

CHAPTER EIGHT:Randy Hayes and the Founding of the Rainforest Action Network:Organizing to Save the PlanetINTRODUCTION

Randy Hayes is a 43 year old white American who has devoted almost half of his life to issues of ecological harmony and integrity and to indigenous peoples' rights. For more than a decade he has been devoted to saving the rainforests of the world. With his early focus was on the Four Corners region where the life and land of the indigenous people were threatened, he has supported native peoples throughout the world in their efforts to maintain their sovereignty, lands rights and culture.

Randy Hayes is the founder and chief organizer of the Rainforest Action Network (RAN), a loose coalition of environmental and human rights individuals and groups in the United States and around the world for sharing information and coordinating the United States "role in global campaigns to protect the rainforests and their inhabitants."² RAN has had a significant impact both in raising the general consciousness of North Americans (and other world citizens) regarding the continuing destruction of rainforests and the implications of this destruction for the health of the planet and for the lives and cultures of the indigenous people who inhabit those areas. RAN has also mounted a whole series of campaigns against major corporate abuses in rainforests throughout the planet, a few of which have been spectacularly successful.

In this chapter I will tell the story of Randy Hayes and the RAN, an individual personality and a grassroot political organization that are very closely intertwined.³

Almost single-handedly, Hayes organized a boycott which resulted in the capitulation of the giant fast-foods chain, Burger King and I will tell this story first as a way of illustrating how RAN works as an organization and as part of a broader social movement. Burger King was a major offender in pushing rainforest destruction in the areas from which it purchased beef, and Randy Hayes' recognition of what came to be called the "hamburger connection" played a major role in the formation of his life and style and in the development of RAN.

But since RAN is so closely identified with the person and the tireless dedication of its founder and chief organizer spokesperson-- despite his non assuming style and rejection of the charismatic style so often assumed by movement leaders-- we first need to hear the story of Randy Hayes, himself, how he grew up and how he was influenced in his family, his early natural and spiritual environment, and in his formative educational and political experiences as a young college student in the 60s to become an environmental activist long before it was fashionable on the student life. The role of his encounter with the Hopi people and his continuing encounters and familiarization with Native peoples world wide will be highlighted in my account because Native American philosophy and Worldviews have been a central influence upon his own personal-political philosophy and that of his organization.

In the following chapters of this section we shift then, although the shift is imperceptible, from Hayes to R.A.N itself, telling the story of how it is formed and how it situates itself as both a critic whose modus operandi stands in sharp contrast to the mainstream environmental organizations and as an ally of them at the same time, even though the latter is dramatically less the case in 1994, as we shall soon see. Therefore , I will summarize briefly the basic facts about RAN today: its organizational structure, strategy of work, constituencies and allies, and its goals and hopes for the future. This will hopefully convey RAN's exemplary role as a planetary organization and also why I

feel Randy Hayes and his movement has been such an inspiration to me personally, despite poignant doubts about what is possible today.

The Burger King Boycott and the Formation of RAN

In 1973, Randy Hayes, a young white college student, went to the Southwest and had the opportunity to meet the Hopi Indians. He was deeply impressed by "the ways in which, quietly, these people carry out their traditional ways, and the depth and scope of their global and ecological wisdom". That meeting was crucial in Randy's life, marking the beginning of a deep and lasting friendship, and the beginning of a whole lifetime of inspiration and committed activism.

For about ten years Randy volunteered his help to the Hopi people as a support person working on local issues regarding the so-called "development projects" of multinational corporations that were upsetting the indigenous cultures and destroying the ecological integrity of the area. He learned about the Southwest Indians' contemporary plights--about uranium and coal strip mining and synthetic fuel development projects and their impact on the local population and the environment, and he contributed to the solution of those regional problems in many different ways. He helped raise transportation money so that Hopi elders could go to the White House and the UN to fight the coal mining and uranium mining companies in their own traditional, shamanic ways. He also co-produced (in 1983) the award-winning documentary film "The Four Corners: National Sacrifice Area?". Grassroots organizing has always been the basis of his work.

Interestingly, during this same period, while in the painted desert in Arizona, Randy Hayes met aborigines from Australia and from Hawaii who, struggling to protect tropical rainforests in their lands were encountering similar problems of large development projects in the fragile ecosystems in their own areas, and thus he learned about rainforests of the world and of the threat of their extinction.

In 1984, Randy Hayes read, in a publication called the Earth First Journal, about the "hamburger connection"--of how the production of cattle ranges for beef for fast-food chains in the U.S. was destroying the rainforests. "The article", recalled Randy

Hayes in our first interview, "was written by John Seed, a prominent Australian ecoactivist, who heard from poet Gary Snyder- who is also a deep ecologist⁴ and a cultural historian , about Earth First, an exciting organization that was trying to protect tropical rainforests and was engaged in direct action and who sent them information about the "hamburger connection."

Randy's expertise with the large scale mining projects and the multi-national corporations' invasion of tribal peoples' lands easily transferred from the deserts of the Southwest to the tropical rainforest. "Ready for a change and a new challenge," Randy switched from working on a regional level to working on a global level, to the organizing of a global network to act locally within a global perspective.

Soon after reading about the "hamburger connection," Randy Hayes organized a benefit for an Australian environmental organization and a demonstration at a Burger King restaurant. He also organized a poetry reading where 500 people turned out and a significant amount of money was raised. Randy was very excited about the prospect of working at such compelling issue at a time when there were not many concerned organizations sounding the alarm about how serious the situation was and how little time there was to solve the problem.

In November, 1985, he organized a conference with the leading rainforest activists in the USA and invited about 10 activists from rainforest countries and from Europe and Japan to give advice on what types of campaigns could be launched here in the USA to correct some of the practices that were contributing to the destruction of the rainforests. At that time Randy, who was working part time as a carpenter to make a living, received a \$7,000 grant to put on the conference. Through grant proposals, he obtained additional money from two foundations to house and feed everyone for three days and to fly people in from Africa, Asia, and other places.

Out of that conference they worked out a strategy that included working on institutions such as Burger King, and the World Bank, and the Rainforest Action Network (RAN) was founded. At that founding conference, in November 1985, a policy decision was made which, in Randy's words, meant that:

...we were also a human rights group, as well as an ecology group, with a particular focus on human rights of indigenous people. We thought that we needed to state that, that these two things were not separate.

From the beginning, then, RAN reflected an awareness of the interconnectedness of issues of social justice and equity and ethics, ecological issues and indigenous peoples' rights.

On April 14, 1984, RAN, Friends of the Earth, and Earth First! targeted Burger King with a series of protests across the country. The environmental groups called for Burger King and other fast foods companies to stop purchasing beef exported from Central America because of dangerous ranging practices that were continuing to destroy much of Central American rainforests--i.e., the conversion of rainforest to cattle pasture was a major cause of deforestation in Central America. The campaign consisted of an organized boycott of Burger King and their parent company, Pillsbury, a full-page advertisement in The New York Times on "Hamburgers, Health and the Rainforest Connection" (on January 22, 1986), and the mailing of over a million information packets to concerned citizens asking them to Boycott Burger King. Thousands of letters were sent to Burger King calling for responsible action on their part.

At that time, that hamburger chain was buying some 70,000 steers annually--an estimated 16,000 metric tons of meat--from Costa Rica alone, paying over US\$35 million and accounting for 70% of the country's beef exports. According to Randy's data, more than a quarter of all Central American forests have been destroyed since 1960 to

produce beef; 85-95% (of exports) went to the U.S. This represents less than 2% of total U.S. beef consumption, but it has a devastating effect on Central American forests."⁵

"Whopper Stopper" month (which started in May 1987) was a roaring success for the environmental activists. Local Rainforest Action groups (R.A.G.s) across the U.S., Europe, and Malaysia staged colorful protests, leafleted, circulated petitions, and generated letters at many Burger King outlets. Burger King sales for the month of May were down a "whopping" 12%. A number of demonstrations took place in California and received prominent media coverage. Other stations included Arizona and Colorado and there was a related wide range of activities in thirty to forty cities.

On August 25, 1987, Burger King announced in writing that it would no longer buy beef from tropical rainforest areas. It announced that it would rid its system of all rainforest beef by September, 1987. This announcement followed on the heels of a demonstration at Pillsbury's headquarters in Minneapolis by Earth First!, RAN, and Greenpeace activists. Burger King announced it had studied the situation and found it to be indeed serious.

RAN was successful. They ended the boycott and continued monitoring the situation closely to verify that Burger King did not buy rainforest beef. At the time of my first interview with Randy (at the end of 1987), this had been a recent victory and RAN was urging people to write Burger King to congratulate them for making a responsible decision regarding the rainforests and to ask to go a step further--to invest some of their profits--"one nickel per whopper"--to help develop rainforests.

RAN was also targeting other users of rainforest beef: other fast food chains, 7-11, Carls Jr., Campbell's Soup Company, and the Marriott Corporation to name a few. The campaign was aimed at reaching all users of rainforest beef by promoting consumer boycotts of all products contributing to the destruction of rainforests and the resulting mass extinction of species and indigenous populations.

The implications of these achievements for Randy and for RAN were very encouraging, for they show, as Randy says, that

... we can appeal to the average American, if there is such a thing, from a number of angles. A lot of people are generally concerned and if you make it convenient for them to do the right thing then they will. It's convenient enough to not buy at a Burger King when you find out that Burger King is buying beef from the rainforest. You can go next door and eat at a McDonalds if that's the kind of food you're looking for. Consequently we had thousands of people willing to boycott Burger King and thousands of people willing to write in letters to Burger King demanding they stop the purchase of rainforest beef. After a year and a half of boycotting Burger King, in a typical "David and Goliath" situation, Goliath fell and Burger King cancelled 35 million dollars worth of beef contracts in Central America, as of September 1, 1987. Now... a major multinational organization that was contributing to the destruction of rainforests has completely stopped in that direct connection. We have a string of successes that show me that people will respond and that we can make progress. (interview, 1987).

Randy Hayes: Some Biographical Background

Who is this person, Randy Hayes the activist, who almost singlehandedly--and with such a high level of success--is working both at local and global levels to save the rainforests for all of us? I am very interested in identifying people like him--activists and visionaries with great commitment and personal dedication to work for the best of all life on the planet--people with broad planetary perspectives and a high level of practicality and effectiveness in their work. This reflects my personal search for models--for people whose lives and work truly contribute to a better life for all on the planet. In our times social problems are so complex and overwhelming that many of us come to believe that we are truly isolated, and we feel increasingly disempowered and unable to effectively promote peace, justice, and a healthy balanced environment for all life on earth. I find it encouraging to encounter activists who--step by step, in small or large scale-- have the hope, the strength, and the practical strategies to promote what

more cynical (or "burned out") observers see as utopias or faddish visionary "dreams" of a life based on true caring and respect for all of life. Such activists demonstrate the true value and depth of grassroots work, and the potent transforming power that the work of individual people can have in making the vision of a transformed society a tangible reality. I am also very interested in how a person such as Randy Hayes grows up and is influenced by family, friends, early environment, and college experience during the 1960s to become an environmental activist long before it is fashionable or even acceptable to do so.

Early Childhood

Randy Hayes was born in 1950, the youngest of three siblings, in West Virginia. His parents, says Randy, were "sort of West Virginia hill billies", on his mother's side, and on his father's side "sort of Tennessee mountain people". They were people "...who had more of a land ethic, who came out of a clanship system, almost tribal system in some respects...the extended families." His father was a truck driver, struggling quite hard at times to support the family, that more than once knew hunger and want. Still, Randy's most consistent recollections of his childhood, as they came through in our conversations, are basically quite happy, and a source of a basic sense of place in a universe that has intrinsic order and makes sense. This is because Randy grew up close to nature, and that gave him a lasting and basic sense of psychological, and existential, and spiritual security.

I just know that when I'm in nature I'm happy, I have a sense of place, a sense of security. As a child, when I played in the forest, in West Virginia, until I was 8, I had an understanding that created a strength of character. Then from age 8 to 16 I lived in central Florida, out in the swamps... you know, and when you'd watch an alligator slithering through the swamps or when you'd watch a beautiful white crane, you know, flying and landing on the water, there is a kind

of internal security and understanding about one's place in the universe that comes through the human's relationships with nature..

Through all that time, playing in the forests of West Virginia, or "running around barefoot, in nature, out in the swamps" of Florida, Randy apparently knew little about the outside world and what cities and urban civilization was all about.

I was not a creature of industrial society. That had a lot to do with me wanting to do the kind of work I'm doing now.

In fact, during our interviews, Randy repeatedly described his world view as closer to the Indian than to urbanites who "...may be quite insulated from nature throughout their entire life". His later discovered affinity with Indian people and cosmologies, in the sense of a deep sense of belonging and communion with nature, also came from his extended family where, as he says, there was also always a "kind of sensitivity and openness to the wonders of the universe."

I remember my great-grandmothers and grandmothers being very psychically sensitive and *intuitive*. When a telephone rang, they would tell you who was calling. When a baby was about to be born, they'd tell you if it was male or female and seemed often to be correct. Being open to understanding and thinking that's how the universe works... I've always been open to that because of my upbringing. So when I sit down with a medicine man from the Amazon, a shaman from some remote culture, in some respects I feel more kinship than I do with an urban ecologist in Washington DC who lobbies congress. My world view is closer to the Indian than to urbanites who may be quite insulated from nature throughout their entire life. It's quite frightening how much people these days in the industrial north are insulated from nature and don't know it first hand. Even amongst environmentalists. They're operating out of a concept and not first hand experience more and more.

Yet, we shall keep in mind that these insights as articulated by Randy, the adult, seem to reflect the culmination of a focused and intentional *search* for people who hold

similar views to his own, who had had similar experiences, and, therefore similar values and commitments. The concrete social environment in which Randy grew up was far from open to different people (such as Indian people), different views, and or to differences in general:

I spent my early years in West Virginia, in a small town in the Ohio River and, living in a small town in that region of West Virginia, with a sort of hill-billy heritage, you can be a bit of a red neck in the sense that...you don't have a great deal of awareness of the outside world, and you do have a certain amount of suspicion. If it's not what you know, it's sort of wrong.

So Randy describes his own values and world view--in his years prior to college--as that of a "redneck."

.... and that's what I mean by being a "red neck." If you don't know something you make it wrong instead of "oh, isn't that exciting?"...It's different and, therefore, there is something wrong about it..

What was in West Virginia, according to Randy, a "hill billy's" mentality with a general attitude of mistrust and disapproval of differences among people, was, in Florida--where the family moved when Randy was eight years old--a full-blown racism.

...the racism between whites and blacks increasingly grew there--and with the Cubans--because of the Cuban missile crisis, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the ousting of the Batista government, the elite Cubans vacating and coming to Florida...They became a third class that was frowned upon, you know, people were not only racists towards blacks, they were also racists towards Cubans in Florida and so the redneck thing took on a different dimension, very racial, you know. And you are surrounded by that culture. I mean, you walk through a store and there is a drinking fountain for colored and a drinking fountain for whites. So, I was... it wasn't that my parents were particularly racists, my parents weren't terribly redneck but the culture that I was surrounded by was...so I absorbed some of that. I was a bit of a red neck, not in the deep hard core sense, but at least on the surface, you know, so maybe that's why I

was so easy to transform and to shed some of that and to realize that *differences and diversities are good, not bad.*

At 16 Randy left Florida and finished high school "across the river in the Ohio side", and then went to college in Bowling Green State University, where he went through a very deep, and lasting, personal self discovery and transformational process. It seems that his whole personal and political path had been one of asserting his own experiences, sensitivities and experiences-- his worldview-- within social environments that held quite different views, always search for, and aligning himself with, people and milieus (even cultures) who hold simmlilar views, who found cosmic answers to questions he asked, and lived accordingly.

The College Years

Between 1968 and the spring of 1973 Randy was an undergraduate student in Bowling Green State University, "majoring" in psychology, "minoring" in sociology. Those were times of intense social turmoil, search and transformation in society and, particularly, among college students. In Randy's words:

The cliché at the time was "sex, drugs and rock n'roll," and all that for sure was happening...and the Vietnam War and Earth day of 1970 had occurred and the ecology movement was born, Janis Joplin was singing, you know, about the cosmic side of life...and the cosmic side of life is also the spiritual side of life.

Randy was not untouched by all this. On the contrary, it is in his college years that he places his own transformation from a West Virginia/Florida rural 'redneck' to a hippie in the "sex,drugs, and rock 'n roll" culture of the time.

...I was still young enough that I wanted to belong to a group, which is what people do in younger years, and a group that became interesting to me were the hippies. They believed in "peace not

war," and freedom of expression, and they were much more open minded... and I realized, my God, they have a more interesting life and it is more appropriate. I wish I were one of them. So, I just started more and more hanging out in those circles, developing friendships and becoming one of them. I was also attracted there by the spiritual dimension, you know, the cosmic reality that was sung about in some of the songs, like Janice Joplin's songs, the rock n' roll of the time. The themes might be 'sex, drugs and rock 'n roll'in part but it was also, you know, a kind of cosmic and spiritual awareness dimension to what hippiedom meant.

This transition into hippiedom then was, in many ways, about appreciation of diversity and differences, within the general interconnectedness of all, which is indeed organic with Randy's childhood experiences with nature. But such an appreciation and, at times, celebration of differences as well as the concept of "unity within diversity" was not exclusive to hippies at the time. It was rather a central *generational theme* of discourse--even among psychologists within the so-called emerging "Third Force" or Humanistic Psychology.

As a psychology "major" Randy was exposed to new theories such as Fritz Perls', and to innovative therapeutic techniques such as "encounter groups"--popular at the time among some of the searching youth population. Such new perspectives were key to Randy's emerging cross-cultural consciousness and his developing capacity to communicate with diverse people all over the planet in a context of mutual caring and respect. Indeed, appreciation of differences is a central element in planetary consciousness and in a vision of a society based on interconnectedness, harmony, and justice for all people and for all of life.

(It is interesting that several of my interviewees, chosen because of their planetary activism and breadth of perspective, also mentioned the "Third Force" in psychology, Fritz Perls' Gestalt theory and therapy, "encounter groups" and the like as important landmarks in their own personal expansion of consciousness.)

Another central theme of Randy's generation was the pacifism or anti-war feelings and militance that were practically explosive among college students and the hippie counterculture at that time. Bowling Green State University, in Ohio, was not far from Kent State--the tragic landmark in U.S. contemporary history where four students were killed and nine others were wounded on May 4, 1970, by National Guardsmen who responded--by firing M-1 rifles-- to a crowd of students protesting President Nixon's announcement of U.S. "incursion" of Cambodia.

Randy's own campus was also exploding with anti Vietnam war activities and personally, for him, the possibility of being drafted impressed in him the fact that his own life was "on the line" (Randy was "saved" by a "stroke of luck" in drawing a high lottery number when that system was instituted). He thus became involved in the so-called anti-War movement of the time. He became a "peace activist," organizing and participating in peace demonstrations and, in one of these demonstrations, he was arrested with 18 other people.

At the same time (in the late 1960's and early 1970's), says Randy, the so-called "ecology movement" was being born in the United States--an occurrence which he marks historically by the institution of Earth Day in 1970. Already then (and ahead of his time), by his senior year in college, Randy knew that this was his main area of commitment. The budding "ecology movement" (as it was called at the time, before it came to be called the "environmental movement") was, in Randy's words:

...an impassioned grass roots movement around an ecological ethic, with amateur impassioned activists who went out. They weren't experts or professional environmentalists, they were people who cared about an issue and learned something about it and went out and fought for the solution to that problem.⁶

At a personal level, like many of the college youth during the 1960s and early 1970s, Randy was drawn to the ecological perspective emerging among his school peers

through several avenues. Among these Randy mentions the hippie counterculture and its emerging spiritual connection with the earth; anti war information and activism, by which several "forward thinking people" were already making the link between warlike activities and the destruction of the environment (between the Vietnam War, Agent Orange and the napalming and destruction of the forests and the environment); the picture of the Earth from the outer space.

(There were, of course, many and numerous avenues for this emerging *caring* for nature among urban youth, and people at large, in the United States. In truth the roots, meaning, and depth, of the emergence of an ecological consciousness is taking decades to unfold within the contemporary industrial world and it is still in flux and evolving, it has many layers and nuances, and it would definitely deserve a whole study of its own. We refer to this here in such a general way in order to anchor Randy Hayes in those aspects of the *spirit of the times*, and of his own personal experience, that helped shape him into the effective, committed, planetary activist he is today.)

Also, like many youth of his generation, he was exposed to what today have become classic cosmologies: books by or about indigenous peoples' belief systems, relationships with others, and relationship with Nature and with all of life. As Randy describes it, some American Indian friends introduced him

...to some of the classic books of the time that speak so eloquently about the cosmologies of indigenous peoples and that was exciting to me, that was post-industrial society. That was the direction that had the interconnectedness that I felt when as a child I wandered through the swamps of Florida.

These books left a deep imprint on him. Rather than simply an "excursion into the exotic" they did in fact constitute one more important link in the chain of events that led him to do the work he does today--with such a total level of commitment.

Among the titles Randy holds dear to this day are, for example, *Black Elk Speaks*⁷, which

... beautifully conveyed to me the significance [of] the cycle, the circle, and the connectedness between human beings' place in the universe and nature--just, you know, so respectful and such a natural philosophy--so appealing to me.

Others are Lama Dargay's *Seeker of Visions*, in which Randy was struck by its humor--which made to him the cosmology being portrayed so organic and alive; Carlos Castaneda's *A Separate Reality*, which was referred to him by an American Indian friend-- who recognized a similarity of pursuit of meaning--and was for him more like a "warrior's training book"; and, Gary Snyder's *Turtle Island*, which even though not written by a Native American does "embody a lot of native wisdom". Each one gave him a glimpse of peoples and cultures who lived according to an ecological ethic of interconnectedness, diversity, and balance.

These texts, and similar others (like Herman Hess' *Siddharta*), are also a sort of generational landmark. They were very popular among some sectors of the youth at the time and very impactful in their *opening a cross-cultural door* into ancient traditions and cultures (particularly from Asia and indigenous peoples, and the perennial philosophy as well) that had a wholistic view of life and the universe, and a great respect for personal experience and beingness. This was more atuned with what these mostly white middle-class North American youth, disenfranchised and disenchanting with the industrial materialistic United States were so avidly searching. This attraction resulted in not few hazards and difficulties but also in great cross-cultural expansion, enrichment and the development of a true planetary consciousness, based in understanding and respect for all cultures. Through the pursuit meaning of life and

models of this in other cultures the prevailing ethnocentric bias was bridged among these searching youth-- and for many of them our dominant androcentric slant.

Randy's early choice of activity in the ecological field-- in his senior college year-- appears to reflect, in my opinion, both a philosophical, or cosmological, as well as a deeply personal dimension--the two of converging into a *social* vision. Randy believed then (and still does) that a direct experience of communion with nature, such as the one he had in his formative years, and the ensuing sense of security and psychological comfort is an experience available for anyone and everyone--that it is an experience intrinsic to the relationship between humans and nature. The more he encountered people who held similar views the more it validated his own. From then on his whole life has been devoted to help create the conditions that would make it a social reality for all on Earth.

As a budding ecologist, Randy was very involved in Earth Day in 1970. This is how he recollects that day:

Earth day 1970 was the rage across the campuses and there were teach-ins and people decided to drop their classes that day and go to teach-ins instead of... I remember talking to a lot of students who were trying to decide whether or not they would go to classes or they'd drop classes. It seemed to me that the more small minded, the conservative students were saying it wasn't that they didn't care about ecology or the Earth, but that they would rationalize, "well, I can get a good degree, I can learn in class today and I will be able to help the Earth more." I never bought that logic. And when Earth day actually happened I remember talking to some students who were going to classes, "I think you shouldn't go to classes, take the day off and, you know, think about nature, about the Earth, and go to teach-ins--which is what I did. It was all very informal, just a group of people sitting around and in the grass and there may be a sign and you can walk to the group and sit with them. I don't remember too many of the details of the teach-ins. Usually there was a kind of group leader who talked a little bit or set the context of the discussion but for the most part it was a conversation between a small group of people sitting in a circle in the grass.

Indeed, the "right relationship with Nature," in Randy's words, was the key in allaying the great psychological torment that humans suffer and many contemporary social dilemmas. As a student of psychology and sociology Randy was observing human society and searching for constructive solutions. He saw, he says, the "need in our society for a lot of psychological change." He felt that so many people were "so caught up in their heads" that:

... I didn't feel like that change can be achieved between humans. The root causes, the fundamental causes seem to be human's relationship to nature in my mind...and when I would start to see two humans bantering back and forth trying to figure out and solve their problems if they were taking a walk through nature at the same time they probably would have achieved more in terms of psychological comfort or security or understanding. And so that's how I...I just came to believe that the human being's relationship to nature had to be set straight, and that would create more psychological harmony between people, between races, between cultures, between nations. So, an ecologically sound society, human society, would probably be a peaceful society and a psychologically sound society also--just naturally.

Randy tried to share his insights about psychology and nature with his professors, but this was not particularly satisfying. Neither did he feel understood among some of his friends. It was only with the few American Indian friends that Randy met at the University that:

...I felt understood ... I felt that they also believed in the same thing that I believed and I realized that if I was going to learn more about the nature of human security and psychological strength, I was going to have to go those cultures to learn something about psychology, something about society, human society. What I had found in the world of "sex, drugs and rock n'roll" in my college days was exciting but it lacked the spiritual. Some of the aspects of hippiedom were quite good, but something was missing, you know, in the "sex drugs and rock 'n roll" culture.... and *it was the cosmic dimension of life that I felt was real life, part of how things are...the spiritual mystic dimension that I also feel is real, and part of the way things are, and I could not get that from a lot of the students.* There was a superficiality. It turned

out to be very superficial to be a hippie. So I started kind of questing for that spiritual dimension, you know, and that directly and indirectly led to my visit to the Hopis and the native people, because they always represented that. They do not represent "sex, drugs, and rock 'n roll," [laughs] they represent, you know, an insightful and wise and charming relationship within the Earth but also with the cosmos--the spiritual dimension.

After his graduation (in 1973) Randy moved to California-- moved that symbolized his own spiritual quest.. There he met people who were involved in matters such as yoga, fasting, "spiritual questing" and trying to explain psychic phenomena. In California Randy took yoga classes, and this was a part of Randy's participation in what he calls "hippiedom."

...you know, doing yoga and being a hippie, is, you know, part of the code...part of the "dress code" [laughs]. So, I would take yoga classes also. There were lots of different types of hippy "dress codes", also like the kind of "yoga hippies" because they were exploring the spiritual dimension and the cosmic reality.

In this class Randy met and befriended a Yoga instructor, Tom Styles, who had a connection with the Hopi . Tom was writing his senior thesis on cross-cultural philosophies and was interested in Hopi prophesies. He was about to go down to the painted desert in Arizona to meet some of the tribal elders, Thomas Banyacya and some of the others, and invited Randy along.

...he asked me if I wanted to go off, and for me that was fascinating stuff, I just moved to California, quite interested in the spiritual dimension so I said "of course, I'd love to."... I also was questing, you know, for the spiritual dimension--in particular, the spiritual dimension as it applies to nature in the native people's sense. That was missing in my college experience

A Friend of the Hopis

Randy is quick to point out that such meeting with the Hopis themselves was highly circumstantial, as the only thing he knew about them at the time was that they were an American indian tribe in the desert, and nothing about "...being such a special ancient culture".

Yet, even if his meeting with Hopis was quite circumstantial it definitely *makes sense*

...that who I would meet who'd had a connection with the Hopi and that I could go down and join this excursion to visit the elders...

Randy vividly remembers leaving, soon after arriving to California, the Marin-County city of Sausalito at midnight, driving through the night, into Hopiland, in the Four Corners area.

The next afternoon he and his yoga-instructor friend watched the sunset over the Grand Canyon and after that they drove into one of the oldest Hopi villages, Old Araibi.

The village chief, who was a woman, put a sign out there[at the edge of the village] that said "Warning white men: Because you can't obey your own laws, let alone ours, you are hereby prohibited from entering this village". So, we sat at the edge of the village, by this sign, and we could hear the drums beating and we could tell that there was a ceremony going on...and we sat respectfully, doing yoga, headstands, meditating--hoping that somebody would invite us in, but they didn't. We sat there all night.

In the morning, Randy and his friend Tom drove down to a neighboring Hopi village, New Araibi, "which is a bit less sacred--and we just banged on a door" It was the door of the Banyacya residence. Thomas Banyacya, unknown to Randy at the time, was one of the spokesmen of the traditional Hopis. Thomas had just returned from a long trip exhausted, and he was sleeping. But his wife, Fermina Banyacya, appeared at the door, and she came outside to talk to Randy and his friend.

...We explained to her—we talked to her about our interest in protecting the land, and that we know about Nature, and that we knew about the problems they were having with the mining and that we wanted to be helpful—and she spoke to us so eloquently, so simply and so eloquently about her philosophy, her cosmology. It was so beautiful! It stayed in my mind.

This was indeed Randy's first meeting with a Hopi, or any indigenous, person and it was so powerful and imbued with meaning that it is an especially cherished moment in Randy's life to this day. On several occasions in our conversations over the years, Randy has mentioned this first encounter with Fermina Banyacya and how powerful and meaningful a moment it was for him:

The first conversation I had with the Hopi was with Fermina Banyacya and she came outside—it was sunset as I recall—and she spoke about her cosmology. So in one conversation I had the sense of the whole, of who she was as a person and where she fit, what gave meaning to her life, what gave direction, what gave instructions on how to behave, to fit in...and it was quite beautiful. It was physically beautiful with the twilight sunset kind of hour and the simplicity of her home—and standing on the sort of sandy ground right in front of her doorstep, hearing her talk about her place in the universe, you know. And Hopi, I don't remember the particulars of what she said, but it was kind of like Hopi means *peace*...And there was a striving for a peaceful relationship between humanity and the Earth and it just had a beauty to it and that kind of kindness and beauty and purpose and, you know, it gave direction—instructions on how to live your life.

That same evening, Fermina Banyacya invited Randy and Tom into the kitchen at her home, and they sat together, and "...had coffe on the picnic table in the kitchen...", and talked about philosophical and cosmological matters, and... laughed a lot, into the night, starting a life-long friendship among Randy and Fermina. Whenever Randy mentions her a warm grim hides behind his eyes, remembering her so much for her humour as much as for her philosophical depth,

...sitting in the same kitchen table in years later just telling stories and laughing....she's so funny....and even the sense of humor was impressive to me... we speak so heavily about philosophy and such, and we also miss a lot of humor...and... you know... I've never met any

[laughs] native group of people that didn't have a tremendous sense of humor... she would laugh about people who came with degrees, a master's degree in this, anthropologist, a PhD, and she would say "I have no degrees I am just a human being". And so, whenever I send her postcards from the Amazon and around the world now I just, I sign it, you know, for Mina Banyackya, H.B...

It seems to me that the exploration and honoring of the spiritual and cosmic reality of life and the search for people who have asked similar questions and come up with ancient answers and lived their lives accordingly is, in many ways, the invisible thread that weaves together so many of Randy's activities and experiences. In that context, meeting the Hopis was a very potent and meaningful experience for Randy as it was the first time he encountered people whose very lives, cosmologies, and culture provided answers to his questions and to his quest. At a very fundamental level, this encounter, a true *meeting* it seems, was To Randy the confirmation that his *hunch* that he needed to learn from native people was correct.

That was what was quenched: my desire for a sense of purpose, and a sense of place and position, you know, what role can I play in the cosmos. I don't want to just be a cog in the wheel of a machine that it's not going anywhere--the industrial machine--which is what happens to most people who graduate from college and get a job, in the regular, the "real," what they call the "real world" which isn't real. The industrial world is not a real world, you know, its a tragic, destructive world. And so I knew that I didn't want to be a cog in the wheel of a machine that was going backwards, that was being destructive. I wanted to be, so to speak, a cog in the wheel of the sort of organic effort that was solving problems, *fitting into the cosmos in a helpful way* and, you know, I felt that for the first time in a long time I was talking to a person who had achieved that--who knew her place in the cosmos, who knew her instructions, her direction, how to be helpful, Part of that was talking to white boys like myself who come to her doorstep. [laughs] ...And, you know, bang on the door and, you know, earnestly or not, offer to help or want something or whatever. I was really appreciative that she took that time. It meant a lot to me. It was tremendously powerful being with her. I realized that what I thought about native peoples, what I had read in books, was not romanticizing, wasn't a cliché. It was real, you know!. I was experiencing the reality of the

beauty you can sense from reading "Black Elk Speaks," you know--reading some of the classic texts

For Randy this encounter was so novel within his frame of life experiences that it was almost a crossing of a barrier, of an invisible boundary, or a bridge which, because of its deep cross-cultural dimensions, was also like a crossing over time--a crossing through perception modes and cultural assumptions and conditionings.

... it was really unique experience... I had some of the romanticized notions that it was like it was in the 1700s or something.... I remember that I've looked at the shelves and there was a box of cereal, Cheerios or Cornflex or something like that, and this other young indian guy who was not a Hopi, was visiting, looked at me and said "yes, we eat that stuff too". [we both laugh].

Randy and Tom spent that night camping out in a camping ground near the cultural center, where they stayed for several days. The next day they returned to the Banyacya's residence and they spoke to Fermina's husband, Thomas Banyacya, who also introduced them to other traditional elders from different villages. Randy and Tom then also went to visit other Hopi elders and chiefs whom Tom Styles knew. For the most part, says Randy, they found the same kind of gracious attitude and openness with the indians down there. He was deeply impressed with the wisdom of the Hopi elders and chiefs and the traditional indians, who, "quietly in the background", still carry on their traditional ways and was deeply moved by their breadth of understanding of the global order and the threats to the planet.

The Hopi have a perspective on current events that comes from a geologic history, a geologic time perspective. They have an oral tradition and have an ongoing understanding from ancient history. Their geologic perspective in time has a number of insights that are helpful in understanding current events. Their understanding of nature and how nature responds to the technology that operates out of synchronicity with the laws of nature. They have an

understanding, for example if you cut down a forest you'll increase the winds; you change the temperature of the planet: hot air raises and winds are created, pressure zones. They understand the interconnectedness of the forces of nature from the Earth's crust, to the soil, to the atmosphere. And how all that is interconnected. They've had thousands of years living in nature and understanding how the forces of nature work. And they are also quite worldly. They know about tribes and ecosystems and continents.

From the start, it was clear to Randy that he was not going to do an understudy of american indian elders, nor to try to seek their wisdom.

I just wanted to spend time as one *friend* to another, and so I didn't try to sneak in to ceremonies I didn't try to get them to talk about secret things, ah.. we talked about more mundane activities ah.. that were quite tragic and difficult for the indians, like the uranium mining that was poisoning the land, causing babies to be born with birth defects... coal strip mining use of underground water systems... it was drying up sacred springs, and I didn't try to ask them to really explain to me what a sacred spring was...

Instead, Randy wanted to help. For ex, later on, when he would hear that the sacred springs were drying up he would go to the US Geological Society office, try to get maps and would give this information to the traditionals,

... and then they would try to figure out why are these springs drying up...is it the coal mine? Is it the uranium mine? what's going on?.... and, you know, I think that it was a little bit helpful, I was able to find information they couldn't find.

For about 10 years Randy frequently visited the Hopis. Randy's emphasis was always on helping, as a friend. It was almost natural that the most spontaneous and effective help Randy could provide to traditional Hopis was in his capacity of a *bridge*--a bridge between the contemporary "American" society and the indigenous people who still lived by the spirit of the ancient wisdom and cosmologies--and still quite separated from mainstream society.

Not every aspect or every moment of Randy's first journey to Hopiland was so mature and oriented to serve the traditional people. Randy recalls, in fact, an occasion in which he and Tom were sightseeing --in an old ancient ruin of the Anasazi, a few miles down the road-- in which they rather behaved more like stereotypical tourists; yet, even that has been an opportunity for him to experience the profound spiritual and philosophical essence of this first encounter. This was Randy's first time in such a ruin, and together with Tom they picked some interesting pottery shards that were there. They kept them as souvenirs, in the trunk of the car.

While we were at the ruin the police came, the Hopi police came because they didn't know who was down there, and they wanted to make sure that it wasn't, you know, thieves, who were digging illegally, doing a dig, an archeological dig, which we weren't, we were just sitting there doing our yoga, thinking about of all this, meditating and then also looking at the pottery shards{?}, finding some interesting ones and putting them in our pockets, so in fact, we were kind of stealing in a sense...in any rate the cop came and said that he wanted to make sure that we were not breaking things or causing a problem down there and we assured him that we weren't and he left...

A couple of nights later they were talking to another indian, whom they did not tell about taking the pottery shards, and who told them

well, look ,you really shouldn't... if you find stuff you should not take it out of the reservation, it's bad medicine, it's bad magic to do that" and we said "no we would not do that"... it would have been so terribly embarrassing to say "well, you know, yes... we did".

When two nights later, Randy and Tom were driving, leaving the reservation

... and at a certain point I was thinking 'man, we should not be taking this stuff out the reservation, it's bad magic". Of course, Tom Styles was sitting there, we were both silent, thinking the exact same thing and we turned to each other almost at the same moment and we

said " we got to stop and leave the pottery shards here".. And we both actually laughed because of the synchronicity of having the same thought, of saying the same thing to each other, we stopped and we put them in the side of the road and we took the pottery shards out of the trunk and we had like 5 or 10 little pieces of shards, not too much, but still... we did not drive back 40 miles back to that thing but we left it in the Hopi reservation lands, traditional lands, and we put them down, sort of kindly in the ground, meditated, apologized, got back in the car and drove off, right?...

Even this incident was another opportunity for Randy to experience this long sought, newly found, almost simple, spirituality.

So,... its like people down there could almost read our minds of what's going on, and that he and I could read each other's minds, so to speak, about *what we need to do to be in balance with the moment, you know...* so it had a cosmic, a very deep spiritual and cosmic feel to it. It was a mystical trip to Hopiland. I found myself I was more able to sense people's thoughts including my friend Tom whom I drove with and he towards me also. And when you have these moments of authentic mysticism and you realize that it is not magic in a distant or unreal sense but in the sense of just the way in which the universe works it's quite powerful, quite exciting....

Meeting the Hopis- already in that first encounter- grounded Randy's search and his longing in a socio cultural reality. In this profound, organic, way Randy Hayes' personal search and path of activism are one and the same, complementing each other. What to many unsympathetic observers could appear as a wholly self- absorbed process of youth experimentation, immature cultural protest and adventure (and as such part of what as been described by Lasch as the narcissism of the "me generation" in the 1970s) was in Randy's case a true discovery and validation of his own personal roots and the cultural ones, of his own ancestors. This was certainly not a smooth endeavor in the midst of a quite hostile dominant social perspective. Rather, it was a rather *radical* act, in the most literal and original sense.

Often times in our conversations, Randy advocated for the need "...to take back command of the language..." for effective social change. In that context he repeatedly referred to the "true meaning" of the word "radical" as

... seeking the root causes of a problem..., it means seeking fundamental change. So if one believes in going to the root cause of the problem, if one believes in going .ah....achieving fundamental change then one is a radical.

So, going deep into his sense of self and of truth, discovering his own roots and asserting their universality and validity in today's planetary challenges were all the links in a radical chain of events, in Randy's becoming a radical and global activist. Obviously, this is not to imply that this has been the case for all, not even most, the searching youth of the 1960s and 1970s, nor to deny the impact of narcissism in a considerable part of many people's lives who were engaged even in externally similar activities and endeavors at the time. But it further suggests the ways in which at *the root* itself personhood and planetization do indeed meet.

I see indigenous peoples as living a cosmology or having a world view far more akin to what I think the world needs. It's an integrated ecological ethic that's lived by the indigenous peoples of the rainforest. What we in the industrial north need is to move into the post-industrial society. A post-industrial society, as I envision it, is based on an ecological ethic. The basic characteristics of an ecological ethic are just simply the understanding of the interconnectedness of all life on the planet and that our actions have a reaction.

...Looking at a time when the human species on the planet lived within the cycles of nature, our inventions and activities did not violate the rules of nature, the principles of ecology--well, the connectedness of everything. When you throw, you know, when you pour a can of paint down the drain it doesn't disappear, it goes somewhere, it is connected to something, right? That kind of awareness. And we are now in the industrial society, in the 1990's, the turn of the century, and the goal for us is to go to the post industrial society. And the post industrial society will be a technological society, but one in which there is an appropriate form of technology, you know, the solar and wind power as opposed to nuclear power, the commodities

that we build, that we buy, that we wear, that we eat, will all be done respecting the cycles of nature and the principles of ecology.

...[The Hopi] realized that every day was a life and death struggle--not for themselves personally but for the entire planet, right? ...and so, saving the planet or respecting nature was not a hobby, you know, it was a very powerful, life and death meaningful experience for them every single day, and that's the kind of passion that I try to bring to my work, you know.

...There's a perception of the Hopi that I think is really unfair to them... that they have this profound prophetic religious understanding and, yes-- they do, but...ah....the English language does a disservice to what the Hopis are saying. See... when they talk about a sacred spring or sacred mountain, a sacred place, you can substitute the word 'functional' and it makes just as much sense. So it's not a big mystical religious thing that's being talked about exactly... It's, "why is that mountain sacred?" well, it has a function in their society, may be the clouds form around it in a way that tells you or not whether it's gonna be windy or whether it's gonna rain and whether it's a good day to plant. So, *things that are sacred are functional*. And that's just one example of...

Interestingly, the bridge he was providing externally during his years as a support person for traditional Hopis in the painted desert in Arizona, was the same bridge, between those same two worlds, towards which he was approaching his own personal path and spiritual inner search. The concrete manner and means of support, friendship, and committed activism evolved and changed somewhat over the course of time, but they were all established in this first *mystical* trip.

An activist in the Southwest

..... year after year after year I kept coming back, right?, and, so, after 2 or 3 years they begun to think that may be you're serious about being helpful, after 5 or 6 years they are pretty sure you are serious, after 7 or 8 or 9 or 10 years then they know that you care. Still, every year, I go back down there and I report to the [Hopi] elders on what I am finding out around the world, what I am learning about other indigenous people, tropical rainforests, other mining projects that are destroying nature and also about how it is changing, how it is people are organizing now to make--to try to solve these problems. And they are very interested in that, you know. And I just go down and I report... and then I go back out into there... into

the...to the world. I go to Tokyo and I fight with the bankers, I go to Washington DC and fight with the bankers, I go to the Amazon, and I meet indigenous people there. I explain to them what I've learned. Then, I go back to the Southwest and I explain to them what I'd learned.

During all those years, Randy worked as a truck driver moving furniture and also as a carpenter, working intensively through the summer months, and then taking time off in the winter to spend with the Indians. He never made his livelihood from his work with traditional Indians.

Randy Hayes became very involved in grassroots work at the local level in the Southwest concerned with the plight of local cultures and the environment in the context of the mining interests and the multinational companies. During that time he also co-produced, together with Christopher McLeod and Glenn Switkes, the award-winning film "The Four Corners: National Sacrifice Area" on "the cultural and ecological impacts of energy development in the American Southwest."⁸ The film takes its title from a report which concludes that strip-mining in the arid Southwest could permanently damage the land, resulting in "National Sacrifice Areas" for energy development. The film directly addresses the 'hidden costs' of energy development in Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona--hidden costs such as lung cancer, birth defects, livestock contamination and the effects of millions of tons of radioactive uranium tailings which blow in the wind and wash into rivers. It also addresses the issue of threats to National Parks from coal strip-mining, power plants, and radioactive waste and of water contamination through the Colorado River Basin, which supplies Los Angeles, Phoenix and much of the Southwest with water for drinking and irrigation.⁹

This first-rate documentary not only won several awards (FOCUS Documentary Award, 1983; 1983 Student Academy Award Best Documentary; Houston International Film Festival, 1983, Silver Medal) but, according to Colorado Governor, Richard Lamm, "...this film...also moves people to take action to protect this region."¹⁰

...when I was a film maker working on the Four Corners I never thought of myself as a filmmaker. I saw myself as an activist film maker. I saw film as a tool for orchestrating social change

Randy Hayes learned, as the Hopis learned, to learn about life's principles, problems, and solutions from nature herself. Randy has said repeatedly that one of the lessons one can learn from nature herself is that there is strength in diversity--and that is one of his main guiding principles in his political work.

Randy even learned from the Hopis about the appropriate place and uses of the most advanced forms of technology, within the framework of a true ecological ethics. In talking about how closely the Hopis, even traditionalists and elders, follow and understand about "worldly things" Randy said:

Thomas Banyacya's son, Tommy Banyacya Jr., is Bear Clan, and he's always been able to give me a lot of insight. He's a very good bridge between the white world and the Indian world. His father is one of the traditional spoke persons for the traditionalists so he has a tremendous amount of access into the old world and yet he's my age, and he's college educated, he's brilliant in terms of computer and electronics...He explained what computer network was for the planet, and how people could speak to each other over the computer and transfer information, documents, and news virtually instantaneously at low cost and that this would help us organize for planetary consciousness and transformation. And so I started--and Tommy Banyacya Jr is part of this too. He was an electronic whizz--a brilliant student of electronics and computer technology--and he understood the kind of far reaching dimensions of what's now common place, but was not common place in the 1970's. Tommy Banyacya introduced me to a guy who also understood the significance of a world computer network. So one of the things that I've done with RAN is to try to help put in place that actual early warning system--a global computer network--and it is called ECONET, the ecological network.

It is hard to over-emphasize the truly revolutionary and pioneer nature of such a concept and technological accomplishment in such an early historical juncture, for that type of computer technology, and perhaps more so in the context of prevailing

stereotypes about traditional Indians. Randy wanted to put together a global computer network under the term the "People of the Earth," intended to be a network of organizations and individuals who wanted to help protect indigenous, or native, peoples' rights. But Randy found it difficult to raise the money for the People of the Earth network, and he soon discovered that when he started talking about the same things in terms of the rainforests it seemed much easier to gather attention around that issue

Randy mentioned numerous times that the Hopis know about the basic interconnectedness of life, the necessary "marriage" of an appropriate technology to the cycles of nature, and the planetary establishment of such a balance as an opportunity for us as a species and for the planet as well. This, apparently, is what Randy continues to allude to as "the post industrial society", based on an "deep ecological ethics."

The Hopi tell an interesting story about this. The metaphysical symbol of the Hopi Indians is the circle and the cross. According to their prophecies, they knew the light skins from the East would be coming over to their continent. The first contact they had with the Anglos were the Spanish conquistadors that marched up from Mexico in the 1500's. The Hopis looked for the metaphysical symbol of these people, supposing that it might be the circle and the cross; but no, it was just the Christian cross. The cross to the Hopi symbolizes the ability to divide and segment, but the circle symbolizes the cycles of nature and, if you're dividing and segmenting, if your technologies, ingenuity and inventiveness is not tied into the cycles of nature, then they are going to be destructive.

...a People of the Earth Network to help protect their rights, I guess, would help maintain their legacy for the rest of us to learn from and to incorporate in a legitimate way into our own cultures, whether they be European or Chinese or whatever...I was meeting with some of the Hopi elders and I was concerned about their plight, the destruction of the land, and the threats to their culture and I was pondering, wondering what to do and I was talking to this old man who was maybe 80 - 90 years old and said what can I do to help? His response to me was 'we don't need your help, we've been doing fine in this society and our life for thousands and thousands of

years, we need you to get your foot off of our throat. Go back into your own society and correct the problem there, that's what you need to do'.

...It's kind of the "physician heal thyself" philosophy...so, you know, after a certain point I decided that after my work in the Southwest, fighting uranium mining in different forms, that I would make an issue switch and I would essentially ... the stated focus is the topic of tropical rainforests... but it's much broader...it's really orchestrating the transition from the polluting industrial paradigm to the post industrial appropriate technology sustainable society.

And this is how, ready for a change and with easily transferable skills, Randy Hayes shifted his focus to a global level, and started working to save the rainforests of the world- yet targeting the work on what can be done in and from the USA to stop the destruction of those ancient ecosystems.

The cliché of think globally, act locally has not worked through the latter part of the 70's and most of the 80's, but it needs to work. The rainforest movement is trying to be a model for that.

After 10 years of working mainly at a local level, Randy found that the work to save the world's rainforests and the indigenous people who inhabit them was an appropriate new channel in which to direct his diversified expertise. He expanded his focus from the regional level to the global level, and began working to organize a global network to undertake to the promotion and support of local action with a global perspective.

This emphasis on activism is rather characteristic of Randy and of the organization with which he is associated: the Rainforest Action Network (RAN). (When I interviewed Randy in 1990, RAN had 9,000 members and in 1993, 43,000 members. The same trend can be seen in the growth of the network of Rainforest Action groups, from 3 or 4 in 1987 to 150 currently.) The following chapter describes RAN's philosophical underpinnings and general perspective on social action. The third chapter

of this section presents RAN as an organization, in terms of its method of functioning, its membership and activities. And the fourth and last describes RAN's strategies and accomplishments.

¹ Simone de Beauvoir 's *The Second Sex* is powerful statement in this regard.

² Rainforest Action Guide- An introduction to Rainforest activism, pp 2-3.

³ Most of the presented material—unless otherwise stated- is from the interviews.

⁴ This perspective will be presented in the following chapter in this section.

⁵ Catherine Caufield, *The New Yorker*, quoted in "Tropical Deforestation in Central America: Ten questions answered", RAN, San Francisco, Ca.

⁶ Contemporary environmentalism does not, in Randy's view, match these vital characteristics. This will be elaborated throughout this whole section.

⁷ Neihardt, John G. *Black Elk Speaks. Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux.* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972).

⁸ From brochure THE FOUR CORNERS, (Oley PA: Bullfrog Films, 19547).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.