ecosystem, feeding, feeding . . . borrowing from one place to shore up another. IT NEVER GROUNDS ITSELF ANYWHERE AND IT NEVER PAYS ITS DEBTS. Some results (and this is my last list of bad things): the expanding Sahara, the poisoned Mediterranean and North Seas, the exhaustion of the Central Valley of California in our life time, Chesapeake Bay radioactive next week.

• • •

So how does capital get grounded? How do the debts get paid? The people who *should* be assuming the debts are the people who are making the profits.

Most work in natural resources is seasonal. Fishers and loggers *could* be hired for reforestation and stream repair work in the off-season. Agricultural workers *could* be restoring soil between harvests. They could be making compost piles.

In the Northwest, where timber harvesting is the primary source of income, some of this work is being done—although it's starting about thirty years

serious question. Balanced sustainable yields of many resources from healthy and thriving ecosystems is a more sensible goal to pursue.

The argument, advanced in some of the preliminary papers for this conference, stating that "by the year 2000 consumers will demand two or three times the amount of timber produced in California today" and therefore "to meet this future demand in two alternatives have been suggested: (1) harvest more trees off the same amount of land, or (2) increase the amount of land available for logging" is the same kind of cart-before-the-horse, self-fulfilling prophecy that I referred to in relation to population projections. The question that should be asked is how much timber can this area produce on a sustainable basis, without damage to soils, water yield and quality, air quality, wildlife and fisheries, range forage and all the other potential benefits and values of a sustainable healthy ecosystem. Then you can say how much this region can sensibly supply, taking first into account the needs of its own people. So-called demands, meaning wants and wishes, of other people must be tailored to the available supply. The first kind of statement is what you expect from a colonial administrator in some imperial capital. The second is that of free people managing their own resources.

The North Coast is still a colonial area, which by the year 2000 must either be well on its way toward freedom, or else have slumped back into accepting the condition of dependent wards of distant masters, serving primarily to supply their demands. The way to economic freedom is certain to be arduous and not easy to chart. Many false directions may be taken. But what you must achieve is the development of this region. You have a choice between two ways of looking at the concept of development. The old way, followed during the idiot years of the 1950s and early 1960s was supposed to benefit the developing countries, but in fact it did not. It was successful, however, in its primary objective—the rich got richer. The new concept of the 1980s has been stated by K. Dadzie in the September, 1980, *Scientific American*:

"Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals and inventing ways to approach them. Development is the continuing process of the liberation of peoples and societies. There is development when they are able to assert their autonomy and, in self-reliance, to carry out activities of interest to them. To develop is to be or to become. Not only to have."

This definition can also be applied to the concept of eco-development, ecologically sustainable development. Eco-development is based on three premises:

1. It must meet the basic needs of people, and in particular the poorest people, before attending to the wants of the well-to-do;

2. It must encourage self-reliance and a degree of self-sufficiency in essentials, based on knowledge, traditions, and skills of the people concerned;

3. It must be based on a symbiosis between people and nature, to maintain the diversity of the natural world, and provide for diversity in the social world. Through this it can help to guarantee the sustainability of all essential activities.

I would suggest that these premises also be your guides toward reaching your goals for California—2000 and North Coast—2000.

However, what is essential for any of this to happen is a change in attitudes. You must become, if you are not already, natives of this region—not transients, invaders, carpetbaggers, but people who belong to the land and love the land. To become a native you need not be born here, but you must identify with this country. Only you who feel this way can really be trusted to build the kind of North Coast 2000 that will be needed. □□□

*Transcribed from a talk given April 9th, 1979, at the Planet Drum sponsored, Listening To The Earth Conference, San Francisco, California.

too late. The people who are doing this work are very interesting people. They offer one of the most hopeful reinhabitory models I know about.

The Northwest Forest Workers Association (NFWFA) represents at this point maybe a couple thousand people. The organisation is made up of non-hierarchical collectives of tree planters who bid on tree-planting jobs that come up from government and private sources. There's a lot of that work available between British Columbia and Northern California. It's fairly well paid work and seasonal, which the people who are into it like. They tend to be hard-working, forest people and have formed themselves into this union-like organisation which does not act like a union. They do *not* hold out for a bigger piece of the global pie, but for intelligent forest practices. They tend to know more than a lot of people about intelligent forest practices. They actually read the stuff that comes out of the Forest and Range Experiment Stations, which the managers of the forest do not. Because they are a collective, NFWFA members can underbid private contractors. They're taking over that whole sector of the job market. Because they're devoted to their work, their results tend to be 2 or 3 times better than private contracting work. Recently, they have decided to support a research organisation in the interest of better forest practices. Every work group brings back information from the sites they're repairing about the kinds of damages the various kinds of logging have done. That's all being put together by a research organisation to whom each worker pays a small tithe. They're expanding into thinning and pole construction economies. They plan to be into logging in the next five years. The reason they think they can do that is because, at the present rate of cutting, there will be no more first growth timber in the Pacific Northwest within the next 4 or 5 years. This will make labor intensive and selective logging competitive. These are going to be the people that are prepared to do it.

Another example of a local population that's trying to become less confused exists in the north coasts of California. The salmon population there has been severely damaged over the last thirty years; by bad silviculture practices and to a lesser extent through overfishing. It's been depleted to maybe 30% of itself 30-40 years ago. And now, with the low water we've been having the last few years, the people that live on the rivers have been acting like people always do who live on salmon rivers, and that's getting as many salmon as they can out of them. The salmon are found trapped in the pools caused by the low water. The people who're doing it don't realise the extent of the problem.

But there are other people in this area—which is economically depressed because the logging industry there has cannibalised itself—who are working to restore the salmon runs, stream by stream, and creek by creek. They are doing this through stream restoration, which is labor intensive by nature and means jobs, and through the establishment of small hatcheries or incubation boxes in every possible location. The advantage of small hatcheries are manifold. They preserve the genetic diversity of the salmon, which centralised hatcheries do not, by allowing the salmon to spawn in the same watershed they were born in. Eggs hatched in incubation boxes show six to ten times the survival rate they show in nature, making them an ideal tool for assisting a threatened run. Finally, the boxes allow local people direct participation in the health of the indigenous runs.

I talk about these things all the time, and I'm usually met with at least a certain element of despair. Things like state lines, national boundaries and bureaucratic multinational corpora-

tions seem so big and permanent that most people find it very hard to think past them. So I want to end my comments with some facts to dispel despair:

- **Fact 1**—There are some places where capital shouldn't be grazing at all. The residents of a small town in South-eastern British Columbia, Geselle, decided last year that they didn't want 1000 uranium mining around their town. The town has about 200 people . . . they made their decision unanimously. Through civil disobedience they were able to shut it down in about two months. The RCMP tried to stop them. They arrested a few people, more people came. They simply were unstoppable, because *everybody* in that area was agreed that they did not want to live with uranium pilings.
- **Fact 2**—At the same time that Pharaonic culture was thriving, which was a period of a couple of thousand years, Berber culture and Bedouin culture were thriving. They were indigenous cultures, by which I mean they had figured out a way to live within their life-zones without disturbing them. There are still Berbers and Bedouins, and up until 50 years ago they were acting in the same way they acted in 4000 B.C. There are no more pharaohs.
- **Fact 3**—More than half the damage done to natural systems in North America has occurred in the last thirty years. There was no interstate highway system in 1945. It could take as little as two generations to reverse this damage.
- **Fact 4**—China and South Korea, one government on the extreme left, the other on the extreme right, have planted enough trees in the last thirty years to change the climate of Asia and reverse a human-made catastrophe thousands of years old.

(Ed. note. Since giving this talk, Linn House has become involved with a group which is using incubation boxes for the first time on the Mattole River in Northern California. He writes: "We're getting ready to trap king salmon near the mouth of the Mattole, fertilize their eggs and eventually move the eggs to incubation boxes at various places in the watershed. We hope to deal with 60,000 eggs this year, more next year. Too early for a progress report yet; there are many places in the plan where we could make mistakes. It's not that what we're doing is so difficult, nor that there's any lack of local genius. It's just that we're attempting to do something that has never been done just this way before.

"Local response has been universally supportive. We have enthusiastic vocal support from the Grange and from the County Board of Supervisors. Materials are being donated by building supply businesses and a lumber company. The Associated Loggers of California have offered tools and volunteers. Technical advice has been freely given by the California Fisheries Research Unit at Humboldt State University. Local Department of Fish and Game people have been most helpful, a surprise after long and difficult negotiation with that agency at the state level.

"What remains to be resolved is the problem of who is going to pay for this work. The nature of the problem and the appropriate responses have been recognized first by the residents of the region, to whom the watershed damage is painfully apparent every day. Almost all the cash that's gone through our hands has come from concerned individuals who want the work done as directly and quickly as possible. The work that gets done here, however, will have effects felt far beyond the locale. Benefits will be gathered by both commercial and governmental interests who don't live here. What shift of thinking is necessary before these debts are assumed by the rightful heirs? An enormous amount of watershed repair demands doing in the Coast Range and it can best be done by the people who live there. Who's going to support these people while the work gets done?"

□□□

DEERLODGE

by Roger Dunsmore

Unit A is half an hour late:
a butcher knife turned up missing in the kitchen.
We watch a movie:
Kalahari Bushmen hunting giraffe.
Paul Bad Horse says,
Why didn't they tame those zebras?
They had our ways
only not so advanced
and no horses.
If they tamed those zebras
their lives would be easier.

David laughs,
me and my partner, up in Kalispel
we had a zonie,
half zebra, half horse.
Tried to tear the corral down
to get at our stud.
We put the kid on him,
hell, he was no kid, eighteen years old.
It threw him,
tried to kill him.
Wildest thing I ever seen.
Maybe those bushmen knew about zebras.

Bad Horse —
Did you try friendly first?
Yep. Didn't make no difference.
We finally sold him for dog food
after he went for some kids
by the corral.
He was just plain wild,
that's all.

Bad Horse laughs —
Hell, that's what got me in here
in the first place,
that wildness.

Me too — from Dave.

Someone asks,
What do you mean by wildness?
Wild like an animal
or wild like a Hell's Angel?

Joe Youpee says,
I never saw a person that was truly wild,
not like a deer anyways,
the way a deer
when you're trying to sneak up on him
will all of a sudden lift its head and see you.
That's wild.
You can sneak up on a man.

Dave says,
I'll bet if one of us escaped from here
and they were hunting us on the divide
we'd have a lot of that back —
like that deer.
They wouldn't sneak up on me.

(for the summer writing class at the Montana State Penitentiary at Deer Lodge, with special thanks to Paul, Dave, and Joe.)

ANNOUNCEMENT

FOURTH WORLD ASSEMBLY: London July 1981

What is it for?

To promote the common concerns of all who are opposed to giantism and who are working for peace and freedom in terms of a non-centralised, multi-cellular, power-dispersed world order.

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The Convener, 24 Abercorn Place, London, N.W. 8, Britain.

THE SUICIDE & REBIRTH OF AGRICULTURE: Some Preliminary Thoughts on a Bioregional Food System

Richard Merrill

One of the most underrated yet vital issues raised during the 1970's was the continued ability of U.S. agriculture to provide food for domestic use and export. True, most Americans eat comparatively well, U.S. farmers continue to provide most of the world's exported grain and the U.S. food system is still one of the most sophisticated in the world in terms of distribution and food variety. But the gnawing question during the decade became: **Yes, this may all be true . . . but at what cost and for how long?** For the first time in U.S. history the benefits of our modern food system became judged against a much larger concern . . . the social and environmental consequences of the way we feed our society and, more importantly the long-term sustainability of that food system.

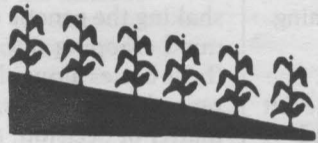
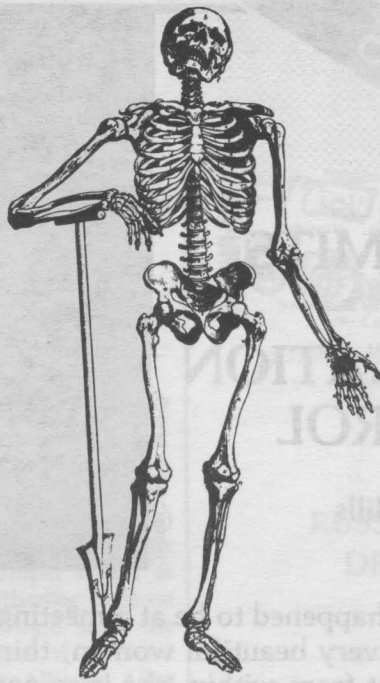
At one level mounting doubts tended to focus on seven major issues:

- 1) *The Rapid Destruction of Our Rural Culture.* Small independent farmers have moved to the cities to be replaced by energy-intensive technologies and capital. Rural lands no longer offer an opportunity in time of plenty or a social buffer in time of war and depression. Worst of all, most people view the ruination of rural America as simply an unfortunate by-product of our industrial "progress". But for others agriculture IS a culture and, as noted by Wendell Berry, ". . . a culture is a practical necessity. When a culture is destroyed it is a natural calamity." What has, in fact, been destroyed is the fundamental purpose of agriculture, viz., to create a fulfilling culture whereby productive land can be stewarded and nurtured for future generations. In its place a new purpose has emerged: to produce food for profit at the expense of the land (i.e., culture). This new purpose has become the greatest calamity of all.
- 2) *The Growing Monolithic Structure of the U.S. Food System.* Farm production, processing and distribution have become concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people. The increasing control of farmlands and food-related industries by corporations and cartels has transformed agri-culture into agri-business, has transformed traditions of stewardship into techniques of profit and much of the U.S. food system into a corporate oligarchy.
- 3) *The Usurpation and Exploitation of Farm Workers.* The recent history of the farm labor struggle in America is largely a history of the National Farm Workers Association attempting to overcome generations of racial discrimination, minority oppression and economic inequalities. Farm laborers remain one of the most oppressed labor groups in the country.
- 4) *The Growing Ineffectiveness and Public Health Hazards of Agricultural Chemicals.* In 1945 the U.S. produced about 40,000 tons of a few synthetic pesticides. Today, in spite of EPA controls, oil companies and scores of chemical firms continue to produce over 600,000 tons of over 1000 pesticide chemicals variously combined in over 50,000 registered, commercial pesticides. Over half of the 400,000 tons applied annually in the U.S. is used in cities. Each day the health of thousands of farm workers, growers, food-process workers, landscapers, foresters, urban gardeners etc. is jeopardized because NO ONE knows the long term effects, both direct and synergistic (in combination with other chemicals), of pesticides. We may never know . . . but

our children probably will. Even if pesticides posed no health hazards, there is indisputable evidence that **AS A SINGLE STRATEGY OF LONG-TERM PEST CONTROL** they simply do not work. Pesticides produce resistant pests, secondary pests and damage the ecological fabric of the agro-ecosystem. Even the USDA admits their great limitations and the futility of continually inventing new poisons. Pesticides must be *integrated* into a more holistic, biologically based strategy of control where a variety of methods are used . . . i.e., integrated pest control.

- 5) *The Dramatic Loss of Productive Agricultural Land.* According to USDA statistics the U.S. has already lost at least 1/3 of its topsoil in the last 200 years. Nearly 240 million acres (twice the size of California) have been ruined for agriculture by erosion. Since 1945 the U.S. has lost about 45 million acres (size of Oklahoma). Annual losses from sheet and rill erosion alone are now set at 2 billion tons per year . . . enough to cover all the cropland of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New Hampshire with 7 inches of topsoil. These astounding figures boil down to an average net topsoil loss of at least one inch every four years. Assuming an average worth of \$1,000 per acre for cropland, this soil loss amounts to more than \$17 billion each year! But more than money, erosion is the loss of an irreplaceable resource. In addition to erosion, we are also losing cropland to salinity, depletion of groundwater, acid rains and suburban sprawl.

- 6) *The Complete Dependency of Agriculture on Non-Renewable Resources, Especially Fossil Fuels and Rock Phosphate.* U.S. agriculture is now entirely subsidized by fossil fuel technologies like tractors, chemical fertilizers/pesticides, irrigation pumping systems, etc. In fact the entire food system now revolves around a complex food distribution network that stretches across the entire country by air, rail and road . . . from grower, to broker, to processor to consumer . . . a system in which food production and consumption are often separated by thousands of miles and hundreds of gallons of gasoline or diesel fuel. It's clear that the energy subsidy and centralization of food distribution can't continue to provide the cornucopia of varied and cheap food in an era of growing fossil fuel shortages, unpredictable foreign influences and rising energy prices. Also, agriculture, historically an energy producer, has become an energy sink . . . consuming about 5 times more (non-renewable) energy than it provides, or



NATURAL SCIENCE



about 17 times if we consider the entire food system. A similar situation exists for non-renewable minerals used in agriculture, especially rock phosphate. At present rates of use, U.S. supplies are sufficient for about 30 years. After that we will have to go abroad, and rock phosphate, like petroleum, will become an unpredictable political resource. For example, according to a 1977 report by the National Academy of Science:

" . . . by 1990 Morocco and various Middle Eastern Countries will supply 75% of the world trade in phosphate rock. If this happens, a cartel could easily be formed to control phosphate prices."

- 7) *The Increasing Dependency on a Few Hybrid Crop Varieties and the Loss of Genetic Information in Cultivated Plants.* The demise of regional crop varieties and the widespread use of hybrid monocultures over large areas of the country have destroyed the genetic buffer zones that once held many pest outbreaks in check. A large supply of plant stock (i.e., genetic diversity) is also the source of continued reservoirs from which to breed varieties of pest-resistant crops. As biological diversity is destroyed so is the potential for adaptation. Again we see an example of modern agriculture creating the conditions for its own vulnerability . . . destroying the options for its own survival. It is obvious that yield per acre is no longer a sufficient benchmark for agricultural efficiency. Vast social and environmental costs must also be considered on the balance sheet. The fact that modern agriculture is not commonly seen as a problem, IS a problem in itself. Exactly which resources are people willing to sacrifice to ensure the present food system? Because this question is not even being asked, public ignorance and special interests prevent a rational collective answer. But even if people were willing to pay the cost of lost topsoil, rural culture, environmental quality, farmland, food quality, economic control and public health, these "costs" now pose a threat to the future stability of the system itself. This is because the "advances" of our agriculture, as we have seen, are increasingly dependent on resources and practices that are not sustainable and on the exploitation of resources that are. In other words, the seven major issues outlined above (there are more) are all components of an agriculture that is rapidly destroying itself and its supportive resources. But the strategy of any biological system like agriculture is *adaptation*, not extinction. Hence, agriculture is committing suicide and that is insane.



If agriculture is committing suicide then it is worth asking *why* it is doing so and, more importantly, what the alternatives are for rescuing it . . . for making it sustainable and adaptable in a world that cannot survive without it. For if agriculture is dying it follows that its people are dying also.

A recent paper by Dr. Stuart Hill of McGill University entitled: "Soil, Food, Health and Holism: The Search for Sustainable Nourishment," addresses this problem of *why*, and outlines potentials for alternatives. Hill notes:

"The modern food system has become a run-away machine, out of control, increasingly dependent on non-renewable resources, consuming renewables faster than they can be renewed, causing corresponding human and environmental degradation, and producing products that feed our obsessive wants first and our nutritional needs second."

Hill contends that alternatives in agriculture will only occur with a qualitative change in consciousness and a holistic approach to what food is really all about.

" . . . while it is usual to recommend primarily technological and political solutions to problems such as those that exist within the food system, the acceptance . . . of any changes that are proposed are dependent on the psychological development and awareness of the people involved, i.e., we must be clear internally if we are to create sustainable external harmony."

Or, more to the point:

"It seems reasonable to suppose that the process of becoming familiar with the external wisdom of nature is dependent on the level of familiarity with the internal wisdom of the body."

Hill then sets out to describe a "vision of a sustainable agricultural future" involving a synthesis of several internal and external contemporary alternatives such as the human potential movement, holistic health, appropriate technology, solar energy and biological agriculture. Hill sees the fundamental problems of our faltering food system as rooted in an inability to grasp a holistic view of this internal-external synthesis of working alternatives, i.e., to the fact that sustainable solutions lie outside the focus of conventional approaches to problems. "Holism", notes Hill, "promotes management systems that avoid crises and promote sustainable technologies in agriculture" . . . i.e., integrated pest management, landscape diversity in agro-ecosystems, solar agro-technologies, regional crop varieties, local food economies, and a thorough understanding of the relationship between human health and soil fertility, and of the necessary balance between production, consumption and recycling of organic matter through the decomposer chain of the soil. Of course many of these alternatives are currently being researched and practiced *separately*, but not *systematically*. For example, the agricultural research establishment continues to plug away at many of these alternatives in isolated stations, cranking out data, suggesting new *techniques*. But nowhere is there an agricultural research station investigating the entire spectrum of these economic and ecological alternatives simultaneously as a holistic unit . . . as a living agro-eco-system.

Although Hill's paper tends to get bogged down in the all-encompassing semantics of new-age ecospeak, his thesis is clear and important: the acceptance and success of a sustainable agriculture involves existential changes in the way we view our internal mindset (what is progress, what is health) and external potentials (the necessity of self-sustaining economics and technologies). We can view this another way. History is neither a cycle of patterns nor an arrow of inevitable technical progress. These patterns, ironically, ignore the effects of time. Rather, history is a spiral . . . returning on itself but at another level. The "returning" includes the time-honored internal traditions of survival such as culture, cooperation, sustainability, simplicity and self-reliance . . . the sort of things that give agribusiness people cause to call alternative agricultures "reactionary", "back-to-the-land", and "unrealistic nostalgia". But the changing *level* (time dimension) of the spiral also offers us an alternative . . . a new age agriculture which could creatively thrive in a vastly more complex and troubled world than yesterday. We might call this new level: Bio-Regional Agriculture.

SUICIDE AND REBIRTH . . .

Every region of the United States has its own unique climate, geology, resources base, vegetation, watershed, topsoil, culture, economy and food needs . . . its own "bios" or set of potentials for adaptation and survival. By decentralizing our food system, that is, by encouraging each region of the country to become more self-reliant—more dependent on its bios for growing, marketing and distributing food—the larger food system becomes more stable and adaptable. There are several reasons for this. For one thing, energy is reduced through decreased transportation and processing. Also, fresh, nutritionally superior, food is made available through direct marketing of locally-derived crops. In addition, more jobs are created in the region and the regional economy becomes more stable and viable. Finally, the grower is able to use farm technologies and techniques that best utilize the *local* resource base and thus reduce dependence on distant (non-renewable) resources controlled by unstable forces.

These technologies and techniques include: a) Integrated Pest Management Programs for local crops and local pests, b) the recycling of organic wastes onto nearby farmlands, c) the use of solar agri-technologies such as solar heating, irrigation, electric and fertilizer manufacturing systems; wind energy and the production of biological fuels, d) the development of regional crop varieties adapted to the local bios (including pests), e) the development of diverse scaled-down food production systems (aquaculture, raised-bed horticulture, solar greenhouse production, etc.) and the tools to make them work, and f) the utilization of people and small local job opportunities for businesses and hence the development of regional food economies and growers, brokers, farmers markets, food crops, neighborhood food stores and food processors, community gardeners, etc.

Awareness of one's bios and of one's region ("bio-region") implies knowledge of one's options for survival. Convenience and freedom are not the same thing. It may be convenient to buy food from fields or factories afar. However, it does not enhance one's freedom to do so because the distant food is based on an extremely vulnerable and uncontrollable technology. The important point is that agriculture is more easily set into the bio-regional mode than any other part of our culture; all of its resources, technologies and economies have the potential for being locally derived. The inevitable decentralization of our society will begin with agriculture, and a decentralized agriculture begins with a clear evaluation of the agricultural bioregion. This is the next whorl in the spiral. This is the rebirthing of agriculture. □□□

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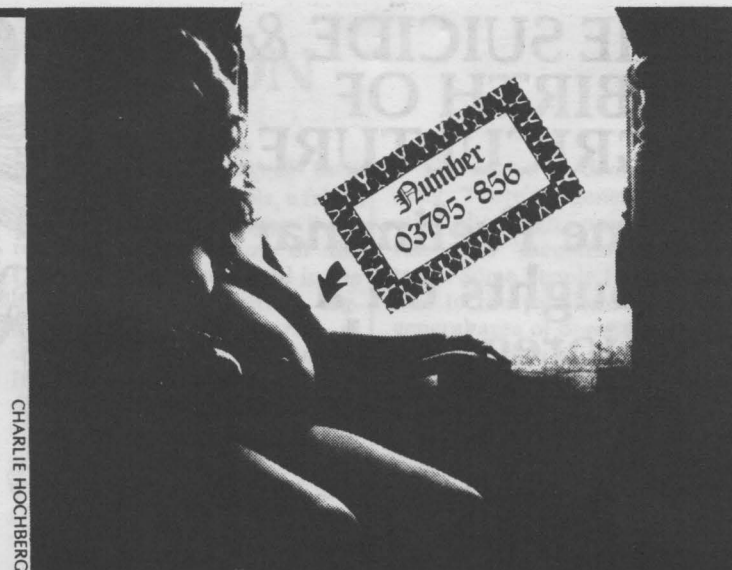
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ETHICS

THE LIMITS OF POPULATION CONTROL

Stephanie Mills

CHARLIE HOCHBERG



Recently, I happened to be at a meeting with a very pregnant and very beautiful woman, thirtyish, about my age. Alight from within, she is so gorgeous right now, I can't take my eyes off her.

Several months ago, at a different meeting, I listened to her describe her struggle to decide whether to continue her unplanned pregnancy; and whether to marry the father, her lover. She wound up doing both, finally, although at times during her internal debate, she felt that becoming a wife and mother was betraying her radical past. She didn't specify the ideals she felt she was contradicting, but I can guess what they might have been: independence, autonomy, a destiny unconditioned by biology, abortion uncomplicated by morality, womanhood not defined by motherhood. Although we hadn't known each other in our student agitator days, we had been working overlapping territories, and I could understand her chagrin at falling in step with billions of other women through time out of mind.

Now I don't know nothin' about birthin' babies. But for several years, my big issue was overpopulation, which is nothin' but birthin' babies. Like many other well-meaning but misguided crusaders, I was concerned with a problem and offering solutions without a fine-grained sense of the reality I was generalizing. I only knew what I read. I read that the unprecedented growth in human numbers was the engine driving the whole environmental crisis, and that seemed to make sense. It was a global problem, with billions of us, rich and poor, perched at the top of the food chain, pressing, from need or from greed, against the lives and places of every other species. Push comes to shove, and although that gross cause and effect scenario I believed ten years ago seems laughable now, our numbers, whose impact is multiplied by agriculture and other technology, are pressing, pressing . . .

The global perspective, aggregating us all, subsuming individuality, rendering us statistical, demanded grand solutions: the perfect contraceptive, forced sterilization, tax disincentives for childbearing; and the more progressive notions of linking infant health care and family planning services, providing social security in the developing nations, and promoting woman's literacy. The more humane stuff isn't as cost-efficient as a technofix; all of this array will further a

profound cultural change: the rationalization of reproduction.

Like every other sexual species, we are set up to do it. Sexual reproduction and the death it requires mock individuality and rationality, too. Our program is to keep shaking the genetic dice. Never mind crapping out, just pass those bones along. Not reproducing, for us, can be a matter of decision, a learned behavior. It means quieting the blood's insistent urging to chromosomal immortality. It means that as an individual, you have exactly your lifespan to figure out another way to scratch "Kilroy was here" on the planet's notoriously short memory.

Thanks to the population bomb, the women's movement, and to contraception, childbearing is now an issue. Its issueness put my madonna friend through some changes before she could do what used to come naturally. There may still be cultures where a woman can make love heedless of the consequences, but this isn't one of them.

Because of my involvement with population issues, I wound up on the advisory council of the National Alliance for Optional Parenthood (NAOP). Begun as the National Organization for Non-Parents, this outfit has evolved from doing public relations for childfree consumerism and providing a sort of Parents Anonymous support group for people who wouldn't do it all over again if they had to, to doing open minded, if conventional, research and education on the multidimensional reality of parenthood in America. In addition, NAOP is allied with the fight for abortion rights, monitors legislation and other public policy which might discriminate against non-parents, and provides excellent educational materials for teenagers who confront possible parenthood with every unadorned backseat fumble.

Because I have irrespressible reformist tendencies, I support NAOP; I like the way it's developed, I think it does a reasonable service in the world as we find it. Because I also have radical utopian tendencies, I recognize that NAOP is another cog in the mechanism to intellectualize everything. And where an aspect of culture has become intellectual, experts are sure to be swarming.

Thus I was not surprised to read, in a recent edition of NAOP's newsletter, *Optional Parenthood Today*, a report on "The Prospect of Parental Licensing and Training." This was in no way a policy recommendation on their part, but does go to show that once politicized, childbearing becomes, in our nationstate, vulnerable to regulation. Nothing is sacred.

An unnamed social scientist, "who works with a Florida juvenile and family court division" was quoted as follows:

"We require a physician to be licensed to medicate a child, a psychologist to be licensed (or certified) to test a child. A teacher must have a masters degree to teach a child algebra . . . A barber must be licensed to cut a child's hair. Yet we cling to the barbaric pretense that anyone can be a 'natural' parent. . . .

"I suggest that prospective parents should be required to obtain a permit to bear a child. The regulation of parenthood on this basis is both justified and feasible. Certainly the community has legitimate interests in population control—social, ecological, and economic. . . . With the technology for genetic management on the horizon, the question of who should bear children and how, already a subject of public debate, must be faced."

NAOP mentions that "the writer goes on to hope that a pre-parent training program would develop to help prospective parents qualify for a childbearing permit."

What's wrong with this picture? Or rather, what's right? Training certainly helps to eliminate barbarism, an all too scarce quality in an evermore homogeneous world. We know that training and the examinations which reify it are valves regulating the membership of elites. In a homogeneously intellectual society, it is crucial to quantify, examine, and measure. I like John Cage's observation: "Measurement measures measuring means." IQ tests test not intelligence, but the ability to submit to IQ tests. They reveal only what an educated elite—civilized, you might say—perceives to be "smart".

The standard of parental competence would undoubtedly be determined by psychologists, practitioners of a discipline which at its most presumptuous diagrams the soul, finds the least common denominator of will, and has an explanation for the mind's every surprise. Like other pseudoscience, psychology

looks for predictability. In a world of infinite variety, it wants proof.

While wiser, shaman shrinks soften the borders between their craft and the art of soothing a troubled mind, armies of jobseeking doctoral candidates will emerge to establish whatever qualifications we need, and to train and test accordingly.

My greatest fear is not that this pre-parent training program would produce a monocrop of children. Children always foil the best laid plans to sculpt their character. Like much social theory based on environmental determinism, parental Lamarckism will probably fail. But the prospect of a monocrop of parents, all duly licensed by the state, is chilling. On the fringes of that pale and well-heeled crowd would be a myriad of dark and weedy outlaw moms and pops whose marginal lives would be made somewhat more difficult by the penalties for unlicensed parenting.

These rebels would probably take their illicit offspring to homeopaths or acupuncturists, ignore their little psychologies altogether, teach them at home in free schools (probably neglecting algebra) and let their babies hair grow long, long, long. They will not belong to a professional organization.

All of the licensees our Floridian social scientist cited as certifiably responsible can claim only "structural" not "sapiential" authority. This useful distinction was drawn by the savant Robert Theobald. Structural authority adheres to a person. It comes from having a superior position in a bureaucratic hierarchy or a state-patented monopoly on using a certain skill. It accrues through strictly limited competition. It is about saluting uniforms and not their wearers.

Sapiential authority inheres. It is also known as wisdom. Structural and sapiential authority aren't necessarily exclusive, although having the former may make getting the latter that much harder. Still, once in a while, power gets read as responsibility and begets wisdom which earns power which demands wisdom and you find a wise person in a position of authority. This happening is entirely too rare for us not to question authority.

We are writing towards a life where wisdom can be identified without benefit of certification, where power is immaterial and therefore limitless, where authority is strictly limited to self-management. We are writing and thinking towards a world full of differences, differences from place to place. We are yearning to re-inhabit a planet specifically, not a globe whose policies are intelligently based on aggregates.

To achieve these desires, we will have to admit that we cannot know the future, and that our past interpretations have been earnest and approximate at best. Like my friend the madonna, we will have to put our faith in unreason, and keep hope high.

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TOWARD A BIOREGIONALLY DESIGNED AESTHETIC

Christopher Swan

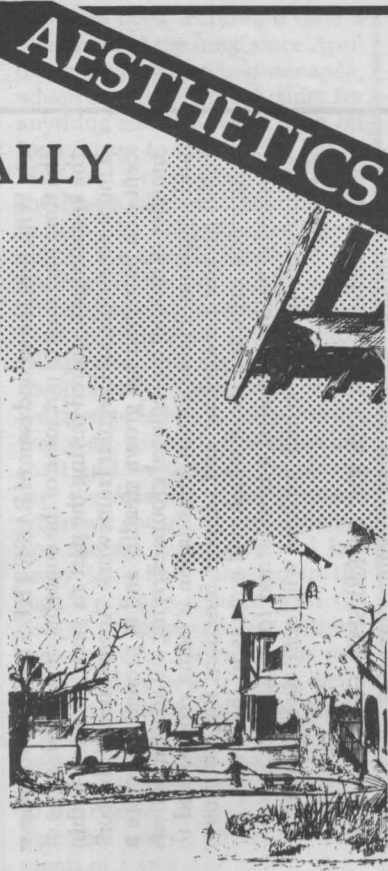
It is strange how these things happen: For years I had known of the bio-regional notion but only recently has it suddenly fallen in place as a kind of unifying principle.

In writing about technology I kept stumbling over the marketing esthetic and the centralized no-place nonsense it represents. Recently I talked with Lorell Long about esthetics and found myself saying that any notion of what was beautiful, balanced and "right" was directly related to place. Our sense of form and balance is derived, almost entirely, from our perception of the natural order of grass, trees et cetera. That is the primal architecture. So, as we become placeless we lose our sense of esthetics and simultaneously become vulnerable to a marketed notion of beauty; ultimately a vacuous concept derived, and relative to, only itself. The machine talks to the machine.

I have also been concerned with some kind of bridge between the centralized basic industries like steelmaking and the potentially, and often actually, decentralized industries like bike making. In a very crude way the steel industry was bio-regionally based in that it was centered in a region that contained iron ore and coal, as well as the waterways to cheaply transport the raw materials. While that system's inherent corruption has now played out as decay of the northeastern U.S., it remains to illustrate what may be a viable principle. One that may already be playing out. Assuming the whole continent moves towards photovoltaics as a primary electrical source where would those cells be manufactured? Where there is a great deal of sun—the desert. Like cotton mills that were once located on rivers photovoltaic plants would be located where the sun is. Similarly the decayed steel industry may also utilize solar and move to the southeast and west. The plants would be necessarily decentralized and could utilize only scrap metal of which copious quantities are now scattered around the planet. In fact we could probably continue to recycle what we have long since refined and mine practically no ore.

Obviously the problem with all this is one of scale. We already can see how the solar industry, so recently decentralized, small-scale industries, is now being gobbled up by the greedy multinationals. For the most part people do not see anything wrong with that. They let it happen and the employees of the congloms just go along.

□□□



CHRISTOPHER SWAN

Why? Because they see no biological relationship. They see no connection between resource, place, people and esthetics. Similarly there is little understanding of the abiding biology of a place inclusive of the natural environment and people. So also, there is little understanding of the notion of durability or sustainability.

Somewhere in all this is a connection between solar energy, sustainability, place relatedness, the very design of tools, decentralization as a biologically viable humanistic concept and bioregionalism. Furthermore there is something about bioregions on a watershed level and on a planetary level being analogous to community and network.

In the writing of *Window Music*, which is about transportation, I've already developed a chapter on river travel that will discuss, among other things, how rivercraft are often uniquely designed for a specific river and thus expressive of a bioregional esthetic. Now I'm beginning to see how the same approach will be necessary in other areas. For example, places like Yosemite and Grand Canyon are of such importance to millions of people that we tend to destroy them with the tools we use to get to them. Certainly fewer people could go there but is that a viable possibility? It seems more appropriate to design tools that fit those places and inherently minimize our impact.

Similarly I'm working out a balance between the standardized and generalized system common to all bioregions and the specific variations that might be needed in each. For example, the basic parts of a bus could be made in say the southwest while it could be assembled in the place where it is to be used; in the northeast that would mean all sorts of variations to cope with snow and ice and cold.

Underlying all this is the beginning of an ethic based on ecological perception. An ethic that Illich has articulated more than anyone else but as yet no one has put in popular form, nor has anyone really aligned it with the esthetics of place and the design and manufacture of tools. . . .

SÁMIID AEDNAN
Norwegian Sami Association • N 9730
Karasjohka • Norway

"We are Samis and we want to remain Samis," begins the preface to *SÁMIID AEDNAN* (Samiland) the outspoken and unusually attractive "inform Bulletin" of the Norwegian Sami Association. Remaining Samis is one of the epic struggles in the Fourth World movement. To begin with they're usually referred to by non-Samis as "Lapps," a colonial term originated in the 13th century, and their homeland is an unrecognized territory officially incorporated into the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and USSR. Uranium mining, timber, land and hydro-power interests in those countries are moving in on Samiland more hungrily than ever before, and the need to defend Sami living-in-place identity has never been more acute. *SÁMIID AEDNAN* is an authentic source for current Sami views of their culture and political issues.

UPRIVER
DOWNRIVER
Box 390
Cazadero, CA 95421
\$6/year

UPRIVER DOWNRIVER is strong, deliberate and clever. Here is reinhabitory culture that can defend itself. "We call it a newsletter, and think of it as an extended correspondence among people who are trying to learn how to live in northern California, a place we regard as a distinct biological/cultural region rather than part of an arbitrary State . . . We consider the region as a community of life—air, earth, water, light, other species, and us—and feel that it is incumbent upon us as inhabitants of this place to resist the further destruction of its natural systems and to begin repairing the damage already done." People who actually live some place, who thrive on making sophisticated responses to the complexities and beauty of that life, possess natural advantages over the extractive forces that would destroy it. *UPRIVER DOWNRIVER* flaunts those advantages; excellent in-place research, unrestrained love for the region, absolute distrust of external authority, and a sense of humor that dismantles the Engines of Dehumanity.

Whether you live in northern California or not, read at least one issue of *UPRIVER DOWNRIVER* to see how fine a simply printed and assembled reinhabitory journal can be. If you do live there, make sure you get all three of the issues that are available so far—they won't date.

ROOTDRINKER
Canton, NY 13617
\$5/year (4 issues) U.S.
\$6/year Canada

ROOTDRINKER adds a significant quality to the emergent field of bioregional publications. Editor Alan Casline has managed to include the land-based history and culture of the St. Lawrence River border country of the Adirondacks so completely into a "new settler" perspective that at first reading it seems as though a publication of the Adirondack Historical Society has been taken over by bioregion-watershed guerillas. Interviews with old-timers, notes on natural history, articles about ladder-making or a one-room schoolhouse are mixed casually with subjects like reinhabitation, renewable energy and local self-reliance as contemporary versions of the long-time traditional way of doing and thinking about things. *ROOTDRINKER* presents the region completely in terms of its own natural and human resources. It's the Adirondacks without tourist-fodder.

ALL AREA
77 Reade Street
New York City, NY 10007
\$5/issue

Although it shyly describes itself as the beginning of "a series on method and place," *ALL AREA* has promise of becoming an essential journal for presentations and discussions about re-locating human intellect from a pre-occupation with mechanism into closer correspondence with living processes. Cued by Gregory Bateson's "the map is not the territory" and Charles Olson's appreciation of Pleistocene cultural origins, the first issue sets out on an expedition of culture-as-place-perception that ranges through Frank Gillette's video observation of southern Texas, Paul Metcalf's notes from a conference on Alaska in transition, and a Bedouin's loose-fitting sense of time in the southern Sinai. Bateson is revealed at the top of his form in a "metalogue" with Paul Ryan; Olson in his letters on Pleistocene consciousness.

It's time that serious attempts to view culture as interdependent with the workings of the biosphere had a hearing outside the context of shivindus and Swiss Army knives. If *ALL AREA* perseveres in sticking with the real thing while avoiding the preciousness of little, magazine chatter, it could become an important forum.

—Peter Berg



EDITORS' STATEMENT:

THE NEXT STEP

For the past six years *Planet Drum Foundation*—through its regional bundles and other publications—has concentrated on developing and presenting conceptual, planetary news. News which has been at the interface of such traditional disciplines as biology, geography, anthropology, politics, and literature, and which has documented some of the bioregionally specific ways in which the planet, Earth, expresses itself.

It is now increasingly apparent that political decentralization and ecological sanity go hand in hand; that indigenous peoples—both emergent and traditional—living in specific bioregions are the only ones with both the understanding and the interest to pursue energy and resources policies that insure long-term, multi-species habitation of the biosphere. Certainly, on the record, centralized bureaucracies and multi-national corporations can no longer be trusted to respect the basic natural processes—the web of life—that sustains us all. Bioregions are the *appropriate locations* for decentralization. Just as we know that biological diversity and health express themselves in decentralized, bioregional ways, so too do human cultures.

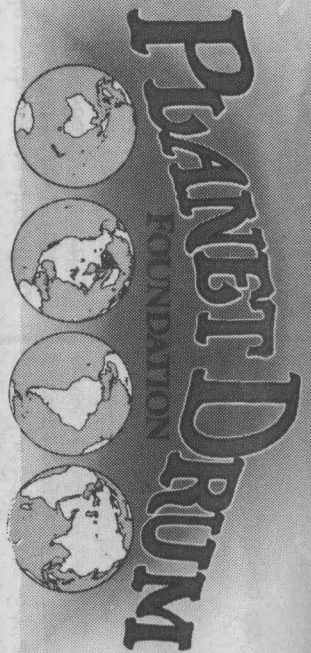
With this, the second issue of *RAISE THE STAKES*, we believe the time has come to put some of the concepts developed, some of the knowledge acquired during the past six years, to work within a more accessible and regular framework. Acceptance of the concept of a bioregion has grown steadily and at present there are a number of distinct bioregional groups carrying out specific actions and programs. Planet Drum Foundation is being reorganized to fulfill greater networking and support functions for the groups which now exist and those which will emerge in the future. Accordingly, we have created a new format for *Raise the Stakes*—with several sections—which we hope will facilitate the planetary dialogue:

- 1) An *informal*, CIRCLES OF CORRESPONDENCE section which is intended to serve as an on-going planetary newsletter—a mutual aid network—to use in the struggle to slow down and then transform the industrial juggernaut that threatens to consume us all. It is our hope that you, our readers, will become a part of the circle—of the planetary medicine show—and contribute vital information, both urban and rural, about what is going on in your native regions. That you will send us your letters containing reports on activities, interviews, poems, stories and graphics—whatever works—and thus help broaden the circle of shared planetary awareness.
- 2) A more conceptual, reinhabitory magazine section which will feature exploratory essays and discussions in such areas as Politics, Natural Science, Watershed Restoration, Aesthetics, Ethics, and Natural Provision.
- 3) A Review section to bring attention to valuable but little-publicized regional (and other) books and periodicals.
- 4) A Story and Poetry section.
- 5) Select Features.

It is our hope that with imagination, hard work, and your support we can help describe the contours of an equitable and diverse planetary identity.

—Peter Berg and Michael Helm

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